



Utrecht University

***COVID-19 and Development Organizations:
a Frame Analysis***

Perspectives on the pandemic and the position of rural women

MSc Thesis, Utrecht University

Aliza Selles

4262549

International Development Studies

Utrecht, November 19, 2020

Supervisor:

Dr. Murtah Shannon

Abstract

The impacts of the pandemic as a result of the outbreak of Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) are widespread and diverse, some sectors are hit harder than others. This study offers a thorough examination of the impacts on women in agriculture and the different perspectives from a selection of development organizations upon these impacts, using a frame analysis to answer the question: *“How are different development organizations presenting their perspectives towards the impacts of the measurements taken in response to COVID-19 on the position of rural women?”*. It discusses what is being written and what is being done in response to these implications, with a focus towards the position of women to demonstrate existing frames. The data consists predominantly of articles published by organizations on their websites. The objective of the research was to find the existing frames in these articles regarding the positionality of women during the pandemic and understand them in order to address the issues at hand and to take this opportunity to learn from this unique crisis situation. The analysis shows that there are three main frames presented by the selected organizations with various approaches but similar goals. The overall collective agenda strives for building back better towards a society that is based on more inclusivity and sustainability, that offers improved positions and empowerment for women. Regarding the future of women in agriculture, these desired changes are dependent on policy implementations. Therefore, critical analysis and further research on the matters studied will contribute to a better and gendered understanding of the issues at hand so that the current knowledge gap can be closed and will contribute to policy recommendations. This research offers an addition to closing this knowledge gap by enclosing the research findings into feminist theories about positionality, othering and empowerment.

Acknowledgements

It should be noted that this thesis did not come together the way it was planned. The pandemic caused by COVID-19 led to the abrupt ending of the research I was originally conducting. Nevertheless, the process leading up to this work started months ago and there are several people who played an important role in it for me.

I would like to thank,

Utrecht University and the master's program of International Development Studies for this great opportunity. I feel very lucky that I got to create my own research and had the chance to go to Indonesia. Unfortunately, the fieldwork did not go as planned because of COVID-19. It was a huge disappointment for me and my team of researchers in the field having to go home. The university gave us the freedom to decide how to finish our research in order to write a thesis to be proud of.

My UU supervisors Murtah Shannon and Alberto Alonso Fradejas and my UGM supervisor Hero Marheanto. From the start, Alberto has helped me through the process of creating a nice and strong proposal while getting excited about my research plan. In the field, we were strongly supported by Hero Marheanto, who gave us a warm welcome to the university of Gadjah Madah in Indonesia and assisted us through the process of all the paperwork that had to be done. After arriving back in the Netherlands, I had to rearrange my research plan in order to write a different thesis than I had set out to write. Murtah Shannon helped me get to the topics that enthused me, leading to a thesis writing process that was interesting and exciting.

My friends and family for supporting me, sharing our experiences and listening to me talking about my thesis for so many months.

Last but truly not least, Sarah and Viktoria. My partners throughout this experience, whom I have had the pleasure of living and working very closely together with. Even though our time in Indonesia had been cut short, those first months of the thesis process have taught me a lot. It has been quite a wild ride and I would not have wanted to do this without them.

Table of contents

Abstract	1
Acknowledgements	2
Table of contents	3
List of Abbreviations	5
Introduction	6
Theoretical framework	9
Feminist literature, writing about women	9
Power and empowerment	12
Frame theory	14
Development thinking and gender	15
Development thinking in times of a pandemic	17
Research objective and questions	20
Methodology	23
Finding the data	23
Analyzing the data	24
Conducting frame analysis	25
Reflexivity and subjectivity	26
Case selection	27
Contextual Framework	30
The complexity of the position of women in agriculture	30
The pandemic of COVID-19	31
Impact pandemic on women's positionality	34
Differences of local context on the position of women	37
Development organizations and their role regarding the COVID-19 pandemic	38
1. Presentation and discussion of the data	47
1.1 Perspectives from global organizations on impacts of responses	47
	3

World Health Organization	47
Preliminary interpretations	49
United Nations Women	49
Preliminary interpretations	50
Food and Agriculture Organization	51
Preliminary interpretations	53
1.2 Perspectives development organizations on impacts of responses	54
La Via Campesina	54
Preliminary interpretations	55
Cordaid	55
Solidaridad	57
Preliminary interpretations	58
ActionAid	59
Preliminary interpretations	60
2. Frame analysis of the organizations	62
2.1 Spreading information and awareness	62
Focus of the frame	65
The frame in larger context	66
2.2 Opportunistic and positive	67
Focus of the frame	70
The frame in larger context	72
2.3 Critical and resisting	73
Sub-frame anti-capitalism	77
The frame in larger context	77
Discussion	80
Conclusion	85
Lessons learned from the frame analysis	85
Reflection	89
References	91

List of Abbreviations

COVID-19	Coronavirus Disease 2019
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
GBV	Gender Based Violence
GHG	Green House Gas
LVC	La Via Campesina
SPRP	Strategic Response and Preparedness Plan
UN	United Nations
WHO	World Health Organization

Introduction

The year is 2020 and life as we know it has been disrupted by the outbreak of a virus that has escalated into a global pandemic. What started as a health crisis has turned into a socio-economic crisis, effecting many different sectors and many lives worldwide. Measures that had to be taken in response to the outbreak are changing the way everyday life is functioning, yet for some more than others. The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) emphasizes the importance of recognizing the increased inequalities from COVID-19 due to the impact of lockdowns, social distancing and stay at home orders and their possible long-term consequences. They state that oftentimes it is the marginalized groups that pay the highest price when it comes to negative societal and economic effects of a global crisis (FAO, 18-6-2020). For many rural women working in agriculture, these measures entail a disruption of the 'normal' way of life. The impacts they are experiencing now could have negative direct as well as long-term consequences. Simultaneously, the effects of the pandemic should make way and create the opportunity to have positive consequences for the future of agriculture by challenging the perspectives on and portrayal of rural women's positions (LVC, 15-04-2020).

There are certain actors that are generally concerned and occupied with the positionality of women. For this reason, it is worthwhile to analyze the situation of this crisis from their angle to detect issues of the most relevance in order to build from this towards a better future in agriculture. Using their perspectives by looking at how media and organizations are writing about the impacts of the crisis on women working in agriculture will help understand the existing perceptions about the role of women. The way in which is being reflected upon the impacts differs between and among actors. International organizations express their own perspective on the issues, each steering attention or raising awareness and creating understanding of what they think should be prioritized. The objective for this research is to critically analyze these different perspectives presented by international organizations through a frame analysis, in order to understand how the pandemic and its impacts is being portrayed. To uncover possible problems as well as positive constructions in the way development organizations are depicting the role and positions of women in times of the pandemic. The goal for this research is not to give a

descriptive overview of what is happening and what can be done but to address how it is being spoken about. To showcase how women are represented by the chosen actors in relation to the impacts of the measurements on their position. This is currently of relevance because there will be national and global reactions as well as new policies. Therefore, it will be meaningful to understand the position of development organizations and know how they work and what they depict as priorities. They have an important role, but how are they using it contains room for improvement (Cold-Ravnkilde et al. 2018), as will be discussed in the theoretical framework. There will be special attention to discuss the link between development thinking or development organizations and gender as a difficult one. These discussions display the need to elaborate on perceptions towards discourses on the gender agenda within development thinking (Cornwall and Rivas, 2015).

The role of women in agriculture is one that is highly prominent and of strong value. Worldwide, women are responsible for high amounts of the local and global food production, being responsible for 43% of the agricultural labor force in developing countries (FAO and Care, 2019). Nonetheless, there is social and gender inequality within the agricultural sector. These inequalities have many negative effects on the individuals involved as well as the community, leading to poverty, discrimination and social exclusion (FAO, 18-06-2020). FAO addresses that during times of crisis, these gendered inequalities become even more prominent. The ways in which countries are responding to the coronavirus is leading to unique situations that highlight existing problems, for instance due to lockdown measures. At the same time, FAO emphasizes how the current unique situations offer the ability to make profound changes that can decrease gendered inequalities and improve the positions of many marginalized groups (FAO, 18-06-2020).

Elaborate discussions between development thinking and feminist concepts integrated into this research ask for knowledge on feminist theories. In order to address the increased inequalities and tackle them, there is a need for an understanding of the foundations of those issues. Additionally, there is a need to be able to address positionality and recognize its impact from the perspective as a researcher as well as the writers from the development organizations. One should be aware of what positionality means as it is strongly connected to the concepts of inequality and empowerment. Moreover, this is a study

that relies on feminist work. Therefore, a brief discussion is essential before one can study or analyze the interrelations of these concepts in a broader context such as the pandemic.

Living in a time of the pandemic caused by COVID-19 brings the world a unique chance to change into a new normal and diversify our economies. In order to do that, there is a need to first pay attention to understanding the impacts of this pandemic and specifically the gendered issues that come up. Analyzing and comparing the different perspectives will explore how the crisis is being represented when it comes to the effects it is having on rural women and prove the relevance of a gendered approach on COVID-19. These perspectives are then compared to each other, analyzing the way in which issues and concerns related to rural women are being voiced and how the term 'female empowerment' is being included or excluded. A study of what is meant by this concept and how this is going to be achieved will offer useful tools for the global response to COVID-19 and improved women's involvement within rural development. At the same time, it will offer motivation for academic debates in the months and years to come, responding to the pandemic caused by COVID-19. The real long-term consequences for rural communities and the effects of the pandemic on agriculture will depend on evidence from the evidence of the aftermath of COVID-19 (Phillipson et al., 2020). According to Mukherjee (2020) there are debates within the scientific community about the observed changes due to COVID-19 related lockdown measures. Such changes caused by economic disruption vary from atmospheric consistencies to mental and physical health conditions as well as structural societal changes. Therefore, He et al. emphasize that future research regarding mortality and morbidity data to weigh the overall (mental) health impact will be necessary *"is warranted to understand the full implications and draw valuable policy lessons from this unprecedented event."* (He et al. 2020).

The main source of information for this study are news articles accumulated from the selected organizations' websites, complemented by policy briefs published by those organizations as well as several additional informative news articles from news pages. The data gathered is set out in four thematic chapters, the discussion and conclusion elaborate on the meaning of the data in relation to the research question which is: *"How are different development organizations presenting their perspectives towards the impacts of the measurements taken in response to COVID-19 on the position of rural women?"*

Theoretical framework

Feminist literature, writing about women

When reading and analyzing work on gender equality and women's positionality, it should be explained what is meant and understood as someone's position. Positionality is described by Adrienne Rich (1984) as a term which conceptualizes the way privilege and power influence perspective. She advocates the idea that people should start thinking and analyzing from their own body as a starting point. From the moment a baby is born it is labelled in terms of sex, race and (sometimes) class. This immediately links a person to certain privileges which will most likely affect their perspective on the world and therefore their positionality.

The role of women's positioning can also be explained in a more recent use within the epistemology by Intemann (2010) through the situated knowledge of the Standpoint Theory which states that all knowledge is socially situated. With the help of Jackson (2006) she states that a person's positionality can be defined as the self-consciousness of their social, political, cultural and economic location in relation to those around them (Jackson, 2006). Positionality is always plural, making the person multiply located and socially engaged. For a social researcher it is widely accepted and always important to be aware and critical of one's personal positionality and the impact it may have on the research. Social positions shape our experiences, but they can change over time. Our standpoints are shaped by our knowledge through existing power structures and individual experiences (Intemann, 2010). For this reason, social locations or positions are not homogenous within a social group; they contribute to identity construction. Therefore, one should never thoughtlessly say we or they, but always think about who is meant by 'we' and 'they' and how individuals within this group might differ from each other. Rich (1984) effectively argues that white feminism (which is not intersectional, as it focuses on women who are white and often also higher class) recreates the power structures feminism seeks to disassemble. It does not offer enough room for social differences. This explains why an emic perspective is often most desired in qualitative research as it is mindful of the researcher's own position while getting as close as possible to the subject's personal perspective (Rich, 1984). In the words of

Chandra Mohanty, categorizing 'women' as a category of analysis gives them an object status. For example: *"In using 'women of Africa' (as an already constituted group of oppressed peoples) as a category of analysis denies any historical specificity to the location of women as subordinate, powerful, marginal, central, or otherwise, vis-a-vis particular social and power networks. Women are taken as a unified 'powerless' group prior to the historical and political analysis in question. Thus, it is then merely a matter specifying the context after the fact."* (Mohanty 1988: 68). In this case Mohanty emphasizes it is thus important to move beyond white feminism and aim for a more inclusive approach.

An inclusive approach that takes positionality into account is what postcolonial feminism strives for. *"Postcolonial feminism's aim is to define and recognize marginalized groups not just through their oppression, but more importantly in terms of its historical complexities and the many struggles they fought to overcome this oppression"* (Mohanty, 2003). When it comes to looking at or portraying marginalized people as one coherent group, such as third world women from the Global South, these women are being defined as objects. They become seen as 'others' through this process of homogenizing. This way of 'othering' is what Postmodernism and Development (PAD) criticized, although it can be difficult to avoid othering - even if the intention is to not generalize or stereotype. PAD criticizes categorizing women as one homogenous group because it creates the assumption that there is a certain universal unity among women, derived from simplistic formulations of dichotomies between men and women. This focus on women's positionality within the coherent group only reinforces the binary division between men and women, bypassing social class and ethnic identities as well as the binary division between 'developing' and 'developed'. Mohanty (2003) explains this difficult issue best:

"The 'third-world difference' includes a paternalistic attitude towards women in the third world. Since discussions of the various themes I identified earlier (kinship, education, religion, etc.) are conducted in the context of relative 'underdevelopment' of the third world (which is nothing than unjustifiably confusing development with the separate path taken by the west in its development, as well as ignoring the unidirectionality of the first/third-world power relationship), third-world women as group or category are automatically and necessarily defined as: ligious (read 'not progressive'), family oriented (read 'traditional'), legal minors (read 'they-are-still-not-conscious-of-their-rights'), illiterate (read 'ignorant'), domestic (read 'backward') and sometimes revolutionary (read 'their-country-is-in-a-state-of-war; they-must-fight!'). This how the 'third-world difference' is produced." (Mohanty 2003: 80)

Mohanty describes this production of the ‘third world difference’ that occurs when western feminisms colonize the lives of third world women, characterizing and creating the distinction from the western self. In these instances, it often seems as if the women that are described need help. Help that western developed countries can offer to these marginalized groups of women. Mohanty (2003) emphasizes that such a way of describing and portraying of women can lead to a form of stereotyping, even if that is what the actor describing them wants to prevent.

An understanding of this third-world difference can be interesting when studying the current global development program and its implementation and progression. Important is to introduce this concept without undermining its original meaning but exploring its overlay with development thinking. For example, this notion provides space for the voices of the marginalized to be recognized and expands the notion of development in a way that favors the empowerment of women (Peet and Hartwick 2015). It is a notion or goal that is strived for and included in several places, because of the common shared understanding that it is important. Nonetheless, it is often difficult to implement feminist theories into development thinking which will be further elaborated on later. Such an interpretation can be recognized in the ‘leave no-one behind’ approach from Development Agenda 2030, which entails reducing inequalities by targeting marginalized people to actively end extreme poverty where it is needed most. This shows the importance of feminist theories but does not mean that it is well-connected to development thinking. While actors or organizations might say they strive to avoid othering, this does not necessarily mean they succeed. It is thus appealing to explore and contemplate its presence in the approaches of development organizations.

‘The approach captures three concepts that are critical to improving the welfare of societies: ending extreme poverty (in all its forms), reducing inequalities, and addressing discriminatory barriers, which could arise from geography or aspects of social identity. Tackling all three concepts will require the prioritization and fast-tracking of action for those who are worst-off.’ (Stuart and Samman 2017: 2).

According to Stuart and Samman (2017) this approach recognizes that it would be naive to believe that progress will simply trickle-down the socioeconomic scale. Instead, proactive and direct actions are needed to improve inclusiveness for everybody (Stuart and Samman, 2017). This means that the leave-no-one behind approach does not focus on averages and ‘the general people’, assuming that change will eventually reach everywhere it

needs to be. Stuart and Samman (2017) emphasize this is an approach that explicitly targets those people and groups who are left behind to improve their position at a higher rate than those who are better off. According to this approach, policies should be focusing on issues that affect these people most and the areas where such people might live. If this approach is being implemented, it should help improve inclusive economic growth (Stuart and Samman, 2017).

This idea of targeting those most marginalized first is confirmed by Spivak in 1988 and more recently by Stuart and Woodroffe in 2016. Spivak (1988) argues that the West is only interested in hearing its own voice, forcing others to copy the image of development as it is dominant in the West. Stuart and Woodroffe (2016) explain their intersectional approach to understanding the positionality and marginalization of third world women. The poverty of third world women does not arise from gender inequality alone but is rather the result of the intersection of multiple dimensions of inequality, including race, class and colonial history. Stuart and Woodroffe (2016) therefore argue that the governments will have to implement policies that address the specific barriers marginalized people face, recognizing that these may be multiple and overlapping. Governments further need to recognize that targets cannot be considered met if all marginalized groups, including women and girls, have not met them (Stuart and Woodroffe, 2016). In order to ensure that Agenda 2030 lives up to its overarching promise of leaving no-one behind, data will have to be nationally disaggregated, considering all marginalized groups (Struckmann, 2018). The history of feminism has evolved from the desire for political equality between men and women towards social and cultural equality between men and women onto the interconnectedness of inequality on levels beyond the polarity of sex such as ethnicity and sexuality (Struckmann, 2018). What feminism looks like has changed over the years, constantly adjusting to the current situation. In light of Agenda 2030, feminism calls for governments to recognize that goals will only be reached when all people - including the most marginalized groups - have met them and to create policies that address the specific barriers marginalized people face. During times of crisis when inequalities need to be addressed more than ever, a better understanding of these inequalities will lead to better inclusiveness which can lead to a striving for a more just and equal future for all (Struckmann, 2018). It is important to note here that even though it can be considered there

is some overlap between development thinking and feminism, this link is very fragile. Interpretations of feminist concepts and notions can be found, for instance in the 'leave-no-one behind' approach, but these interpretations often do not cover the full extent of scope (Cornwall et al., 2008). This can be caused by a lack of understanding and can lead to a failing agenda as Cornwall et al. (2008) explain, for instance due to simplistic slogans that are stereotyping women and is thus interesting to study. Development thinkers and feminists are too far apart in that matter, leading to misinterpretations even though the importance is recognized and a (serious) effort is being made to include gender into the development agenda (Cold-Ravnkilde et al. 2018). A study of this matter might contribute to the question of how the notion of gender, that has been adopted into development thinking and has since obtained a voice in mainstream development, should now be used (Cornwall et al., 2008). This issue and consideration will be further discussed in 'development thinking and gender'.

Power and empowerment

Since the 21st century women have become more involved in La Via Campesina and the commitment to reducing gender inequality was asserted at the international conference of 2008 (Park et al. 2015: 585). Park et al. emphasize that the movement has given women space to fight for women's rights and gender issues as well as greater representation of peasant women. This notion can be linked to the terms collective action and feminist solidarity as described by Sweetman (2013). The collective action of women represents the creation of a social network in which women feel empowered by each other's company, which enables them to move away from their individual dependency on social relations. It makes women aware of their injustice and raises hope that gender relations can change. This goes hand in hand with feminist solidarity which relies on mutual support between individuals or groups, also strengthening women's power to challenge gender relations (Sweetman 2013: 219).

The empowerment of women in agriculture is a topic of high relevance in the global (development) agenda. One of the seventeen goals, SDG5, specifically focusses on gender equality and female empowerment. But what is empowerment and how can it be achieved? It is a term that can be defined in many ways. The United Nations Social Development

Networks has published a booklet that discusses the different ways in which empowerment can be described¹. For instance, it can mean: the “process of enhancing the capacity of individuals or groups to make choices and to transform those choices into desired actions and outcomes.” Another definition of the UN from the same booklet says that empowerment means “*active participation in decision-making, equal opportunity, economic freedom, and the right to give opinion, access to the productive resources that can make enable to increase the earnings.*”² Since there are many ways to describe and approach empowerment, there are many ways to strive for it.

An important aspect, and recurring concept to describe and increase empowerment, is agency. According to the World Bank, agency means the capacity to make decisions about one’s own life and act on them to achieve a desired outcome, free of violence, retribution, or fear (World Bank, 2014). Agency is sometimes defined as ‘empowerment’, but often an aspect of it (World Bank, 2014). By giving people a stronger and louder voice that is more inclusive and respected, they gain a stronger will while improving their positionality - key aspects of achieving empowerment. Authors such as bell hooks (1992) describe how agency and power dynamics are socially created. hooks (1992) explains that there is power in looking when she discusses the ‘oppositional gaze’ and the role of power of the spectator. Her study explores that mass media has been applied as a system of knowledge and power reproducing and maintaining white supremacy. Portraying the white as the norm, was portraying the black as the opposite. “*To stare at the television, or mainstream movies, to engage its images, was to engage its negation of black representation.*” (hooks 1992: 208). This led to the developing of independent black cinema, giving a voice and representation to black people. Nevertheless, the portrayal and stereotyping of minorities has been a part of popular culture and media as well as it being embedded in society. It still is and often causes issues to this day, even in (scientific) research and news articles (Vossen et al., 2018). In order to give the voice and agency back to the people themselves, empowerment can play an important role.

¹ <https://www.un.org/esa/socdev/ngo/outreachmaterials/empowerment-booklet.pdf>

² ibid

Frame theory

Previous theoretical concepts discussed consist of the scientific theoretical debates this research will be contributing to (Entmann, 1993). Frame theory is a theoretical concept applied while contributing to the scientific debate. Frames function (often unintentionally) in a way to select and call attention to aspects of what is being described. Entmann (1993) additionally explains that while they are focusing the reader's or spectator's attention towards something, they simultaneously direct the attention away from other aspects. These aspects may be considered of less importance by the writer. The exclusion of topics is as significant as including other topics because it effects the receiver's amount of information processed on a topic. *"To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described."* (Entmann, 1993: 52). A frame will help to condense such an aspect of the world in a way that gives meaning to it. This will then allow the frame to function in organizing experience and guiding action, potentially mobilizing contributions to the frame and demobilizing opposition (Snow & Benford, 1988).

Characterizing a frame, as Van Gorp (2005) emphasizes, is its ability to shape news or information in a certain way that stimulates the reader or public receiver to adopt these frames accordingly. It is in this interplay between messenger and receiver - between shaping into a certain frame of reference and the ability to view reality from the same perspective - that the frame takes its shape (McQuail, 2000 in Van Gorp, 2005). This way, *"actors are not simply passive recipients of frames but are engaging in ongoing processes of 'meaning making'"* (Allen and Hadden, 2017). Even though the frame is often not explicitly stated in a text, it will still be evoked through the interpretation of the reader.

Why should frame theory be used to analyze a societal issue? According to Entmann (1993), the main purpose of frame analysis is using the four functions of framing to uncover how framing devices occur in texts. These functions are defining a problem, assigning responsibility, passing a moral judgement and reaching possible solutions (Entmann, 1993). Furthermore, *"analysis of frames illuminates the precise way in which influence over a human consciousness is exerted by the transfer (or communication) of information from one location*

– *such as speech, utterance, news report, or novel – to that consciousness.*” (Entmann, 1993: 51). The goal of this analysis according to Entmann (1993) is to recognize the various perspectives on a concept or issue, to identify the uses of terms within these perspectives and to possibly suggest a more adequate and universal understanding of them. Recognizing frames and the way in which they are used can give meaningful information about the issues at hand and the role of the players involved.

Cornwall and Brock (2005) state that recognizing the existence of (recurring) themes can also be done through analyzing buzzwords. The way certain wordings are used within the text to portray and explain the situation or issues at hand is often contributed by buzzwords - which in their turn adds onto the creation of frames. In the words of Cornwall and Brock (2005) buzzwords are “*words that evoke, and come to carry, the cultural and political values of the time.*” These are words that Cornwall and Brock (2005) explain as generally known, everyone has an assumption of an understanding for them, but the precise meaning is undecided. They are politically expedient for they carry various meanings simultaneously, providing the possibility for shared interpretation to divergent subjects and protecting those who use them.

Lastly, it is good to mention that “*coming up with the names for frames itself involves a kind of framing*” (Tankard, 2001: 89). It is thus wise to be careful with naming frames, always explaining the reasons why this frame was found and how it received its name.

Development thinking and gender

The relation between development thinking and rural women’s positionality during the pandemic of COVID-19 is a relevant one to study considering the effects the crisis is having on politics and policymaking. Analyzing (development) organizations in their response to COVID-19 through a frame analysis and the relevance of women’s positions regarding development thinking will thus contribute to a thorough understanding needed for creating the necessary new policies. As Cornwall and Brock (2005) illustrate: “*‘Crucial in all policy practice’, Gasper and Aphorpe argue, ‘is framing, specifically who and what is actually included, and who and what is ignored and excluded’.*” (Cornwall and Brock, 2005: 1047). They

further explain, through the work of Nelson Goodman (1978), that we interpret the world in a way that depends on frames of reference we use - leading to different 'ways of worldmaking'. An example of such frames are policies, speeches and mission statements as these contribute to creating versions of the world that is made understandable. Therefore, use of language and framing give meaning to terms and policies that we use. These policies then influence development thinkers in what they are doing, concluding that frame analysis of word choice and representation of development actors is in place here. *"Reckoning with the paradox that the words that work in projects of worldmaking are those that lend themselves most to being filled with multiple meanings, we suggest that it is in fact high time more attention was paid to language in development."* (Cornwall and Brock, 2005: 1056).

In a later study by Cornwall and Rivas (2015), this need to pay attention to language in development was addressed again. This time regarding the implementation of the notion of empowerment. This notion was taken from feminist theories but in this process of adaptation, much of the original meaning was lost. Cornwall and Rivas (2015) explain this by saying *"in the process of reducing empowerment to measurable outcomes, the relational dimensions of empowerment disappear, altering the meaning of the concept in the process."*. They elaborate on this by saying about empowerment that *"its very nature is something more contingent and contextual, and ultimately far less predictable, than allowed for by development agencies' quick fit solutions."* (Cornwall and Rivas, 2015). By development institutions taking up feminist work on empowerment, some of its diversities and complexities are being stripped away. Cornwall and Rivas (2015) state that there is a limited understanding and realization of the intricacies of the gender agenda. Therefore, there is a need to elaborate on framing and perception towards the discourses of women's empowerment and gender equality within development thinking (Cornwall and Rivas, 2015). An example they give is the adaptation by the World Bank of the definition of empowerment, originally developed by Naila Kabeer in 1999, into a simplified version.

There is meaning getting lost in translation, as also explained by Cold-Ravnkilde et al. (2018). They say *"development organizations perceive themselves as actors framing what development is about and, to varying degrees, they try to tread a thin line between referring to global norms to gain credibility and aiming to change the norms themselves"*. This has led to a depoliticizing of the issue of gender equality and has created criticism about working gender

out of development activities completely (Cold-Ravnkilde et al. 2018). A deeper understanding of this issue of misunderstanding and misusing of gender equality and empowerment is given by Lokot and Avakyan (2020). They explain that *“the use of the ‘women and girls’ category has inadvertently lacked nuance in recognizing multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination and inequality, leaving power side-lined while stereotypes about who is vulnerable dominate policy discussions.”* (Lokot and Avakyan, 2020). They articulate the distinct difference between addressing girls and women as a vulnerable group and understanding how one aspect of gender may interact with other social categories regarding power dynamics and inequalities (Lokot and Avakyan 2020).

Cornwall and Rivas (2015) also address that *“a paradigm transformation is needed to reclaim the gender agenda and address ‘the underlying structures of constraint that give these inequalities the systemic character and the persistence over time’.”* Jaquette (2017) elaborates on this when saying that there is a need for an enhanced dialogue between development agencies and the women they are trying to reach, which could be offered and promoted by feminist scholars (Jaquette, 2017). She believes *“true dialogue between women, practitioners, and theorists might also give women/gender and development a renewed sense of purpose, while offering the prospect of new perspectives and new forms of empowerment that we have not yet seen or imagined”* (Jaquette, 2017). She addresses that it might well be that such a dialogue opens eyes and makes people aware of the mistranslation. Subsequently, this could offer room for new ways to engage with it and create space to for reevaluation which brings the opportunity of new (and improved) forms of empowerment that are more comprehensive (Jaquette, 2017).

Development thinking in times of a pandemic

Important in striving for sustainable development is the Agenda 2030 and achieving the Sustainable Development Goals. The global crisis caused by the outbreak of COVID-19 is having a serious impact on these goals.

“This pandemic has uncovered the true colors of nations across the globe and has brought into question the very growth in achieving these goals and following of this triad. COVID-19 doesn’t just come in the

way of the attainment of the SDGs but calls for a reevaluation of its timeline since the existence of this onslaught has hindered the growth of its accomplishment.” (Arora, 2020).

Arora addresses the opportunity that has been created by the pandemic to prove our solidarity, work together and use this unique time as a catalyst to achieve the SDGs. Development thinking is currently focused on the belief that there is a need to turn the current times of crisis into an opportunity and use this in steering our actions towards achieving our goals, and that now is not the time to focus solely on answering to the crisis caused by COVID-19.

Solberg and Akufo-Addo (2020) add onto this thought by stating that *“we cannot afford to shift resources away from crucial SDG actions”*. Contrarily, they emphasize that the response to the pandemic should be linked to Agenda 2030 because achieving the SDGs will strengthen societies and global health security. They state that *“the crisis is teaching us, as global citizens, the utmost value in being each other’s keeper, in leaving no one behind, and in prioritizing the needs of the most vulnerable.”* (Solberg and Akufo-Addo, 23-04-2020). This article explores that the pandemic has proven that extensive amounts of money can be provided in order to support countries while combatting the virus. A similar level of urgency and importance can be attached to fighting climate change, hunger and poverty - which will boost Agenda 2030. Through fighting the pandemic, underlying factors are at risk of being forgotten. The authors believe that these difficult times should *“rather spur us to accelerate and deepen our efforts during this Decade of Action to ‘recover better’, and build a healthier, safer, fairer and a more prosperous world.”* (Solberg and Akufo-Addo, 23-04-2020).

The belief presented by Solberg and Akufo-Addo (2020) adds onto the notion that now is the time to ‘build back better’, a term that was first used in 2006 during the recovery stages after a tsunami in the Indian Ocean. Fernandez and Ahmed (2019) explore that the concept refers to the notion that a disaster can be used as a trigger or catalyst to make countries and societies more resilient. This increased resilience will then show in a sustainable recovery of livelihoods as well as the economy (Fernandez and Ahmed, 2019). The changes that have had to be made in everyday life in response to the COVID-19 pandemic have shown interesting effects. There has been a decrease in all kinds of travel leading to the air cleaning up in places within days of implementing lockdown measures (He et al. 2020).

This unique situation makes for a “*rare opportunity for scientists to impress the policy-makers with real-time examples on the efficacies of potential mitigation strategies for climate change, water and air pollution, and the importance of enduring investment on environmental causes and consequent benefits that can secure health and development for our future generations.*” (Mukherjee et al. 2020).

This interesting opportunity shows what we could achieve and helps prove the relevance of making the necessary changes, for example regarding policies to repair environmental devastation. Although opportunistic opinions towards the future have been presented, for instance by authors mentioned above, there is also reluctance. The analysis that follows in the ‘Thematical Chapters’ will prove and explore this. The overwhelming impact the COVID-19 pandemic is having on economies in addition to countries and regions closing their borders are leading to polarization and individualistic responses. The dream of a unified world seems difficult to cherish and achieve (Mukherjee et al. 2020). Nevertheless, the pandemic has changed our life towards a new normal that affects us now and will continue in the future. There is hope that we learn from our experiences and mistakes so that we can adjust our societal priorities accordingly.

Research objective and questions

During times of crisis, inequality increases as people that belong to sensitive groups - who already have a small voice and little power - are now ever-more overruled by the general narrative that focuses on handling the crisis. As Lokot and Avakyan (2020) explain, focus has started to shift towards recognizing the impact of COVID-19. This is showing existing (and entrenched) inequalities that point to structural and systemic issues (Lokot and Avakyan, 2020). Women are part of those sensitive groups, especially women in the Global South working in agriculture. Their position is at risk because their needs are not considered top priority and are forced to make way for the measures taken in response to the pandemic. Gender-transformative reforms and policies might be put on hold because of the urgency of COVID-19, while this crisis is actually increasing women's needs (OECD, 2020). On the top of that, women are often severely affected, as they are the ones working most jobs in unstable sectors. Additionally, they have to take on most of the caring tasks at home that have increased because of the virus and are at higher risk of domestic violence (OECD, 2020). *"When it comes to COVID-19, understanding the multiple dimensions of power, historical structural inequalities, and the role of the underlying social context and complexity of lived experiences are critical in informing policy and action, and equalizing access to SRH."* (Lokot and Avakyan, 2020). By analyzing this unique situation, we can learn how to come up with a gender sensitive response. The health crisis caused by COVID-19 is affecting everyone, but it is not affecting everyone in the same way or to the same extent. Where this virus was first seen as 'the great equalizer', we are now realizing that it is certainly not (Lokot and Avakyan, 2020). What started as a health crisis has turned into a socio-economic crisis that is showing us what really matters and what deserves more attention.

Considering that in the end, it is also important to look forward to a future in which countries will be reopening and economic systems will have to be rebuilt. Before we get there, it can be useful to pay attention to the ways in which we can build back better. By understanding the different aspects of this pandemic and specifically the gendered issues that come up, rebuilding and the creation of new policies should be gendered as well (UN Women, 09-04-2020). The objective of this research is to create such an understanding by analyzing different perspectives portrayed by international development organizations of

the position of rural women as it is being impacted by the measurements taken in response to COVID-19. The goal is to explicitly distinct these perspectives, compare them to each other and explore what this says about the way this crisis is being presented when it comes to the effects it is having on rural women. This analysis is looking for implicit assumptions on gender that show the core issues and relevance of a gendered approach on COVID-19.

The purpose is to recognize and uncover the frames that the organizations create and put forward about the position of women. The goal is to analyze how the impacts are looked upon and to find out the perspectives on the effects for rural women, as presented by the chosen organizations. These organizations are the following. The WHO is seen as a key player during the pandemic generally and globally, the UN Women is considered a key player when it comes to the positions of women, and the FAO as a messenger for the agriculture sector. These perspectives will be compared to those of several development organizations voicing female farmers: La Via Campesina, Cordaid, Solidaridad and ActionAid. This will provide a discussion on what is considered important in the eyes of these organizations and what frames might be excluded.

The main research question that will be answered is:

“How are different development organizations presenting their perspectives towards the impacts of the measurements taken in response to COVID-19 on the position of rural women?”

This question first raises the need to explain the positions of rural women as they are before and during the pandemic. That will be done in the contextual framework. This refers to the reality of daily life situations and how people, in this case specifically women, are impacted by the effects of the pandemic caused by COVID-19. The measurements taken in response to the outbreak of the virus are having wide-spread (negative) effects on daily life and the livelihoods of people. Therefore, the effects of these impacts will be included and discussed in the analysis. The most important question of this analysis is regarding the response of the organizations chosen for this research in relation to the pandemic and its many consequences. The different ways in which the organizations are responding is creating frames about and towards the pandemic. Most interesting is to look at how these approaches and frames relate to each other and what can be learned from them. The subsequent frame

analysis aims to illustrate and expose shortcomings or learning points regarding a gendered perspective as presented by these organizations.

Therefore, the sub-questions that contribute to this analysis are:

1. In what way are the impacts of the measurements taken in response to COVID-19 addressed by the organizations?
2. How are the organizations responding in relation to the positions of rural women and using their platform in the response to COVID-19?
3. How do these approaches show the different perspectives and frames presented by the organizations?
4. What do these frames and perspectives mean in relation to each other?

Methodology

As the pandemic and its socioeconomic consequences are globally developing at the time of conducting this research, the impacts are currently still being studied. Therefore, this issue being such a recent development, much of the data for this research was gathered as it was being published. It was determined that the main source of information would come from recently written and published pieces on the consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic. Most of what is being studied and analyzed in this thesis, is happening right now and the information comes from recent news articles, blog posts and policy briefs. These sources will help understand how this crisis is being presented, how it is perceived and how the role of women is understood. Analyzing Dutch based organizations will show the Dutch perspective and participation and how this relates to the issues and concerns voiced by peasants worldwide through the movement of La Via Campesina. There is a focus towards what is meant by 'female empowerment' and how this is going to be achieved, according to the Dutch organizations. Such an analysis will offer real tools for the future when it comes to rebuilding (food and agricultural) systems.

Finding the data

For the systematic data collecting, an online search for news articles was conducted where sources were sorted by date as well as by the themes that come out of the research question and sub-questions. Using date as a search filter was important for this research, as the topic asks for sources that were published after March 2020. In addition to this, the publication date indicates how much of a detailed and thorough explanation a source might offer. Articles and publications that came out later tend to have a more complex and higher understanding of the issue, as more knowledge emerged as time passed. A focus in gathering data was created towards the position of women and then more specifically the position of rural women (working in agriculture), in order to find information and organizations most relevant to this research. Search terms started from 'rural women COVID-19' and variations thereof such as 'COVID-19 pandemic women in agriculture' or 'gendered impacts COVID-19 agriculture'. New data was mostly found using the snowball method. Many of the sources found and used were news articles or blog posts that offered information on the relatively

new developments regarding the COVID-19 pandemic, since there were not yet many scientific articles published on the pandemic due to its newness and lack of information or research. Most of the included information was found on the data bases of websites from movements and organizations, other data came from the news section of the World Bank and the United Nations as well as several scientific publications on the effects of the pandemic. The totality of the articles coming from the websites of the organizations that were analyzed for this research and the frame analysis adds up to 101 sources.

With knowledge of the general overview, the **research objective** was found in the role and positionality of rural women. All this data was analyzed and sorted, structured according to the themes from the research questions, most of the initial gathered data being used for thematic chapter one. Additionally, the data had to be kept up to date during the process of analysis because new information was coming out every week. Articles were initially scanned and sorted by theme or subject. Next, articles were read, coded and/or summarized in order to display different lines of thought and perspectives throughout the data. This way, the messages and (implicit) portrayal by the different organizations of women being impacted by COVID-19 and their position within agriculture can be compared to each other. What this coding entailed will be explained further on, when addressing the steps of the frame analysis.

Analyzing the data

The first step for this study is to research in broad terms what was happening in the world in response to the COVID-19 pandemic. This data was gathered by searching for relatively early sources from March and April, when the initial responses to the outbreak of COVID-19 had just happened and were happening. The issue had shown itself early in the crisis, but most information was not published until May 2020. In addition to new information, these findings were often compared to findings from previous crises such as the Ebola crisis of 2014-2016. These findings form the foundation of the research and are presented in the contextual framework. This is where the key players were identified, the main organizations and movements. After this specification, the important topics showed themselves which created the conceptual framework. The next step is an analysis of articles

and publications in order to portray the perspectives of different organizations. These sources were searched for by using the names of these key organizations in combination with the term 'COVID-19'. Besides the publications that were found through Google searches, the databases of organizations' websites were also searched. The websites from organizations and movements generally provide a large amount of information on what they are doing and where their priorities lie. With the focus on presenting the perspectives from within these organizations, the best way to do so is by going off their own website. Here one finds not only what kind of articles were published but also how many as well as which topics are prioritized and discussed most. Using sources from databases of the organizations' websites thus offers a broad representation of their understanding towards the pandemic.

The publications that were found had to be scanned through in order to check for relevance and were then sorted by theme. This way, all relevant topics could be analyzed together. These findings form the foundation for chapters 1.1 and 1.2. Once data saturation was found, the writing process began while keeping the data up to date. Since this is a highly relevant topic of issues that are happening as this thesis is being written, plenty of data is to be found. Every week, new articles appear and new issues come to light. The most recent knowledge is compared to relatively older knowledge by way of showing what has been learned and what should be noted for future research. Once the organizations started to repeat themselves and the newer articles no longer added much extra information, data saturation was found.

Conducting frame analysis

For the next part, the frame analysis, every article used per organization or movement was analyzed again - looking for buzzwords, recurring topics and ways that showed problem or solution framing. These topics, buzzwords and the way in which they were presented were noted for every source of data used for this research. As previously explained, buzzwords are politically expedient because of the various meanings they carry simultaneously. This makes for an interesting situation in which their use offers differing interpretations as well as the possibility for the creation of frames. Therefore, finding these words was an initial step in the framing analysis. Additionally, the four functions of frames

by Entmann (1993) were gathered for every article by color coding quotes from the texts. Each quote that refers to one of the four functions was given one of the four corresponding colors respectively. This means that an important aspect of the coding was to look for references towards (considered) problems, causes, moral judgements and possible solutions. These codes could therefore only be found by reading and analyzing data sources multiple times, searching for signaling words or buzzwords as well as ways of framing towards or of a problem in the text. This made for a clear and structured overview of the many framing aspects of the different texts.

Collectively, this information was gathered and analyzed for each organization or movement. Additionally, it was structurally juxtaposed in order to be able to recognize possible patterns. Based upon these findings and this information it can be determined whether there might be demonstrable frames. These findings presented the data necessary for understanding the existing frames. In doing this analysis, the focus was on the way issues or problems during the pandemic regarding women in agriculture were being presented. Additionally, the data and frames that showed themselves were deepened by using feminist literature on women's positionality and female empowerment, for theoretical embedding as well as for thorough understanding in relation to future research.

Reflexivity and subjectivity

As a researcher, a person is fulfilling an important role regarding the progress and outcome of the research that comes with a responsibility. Often times they are the research instrument and should therefore be aware of and take into consideration one's own positionality (Boeije, 2010). This is part of the ethical issues in analysis. This plays an important role in qualitative research. Especially when it comes to in-person research such as ethnographic fieldwork, focus group discussions or interviews. In these cases, even the researcher's outfit or posture can influence the participant's reactions (Hennink et al. 2011). Reflexivity requires qualitative researchers to reflect on their subjectivity; how their behavior and or social background may impact the research process and outcomes. *"Reflexivity is a process that involves conscious self-reflection on the part of researchers to make explicit their potential influence on the research process"* (Hennink et al., 2011: 19).

The responsibility of the researcher's role is also an aspect of doing desk research (Boeije, 2010). A researcher takes on a responsibility to strive for objectivity, regardless of the method of research or the background of the researcher. Nevertheless, there will often be a form of generalization when the goal is to make something negotiable and open something up for discussion (Cornwall and Rivas, 2015). In the case of this specific research, some form of generalization is going to be fairly unavoidable as it concerns discussing and analyzing women in a more general sense. A demarcation of location would be a way to decrease the amount of generalizing. However, this was not the orientation chosen for this research. It should be noted that this research concerns an analysis of the way others speak about the positions of women, not the researcher's interpretation of these positions. This is thus emphasizing the role as researcher to present these findings as objectively as possible. It is the intention of the researcher to do so. As addressed in the theoretical framework, unfortunately this is often not self-evident. When discussing a larger group in a broad analysis, without doing (ethnographic) fieldwork that focusses on the individual emic perspectives of the different participants, will presumably lead to generalizations (Boeije, 2010).

Case selection

The WHO has been playing an important role during this pandemic, offering large amounts of important information about the best ways to protect ourselves and prevent further spreading. Therefore, their perspective is important to include when analyzing the effects of this pandemic. The focus of this study lies on women; thus, the UN Women provides necessary information on the positionalities of women during the crisis from their perspective. Furthermore, this research is about those working in agriculture and the impacts the measures are having on the sector. This explains why the FAO is included and analyzed, to represent that perspective. Then for a peasant's perspective on the issues surrounding the COVID-19 pandemic, La Via Campesina offers many insights. This movement is standing up for the rights of farmers, dedicated to giving a global voice to peasants worldwide including extra attention to female farmers. LVC was chosen because it is a large and prominent international movement that defends farmers worldwide with the

goal to promote social justice and dignity. This movement speaks out for the rights of peasants promoting empowerment and control while opposing corporate driven agriculture. LVC believes in the power of local production built on solidarity and a strong sense of unity that is in harmony with social relations and nature. When it comes to women, they “*produce 70% of the food on earth but are marginalized and oppressed by neoliberalism and patriarchy*”³. That is why women play a crucial role within the movement, fighting for gender equality and against all forms of violence against women. These four form the foundation, a globally operating perspective to be compared with that of three Dutch organizations.

The Dutch NGO’s that were used for this analysis are considered to be the best fit choice for this research. They were chosen on the basis of their commitment to the topics relevant to research objective. These topics are COVID-19 and the response plans, its impacts on agriculture, the role and position of rural women and what that involves. All three organizations are very active online, with elaborate data on the effects of the pandemic. Considering that this is an online research about how much the media is presenting, the form of media chosen was the output of the organizations about the impacts of COVID-19. Solidaridad was included because it is a wide-stretching organization with an international network and worldwide partners. They have a strong focus on agriculture and the unique opportunities the pandemic brings for this sector and beyond. Cordaid was included for their elaborate and in-depth work on COVID-19 as well as their more gendered approach to the pandemic. These criteria apply to ActionAid as well, with the addition that ActionAid offers a more critical view. Additionally, all three organizations are a key example and a crucial player in answering to WHO and UN’s comments and research about the crisis situation.

The subjective for this research was to analyze organizations that work on agriculture, women and the issues relevant to this study. Therefore, this research does not include other Dutch organizations for the reason that they do not fit this research well enough. One example is Oxfam Novib. This organization has only a few articles on their website and are therefore not very active or vocal in that matter. This makes it that there was not enough data for this research to analyze. The same goes for CARE, there are not

³ <https://viacampesina.org/en/international-peasants-voice/>

enough articles or publications available on their website to analyze. Then there are organizations that are mainly concerned with emergency aid which do not offer articles on long-term or deep societal issues and were therefore considered unrelated to this research and excluded. When it comes to other global organizations, similar criteria were used to choose and or eliminate. Large-scale organizations or global corporations such as the World Bank or Amnesty International have too broad of a range of information to be valuable for this specific research. With the specificity of this research, the chosen organizations fit very well, each one highlighting and focusing on relevant aspects regarding the impacts of the pandemic.

Contextual Framework

Two highly characteristic aspects of the time we currently live in play a prominent role in this research. The first is the pandemic caused by COVID-19. It is the virus that changed life as we know it and it is currently changing the circumstances for women in agriculture globally (Montalvao and Van de Velde, 2020). The measurements that were taken and the results of this pandemic are influencing the lives and livelihoods of people everywhere (Phillipson et al., 2020). The second characteristic aspect is the role of development organizations, which will be presented in relation to the pandemic as well as the difficulties faced within the agricultural sector. Therefore, the contextual framework will discuss the following: the reality of women working in agriculture, the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, the impacts it has had on the position of rural women and lastly the role of development organizations in times of a pandemic.

The goal for this framework is to look at what is happening globally when it comes to the impacts on women and to analyze the different perspectives on the positionality of rural women in order to learn from the situation. This unique situation provides the ability to gather knowledge that will be useful in rebuilding and maintaining a more resilient foundation for the future. A key target for that lies within the agriculture and key issues lie within the inclusivity of women. Therefore, the next part will discuss the positionality of rural women.

The complexity of the position of women in agriculture

The role of gender in agriculture and the position of rural women is one that is context specific but does have similarities that can be found in different regions. Miranda Morgan (2017) discusses that in many rural communities, women tend to be the main farmers doing traditional agricultural work that usually does not bring cash income, which is perceived to be female work. Women are managing most of the land, while men are more likely to have permanent or formal jobs and do income-earning work. This shows that in practice, many women do essential work on the plantations as farmers, laborers or scavengers (Morgan, 2017). Nevertheless, due to the dominant gender roles and responsibilities in their households and communities, rural women may not be able to obtain a position of authority

with the agency to decision-making but they will be the ones suffering during hard times such as in a crisis (Morgan, 2017). This concept has been reconfirmed in other places, such as the study of Gutierrez-Montes et al. (2020).

“Besides their reproductive roles, such as caregivers for family members, women are responsible for producing grains, vegetables, and small animals for household consumption which play an important role in household food security. [...] Usually, social and cultural norms limit women’s participation in public spaces, excluding women’s voices from decision-making processes at the community level, and even though they have less access to production resources (seeds, inputs as well as technical and financial assistance), women play an important role in the transmission of local knowledge about certain agricultural and conservation practices.” (Gutierrez-Montes et al 2020: 94)

This portrays (some of) the gender dimensions and power relations at play in rural communities, women being unable to achieve a status of ownership or authority. Even though they do a lot of the work and they feel like they have an important role, their position is often not recognized as it should be (Morgan, 2017). More on the reality of the position of rural women will be discussed later, when addressing the impacts of the pandemic. There will be further attention focused on the positionalities of rural women as well as women in urban areas in order to portray the context of the issues connected to the pandemic and also relate to a broader setting.

The pandemic of COVID-19

The year 2020 is one that will be remembered for a long time. A recently discovered virus has taken over life as we know it all over the world. The infectious disease causes patients to experience common cold symptoms which can increase in severity leading to serious (possibly chronic) health issues and even death (Begley, 03-03-2020). Ever since the first case appeared in China, the virus has spread all over the world, thus far causing almost six million cases in over 188 countries forcing people everywhere to respond accordingly (Siche, 2020). With the virus emerging from Wuhan in China and from there out spreading over the world, every country has been hit differently and at different rates resulting in the impacts or negative effects to differ accordingly. It is therefore interesting to see how different countries are responding to the outbreak of the virus, as it has a direct influence on the control of the virus. According to The Conversation *“the policy and communication choices*

that national leaders make has a measurable impact on the effectiveness of pandemic response" (The Conversation, 27-05-2020). New Zealand initiated an early strict national lockdown setting up a four-stage alert system accompanied by the slogan "*we must go hard, and we must go early*" which has made them the first country to be declared case-free. Even earlier than expected New Zealand was able to lift all COVID-19 restrictions as the country had not experienced any new cases for 17 days and declared itself virus-free (BBC, 08-06-2020). Contrastingly, the lack of leadership by the Brazilian president Bolsonaro has even been considered a bigger threat than the virus itself (Euro News, 08-06-2020). Bolsonaro has been discouraging social distance and treating this virus as a 'light flu'. Observing these cases shows that relying on science and using centralized messaging is helping countries move faster to safely lift restrictions. Confusing and mixed messages, on the other hand, lets the virus spread.

The most common responses that have been implemented throughout the world include quarantine and/or stay at home orders; suspending of domestic and international travel and flights (national lockdown); the closing of public places such as schools and workplaces and cancelling of social gatherings as well as public events (Neetu et al., 2020). This last one in particular has had serious consequences for local companies, leading to people losing their jobs. Many countries have also started offering testing and income support, as well as the option of contact tracing in order to help making containing the spread of the virus more durable. There is a considerable amount of differences in strictness between countries when it comes to the implementation and duration of the measures. Therefore, it is not beneficial to give a summary or overview because this research does not have a specific contextual demarcation. It should nevertheless be mentioned and can be interesting to give an impression of the approaches in COVID-19 response plans by different countries worldwide. The image below from OurWorldInData.org gives a visual representation of the different levels of strictness around the world during the peak of the first wave of the COVID-19 pandemic halfway through April 2020⁴. All throughout April until the end of May, most of the world was in a full 'lockdown' with school closures; workplace closures; cancellation of public events; restrictions on public gatherings; closures of public

⁴ <https://ourworldindata.org/policy-responses-covid>

transport; stay-at-home requirements; public information campaigns; restrictions on internal movements; and international travel controls In June, most of Europe started lifting restrictions⁵. Several African countries followed in July and August. This is when the lifting of restrictions started to spread throughout this continent. In September and October, the world opened up a bit while countries dealt with the hit of the second wave in varying degrees and at different times, going back into (different levels of) lockdown mode accordingly⁶.

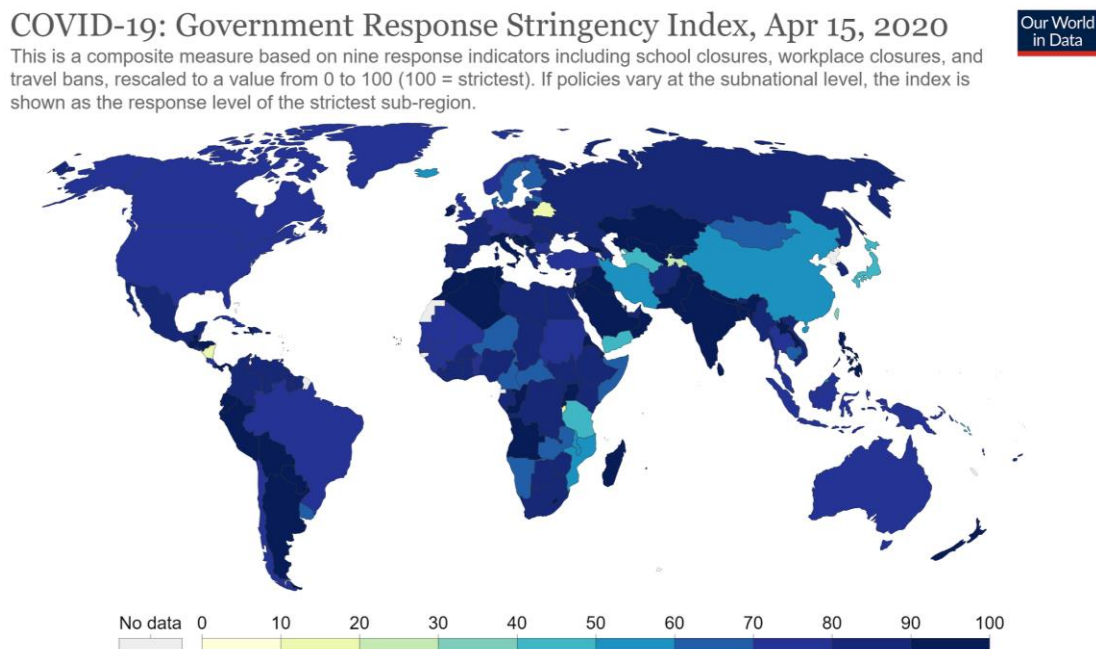


Figure 1. COVID-19 Government Response Stringency Index on April 15, 2020. (Source: Hale, Webster, Petherick, Phillips, and Kira (2020). Oxford COVID-19 Government Response Tracker.)

So far, researchers agree that current circumstances are creating the risk of enlarging existing inequalities (Neetu et al, 2020). Understanding and tackling the issues that are coming up is asking for an interdisciplinary approach. It is of importance that projects and initiatives that are created to respond to COVID-19 consider the different ways in which men and women are impacted and adjust their implementation accordingly. *“Recognizing the extent to which disease outbreaks affect women and men differently is a fundamental step to understanding the primary and secondary effects of a health emergency on different individuals*

⁵ <https://ourworldindata.org/policy-responses-covid>

⁶ Ibid

and communities, and for creating effective, equitable policies and interventions. [...] incorporating women's voices and knowledge could be empowering and improve outbreak preparedness and response." (Wenham et al. 2020). Because the virus is not gender-blind, the response to it should not be either.

One of the biggest issues that is mentioned in research, news reports and policy documents is that social distancing and isolation - often meaning self-quarantine - are creating environments that intensify the experiencing of gender-based-violence (GBV) within homes. People are ordered to stay home in order to stop the spread of the virus, which can increase tension within households and influence power-structures (Neetu et al, 2020). These power relations and social dynamics should be considered so that it can be understood how gender intersects with daily life experiences. *"The use of the "women and girls" category has inadvertently lacked nuance in recognizing multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination and inequality, leaving power side-lined while stereotypes about who is vulnerable dominate policy discussions."* (Lokot and Avakyan 2020).

Impact pandemic on women's positionality

Already existing gender inequalities have become more visible because of the pandemic and might even increase if unrecognized and untreated. It has been said that this pandemic could be seen as the 'great equalizer' but so far, this is definitely not the case (Gaynor and Wilson, 2020). There are many ways in which different women of all ages, religions, economic positions, sexual identities etcetera are influenced by the measurements taken in response to the pandemic caused by COVID-19. To keep a form of structure, these negative effects have been divided and will be addressed here into three ways in which they leave women more vulnerable and at risk.

1. Feminized role of care giving

Women make up the majority of (health) care services, with a 70% representation globally (WHO, 02-03-2020), meaning they are currently working on the front line of this pandemic (Phillipson et al. 2020). This positionality is placing them at a direct higher risk of getting sick and spreading the virus. For them, social distancing is therefore not always doable.

Across the world and especially in the Global South the role of care giving is feminized. This feminization means that women and girls are expected to be the ones responsible for doing domestic chores and nursing sick family members (OECD, 01-04-2020). Being the main holders of these roles can expose women and girls to greater health risks to begin with, but especially if they are the ones caring for patients with the coronavirus. OECD explains that their caring role makes them more vulnerable. It also keeps these women from performing any other tasks, for instance if they have a job or do other chores that are considered less important than giving care (OECD, 01-04-2020). In addition to the caregiving burden, social norms in some contexts dictate that women and girls are the last to receive medical attention when they become ill, which could hinder their ability to receive timely care for COVID-19. Experience from previous crises and pandemics show that people from marginalized groups are the ones that are affected most negatively (Bardosh et al., 2017).

2. The 'shadow pandemic'

As previously mentioned, going into lockdown and implementing curfews, stay-at-home orders or self-quarantine are the main measures used in response to the virus outbreak in most countries (Lokot and Avakyan, 2020 and Neetu et al, 2020). Not being able to go to work and being stuck at home during a crisis leads to frustration, anxiety, depression, anger and other negative feelings affecting one's social position. Neetu et al. (2020) discuss that research on previous crises such as the Ebola epidemic of 2014-2016 shows that these circumstances often lead to increased cases of domestic abuse and Gender Based Violence (GBV). Women who are forced to stay at home with their attackers are at risk because *"their exposure to violence increases as perpetrators might lash-out due to the economic strain caused by a pandemic, while their chances of leaving or resisting the abusive relationships diminish"* (Neetu et al. 2020). Support services are falling out due to the implemented measures and might even be unavailable as companies and organizations are either closed or focused on dealing with the direct consequences of the virus. This highlights a problematic approach in dealing with this global crisis where all attention is directed towards the pandemic, which could lead to a response plan that works at the expense of pre-existing issues.

It is also interesting to note that there is a lot of knowledge on the increased amount of GBV during times of crisis out of experience from earlier crises. From this experience there

was a call for preventive action, which seems to have gone unanswered. In China, the amount of intimate partner violence cases in February has nearly doubled since the lockdown has been put in place. In some regions it has even tripled or, for example in South Africa where women's circumstances are already fragile, the pandemic has seriously worsened the situation. For South African women it was estimated that they are five times more likely to be killed due to intimate partner violence than other women worldwide (Parry and Gordon, 2020). With the measures taken in response to COVID-19, victims become more vulnerable and further isolated from friends, family or other support systems (Haneef and Kalyanpur, 2020 in Parry and Gordon, 2020).

3. Economically unstable position

Due to existing gender norms, girls and women are more often negatively affected during as well as after the time of the crisis. For many women their economic position is often already unstable, a time of crisis makes them even more vulnerable. This often results in women losing their jobs (OECD, 01-04-2020), because they mostly tend to work in the informal sector (or 'vulnerable employment') and with temporary contracts (Kabeer, 2015). Rural women are more vulnerable than men because they have access to fewer productive inputs, markets, services such as finance, extension and information (OECD, 01-04-2020). This makes it harder for them to keep their businesses going or to rebuild once the time is right. For rural women working in agriculture, the lockdowns leave them unable to reach their farms or plantations and unable to reach the (local) market. For these women to become financially dependent on their family or husband would have negative consequences for their empowerment (Montalvao and Van de Velde, 19-05-2020). On the top of that, if male family members or husbands lose their job this could also severely affect women - in relation to GBV as mentioned but also because the family would be without money. This increased burden worsens when coupled with potential loss of income due to the mortality of other household income earners. The economic impact of COVID-19 outbreaks on women and girls could be long-term and widespread (Hidrobo et al., 2020). One of the possible effects, as learned from previous crises, is that women were unable to pay back loans from village savings and loan associations, which reduced the capital of the associations and affected women's long-term economic prospects.

Differences of local context on the position of women

The impacts of the measures taken in response to COVID-19 are different in various parts of the world and vary between areas. For instance, with people residing in refugee camps there is a very specific issue regarding a lack of sanitation as well as the possibility of social distancing which increases the chances of the virus spreading and taking victims (UNHCR, 2020). Furthermore, the impacts have had different effects in urban areas, causing situations and problems that differ from those in rural areas. When it comes to people living in the cities, the most high-risk places for the vulnerabilities of people is in urban slums. *“The close to one billion people that are estimated to live in urban slums or informal settlements are highly susceptible to COVID-19 infection since basic needs such as water, toilets, sewers, drainage, waste collection, and secure and adequate housing are already in short supply or non-existent.”* (Corburn et al., 2020). Often times many households in slums consist of large families sharing small living spaces as well as bedrooms. These circumstances are creating ideal conditions for disease transmission, where the virus might spread easily throughout the community (Lopez and Moloney, 2020). Not having access to proper sanitation is a serious issue in relation to COVID-19, as the main instrument of fighting the spread of this virus is good hygiene (Corburn et al, 2020). The measures and circumstances as a result of the pandemic are thus having more disturbing consequences in these areas.

Additionally, economic vulnerability increases for many of these people as they are largely working in the informal sector. Many people are therefore dependent on daily wages and cannot afford to stay home and miss work (Mberu et al, 2014). *“Governments have already begun to impose draconian quarantine and physical distancing measures for the urban poor without also ensuring that those residing in urban slums can meet their everyday needs, such as food and clean water”* (Corburn et al., 2020), leading to the increased negative effects in these areas. This is somewhat similar to people in rural areas working in agriculture who depend on selling their crops for a living. There are nevertheless differences in circumstances that influence the positionality of women during times of the pandemic. The consequences of the measures such as the stay-at-home orders have proven to increase domestic and gender-based violence due to over-crowded living spaces and increased levels of stress and anxiety (Sommer et al., 2015). This way, the negative effects of the pandemic

and the measures taken in response to the outbreak of the virus have varying consequences related to context for the position of women.

Development organizations and their role regarding the COVID-19 pandemic

Non-governmental organizations are usually nonprofit, active in the social sciences of humanitarianism, providing services for its members and those in need. Orientation of these organizations often revolve around providing service, creating participation, offering charities and establishing empowerment. Organizations that work through charities are relying most on a top-down effect that offers little input or participation from the beneficiaries. These organizations striving for empowerment relies on a strong bottom-up approach where the NGO works as a facilitator to guide people in understanding their positionality with the aim to increase the awareness of their power to control their own lives. The world knows many kinds of NGOs and they all have differing goals and objectives, but together their aim is to contribute to a better world (Werker and Ahmed 2008). For this research three organizations were chosen to analyze the Dutch perspectives on the impacts of COVID-19 on rural women compared to the viewpoint of an international movement with concerns and interests of beneficiaries from all over the world, as well as three globally active organizations. Therefore, the organizations chosen are the World Health Organization, the United Nations Women, the Food and Agriculture Organization, La Via Campesina, Cordaid, Solidaridad and ActionAid.

World Health Organization

The WHO, being the coordinating and directing authority on international health within the UN⁷, takes on general activities worldwide to “promote health, keep the world safe, and serve the vulnerable”⁸. To be able to carry out these activities, the WHO gets its funding from two main sources: Member States paying their assessed contributions (countries’ membership

⁷ <https://www.who.int/about/who-we-are/our-values>

⁸ <https://www.who.int/about/what-we-do>

dues), and voluntary contributions from Member States and other partners. When it comes to the pandemic, this organization has taken on a key role to globally inform people and governments about the virus and its latest developments as well as ways to tackle it. Their overall activities include the following.

On January 30, the outbreak of COVID-19 was declared by the WHO to be a Public Health Emergency of International Concern. On March 1, WHO confirmed the need for supporting and protecting those most vulnerable when the UN released a fund for essential activities to the WHO to help contain the virus after the global risk of the outbreak was upgraded to 'very high' (WHO, 01-03-2020). In order to do so the COVID-19 Solidarity Response Fund was founded on March 13, enabling corporations, individuals, foundations, and other organizations around the world to directly support global efforts, led by WHO, to help countries prevent, detect, and respond to the COVID-19 pandemic (WHO, 13-03-2020). By the end of March, a joint statement was released regarding concerns towards international food supply and food security. In order to prevent price spikes and price volatility, WHO says that food uncertainty must be tackled early on - decreasing the chances of shortages on the global market (WHO, 30-03-2020 a). This message was reconfirmed on April 20 when the heads of the United Nations' major agencies issued a warning of the risk of COVID-19 to the world's most vulnerable countries - agreeing that now is the time to step up together to help others. Only then can needless suffering be prevented and can a better future for all be promised (WHO, 20-04-2020 a). Additionally, the WHO collaborated with the International Telecommunication Union (ITU), UNICEF and telecommunication companies to help protect people from the virus by using texts to get health messaging directly on people's mobile phones. (WHO, 20-04-2020 b).

UN Women

UN Women works on creating and upholding a fair and safe environment for women and girls globally and are therefore the self-proclaimed "global champion for gender equality".⁹ In their work towards women's empowerment and gender equality they rely "almost

⁹ <https://www.unwomen.org/en/about-us>

entirely on voluntary financial contributions”¹⁰, the majority of which comes from funding by government partners.

When it comes to standing up for the rights of women in times of the COVID-19 pandemic, and more specifically that of rural women, UN Women has been analyzing, researching and fighting the effects of the pandemic raising awareness for the ‘shadow pandemic’ it has created. They have found the many negative effects this pandemic could create for women all over the world and are demanding action for the threatened livelihoods of women caused by increased danger of discrimination, violence and poverty (UN Women, 06-04-2020). One of the first things they addressed, was the visible gender inequality during the fight with COVID-19 by looking at women on the frontline. In their understanding *“COVID-19 provides us with an opportunity for radical, positive action to redress long-standing inequalities in multiple areas of women’s lives.”* (UN Women, 20-03-2020). It is up to the governments to actively include a gender perspective into their COVID-19 response plan (UN Women, 20-03-2020). They emphasize the opportunity of ways in which governments can take action and build back better, in the needs of women (UN Women, 26-03-2020). Vulnerable groups, among which are women, need help and support during these challenging times. Therefore, UN Women discusses that women’s organizations should be recognized as a key contributor in the responses to the pandemic - making sure no one is left behind (UN Women, 11-05-2020).

UN Women is committed to mitigating the negative economic impacts of the crisis, supporting cooperatives and helping women adapt by providing technical assistance (UN Women, 22-07-2020). One of UN women’s programs currently active in Myanmar, gives out funds to women helping them run their businesses through these tough times. This program has been *“strengthening women’s livelihood skills in the agriculture and cottage industries and women’s knowledge of finances, markets and business development”* (UN Women, 22-05-2020). During early stages of the pandemic, UN women made sure that existing programming was adapted to responses in the COVID-19 crisis - raising public awareness and including women. A project from UN women is currently active in Georgia, training

¹⁰ <https://www.unwomen.org/en/partnerships/donor-countries>

women in economic empowerment and going beyond that through inspiring solidarity and giving back (UN Women, 03-06-2020).

Food and Agriculture Organization

The FAO is an agency of the United Nations, specialized in leading international efforts to defeat hunger. Their goal is to “achieve food security for all”. An important aspect of that is making sure people everywhere are able to live healthy lives by having regular access to enough high-quality food.¹¹ By working on food security and fighting hunger, FAO is running many different kinds of projects that relate to food and agricultural issues such as climate change, biodiversity loss, increasing sustainability in agriculture and food safety. The total budget FAO had available for their activities in the period 2018-2019 was 2.6 billion dollars. 61 per cent of this among was mobilized through voluntary contributions from members and other partners, while 39 per cent came from assessed contributions paid by member countries.¹²

The FAO has its focus on assessments of the pandemic’s impacts through policy briefs, desiring strengthening the agriculture sector and ending hunger. Their website is filled with information on the global situation during this pandemic from big data to policy briefs, responses to official publications, multimedia or examples of stories from all over the world. They explain their role is to understand the virus; it’s origin and spread while simultaneously contributing to mitigating the pandemic’s impact on food and agriculture. During this time of crisis, they are focusing on safeguarding the food security and livelihoods of the most vulnerable, protecting those working in the agricultural sector. FAO is currently “*working to support the design of gender-responsive policy measures in the COVID-19 response that address the needs of rural women and men; integrating gender equality in strategies and recovery plans, paying attention to informal workers and gender inequalities in agriculture and rural sectors; as well as designing long-term responses*” (FAO, 15-05-2020). They aim to ensure a unified ‘one health’ approach that recognizes the interconnectivity of humans, animals,

¹¹ <http://www.fao.org/about/en/>

¹² <http://www.fao.org/about/how-we-work/en/>

plants and their shared environments - focusing on its relevance in fighting threats to food systems, agricultural production and livelihoods.

La Via Campesina

La Via Campesina (LVC) are an international movement of farmer organizations aiming to fight neoliberal policies, capitalism and patriarchy in order to achieve a 'new world' based on social justice, gender equality and food sovereignty (Park et al. 2015). According to this movement, food sovereignty is a precondition to food security and calls for people to have the power to decide what their food system should look like (Patel, 2009). Food sovereignty allows communities control over the way food is produced, traded and consumed. The establishment of La Via Campesina is an example of the strengthening of local communities in order to use their agency to take back the power over their land. It could create a food system that is more locally oriented, designed to help people and the environment rather than make profits for multinational corporations (Patel, 2009). LVC is reliant on funds and partnerships in a way that allows to guarantee independence and autonomy (Martinez-Torres and Rosset, 2010). This way they can be a bottom-up, independent and strong movement, led by poor people.

LVC have done their best to mobilize their partners in agricultural communities while demanding the governments to channel resources to the people and places where it is needed most (LVC, 07-04-2020). They are pointing fingers to capitalism being a root-cause of the problems of exclusion and inequality as well as malfunctioning agricultural systems. LVC is demanding governments to take greater care, believing that this health crisis is worsening the wounds from global capitalism (LVC, 16-04-2020). On the top of that, LVC proposes economic measures such as protection of workers and taxing the wealthy, suspension of rent payments and a moratorium on public debt. They say broadening the distribution of food through the National School Food Program is fundamental. Schools can be utilized to distribute food to families of students, while canteens and food banks must be strengthened in agreement with the WHO. In their opinion, it is LVC's task to help and support people on their way towards food sovereignty and food security. In response to the pandemic as well as for building resilience regarding future crises, producing healthy food is the most effective way to stand strong (LVC, 21-04-2020).

Cordaid

Cordaid is an originally Dutch organization that grew out to be international body with a large network. Cordaid's work is focused on ending poverty and exclusion in all parts of the world¹³. The biggest sponsor to make their work possible is a Dutch organization called the 'Nationale Postcode Loterij', or national zip code lottery. Moreover, the ASN Bank is a contributing sponsor that shares their sustainability mission. Additionally, there are many smaller companies sponsoring Cordaid as well as individual sponsors. Cordaid reports to use 93,2% of every euro they receive from donors, the other 6,8% goes to costs made in the Netherlands such as for recruiting new donors¹⁴.

When it comes to their activities regarding the COVID-19 pandemic, Cordaid's focus is providing emergency aid as well as ending poverty and exclusion. Most activities include spreading awareness and information as well as handing out sanitary and precautionary material (Cordaid, 2020). Currently they are using their voice to raise awareness about the socioeconomic effects of the measures taken in response to COVID-19. They do not accept this world of inequality, exclusion, and unsustainability and fight for inclusiveness believing it can have long-stretching positive effects on society. According to this organization the right move would be to deploy the support measures that are necessary now for a structurally honest and sustainable change. This means taking an international well-coordinated approach with COVID-19 response plans integrated into existing projects. When it comes to direct action Cordaid is distributing knowledge on the disease, from symptoms to transmission and prevention as well as tackling rumors on radio shows. In ways of prevention they are distributing soap and protection kits while improving waste management. Most importantly the organization is focusing on continuing what they were doing. Cordaid integrates COVID-19 response activities into ongoing health, humanitarian and resilience responses (Cordaid, 23-03-2020). They work at grassroots level by empowering women, supporting them to use their voice and agency in getting control over their personal lives as well as at community level. In order to voice their message and help those in need, Cordaid is organizing prevention campaigns but also providing sanitizing

¹³ <https://www.cordaid.org/en/who-we-are/about-us/>

¹⁴ <https://www.cordaid.org/nl/faq/hoeveel-van-de-inkomsten-gaat-naar-de-mensen-in-ontwikkelingslanden/>

products in rural areas. Therefore, Cordaid formulated several policy recommendations and requests - aiming for structural and continued support from their international community to enhance human security and promote a gendered response to the pandemic (Cordaid, 07-05-2020).

Solidaridad

Solidaridad is a development organization that envisions a world where producing and consuming is established in a way that is respectful of our planet and each other. They strive towards their vision by *“bringing together supply chain players and engaging them with innovative solutions to improve production, ensuring the transition to a sustainable and inclusive economy that maximizes the benefit for all”*¹⁵. In order to finance these activities, Solidaridad receives the majority of their funding from government subsidies. Other nonprofit organizations and the Dutch Postcode Lottery are also important sources of income. The rest of their budget comes from individuals, companies and related organizations (Solidaridad, 2019).

Solidaridad’s main message is striving for solidarity and inclusivity within supply chains because together we achieve, learn and progress. In solidarity, production practices can be transformed to promote fair and profitable businesses that are in harmony with the environment and create decent livelihoods. Solidarity includes gender equality as an essential aspect to sustainable development because women make up half the population and should therefore be recognized in policy design (Solidaridad 2020). Their agenda is a call for action that includes spreading information and awareness while offering trainings and demonstrations as well as remote support with digital tools (Solidaridad, 21-05-2020). As of the early stages of the pandemic, they emphasize that support for smallholder farmers is more important than ever before. Through these digital tools, Solidaridad is actively staying engaged with farmers (Solidaridad, 21-05-2020). On top of that, they are distributing personal protection kits in rural areas to ensure hygiene and better safety for agricultural workers (Solidaridad, 23-06-2020).

¹⁵ <https://www.solidaridadnetwork.org/about>

ActionAid

ActionAid is a development organization that supports people in standing up for their rights. Their annual budget is addressed on their website¹⁶ and amounts approximately 3.3 million euros. The majority of ActionAid's projects are funded by grant money from institutional donors such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. They provide 70 per cent of their budget. ActionAid is additionally for 28 per cent supported in their income by approximately 12.000 private donors. Only 2 per cent of their income comes from other non-profit organizations.¹⁷

In light of the pandemic, interwoven with regular activities, this organization has a global campaign for structural sustainable changes that is working on tackling underlying causes of poverty and inequality by fighting skewed power relations that perpetuate unfair policies. This means facing problems head on at the root, in order to prevent similar crises in the future. This way the support measures for this crisis will go beyond the health crisis, integrally targeting the climate crisis and all its consequences as well (ActionAid, 19-05-2020). Their approach is human rights based; they listen to what people need and include local partners in their work in the field of women's rights, sustainable living, emergency aid and a fair economy. Women's rights are one of their top priorities as they believe women are a catalyst for change and moreover, a driving force in reducing hunger and poverty. Therefore, they fight for equal rights and protection of women proving their potential for igniting positive change while helping them earn an income, strengthening (leadership) positions and creating inclusivity.

Regarding the COVID-19 response plan, ActionAid sets out five important shortcomings and addresses that there is a need for better alternatives that offer social protection. Instead of large-scale industrial farming and global value chains governments should aim for strengthening local food systems and small-holder farming (ActionAid, 12-06-2020). On the top of that, they reach out to the IMF to dismiss the debts of poor countries that are currently struggling and set up emergency funds to help those worst-off and to leave no-one behind (ActionAid, 14-07-2020). This includes working on sustainable rebuilding, as well as establishing inclusive and green agriculture. In an article from July 17, 2020,

¹⁶ <https://actionaid.nl/resultaten/transparantie/>

¹⁷ <https://actionaid.nl/resultaten/transparantie/>

ActionAid calls for a new power balance to improve female status and positions in the long term by promoting female leadership - arguing it is key to saving lives. Not including women in emergency aid will only increase existing inequalities and keeps women locked in a subordinate position (ActionAid, 17-07-2020).

1. Presentation and discussion of the data

1.1 Perspectives from global organizations on impacts of responses

There are several key players with a prominent role in the response to the COVID-19 outbreak and the consequences of the pandemic. The following thematic chapters will build up to the frame analysis by first discussing the measures and their effects on rural women's positionalities. Chapters 1.1 and 1.2 will elaborate on the activities and viewpoints of the organizations more in-depth. This display of the data is necessary in order to lay out the foundation for the frame analysis. Therefore, chapter 1.1 offers a description and explanation of the data from the WHO, UN Women and the FAO followed by a critical analysis. Chapter 1.2 also offers an explanation and description for the data from LVC, ActionAid, Solidaridad and Cordaid followed by a critical analysis of that data. After the data has been presented and critically reviewed, the second chapter will illustrate the frame analysis.

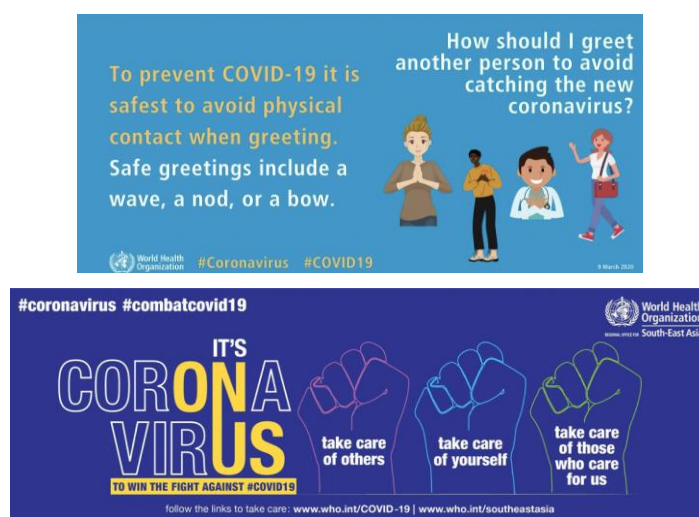


Figure 2: Images from WHO (2020) COVID-19 Preparedness and Response Progress Report

World Health Organization

The WHO is the first organization - which is responsible for international public health and monitoring the development of the pandemic - that is associated with COVID-19, because their task and responsibility is to warn and protect people globally. They are the main source of providing guidance for countries on how to respond to the outbreak of the Coronavirus

disease 2019 and have published many sources of information from statements and news articles to official research documents and publications.

On January 13, WHO confirmed they were working with officials in Thailand and China following reports of confirmation of the novel coronavirus in a person in Thailand who traveled from Wuhan, China (WHO, 13-01-2020). In February, the WHO wrote they were convening a global research and innovation forum to mobilize international action in response to the new virus. This forum will set clear global research priorities, bringing together key players with the potential to lead to more global efficient investments and high-quality research (WHO, 06-02-2020). To help countries navigate through these challenging tasks, the guidelines include direct actions countries could consider but mostly stressing the importance of keeping information up to date (WHO, 30-03-2020 b). April 3 marked the announcement of an agreement between the WHO and UNICEF to fund global COVID-19 responses through strengthening communities and health care sectors in order to prevent, detect and treat the virus. This will be especially important for vulnerable social groups, women and children. Additionally, *“it will accelerate research and development of treatments and preventive vaccines”* (WHO, 03-04-2020). An article from May focused on the societal consequences of the pandemic and the possible mental health crisis that is lurking. Already, there is an increased amount of people suffering from depression and anxiety. Therefore, there is a need to find different ways to provide services for these issues so that people worldwide can get the care they need under the current circumstances. Additionally, the mental health care system should be built back better to fit our post-pandemic society (WHO, 14-05-2020). Solidarity and shared humanity have been a common thread for the WHO and was a key message during the historic 73rd World Health Assembly - the first-ever to be held virtually (WHO, 19-05-2020). An important aspect of helping and including everyone is making sure that all people have access to vital information. On June 22, an informational cartoon video of the character ‘Mr. Bean’ showing essential tips to protect people against COVID-19 was published to help spread awareness and reach as many people as possible (WHO, 22-06-2020). Then, considering global solidarity, working together will also play a major role in trying to achieve Zero Hunger by 2030. The pandemic is intensifying the vulnerabilities and inadequacies of global food systems, calling for a need to change them. This could and should offer a *“momentous shift ensuring that it unfolds in a sustainable way*

for people and the planet” (WHO, 13-07-2020). The crisis is not yet under control and taking different shapes in different countries. Messages given out earlier still stand, there is a global need for cooperation and solidarity to fight this virus and tackle the pandemic.

Preliminary interpretations

After structurally summarizing and analyzing the data from the WHO, many articles were included, some of which were very similar to each other. Throughout the various articles, it shows that the WHO have their main focus on getting as much vital information to as many people as possible. By doing so, they live up to their responsibility and goal of spreading awareness, about the risks of the virus as well as ways to protect oneself and support one another. Solidarity is a key concept on their agenda. The main target in their response plan is to strengthen communities as well as systems, build resilience and create as much inclusivity by forming partnerships, promoting cooperation and prioritizing those who are most vulnerable. This shows from the buzzwords they regularly use. Additionally, based on recognizing the four functions of frames by Entmann (1993), the WHO is presenting the pandemic and the virus that caused it to be the problem in their reporting. They are assigning responsibility to the governments to step up and protect their people. WHO furthermore states that it is everyone’s job to look out for themselves and others. The main goal and best solution to the pandemic is to make as many people as possible understand what to do in order to prevent and protect themselves from COVID-19.

United Nations Women

With their work, UN Women focuses on the different effects on women caused by the pandemic. Relatively early in the pandemic, signs of increased gender-based violence (GBV) started to show. On March 24, UN women posted on the dangers of these challenging times and the risks it poses to women and girls, recognizing the critical role of women’s networks and organizations (UN Women, 24-03-2020). It was not until April 6 that the phrase ‘shadow pandemic’ was coined. The reasons for the increase in GBV are linked to women being isolated with their violent partners while being separated from people and sources that can help them while the tension within households rise due to confinement, caused by worries over security, health and money. According to the UN “*we must not only survive the*

coronavirus, but emerge renewed, with women as a powerful force at the center of recovery" (UN Women, 06-04-2020). Additionally, they address that the world should not only be paying attention to women, but women farmers. An article from April 15 discusses the crucial position of women farmers in China, with a critical role for the country's food security - giving these women a voice while amplifying messages of solidarity and recognition of women's contributions (UN Women, 15-04-2020). Despite this knowledge and UN's effort to bring this information to light, women and girls are being left behind in the COVID-19 responses.

An inspirational case of women setting examples for others and for the future comes from female farmers in Georgia showing their humanity and solidarity helping the most-needy families in their communities take care of their agricultural fields while they are sick or in the hospital. A similar situation presents itself in Guatemala, where indigenous women are using their knowledge and sense of solidarity to assist their communities and strengthen livelihoods. While their activities are crucial during COVID-19 responses, the important role of these women also proves the necessity of including them in rebuilding back better and strengthening economic empowerment. UN women is realizing the value of this unique opportunity, listening to the voices of Guatemalan (indigenous) women and prioritizing their position in economic business opportunities (UN Women, 29-06-2020). *"While the pandemic exposes and exacerbates different forms of inequalities and vulnerabilities, it also makes clear that women are actors of change and are capable of responding to a crisis of such magnitude."* (22-07-2020).

Preliminary interpretations

The articles from UN Women are very informative and therefore fit this research very well. This data discusses many different sides of the role of women in times of this pandemic, highlighting the various ways in which women everywhere are vulnerable to the impacts of the measures. Additionally, it stresses the importance of realizing the position of women and the impacts of the pandemic, specifically because of the measures taken in response.

When analyzing the individual articles, it seems that most of the early articles are largely about the issues and their causes. Following these articles, there are a number of articles mostly about the lessons they are showing and the possible solutions. Some of the

latest articles are used for emphasizing the issues and the severity. Overall, UN Women's focus is on the following topics: empowerment, recognizing critical women's role and positions, putting women at the center, gender inequalities, (economic) autonomy for women, resilience, solidarity and compassion, development opportunities, offering support, the severity and impacts of the shadow pandemic and women's strengths.

Following the four functions of frames by Entmann (1993), UN Women emphasizes the many problems for women as side effects from the pandemic caused by COVID-19. Some of these issues are increased gender-based violence or the vulnerable and unstable economic positions of many women. They discuss how the causes to these problems are structural societal concerns such as gendered inequalities and the lack of inclusiveness of women. According to UN Women, women should be included and given a fair chance. The solutions to the problems that were enlarged by the pandemic lie within the resilience of women themselves. They are seen as actors of change.

Food and Agriculture Organization

As previously mentioned, the FAO has been targeting and striving to secure the agricultural sector and food security, especially of those working in agriculture. The available publications on their website discuss topics such as keeping food and agricultural systems alive, COVID-19 and food safety, comparing the 'great lockdown' versus the great recession. Under multimedia, the website provides video's on supporting farmers and fair and healthy food (systems). It also offers several stories from farmers' experiences during the pandemic all over the world. One interesting set of sources to be found on the FAO website is social media cards, informational images for people to use globally to spread awareness about the virus and how to tackle it through social media. The page with information from the media has a few articles from different countries about the crisis and its impacts. There are over 50 policy briefs about COVID-19 on FAO's website offering a great range of data, some of the most relevant for this research of which will be discussed here.

A brief from April 8 discusses the particularly challenging fight against COVID-19 in rural areas. As with the informal sector, vulnerable rural populations - women in particular - will be significantly affected by the direct and indirect economic impact of COVID-19,

leading to an increase in hunger and poverty. For this reason, FAO stresses that social protection is needed to ensure communities can take the necessary measures and to support resilience in times of crisis. On May 15, a brief is published that dives further into the gendered impacts of the pandemic. It explains how *“containment measures pose new challenges to rural women with regard to their roles in maintaining household food security, as agricultural producers, farm managers, processors, traders, wage workers and entrepreneurs.”* Evidence from past and present crises shows the need to a gender-sensitive approach. The policy brief explains why responses should consider the positions and role of women in agriculture and make sure they are adequately addressed in new policies (FAO, 15-05-2020). This brief explains that a main target should be to include women in the response strategies, stimulating active participation and leadership to make sure their perspectives are considered. With experiences from Latin America, on May 21, the impacts of COVID-19 on the labor market (and more specifically on the agriculture sector) were explored. The agri-food sector is essential to the regional economy and highly labor intensive. Simultaneously, it is vulnerable for its high percentage of informality - with large parts of the informal workers being women. FAO explains that in light of the ‘leave no-one behind approach’, regarding the imposed restrictions, it is crucial not to lose sight of those people most vulnerable. In an earlier brief FAO explained they are likely to experience further exacerbation of their vulnerability, which is why response measures should take the position of these people into account by tailoring measures specifically to vulnerable subgroups (FAO, 07-04-2020). A policy brief from June 5 discussed building more resilient food systems during and after the pandemic. As the coronavirus will be with us for some time to come, FAO addresses their understanding that it would be in everyone’s best interest to *“build resilience into food systems to safeguard them against future economic and health shocks as part of stimulus measures to ensure food access.”* (FAO, 05-06-2020). In order to do so, there is a need for social protection to be expanded, and governments should work on actively solving disruptions in food supply chains as they arise. A brief from June 18 discusses how COVID-19 is likely to worsen existing inequalities. Inequalities between countries are showing during the crisis because higher- and middle-income countries are managing to address the pandemic while many lower-income countries are struggling and *“will face greater difficulties addressing the health, social and economic consequences of the*

pandemic" (FAO 18-06-2020). To combat the negative economic and societal effects of increasing inequalities, FAO stresses that it must become a priority to explicitly tackle them directly and in the long term.

Preliminary interpretations

The data from the FAO discusses the many aspects of the possible vulnerabilities that are created during and by this pandemic. It is therefore very informative and of high interest for this research. Based on noticeable buzzwords used, this data applies focus on the vulnerability that is created by the pandemic on the agricultural sector, on people and on food security. It therefore emphasizes the importance of strengthening social protection as well as resilience. The approach of the FAO is aimed at being more inclusive, linking the specific context to broader problems. It could be considered slightly one-sided or biased because of the focus on food and agriculture, but together with the WHO and UN Women it adds onto a diverse understanding of the multiple aspects of this pandemic.

Applying the four functions of frames by Entmann (1993), the problem assigned by the FAO refers to the many threats for those most vulnerable. The cause of these problems is assigned to the pandemic and the necessary measurements that had to be taken. FAO addresses the need to support those most vulnerable, for instance by tackling existing gender norms and creating more inclusion for women. In order to solve the problems that have become more visible during this time of crisis, FAO explains there is a need for more gender-sensitivity as well as more resilient and sustainable food systems. This way, there can be an increase in the possibility to ensure food access.

1.2 Perspectives development organizations on impacts of responses

La Via Campesina

According to La Via Campesina the main focus in combatting the pandemic should be on strengthening local communities and increasing solidarity across movements and borders (LVC, 26-05-2020). LVC is recognizing the importance of strengthening peasant's rights and resilience, highlighting the even more vulnerable position of women (LVC, 01-05-2020). They have a very powerful voice, being an international organization with strong connections. They hope for the possibility that the crisis might redefine the world into one that creates an equal and just society that puts life over profit. As of now, food security is too dependent on import from large international food industries and global value chains. Their message is that food sovereignty offers the best defense against economic shock. Agriculture should then be kept out of all free trade negotiations and the only trade should rely on cooperation instead of competition (LVC, 28-04-2020 b). LVC strives for a new food system that is more inclusive and sustainable, in which small-scale farmers are supported to ensure people's right and access to healthy food.

The pandemic is highlighting how countries are becoming too dependent on large international food industries. Increasingly growing corporate giants have been pushing small farmers out of business for years while governments are doing too little to protect small and local food producers. LVC believes that international trade should no longer be defined by the sense of a competitive free market economy (LVC, 28-04-2020 b). In another article published on the same day they address once more that the corona crisis harms those that feed us. When it comes to small scale farmers, the pandemic shows their position is ever more important to ensure food security in different parts of the world. Therefore, the world is in need of a new food system that protects these farmers from violence, injustice and hunger (LVC, 28-04-2020 a). Because of the global interconnectedness and the vulnerability, it creates for our food system, this change towards a more resilient future of food production must be strived for in solidarity by strengthening local food systems (LVC, 26-05-2020).

Preliminary interpretations

When reading their articles, it seems that LVC is more actively promoting a critical outlook towards the pandemic and its implications in their messaging (LVC, 28-04-2020 a). This could be because they are more closely connected to the farmers and the struggles they face. They have a clear and direct approach regarding the increased problems and reasons to make changes (LVC, 26-05-2020). Furthermore, it is interesting to notice that most articles were published in April. After a brief period of active publishing they were not as engaged anymore. Since May, only three articles were posted (as of November 17). Additionally, there were three articles that disappeared from the website.

When using the four functions of frames by Entmann (1993) it shows that La Via Campesina is using the pandemic as a way to highlight or emphasize and address structural systematical issues. The movement criticizes the strict measures that were put in place in response to the pandemic and blames the irresponsible governments as well as the capitalist system. Lessons taken by LVC from this time of crisis are that there is a need for supporting the vulnerable as well as inclusivity from and with everyone. The answer to the issues would be to create a new (food) system supported by solidarity and strong leadership, offering food sovereignty based on local production which would increase sustainability. The core of the message is that there is a need to make this a time for change, to increase solidarity as well as sustainability and aim for food sovereignty based on (small-scale) local production leading to a fair and healthy food system.

Cordaid

Cordaid has launched a 6-month COVID-19 prevention and control response, which entails spreading information about the virus and its prevention as well as distributing soap and personal protection kits while addressing the importance of long-term adjustments (Cordaid, 09-05-2020). According to them, this pandemic and the lockdown measures are a major setback for women - portraying their belief in a gendered approach to a COVID-19 response. The crisis is exacerbating inequalities and hardships for the worst-off. They also recognize that women are facing increased gender-based violence, higher amounts of house chores while simultaneously being the main care takers (in households as well as

communities). For this reason, there is a need for direct implementation of gender rights into the COVID-19 approach as well as for long-term plans. *"We don't combat one disease or virus or focus on one target group. Instead, we strengthen existing health systems in their entirety. If those systems are better equipped as a whole, they will also be better prepared to prevent and combat viruses like COVID-19."* (Cordaid, 30-03-2020)¹⁸. When it comes to tackling GBV, their message is to look at societies holistically. Women's vulnerable position and issues such as *"(S)GBV in crisis settings is not ranking very high on the international and national agendas. It is overshadowed by the focus on short-term solutions."* Addressing and changing this is of utmost priority (Cordaid, 22-06-2020). They exclaim their preference for sustaining over rebuilding.

Cordaid The Netherlands shares on March 11 that this crisis unites us globally. Additionally, it proves that health risks are not bounded to national boundaries. *"There is a need for an international, well-coordinated approach that prioritizes sufficient supplies for strengthening the health care sector, prevention of infectious diseases and the availability of sufficient material and personal."*¹⁹ (Cordaid, 18-03-2020). They confirm the need to pay extra attention to those most vulnerable, in addition to increasing resilience for (possible) future pandemics and do so by integrating COVID-19 response plans into pre-existing projects (Cordaid, 23-03-2020). On March 28, an interview with a Dutch health expert was posted - which was translated into English and posted onto the [actionaid.org](https://www.actionaid.org) page two days later. As of April, the first articles about the consequences of COVID-19 measures were published. For example, in Uganda the lockdown is causing a national threat of hunger. In South-Soudan the measures are increasing the risks of people suffering from lack of food. Most people prefer to choose to continue working and going to the market, risking chances of catching the virus. Cordaid is helping in trying to stop the spread of the virus by distributing information and precaution material such as masks and soap. When June came around, the articles discussed the more drastic and long-term effects caused by the impacts of COVID-19. *"Africa is in desperate need of support and 'air'. Now more than ever, a gesture of the Dutch humanity is in place. The virus does not stop at the borders."* (Cordaid, 04-06-2020). The message from this article is really that we need solidarity, together we fight this pandemic.

¹⁸ translation of a Dutch interview

¹⁹ translated quote

Preliminary interpretations

Important to Cordaid is the introduction of new initiatives in response to COVID-19 while continuing running projects as well. Their goal is to incorporate COVID-19 responses into existing projects while spreading information and awareness. Active participation from Cordaid can be found in providing hygienic and sanitary materials as well as in improving health sectors. Based on buzzwords found in Cordaid's articles, their focus is on those poorest and most vulnerable, raising awareness about the impacts (on these groups of people in particular) and familiarizing the reader with active projects through presenting their work.

Using the four functions of frames by Entmann (1993) to analyze the articles by Cordaid, the biggest problems are to be found in the threat of famines, increased gender-based violence and the vulnerable positions of those most at risk (Cordaid, 22-06-2020). Cordaid assigns the causes of these problems to be the measures taken in response to Covid-19 and malfunctioning health systems (Cordaid, 15-04-2020 and 09-05-2020). They say the measures are bound to have long-lasting effects (Cordaid, 22-06-2020), increasing the need to strengthen public health systems and increasing economic resilience. Cordaid has been doing that for years (Cordaid, 30-03-2020). The solution Cordaid hopes for is a wake-up call, one that is based on the need to spread information and awareness. One that ignites solidarity and increases working more closely together with local communities (Cordaid, 18-03-2020 and 30-03-2020).

Solidaridad

Solidaridad is mainly promoting the slogan to 'Build Back Better' in a way that is more sustainable, fair and resilient. *"The impact of the COVID-19 pandemic shows that it is time for real change. Time for a resilient society in which everyone has access to healthcare, food and basic income. A society that prioritizes caring for our planet and all its inhabitants."* (Solidaridad, 03-06-2020). According to them, the toll on agriculture is not yet fully reckoned but will be of serious concern. Within these effects, they recognize the significance of gender analysis and argue that policy responses should be tailored and targeted towards women in agriculture to make sure they are supported and to leverage on their capacity to keep the food system functional (Solidaridad, 2020). Only when women and gender issues are

considered a key aspect in policy design can gender inclusivity be achieved (Solidaridad, 2020). This understanding is incorporated into the 'leave no-one behind' approach for marginalized people and should be applied to gender inequality as well. It acknowledges that policy should be implemented among the worst-off first, or the existing gap between worst-off and best-off will increase. Women working in agriculture are often a part of these marginalized groups. For that reason, Solidaridad is striving to ensure increased participation of women (Solidaridad, 17-04-2020). In light of COVID-19, inclusivity actions are seen as a possible solution that can repel negative impacts. Solidaridad posted an article on five predictions post COVID-19, the fourth being a reorganization of food supply chains (Solidaridad, 26-05-2020). With an eye on the growing world population the current global focus is on fast and cheap food that is often unhealthy, preferred over healthier foods that are slower and more expensive. This model keeps the gap between the poor and the rich in place because rich people can afford to eat naturally nutritious and organic salads while the poor feed themselves with highly produced snacks and fast food. On the top of that, the more food we make at less price the smaller the returns for the small farmers are (Solidaridad, 26-05-2020). For our society post COVID-19, Solidaridad believes that we can do better than our untenable normal and tackle these issues. This entails increased (gender) equality, inclusivity and sustainability.

Preliminary interpretations

When it comes to Solidaridad, their website says that for a short-term solution to food insecurity and the vulnerable positions of small-scale farmers *"Solidaridad welcomes partnerships with development investors and foundations, as well as government ministries, departments and agencies to scale the use of digital innovations in support of vulnerable producers and enterprises to grow as the world adapts to the new reality of physical distancing."* (Solidaridad, 21-05-2020). Regarding the longer term, they state that we must do better and not return to the 'untenable normal', but rebuild a society that focuses on resilience, sustainability, global cooperation, and justice. (Solidaridad, 03-06-2020) In order to do that Solidaridad is helping farmers to improve their resilience in a way that will protect them for unforeseen future challenges. In the eyes of Solidaridad a very optimistic outlook towards the future offers a reorganization of food production and trade which circulates

money while boosting local economies. *“There would be shorter and localized supply chains which would incentivize farmers to produce higher quality, healthy food while taking care of the environment.”* (Solidaridad, 26-05-2020).

According to Solidaridad, the measures that are being taken in response to COVID-19 are causing widespread hunger and poverty. The fear of the virus is impacting the global responses which is having many negative side effects. Solidaridad claims that now is the time for change. A time to show solidarity and work together, so that there is a chance to build back better. Towards a redefined system and society that is more inclusive and resilient. Buzzwords they use in their publications display their positive approach and how they want to encourage optimism. Solidaridad emphasizes the need for solidarity, creating partnerships and seizing opportunities to strengthen livelihoods.

ActionAid

According to ActionAid the right move in response to COVID-19 would be to deploy the support measures that are necessary now for a structurally honest and sustainable change. This means facing problems head on at the root, in order to prevent similar crises in the future (ActionAid, 19-05-2020). This way the support measures for this crisis will go beyond the health crisis, integrally targeting the climate crisis and all its consequences as well. Their response plan started early on by protecting people from the virus in the poorest countries. They offered help supporting local partners, their female leaders and communities by spreading information, handing out food packs, and giving demonstrations while stimulating governments to protect women from poverty and violence (ActionAid, 15-04-2020). On the top of that, *“their support should make sure that people who lack the power have a voice to stimulate inclusive development. Now more than ever in this crisis is that voice - and the organizations that speak up for that voice - threatened, minorities are being exploited or seen as the cause of the problem. In short, inequality increases.”* (ActionAid, 19-05-2020)²⁰. They agree that now is the time to invest in countries and people that have insufficient means to fight the crisis themselves. Striving for a ‘green recovery’ in solidarity will offer countries a more resilient future (ActionAid, 14-07-2020). According to ActionAid, the flaws of our

²⁰ translated quote

strongly globalized world are coming to the surface. Flaws that have possibly contributed to the emergence of this crisis. ActionAid emphasizes the hope that the situation this pandemic has created in which we repair these flaws will offer an opportunity for a global reset (ActionAid, 19-05-2020). There is a need for international solidarity that supports vulnerable countries and groups that include those who need it most - among which are women (ActionAid, 03-06-2020). They recognize that the pandemic is having heavier consequences for women - who take on the care giving role and are at higher risk of GBV - and call for a sustainable feminist rebuilding with a gender sensitive response. The crisis shows the vulnerabilities of the current global system. The organization shows the interconnected issues that arise within the agricultural business in relation to the position of female farmers and the importance of food access. Their understanding emphasizes that protecting women will create resilience and therefore ask governments of the Global South to secure female farmers. Late July they post another article stressing the increased inequalities as a result of the pandemic and how this hits many women hardest. These effects on the informal sector are treated by ActionAid in countries like Brazil, India and Ghana through spreading health advice, distributing protective aids and raising awareness (ActionAid, 20-07-2020).

Preliminary interpretations

ActionAid's response is aiming for inclusivity and this is incorporated in their response as well as in their reporting. ActionAid's articles voice that now is the time to *"find a new balance for the foundation of our society as a whole between natural resources we can use for our own prosperity and preserving biodiversity and natural processes"*²¹ (ActionAid, 19-05-2020) and to tackle inequalities. The COVID-19 pandemic and the measures that have been taken to stop the spread of the virus have *"uncovered the vulnerabilities and the negative sides of largescale industrial agriculture as well as the strong dependence on international trade now that they have completely collapsed. This emphasizes the importance and the need to strengthen local food systems based on small-scale agroecology"*²² (ActionAid, 17-06-2020). Thus, according to ActionAid, COVID-19 is causing a socioeconomic crisis leading to food

²¹ Translated quote

²² Translated quote

insecurity as well as hunger and malnutrition. The solution, short-term and long-term, lies within taking this moment to rebuild and reset towards strengthening local food systems and increasing resilience (ActionAid, 14-07-2020). ActionAid's focus is on sustainability and inclusiveness (towards women), creating a fair and green global system.

Following the four functions of frames by Entmann (1993) the problem lies with the increased issues due to the pandemic such as a (threatening) hunger crisis, increased inequalities and gender-based violence (17-06). There are several underlying causes to these problems, an example is the unbalanced relationship between human and environment. This is linked to the assigned cause of a malfunctioning global (agricultural and health) system (19-05 and 03-06). Action Aid says key concerns to strive towards a new power balance that includes everyone (with a focus on women) and increase resilience (17-07 and 19-05). The proposed solutions would be found in building back better, in a way that is more sustainable and local, contributing to a fairer and more green agriculture (17-06 and 14-07).

2. Frame analysis of the organizations

When reading and analyzing the perspectives from the different organizations it shows that every one of them has a message to bring to the audience. Throughout articles or published pieces, a certain common thread can be found with a main message and prioritized topics. The way these organizations are presenting their priorities offers the opportunity for the creation of frames. Through recognizing and identifying buzzwords in the texts, as well as in analyzing how organizations are presenting a problem, frames were found. In the words of Cornwall and Brock (2005): *“Buzzwords are, in this respect, what Williams called ‘keywords’: words that evoke, and come to carry, the cultural and political values of the time.” [...] “But buzzwords are more than pep-words. Their use in development discourse is not just to promote a we-can-do-it boost. The utopias that are shored up by development myths and bolstered by buzzwords are profoundly ideological constructions.”* (Cornwall and Brock, 2005). The way certain wordings are used within the text to portray and explain the situation or issues at hand is often contributed by buzzwords. For each of the organizations, the buzzwords from their texts have been identified. Additionally, the four functions of frames were considered - as explained by Entmann (1993) and as discussed in the Theoretical Framework. This analysis showed that there are three main frames to be found among these organizations, these three will be discussed below. It should be noted that these frames cannot offer a perfect fit and there will always be the possibility of overlap between frames and organizations. The placement of the frames is not a matter of a straightforward division. Therefore, for every frame there is a section that puts it in a broader context and pays attention to elaborations on the frame and connections to the other frames and organizations.

2.1 Spreading information and awareness

The overall frame the WHO, FAO and Cordaid are presenting is one of awareness and protection, supported by cooperation. Their texts are focused on informing and including as many people as possible so that we can all stand together during this crisis to make sure help is getting where it is needed most. For the FAO this also means spreading information in

order to protect the food sector, protect local food systems, protect food security and protect the livelihoods of those working in agriculture. Their platforms function as a major source of information, with experiences from people in the fields where Cordaid works.

Problems

Using the four frame functions by Entmann (1993) this frame is defining the pandemic as the issue, the virus itself being a *“global problem – one that requires truly global solutions”* (WHO, 13-03-2020). It is the measures taken in response to the outbreak of COVID-19 that are increasing inequalities within and between countries, leading to social societal issues such as *“social isolation, fear of contagion, and loss of family members is compounded by the distress caused by loss of income and often employment.”* (WHO, 14-05-2020). The crisis hits us all and therefore unites us, but those in the most vulnerable areas and countries are more at risk to be hit harder (Cordaid, 18-03-2020). *“Informal workers in the agriculture and food supply sector are at risk of losing their jobs due to the COVID-19 pandemic, even though these are considered essential systems that should remain operational”* (FAO, 07-04-2020). The three organizations explain that the most serious issues lie within the threat of famines, malnutrition, gender-based violence and the vulnerable positions of those most at risk (those poorest). Within this problem, those most vulnerable are facing greater risk of reduced economic opportunities as well as reduced access to nutritious foods and should be protected - including informal agricultural workers and women (FAO, 18-06-2020). This is because *“the fragile countries in which Cordaid works are barely prepared for normal health challenges, much less for the corona crisis”* (Cordaid, 30-03-2020).

Responsibility or causes

For this reason, Cordaid claims that the causes of these problems are the measures taken in response to COVID-19 as well as malfunctioning (health) systems. For many people, *“poverty and hunger are such that people cannot stay out of business for a day. They need to grow and sell food and other basic items.”* (Cordaid, 09-05-2020). WHO is assigning responsibility to governments to step up and protect their people. They say *“we must stop, contain, control, delay and reduce the impact of this virus at every opportunity. [...] Leaders at all levels and in*

all walks of life must step forward to bring about this commitment across society" (WHO, 07-03-2020).

Moral judgement

Thus, WHO emphasizes it is everyone's job to look out for themselves and others. Cordaid recognizes that mistakes may have been made in putting certain measures into place, resulting in a large amounts of negative side effects that could have been prevented by creating measures with adequate care that takes survivability into account (Cordaid, 30-03-2020). In response to these negative impacts, as of now *"we need more support, from the international community and from the government, to avert the worst."* (Cordaid, 09-05-2020).

Solutions

For the suggested solutions, the main goal of the frame is to tell people and governments what to do in order to protect themselves from the virus and to prevent further spread. The WHO is calling on an urgent need for solidarity, to work together in order to stop the spread of the virus by emphasizing global solidarity, saying *"no country and no organization can do this alone"* (WHO, 24-04-2020). Cordaid also stresses that this is the time for global solidarity and humanitarian action. The answer to the current issues would be to spread information and awareness, to effectuate a wake-up call - to combat the setback created by COVID-19 and the increase in GBV as well as poverty. This is also a possible solution according to the FAO, to increase international solidarity towards achieving sustainability with a gender-sensitive approach. With that we should *"build resilience into food systems to safeguard them against future economic and health shocks as part of stimulus measures to ensure food access"* (FAO, 05-06-2020). An important aspect thereof is protecting and including women by taking into account gender norms and roles in society when designing social protection responses. As of now, women are often part of vulnerable groups and relatively more at risk and should thus be given a voice in the implementation process (FAO, 08-04-2020). FAO believes that *"Policy responses should consider women's roles in agri-food systems and ensure that their multiple needs – as guardians of household food security, food producers, farm managers, processors, traders, wage workers and entrepreneurs – are adequately addressed."* (FAO, 15-

05-2020). To do so, there is a need for solidarity and looking after each other, for strengthening and working closely together with local communities. (Cordaid, 18-03-2020)

Focus of the frame

WHO's, FAO's and Cordaid's main message is spreading information and offering support through inclusive cooperation or partnerships with the goal to make sure everyone has access to the necessary information, while strengthening local food systems and improving food security. Buzzwords to be found on their website are support, spreading and access to info, inclusiveness, solidarity, resilience, vulnerabilities, cooperation and partnership, food security, strengthening (communities and the system). Their focus is on spreading awareness, about the risks of the virus as well as ways to protect oneself and support one another. *"This outbreak is a test of solidarity -- political, financial and scientific. We need to come together to fight a common enemy that does not respect borders, ensure that we have the resources necessary to bring this outbreak to an end and bring our best science to the forefront to find shared answers to shared problems"* (WHO, 12-02-2020). Solidarity is a key concept on their agenda, explaining that the crisis has "also reminded us that for all our differences, we are one human race, and we are stronger together" (WHO, 19-05-2020). The main target in their response plan is to strengthen communities as well as systems, build resilience and create as much inclusivity by forming partnerships, promoting cooperation and prioritizing those who are most vulnerable. One system that deserves extra attention is the food system. WHO believes that *"the COVID-19 pandemic is intensifying the vulnerabilities and inadequacies of global food systems"* with the risk of creating a setback in fighting global hunger (WHO, 13-07-2020). Additionally, Cordaid is using their platform to give a voice to the people - especially those most at risk among which often are women. For this reason, there is a need for a gender-sensitive approach to the COVID-19 response. Women's role in agriculture is considered of high relevance and Cordaid voices their aspiration for including this role to ensure their perspectives. In combination with the impact of the pandemic on the food sector, women working in agriculture are facing greater inequalities than ever before. There is a need for policy to address these issues, to ensure a transformation of the food sector and to improve its resilience and sustainability. One important message from many

rural farmers is that they say *“I would rather die of corona than of hunger”*²³(Cordaid, 15-04-2020). A large issue in rural areas is the threat of famines since the main priority has been with health care. An important lesson to be learned is that the aim should not be on tackling one problem at a time, *“instead of only focusing on health and relief, you need to look at societies holistically, in order to address mechanisms of violence and exclusion”* (Cordaid, 22-06-2020).

The frame in larger context

It should be mentioned that this frame does not have strict boundaries in a way that excludes organizations from other frames. Overlap with the other frames can be recognized because one organization will never strictly be aimed solely at raising awareness. For WHO and Cordaid there are also articles that are more positive and optimistic or rather more critical than others. Additionally, attention should also be given to the possibility of including sub-frames. One example would be for a specific focus from Cordaid. Besides spreading information and awareness about the virus and consequences of the pandemic, they emphasize awareness about inequalities and the different ways in which people are affected. For that reason, it can be argued that the approach by Cordaid has (or can have) some overlap with the third frame of criticism and resistance.

When it comes to the way women are being depicted within this frame, it shows that there is specific attention for women within this frame. By all three organizations they are recognized as more vulnerable for the problems created by the pandemic as well as in their possible crucial position regarding solutions. According to Cordaid, this pandemic and the lockdown measures are a major setback for women - portraying their belief in a gendered approach to a COVID-19 response. They state that this crisis is exacerbating inequalities and hardships for the worst-off, emphasizing the need to pay extra attention to those most vulnerable, in addition to increasing resilience for (possible) future pandemics (Cordaid, 18-03-2020). In response to these negative effects for women, Cordaid is helping female farmers by working closely together with them to find sowing alternatives which can feed families short-term. They are actively involved by offering the supply of these seeds as well as the

²³ translated quote

necessary tools while setting up useful trainings (Cordaid, 15-04-2020). Regarding the position of women as portrayed by FAO, as discussed in chapter 1.1, FAO explains in a policy brief why responses should consider the role and positions of women in agriculture. In April, they predict that vulnerable rural populations and women in particular will be significantly affected by the pandemic (FAO, 08-04-2020). According to FAO, it is important to make sure the positions of women are adequately addressed in response strategies as well as new policies (FAO, 15-05-2020 and 18-06-2020). The WHO has a somewhat unusual position in depicting women. For this research almost every article by the WHO about COVID-19, published on their website and until August 2020, was used in the analysis. There is very little mention of women in particular. They do not direct any specific attention towards the impacts on or position of women during the pandemic.

2.2 Opportunistic and positive

The overall frame UN Women and Solidaridad are presenting is one focusing on positivity and the opportunity to improve, in terms of solidarity as well as women's empowerment. After explaining the situation of women impacted by the pandemic, UN Women focusses on how a change towards improved gender equality and female inclusivity could have widespread positive impacts. Their perspective on the pandemic is exploring the need for a gender-sensitive approach to the crisis, opting for better positions and more leaderships of women. Solidaridad is focusing on the opportunity to prove our ability to show solidarity and create partnerships, to use this unique time to build back better. Their reporting on the issue of the pandemic is portraying a desire to believe that this time of crisis can offer a chance for change.

Problems

Using the four functions of frames by Entmann (1993), the problems this frame is presenting are due to the profound shock the pandemic has on our societies and economies. *"COVID-19 has changed the world dramatically, with particularly negative effects on women."* (UN Women, 03-06-2020). This shock is creating even more vulnerable and unstable

economic positions for women as well as women being more at risk and more negatively impacted by the effects of COVID-19, among which are the spike in gender-based violence. *“This pandemic will increase the precariousness of women’s and girls’ situations and heightens their vulnerability, emphasizing gender inequalities”* (UN Women, 24-03-2020). For Solidaridad the problem lies within the risk of poverty and hunger, created by the aftermath of the pandemic. Solidaridad is worried because *“the pandemic has magnified and made clear the vulnerability of our global and interconnected food system”* (Solidaridad, 03-06-2020). Many farmers in the Global South are living hand to mouth *“grappling with a double crisis of income and health uncertainty”* (Solidaridad, 08-05-2020). For farmer families, the threat of food insecurity is the main problem resulting from the pandemic. *“Food insecurity, a problem already existing in many developing countries, has been further compounded by the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic”* (Solidaridad, 14-07-2020). The severity of the negative impact of the measures is due to countries’ vulnerabilities. *“The lack of preparedness and resilience, along with the growing inequality that underlies the global economy, has become painfully obvious”* (Solidaridad, 03-06-2020).

Responsibility or causes

The cause of these problems according to Solidaridad and UN Women are the measures taken in response to the outbreak and the effects they bring as well as in structural gender inequalities and the lack of inclusiveness of women, being exacerbated by the measures taken in response to COVID-19. According to their reporting, women’s economic positions are being worsened by the measures. *“COVID-19 pandemic and the ensuing government-mandated national quarantine have disrupted these industries as well, leaving women and their families without reliable sources of income.”* (UN Women, 22-07-2020). Solidaridad explores how women are repeatedly kept in a vulnerable position because they lack economic independence. *“The restrictions on movement and the limited social interactions will strain livelihoods and the agricultural supply chain as access to inputs and extension support services by the already vulnerable farmers and their communities is interrupted”* (Solidaridad, 21-05-2020).

Moral judgement

The movements' moral judgement is that we are all in this together, it is the organizations' aspiration for women to be included and given a fair and equal chance. Therefore, people are encouraged to work together towards a future after the pandemic and show solidarity and use this time to make an impact (UN Women, 03-06-2020). The first step is to better understand the position of women during this pandemic. Similar as to Solidaridad, this time offers the opportunity to create a future that could potentially hold fundamental changes. They argue that an important change might occur within the food industry. *"It may even lead to re-organization of the way food is produced and traded. [...] There would be shorter and localized supply chains which would incentivize farmers to produce higher quality, healthy food while taking care of the environment."* (Solidaridad, 26-05-2020). According to their reporting, the biggest improvement that has to be made is the creation of a resilient society *"in which everyone has access to healthcare, food and a basic income. A society that prioritizes caring for our planet and all its inhabitants."* (Solidaridad, 03-06-2020). UN Women states that *"we need far more sex-disaggregated data to tell us how the situation is evolving, including on differing rates of infection, differential economic impacts, differential care burden, and incidence of domestic violence and sexual abuse"* (UN Women 20-03-2020). At the same time, they voice a critical need to respond to the immediate as well as the long-term impacts of the crisis on women and girls. The information on the negative effects of this pandemic can be used to improve the future. *"The violence that is emerging now as a dark feature of this pandemic is a mirror and a challenge to our values, our resilience and shared humanity"* (UN Women, 06-04-2020). UN Women claims that an important player in gathering this data are women's organizations. Therefore, *"women's organizations and civil society at large should be an integral part of COVID-19 response and recovery efforts."* Because *"they know what needs to be done and we urge all development partners to seriously consider the solutions they offer so that we can continue to ensure the principles of equality and social justice."* (UN Women, 30-04-2020).

Solutions

The suggested solution to the problems is that women can be actors of change and that they are very resilient, their value should be recognized (UN Women, 22-07-2020). A real change

can be made if their value is recognized and there will be an opportunity to emerge renewed from this pandemic with a more powerful position for women - during times of recovery and beyond. (UN Women, 06-04-2020). UN Women indicates that this goes for all women everywhere, including farmers as well as women's organizations because *"as farmers, these women are also playing a critical role in food security in the aftermath of COVID-19. Bringing their voices and leadership at the forefront of the recovery phase is very important"* (UN Women, 15-04-2020). By making these changes, women can have better opportunities that will benefit not only themselves but many others. *"Economic empowerment allows them to believe in and value their own knowledge and capacities and can be transformative for them and their communities, and by extension, the entire country"* (UN Women, 29-06-2020). According to Solidaridad, the answer to the problems is to view and use this unique time as an opportunity for change. A chance to redefine, build back better and create a more resilient society. *"We must not return to the 'untenable normal', but instead ensure that we rebuild a society that focuses on resilience, global cooperation, social, economic and environmental sustainability, and justice."* (Solidaridad, 03-06-2020). It is up to governments to enable such a change.

Focus of the frame

For UN women the prioritized message is the often misunderstood and underrated perspective upon women, which tends to be treated as vulnerable - resulting in the creation of the fragile position of women while there is an opportunity for so much strength and resilience. This approach lines up with that of Solidaridad. For them, the COVID-19 response should have a positive approach centered around solidarity and partnerships (UN Women, 20-03-2020). They explore how the crisis offers a chance to build back better, towards a society of opportunity, in which those most vulnerable are helped and protected and livelihoods are strengthened. Buzzwords these organizations often use are: empowerment, strengthening livelihoods and positions, put women at the center, gender inequalities, (economic) autonomy for women, resilience, solidarity/compassion and partnerships, development opportunities, build back better, (offer support to) those most vulnerable, shadow pandemic. Their articles present very concerning matters at first, in the early stages of crisis. The main message from these sources was the use of their voice as a global

organization to raise awareness about the possible and existing vulnerabilities for women as well as the risks that showed themselves because of the pandemic. Seeing this time as a way to reset and 'build back better', Solidaridad is calling for action. Their priorities lie with getting help to where it is needed most, making sure everyone is included in response and rebuilding practices. Their initial response was to find a balance in how to respond to the pandemic while keeping important matters and businesses going. *"Solidaridad joins the rest of the world in trying to answer difficult questions, and preparing for future obstacles"* (Solidaridad, 23-03-2020), realizing the crisis would have lasting effects. From the UN Women, much attention went to the self-proclaimed shadow pandemic that was growing, which asked for direct action, and the fragile position of many women. They stressed the *"need to take a coordinated, people-centered approach to rapidly building health system capacity in both developed and developing countries, making a conscious effort to put women front and center"* (UN Women, 20-03-2020). UN brought forward the importance of including women in response and recovery plans, to make sure there is a gender-sensitive approach. Their articles explained all the positive impacts there are (and could be) for women if they are given a voice and are being empowered, saying that *"women's organizations and civil society at large should be an integral part of COVID-19 response and recovery efforts."* (UN Women, 30-04-2020). They strongly insist on the need to include women and plead that many times, this is achieved through projects or trainings. UN Women is using their platform to inform about the situations of women and to show the resilience of women, by explaining what they do and how this is having positive effects. From Solidaridad, it became clear that it was taking a toll on agriculture, increasing the vulnerable position of farmers while bringing a threat of poverty and famines. According to Solidaridad, the pandemic is showing the interconnectedness food system. They understand that we are all connected, and should all be included, saying that *"extraordinary times call for extraordinary measures: now more than ever it is critical to have solidarity throughout supply chains"* (Solidaridad, 17-04-2020). Their judgement is that this time offers a chance to reset and make changes while ensuring local as well as global food security by continuing business of farming communities.

The frame in larger context

As mentioned above, the frames are not as straightforward or clear-cut. In this case, some overlap can be found with other frames. Mostly with the frame 'information and awareness' because for UN Women it is also important to familiarize people with the issues and the possibilities. Additionally, there are several options for sub-frames that could fit under this larger frame of "positivity and opportunity". One could be for an emphasis on the prominent role of women. Another could be for the notion of 'building back better'. This deserves a sub-frame because it is an important thread throughout the reporting of Solidaridad and makes its appearance with other organizations as well. Furthermore, there is an overlap with other organizations that could (partially) fit under this frame as well. This applies mostly to Cordaid and FAO because besides demonstrating the negative impacts, they illustrate in an optimistic way which possibilities this pandemic offers regarding positive changes. When it comes to the position of women within this frame, UN Women explain the value of an important role for women as actors of change (22-07-2020). As previously mentioned, they have found the many negative effects this pandemic could create for women all over the world (UN Women, 06-04-2020), emphasizing the need for governments to take active participation in including a gendered approach to their COVID-19 response plans (UN Women, 20-03-2020). They say *"we must not only survive the coronavirus, but emerge renewed, with women as a powerful force at the center of recovery"* (UN Women, 06-04-2020). Although it can be said that it is noticeable how UN Women stereotype when discussing women. It sometimes feels slightly too linear and with lack of complexity or diversity. That their approach implies giving women a voice and more power will automatically solve things.

Regarding Solidaridad and the position of women, they address that solidarity includes gender equality as an essential aspect to sustainable development. According to the organization *"the significance of gender analysis stems from the concern that a policy or program design that lacks the understanding of factors affecting women participation is in actuality ignoring almost half of the workers in the economic activities of the state. Hence, there is a greater need for garnering deeper insights about the gender issues that prevail in a particular geographic area/thematic area."* (Solidaridad 2020). Their main message is

striving for solidarity and inclusivity within supply chains because together we achieve, learn and progress. In solidarity, production practices can be transformed to promote fair and profitable businesses that are in harmony with the environment and create decent livelihoods.

Looking at the broader context, of the optimism and opportunities from this frame, both organizations refer to the possibility of largescale improvements. For instance, most countries serve an interesting example of the fear of COVID-19 that lives in many countries which goes beyond the virus itself, contributing to the differences in response and strictness between countries all over the world. UN Women emphasizes that the drastic precautionary measures that had to be taken have a strong impact on all aspects of life (UN Women, 03-06-2020). During these vulnerable times, there are increased possibilities for long-lasting changes. UN Women says that *“COVID-19 provides us with an opportunity for radical, positive action to redress long-standing inequalities in multiple areas of women’s lives.”* (UN Women, 20-03-2020). For Solidaridad, the solution and opportunity for improvements is found in shorter and localized supply chains, providing higher quality and healthy food while taking care of the environment. They address that *“the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic shows that it is time for real change. Time for a resilient society in which everyone has access to healthcare, food and basic income. A society that prioritizes caring for our planet and all its inhabitants.”* (Solidaridad, 03-06-2020).

2.3 Critical and resisting

The overall frame that comes forward from ActionAid and LVC’s information is one of criticism and resistance. Their main messages focus on being critical towards and resisting the old system, laying bare its flaws and its structural inequalities that come to light through the pandemic. They use their platforms to make an urging message to rebuild global systems while promoting positive change. In order to resist this malfunctioning ‘old normal’, both organizations plead that we will need to trust on solidarity and find a way to make it out of the crisis in a way that leaves us with a new and better system that offers many opportunities.

Problems

Using the four frame functions by Entmann (1993), this frame is blaming the structural systematic flaws within agriculture that present themselves because of the strict measures in response to COVID-19 to be the problem. LVC says that *“in light of COVID-19, it becomes evident that we live in a globally interconnected and vulnerable world. This also applies to the global system of food production.”* The result is that *“today’s food system is environmentally and socially unsustainable. The only winners are multinational companies”* (LVC, 28-04-2020 a). In addition to this, LVC displays that the rights of farmers and peasant women are often overlooked and receive too little policy attention (LVC, 06-08-2020). ActionAid adds on to this blaming the malfunctioning global systems of agriculture and health care for the current increased inequalities, the imbalance with the environment, a threatening hunger crisis and gender-based violence. They say that *“The COVID-19 pandemic is a consequence of the unbalanced way in which we treat our natural environment. Because of the globalization and the increased demand for raw materials the ecosystems are increasingly affected.”*²⁴ (ActionAid, 03-06-2020). ActionAid indicates that we currently live in a world in which those most vulnerable at the end of the value chains deal with the most risks, without protection. One of their articles really stresses the issues for female farmers and the mercilessly exposed inequalities caused by the pandemic. They explain how *“in many places, women and girls are in a subordinate position because of gender discrimination. For this reason, girls and women are hit extra hard by the Corona crisis.”*²⁵ (ActionAid, 17-06-2020). Therefore, ActionAid emphasizes not the direct impact of COVID-19 as a virus but the socio-economic consequences on food security of the governmental measures to contain the virus. They use their platform to express that *“it remains unacceptable that the people who are causing the least climate damage, are hit hardest during times of crisis by the consequences of that”*. Among those hit hardest are *“especially the female farmers are immensely affected through loss of income, increased unpaid caring tasks and a strong increase in gender-based violence during the COVID-19 crisis”*²⁶.

²⁴ translated quote

²⁵ translated quote

²⁶ both quotes translated

Responsibility or causes

The cause for this problem according to LVC is a capitalist system and bad leadership or irresponsible governments resulting in the negative side effects of the measures put in place in response to COVID-19 (LVC, 08-04-2020). ActionAid states that *“the corona crisis is laying bare now more than ever the vulnerabilities and negative sides of large-scale industrial farming and excessive dependence on international trade chains now that those have completely collapsed. Besides a health crisis, COVID-19 is also mainly causing a socio-economic crisis and a food crisis in which hunger and malnutrition are increasing. The solution lies in strengthening local food systems [...] based on small-scale agroecological agriculture.”* (ActionAid, 17-06-2020)²⁷. With a similar message, LVC says *“the wounds caused by capitalism, added to the pandemic, are causing a public health crisis. The crisis is worsening the damage from the accumulation of capital.”* (LVC, 08-04-2020). The organization is calling the governments out for their responsibility combatting the impacts of the pandemic, saying *“the government also has the role to ensure rights to food sovereignty along with rights to employment, housing and social security as the fundamental right of people”* (LVC, 26-05-2020).

Moral judgement

LVC demonstrates *“it is possible that we are facing a crisis that will redefine the world with profound repercussions on economic, political and ideological reorganization, impacting states, territories and peoples”* (LVC, 08-04-2020). As a result, there are lessons to be learned during this. According to LVC there should be a redefining of the world with inclusivity for and with everyone (LVC, 06-08-2020), more support for those most vulnerable and reformed agri-food systems into being more healthy, fair and sustainable (LVC, 21-04-2020). ActionAid explains that the right thing is to use this time as a chance to reset and create a new power balance (ActionAid, 17-07-2020), to increase resilience, aim for more inclusivity and solidarity as well as strengthening local food systems (ActionAid, 12-06-2020) while preserving biodiversity.

²⁷ translated quote

Solutions

The solutions as stated by both organizations to the problems that have emerged because of the pandemic would be to end capitalist systems and start supporting those most vulnerable (including women), creating inclusivity for and with everyone by striving to reach a new power balance and improving resilience (ActionAid, 17-07-2020). The answer presented is a new (food) system, based on resilience, strong leadership and food sovereignty created by more local production, sustainability and solidarity. Thus, the possible remedies suggested are to build back better, in a more sustainable way that promotes local, fair and green agriculture. *“Investing in a global approach is therefore not only a matter of international solidarity but also essential to sustainably combatting the pandemic”*²⁸ (ActionAid, 03-06-2020). In any case, they explain there must be a change.

Focus of the frame

Buzzwords found in the articles of these organizations are food sovereignty, solidarity, inclusiveness, sustainability, time for change, rebuilding, local production, (female) empowerment, small-scale farming, fair and healthy-based food system. ActionAid argues now is the time for a reset, this crisis can be used to rebuild a world that is fairer and greener. *“Now that the shortcomings of a strongly globalized and unequal world have come to the surface, this has created a unique opportunity for a reset.”*²⁹ (ActionAid, 19-05-2020). Their messaging states that now is a time for change, into a more fair and just system. The main message presented from these organizations in general is one of critique towards current systems. Therefore, they both contribute to this overall frame. Nevertheless, La Via Campesina differentiates itself by their strong position against societies’ foundations, for they are built upon capitalism. This organization is strongly anti-capitalistic and in favor of radical changes. Therefore, their perspective has been categorized into a separate sub-frame.

²⁸ translated quote

²⁹ translated quote

Sub-frame anti-capitalism

LVC's main message and request is the deposition of capitalism because of its negative effects on those most poor and vulnerable, the strong need for equality and solidarity as well as food sovereignty. The prioritized issue La Via Campesina is putting forward during this time of crisis, is their disapproval of capitalism, industrialization and irresponsible leadership. They voice that the governments and their imposed measurements are the core issue of the negative effects during the pandemic. At the same time, they state that this crisis is laying bare structural issues and inequalities within the industrial food production system. This perspective requires a separate sub-frame because it is drastically against the foundation of our societies and systems. LVC expresses their concern and voices the need for a radical change, saying that *"in order to ensure the production and availability of food globally, there must be a change"* and that we must change our approach when it comes to the food industry (LVC, 28-04-2020 a). In their words, *"the aggressive expansion of industrial food production has also increasingly put human health in harm's way."* (LVC, 28-04-2020b). In order to make people more resilient in times of crisis, LVC says we must achieve food sovereignty. *"The pandemic has revealed the importance of having diverse, agroecological food systems that guarantee healthy food for everyone at fair prices and that are sustainable with the environment. And time has come to "globally, structurally, and profoundly" reform the agri-food systems."* (LVC, 21-04-2020). LVC is using their voice to raise awareness on the situation of many farmers and how their position could be improved and of great contribution if they were included in a new system. Their judgement is that the world needs to move away from business as usual in the 'normal' economy and development. Additionally, they declare there is a need to preserve life in order to ensure economic recovery, trusting on solidarity and the opportunity to build this new system together. If we manage to do so, *"the planet will thrive if we choose a different development pathway"* (LVC, 18-06-2020).

The frame in larger context

As with the frames previously discussed, this frame is not simply explicit or very straightforward. In this case, one sub-frame had to be recognized and included because La Via Campesina is really separating themselves with their anti-capitalistic approach. This

therefore deserves to be addressed separately. Besides this one sub-frame mentioned, there are other possibilities of subframes that would fit under this main frame. For instance, one that prioritizes the need and opportunity to make a change, as this is an ideology both LVC and ActionAid share. In addition to the option of including sub-frames, one can address the probability of overlap with other frames and organizations. For instance, in order to be critical there is a need to be informed and in some way also be informative. It is not suitable to be critical based on a lack of knowledge. Therefore, there is certain overlap between this frame and the frame of ‘spreading information and awareness’. It can also be mentioned that there is overlap with other organizations. Just because these organizations were not included in this frame does not mean they are not critical at all.

Regarding the way in which this frame (and these organizations) refers to the position of women, LVC and ActionAid have a similar approach. ActionAid says “*the obsession with capital and economic growth has to make place for a society in which care and wellbeing are centralized, with an economy that works for women.*”³⁰ (ActionAid, 03-06-2020). Currently, too many women and girls have a subordinate position because of gender based discrimination which is one of the reasons women and girls are more severely hit by the pandemic (ActionAid, 17-06-2020). They add that “*protecting women and strengthening their rights is one of the most effective strategies in fighting hunger. It strengthens their resilience towards COVID-19 and the climate crisis*”³¹ (ActionAid, 17-06-2020). Additionally, ActionAid refers to the women when addressing the increased gender-based violence and the need to protect women (ActionAid, 24-06-2020) as well as discussing the key role of women as female leaders (ActionAid, 17-07-2020).

The way LVC discusses female farmers is elaborately and not in a condescending manner or by putting them away as more vulnerable or fragile. According to LVC, women are believed to be more at risk but the movement is showing their resilience rather than their ‘weak position’. From their point of view, women can and should take an important position within agriculture in a larger context. When it comes to achieving and understanding food sovereignty, La Via Campesina is an important player with a strong voice. Their main

³⁰ Translated quote

³¹ Translated quote

message is that *“The COVID-19 pandemic is pushing many to recognize the importance and urgency of food sovereignty – the right of people to determine their own food and agricultural systems and their right to produce and consume healthy and culturally appropriate food”* (LVC, 28-04-2020 b). According to this organization food sovereignty can be achieved but *“in order to ensure the production and availability of food globally, there must be a change. Through agroecological agriculture and forestry, we can create food preparedness for future crises”*. (LVC, 28-04-2020 a). These practices are in harmony with nature and have the ability to improve food production (LVC, 06-08-2020). These initiatives that can be implemented within the agricultural sector should be encouraged by states and governments because *“states must ensure their populations’ access to healthy, appropriate food and prevent shortages, and “invest in peasant agriculture and support local peasant markets.”* (LVC, 21-04-2020).

Discussion

The conducted analysis on development organizations in the perspective of the pandemic created an insightful elaboration on the theoretical and conceptual framework, opening up several discussions. For one, the way in which women are targeted and positioned by these organizations makes clear that women are seen as a key aspect playing a very important role in responding to the direct impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic as well as for building the future. Many articles explain the ways in which 'women' are more vulnerable and at risk of being excluded or all together left behind (WE Forum, 09-05-2020). The question is whether or not the way these women are viewed and described increases the 'third world 'difference' (Mohanty, 2003). As discussed in the theories, that is a difficult question. This research is analyzing the articles and attitudes of different organizations in a way that solely explores their perspectives. The question is thus whether those contain a form of framing that could contribute to the 'third world difference'. It is not the purpose of this research to discuss the role of women as a researcher and to prevent othering while doing so, it is to examine and merely present how the chosen organizations are discussing the role of women. The role of women regarding the impact of COVID-19 is highly context-specific. This means that at some level there will have to be some form of generalization in order to make the positions of women negotiable. The first step in making those positions negotiable is recognizing the role of women in a more general sense. At the same time, as a second step, efforts can be made to prevent homogenizing as much as possible.

These steps are being taken to a varying degree by the organizations selected for this analysis. Sometimes a source used for this research speaks only about 'women', not distinguishing them in any way (besides saying rural). Other websites do show the position of these women in relation to men's, highlighting the different ways in which rural women can and will be affected. What is often missing in these articles talking about 'rural women' is their own voice. While the issues that are being discussed by the different organizations are of serious relevance and importance, the reader must always be critical about possible framing. Often times, even when the writer does not mean for it, informational pieces about these topics contain some form of the post-colonial gaze where the (implicit) use of othering creates an objectification of the composite and singular 'third world difference'. In producing

this homogeneous image that has become the authorizing signature of western humanist discourse - which is deeply rooted into society by the post-colonial past - the lives of these women are appropriated and colonized. *"It is in this process of discursive homogenization and systematization of the oppression of women in the third world that power is exercised in much of recent western feminist writing, and this power needs to be defined and named."* (Mohanty 1988: 63). By acknowledging this power and the importance of the personal voice, a step is made towards raising awareness and giving back power to the women. This approach is simultaneously in line with Postmodernism and Development (PAD). As discussed in the theoretical framework, PAD criticizes 'othering', which is in line with the analyzed organizations. The frame analysis thus shows that there is a desire for inclusiveness, equality and empowerment. These are buzzwords often used by all organizations. Collectively, they say it is time for an inclusive approach that takes positionality into account in order to involve women in the right way. For example, ActionAid says they *"plea for the long-term COVID-19 response plans to be focused on rebuilding sustainably, investing in inclusive and green, sustainable livelihoods such as climate resistant agriculture (agroecology)"*³² (ActionAid, 14-07-2020). This however does not mean that all organizations can prevent and avoid 'othering'.

The theoretical discussions address the use of such buzzwords and concepts by development organizations. The analysis proves the theories on development and gender as it shows that concepts such as gender equality and empowerment are often used by the organizations. There is a desire to implement a gender inclusive agenda but the execution proves to be difficult (Cornwall and Rivas, 2015). Such a discovery or encounter confirms the claims made by Jaquette (2017) that enhanced dialogue between feminists and development actors can contribute to improving an understanding of key concepts and their implementation.

Besides giving people their own voice, another way of looking at power or empowerment is in terms of it offering the ability to make choices. Being disempowered means to not have the ability to make choices, while empowerment refers to the processes of acquiring the ability to make choices by those who had been denied this ability before. In

³² Translated quote

other words, empowerment entails change. It should be mentioned that while empowerment requires change, this does not mean that change automatically entails empowerment. Possible issues with the future for agriculture could be that change does not mean improvement. If the goal is to include women and enhance their positions, this will ask for more than a change in practices. Empowerment is fixed in how people see themselves – their sense of self-worth - which is directly related to how they are seen by others (Kabeer 2005). We will thus need a thorough and fundamental change in the perspective that has been created of women working in agriculture in order to tackle existing inequalities. In order to do this, we will need to move beyond white feminism as explained by Rich (1984) and Mohanty (1988), and realize the importance of the subjects' positionality. The analysis of the organization proves this. For example, FAO says *"In designing and implementing the social protection response to COVID-19, it will be important to take into account gender norms, roles and relations in society, specifically with regards to health care and vulnerability to diseases, in particular COVID-19, and this should be done by incorporating the voices of women, in particular the most affected, into these processes."* (FAO, 08-04-2020). They later add that *"investing in women's leadership and engaging them in the design and implementation of COVID-19 response strategies is critical to ensure that their perspectives and needs are adequately considered."* (FAO 15-05-2020). UN Women uses slightly different words but alludes to the same when they explain the *"need to take a coordinated, people-centered approach to rapidly building health system capacity in both developed and developing countries, making a conscious effort to put women front and center."* (UN Women, 20-03-2020). This can be linked to the theoretical framework. As mentioned, the role of development organizations regarding gender related issues is of importance but unstable. There is a sensitivity for contributing to gender inequalities and/or stereotypes through misinterpretation of concepts such as empowerment (Cold-Ravnkilde et al. 2018). These organizations are in the position to have a good opportunity to implement a gendered perspective, which is thus confirmed by the analysis. Furthermore, organizations are aware of their position and recognize the room for improvement in that aspect.

For women working in agriculture during this time of the pandemic it is important to provide a buffer for their vulnerabilities. Policy responses should be tailored and targeted towards them to make sure they are supported and to leverage on their capacity to keep the

food system functional (South Pole, 25-06-2020). The topics discussed prove the use and importance of gender analysis. *“The significance of gender analysis stems from the concern that a policy or program design that lacks the understanding of factors affecting women participation is in actuality ignoring almost half of the workers in the economic activities of the state. Hence, there is a greater need for garnering deeper insights about the gender issues that prevail in a particular geographic area/thematic area.”* (Solidaridad 2020). Only then can gender inclusivity be achieved. When it is acknowledged that policy includes all people affected and should be implemented among the worst-off first. Otherwise, the existing gap between worst-off and best-off will increase. Women working in agriculture are often a part of these marginalized groups.

Therefore, these findings show the relevance of improving a gendered analysis and perspective into the agenda of development organizations. In this specific study, many concepts and notions (or buzzwords as relevant topics) were shared by different organizations, suggesting that collective changes that can be made. For instance, LVC strives for a new food system that is more inclusive and sustainable, in which small-scale farmers are supported to ensure people’s right and access to healthy food. This proves that in light of the broader perspective it is very important that these organizations and movements are showing and calling attention towards the most problematic areas and peoples. NGOs and social movements are in the position to demonstrate where help is needed most, which is in line with the spirit of the leave no-one behind approach that prioritizes the people who are worst off. Stuart and Samman (2017) explain that the approach of putting the ‘worst-off first’ is also known as progressive universalism, where equity is preferred over equality. Only when this approach is followed can the existing gap between worst-off and best-off decrease. If aid and support is equally distributed over different countries and regions, the inequality gap will remain while equity actively targets this issue (see image below). It is for this reason that the voice of organizations such as LVC is very important.

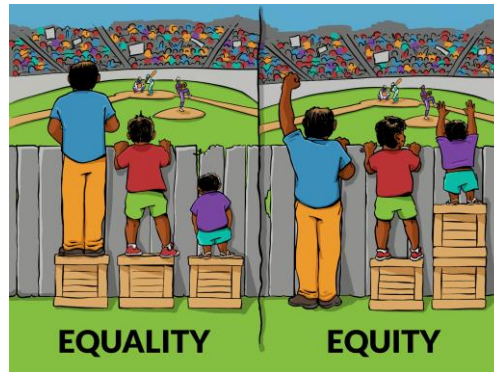


Figure 3: explaining the difference between equality and equity (source: MentalFloss.com)

Based on this knowledge and the notion of leave-no-one behind there is a renewed need in 2020 for a postmodernism and development (PAD) perspective that takes into account the role of gender inequalities, class-based differences and possible patriarchal relations that influence the different positions of women within communities or (social) groups. Nevertheless, it is important to realize - specifically in this case of the pandemic - that there are people who are more negatively impacted by the effects of the crisis. Only with this realization can the circumstances be changed, and can improvement be directed towards where it is needed most. Additionally, this pandemic has added to the realization that rural women fill a crucial position within agriculture businesses. *“In the end, achieving gender equality and empowering women is not only the right thing to do; it is also a crucial ingredient in the fight against poverty and hunger”* (FAO 2013). The issues that come to light simultaneously show the areas where changes are needed so that the positions of these women can improve, and empowerment can be achieved. The issues risen in the COVID-19 crisis have shown that we need a better and more inclusive understanding that goes beyond relying on the ‘trickle-down’ effect if we want to make real improvements in building a more equal, fair and resilient world for all.

Conclusion

This research started with setting the scene of the pandemic caused by COVID-19 and discussing the context of the development organizations. This scene forms the circumstances under which the analysis was performed, where perspectives of the different organizations on the position of women in agriculture were considered and compared through frame analysis. Three main frames designating the roles of women within the agricultural sector as it is being impacted by the pandemic were found. They will be discussed in relation to the theoretical framework.

After analyzing the effects of the measurements taken in response to the outbreak of COVID-19, showing the consequences both locally and globally, it is useful to take a look at what can be learned from this unique time in relation to the position of rural women working in agriculture after the pandemic. The position of rural women during the COVID-19 crisis shows the issues that are embedded within the agriculture sector. Due to the visibility there is a strong aspiration to make a change. An analysis of these issues gives strong indications of where to interfere and has highlighted the need to create a more ecologically, sociologically and environmentally sustainable future for agriculture.

After analyzing these issues, a broader context of building the future can be sketched. The experiences of these women working in agriculture in the Global South should be paid close attention to as they are a key aspect of creating a better future (World Bank, 07-05-2017). Using the positionality of rural women as a starting point and then zooming out to put that in a broader perspective makes this analysis more relevant and useful. Women in rural areas are feeding the world, which is why women's empowerment has such a prominent role in the global development agendas.

Lessons learned from the frame analysis

There is a lot that can be learned from the way different organizations and movements are presenting their perspectives on the pandemic caused by COVID-19. The main affair to consider is that every organization is discussing the same complex social issue, the pandemic caused by COVID-19, but they all approach it in a different way. The topics of

priority differ from one organization to another. This affects the ways in which this complex social issue is being presented. Some label the pandemic itself as the problem, which is creating a moment of possible change. Some see the structural underlying problems being exacerbated because of the pandemic. They describe that the issue lies within the man-made systems that are in need of change and improvement. These organizations are discussing the issue of malfunctioning systems and bad or weak leadership. While one organization is positive, another is optimistic but critical.

After analyzing the different organizations, one similarity in their approaches can be observed: it is time to build back better. People worldwide are struggling, some more than they should have to (Cordaid, 22-06-2020). Concerns about their situation in response to COVID-19 are widespread and stirring up the conversation. Among those most vulnerable are women. Cordaid voices their concern stating, *"there is no doubt that the pandemic and the lockdown measures mean yet another setback for women"* (Cordaid, 22-06-2020). When it comes to their perspectives on women, not every organization prioritizes the role of women as much as others, but the opportunity for women's empowerment seems to be a recurring theme. Looking more specifically at women working in agriculture, they are viewed as possible actors of change. LVC for instance, discusses female farmers not in a condescending manner or in a way that describes them as more fragile. Their vulnerable position is recognized, but the movement is showing women's resilience instead of their weakness. The value of female leadership is recognized during times of crisis - in the current one as well as in previous crises. UN women is using their platform to inform about the situations of women and to show the resilience of women, by explaining what they do and showing the positive effects. This seems to act as a way to spread information and to put women in a positive light, with high hopes for the future. According to UN Women, giving women power and a voice can be the answer to many problems. They use the term 'empowerment' plenty of times but fail to explain exactly what this entails. Evidently, ActionAid is very much invested in applying a gendered approach to the COVID-19 response. They are actively targeting the positions and inclusion of (rural) women, using their voice and platform to raise awareness on many different subjects. Therefore, they form a key example and a crucial player in answering to the WHO and UN's recommendations and research.

The position of rural women during the corona crisis is showing where changes can and should be made within the agricultural sector for improving sustainability as well as women's empowerment. That is, if the term empowerment is well implemented. An oversimplified application of the concept does not suffice. Only a comprehensive understanding of gendered (power) relations and what empowerment would mean in a particular social context would offer a genuine potential for change. *"By looking at tensions between existing customary practices and gender equality as opportunities for change and not as irreconcilable chasms between "tradition" and "modernity," there are ways in which policy reforms might be able to support grassroots social change."* (Collins 2016). This means not focusing on a way to increase economic growth but striving for the protection of individuals and communities. These conditions will attribute to the possibility to create profound social change.

The presentations of different perspectives towards responses to COVID-19 proves the complexity of this global social issue. The analysis shows that we are not only dealing with a health crisis, but with a socio-economic crisis (UN Women, 15-04-2020). Equally represented throughout the different organizations are buzzwords such as development, sustainability and food security as well as the role of women, inequalities, strengthening and resilience. Most often mentioned are the words solidarity and vulnerability (or those most vulnerable). Despite the differences between the perspectives of the organizations, the need to stand together and to help those most in need first is the shared message overall.

The three frames visible in the performed analysis offer interesting insights. They show the three overall important aspects in response to the pandemic, summarized into the three frames: spreading information and awareness, opportunism and positivity, criticism and resistance. Firstly, it is of importance that the right information is brought where it is needed in order to raise awareness and be able to offer support if needed. This includes information about those most marginalized, among which are women working in agriculture. Secondly, the consequences of the impacts studied by these organizations shows that many issues lie within the failing (food) systems and that there is a need for change. With a positive and optimistic outlook upon the possibilities that come with the crisis, changes can be made that will improve the agricultural sector and the positionality of women working in agriculture. Lastly, the third frame explains that our current circumstances

desperately ask for seizing the opportunity to make a change and that this chance should be grasped to make structural shifts within the food industry - simultaneously improving the positions of rural women.

When it comes to the research question of *“How are different development organizations presenting their perspectives towards the impacts of the measurements taken in response to COVID-19 on the position of rural women?”*, this analysis has proven that these movements are raising the alarm and asking for attention in order to prevent extreme negative effects. They are using the power of their position to voice the concerns of marginalized and vulnerable people. The main goal is mitigating the consequences that will inevitably spread due to the interconnectedness of the world, leading to increased global hardships such as poverty and hunger. How strongly they react and spread information all over the internet, trying to reach out to people globally, shows the severity of rural women’s positionalities. Making the link between direct effects on women and the long-term societal impacts from a feminist framework is already laying bare existing and increasing inequalities.

As many organizations and movements call for, policymakers should take into account the specific struggles women in agriculture face (Cordaid, 07-05-2020; UN Women, 30-04-2020; and FAO, 15-05-2020). It will take well-decided international changes in policy to achieve worldwide improvement. There are many possibilities for improving - as mentioned in chapter four - but the problem remains with the implementation. That current knowledge gap can be closed through a gendered understanding and analysis of the pandemic. This will contribute to the leave no-one behind approach, adapting it to the contemporary situation of the world. Let it be a magnifying glass that uncovers issues as the ones discussed in this research, because the problem goes way beyond what is discussed here. Nevertheless, it is in understanding the problem on a smaller scale and local levels that we can really comprehend what needs to be done - where attention should be paid. It takes small steps towards a bigger picture, but knowing where to begin, so that everyone can be part of building a better future.

Reflection

Conducting this research has been met with energy and proved to be very profitable. It was therefore an exciting study to dive into, which had a positive effect on the data gathering process. This captivating topic quickly became interesting to work on and lent itself well in relating to important issues. The study of the pandemic caused by the outbreak of COVID-19 is a very intriguing and extensive matter that will have long-lasting effects on our society. It took some effort to find the right and most fitting aspect of this crisis to work on for the current research, but once found it offered stimulating data to work with. It has been interesting to make connections between the dynamics of this pandemic and everyday life discussions. Nevertheless, some struggles were found within structurally and systematically searching for the data. It has been interesting but challenging to analyze the consequences of something as they are still happening and being researched. In the execution of this research difficulties were experienced in keeping up with new coming data - providing additional insights while analyzing the information that had been available so far. It should therefore be made clear that these results are based on preliminary analysis and conclusions. It is likely that perspectives towards this pandemic will change over time. Nonetheless, conducting this research at this particular time has made the study very relevant.

Conducting this research in the midst of the pandemic, continuing to gather data on developments as they were happening could be considered a limitation. As of the time of writing many countries are still tackling the direct impacts or the consequences of the first wave, while others have already experienced the hit of a second wave. The long-term effects of this pandemic are still predictions and might change over time. If a similar research were to be done in a few months the outcomes are likely to be different, based on the additional knowledge that will be available as time passes. Another limitation to conducting this research in this specific time is the impact on the positionality of the researcher. Not being able to be in the field and instead doing a research from behind a screen, makes the distance to the subjects studied more prominent. A goal for this research was to address the issue of generalizing and stereotyping when discussing larger groups in broader terms, while recognizing the difficulties and possible traps. The conducting and developments of this research have proven that point. When doing research through a literature study or desk

research, it is going to be very difficult to not stereotype. It is therefore something that became a struggle while writing the thesis. Nevertheless, it contributes as another example of how difficult it is to overcome generalizations and provide a thorough and inclusive understanding, which is what the theoretical framework demonstrates.

When it comes to future research this will hopefully be the case. In several months or years, analysis should be done on how policy was adapted to the pandemic and how that has affected the positions of rural women working in agriculture. Perhaps in a few months, there should be a follow-up research on the longer-term effects, but for this goal and objective where a preliminary analysis of the issue as it is happening explaining and putting relevance on the agenda was the main target. An interesting alternative approach would have been a similar analysis but prior to the pandemic. That way, many of the problems could have been tackled earlier on - as much of the knowledge directed at the current situation comes from information on older crises. Another alternative approach which could give a more detailed and insightful perspective would be to conduct this research as fieldwork, for example with a case study that provides an up-close descriptive example. In doing that, the issue of 'othering' and the 'third world difference' could be tackled more directly. Fieldwork could offer the opportunity to represent the emic perspectives of the research participants and to showcase what the women say and think themselves by conducting interviews and focus group discussions. That however would lead to a completely different research. The current study focuses on how organizations write about women and it is interesting to compare that to the chosen theories as they seem to be difficult to apply in practice. For now, let these current times of the pandemic caused by COVID-19 please be a wakeup call and may studies such as this one lead to more research in order to contribute to the knowledge and information available on the socio-economic effects of the pandemic. What is being written at this time will determine what is put on the agenda and what topics are taken into consideration for policymaking. We are encouraged to not let the pandemic set us back, undoing progress that has been made on general global sustainability and equality. Improving people's understanding will increase the chances of building back better.

References

- ActionAid. (2020, June 3). Corona-lessen: 4 bouwstenen voor een duurzame, feministische wederopbouw. Retrieved from <https://actionaid.nl/2020/06/03/wat-de-coronacrisis-ons-kan-leren-5-bouwstenen-voor-een-duurzame-wederopbouw/>
- ActionAid. (2020, June 24). Coronacrisis leidt tot schrikbarende toename van geweld tegen vrouwen. Retrieved from <https://actionaid.nl/2020/06/24/coronacrisis-leidt-tot-schrikbarende-toename-van-geweld-tegen-vrouwen/>
- ActionAid. (2020, May 22). De strijd voor het behoud van biodiversiteit is urgenter dan ooit. Retrieved from <https://actionaid.nl/2020/05/22/de-strijd-voor-het-behoud-van-biodiversiteit-is-urgenter-dan-ooit/>
- ActionAid. (2020, May 19). Effectieve aanpak van COVID-19 vraagt om een mondiale reset. Retrieved from <https://actionaid.nl/2020/05/19/effectieve-aanpak-van-COVID-19-vraagt-om-een-mondiale-reset/>
- ActionAid. (2020, June 17). Hoe de coronacrisis de voedselzekerheid en rechten van boerinnen raakt en de oplossingen hiervoor. Retrieved from <https://actionaid.nl/2020/06/17/hoe-de-coronacrisis-de-rechten-van-boerinnen-raakt-en-de-oplossingen-hiervoor/>
- ActionAid. (2020, June 17). Right to Food, Farmers' Rights & COVID-19: Policy priorities and a call to Action. Retrieved from <https://actionaid.nl/2020/06/17/hoe-de-coronacrisis-de-rechten-van-boerinnen-raakt-en-de-oplossingen-hiervoor/>
- ActionAid. (2020, July 20). Ik ben niet bang voor corona. Ik ben bang om te sterven van de honger. Retrieved from <https://actionaid.nl/2020/07/20/ik-ben-niet-bang-voor-corona-ik-ben-bang-om-te-sterven-van-de-honger/>
- ActionAid. (2020, April 15). In actie tegen het coronavirus: van Bangladesh tot Liberia. Retrieved from <https://actionaid.nl/2020/04/15/in-actie-tegen-het-coronavirus-van-bangladesh-tot-liberia/>
- ActionAid. (2020, July 14). Investeer in boerinnen om hongercrisis de kop in te drukken. Retrieved from <https://actionaid.nl/2020/07/14/investeer-in-boerinnen-om-hongercrisis-de-kop-in-te-drukken/>
- ActionAid. (2020, June 24). Surviving COVID-19: a women-led response – ActionAid International Media Briefing. Retrieved from <https://actionaid.nl/2020/06/24/surviving-COVID-19-a-women-led-response/>

ActionAid. (2020, July 17). Waarom vrouwelijk leiderschap levens reedt. Retrieved from <https://actionaid.nl/2020/07/17/waarom-vrouwelijk-leiderschap-levens-reedt/>

ActionAid. (2020, June 12). Wat de EU “Boer tot Bord” strategie betekent voor boerinnen in het Globale Zuiden. Retrieved from <https://actionaid.nl/2020/06/12/wat-de-eu-boer-tot-bord-strategie-betekent-voor-boerinnen-in-het-globale-zuiden/>

Arora, Paavani. (2020, May 7). The impact of COVID-19 and the sustainable development goals. Retrieved from <https://www.voicesofyouth.org/blog/impact-COVID-19-and-sustainable-development-goals>

Bardosh, Kevin Louis, Sadie J. Ryan, Kris Ebi, Susan Welburn and Burton Singer. (2017). Addressing vulnerability, building resilience: community-based adaptation to vector-borne diseases in the context of global change. *Infectious Diseases of Poverty*. (6): 166.

BBC. (2020, June 8). New Zealand lifts all COVID restrictions, declaring the nation virus-free. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-52961539>

Begley, Sharon. (2020, March 3). Who Is Getting Sick, And How Sick? A Breakdown of Coronavirus Risk By Demographic Factors. Retrieved from <https://www.statnews.com/2020/03/03/who-is-getting-sick-and-how-sick-a-breakdown-of-coronavirus-risk-by-demographic-factors/>

Boeije, Hennie. (2010). *Analysis in Qualitative Research*. Sage Publications: London.

Cold-Ravnkilde, Signe Marie, Lars Engberg-Pedersen and Adam Moe Fejerskov. (2018) Global Norms and Heterogeneous Development Organizations: Introduction to Special Issue on New Actors, Old Donors and Gender Equality Norms in International Development Cooperation. *Progress in Development Studies*. 8(2): 77-94.

Cordaid. (2020, June 4). Afrika in ademnood. Retrieved from <https://www.cordaid.org/nl/nieuws/afrika-in-ademnood/>

Cordaid. (2020, March 23). Corona bestrijden in Afghanistan: Laat dit een wake-up call zijn. Retrieved from <https://www.cordaid.org/nl/nieuws/corona-bestrijden-in-afghanistan-laat-dit-een-wake-up-call-zijn/>

Cordaid. (2020, May 9) COVID-19 and the triple threat in Sudan. Retrieved from <https://www.cordaid.org/en/news/COVID-19-and-the-triple-threat-in-south-sudan/>

- Cordaid. (2020 March 30). COVID-19 in Africa: 'If the lockdowns continue, we will see famines. Retrieved from <https://www.cordaid.org/en/news/COVID-10-in-africa-if-the-lockdowns-continue-we-will-see-famines/>
- Cordaid. (2020, May 1). Economic impacts of COVID-19 in fragile contexts and how SMEs can help. Retrieved from <https://www.cordaid.org/en/news/economic-impacts-of-COVID-19-in-fragile-contexts-and-how-smes-can-help/>
- Cordaid. (2020, May 7). Human security at stake: the gendered impact of COVID-19 in war-torn Libya. Retrieved from <https://www.cordaid.org/en/wp-content/uploads/sites/11/2020/05/20200508-The-Engendered-Impact-of-COVID-19-in-Libya-PC-8504YV1.pdf>
- Cordaid. (2020, April 15). Oeganda zet zich schrap voor corona: Mensen hebben hier nog veel grotere uitdagingen. Retrieved from <https://www.cordaid.org/nl/nieuws/oeganda-zet-zich-schrap-voor-corona-mensen-hebben-hier-nog-veel-grotere-uitdagingen/>
- Cordaid. (2020, March 18). Omkijken naar elkaar in tijden van corona. Retrieved from <https://www.cordaid.org/nl/nieuws/omkijken-naar-elkaar-in-tijden-van-corona/>
- Cordaid. (Date unknown). Projecten in de strijd tegen corona. Retrieved from <https://www.cordaid.org/nl/corona/projecten-in-de-strijd-tegen-corona/>
- Cordaid. (2020, June 22). We have to protect ourselves. Defending women's rights in Afghanistan under lockdown. Retrieved from <https://www.cordaid.org/en/news/we-have-to-protect-ourselves-defending-womens-rights-in-afghanistan-under-lockdown/>
- Cornwall, Andrea and Althea-Maria Rivas. (2015). From 'Gender Equality' and 'Women's Empowerment' to Global Justice: Reclaiming a Transformative Agenda for Gender and Development. *Third World Quarterly*. 36(20): 396-415.
- Cornwall, Andrea, Elizabeth Harrison and Ann Whitehead. (2008). *Gender Myths and Feminist Fables: The Struggle for Interpretive Power in Gender and Development*, Wiley Blackwell, Oxford.
- Cornwall, Andrea and Karen Brock. (2005). What Do Buzzwords Do For Development Policy? A Critical Look at 'Participation', 'Empowerment' and 'Poverty Reduction'. *Third World Quarterly*. 26(7): 1043-1060.
- Corburn, Jason, Blessing Mberu and Lee W. Riley. (2020). Slum Health: Arresting COVID-19 and Improving Well-Being in Urban Informal Settlements. *Journal of Urban Health*. April 2020.

- Entmann, Robert M. (1993). Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. *Journal of Communication* 43(4): 51-58.
- Euro News. (2020, June 8). Analysis: Brazil and its lack of leadership amid COVID-19 crisis. Retrieved from <https://www.euronews.com/2020/06/08/analysis-look-at-brazil-leadership-matters>
- Fernandez, Glenn and Iftekhar Ahmed. (2019). “Build back better” approach to disaster recovery: Research trends since 2006. *Progress in Disaster Science* 1: 2019, 1000032.
- Food and Agriculture Organization. “Addressing inequality in times of COVID-19”. Policy Brief June 14, 2020.
- Food and Agriculture Organization. “COVID-19 and rural poverty: Supporting and protecting the rural poor in times of pandemic”. Policy Brief April 28, 2020.
- Food and Agriculture Organization. “Coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19) and family farming”. Policy Brief July 24, 2020.
- Food and Agriculture Organization. (2013). “FAO Policy on Gender Equality: Attaining Food Security Goals in Agriculture and Rural Development”.
- Food and Agriculture Organization. “Gendered impacts of COVID-19 and equitable policy responses in agriculture, food security and nutrition”. Policy Brief May 15, 2020.
- Food and Agriculture Organization. “Impact of COVID-19 on informal workers”. Policy Brief April 07, 2020.
- Food and Agriculture Organization. “Impacts of coronavirus on food security and nutrition in Asia and the Pacific: building more resilient food systems.”. Policy Brief June 5, 2020.
- Food and Agriculture Organization. “Social protection and COVID-19 response in rural areas”. Policy Brief April 08, 2020.
- Food and Agriculture Organization and CARE. (2019). “Good Practices for Integrating Gender Equality and Women’s Empowerment in Climate-Smart Agriculture Programmes”.
- Gaynor, Tia Sherèe and Meghan E. Wilson. (2020). Social Vulnerability and Equity: The Disproportionate Impact of COVID-19. *Public Administration Review*, 80 (5): 832–838.

- Goodman, Nelson. (1978). *Ways of Worldmaking*. Hackett Publishing Company: Indianapolis.
- Gutierrez-Montes, Isabel, Maureen Arguedas, Felicia Ramirez-Aguero, Leida Mercado and Jorge Sellare. (2020). Contributing to the Construction of a Framework for Improved Gender Integration into Climate-Smart Agriculture Projects Monitoring and Evaluation: MAP-Norway Experience. *Climatic Change* 158:93-106.
- He, Guojun, Yuhang Pan and Takanao Tanaka. (2020). "The short-term impacts of COVID-19 lockdown on urban air pollution in China". *Nature Sustainability*. July 7, 2020.
- Hennink, Monique, Inge Hutter and Ajay Bailey. (2011). *Qualitative Research Methods*. Sage Publications: London.
- Hidrobo, Melissa, Neha Kumar, Tia Palermo, Amber Peterman, and Shalini Roy (April, 2020). "Gender-sensitive social protection: A critical component of the COVID-19 response in low- and middle-income countries". International Food Policy Research Institute Issue Brief.
- hooks, bell. (1992). *The Oppositional Gaze: Black Female Spectators*. In *Feminist Postcolonial Theory: A Reader*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 207-221.
- Intemann, Kristen. (2010). 25 Years of Feminist Empiricism and Standpoint Theory: Where Are We Now? *Hypatia*. 25 (4): 778-796.
- International Planned Parenthood Federation. (2020, April 22). COVID-19 and the rise of gender-based violence. Retrieved from <https://www.ippf.org/blogs/COVID-19-and-rise-gender-based-violence>
- Jackson, Cecile. (2006). Feminism Spoken Here: Epistemologies for Interdisciplinary Development Research. *Development and Change*. 37(3): 525-547.
- Jaquette, Jane S. (2017). *Women/Gender and Development: the Growing Gap Between Theory and Practice*. *Studies in Comparative International Development*. 52: 242-260.
- Kabeer, Naila. (2015). Gender, Poverty, and Inequality: a Brief History of Feminist Contributions in the Field of International Development. *Gender and Development*. 23(2):189-205.

La Via Campesina. (2020, April 15). #17April2020 - Till, sow and harvest transformative ideas for the future. Retrieved from <https://viacampesina.org/en/till-sow-and-harvest-transformative-ideas-for-the-future/>

La Via Campesina. (2020, May 1). 01 May 2020: Building solidarity, resistance and hope among peoples. Retrieved from <https://viacampesina.org/en/may-1st-building-solidarity-resistance-and-hope-among-peoples/>

La Via Campesina. (2020, April 7). COVID-19 – small-scale food producers stand in solidarity and will fight to bring healthy food to all. Retrieved from <https://viacampesina.org/en/COVID-19-small-scale-food-producers-stand-in-solidarity-and-will-fight-to-bring-healthy-food-to-all/>

La Via Campesina. (2020, August 6). Keeping the struggles of peasant women alive. Retrieved from <https://viacampesina.org/en/keeping-the-struggles-of-peasant-women-alive-2/>

La Via Campesina. (2020, June 16). MST's internationalist brigades and the fight against COVID-19 and for life in Africa and Latin America. Retrieved from <https://viacampesina.org/en/msts-internationalist-brigades-and-the-fight-against-COVID-19-and-for-life-in-africa-and-latin-america/>

La Via Campesina. (2020, April 16). Neoliberalism and finance capital have been defeated by coronavirus. Retrieved from <https://viacampesina.org/en/neoliberalism-and-finance-capital-have-been-defeated-by-coronavirus/>

La Via Campesina. (2020, May 26). Nepal: now is time for Socialist Economic Reforms. Retrieved from <https://viacampesina.org/en/nepal-now-is-time-for-socialist-economic-reforms/>

La Via Campesina. (2020, April 8). Save lives to save the economy, says Via Campesina Brazil. Retrieved from <https://viacampesina.org/en/save-lives-to-save-the-economy-says-via-campesina-brazil/>

La Via Campesina. (2020, April 28 a). The corona crisis harms those who feed us. Retrieved from <https://viacampesina.org/en/the-corona-crisis-harms-those-who-feed-us/>

La Via Campesina. (2020, April 28 b). The solution to food insecurity is food sovereignty. Retrieved from <https://viacampesina.org/en/the-solution-to-food-insecurity-is-food-sovereignty/>

La Via Campesina. (2020, April 21). Time to claim food sovereignty. Retrieved from <https://viacampesina.org/en/time-to-claim-food-sovereignty/>

La Via Campesina. (2020, June 18). What kind of Africa and world should emerge from this crisis? Retrieved from <https://viacampesina.org/en/what-kind-of-africa-and-world-should-emerge-from-this-crisis/>

Lokot, Michelle and Yeva Avakyan. (2020). Intersectionality as a Lens to the COVID-19

- Pandemic: Implications for Sexual and Reproductive Health in Development and Humanitarian Contexts. *Sexual and Reproductive Health Matters*.
- Lopez, Oscar and Anastasia Moloney. (2020, March 18). Coronavirus chases the slum dwellers of Latin America. Retrieved from <https://nationalpost.com/pmnh/health-pmnh/coronavirus-chases-the-slum-dwellers-of-latin-america>
- Martínez-Torres, María Elena and Peter M. Rosset. (2010). La Vía Campesina: the Birth and Evolution of a Transnational Social Movement. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*. 37(1): 149-175.
- Mberu, Blessing Uchenna, James Mbugua Ciera, Patricia Elungata and Alex Chika Ezech. (2014). Patterns and Determinants of Poverty Transitions Among Poor Urban Households in Nairobi, Kenya. *African Development Review*, 26: 172-185.
- McQuail, Denis (2000) *McQuail's Mass Communication Theory*. London: Sage.
- Mohanty, Chandra. (1988). Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses. *Feminist Review*. 30(10): 51-79.
- Mohanty, Chandra. (2003). Under Western Eyes, revisited: Feminist solidarity through anticapitalist struggles. *in Signs*, 28(2): 499-535.
- Morgan, Miranda. (2017). Women, Gender and Protest: Contesting Oil Palm Plantation Expansion in Indonesia. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*. 44(6): 1177-1196.
- Montalva, Joao and Patricia Van de Velde. (May 19, 2020). "COVID-19 and Food Security: Gendered Dimensions". Africa Gender Innovation Lab and Food and Agriculture Global Practice. Retrieved from <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/33813>
- Mukherjee, Abhijit, S. Suresh Babu and Subimal Ghosh. (2020). "Thinking about water and air to attain Sustainable Development Goals during times of COVID-19 Pandemic". *Journal of Earth System Science*, 129:180.
- Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. (2020, April 1). "Women at the core of the fight against COVID-19 crisis". Retrieved from <https://www.oecd.org/coronavirus/policy-responses/women-at-the-core-of-the-fight-against-covid-19-crisis-553a8269/>
- Park, Clara Mi Young, Ben White and Julia. (2015). *We Are Not All The Same: Taking*

- Gender Seriously in Food Sovereignty Discourse. *Third World Quarterly*. 36(3): 584-599.
- Parry, Bianca Rochelle and Errollyn Gordon. (2020). The Shadow Pandemic: Inequitable Gendered Impacts of COVID-19 in South Africa. *Gender, Work and Organization*. October 12, 2020: 1-12.
- Patel, Raj Guest Editor. (2009). Grassroots Voices: Food Sovereignty. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*. 36(3): 663-706.
- Peet, Richard and Elaine Hartwick. *Theories of Development: Contentions, Arguments, Alternatives* - third edition. The Guilford Press: New York.
- Phillipson, Jeremy, Matthew Gorton, Roger Turner, Mark Shucksmith, Katie Aitken-McDermott, Francisco Areal, Paul Cowie, Carmen Hubbard, Sara Maioli, Ruth McAreavey, Diogo Souza-Monteiro, Robert Newbery, Luca Panzone, Frances Rowe and Sally Shortall. (2020). The COVID-19 Pandemic and Its Implications for Rural Economies. *Sustainability*. 2020(12): 3973.
- Rich, Adrienne. (1984). Notes Towards a Politics of Location. in Lewis and Mills (eds.). *Feminist Postcolonial Theory. A Reader*. New York. Routledge (2003) 29-42.
- Siche, Raúl. (2020). What is the Impact of COVID-19 Disease on Agriculture? *Scientia Agropecuaria* 11(1): 3 – 6.
- Snow, D. A., & Benford, R. D. (1988). Ideology, frame resonance, and participant mobilization. In B. Klandermans, H. Kriesi, & S. Tarrow (Eds.), *International social movement research. From structure on action: Comparing social movement research across cultures*. Vol. 1, 197–217. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.
- Solberg, Erna and Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo. (2020, April 23). Why we cannot lose sight of the Sustainable Development Goals during corona-virus. Retrieved from <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2020/04/coronavirus-pandemic-effect-sdg-un-progress/>
- Solidaridad. (2019). Annual Financial Report 2019. Solidaridad: The Netherlands.
- Solidaridad. (2020, May 26). 5 predictions for a post-COVID world. Retrieved from <https://www.solidaridadnetwork.org/news/5-predictions-for-a-post-COVID-world>
- Solidaridad. (2020, June 3). Build Back Better: sustainable, fair and resilient. Retrieved from <https://www.solidaridadnetwork.org/news/build-back-better-sustainable-fair-and-resilient>

Solidaridad. (2020, June 23). COVID-19: protect rural workers in the cotton harvest. Retrieved from <https://www.solidaridadnetwork.org/news/COVID-19-protect-rural-workers-in-the-cotton-harvest>

Solidaridad. (2020, April 17). COVID-19: supply chain solidarity to support those hit hardest. Retrieved from <https://www.solidaridadnetwork.org/news/COVID-19-supply-chain-solidarity-to-support-those-hit-hardest>

Solidaridad. (2020, May 1). COVID-19 prevention in golden line communities in Ghana and Tanzania. Retrieved from <https://www.solidaridadnetwork.org/news/COVID-19-prevention-in-golden-line-communities-in-ghana-and-tanzania>

Solidaridad. (2020, May 21). Deploying digital tools for agricultural extension support amid COVID-19. Retrieved <https://www.solidaridadnetwork.org/news/deploying-digital-tools-for-agricultural-extension-support-amid-COVID-19>

Solidaridad. (2020). Gender Analysis Report: Madhya Pradesh. Retrieved from <https://www.solidaridadnetwork.org/publications/gender-analysis-report-madhya-pradesh>

Solidaridad. (2020, June 18). Partnerships for pandemic support in Paraguay. Retrieved from <https://www.solidaridadnetwork.org/news/partnerships-for-pandemic-support-in-paraguay>

Solidaridad. (2020, July 14). Promoting food security among smallholder coffee farmers in East Africa. Retrieved from <https://www.solidaridadnetwork.org/news/promoting-food-security-among-smallholder-coffee-farmers-in-east-africa>

Solidaridad. (2020, April 21). Responding responsively to the COVID-19 crisis joint priorities for the garment sector. Retrieved from <https://www.solidaridadnetwork.org/news/responding-responsibly-to-the-COVID-19-crisis-joint-priorities-for-the-garment-sector>

Solidaridad. (2020, May 8). Spreading positivity amidst corona crisis. Retrieved from <https://www.solidaridadnetwork.org/news/spreading-positivity-amidst-corona-crisis>

Solidaridad. (2020, March 26). Striving for balance amid a global pandemic. Retrieved from <https://www.solidaridadnetwork.org/news/striving-for-balance-amid-a-global-pandemic>

Sommer, Marni, Suzanne Ferron, Sue Cavill and Sarah House. (2015). Violence, Gender and WASH: spurring action on a complex, under-documented and sensitive topic. *Environment and Urbanization*, 27: 105–16.

South Pole. (2020, June 25). The post-corona renewables boom - why now is the time to act. Retrieved from <https://www.southpole.com/sv/blog/the-post-corona-renewables-boom-and-why-now->

is-the-time-to-

act?utm_source=LinkedIn&utm_medium=social&utm_campaign=PostCorona&utm_content=sp-share

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. (1988). Can the Subaltern Speak? *in* Nelson, C and

Grossberg, L. (eds). *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*. London: Macmillan.

Struckmann, Christiane (2018). "A postcolonial feminist critique of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development: A South African application". *Agenda*, 32(1): 12-24.

Stuart, Elizabeth and Emma Samman. (2017). Defining 'leave no one behind'. Overseas Development Institute. October 2017.

Stuart, Elizabeth and Jessica Woodroffe. (2016). Leaving No-One Behind: Can the Sustainable Development Goals Succeed Where the Millennium Development Goals Lacked? *in* *Gender & Development*, 24, 1,69–81.

Sweetman, Caroline. (2013). Introduction, Feminist Solidarity and Collective Action. *Gender and Development*. 21(2): 217-229.

Tankard, James W. (2001). The Empirical Approach to the Study of Media Framing. *in* S.D. Reese, O.H. Gandy and A.E. Grant (eds) *Framing Public Life: Perspectives on Media and Our Understanding of the Social World*. Pp. 95-106. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

The Conversation. (2020, May 27). How leadership in various countries has affected COVID-19 response effectiveness. Retrieved from <https://theconversation.com/how-leadership-in-various-countries-has-affected-COVID-19-response-effectiveness-138692>

The Guardian. (2020, March 18). What coronavirus lockdowns have meant around the world - how countries from China to Italy have imposed measures to curb the spread of COVID-19. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/mar/18/what-a-coronavirus-lockdown-might-mean-for-london>

The World Bank. (2020, May 15). COVID-19 could worsen gender inequality in Latin America and the Caribbean. Retrieved from <https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2020/05/15/COVID-19-could-worsen-gender-inequality-in-latin-america-and-the-caribbean>

The World Bank. (2020, April 10). Gender and COVID-19 (Coronavirus). Retrieved from <https://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/gender/brief/gender-and-COVID-19-coronavirus>

The World Bank. (2014). Voice and Agency: Empowering Women and Girls for Shared Prosperity. World Bank Group.

The World Bank. (2020, March 7). Women in Agriculture: the agents of change for the global food system. Retrieved from <https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2017/03/07/women-in-agriculture-the-agents-of-change-for-the-food-system>

The World Bank. (2020, May 19). World Bank Group: 100 Countries Get Support in Response to COVID-19 (Coronavirus). Retrieved from <https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2020/05/19/world-bank-group-100-countries-get-support-in-response-to-COVID-19-coronavirus>

UNHCR. (2020, November 4). Space, shelter and scarce resources – coping with COVID-19. Retrieved from <https://www.unhcr.org/news/stories/2020/11/5fa0167f4/space-shelter-scarce-resources-coping-covid-19.html>

United Nations African Renewal. (2020, June 11). As COVID-19 cases rise, African countries grapple with safely easing lockdowns. Retrieved from <https://www.un.org/africarenewal/magazine/june-2020/coronavirus/COVID-19-africa-cases-rise-along-economic-hardship-countries-grapple-safely-easing>

UN Women. (2020, May 20). COVID-19: Women front and centre. Retrieved from <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2020/3/statement-ed-phumzile-COVID-19-women-front-and-centre>

UN Women. (2020, April). COVID-19 and Ending Violence Against Women and Girls. Retrieved from <https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2020/04/issue-brief-COVID-19-and-ending-violence-against-women-and-girls>

UN Women. (2020, June 1). Cultivating change: women farmers in Dominica find new paths to market amidst COVID-19 shutdowns. Retrieved from <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2020/6/feature-women-farmers-find-paths-to-market-amidst-COVID-19>

UN Women. (2020, March 24). Ending violence against women in the context of COVID-19. Retrieved from <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2020/3/ending-violence-against-women-in-the-context-of-COVID-19>

UN Women. (2020, June 3). In Georgia, women farmers show solidarity amid COVID-19. Retrieved from <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2020/6/feature-in-georgia-women-farmers-show-solidarity-amid-COVID-19>

UN Women. (2020, June 29). In Guatemala, investing in indigenous women's economic empowerment is key to building back better after COVID-19. Retrieved from <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2020/6/feature-empowering-indigenous-women-in-guatemala-in-COVID-19-response>

UN Women. (2020, May 22). In Myanmar, women work to protect small businesses during COVID-19 pandemic. Retrieved from <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2020/5/feature-myanmar-women-work-to-protect-small-businesses-during-COVID-19>

UN Women. (2020, April 9). Policy Brief: the impact of COVID-19 on women. Retrieved from <https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2020/04/policy-brief-the-impact-of-COVID-19-on-women>

UN Women. (2020, April 15). Roses in the battlefield: rural women farmers join the fight against COVID-19 in China. Retrieved from <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2020/4/feature-rural-women-farmers-join-the-fight-against-COVID-19-in-china>

UN Women. (2020, July 22). The COVID-19 crisis in Morocco disrupts value chains for women's cooperatives. Retrieved from <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2020/7/feature-COVID-19-crisis-in-morocco-disrupts-value-chains-for-womens-cooperatives>

UN Women. (2020, May 19). Ten things you can learn from women's resilience that will help you stay strong in the time of COVID-19. Retrieved from <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2020/5/compilation-ten-things-you-can-learn-from-womens-resilience>

UN Women. (2020, May 11). UN Women delivers lifeline support to women's and grassroots organizations for COVID-19 response. Retrieved from <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2020/5/press-release-un-women-supports-womens-and-grassroots-organizations-for-COVID-19-response>

UN Women. (Date unknown). UN Women's response to COVID-19 – in brief. Retrieved from <https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2020/06/brief-un-womens-response-to-COVID-19#view>

UN Women. (2020, April 6). Violence against women and girls: the shadow pandemic. Retrieved from <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2020/4/statement-ed-phumzile-violence-against-women-during-pandemic>

UN Women. (2020, March 26). Women and COVID-19: five things governments can do now. Retrieved from <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2020/3/news-women-and-COVID-19-governments-actions-by-ded-bhatia>

UN Women. (2020, April 30). Women and girls are left behind in the COVID-19 response - warn women's organizations in Europe and Central Asia. Retrieved from <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2020/4/press-release-women-and-girls-are-left-behind-in-COVID-19-response>

van Gorp, Baldwin. (2005). Where is the Frame. *European Journal of Communication* (20): 484-507.

van Gorp, Baldwin. (2007). The Constructionist Approach to Framing: Bringing Culture Back In. *Journal of Communication* (57): 60-78

Vossen, Mirjam, Baldwin van Gorp, and Lau Schulpen. (2018). In Search of the Pitiful Victim: a Frame Analysis of Dutch, Flemish and British Newspapers and NGO-Advertisements. *Journal of International Development*, 30: 643-660,

Wenham, Clare, Julia Smith and Rosemary Morgan. (2020) COVID-19: The Gendered Impacts of the Outbreak. *The Lancet*: volume 395.

Werker, Eric and Faisal Z. Ahmed. (2008). What do Nongovernmental Organizations Do? *Journal of Economic Perspectives*. 22(2): 73-92.

White, Ben and Julia. (2012). Gendered Experiences of Dispossession: Oil Palm Expansion in a Dayak Hibun Community in West Kalimantan. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*. 39(3-4): 995-1016.

World Health Organization. (2020, May 14). Advocacy brief: Gender and COVID-19. Retrieved from <https://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/handle/10665/332080/WHO-2019-nCoV-Advocacy-brief-Gender-2020.1-eng.pdf>

World Health Organization. (2020, July 13). As more go hungry and malnutrition persists, achieving Zero Hunger by 2030 in doubt, UN report warns: securing healthy diets for the billions who cannot afford them would save trillions in costs. Retrieved from

<https://www.who.int/news-room/detail/13-07-2020-as-more-go-hungry-and-malnutrition-persists-achieving-zero-hunger-by-2030-in-doubt-un-report-warns>

World Health Organization. (2020, August 1). COVID-19 Emergency Committee highlights need for response efforts over long term. Retrieved from <https://www.who.int/news-room/detail/01-08-2020-COVID-19-emergency-committee-highlights-need-for-response-efforts-over-long-term>

World Health Organization. (2020). COVID-19 in the WHO African Region. Interactive map, consulted on October 4, 2020. Retrieved from <https://who.maps.arcgis.com/apps/opsdashboard/index.html#/0c9b3a8b68d0437a8cf28581e9c063a9>

World Health Organization. (2020, April 28). COVID-19 message library. Retrieved from <https://www.who.int/publications/i/item/COVID-19-message-library>

World Health Organization. (2020, April 24). Global leaders unite to ensure everyone everywhere can access new vaccines, tests and treatments for COVID-19: unprecedented gathering of heads of government, institutions and industry cements commitment to accelerate development and delivery for all populations. Retrieved from <https://www.who.int/news-room/detail/24-04-2020-global-leaders-unite-to-ensure-everyone-everywhere-can-access-new-vaccines-tests-and-treatments-for-COVID-19>

World Health Organization. (2020, May 19). Historic health assembly ends with global commitment to COVID-19 response. Retrieved from <https://www.who.int/news-room/detail/19-05-2020-historic-health-assembly-ends-with-global-commitment-to-COVID-19-response>

World Health Organization. (2020, June 23). IOC joins forces with WHO and the United Nations to fight COVID-19. Retrieved from <https://www.who.int/news-room/detail/23-06-2020-ioc-joins-forces-with-who-and-the-united-nations-to-fight-COVID-19>

World Health Organization. (2020, April 20). ITU-WHO joint statement: unleashing information technology to defeat COVID-19. Retrieved from <https://www.who.int/news-room/detail/20-04-2020-itu-who-joint-statement-unleashing-information-technology-to-defeat-COVID-19>

World Health Organization. (2020, March 30 a). Joint statement by QU Dongyu, Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus and Roberto Azevedo, Directors-General of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), World Health Organization (WHO) and the World Trade Organization (WTO). Retrieved from [https://www.who.int/news-room/detail/30-03-2020-joint-statement-by-qu-dongyu-tedros-adhanom-ghebreyesus-and-roberto-azevedo-directors-general-of-the-food-and-agriculture-organization-of-the-united-nations-\(fao\)-the-world-health-organization-\(who\)-and-the-world-trade-organization-\(wto\)](https://www.who.int/news-room/detail/30-03-2020-joint-statement-by-qu-dongyu-tedros-adhanom-ghebreyesus-and-roberto-azevedo-directors-general-of-the-food-and-agriculture-organization-of-the-united-nations-(fao)-the-world-health-organization-(who)-and-the-world-trade-organization-(wto))

World Health Organization. (2020, July 15). More than 150 countries engaged in COVID-19 vaccine global access facility. Retrieved from <https://www.who.int/news-room/detail/15-07-2020-more-than-150-countries-engaged-in-COVID-19-vaccine-global-access-facility>

World Health Organization. (2020, May 14). Substantial investment needed to avert mental health crisis. Retrieved from <https://www.who.int/news-room/detail/14-05-2020-substantial-investment-needed-to-avert-mental-health-crisis>

World Health Organization. (2020, June 22). The World Health Organization reminds public to remain vigilant through Mr. Bean's Essential COVID-19 Checklist. Retrieved from <https://www.who.int/news-room/detail/22-06-2020-the-world-health-organization-reminds-public-to-remain-vigilant-through-mr-bean-s-essential-COVID-19-checklist>

World Health Organization. (2020, January 28). WHO, China leaders discuss next steps in battle against coronavirus outbreak. Retrieved from <https://www.who.int/news-room/detail/28-01-2020-who-china-leaders-discuss-next-steps-in-battle-against-coronavirus-outbreak>

World Health Organization. (2020, March 13). WHO, UN foundation and partners launch first-of-its-kind COVID-19 Solidarity Response Fund. Retrieved from <https://www.who.int/news-room/detail/13-03-2020-who-un-foundation-and-partners-launch-first-of-its-kind-COVID-19-solidarity-response-fund>

World Health Organization. (2020, May 15). WHO and Costa Rica preview technology pooling initiative to ensure access to COVID-19 health products for all. Retrieved from <https://www.who.int/news-room/detail/15-05-2020-who-and-costa-rica-preview-technology-pooling-initiative-to-ensure-access-to-COVID-19-health-products-for-all>

World Health Organization. (2020, May 1). WHO and European Investment Bank strengthen efforts to combat COVID-19 and build resilient health systems to face future pandemics. Retrieved from <https://www.who.int/news-room/detail/01-05-2020-who-and-european-investment-bank-strengthen-efforts-to-combat-COVID-19-and-build-resilient-health-systems-to-face-future-pandemics>

World Health Organization. (2020, April 7). WHO and partners call for urgent investment in nurses. Retrieved from <https://www.who.int/news-room/detail/07-04-2020-who-and-partners-call-for-urgent-investment-in-nurses>

World Health Organization. (2020, April 3). WHO and UNICEF to partner on pandemic response through COVID-19 Solidarity Response Fund. Retrieved from <https://www.who.int/news-room/detail/03-04-2020-who-and-unicef-to-partner-on-pandemic-response-through-COVID-19-solidarity-response-fund>

World Health Organization. (2020, August 3). WHO COVID-19 preparedness and response progress report - 1 February to 30 June 2020. Retrieved from

<https://www.who.int/publications/m/item/who-COVID-19-preparedness-and-response-progress-report---1-february-to-30-june-2020>

World Health Organization. (2020, June 4). WHO welcomes crucial new funding for vaccines.

Retrieved from <https://www.who.int/news-room/detail/04-06-2020-who-welcomes-crucial-new-funding-for-vaccines>

World Health Organization. (2020, February 5). US\$675 million needed for new coronavirus preparedness and response global plan. Retrieved from <https://www.who.int/news-room/detail/05-02-2020-us-675-million-needed-for-new-coronavirus-preparedness-and-response-global-plan>

World Health Organization. (2020, April 20). UN agencies issue urgent call to fund the global emergency supply system to fight COVID-19. Retrieved from <https://www.who.int/news-room/detail/20-04-2020-un-agencies-issue-urgent-call-to-fund-the-global-emergency-supply-system-to-fight-COVID-19>

World Health Organization. (2020, March 1). UN releases US\$15 million to help vulnerable countries battle the spread of the coronavirus. Retrieved from <https://www.who.int/news-room/detail/01-03-2020-un-releases-us-15-million-to-help-vulnerable-countries-battle-the-spread-of-the-coronavirus>

World Health Organization. (2020, March 30 b). WHO releases guidelines to help countries maintain essential health services during the COVID-19 pandemic. Retrieved from <https://www.who.int/news-room/detail/30-03-2020-who-releases-guidelines-to-help-countries-maintain-essential-health-services-during-the-COVID-19-pandemic>

World Health Organization. (2020, March 7). WHO statement on cases of COVID-19 surpassing 100.000. Retrieved from <https://www.who.int/news-room/detail/07-03-2020-who-statement-on-cases-of-COVID-19-surpassing-100-000>

World Health Organization. (2020, January 13). WHO statement on novel coronavirus in Thailand. Retrieved from <https://www.who.int/news-room/detail/13-01-2020-who-statement-on-novel-coronavirus-in-thailand>

World Health Organization. (2020, February 6). WHO to accelerate research and innovation for new coronavirus. Retrieved from <https://www.who.int/news-room/detail/06-02-2020-who-to-accelerate-research-and-innovation-for-new-coronavirus>

World Health Organization. (2020, March 2). Women in the health workforce. Retrieved from <https://www.who.int/hrh/events/2018/women-in-health-workforce/en/>

World Health Organization. (2020, February 12). World experts and funders set priorities for COVID-19 research. Retrieved from <https://www.who.int/news-room/detail/12-02-2020-world-experts-and-funders-set-priorities-for-COVID-19-research>

World Economic Forum. (2020, May 9). What the COVID-19 pandemic tells us about gender equality. Retrieved from <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2020/05/what-the-COVID-19-pandemic-tells-us-about-gender-equality/>