THE JOURNEY TO GENDER EQUALITY

Mapping the Implementation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action

Edited by Uzma Rashid

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"This publication led by the University for Peace in collaboration with Global Women Leaders, Voices for Change and Inclusion constitutes an important and innovative contribution to the Generation Equality Initiative. The promotion of gender inclusion and the empowerment of women and girls has been a priority for Costa Rica. We are committed to promoting that women and girls, in their diversity, can exercise leadership as agents of change in their communities with a view to achieving the 2030 Agenda and the Paris Agreement."

H.E. Carlos Alvarado Quesada, President of the Republic of Costa Rica

"An outstanding contribution by the University for Peace and GWL, Voices for Change and Inclusion to incorporate new and emerging voices that can generate the change needed to achieve gender equality in different countries around the world."

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"An excellent contribution that provides a global overview of gender inequalities and seeks new answers."

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About the Editor

Uzma Rashid currently serves as Associate Professor, Department of Peace and Conflict Studies, and Academic Coordinator for the Gender and Peacebuilding program at the University for Peace, Costa Rica. Prior to joining UPeace, she worked as Chair at the Department of Sociology, and Associate Dean for Research of the School of Social Sciences and Humanities at the University of Management and Technology, Lahore, Pakistan. Rashid has done her PhD as a Fulbright scholar from the interdisciplinary Language, Literacy, and Culture program at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County, USA, where her research explored the gendered religious identities of American Muslim women. She has extensive teaching, training, and research experience in a variety of contexts. Her academic work and research interests have consistently been interdisciplinary in nature, with the aim of working towards equity and justice by furthering an understanding of power relations in the intersections of gender, sexuality, religion, race, ethnicity, caste, ability, and class at the multiple levels on which they operate. She is also a certified trainer for conducting empowerment self-defense trainings with a holistic view of tackling violence, especially sexual and gender-based violence.

Preface

Achieving a comprehensive view of the situation of women at the global level is a complex task. The United Nations has made great efforts over the decades; from the creation of UN Women to formulating guidelines and setting standards for countries to improve the lives of women the world over. With this book, *The Journey to Gender Equality: Mapping the Implementation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action*, the University for Peace – established by the United Nations in 1980, seeks to share a current global overview of the situation of women in various regions and societies of the world.

The progress and challenges that are being presented through the cases in this book reflect the work that has been done following the invaluable contributions of organizations worldwide to mobilize the international community for forming consensus over key guiding principles with the goals of gender equality. One of these key milestones was the The Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995. From it emerged a platform and a call to states and the international community to address the obstacles to gender equality. This was expressed in 12 specific areas aimed at overcoming the barriers and promoting the conditions for women's empowerment, in order to mitigate and remove the massive inequalities generated over centuries of human history. These areas include economic and social aspects; education and training; issues of violence; health, including reproductive health; the inclusion of women in decision-making processes and political representation at all levels; full respect for all of women's human rights; special care for girls; and women within the areas of environment and the media. Many of the goals set 25 years ago required great efforts on the part of the different actors to achieve the objectives set out therein.

Another significant moment was Security Council Resolution 1325 in October 2000 concerning women, peace and security. It highlighted the needs of women and girls in post-conflict situations and related processes, such as repatriation, reintegration and reconstruction. In addition, through this resolution, the Security Council called for and stressed the need for women to participate effectively in peace negotiations, to ensure stability and to make progress in post-conflict situations. The Security Council stressed the need to prevent violence against women in armed conflicts. Armed conflicts in various regions show that rape and abuse of women continue to be a weapon of war. International efforts in this area have so far failed to achieve the objectives of Security Council Resolution 1325 in most of the world's current conflicts.

Considering the need to constantly reflect on what specifically needs to be done in relation to the goals that have been outlined for gender equality, it is important to recognize the role that The Generation Equality Initiative (GEI) is playing in promoting an open global debate on the Beijing goals of a quarter of a century ago and give a new impetus to achieve gender equality and equity among men, women, and LGBTQI+ communities worldwide. The GEI highlights the obstacles, recognizes the difficulties, and emphasizes the importance of women's leadership, and how by being uplifted in all areas of life, they can make essential contributions to building a better world, with more equity, greater progress, greater harmony and peace.

The University for Peace is honored to be a partner in this ongoing effort. This book, *The Journey to Gender Equality: Mapping the Implementation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action*, coordinated by its Department of Peace and Conflict Studies and edited by Dr. Uzma Rashid, to whom I express my appreciation for this effort, highlights – through multiple original chapters – the current situation of women in various regions of the world. With a

transversal view of the situation of women, they highlight the growing need – even more so now in the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic – for equality, non-discrimination, security, equal rights and access, with a particular focus on women and girls. It provides an overview of two regions: Pan-Africa and Latin America, and delves into various national cases, including those of Afghanistan, Brazil, Canada, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ethiopia, India, Kenya, Pakistan, and Qatar.

The University for Peace is grateful to the Ibero-American General Secretariat (SEGIB) and Global Women Leaders – Voices for Change and Inclusion (GWLvoices) for supporting the publication of this book. It is also grateful for the contribution of all the authors who are scholars and practitioners from different parts of the world that made this publication possible. My congratulations to the Gender and Peacebuilding Programme at the University for Peace, and to its Department of Peace and Conflict Studies.

This book, *The Journey to Gender Equality: Mapping the Implementation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action* will be a contribution to the reflections that will take place at the Generation Equality Forum meeting in Paris and will be a resource to enrich more work in the future, with hopes that the understanding gained from this can help in the journey towards gender equality, for a better post-pandemic world.

Francisco Rojas Aravena

Rector, University for Peace

Chapter 6

Beyond Beijing: Using the News Media to Advance Women, Peace and Security in Qatar

Melissa Deehring; Maryruth Belsey Priebe

Introduction

The news media plays a powerful role in women's empowerment and advancement and in so doing has a significant impact on international security. Women's empowerment and leadership is an international security issue because, as the Women, Peace and Security Agenda (WPS) contends, women's full involvement in all peace and security decisions is essential to global stability and prosperity. News media is an influential tool for advancing WPS because strategically planned content can influence social values directly related to WPS such as encouraging female literacy and education, reducing gender bias, supporting women's leadership and political participation, and combatting gender-based violence. Conversely, news media that reflects accepted cultural norms, regardless of bias, or repressive or violent characterizations, reinforces and strengthens existing gender imbalances.

This paradoxical relationship between news media's influence and women's empowerment presents challenges for every society, but has been especially challenging for cultures in the Arabian Gulf as they balance modernization and the influx of liberal Western influences with longstanding conservative tribal traditions. The State of Qatar (Qatar), in particular, stands out due to its influential Al Jazeera Media Network (Al Jazeera), and official stance on advancing WPS and increasing women's participation in leadership, the economy, politics, and peacebuilding. While Qatar has positioned itself as a modern, educated and open society, there is a disconnect between policy and practice; we argue that the current Qatari media does not reflect WPS policies. This chapter will therefore explain how WPS connects with the news media, examine the status of WPS and media in Qatar, and make policy recommendations.

WPS and the News Media: Connected by Policy

The 1995 *Fourth World Conference on Women* in Beijing, China stands out as a memorable moment for documenting the connection between WPS and the media. During the conference, media was recognized as essential to the advancement of women's equality (Fröhlich, 2017, p. 22; United Nations, 1995) after then-first lady of the United States (U.S.), Hillary Rodham Clinton, declared, "women's rights are human rights" (Clinton, 1995). Additionally, a gender-balanced media that portrayed "women and men in a non-stereotypical, diverse and balanced manner" was touted as a powerful educational tool. Governments were encouraged to examine the impact of gendered stereotypes that foster inequality and gender-based violence and to take measures to eliminate those images (Fröhlich, 2017, p. 22; United Nations, 1995, pp. 13 & 27). The Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action (Beijing Declaration) exhorted governments to require media to take responsibility to promote non-stereotyped images, es-

tablish codes of conduct, and eliminate presentations that generate violence. Also, governments were asked to reinforce media's role in "informing and educating people about the causes and effects of violence against women and in stimulating public debate on the topic" (United Nations, 1995, pp. 53–54).

Since Beijing, research has shown the news media's powerful role in either reinforcing or challenging gender-based norms. The media's language and images are influential in identity development, determining societal roles, and interpreting and evaluating issues (T. Williams, 2000, p. 579). The media's content and language present pictures of societal roles and influence how people form opinions and behave. "Media does not tell people what to think, but it tells people what topics to think about, and how to think about them by focusing on some aspects and not others" (Geena Davis Institute on Gender in Media & Plan International, 2019, p. 10; Iyengar & Kinder, 1987). As the Beijing Declaration noted, "Print and electronic media in most countries do not provide a balanced picture of women's diverse lives and contributions to society…" (United Nations, 1995, p. 99). Media's gender stereotyping fails to portray women as independent, multi-talented individuals with the potential to contribute meaningfully and fully throughout society. Moreover, typically women are not portrayed as corporate, political, religious, or academic leaders. Worse, while many news stories present opportunities to focus on gender inequality, globally only 9% do so, while merely 4% challenge traditional gender stereotypes (UNESCO & Global Alliance on Media and Gender, 2018, p. 59; WhoMakesThe-News.org, n.d.). The core theoretical problem for WPS advocates is that when gender is ignored or imbalanced within the media, the public may not realize there is an issue.

A gender-balanced news media has the potential to advance WPS by raising women's issues in foreign policy circles (Fröhlich, 2017, p. 25; Robinson, 1999). The media is vital when setting political agendas and directing public interest to particular topics (Qatar, n.d., p. 321). The issues the public contemplates and talks about most often are those put forth by media outlets; people ignore what the media ignores (King et al., 2017). As scholars have noted, "It is not until the media begins reporting on a war that it becomes a topic of public discussion and, therefore, a relevant problem in communities not involved in the conflict" (Fröhlich, 2017, p. 25). Yet, the media largely ignores WPS issues. As an example, irregular or gray zone warfare disproportionately impacts women and children (Johnson-Freese, 2019, p. 13); but these stories rarely make headline news. Likewise, rape is widely used as a weapon, but is frequently absent from news coverage (Fröhlich, 2017, pp. 28–29, 32; Meyers, 1997). "When the media do pay attention, their accounts invariably evoke a mixture of terror and titillation and include nebulous exhortations for someone – the United Nations, countries, nongovernmental organizations, someone – to do something about these terrible crimes" (Hudson & Leidl, 2015, p. 5).

Complicating the situation, news media tends to portray men as active participants in war and conflict, and women as powerless, peace-loving victims, thereby engendering stereotypes WPS research refutes. This reality diminishes the potential for WPS principles to improve security planning. Studies have shown that merely one out of 10 news stories is primarily focused on women and that for almost two decades this proportion has remained constant (UNESCO & Global Alliance on Media and Gender, 2018, p. 59). Additionally, there are significantly fewer gender-sensitive studies of mass media's presentation of violence and security policy compared to studies done on such issues in other disciplines (Fröhlich, 2017, p. 26; Lindstad, 2017). News media must reveal how women are increasingly involved in conflicts and mobilize the public, politicians, and security professionals to address gendered security issues. Foreign policies and security planning are worse for lack of a gender lens, and a news media that fails to reflect WPS policies is partly to blame.

WPS and the News Media: Connected in Practice

A gender-imbalanced news media not only presents theoretical problems for WPS, but practical issues as well. Since 2005, the number of female newspaper, television, and radio reporters globally has held steady at 37% (Macharia, 2015, p. 48). Without equal numbers of female reporters, news media tends to filter out important human security stories and deemphasizes gendered aspects of others. "Female journalists and editors pursue, write about and publish gender-related stories more often than their male colleagues" (Johnson-Freese, 2019, p. 18; Kareithi, 2014; Ross, 2014). Yet, women reporters cover less than 40% of national and international news, 31% of political and government stories, and 39% of social, legal, and economic stories (Macharia, 2015, pp. 51–52). Unsurprisingly, only 3% of political, government and economic issues, and 4% of social and legal stories clearly challenge gender stereotypes (Macharia, 2015, pp. 76–77).

Women's unique insights during conflict are also lost without equal numbers of female war correspondents. Women journalists receive different conflict-related assignments, have different interactions with sources, and can diffuse tension and aggression better than their male colleagues, resulting in unique stories that otherwise would not be told (Awad, 2012; Barnett, 2018). Women cover conflict differently in part because of their continued exclusion from military and political forums during conflict, which forces women war reporters to seek out less elite sources and report "stories about people, not frontlines" while breaking from militaristic bias (Fröhlich, 2017, p. 29). Moreover, female conflict reporters are frequently accorded guest-like access to local populations due to their 'third gender' status; they are perceived as different from men and local women, which enables female reporters to write stories distinct from their male colleagues (Doucet, 2012; Fröhlich, 2017, p. 29). However, despite female war reporters' ability to "often accomplish the extraordinary in their work" (Fröhlich, 2017, p. 29), female correspondents are least likely to be assigned stories covering: war, civil war, terrorism, state-based violence, national defense, military spending, internal security, gender violence, femicide, female genital mutilation, harassment, sexual assault, trafficking, rape, domestic politics, and government (Macharia, 2015, pp. 56–58).

The unique security risks women media professionals face is another way news media and WPS intersect. When gender-sensitive media policies are nonexistent or go unimplemented, security risks increase for women journalists, thereby further impacting which stories are told and how. Threats against women in media have serious consequences; 37% of female journalists who were victims of online abuse stated they avoided reporting on certain stories and 29% indicated threats and attacks made them consider quitting the profession (Ferrier, 2018, p. 44). In a study of nearly 1,000 women in media, 65% had experienced acts of intimidation, threats, or abuse related to work ranging from verbal epithets to death threats (Barton & Storm, 2014). Another report found 26% of female respondents reported being physically attacked, 10% had experienced a death threat during the past year, 90% indicated online threats had increased during the past five years, and 82% said digital attacks, such as social media hacking or data theft were also on the rise (Ferrier, 2018, p. 26). Both freelancers and contract media workers reported gender as a significant contributing factor in online and offline attacks (Ferrier, 2018, p. 27; Høiby & Ottosen, 2019).

WPS concerns also arise when media's gender imbalance results in differing coverage of women in politics. The WPS framework emphasizes the benefits of women's political leadership, which has been linked to lower levels of corruption, higher levels of national economic importance, and renewed public trust in government (Hunt, 2007). Yet numerous studies show

worldwide, media worldwide, media reporting on female politicians is qualitatively and quantitatively different from that of their male peers (Anderson et al., 2011; Fridkin Kahn, 1996; Haraldsson & Wängnerud, 2019; Ibroscheva & Raicheva-Stover, 2009; Kahn, 1994; Lühiste & Banducci, 2016; Ross & Comrie, 2012; Wasburn & Wasburn, 2011). In Latin American countries, UN Women found that female political candidates received dramatically less media attention than male candidates and significantly more negative portrayals (Llanos et al., 2011). In the U.S., female political candidates receive proportionally less news coverage; are more likely to have their competence and appearance scrutinized; are more likely to be questioned about women's issues; and are more likely to have their potential influence questioned (Haraldsson & Wängnerud, 2019, p. 526; Wasburn & Wasburn, 2011). This gendered imbalance has been shown to strengthen the glass ceiling for female politicians (Carlin & Winfrey, 2009; Haraldsson & Wängnerud, 2019, p. 525). In addition, research has found a direct link between increased media sexism, where female experts are under- or misrepresented, and a decreased number of women willing to become political candidates (Haraldsson & Wängnerud, 2019).

Gender imbalanced political reporting also harms future supplies of female political candidates. One survey of young girls found 67% of respondents aged 11-17 were interested in politics, but only 32% felt society encouraged women to pursue political careers (Girl Scouts Research Institute, 2014). Additional research found that about 30% of boys and girls aged seven wanted to become the President of the U.S., but when the same students were 15-years old, significantly fewer girls than boys had the same goal (Heldman, 2011, sec. 23:42). However, 65% of respondents from the first survey felt increased media coverage of female politicians would boost the number of girls pursuing political careers (Girl Scouts Research Institute, 2014). This view is not without merit. Gaye Tuchman's seminal 1978 essay argued that opportunities for modeling, the psychological phenomenon whereby children copy watched behavior, are increased by television (Tuchman, 1978, pp. 6, 33–37). If television news media equally covered women in politics, it could make an important difference to girls' future political ambitions.

Given the pivotal role news media plays in shaping public discourse on matters of human security and female political ambition, it is imperative to challenge the media's role in perpetuating imbalanced gender stereotypes. The stories the media tells and how the media frames issues of security, violence, women's agency, leadership, political power, and war are crucial to seeing WPS goals realized.

WPS Principles in Qatar's News Media

As a United Nations Member State, Qatar officially endorses WPS and has created policies to prioritize gender equality and women's increased societal participation (Deehring, 2020, pp. 5–6; Qatar News Agency, 2019). However, while Qatar has embraced WPS principles, Qatari news media has not. News in Qatar remains significantly gender-imbalanced, despite a plethora of content sources. During the past three decades, Qatari media has proliferated to four daily newspapers in Arabic, three in English, and more than 200 general and special interest magazines (Kirat, 2016, p. 172; Lance & Paschyn, 2018). Qatar has several satellite television channels and radio stations (Kirat, 2016, p. 172), two main government-owned channels, Qatar Television and Al Rayyan TV (Lance & Paschyn, 2018, p. 44), and the internationally focused Al Jazeera broadcasts to more than 310 million households in more than 100 countries (Al Jazeera Media Network, n.d.). Qatar's gender-imbalanced news is also not due to la-

ck of a female audience. Three-quarters of Qatari females report they watch television news once daily compared to 60% of Qatari males (Dennis & Martin, 2019). While only 11% of Qatari females read daily newspapers versus 18% of Qatari males, more than 80% of both genders receive daily news via smartphone (% Who Use the Following Social Media Platforms, 2019). Instead, to understand how Qatari news media fails to follow WPS policies, it is important to analyze Qatari media's portrayal of gender stereotypes and women's issues, gender imbalance within the profession, the security of female reporters, and coverage of female political candidates.

Broadly speaking, Gulf leaders ascribe to central Islamic cultural pillars, including the centrality of the traditional family to social order, and the importance of women's virtue as a moral anchor (Kirat, 2014, p. 44). Overall, Gulf media reinforces these conservative views (Kirat, 2014, p. 44), despite growing modernization and regional wealth. "Tribal 'tradition' … especially in relation to … expected social roles, is often increased, not decreased by wealth" (Fromherz, 2012, p. 8). As such, Gulf news media presents women as symbols of religious piety and social stability, alongside women's participation in public life and the workforce as signs of modern progress (Liloia, 2019, p. 346). Consequently, Gulf news media rarely challenges gender-based norms. Topics surrounding marriage practices, gender-related religious debates, domestic violence, and politics are discouraged (Urbisz Golkowska, 2014, p. 58). A 2010 study found Gulf news also neglects stories of violence against Muslim women, and when they are covered, the focus is primarily on perpetrators' motives, actions, apprehensions, and punishments, while female victims are cast as subordinate, mentioned without identification, and rarely permitted to speak for themselves or express a sense of agency (Halim & Meyers, 2010, pp. 92–100).

Al Jazeera arguably does the most to mainstream women and gender issues in Qatari news media. The network has been recognized for providing a platform for women's agency, and lauded for hosting numerous female voices from all political, social, and ideological backgrounds (Guta, 2019, p. 264). Proponents argue Al Jazeera has encouraged public dialogue within Qatar about previously taboo WPS subjects such as women's empowerment, polygamy, divorce, sexual harassment, abuse, infidelity, maternal health, contraception, and abortion (L. A. Williams, 2014, p. 55). Some have even suggested Al Jazeera is feminist, particularly in headlines and in telling stories of upheaval (Sakr, 2005, pp. 145–146; L. A. Williams, 2014). However, critics suggest this praise is overstated and point to programs such as *For Women Only and Pioneers* as examples of programming focused on Iraqi and Palestinian women's issues, ignoring Qatari women's issues. There is also concern the network gives voice to conservative Muslim dissidents espousing restrictive, sometimes violent gender norms (Miller & Verhoeven, 2019). Others contend the network's women journalists are confined to certain subjects (food, family, fashion) or homogenized into a monolith pitted against men (Guta, 2019, p. 264). Al Jazeera English has been accused of discussing women's issues in talk shows but not in flagship news programming (Guta, 2019, p. 265), and Al Jazeera Arabic has been criticized because only two news stories out of 133 between October 2017 and April 2018 related to women or women's issues, and both focused on subjects outside Qatar (Guta, 2019, p. 265).

Qatar hosts two mass communication and journalism schools[1] that have graduated hundreds of media and public relations professionals during the past several decades, most of them women (Rajakumar et al., 2017, p. 23). However, only 34% of Qatari journalists are wo-

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[1] Qatar University Department of Mass Communication and Northwestern University Qatar School of Journalism

men (Kirat, 2016, p. 175). While women feature prominently on Al Jazeera (L. A. Williams, 2014), and *The Stream* reports it has achieved gender parity in booking guests (Malone, 2019), research shows women are significantly less visible in local news media (Al-Malki, 2012; Lance & Paschyn, 2018, pp. 44–45). Additionally, while some Qatari women have become well-known media personalities, notably Hanan AlEmadi of Qatar Television (*Exclusive*, n.d.)[2] and Asma AlHamadi of Al Jazeera (*Instagram:Asma Alhamadi*, n.d.),[3] of Qatari journalists, "men outnumber women, and negative perceptions of female television presenters persist" (Lance & Paschyn, 2018, p. 45). Egyptian nationals constitute the largest percentage of Arabic media journalists in Qatar, while Indian nationals predominate Qatar's English media (Kirat, 2016, p. 175). Hypervigilant societal monitoring of online behavior, with an expectation it will match offline behavior, is one reason so few Qataris, particularly women, are featured in local media (Rajakumar et al., 2017, p. 24). Additionally, cultural taboos prohibit Qatari women from appearing in published media, with risk of damage to personal and familiar reputation for any violation (Lance & Paschyn, 2018, p. 95).

The prevalence of female journalist security concerns in Qatar is difficult to ascertain because news outlets like Al Jazeera rarely report threats (Baker et al., 2018, p. 6). Female journalism students from Qatar have reported dismissive treatment due to their gender (Chen, n.d.); female Al Jazeera presenters have jointly resigned due to repeated criticism of their appearance and attire (Reporters Without Borders, 2010); and Gulf news institutions more frequently train and promote male journalists (Mellor, 2019, p. 3). Nevertheless, actual threats, violence, and harassment of female journalists in Qatar remains unreported by public and private authorities. All journalists in Qatar are prohibited from publishing stories critical of the government, ruling family, or Islam, and violators face possible prison sentences or deportation (Freedom House, n.d.). While Qatar's Constitution guarantees freedom of expression (The Permanent Constitution of the State of Qatar 0 / 2004 | Article 48, n.d.) and state-sanctioned retaliation against journalists is rare, some interference does occur. In 2012 and 2013, student journalists were temporarily detained after filming emergency first responders without permission (Chatriwala, 2013); a BBC and German crew were temporarily detained for trespassing in 2015 ("Arrested for Reporting on Qatar's World Cup Labourers," 2015; "Arrested for Reporting on Qatar's World Cup Labourers," 2015); and three Danish journalists were temporarily detained in 2017 (Freedom House, 2017).

Finally, while scant research analyzes Qatari media news coverage of female political candidates, one study indicates some positive coverage. In the 1999 Central Municipal Council election, eight female candidates filed to run and the women indicated the Qatari media was supportive of their participation (Lambert, 2011). However, researchers noted the Qatari government provided journalists with favorable women candidate stories and instructed journalists to portray women's political rights only in positive terms (Lambert, 2011). It remains unclear whether the Qatari news media would have provided prominent positive coverage of female candidates absent government intervention. World Bank statistics show only 10% of national parliament seats were held by women in 2019 (*Proportion of Seats Held by Women in National Parliaments (%) | Qatar*, n.d.), suggesting news media may not have covered female politicians as transparently or frequently as their male counterparts.

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[2] Hanan AlEmadi: first female Qatari TV presenter.

[3] Asma AlHamadi: TV presenter on Al Jazeera Arabic.

Conclusions

Qatar has committed to increasing women's societal participation, advancing WPS, and encouraging female leadership. A gender-balanced news media that conveys women's perspectives and reflects WPS principles is a simple yet powerful way to encourage Qatar's public to understand and actively support the WPS agenda. Given how WPS and the news media are interconnected, it is crucial the Qatari government view its local news industry as a key partner for advancing women. Several policies would go a long way towards building WPS values into Qatari media.

First, since even Al Jazeera's policies do not contain direct language mandating inclusivity or gender balance of talent, experts, guests, or subjects (*Code of Ethics | News | Media, n.d.; Editorial Standards*, n.d.), the Qatari government could call for all media organizations in Qatar to develop gender policies and gender-awareness ethics and practice codes (UNESCO & Global Alliance on Media and Gender, 2018, p. 61). Such policies should require enforcement frameworks and could impose deterrent-level fines for sex discrimination or other non-compliant actions. Similarly, the government could include issues of gender balance and demonstrated adherence to gender policies in any media evaluation criteria or could create an Equitable Portrayal Code, similar to the one implemented by the Canadian Association of Broadcasters in 2008 (Canadian Broadcasting Standards Council, n.d.).

Second, the Qatari government could require news organizations to offer trainings regarding causes and impacts of bullying and sexual harassment at work, how to mitigate risk while in the field, and physical security/self-defense, as well as providing therapy services after reports of work-related harassment or violence (Barton & Storm, 2014, pp. 30–31). Similarly, the government could encourage trainings that teach future and current media professionals to recognize bias, consider whether individuals of differing genders could offer unique perspectives for each story, and avoid gender-specific or sexist language in stories (Kanigel, 2019, p. 219). In addition, the government could urge news media managers to avoid assigning journalists to stories using conventional cultural norms and to have gender balance on all expert panels, speakers' lists, and teaching sessions.

Finally, the government could emphasize partnerships with the news media to promote WPS awareness. This approach is consistent with the UN Committee on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women's recommendations for Qatar to "take systematic measures to engage the media and NGOs in combating negative stereotyping and societal attitudes" (*Concluding Observations on the Initial Report of Qatar*, n.d.; CEDAW, n.d.). Partnerships could be used to encourage news media to seek out qualified female sources when reporting a story, especially in sectors such as science, technology, and politics, and to look for women who break gender stereotypes, such as female doctors or engineers. Similarly, partnerships could be used to reflect Qatari women's actual social and professional achievements, education, contributions, interests, and activities.

Despite celebrating the 20th anniversary of UNSCR 1325 and the 25th anniversary of the Beijing Declaration, the World Economic Forum has suggested that the world will not reach gender parity for another 100 years at the current rate of progress (Zahidi, 2019). This lack of advancement is surely due, at least in part, to the fact that news media do not reflect WPS policies or prioritize linkages to WPS. Given the potential for women's leadership to stabilize and improve the legitimacy of governments, contribute to the hastening of development, and increase the length of peace negotiations, surely 100 years is too long. News media has tremendous potential to be the accelerant that moves the world in a more secure direction

based on gender-equality, including in Qatar. Whether Qatari news media will reflect increased gender balance depends on the resolve of Qatar's government to choose policies that enable the kind of change necessary for true reform.

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