# WHO <br> MAKES THE NEWS? 

## GREENLAND

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Ilisimatusarfik
Juni 2021

GMMP
NATIONAL REPORT
Global Media
Monitoring
Project


## GMMP

## Global Media <br> Monitoring <br> Project

## 2020

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## PREFACE

## Global Context

- The Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) is the world's longest-running and most extensive research on gender in the news media. The research was designed to capture a snapshot of gender on one 'ordinary' news day in the world news media. An ordinary news day is defined as one in which the news agenda contains the run-of-the-mill mix of stories, everyday articles on politics, economy, social issues, crime and other issues.
- 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 media monitoring has been repeated every five years since then, taking stock of change in the gender dimensions of news media content and collecting statistical data on new indicators.
- The 1995 research revealed that only $17 \%$ of news subjects - the people who are interviewed or whom the news are about - were women. It found that gender parity was 'a distant prospect in any region of the world. News [were] more often being presented by women but [they were] still rarely about women. ${ }^{1}$
- The first noteworthy change in women's overall presence in the news was registered in 2005 in the third iteration of the research. ${ }^{2}$ Women comprised $21 \%$ of news subjects, a three-percentage point increase over the period 2000 to 2005 . Their near invisibility continued however, with only $10 \%$ of stories focusing centrally on women, underrepresentation in the major news topics and as voices in the news.
- By the fifth GMMP in 2015, it was clear that "ordinary" news days could not be predicted or planned in advance: unexpected events take place that dominate the news, from the Kobe earthquake in 1995, to the Germanwings plane crash in the Alps in 2015.
- The 2015 research in 114 countries revealed continued severe gender disparities in news media content. Findings on key indicators suggested that progress towards gender equality had lost traction; women remained only $24 \%$ of the persons heard, read about or seen in newspaper, television and radio news, exactly the same level found in the fourth wave of the research in 2010. Three editions of the research - in 2005, 2010 and 2015 - found no change on the indicator measuring women's participation in the news as reporters; only $37 \%$ of stories in legacy media were reported by women.
- Women's relative invisibility in traditional news media had also crossed over into the digital news delivery platforms included in the GMMP monitoring for the first time. Only $26 \%$ of the people in stories on mainstream news websites and media news

[^0]Tweets combined were women. The challenges of news media sexism, gender stereotyping and gender bias were apparently intractable across time, space and content delivery platforms.

- UN Under-Secretary-General and UN Women Executive Director Phumzile MlamboNgcuka underlined that the ways in which women are depicted in the media "have a profound effect on societal attitudes and reinforce traditional gender roles. Women and girls are half of humanity. Giving equal time and weight to their stories, featuring them as positive models not victims, plays an under-appreciated part in creating a better, freer world for all of us." ${ }^{3}$
- Events during the 2020 GMMP year were even more extraordinary; beginning in late 2019 and intensifying during the year, the world was ravaged by the novel coronavirus Covid-19. This sixth wave of the research offered an opportunity to scrutinize gender in media coverage during a global catastrophe, a time marked by a worldwide health crisis, and the intensified inequalities accompanying the crisis.
- GMMP teams in 116 countries monitored 30172 stories published in newspapers, broadcast on radio and television, and disseminated on news websites and via news media tweets in 2251 outlets. The stories contained 58,499 news subjects and sources, and were reported and presented by 28,595 journalists. The number of participating nations increased by $63 \%$ since 1995 as baseline data were collected for eight countries joining the study for the first time. The number of news items monitored has doubled over the past 25 years and risen by over 8,000 since the 2015 edition.

Findings from the sixth GMMP reveal a mixed picture of progress, stagnation and regression. While some glass ceilings are clearly being edged upwards, others are setting in on certain important news media gender equality indicators, The past five years have seen small incremental changes towards parity, at the same time, the overall pace of change remains glacial.

## National Context

Greenland is part of the GMMP for the very first time. There has been very little research on gender in the media and communication field in Greenland, hence this study can be considered a baseline for future research. The small sample size consisting of 101 coded news items reflects a small media system with only two national media outlets catering to a Greenlandic population of approximately 56,400 . However, a one-day survey reflects an extremely low number of news items-at least seen in a global context. Therefore, all results and analytical points must be read in this light, and further studies should be conducted with more material for greater accuracy, in-depth analysis, and for exploring patterns.

Even so, Greenlandic participation in the GMMP is fruitful for comparative purposes as well as for sparking debate on a subject that is rarely debated in a Greenlandic setting. Gender equality is not only a global matter but also of interest in a Greenlandic political context,

[^1]since making sure of a balance in overall participation is a reflection of a healthy representation of voices. A study on "who makes the news" will hopefully provide insights into gender dynamics in related areas as well. Finally, the study can also be used for the curriculum at the Department of Journalism at the University of Greenland (Ilisimatusarfik) to highlight and examine gender representation and potential gender disparities in order to create reflections amongst students aspiring towards a future within journalism.

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- Greenland participated in the GMMP for the first time in 2020, and there is are a general data gap in regards to data on gender equality and specifically gender and the media
- 101 news items were monitored from the two national media organizations in Greenland: KNR's 3 platforms (radio, tv, web) and Sermitsiaq.ag's 3 platforms (2 newspapers and web).
- $41 \%$ of the sources were female, which is the highest number in the Nordic countries
- Female sources are primarily used as "spokespersons"
- Management level in the news media are mostly men
- Of eight selected categories, topics covered on the monitoring day were primarily "Science \& Health", "Politics and Government" and "Economy"
- COVID-19 was covered intensely even though Greenland did not have many cases of the virus around the monitoring day


## A DAY IN THE NEWS IN GREENLAND

When the interested news consumer wakes up in the morning in search of what is going on in the domestic news, she could go online to the websites knr.gl or sermitsiaq.ag for news in either Greenlandic or Danish. The two websites are usually updated between 6 or 7 a.m. with a story, and updated several times throughout the day.

From 7 a.m., the radio news at KNR begin their daily news coverage, typically the stories in the early morning hours are from news agencies or stories from the day before, because the reporters have not yet come to work. The "big" daily radiocast lasts 15 minutes at noon, where the broadcast typically starts with domestic political news, unless larger more pressing global news has occurred. During the day, both knr.gl and sermitsiaq.ag publish 10-12 news stories, but as the day continues into the late afternoon the sites also get quieter, and the newsrooms emptier. However, now the news consumer can tune into KNR radio for the evening bulletin at 6 p.m., or follow the evening news Qanorooq, which airs daily on weekdays at $7 \mathrm{p} . \mathrm{m}$. Some stories might be similar to those already aired on the radio or online at KNR during the day. Perhaps at work, news consumers will also flip through the two weekly newspapers Sermitsiaq or Atuagagdliutut (with approximate circulations of 2000 each) and get a more in-depth analysis of some of the week's current affairs and events or read this week's portrait of a cultural figure from society.

There are also other options for getting updates on domestic affairs, for instance tuning in to KNR in the morning hours or afternoon for talk radio or scrolling through local news bulletins like Nuuk Ugeavis, magazines, or local social media fora. However, these were not included in the GMMP data per the methodology, where only national news media are included.

## Monitoring day September 29, 2020

Even though Greenland has had very few COVID-19 incidents and Greenland in general and the news media have coped throughout the pandemic without dramatic consequences, such as layoffs and cutbacks ${ }^{4}$, the Greenlandic news agenda on September 29, 2020 was still influenced by the COVID-19 crisis on all platforms and media. The stories on COVID-19 were mostly foreign news from wire services, such as the number of global deaths caused by the pandemic, a new South Korean study on symptoms, and status on the COVID-19 situation in Denmark ${ }^{5}$, but also on national restrictions for people entering Greenland. On September 29, the Government of Greenland imposed new quarantine rules for individuals traveling to Greenland. These rules were presented at a press conference, which aired live on national television and was also covered by the news media throughout the day. It was furthermore the headline news for the evening broadcast news (Qanorooq).

September 29 was also a few days after the official fall opening of Greenland's parliament (Inatsisartut, in Greenlandic), and on that day the chairman of parliament held the traditional opening speech. All the media outlets had stories about this and the subsequent debate in parliament.

[^2]On the frontpage of the weekly newspaper Sermitsiaq, a family struggling to get help for their family member with disabilities is portrayed. The disabilities agenda was highlighted in both newspapers and at KNR because Tilioq, an organization working on enhancing the rights of people with disabilities, had published a report on the matter. The mayor was interviewed for the evening news on the subject and both newspapers had stories on the report.

Sermitsiaq also had two political figures on the front page-the (at that time) members of government for finances and fisheries-who were both interviewed on domestic political matters. There was also a story on the new airports, since Greenland is developing new infrastructure, which has been an ongoing topic in the media in recent years, as well as other domestic news on fisheries, mining, etc.

The weekly national newspaper $A G$ had a story on sexual harassment taking place at the Greenlandic media on the front page. In the story the head of the journalist union (a young female journalist) was interviewed, since the journalist union had carried out a small survey amongst their members on the occurrence of sexual harassment in the workplace, which she called "alarming". The story was on the front page of the newspaper and was given a central position inside the newspaper as well (pages 4-7).

There was a portrait of the head of SIK, the largest labor union in Greenland, on the occasion of his 30 -year jubilee as chairman of SIK. He also featured on the front page. Two other stories appeared on the front page, one on problematic issues regarding people with disabilities where the female spokesperson was portrayed and another on polar bears getting too close to populated places. There was not one focus but rather a quite mixed variety of topics covered by the newspapers on September 29.

## THE CONTEXT

## Media landscape and national context

With only two national media outlets (KNR and Sermitsiaq.ag) and a few local radio stations and newspapers, the Greenlandic media landscape is considered small. However, with a population of only 56,400 people, the public is presented with daily news on several platforms, as illustrated in "A Day in the news...". These will be presented below. But first, we will take a look at some background information in order to put the question of gender into a Greenlandic context.

## On gender equality

Previous feminist scholarly work in media studies has highlighted misrepresentation in ownership, male biases, undervaluing of so-called "female genres" etc. (Dines og Humez 2015; Gill 2007) starting with Gaye Tuchman's concept of "symbolic annihilation" ${ }^{6}$ developed in the 1970s and moving towards gender studies in media and communications carrying out a diverse range of both quantitative and qualitative research (see Ross 2020 for an overview). In mediatized societies, having a voice can be converted into status, respect, influence, and legitimacy, thereby creating spaces for participation in social and cultural change (Couldry 2010; Hjarvard 2016). Just as gender equality in the news media influence other parts of political, economic and social life and can be seen as a mirror of society (DjerfPierre og Edström 2020). In other words, gender equality is not only a human rights issue at large but also a more substantive and concrete measurement for media institutions wanting to ensure a balanced presence of sources in the news content with fair, non-stereotypical, or non-discriminatory portrayals of all individuals.

Former GMMP studies and other research has demonstrated global numbers of inequality and stereotypical coverage of women in particular and of minorities in general. However, discussions on quotas or other measures to ensure more equality in the media can be met with reluctance or even be perceived as a violation of media freedom or censorship (Svensson og Edström 2014). Or, as Andreassen et al. (2019) put it-through the words of Sara Ahmedas "politics of declaration" (Ahmed 2004), where affirmative action by the media is seen as more of a symbolic gesture that enhances the media institution's standing in the public eye, rather than being a catalyst for actual change.

Since Greenland has not yet been part of the global study, comparison from earlier years is not possible. Research in media studies generally shows misrepresentation and also highlights the need for a diversity of voices in the public sphere as a necessary means to achieving the goal of sustainable societies (Djerf-Pierre \& Edström 2020).

Greenland has an equality act ${ }^{7}$ to ensure equal rights regardless of gender identity; however, in their status report from 2019, the Human Rights Council of Greenland and Denmark noted the sparseness of Greenlandic legislation in the area. The UN Human Rights Committee (OHCHR) stresses the need to draw attention to gender-based violence against women and girls in Greenland, but it also points to more gender-equal participation in political and public life ${ }^{8}$ compared to numbers from 2016, where the Danish (and Greenlandic) Human Rights

[^3]Council expressed concerns regarding the lack of female participation in political life, pay gap, and gender-based violence ${ }^{9}$.

## Data gap

There is an overall gap in data availability regarding gender issues in Greenland, which makes it difficult to adequately understand and shed light on the gender dynamics. Greenland is usually not included in larger global indexes that give insights into gender equality or media/news freedom, etc., such as the Gender Gap Index, The World Press Freedom Index, Media Freedom Index, Gender Inequality Index (UNDP), etc. Just as there is little research done on gender and the media. However, several voices have stated the need for more research on gender-based discrimination and gender equality. ${ }^{10}$

We must also keep in mind that gender equality statistics are generally based on a binary perception of gender as male/female, which does not take into account a plurality of gender identities. This creates another gap in knowledge, which could be fruitful to expand when discussing representation matters in the media. The GMMP has the codes male/female/other; however, the category "other" is difficult to operationalize, since the coders are basing their coding solely on name, visual appearance, voice, etc. (Djerf-Pierre \& Edström 2020). As such, the gender identity of sources, reporters, presenters, etc. is based solely on an assessment made by the coder, and not by self-identification or the individual's own choice of pronouns, which would require a more qualitative approach but would also provide more detailed and correct data.

The lack of data is also noted in the newly published pan-Arctic report on gender equality published by the Icelandic Chairmanship of the Arctic Council in May 2021. The report deals with issues such as gendered immigration patterns, homelessness, gender-based violence, and more. Some of the conclusions from the report are very much in alignment with earlier works in establishing a female deficit in Greenland. The report states the male-female ratio as 111 men to 100 women creating a gender gap: ${ }^{11}$
"This gender imbalance is caused in part because of higher levels of female emigration compared to men, but in addition also a higher rate of male immigration". ${ }^{12}$
"Furthermore, women with resources - economic, social, and cultural capital move because they want a career, a family life, and personal autonomy (through modern gender equality values), which can be difficult to find in the local community. In this sense women and men may be transitioning along different trajectories of globalization. ${ }^{13}$

At the same time, more Greenlandic women are undertaking higher education, both locally in Greenland but also attending universities in Denmark. Numbers from the pan-Arctic report

[^4]show the following pattern-again keeping in mind the limits of binary gender categorization.

Women and men undertaking bachelor's or master's degree in Greenland or Denmark, 2013-2019


A few national reports have addressed the question of gender balance in Greenland in the past. For instance, a governmental study looked at labor force participation in 2011. The Ministry of Family, Culture, Church and Equality gathered data in 2011 from 49 public and private workplaces, combined with statistics on female members of boards, councils, etc. in order to examine the general gender representation in those areas. The report saw the need for improvement, as there was-at that time-an overrepresentation of men across sectors. Even though changes have been seen, 10 years later the latest SDG report from 2021 also mentions a gender-segregated labor market as a focal point, ${ }^{14}$ which is also stated in Helene Pristed Nielsen's work from 2021 on female deficit and gender segregation amongst women in South Greenland (Pristed Nielsen 2021). The gender segregated Nordic labor market is also seen as a possible explanation behind the Nordic pay gap. ${ }^{15}$
Mette Apollo Rasmussen has studied women in leadership positions (in Nuuk), where some of her informants note that workplace discussions on gender equality are considered sensitive or even taboo (Rasmussen 2022). The point of gender-related issues being taboo is also addressed on several occasions by the head of the Gender Equality Council in Greenland, for instance at the March 8 event in 2021.

## The notion of "genderlessness"

One possible explanation of gender imbalance could be that if a society considers itself fully equal, the issue need not be addressed as problematic (Utoft 2020). However, in light of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG), several Greenlandic companies and the Government of Greenland are in fact addressing the issue of gender equality as a measurement of how well developed a society is, just as March 8 is celebrated/marked every year. Another explanation could be a non-binary way of looking at gender in a Greenlandic context. In the Pan-Arctic Report (2021), the notion of genderlessness is noted through the following reflections:
"Colonial patriarchy and Christian understandings of appropriate gender practices were promoted as part of colonialization. These were in contrast to traditional gender practices in Greenland, which were grounded in a different gender ideology

[^5]characterized by a degree of genderlessness (Arnfred og Pedersen 2015)." "In the life-worlds of Inuit, one was not so much defined by gender, but rather through equalness and worthiness as a being (Arnfred \& Pedersen, 2015).
Consequently, gender was less rigid and binary, and fluid forms of gender were accepted (Williamson, 2006). Subsequently, a Westernized gender ideology has emerged, and one of the key issues dominating discourses on gender equality in modern Greenland is that of gender-based violence". ${ }^{16}$

The notion of genderlessness is highlighted by Inuit Scholar Karla Jessen Williamson in her work (Williamson 2011) as an Inuit egalitarian principle in contrast to Western perceptions of gender relations, which assume the inequality of men and women. And further developed by Arnfred \& Pedersen in 2015 as a concept the refers to the absence of male/female hierarchy referring to Inuit epistemology (Arnfred og Pedersen 2015). In a presentation of the report Gender in the Arctic, Jessen Williams explained being exposed to the binary system via colonial influence-where men seem to be superior to women. However, she had learned from early childhood through oral storytelling that men and women were equal.

Through her empirical work, she has explored how gender equality is expressed in a postcolonial setting, and how Inuit expressed their actions and thoughts on gender equality through anthropological studies in Inherit My Heaven: Kalaallit Gender Relations (Williamson 2011). Williamson argues for negotiations between the binary system thinking with the oral traditions and ideas on practicing gender equality across gender. It is out of the scope of this report to discuss the notion of genderlessness; however, it does offer a noteworthy perspective on gender perceptions that should be explored further.

## Political life

One way of looking at gender gaps-inspired by the World Economic Forum-is to look at the rate of political empowerment in a society. The Global Gender Gap Index measures the number of women in parliament, women in ministerial positions, and years with female/male heads of state ${ }^{17}$.

In $2019,22 \%$ of members of government were women, in parliament the number was slightly higher at $39 \%$, and in the municipal councils it was $34 \%{ }^{18}$. Compared to earlier years, the composition of the current government (2021), parliament, and mayors reflects a greater gender balance. Out of 10 ministerial positions, 6 are currently filled by men and 4 by women. This may seem like an expression of imparity, but compared to the past and former governments the number is growing. Perhaps it can be seen as an indicator of change? In connection to the presentation of the newly formed government, the head of the small coalition party Naleraq stated they had brought in a woman for the ministerial position, as the elected members in their group were exclusively men. In other words, the wish for gender balance was on the agenda, and mentioned explicitly ${ }^{19}$.

As for the number of women in parliament, of the 31 MP 's, 18 are men and 13 are women. The Nordic Council of Ministers published the report "Nordic Gender Equality in Figures 2021", where gender balance amongst candidates elected to national parliaments is compared

[^6]across the Nordics. As seen in the figure below, Greenland has a high level of gender balance when looking at parliament seats.


Gender balance among candidates elected to national parliaments The figure is from Nordic Council of Ministers 2021 "Nordic Gender Equality in Figures 2021 " page 36

At a municipal level, three of five mayors in the five Greenlandic municipalities are female; however, when looking at the municipal councils the numbers leave room for improvement. A quick count shows that there are 49 male members of councils (including mayors), whilst there are only 29 women.

During the Greenlandic self-government rule (since 2009) and home rule government since 1979, only one woman has held the position of head of state.

These numbers indicate the need for a greater focus on political participation and empowerment, as also noted in the SDG report from the Government of Greenland, which states the need for a critical view on how possibilities for equal participation are ensured.

## Research on gender and the media

Gender representation and the presence of women in the media is still a somewhat unexplored field in Greenland. In 2018, the University of Greenland conducted a pilot study on news content and concluded that $34 \%$ of the sources in a full week of news coverage in the national media were women. In the category "business person", only $19 \%$ were women (Ravn-Højgaard m.fl. 2018), which is in alignment with the conclusions from the abovementioned report, which stated that women are underrepresented in private organizations and companies as well as boards (IKINN 2011). Since then, more women have taken on leading roles on boards, and it could be interesting to do a long-term study of the gender ratio in order to see whether the tendency is long-lasting or merely an expression of random variation over the years.

## Media monitoring and rationale for sampling

We have included all news outlets. There are only two weekly newspapers in Greenland: $A G$ is published every Wednesday and Sermitsiaq every Friday. On September 29-which was a Tuesday-we included the latest edition of each newspaper, since these are the papers that
were available to the public to read on that day, even if they were published a few days earlier. To not include the newspapers would distort the view of the Greenlandic news media, since the newspapers are often better researched and more in depth than, for instance, online news or radio/TV.

Each of these media airs on three platforms:

## Sermitsiaq.ag publishes ${ }^{20}$ :

1. Weekly bilingual print newspaper AG on Wednesdays
2. Weekly bilingual print newspaper Sermitsiaq on Fridays
3. Joint online news site www.sermitsiaq.ag with approximately $10-12$ news items a day written by a separate online news team

## Kalaallit Nunaata Radioa (KNR) publishes ${ }^{\mathbf{2 1}}$ :

1. Online news site www.knr.gl with approximately $10-12$ news items a day
2. TV broadcast news Qanorooq broadcasted at $7 \mathrm{p} . \mathrm{m}$. on weekdays ${ }^{22}$
3. Radio news KNR at 7 a.m., 8 a.m., 9 a.m., 12 noon, 2 p.m., 4 p.m., and 6 p.m. ${ }^{23}$

Since Greenland is part of the Kingdom of Denmark, the Danish (colonial) language has traditionally played a big part, and still today all the news media are bilingual in order to cater to the small Danish-speaking part of the population of approx. 15\% (Frederiksen og Olsen 2017). This means that all the news stories online, on the radio news broadcasts, and in newspapers all appear twice (on television Danish subtitles). We have decided not to code the same story twice, as this would distort the results-we have instead added all sources and bylines. This means that sometimes there are two anchors or two reporters provided for a story, because one has reported the story in Greenlandic and the other in Danish.

Due to the small number of news items ( 101 stories) and 137 sources, the sample size does not allow for an extensive analysis and exploration of general patterns. Hence, only the larger selected topics/categories are used as analytical points in the report, and when possible, the numbers are put in a Nordic, European, or global context.

## The 101 news items were:

$\square 44$ from print (Sermitsiaq and Atuagagdliutit)

- 26 from radio news (KNR)
$\square 7$ from television (evening broadcast of Qanorooq)
- 24 from websites (sermitsiaq.ag and knr.gl)

[^7]
## Monitoring team

The Greenlandic team were all from Ilisimatusarfik (University of Greenland). The country coordinator and author of the report is Naimah Hussain, assistant professor at the Department of Journalism. However, the entire department have been involved in collecting data for the GMMP project. This includes head of department Naja Paulsen, lecturer Mariia Simonsen, research assistant Paarnaq Hansen and assistant professor and PhD student Signe RavnHøjgaard.

## TOPICS IN THE NEWS

Moving towards some results from the study, we will look at the topics on the news on monitoring day.

Of the eight selected categories, "Politics and Government" as well as "Economy" are unsurprisingly the main issues covered by the daily news in Greenland.


As seen above, the category "Science and Health" is also covered quite intensely, since from a total of 101 monitored news items 34 of them are related to COVID-19. The COVID-19 coverage is shortly touched upon in the special section at the end of this report.

The two Gender \& Related ${ }^{24}$ news from the monitoring day are both from AG’s coverage of sexual harassment against female interns with the titles:

- Praktikanter ofre for sexchikane (Interns Victims of Sexual Harassment)
- Sexchikane i fokus (Sexual Harassment in Focus)

In these stories, the directors of both media houses were interviewed. However, they stated not having knowledge of any incidents at their workplaces, but they also pledged to look into the matter. Other large companies were also interviewed about sexual harassment at their places of work. Generally, the media house sermitsiaq.ag has had coverage of cases regarding \#MeToo both in $A G$ and on its website during the past year or so. Sexual harassment and gender-based threats are growing concerns for female journalists across the world (DjerfPierre og Edström 2020) - and also amongst Greenlandic journalists, as covered by these news articles. ${ }^{25}$

[^8]
## Topics in other parts of the world

When looking at topics covered in comparison to the Nordic, European, and global figures, the pattern is quite similar, since the categories "Politics and Government", "Economy", "Science and Health", and "Social and Legal" are high throughout.

However, that is in part an indicator for the coding scheme, since the instructions were to look only at news and not, for instance, magazines, columns, etc., which would likely cover more issues within human interest, culture, sports, etc.

It would not make much sense to include the numbers for female sources in the news divided into topics, because the N numbers are too low. However, there could be a cautious tendency towards more male sources in the category "Politics and Government" ( $66 \%$ men, $34 \%$ women). This could seem to be equivalent to the male-female ratio of individuals involved in politics, and also in alignment with earlier research on news content showing a male overrepresentation in so-called "hard" news which are also perceived as news with more status (Andreassen m.fl. 2019; GMMP 2015; Jørndrup og Bentsen 2015; Melin 2008). And a general understanding of journalism being characterized as a "masculine" profession (Bentsen 2019; Jørndrup og Bentsen 2015; Kramhøft 2003; Melin 2008).
In contrast to the above mentioned, other topics are more balanced, for instance "Science and Health" ( $57 \%$ men, $43 \%$ women).

## NEWS SUBJECTS AND SOURCES

## Overall presence of female voices in the news

Overall, the gender ratio of news sources is quite balanced, with $41 \%$ female sources in the Greenlandic news on the monitoring day. However, the reader should keep in mind that this number expresses the balance calculated from a total of 101 news items with a sum of 137 sources. In comparison to global numbers $41 \%$ is fairly high.


The percentage of news sources in press, radio and television based on 116 countries. Source: whomakesthenews.org

One could argue that the ideal number would be 50-50 in order to achieve total gender parity, and this can in part be explained in the shifts in numbers of, for instance, active politicians, leaders of different organizations, central actors in civil society, etc., who tend to vary over time. We also have to keep in mind that we only have numbers from a single news day-in comparison the study of news content from a week in 2018 showed 34\% female sources (Ravn-Højgaard et al. 2018). It is not feasible to study conclusions made on such a small data set and it is beyond the scope of this report format to look at the reasoning behind the numbers. However, further studies into why Greenland's numbers are seemingly higher than those of for instance the other Nordic countries would be interesting.

When looking at the Nordic countries, Greenland has the highest ratio of female sources:


We are lacking numbers from Greenland from earlier years as Greenland is participating for the first time. Source: whomakesthenews.org

Another factor to consider when looking at the general presence of sources is the GEM index introduced by Djerf-Pierre and Edström (2020) in their open-access book Comparing gender and media equality across the globe. The rationale behind the GEM index is to provide an index for comparative purposes based on statistical data.


Nordic countries based on the GEM-index 2020
Zero (0) equals full gender parity across all six indicators (People in the news, Reporters, News subjects or sources in economy \& business, News subjects or sources in politics \& government, Spokespersons, Experts) according to the GEM index measuring guide based on the coding scheme from GMMP (see Djerf-Pierre \& Edström 2020: 92-96 for more).

With this calculation, Greenland scores -15. In comparison to the other Nordic countries, things are looking more balanced in Greenland.

## Does this mean Greenland has no representation problems?

Even though there is an overall balanced gender representation in terms of number of sources and people in the news, together with Greenland's position on the GEM index, there are some points to be noted. The GMMP monitoring guide does not take all sections of the news media into account. A glance at female and male voices in, for instance, columns, letters from readers, commentaries, features etc. could give more insights. When looking at the two newspapers from the monitoring day, the male-female ratio on the comments/debate pages is in favor of men ( 13 men and only 3 women contributed).

This is not necessarily an indicator of editorial prioritization but rather an insight into who tends to be more active in the public debate. This topic could be studied by either a more extensive monitoring of these sections or by using a qualitative approach in order to shed light on whether it is certain characteristics or practices amongst the editorial staff or in civil society in general that appear to overlook female voices. Could it perhaps be an expression of a notion of "holding back" or restraint amongst the women in particular? Or an indicator that many central roles in civil society are filled by men, such as the head of the labor organization, the very active business association, financial council, heads of political parties, etc. Since these topics (politics \& government, economy \& business) usually have higher priority in the news media, it could be interesting to look at the correlation between topics and sources accessible to the journalists as well as topics typically suitable for these sections in the papers.

The women who do appear on the debate sections are typically, for instance, heads of NGOs for children, disabilities, etc. Female members of parliament, especially during active political periods, are also quite active in sending in comments, etc.

When looking at $A G$, it has a greater focus on human interest stories and culture in general. This can also be detected in the use of voices, such as the weekly comment ISUMAGA on page 8 which is by the female head of an art museum, and this section of the newspaper is rotated between four people from civil society: the aforementioned museum leader, a female actress, a male ex-politician, and a male former head of the largest interest group of fishermen and hunters in Greenland (KNAPK). Hence, a 50-50 ratio in the section chosen actively by the editorial team. However, other inputs/comments are also for the most part by men.
This could call for reflection, both from the media institutions as well as from female actors in society, to use these channels for influence and partake in the debate facilitated in the news media.

## Sources by function in the news

The global GMMP numbers indicate that some categories have a more even balance than others. For instance, as seen in earlier studies, women tend to be used more often as eye witnesses or cases sharing personal experiences, whilst men are overrepresented as experts, spokespersons, etc. (GMMP 2015).
Keeping in mind, that the chart is only indicative of one day's monitoring, it seems that women in the Greenlandic news are dominantly used as spokespersons. This category is also the main source function used in the news in Greenland as seen in a previous study (RavnHøjgaard et al 2018), and this could perhaps be a possible explanation as to why more women appear as sources in the Greenlandic news compared to other countries.


News subject's Function in news story in Greenland GMMP 2020. Source: whomakesthenews.org
The number of experts on monitoring day are too low - which goes for both female and male sources - to speak of percentages, but when looking at the European numbers, the pattern is the same as earlier years. Women tend to be more present with personal experiences, as eye witnesses or in popular opinion pieces, than as for instance experts or commentators.


The numbers are from all European participants of the GMMP 2020. Source: whomakesthenews.org

Niemi and Pietkänen (2017) have looked at gendered use of experts in the media, and specifically at the gender gap in Finnish news journalism (Niemi og Pitkänen 2017). In their study, which is in alignment with other studies conducted in Western democracies, it is concluded that men continue to be overrepresented as experts in the media. And even though Finland is usually seen as a female-friendly and gender-balanced country, the study shows that female expert sources make up less than $30 \%$ of those represented. In the above figure with the European numbers from GMMP 2020, only $24 \%$ of experts and commentators are female.
For Greenland's closest neighbors-in terms of comparison-the number is $25 \%$ in Denmark and $18 \%$ in Iceland.

This is sometimes explained by media institutions as a reluctance amongst female sources, or even the lack of female experts in general (Andreassen m.fl. 2019; Jørndrup og Bentsen 2015). In Greenland, however, as demonstrated above, the female education level in Greenland is high, but generally the use of expert sources is quite low. Data on for instance gender balance in leadership roles, boards and among employers is lacking for Greenland. Whether the higher rates of education will be reflected in the news content in the future requires a more longitudinal study than the current numbers from the GMMP data on Greenland allow.

## JOURNALISTS AND REPORTERS

Similar to some other countries, women are moving into the journalism profession, and even outnumbering men as reporters in some areas (Djerf-Pierre \& Edström 2020: 14). The same pattern is seen amongst journalism students and graduates at Ilisimatusarfik.

Generally, a balanced gender ratio is detected amongst journalists and reporters in the sample
from Greenland, since the ratio is 36 bylines with female reporters and 42 bylines with male reporters across print, radio, TV, and online news on the monitoring day. There was only one TV broadcast that day, thus the one female presenter would amount to a figure of $100 \%$ of presenters being female. Likewise, if the anchors on radio news that particular day were primarily male, as was the case for KNR radio news, the number would indicate a large male overrepresentation. The numbers are simply too small to calculate percentages for analytical purposes.

## The higher the management level, the more men

Looking more broadly at the gender ratio of women/men working in the monitored media, there are approximately the same number of male and female journalists at KNR, but top management is predominantly male. Whilst both the CEO and news director are male ${ }^{26}$, other management roles closer to the editorial staff are more balanced. For instance, the current TV news editor, the head of radio, and web editor at KNR are all female. The same goes for sermitsiaq.ag; generally, there are more women amongst the editorial staff, but the management/governance-level positions are typically filled by men, the web editor being the exception. Both the CEO and the editors at Sermitsiaq and $A G$ are male, which looks very similar to other countries (Djerf-Pierre \& Edström 2020: 14).

The Finnish GMMP team has collected data on management positions from the Nordic countries and compiled the following figure:

# Nordic distribution of gender in top management positions during GMMP 2020 



The chart is created by Sandra Broborn from the Finnish GMMP-team

[^9]As seen in the chart, on the monitoring day Greenland had zero female CEOs or editors in chief/publishers. However, the figure only includes CEOs and editors in chief, and no other managing editorial staff. In recent years, more women have been hired in middlemanagement positions, just as the interim head of news at KNR as of 2021 is female. This does not necessarily reflect an active action towards gender equality, but generally it calls for hesitance in concluding too rigorously on these numbers, since they are snapshots, and more in-depth analysis is required to shed light on possible patterns over time. However, generally an overview of the last 10-15 years shows, that most management positions in Greenlandic Media have been held by men with a few exceptions. Byerly and McGraw show through their research on women's status and advancement towards management level and governance roles, that more women in the news industry is associated with more women in the news (Byerly og McGraw 2020).

Another indicator relevant to look at is board members. The board of KNR consists of five members, of these the chair and one member is politically appointed by the Government of Greenland, three other members are appointed in consultation with the University of Greenland, the arts organization of Greenland, and, lastly, one member is appointed from the staff. As of May 2021, the chairperson is female (2019-2022) -in the previous period (until 2019), the chairperson was male. The rest of the board has a gender balance.

At the media house sermitsiaq.ag, the chairman of the board is Jens Bruun, who has held the position since 2019, when Jørgen Ejbøl stepped down after he had held the position for many years. The rest of the board reflects a gender balance, with two female and two male members.

The previously mentioned Pan-Arctic report on gender equality in the Arctic from 2021 mentions media in the arctic as one of several focal areas for future work on gender equality, and suggests an examination into whether more leadership positions could be filled by women in order to diversify and promote more gender aware recruitment practices or even gender quota in the media.
"Strengthening and visualizing ideas on gender diversity in leadership positions in politics, public administration, economics, and civil society may gradually contribute to creating or strengthening new social, political, and cultural norms and expectations". ${ }^{27}$

This is a general suggestion for the Arctic as such, and not Greenland specifically. Earlier research in media shows that there is indeed a focus on diversifying recruitment practices in the public service media in Greenland, however, it is connected specifically to local recruitment (as opposed to recruitment from Denmark) rather than specific gender-based awareness (Hussain 2018).

## Are female reporters more gender aware/attentive when choosing sources?

Earlier international research shows that both male and female journalists generally tend to use male sources (Andreassen m.fl. 2019; GMMP 2015; Jørndrup og Bentsen 2015) as is the case in Greenland. Even though the N numbers are low, there seems to be a slight tendency towards more gender awareness amongst the female reporters in Greenland, as seen in the table below.

[^10]| Sex of reporter | Female source | Male Source |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Female | $47 \%$ | $53 \%$ |
| Male | $32 \%$ | $68 \%$ |
| Other / Don't know | $0 \%$ | $0 \%$ |

The table indicates that female reporters have a 47-53 ratio of female and male sources, whilst male reporters use male sources in $68 \%$ of the cases and female sources in only $32 \%$ of cases.

Though the total numbers (137 sources) are low, and one day of monitoring is merely a snapshot, it could be an interesting point of departure to ask: Are female reporters more gender aware? As seen in research/newsroom studies, this can be an indicator of habitual thinking when choosing sources, as well as routines in the newsroom such as using the same sources again and again (Willig 2011) - which are historically men (in positions of power) (GMMP 2015). Other explanations could be the lack of diversity amongst possible sources in the topics covered mostly in the news (e.g., politics and government, the economy and business) or a difference in the topics that male and female reporters tend to cover. However, the Greenlandic numbers for this are not sufficient to conclude on; it would require further qualitative studies, for instance interviews and ethnographic newsroom studies.

## FOCUS ON COVID-19 NEWS

As mentioned above, the news in Greenland on September 29 was-similar to the global media coverage-also affected by COVID-19 news, even though Greenland has had very few incidents.

For instance, 6 out of a total of 12 stories on the website sermitsiaq.ag that day were related to COVID-19. And 4 out of 11 stories on www.knr.gl were also on COVID-19.

The Danish healthcare situation is closely followed by the Greenlandic public, since many have family members residing in Denmark. Many Greenlanders - presently an estimated 14.000 - live in Denmark, typically due to education, work opportunities, health care or to be closer to family members ${ }^{28}$. In addition, the close (historical and current) cooperation and collaboration with Denmark as well as a colonial relation has traditionally meant that news from Denmark are favored by the Greenlandic media (Hussain 2018).

The Nordic Council and Nordicom have looked at the effects of COVID-19 on Nordic media, and the general conclusion on Greenland is that even though there were some effects (e.g., on the advertising market and that the printing of the newspapers had to be alternated due to a temporary shutdown of air traffic between Greenland and Denmark) the Greenlandic news media were not heavily affected by the pandemic during $2020^{29}$. Nonetheless, it is as yet unclear what the situation in 2021 and long-term effects may be.

[^11]
## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Greenland has a small media system with few news media and the monitoring day sample consist of 101 news items with a total of 137 sources. When looking at the results from the GMMP 2020, Greenland has a relatively high number of female sources compared to other countries with a total of $41 \%$ female sources. The GEM-index also places Greenland higher than the other Nordic countries. Female sources are mainly used as spokespersons, and not a lot of women appear in the other sections in the media, such as reader letters, commentaries etc.
The topics mostly covered in the news on September 29 were "Health \& Science", "Politics \& Government" and "Economics".
There was an almost equal amount of male and female reporters. Management level is mostly male, whilst middle management positions are more balanced. There is a cautious tendency towards female journalists seemingly being more gender-aware than their male colleagues. Even though it is difficult to draw patterns on such a small dataset, a general view of the Greenlandic media does not point at an active stance towards for instance affirmative action or the likes, even though the numbers of for instance female sources are higher than the other Nordic countries. The news media tend to focus on general news routines such as meeting deadlines, verifying stories etc. rather than focusing on the gender of the sources used in the stories. The selection of sources seems to have more focus on what language the source speaks (See Hussain 2018 for more) rather than of representation in regards to gender.

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## RECOMMENDATIONS AND ACTION PLAN 2021-2025

For suggestions of actions in terms of improving gender inclusion in the news, please see the global report of GMMP 2020 on whomakesthenews.org.

In terms of future research, it could be interesting to expand the number of monitored items in order to have more data for in-depth analysis as well as for the purpose of looking for more tangible and solid patterns.

It could also be interesting to engage further with some of the questions raised in the background section of this report. For instance, the notion of genderlessness as opposed to a binary gender perception (see Jessen Williams for more information) in the specific postcolonial setting of Greenland.

In terms of news media, it could be relevant to take a more qualitative approach and do interviews and/or newsroom studies in order to look further into the newsroom practices, inspired by, for instance, Margareta Melin's Gendered Journalism Cultures from the UK and Sweden or Martine Bentsen in Denmark. Doing ethnographic field work amongst reporters and editors to specifically look at (possible) gendered practices in the day-to-day news work could shed light on some of the why's and how's rather than the what's. For instance, how (if at all) gender equality and representation is discussed in the newsrooms in Greenland.

During ethnographic work for my PhD dissertation amongst the reporters and editors I interviewed in 2015-2017, there was not any particular focus on gender equality. However, it was not a focal point from my research questions at that point, and so by posing the questions one could imagine a more reflexive standpoint on these matters-although a cautious takeaway from my earlier work is that due to the general perception of gender equality not being a problem in Greenland this was not on the radar for any of the reporters or editors interviewed. Rather, inequalities in terms of language and bilingual practices, urban-rural structures, financial equality, etc. were focused upon.

Another point of departure could be to have a critical look at the curriculum in the journalism studies section at the University of Greenland in order to include more reflection on topics such as the representation of gender, ethnicity, disability, LGBTQIA+ awareness and other related areas.

## Annex 1. Methodology

A key characteristic of longitudinal research is the assessment of change over time on the observed indicators. In the case of the 2020 Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP), the methodology, indicators, approach to data collection and analysis are consistent with past editions of the research in order to allow for the usual historical comparisons.

## Process

The global monitoring day scheduled initially for the first quarter of 2020 was postponed to later in the year due to the upheavals caused by the first coronavirus (Covid-19) wave worldwide. As the April monitoring day approached, it became quickly clear that proceeding as planned would result in a news sample that would be almost entirely focused on coronavirus stories. A new need emerged to address the practicalities of monitoring during the lockdowns and curfews imposed to contain the spread of the virus, as the regular sit-down communal coding sessions were now out of the question for most teams. The risks to health and livelihoods, the need to find ways of coping with everyday life, would shift the GMMP down on the ladder of priorities for the volunteers, potentially increasing the drop-out rate. These new challenges called for a pause on the plans to search for solutions and put in place the tools and resources necessary before monitoring could proceed.

The GMMP technical advisory group and the database development team Code for Africa worked to systematically address the issues. A new monitoring date was set for September, the coding tools were tweaked to capture Covid-19 stories without compromising on the ability to compare results across time based on story topics, exhaustive audio-visual training resources on how to code in a pandemic were put in place, electronic coding instruments were developed and the teams were retrained in numerous webinars.

As with previous waves of the GMMP, the initial data capture was conducted offline by volunteer teams across the 116 participating countries. For the 2020 GMMP, a spreadsheet version of the coding sheets was provided, to allow for electronic recording of the observations.

In the period leading up to the monitoring day, a series of regional and national training sessions were organised to build a uniform understanding of the teams on the methodology and approach to coding. The teams received training on media selection, newscast and article selection, and the number of media to code.

For the 2020 GMMP, teams could choose from two possible options for the monitoring:

- Full monitoring, whose results provide a comprehensive picture of the status of gender equality dimensions in news media.
- Short monitoring, a shorter version which focuses on the key GMMP indicators, for teams who wished to participate but for various reasons could not implement the full monitoring.

To ensure accuracy in the coding process, radio and television bulletin were recorded, and copies of digital and print media items were collected. Across the different media types- both for the full and short monitoring-monitors captured information about the story, its main themes and the people in the story, as journalists, as story subjects and sources. Additionally, three optional special questions, unique to each country, allowed individual countries to analyse issues of national interest. For standardisation purposes, as well as the multilingual nature of this study, all responses were numerically coded from fixed lists.

To enable comparability of data gathered from a pandemic-heavy news agenda with the historical results, an additional question was included which asked whether the story was related to Covid-19. For such stories, monitors were requested to select the most relevant secondary topic. While global news stories had diversified to pre-pandemic levels by the global monitoring day in September 2020, the regional analysis demonstrated the significance of this question, particularly for North America and the Middle East, which recorded $37 \%$ and $36 \%$ of Covid-19-related stories respectively.

## Media bands

The media bands system was introduced in 2005 to ensure a more even spread of data and also serve as each country's reference point on the minimum number of media to monitor. This system was retained for the 2020 GMMP and was updated with the input of the country coordinators.

## Weighting

While the GMMP seeks to understand how gender is represented in media across the world, differences in media access and impact across the participating countries mean that a simple aggregation of the data would lead to biased results. For example, if a country like France submitted data from 100 media, the entries from a smaller country like Fiji would have little, if any, impact on the results. Additionally, while two countries may have similar numbers of newspapers, their impact, in terms of the number of people who read them, may be significantly different. To address these challenges, GMMP 2020 updated, re-tested and applied the weighting system first developed for the 2005 edition.

## Accuracy

The GMMP involved several thousand people across 116 countries from diverse gender and media stakeholder groups, with different research abilities and working in a wide range of languages. For a study of this scale, it was crucial that accuracy was considered at each stage, to maintain the high levels achieved in previous years. Data entry and processing errors can have severe biasing effects on the data analysis, resulting in misrepresentation of the observed variables. To minimise this risk, we leveraged on a variety of automated processes, as well as the extensive media monitoring experience of the country coordinators.

## Limitations

As with any study, great effort was made to ensure accuracy of the data. As observed in previous GMMPs, an exact error of measurement cannot be determined due to the study's magnitude. Conventional error measurement would involve different researchers coding the same story and then calculating a level of error from the differences between the results. Although this was not possible for GMMP, we followed best practice to make sure that there were minimal errors in the data capture and analysis generation process.

## About Code for Africa

Code for Africa (CfA) is the continent's largest network of indigenous African civic technology and investigative data journalism laboratories, with over 70 staff in 19 countries, who build digital democracy solutions that are intended to give citizens unfettered access to actionable information that empowers them to make informed decisions and that strengthen civic engagement for improved public governance and accountability.

## Annex 2. List of Monitors

| Media | Coded by | Verified by |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Online news (knr.gl and <br> Sermitsiaq.ag) | Naimah Hussain | Paarnaq Hansen |
| Qanorooq tv news | Mariia Simonsen | Paarnaq Hansen |
| Radio news KNR | Mariia Simonsen | Paarnaq Hansen |
| Sermitsiaq | Naja Paulsen | Paarnaq Hansen |
| AG | Paarnaq Hansen | Naimah Hussain |

All coding was verified by a different person, which means at least two people have gone through the data for each outlet.

## WACC

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[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ Global Media Monitoring Project, Women's participation in the news. National Watch on Images of Women in the Media (MediaWatch) Inc. 1995
    ${ }^{2}$ Gallagher, Margaret. Who makes the news? Global Media Monitoring Project, 2005. World Association for Christian Communication.

[^1]:    ${ }^{3}$ In Who makes the news? The Global Media Monitoring Project report, 2015

[^2]:    ${ }^{4}$ Covid-19 och de nordiska nyhetsmedierna 2021 http://norden.diva-portal.org/smash/record.jsf?pid=diva2\%3A1543808\&dswid=-7016
    ${ }^{5}$ The Danish situation is of special interest to the Greenlandic public, partly because of the colonial history between the two countries, and partly because of the intertwined media systems (Hussain 2018), but also due to the close collaboration between the Greenlandic and Danish healthcare systems.

[^3]:    ${ }^{6}$ As put by Tuchmann, symbolic annihilation is understood under a context where mass media ignore women or portray them in stereotypical roles thereby symbolically annihilating them.
    7 Inatsisartutlov nr. 3 af 29. november 2013 om ligestilling af mænd og kvinder.
    ${ }^{8}$ CEDAW "Concluding observations on the ninth periodic report of Denmark", March 2021.

[^4]:    ${ }^{9}$ Institut for Menneskerettigheder og Grønlands Råd for Menneskerettigheder "Ligebehandling i Grønland 2019"
    ${ }^{10}$ The Danish Institute for Human Rights/Human Rights Council Greenland, 2021, Asii Chemnitz Narup "Fælles indsats for viden om køn og erhverv er nødvendig" 8.3.2021 https://sermitsiaq.ag/node/227803
    ${ }^{11}$ Pan-Arctic Report, Gender Equality in the Arctic, Phase 3. Published by Iceland's Arctic Council Chairmanship and the Arctic Council Sustainable Development Working Group, with the Icelandic Arctic Cooperation Network, the Icelandic Directorate for Equality, and the Stefansson Arctic Institute. April 2021.
    ${ }^{12}$ Pan-Arctic Report, Gender Equality in the Arctic 2021: 178
    ${ }^{13}$ Pan-Arctic Report, Gender Equality in the Arctic 2021: 179

[^5]:    ${ }^{14}$ Naalakkersuisut Kortlægning af verdensmålene for bæredygtig udvikling 2021.
    ${ }^{15}$ Nordic Council of Ministers 2021 "Nordic Gender Equality in Figures 2021": 30

[^6]:    ${ }^{16}$ Pan-Arctic Report, Gender Equality in the Arctic 2021: 178
    ${ }^{17}$ The index also includes a number of other parameters, such as labour force participation and leadership, health, family care, education, income, etc.
    ${ }^{18}$ Naalakkersuisut Kortlægning af verdensmålene for bæredygtig udvikling 2021.
    ${ }^{19}$ knr.gl 20.4.21: "Hans Enoksen: Vi vil sikre, at flere kvinder får indflydelse".

[^7]:    ${ }^{20}$ Sermitsiaq.ag also publishes some other magazines/a local Nuuk paper, which are not included, as GMMP focuses on national news.
    ${ }^{21} \mathrm{KNR}$ has a multitude of other content as well, though this is not included here, since the news desk covers only the mentioned platforms.
    ${ }^{22}$ Later the same evening with Danish subtitles and in the weekend a wrap up of the week is broadcasted.
    ${ }^{23}$ Each hour has two separate broadcasts, first in Greenlandic and afterwards in Danish. The broadcasts are usually exactly the same; however, sometimes the Greenlandic versions are longer (due to grammar/linguistic reasons), hence the Danish version has a few minutes extra to fill. This is usually used on wire/news agency stories from abroad. On the monitoring day, we coded for all appearing stories, but not twice for the same story (in Danish and Greenlandic), as this would distort the numbers of sources, topics, etc. as mentioned elsewhere.

[^8]:    ${ }^{24}$ In the GMMP methodology the category "gender \& related" is defined as "sexual harassment against women, rape, sexual assault, \#MeToo, \#TimesUp, Other gender violence such as feminicide, trafficking of girls and women, FGM" and "Inequality between women and men such as income inequality/gender pay gap"
    ${ }^{25}$ This was also a concern amongst the reporters and editors I interviewed for my PhD thesis from 2018 amongst Greenlandic journalists (Hussain 2018).

[^9]:    ${ }^{26}$ On the monitoring day. A few days prior to the deadline of this report, one of the editors left their job, and the person temporarily filling the position is female. This highlights why small datasets only provide a snapshot and are difficult to make conclusions on.

[^10]:    ${ }^{27}$ Pan-Arctic Report, Gender Equality in the Arctic 2021: 20

[^11]:    ${ }^{28}$ Pan-Arctic Report, Gender Equality in the Arctic 2021: 178
    29 Nordicom Covid-19 och de nordiska nyhetsmedierna 2021

