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An analysis of the representation of female and male politicians during the 2016 South African local government elections: a case study of the Pietermaritzburg daily newspaper, *The Witness.*

By

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Table of contents

Acknowledgement.

Abstract.

Acknowledgement of research
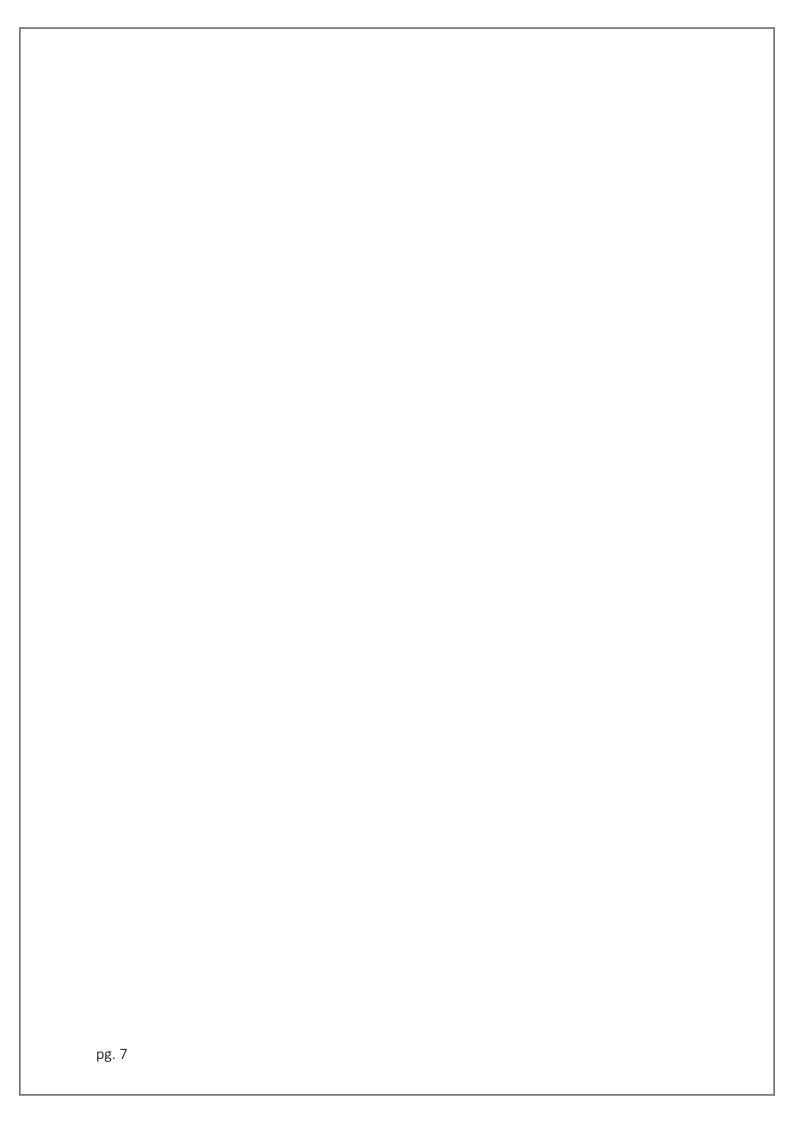
Firstly, I would like to thank God for everything in my life. Sincere appreciation and gratitude is extended to my supervisor Dr Jones, who made it possible for this study to happen with her support and guidance throughout the preparation of my dissertation. I would also like to thank my family for their encouragement and support in my studies at the University of KwaZulu Natal.

Abstract

The representation of female and male politicians within the media has been discussed and debated widely across the globe. This study uses *The Witness* newspaper to analyse the representation of the South African male and female politicians during the 2016 local government elections. This study implemented a qualitative research method with an interpretive paradigm which is a useful technique in qualitative research methods. Furthermore, this study also used a textual analysis, critical discourse analysis and frame analysis to examine data collected from *The Witness* articles, and government documents such as executive reports.

The study explored whether *The Witness* reinforces gender stereotypes assigned to South African men and women in general, and whether these stereotypes are reflected in South African politicians. It examined whether *The Witness* equally represented South African male and female politicians. The findings of this research show that there are still some differences and inequalities that exist between male and female politicians in terms of their representation in the political realm, partly because women still have low representation in parliament. Furthermore, a substantial number of women struggle to enter executive or prominent positions within our society, which remains largely dominated by men.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Since 1994 the South African media has experienced major changes. This shift mirrored a vital change in the political landscape where equality amongst public citizens was emphasized. In the political climate the print newspaper came to occupy a significant position in South Africa and throughout the whole world. Despite South Africa's progressive constitution, implementation of human rights that move us towards great gender equality and representation in politics is still a major challenge.

The print newspaper is responsible for representing social reality and providing information to public citizens regarding current issues. It reflects our everyday life by reconstructing reality as it is. Print media is one of the dominant means of ideological productions and is responsible for reflecting dominant ideas that circulate in our communities (Morgan & Politoff, 2012). People are bombarded with a variety of meaningful media representations. In most cases, much of what we know is based on the stories circulated by the print media such as newspaper articles. Thus, images or written text circulated by the newspaper have a great influence in people's lives. In many other parts of the world including South Africa newspapers are considered a highly trusted and credible source of information (Morgan & Politoff, 2012). Newspapers have also traditionally served as forum for society to engage, discuss and debate issues of public importance.

Language is a vital tool used to construct meaning in our societies. Language is a system of signs which include images, sounds and written words. The media use these signs in order to express and communicate various ideas to the public (Culler, 1976). Theorists such as Byars & Dell (1992) further elaborate that individual identity is created through the media. For instance, how we come to understand ourselves and what it means to be a men and women is shaped by contemporary media representations. Thus, through print media representation, meaning is produced and exchanged among a community (Du Gay et all., 1997). Woodward (1997) further asserted that meaning gives individuals a sense of their own identities, and we construct ourselves through associating with media representations and through the information in our environment.

However, we have to take into consideration that meaning is not static but fluid, it changes over time, and people interpret the world differently according to their frames of reference, thus there is a need for a shared or common understanding in order to communicate effectively (Foucault, 1980).

Additionally, it is not only the media that has the power to construct meaning. Other structured social institutions like churches and schools possess the power to conduct our behaviour and instil certain beliefs, norms, and values. One can argue that gender is produced and disciplined in different social regimes through power and knowledge system. Foucault (1980) argued that there are institutional state apparatuses which constitute our everyday discourse and in turn reflects dominant ideologies.

Media enables people to express their ideas, in this case individuals such as politicians are able to get their messages across to the public through the media, which makes it a vital tool within society because it communicatespolitical agendas to the public, in order to have an influence in people's lives. Theorists such as Scammell and Semetko (2000) further argued that the "news media play a central role in politics especially in contemporary election campaigns. Additionally, candidates' campaigns are media centred to get as much coverage as they can (Norris, 2000).

 Firstly, the study analysed how *The Witness* portrayed South African male and female politicians during the 2016 local government elections. Secondly, it examined if *The Witness* reinforced gender stereotypes assigned to South African men and women in general. And then examined how these stereotypes are sutured in South African politics. Finally, this study examined whether *The Witness* represented South African male and female politicians equally. By examining the representation of gender in South African politics, this study determined the state of gender equality in the political media.

Furthermore, it discussed various theories including stereotypes, representation, masculinity, and framing in order to answer the research questions. Literature from different countries and time periods will be examined. For example, this study looked at international studies and national studies to get more data. For example, this study look at literature from Europe, Africa and South Africa. Individuals are divided along the lines of gender in our societies as a

result of the gender binary that exist in our society, to which one must conform. Women and men are expected to behave differently and perform different roles in society.

The timing of this study is particularly important as it follows the 2016 local government election in South Africa. This study also focused on analysing one newspaper, the Pietermaritzburg daily newspaper known as *The Witness*, bearing in mind its position in the broader South African context. *The Witness* is a significant broadsheet in South Africa. It has wide circulation of 19 001 in Pietermaritzburg and a readership of 134 000 (www.*TheWitness*.com). The greater KwaZulu-Natal distinguishes it from other publications. It readership and impact in the community is high (Fairclough, 1995; Philliphs and Jorgensen, 2002).Thus, society's worldview is substantially influenced by what individuals see, hear, or read in the media, which plays a major role in the representations of women and men within our societies. Because they have such high circulation, it disseminates information to a very large audience and reflects our social discourse (Fairclough, 1995; Philliphs and Jorgensen, 2002).

Year 1994 was a significant year in the South African history as it came with many changes. For instance, South Africa elected it first black president and the South African print media industry experienced changes. For more than a century, the South African print industry had enjoyed a tightly structured society with many barriers in it. Despite, the fact that 80% of South Africa's population was black in 1994, however, black press was not allowed to develop. Policies of the apartheid era didn't allow newspapers to report news of the black political leaders or political parties, thus there was no coverage of the black press (Giddens,1990). However, since the South Africa's first democratic election in 1994 major changes in the print media occurred. Mainstream newspaper such as Cape Argus and Durban Daily news experience a decline in circulation (ABC 2006).

The South African print media has undergone many changes since from the apartheid government up until the democratic government. Today, South Africa is a democratic country which holds that all citizens are equal regardless of their gender, sex, and race on paper, however, in reality it is not the case (Wigston, 2001). The history of the South African print media can be divided into two main periods, during and after apartheid. The South African print media has experienced major changes since the apartheid era (Fourie, 2007). For instance, during apartheid in South Africa the media operated within a number of laws

created in order to make it impossible to publish any information without the authorization from the government especially on political or national issues. Thus, during the apartheid era South African newspapers were regulated in terms of what they can or cannot publish and there was no freedom of expression (Fourie, 2007). The South African press during apartheid was categorized according to various political affiliations. Newspapers were usually either sympathetic towards government or in opposition.

During the times of the apartheid era the press was organized according to race and language, hence, all the newspapers in South Africa were published in two languages such as English and Afrikaans. However, from 1994 onwards the South African print media moved from an oppressive system to one where the media could now publish almost anything, and criticize any government or oppositions, without fear or favour. Furthermore, more non-English newspapers emerged after apartheid (Roelofse, 1996). From then there were four different types of newspapers in South Africa namely, *The English press, The Afrikaans press, The black press* in both English and indigenous language and the *Indian press,* this occurred during apartheid as well (Roelofse, 1996). Today, there are twenty-one (21) mainstream daily newspapers in South Africa such as the *The Witness, Isolezwe, The Star, The Cape Argus, The Pretoria News, The Daily News, Ilanga and The Mercury.* Newspapers remain one of the major disseminators of information to the public citizens. As Fourie (2007) states, the print media can act as political and economic agents within our society. *The Witness* is one of the oldest newspaper in South Africa (Cutten, 1935). *The Witness* was the last mainstream privately owned newspaper in the country, before being taken over by Media24 six years ago, and is currently renowned as a quality newspaper producing reporters who are sought after by other media organizations, and consequently has a constant turnover of junior staff (Jones, 2016).

Within this contemporary world many people pay more attention on what the media represents. Therefore, the media can be seen as one of the agents of social control that carries representational, stereotypical and ideological values about women and men within our societies (Van Zoonen, 1994). In addition, theorists such as Michael Foucault (1994) argued that the print media are particularly involved in constructing reality. In other words, the media produces and constitute individual understanding about the whole world. In addition, the

media construct or reflect the world to us and also portray a pre-existing reality within our societies (Foucault, 1994).

The print newspaper shapes political views and individuals social behaviour and provides the public with the material out of which one can create his/her own identities (Foucault, 1994). Additionally, print newspaper also provide us with the content of which many people create their sense of class or division amongst themselves in our communities (Foucault, 1994). Media representations such as newspaper articles provide us with the information that help to create a shared common culture. In general ways media contribute to educating the public on how to behave and what to feel, think and believe and what not to. Moreover, how people see themselves and other people and how they construct their identities is based on the media representation (Foucault, 1994).

With the print media containing so many images of men and women, and it would be highly likely that those ideas will have impact on our sense of identities, because the media has a direct and straight forward effect on its audiences. Each an everyday people are saturated with popular culture and advertising on the media. Thus, it is unavoidable that individuals will be affected by the daily experiences on the newspaper. The print media contain all kinds of advice on how to look, interact and live specifically for men or women.

Media representations work hand in hand in order to generate thoughts and behaviours that conform to existing values, beliefs and social practices in our world today (e.g. popular text, may all articulate specific ideological positions and also help produce dominant forms of social power within our societies). However, media text are argued to serve in the interests of the dominant groups providing that media engages in producing relationships of domination and oppression within our world. Douglas Kellner (1988) also contended that text are very complex artefacts which embodies political and social discourses (Kellner, 1988).

Similarly, Antonio Gramsci (1971) also perceive cultural text as serving as a form of social domination in our society. They create a hierarchical set of social relations characterized by oppression of subordinate class and gender divisions (Gramsci, 1971). For instance, the media serve to induce consent to the dominant order through establishing hegemony which is an ideological dominance of a specific type of social order. Moreover, media culture is also seen

as a site where battles are fought for the control of society. The print media therefore help to shape our views of the world and forms of social power within our societies.

Media and politics are intertwined, politicians turn to the media to fulfil their missions. They motivate their actions through the print media and campaign for their ideas in order to win people's trust. In this case media plays a significant part in informing people about politics within our societies. Therefore, it is very important to note that politicians need the print media in order to communicate their ideas to the people. In this case, one can say that the media largely shapes public opinion. Therefore, politics is very much mediated (Lozanov & Spassov, 2011). There is no doubt that the media are key sources of information about politics and other events on a regular basis.

Chapter 2

Theoretical framework/ literature review

Representation

The concept of representation occupies a significant place in the study of culture and society. Theorists such as Foucault (1980) defined representation as a process whereby members of a culture use language, which is defined as a system that deploys signs and symbols in order to produce meaning. Meaning is fluid and ever changing within social, cultural, and historical context (Foucault, 1980). Representation is argued to connect meaning and language to culture. It also refers to the way of using language to say something meaningful, or to represent the world meaningfully to other people (Hall et al., 1997). Representation is one of the central practices by which culture is produced. Within culture, language is used as a tool to share meaning that is produced and exchanged among individuals within a community. In this case, language is viewed as central to culture and meaning (Hall & Du Gay, 1997).

In the contemporary world, where leisure and entertainment hold great value, individuals are bombarded with a variety of media representations. Much of what we know is based on the stories that are produced, disseminated, and presented by the media. Symbols and images propagated by the media also greatly influence our ideals. The way in which an individual create their social identity, and understand what it means to be a man or woman, is more or less shaped by the media. Thus, the media is central in organizing ideas of our social reality in the contemporary world (Byars & Dell, 1992). This research will focus mostly on the meaning that will be drawn out from the print media, focusing largely on the language and images used on the newspaper articles.

The concept of representation and culture can be intertwined, because representation is one of the central practices that produce the notion of culture (Hall et al., 1997). Culture has been saturated by moving images disseminated by a variety of different media outlets, which in turn, act as a reflection of our social reality. In this research newspaper articles are employed to get the reflection of our social reality. In this case, the media constructs and represents our reality by using instant images, language and symbols as representations of our social reality (Hall, 1997). However, Stuart Hall (1997) concluded that there is no one fixed meaning of the events in the media. Therefore, meaning is dynamic because of different interpretations and

frames of reference that individuals make from a text. Therefore, there is a need for a shared understanding in order for us to understand things in similar ways.

Culture is very central in the notion of representation (Hall, 1997). Culture plays an important role in understanding our identity and the world around us, because how we come to understand ourselves and perform gender is based on daily representations and culture. Culture is therefore seen as a process through which individuals construct and share their social experiences among themselves (Byers & Dell, 1992: 191). Byers & Dell (1992) claim cultures are maps of meaning that arise because of shared meaning, enabling individuals to make sense of the world. Culture is also defined as a way of life of people, community, or social groups. It can also be used to describe shared values, beliefs, and norms of a group or of a society (Foucault, 1980). This research will pay attention mostly on the beliefs, values and norms that the society associate or assign both to male politicians and female politicians in our societies

As one of the most multifaceted concepts in the human and social sciences, culture is argued to represent thoughts and values of the society which makes up our everyday lives. In this way, "Culture refers to whatever is distinctive about the way of life of people, community or social groups" (Hall et al., 1997: 2). Another primary concern of this research is to look at those differences that the culture assign to male politicians and female politicians, because there are certain beliefs and values associated with them. The primary concern of culture is the production and the exchange of meaning between the members of the community. However, meaning is dependent on its members to be interpreted in order to make sense of the world. Thus, culture organizes and controls our everyday social practices and influences our everyday behaviours within our societies (Hall et al., 1997).

Additionally, theorists argue that culture consists of individual or group feelings, attachments, emotions, ideas, and concepts. For example, the way we express ourselves shows how we identify, where we belong (attachment), and what we feel (emotions). These cultural meanings are said to organize and regulate our social practices and influence our everyday conduct. Consequently, they have a real impact on our lives, as meaning gives individuals a sense of their own identities in terms of who they are, and where they belong in our societies (Woodward, 1997). That is why this research is going to focus on the gender roles assigned to women and men in our societies.

In addition, cultures suggest that meaning is produced within a variety of different sites and distributed through various practices. It is created and exchanged in every social or personal interaction in which individuals take part (Du Gay, 1997).Theorists such as Kathryn Woodward (1997) asserted that "meaning is produced in several sites and circulated through a variety of different practices and media outlets" (Woodward, 1997: 3). As Woodward (1997) articulates, meaning gives us a sense of our own identity. "Meaning also helps individuals within a community set the rules, norms, and conventions, by which social life is ordered and governed (Thompson, 1997:4). It is created by individuals through sharing of codes and does not necessarily lie in objects or words, but is created by humans in whatever groups they form, so firmly that after some time it comes to be seen as natural. Individuals within a culture who give meaning to people, events, and objects (Hall et al., 1997).

Subsequently, meaning is ordered, produced, and circulated globally. Language is one of the ways through which meaning is produced. A major system of representation, language includes the process of constructing meaning within our communities. Language includes the use of signs, symbols, words, and images which stand for, or hold representation in the real world. Signs are one of the major elements which enable individuals to translate their thoughts into words, images or sounds in order to express meaning, and to communicate thoughts to other people meaningfully (Hall, 1997). Hence, language is one way in which the media represents our concepts, ideas, and feelings in a cultural perspective (Hall et al., 1997). This study will pay more attention to the language used by women and men politicians in the articles of the newspaper in order to find out how they were represented in the media.

Within language, members of the same culture or community must share the same set of ideas, concepts, images, and cultural codes, which will enable them to interpret the world in roughly similar ways (Hall et al., 1997). Language is a system of representation because it is created and produced rather than found. People who share similar cultural codes are claimed to understand and read visual images within a text in almost similar ways. Working through language, representation makes sense of events, objects, individuals and one's environment. Communication is meaningful representation, although frames of reference, beliefs, and norms in the form of mental representations may differ accordingly. Consequently, one needs to take into consideration how individuals within our societies understand or interpret the world differently from other people who do not share the same culture. Yet individuals may

be able to communicate and form meaning in similar ways by sharing the same conceptual maps. It can be argued that we belong to the same culture; hence, we can interpret the world in similar ways (Du Gay et al., 1997). Within language there are cultural and linguistic codes of which individuals must share in order to communicate effectively. Language can be seen as a vehicle of media that carries meaning. Thus, "it is through language and culture that the production and circulation of meaning takes place" (Thompson, 1997: 6).

A shared conceptual map is not enough when constituting meaning. A shared language is also required so individuals can openly communicate meaning to one another. Jonathan Culler (1976) argued that the construction of meaning mainly depends on the use of language. Culler (1976) views language as a system of signs (which include, sounds, images, written words, and speeches) which function in a way to express or communicate various ideas or concepts around the world. Within representation, a theorist Ferdinand de Saussure (1960), divided the sign into two concepts which he termed the signifier, and the signified. Saussure (1960) argued that the signifier can be viewed as a sound, image, written words, or something that can be seen, heard, or touched. The signified refers to the concept that the signifier seeks to communicate. In terms of fashion, the clothes themselves are the signifiers; as it has been argued that fashion correlate/connect particular kinds of clothing with certain concepts or stereotypes (such as elegance, formality, casualness, femininity, or masculinity) which are the signified. In this case clothes are therefore converted into signs, which in turn, can be read as a language, in the creation and conveying of meaning.

In more recent years, Foucault (1980) emphasized the role of discourse within culture. Discourse constitutes knowledge of a particular topic or practice, such as ideas, images, and practices, which provide ways of articulation (Mackay, 1997). Foucault's notion of discourse consists of statements which provide a language for representing knowledge. Power is a significant aspect within representation. Often conceptualized as coercive or physical, power within the framework of representation is symbolic, as it is used to mark, assign, and classify. The form of gendered knowledge of the other is argued to be deeply embedded within the operations of power, as examined by Said (1978). Furthermore, he argued that power itself does not limit or prevents people, but rather it produces new discourses.

Foucault (1980) in his late work, explored how power was examined through discursive formations within specific, structured institutional settings, in order to control or regulate the

conduct of others. He saw power as manifested through "an institutional state apparatus and its technologies" (Foucault, 1980, 194-196). "He used institutional state apparatuses to refer to the physical spaces such as (schools and churches) and knowledge structures which maintains the power within our societies" (Foucault, 1980, 194-196). Knowledge and power can be intertwined as they work hand in hand. They are both applied in order to regulate social conduct and practices within our communities. Knowledge is always a form of power, and once applied the impact is significant, as it constitutes the foundation for what is seen as truth.

Knowledge is used to regulate everyday conduct, which entails limitations and regulations of our social practices within individuals or groups (Foucault, 1977, 27). "Different discursive formations and apparatuses divide or classify the body differently in their respective regimes of power" Foucault, 1977, 63). An individual's knowledge is produced within specific social discourses in our societies (Foucault, 1977).

Framing theory

Within the communication research news selection has always been essential. Several scholars in communication have agreed that news stories or articles that are published firstly go through gate keeping/regulation process done by the journalist and editors who measure their newsworthiness (Shoemaker, 1991). In other words, there are forces which regulate and facilitate what goes in the print media. Not all events can be covered everyday by the print media. Articles represented in the print media everyday are. In this way news firstly go through selection process (Shoemaker, 1996). And a story to be selected needs to have the characteristics of news values in order to stand a chance to be published in the print newspaper.

The concept of framing has been used in media research studies, and other related fields, such as in sociology, and political science. One of the proponents of this theory is Ervin Goffman (1974) who referred to framing as the way issues or events are structured within the media text, and presented to its audience in order to make sense of the world. This research will look at the media coverage of both men and women politician issues how they are framed and presented to its audience. Other theorists, such as Gamson & Modigliani (1989), argued that frames simply provide us with the way of understanding the world around us, by

developing social meaning within a text. Additionally, Robert Entman (1993) notes a frame makes concepts more attractive in such a way that the issue is more salient to the audience. Entman (1993) further argued that to frame is to choose to reveal some aspect of perceived reality, and make it more visible to the public in a text, in such a way as to promote particular events, definitions, and interpretations of certain issues.

Media has proven to be a vital institution within our contemporary democracy. As a result, many citizens turn to news media daily to acquire information about the world at large. Consequently, it has been claimed that the media may somehow influence and shape public opinions by framing events and issues in particular ways. Framing involves communication that presents and defines an event or issue. Framing is recognized through the communicative disciplines, based on the investigation of media content, and studies connecting media and public opinion.

Technology has allowed for increased media access and global dissemination. Media outlets are quick to broadcast images of major events within moments of the incident having taken place. Media frames various aspects of a particular issue in their coverage in order to make the issue relevant to the audience. Individuals in our communities experience most of the social issues of the world as it happens through the media (Larsson, 2010: 716). News media actively helps the audience in interpreting large amount of information by defining the meaning, value, and causes of events, connecting incidences as they occur, and offering moral judgements for the public audience (Entman, 1993). "The media's selection, emphasis and exclusion" (Ryan et al., 201: 176) of the "symbolic devices that characterize news discourse constitutes framing function as a central organizing idea for making sense of relevant events and suggesting what is at issue" (Gamson, 1989: 157).

The concept of framing relies on a dynamic, communicative process that includes frame building, and frame setting, as integral components to a process of framing (d'Angelo, 2002; Scheufele, 2000; de Vreese, 2002). Moreover, Entman (1993: 52) argued that a "frame has several locations within the communication process, namely, the communicator, the receiver, the text and the culture". Frame building "refers to the factors that influence structural qualities of news frames, factors internal to journalism determine how journalists and news organizations frame issues" (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996: 52). Additionally, Gans (1979: 52) argued that "frame building process takes place in a continuous interaction between

journalists, elites and social movements". Frame setting also refers to the relationship between media frames, and people's prior knowledge. In this case, frames in the news might have an impact on individual's interpretation and evaluation of events.

Theorists such as Gitlin (1980: 7) defined "frames as persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, presentation of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol handlers routinely organizes discourse". Gitlin (1980) also suggested that frames are largely responsible for organizing the world both for journalists who report news, and the viewers who rely on the reported news by journalists. Whereas, Gamson & Modigliani (1989: 3) referred to frames as "interpretive packages that give meaning to an issue". Gamson & Modigliani (1989) also claim that media discourse on its' own is part of the process by which the audience constructs meaning of the world, and that "public opinion is also part of the process by which journalists develop and crystallize meaning in the public discourse" (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989: 2).

Gaye Tuchman (1978: IV) argued that mass media actively constructs frames of reference which the audience uses in order to interpret and discuss public events. Individuals interpret news information which is subsequently influenced by preexisting experiences or schemas (Neuman, Just, and Crigler, 1992). Van Dijk (1985) also concluded that the way news is framed in the mass media is a result of social and professional routines of journalists. Moreover, Entman (1993) argued that journalists frame news for the viewers in a way that some aspects of perceived reality are promoted in a particular text. Entman (1993: 52) also suggested that frames in news can be examined and identified by the presence or absence of certain key words, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that reinforce clusters of facts or judgements.

Mass media such as television and newspapers are the most common medium used to deliver instant information to an audience (Heath & O'Hair, 2009). Scholars have used framing theory to articulate how media characterizes varying aspects of a particular issues, and how this impacts public perceptions of events (Sellnow & Seeger, 2013).

For instance, Braden(1996) stated that in most cases women politicians who run for political office often find it difficult to get media coverage. When they are present in the media they are more likely to focus on their traditional roles and focus more on their personalities and

physical appearance. Moreover, according to Tuchman (1978), women lack political equality compared to men and, as a result, women are less represented in politics. Similarly, scholars such as Gallagher (1981) argued that the print media fails to display a balanced picture of women lives and the contributions they have made in this world. Furthermore, this shows that the media has a role not just of representing reality but also of selecting various issues to be displayed in the media. In this sense, the media is able to contribute towards making other issues more visible in order to promote certain kind of topics or individuals while marginalizing other social groups and their voices to be heard in the media.

<u>Gender roles/Stereotypes.</u>

The constricting nature of stereotypes creates boundaries that serve to categorize and limit the diversity of human nature. Susan Fiske (1993) argued that if there were no stereotypes, there would be less justification to alienate, or hate, others because of their differences. Stereotyping refers to categorising in a way that relies on tropes, judgements, and assumptions. Susan Fiske (1993) explains, stereotypes limit the freedom, and constraints the outcomes, and lives of those stereotyped groups. Similarly, Richard Dyer's (1977) idea that stereotyping reduces, or limits, people to a few, simple, essential, characteristics which are represented as fixed by nature" (Richard Dyer, 1977: 257). Dyer (1977) further reasons that individuals are assigned particular groups in societies according to their class, gender, or sex, which seem to create differences amongst people in our societies. This research will focus on the stereotypes that are related to female and male politicians in our societies and how they are reflected within the newspaper stories and the impact they have within our communities. Stereotypes fix boundaries amongst individuals, and then exclude anything that does not fit (Dyer, 1977). Stereotypes divide what is normal and abnormal, and what is acceptable, and unacceptable in our societies. In fact, "they are one way to exert control, both social and personal" (Copeland, 1992: 623).

Feminist scholars like Deborah Tannen (1991) have argued that gender is a universal, fixed and unchanging category signifying as set of characteristics that define what a person is. Gender is argued to be acquired at an early stage in childhood through the process of socialization and interacting with other people. Whereby there are certain behaviours that one must display in society according to their gender (Tannen, 1991). In addition, gender is the repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a rigid regulatory frame

which congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance of a "natural" kind of being' (Butler, 1990:33).

Throughout history it has been commonly held that our societies have different gender expectations for women and men. These expectations are based on norms, or standards, created by society. Thus, society assign different individuals to different roles and positions also emphasize what sort of behaviour are believed to be appropriate for that gender. Within our societies masculine roles are usually associated with strength, aggression, and dominance, whereas feminine roles are usually associated with nurturing, passivity and subordination (Caldera, Huston, and O'Brien 1998).

"Gender refers to the meaning, values and characteristics that individuals ascribe to different sexes" (Oakley, 1972; 337). Gender is argued to rely on the biological differences between men and women. Traditionally, our societies believes that women are more nurturing than men. Therefore, this traditional view suggests that women are good at taking care of the children at home. In this case, women are mostly associated with domestic work, rather than public work such as going outside home to work for children. On the other hand, men are believed to be the leaders in the public. This traditional view suggest that men should always take leadership positions everywhere. For instance, men are expected to be the primary bread winners in their families, provide for the family financially and make important decisions in the household. This example clearly reveals that males hold more power in the family and these are one of the dominant ideas circulated in our societies.

Furthermore, gender roles are also linked to different levels of power that males and females hold in society. In other words, gender expectations amongst female and male are also visible in spheres outside home (Williams, 1995). For example in the work place men and women are often expected to occupy different positions and perform different tasks based on their gender (Kanter, 1977). Within organisations men and women are often segregated by their sex. For example, back then there women were more likely to be expected to work as secretaries and administration jobs. Men, on the other hand were more likely to work as executives and managers within many cooperation (Kanter, 1977).

Gender is a central feature in our social life, because it is the main organizing principle of which our lives revolves around as human being. Because in most parts we come to know the

world and who we are through the notion of gender. Which in turn come to shape our identities and places in which people work, play and live. Therefore, gender is the central mechanism in which individuals construct meaning of their lives and the world at large. In this way gender is a social organising structure in our lives (Bowie, 2005)

As people grow up in their societies they come to experience that there are different gender expectations amongst men and women in society. Society have a big influence in the constructing individual identities, because we become the people that our society want us to be (Bem, 1993). In addition, the division among men and women in societies forced them to adapt to different environments, roles and positions in our societies. These ideas meant that women and men have certain responsibilities and influence within our societies (Lewin, 1984a)

This research examines studies focusing on the representation of the 'other'. Roland Barthes (1977) argued that modern images in the mass media read in terms of cultural belongingness and differences. In this case, gender differences matter because they are essential to meaning, without it meaning could not exist. For instance, we know what it means to be a man and women, white and black, because we can contrast with its opposite sex or race. This example highlights that meaning also relies on binary oppositions.

Our world is full of differences and opposites things, such as day andnight, men and women, leader and the led, and masculinity and femininity. As a result, our human nature as we know it is organised by pairs of opposites. As we grow up as children we tend to learn what is good and bad at an early age. Thus, individuals subconsciously conform to these without even knowing it (Manji, 2005). According to Ferdinand de Saussure structuralism theory (1857) binary oppositions are the means by which divisions of language carries meaning or value, each unit is defined against what is not. Furthermore, de Saussure (1857) elaborated that certain elements in the world have no absolute meaning, however, their meaning/value are relative to other elements. In this case, things make sense only in relation to other things. If one needs to understand a particular element of this world, one need to take into consideration the whole system of relationships. Because our world is made up of relationships among things.

Moreover, de Saussure's structuralism hold the view that one can only understand things clearly if significant differences are present within opposite things. In other words meaning is not fixed, yet, depends on comparing binary oppositions. Thus, it is difficult to understand something unless you perceive how it is different form something else. Therefore, it is these significant differences that construct meaning in the world at large. For example, there is no meaning of black unless there is also white and no men without women (De Saussure, 1857).

In addition, theorists of language argue the differences amongst people is needed in order to construct meaning of otherness, because meaning arises through differences within individuals, thus the other is essential to meaning (Hall, 1994). Furthermore, Du Gay (1997) claimed that culture relies more on giving meaning by assigning them to different positions in our communities. Similarly, French anthropologist, Claude Levi-Strauss (1970), also contended that there is only one way of giving meaning to things, which is by classifying them into groups. Gender discourse is set through binary oppositions, as there is a powerful opposition between female and male. There are differences between the biological characteristics of women and men, and there are rich differences associated with each gender in culture (Frederickson, 1987).

Stereotypes involve any generalization about a particular group of people. Lawrence Blum (2004: 252) further argued that "stereotypes are widely-held & recognized images of social groups". For instance, blacks are lazy, Jews are greedy and women are too emotional as well as irrational, and men are strong. These are some of the stereotypes that are present in our communities. Gender stereotypes are beliefs and attitudes about feminist and masculinist ideas and they refers to characteristics and personalities which are appropriate to men and women in our societies.

There are persistent and remarkably unchanging differences in the personality traits assigned both to men and women in societies. Society assign certain characteristics and behaviours both to man and women. In this case, our societies perceive men to be strong and rational, whereas women are seen to be weak and irrational. Furthermore, several theorists such as Eagly (1987) have agreed that a typical man is perceived as assertive, tough and aggressive, whereas a typical woman is believed to be kind, warm, emotional (having concerns for others) and passive which is still the case even today. Eagly (1987) further elaborated that gender stereotypes assign certain qualities to men and women which are different.

Dyer (1977) subsequently argued that in order to understand each other, and make sense of the world, we need to be categorized differently. "People understand the world at large by referring to individual objects, people, or events in our heads, to the general classification scheme into which, according to our culture, they fit" (Dyer, 1977: 257). For example, we decode a flat object with a screen, where we watch recent events or stories, as a television. Or we know a four legged animal with horns is a cow. We make sense of the world, and other people, in terms of the social categories in our communities as individuals are assigned to different roles, and different positions or responsibilities are assigned by society (Dyer, 1977).

Stereotypes also serve as a strategy to divide individuals or groups of people. They divide what is deemed to be normal and acceptable, from the abnormal and unacceptable, and exclude what does not fit. Within these categories there are rules that must be obeyed as they are designed to exclude others, or anything that doesn't belong. This aims to create boundaries within the social order. Additionally, stereotypes function to solidify a symbolic border between the normal and deviant (Brown, 1965).

Jacques Derridas (1972) contended with the harsh hierarchy that creates fixed binaries. The classification of us/them, women/men, demonstrates how one side is dominant. In addition, Antonio Gramsci (1975) called this a struggle of hegemony. Gramsci (1975) referred to hegemony (cultural leadership) as a form of power based on control by a group in many spheres of activity at once. It dominance orders common consent, and appears natural, and inevitable. The ruling group imposes control over others and claims supremacy as the natural order.

Stereotypes are a form of social control which acts as a wall or fence, limiting some, while privileging others. Stereotypes reinforce an individuals or groups power while limiting the options of the stereotyped. Thus, power is vital when considering stereotypes, as it maintains control within communities (Fiske, 1993). Fiske (1993; 623) defines "power as asymmetrical control over another person's outcomes". Robert Dahl (1957) sees power as the ability to influence others to do what you want them to do.

Fiske (1993) defines stereotypes as a category based mental response directed towards another person or group. "Stereotypes describe beliefs about an individual based on group

membership" (Fiske, 1993; 623). For instance, people may think women are good secretaries and teachers, but poor managers or scientists (Heilman, 1983; Ruble & Ruble, 1982).

Theoretical discourse on stereotypes often argues that generalizations about particular individuals might be either false or misleading. However, researchers note that some stereotypes might be true. For instance, some Jews are rich, and some French people love to drink wine, and some women are good at nurturing children (Blum, 2004). Blum (2004) subsequently argued that most stereotypical images of groups originate from within our cultural and social process. In addition, stereotypes are cultural entities that are widely held by people in culture, and widely recognized by people who may not, themselves, hold the stereotype (Blum, 2004). One might form a stereotyped opinion of a particular group based on their experience that they had with a particular group of people.

A number of studies have regarded managerial positions as stereotypically male, which is viewed as a major explanation for women's discrimination in the work place (Schein, 2007). Within the South African context historical racial hierarchies, under the system of apartheid, constructed different social places which structured gender and racial experiences in the work place (Kelly, Wale, Soudien, & Steyn, 2007; Booysen, 2007). The apartheid system in South Africa established a gender and race hierarchy fixed within unequal power relations. High positions, and skilled jobs, were reserved for white men, while women were assigned stereotypical jobs such as secretaries and nurses (Booysen, 2007).

It has been argued that gender stereotypes develop from a very young age (Martin & Little, 1990). Carol Martin & Jane Little (1990) argued that children as young as three years old could start to show signs of stereotyping, which means that our knowledge about gender and identity develops at the earlier stage in a child's life. As we grow we come to develop our identities, which allow us to develop perceptions about others. Furthermore, children from eight to ten years old start to develop characteristics and behaviours associated with gender (Martin & little, 1990). Similarly, theorists such as Kevin Durkin & Bradley Nugent (1998) also suggested that gender stereotyping follows age related trends. Young children show less gender stereotyping than old people, whom their knowledge about gender stereotype have developed completely (Durkin & Nugent, 1998).

Gender and sex are two distinguishable concepts and there is a significant difference between the two terms. Gender is viewed as an aspect of identity that is gradually acquired by individuals such as being a man and women (de Beauvoir, 1973). Therefore, Gender is not something that we are born with so to say, yet, it is something that we practice and perform on a daily basis, thus, it involves a series of acts (Butler, 1986). Furthermore, gender is argued to be the cultural meaning that the body obtains. However, de Beauvoir (1973: 36) stated that in fact, "gender is not only based on a cultural construction imposed upon identity, but in some sense gender is a process of constructing ourselves". In this case, in order to become a man or women there are appropriative set of acts associated with each gender. For example, a young boy looks up to his father and construct his identity based on the daily observations/experiences that he took from his father, same thing to young girls they associate with their mothers.

 Sex, on the other hand is argued to be a fixed entity meaning it does not change, it is related to a female and male bodies. Sex refers to biological or physical differences between female and male (Diamond, 2002). An individual's sex is said to be determined by their biology. For instance, most people of the male sex, in general, have strong physical bodies while person of the female sex, develops breasts and sexy bodies (Diamond, 2002). To be a man or women is to be engaged in an ongoing cultural interpretation of bodies and hence to be positioned within a field of cultural possibilities. But in some sense gender is a process of constructing ourselves. Therefore, there are set of acts that one must adhere to in order to be regarded as a men or women. However, gender is argued to be chosen, and to choose a gender is to interpret received gender norms in a way that organizes them

Another study based on gender stereotyping was done at a kindergarten. It revealed that application of gender stereotypes increases with age (Biernat, 1991). For example, between the ages of 6 and 10, children become aware of the stereotyping of others (Mckown & Weinstein, 2003). Children acquire information about gender stereotypes at an early stage. They then become capable of forming and maintaining these stereotypes. Theorists have contended that stereotypes have negative effects (Jussim, McCauley, & Lee, 1995). For example, in saying that women are weak, this could restrict their capabilities within our societies to pursue their own goals and careers. Stereotypes are also discriminatory and inflict inferiority amongst women, for instance, a stereotype about women's role in the family leads

to a separation of labour in the household and in the work place. For example, women are to spend time nurturing children at home, while man go out to work in the outside world. Several theorists have asserted that stereotyping allows for the manipulation, or incorrect, a generalization of a group, which in turn, disadvantages that group of people in many spheres (Allen, 1995; Bobo, 1999; Glick & Fiske, 2001). For example, the public sphere is mostly dominated by men, especially in politics man have the upper hand in terms of controlling things.

In 1995, Claude Steele and Joshua Aronson (1995) reported on a study which showed how the existence of negative stereotypes can have an impact to those individuals who are part of the stereotyped groups. Furthermore, Steele & Aronson (1995) claimed that the presence of these negative stereotypes threatens one's performance and self-Identity. In addition, Sharon Begley (2000) also agreed that stereotypes are very powerful in terms of affecting one's performance in several activities such as at school or in sport.

<u>Masculinity.</u>

The study of masculinity has grown very rapidly and has been one of the most debated in the contemporary world (Hearn and Morgan, 1990). Traditional discourses of masculinities describe men as the head of the family, or member of the household who goes out to work and makes a living for his family (Bernard, 1981 & Hood, 1986). On the one hand, masculinity refers to those aspects of men's behaviour that might change or last for a very long time (Connell, 2009). On the other hand, theorist Jennifer Hargreaves (1986) argued that masculinity represents a set of lines and stage directions of which males have to learn in order to perform. Individuals act or perform roles that are socially assigned. Mischel & Bandura (1977:101) "also argued that people acquire and perform sex-typed behaviours like any other kind of behaviour through the combination of observation, imitation, indoctrination, and conscious learning".

The term masculinity was proposed in the mid-eighteenth century (Petersen, 1988). Masculinity studies have achieved a great significance across the cultural landscape (Petersen, 1988). The notion of masculinity is perceived to be the cause of oppression for women by allowing males to dominate over women (Rowbotham et al., 1979). The theory of masculinity

has had an enormous impact on the field of gender studies over the past years. It has been one of the most influential theories in the field of media and gender studies (Connell, 2009).

However, theorists such as Barbara Ehrenreich (1983) argued that the concept of masculinity in the contemporary world has come to be very problematic, hence the changes that occur overtime within male identities, of which is now becoming very fragile. Things have changed significantly back then men were perceived to be the breadwinners in their families. However, today, men are embracing fatherhood, looking after their children, doing the house work, staying at home playing a role of house keeper (Ehrenreich, 1983). Yet, we find that in everyday discourse or patriarchal society, men are often described as breadwinners. Ehrenreich (1983) described masculinity as an ideology that justifies and naturalizes male domination within our communities, and emphasises the ideals of patriarchy.

Arthur Brittan (1989) also asserted that there is no singular form of masculinity. Rather, there are multiple masculinities which exist within our societies such as (heterosexual man and homosexual man). Within these different masculinities there is different access to power and practices of power, whereas some men have more power than others (Brittan, 1989). Different masculinities are embedded in relation to power and hierarchy (Connell, 1995). This highlights that there is no single meaning of masculinity, rather, they continue to shift over time. As Carrigan (1985) specifies, the notion of multiple masculinities refers to the temporal and cultural diversity of masculinity. Similary, Arthur Brittan (1989) argued that masculinity exists in a plurality of forms, meaning that there are no fixed set of attributes that can be labelled masculinity. Brittan (1989) sees masculinity as unstable and multiple, ever changing within a context and shifting from time to time.

Friedrich Nietzsche (1973) conducted a study on masculinity and concluded that the relationship between men and women has not been an equitable one. Hence, the culture of masculinity seems significant in limiting women's equality. Men control almost everything in our world, such as the resources, capital, media and political parties (Nietzsche, 1973). Theorists such as Connell(1987) Hearn (1992) & Kimmel (2000) also argued that everyday life practices of masculinity makes it difficult for gender equality to be achieved, because men seem to share the power among themselves. This is evident in many institutions within our communities, where males occupy high positions in the workplace.

Theorists have argued that the development of masculine and feminine identities takes place within materially structured institutions with unequal power relations that constitute gender divisions (Walby, 1986; Kitzinger, 1990). Additionally, theorists explored male power and argued that any adequate theory of masculinity has to have the concept of power at its core (Edley & Wetherell, 1995). Furthermore, Edley & Wetherell (1995) suggested that in most parts male dominance is reinforced by their relative success in controlling the meaning of masculinity, and the fact that men have been able to secure dominant spheres within our societies which privileges them against others.

"Male privilege is a special status conferred on males in societies where male supremacy is the central social organizing feature" (McIntosh, 2003: 683). Man enjoys special privileges in a patriarchal society, males have privileges socially, economically and politically. For example, they hold significant power in roles of political leadership and in controlling resources. In other words, men are benefiting in politics, while women are not benefiting as men do. One of the feminist scholars known as Peggy McIntosh (2003: 683) "described male privilege as an invisible backpack of rights and privileges that all males carry often unaware and usually unacknowledged".   Male privilege has existed for a long period in many levels and places. For example, men are believed to earn high salaries, while women are underpaid in the workforce. For instance, in 2005 in the United States, men wages were 32 percent higher than women wages. (McIntosh, 2003). in South Africa it has also been argued that the pay gap between male and female workersit is estimated between 15/17%, many men still earn more than women workers (www.iol.co.za)

In addition, theorists such as Michael Kimmel (2003) argued that men benefit from these privileges, based on the hegemonic norm (which views men as dominant, competitive and strong). However, it is not all men who enjoys this privilege, in this case, men who differs from the hegemonic norm of masculinity such as gay men, poor men and weak men struggle to benefit from these privileges in some context. Only the educated, physically fit and middle class men who enjoys these privileges and power within societies (Kimmel, 2003). In this way masculinity can also be harmful to other men.

Toxic masculinity can be seen as set of behaviours that tend to motivate a set of masculine behaviours and attitudes, of which can have a negative impact both to men and women in our societies. Toxic masculinity largely involves the need to be aggressive, violent, and

dominant. However, toxic masculinity is argued to be problematic because it causes mental disorders in men such as leaving them traumatised and depressed of which is a negative effect. To further elaborate theorists such as Reawyn Connell and James Messerchmidt (2005) argued that toxic masculinity is an umbrella term for various types of harmful behaviours connected to masculinity. Similarly, theorists such as Christopher Kilmartin and Julie Allison (2013: 246) defined toxic masculinity as "those characteristics of masculinity that construct vulnerability in men creating unhealthy behaviours and violence against themselves". Overall, these definitions substantially agree that toxic masculinity can be perceived as a male identity which is built upon violent behaviour and attitudes, and it is a fundamental part of hegemonic masculinity.

These arguments highlight that patriarchal society both effects men and women. By dictating that men must be tough, unemotional, and dominate women, is somehow problematic, because, it means that men are missing out on some aspect of social lives such as nurturing children and having emotional connection, because it is believed that boys do not show emotions of which cannot be seen as a universal truth.

Another proponent on the theory of masculinity is Robert Connell (1989), who suggested that within our societies there are institutions that allow for the formation of these masculine and feminine behaviours or ideologies. Connell (1989) further mentioned that schools are one of the major institutions in our communities which allow for a manifestation of a range of competing masculinities & femininities (Connell, 1989). Moreover, education is also viewed as another system of developing masculine and feminine identities within our societies. In this way schools are structural processes which are filled with a set of informal, and formal, social meanings of the world. Scholarly work on masculinities have suggested that schools, through these meanings, offer interpretations about what it means to be male or female within our communities (Butler, 1993). Additionally, Sallie Westwood (1990; 25) argued that "media also presents a complex series of accounts of masculinity and femininity" within our societies. Westwood (1990) further argued that masculinity is not positioned on a linear model, but it is constantly reproduced and reconstructed in relation to political, social, and cultural developments in our communities.

Theorists such as Andrew Tolson (1977), further argued that family is also considered as an essential foundation of individual identity. For instance, a father at home has a great influence

in his son, because boys are often more likely to identify with their fathers on the basis of their future experience. Thus, father and son relationship is very significant in the construction of masculine identity. Furthermore, Tolson (1977) argued that boys from an early age construct much of their social experiences directly from their own fathers. Thus, fathers can be seen as the role models of their sons because they take an active role in shaping their sons lives at an early stage (Robert, 1987). Dom Morae's (1990; 10) also "concluded that masculinity was constructed within a context of patriarchal gender categories and power relations".

The above statements support Roberts Connells (1987) idea that "masculinity involves a multi-layered relation between the levels of our personality, institutions, and society characterised by particular gender rules". These structures are seen as patterns of limitations for other people, while privileging others. Connell (1987: 97-9) goes on to argue that labour and power are one of the major elements which maintains gender order in our communities.

Connell (1987) asserted that within our communities there is division of labour between men and women. On the one hand, women are responsible for taking care of domestic matters and worrying about their children's well-being, whereas men are responsible for the needs of the family (Connell, 1987). Within the work place men are often associated with specific features such as competence, while women were considered incompetent. Which creates subordination of women, in turn resulting women being treated unfairly in the work place, for example, women are underpaid compared to men in the workplace, and men tend to occupy high positions in the organisation (Brittan, 1989). This may also result women being left out in some public spaces and serious positions in society.

During the nineteenth century, the workplace was often recognised as the site of masculinity, because many jobs were occupied by men, while women were busy in the household (Berker & Downing, 1980). Women's occupations were substantially downgraded and undervalued. Women are assigned to jobs such as clerks and secretaries (Pringle, 1989). The public sphere is frequently associated with men, while women are regularly associated with the private sphere. This ideological separation between men and women has a long, cultural history that constitutes the most basic social division of patriarchy (Gamarnikov, 1983). The concept of patriarchy has been theorised as a system of male domination, it is a universal phenomenon where women are oppressed everywhere by men in more or less the same ways (Beechey,

1887). Significant research has been conducted in Britain as well. A study in Britain revealed that men still occupy the most powerful positions within our communities (Machung, 1989; Sidel, 1990). Furthermore, they argue that masculinity is both structured in dominance and power, which in turn helps to maintain or produce dominance within our societies.

<u>Conclusion</u>

This chapter has looked at several theories used in this study in order to try and answer the research questions of this research. Looking at the theory of representation it provided ideas of what it meant to be a men and women in societies. Theory of representation is vital in terms of exchanging meaning within societies.Within representation, language holds a great value in the creation of meaning. Language include signs and symbols such as images propagated by the media have a huge impact in many people's lives. The researcher observed that representation and culture cannot be separatedbecause they are both significant within the human nature. They work hand in hand in order for meaning and knowledge to be produced, shared and exchanged amongst individuals in our communities.

One can say that culture is a process whereby individuals construct their identities, social experiences and values. Thus, it is most important to note that it is through the use of language and culture that the production of meaning takes place within our societies (Thompson, 1997). Most importantly media representations works to disseminate and circulate a variety of ideas to the public in order to reflect reality. Therefore, mass media have powerful influence on the perceptions of society, for instance media frame images of reality and then represent it to us. In this case, the media frame certain issues in order for them to be more visible to its audience. In other words, it directs people's attention to certain events in society. While on the other side other issues are ignored by the press. Thus, media plays an important role in selecting and displaying variety of events, therefore shaping our public opinion. Because most of us experience the world through media representations which deliver instant news and information.

The research has shown that in the contemporary society mass media is one of the major form through which stereotypes are conveyed. These stereotypes are shared by huge number of people across boundaries. The study observed that the stereotypes attached to both men and women have significant implications for the power structure and can have psychological effects for both men and women within communities. In our societies there are boundaries that set to limit human nature, stereotypes are one of the central ideas emphasising restrictions and differences among different people. Most importantly stereotypes allows for the alienation or subordination of certain groups in society such as women because of the stereotypes or characteristics attached to them by society. For example, society perceive women as weak compared to men whom are believed to be strong. Which have negative effects on women in terms of their status in society.

The universal truth is that the world is divided along the lines of gender. Gender is a Structural phenomenon that is acquired at an early stage in childhood, whereby children mimic certain behaviours and attitudes from people around them. For example, young boys are likely to adopt their father's lifestyle and while girls are likely to associate themselves with their mothers. Different genders are expected to perform certain roles and positions in society, which are linked to different levels of power. For example, traditionally men are the head of their families (breadwinner) whereas, women are believed to be the housekeepers. Even if women are employed in the public sphere, they often occupy jobs with low status such as being secretaries or administrator. While leadership positions are typically for man (kanter, 1977). As they continue to be dominant over women in many spheres, and have many privileges socially and politically. For instance, they hold significant power in leadership roles in politics (Mclntosh, 2003).

Overall, the research has showed that the media play an important role in terms of promoting a perceptions of gender through the stories and depictions on the newspapers. Studies based on gender have proved that society views women as less intelligent compared to men, and that they are believed to have strong maternal instinct. Hence, women have slim chances to be successful in politics, as they are deemed to be inferior within society. Due to the roles and positions assigned to them by society. Women and men by nature are opposites evidence is based on their biological differences of which are perceived as fixed (Keller, 2005).

<u>Previous review</u>

The focus here is to examine existing scholarly research that has been done before within that area of the study. Therefore, this chapter deals with a critical review of past research relating to the portrayal of female and male politicians in newspaper. The media plays a significant role within our societies by presenting, informing, and educating the public about the current events and global issues. The media is a central part in human relation and plays a vital role in the representation of reality. Societies influence through media representations (Cole and Daniel, 2005). Media also delivers messages that represent reality, which may influence individual's behaviours and attitudes. Many people pay attention to what the media presents, and in turn, base their thoughts and belief systems around those perceptions (Cole & Daniel, 2005).

There is little doubt that print media plays a significant role in gender depictions in our societies. This study will investigate these representations in the media focusing on politicians during the 2016 South African local government elections: a case study of the Pietermaritzburg daily newspaper, *The Witness*. The purpose of this research study is to highlight the significance that the South African print media plays in the representation of South African female and male politicians. This study attempts to find out how *The Witness* characterized South African politicians based on gender, during the 2016 local government elections. It will ask if *The Witness* reinforced gender stereotypes assigned to South African men and women. This study will also seek to examine how media perpetuates gender stereotypes in South African politics. Lastly, it will determine if there is equal representation between genders in coverage of South African politicians.

Very little research has explored the representation of gender in the political landscape of the South African print media. Previous research focused on the representation of women and men in television shows, advertisements, drama series, and movies.Such as thecontent analysis of roles portrayed by women in advertisements in selected South African media.The portrayal of women in television advertisements on sabc3: a reflection on stereotypical representation. Lastly, the representation of female characters in superhero action films**.** However, this research will focus on issues concerning the stereotypical gendered portrayal of men and women politicians in print journalism. There is a need for this study to highlight

the biased nature of politics in the South African (RSA) context and contribute to existing literature on this topic.

The print media plays a vital role in disseminating information and communicating a variety of ideas, which often reflect the representations of social reality in our communities (Hall, 1997). In this case, the media construct representations as a central signifying practice for producing shared meaning among individuals (Hall, 1997). Representation is spoken words, written words, or visual images, which stand for and represent things in the real world (Hall, 1997). Cultural scholars argue that representations are constructed images that carry ideological connotations that need interpretation in order for one to make sense of the world at large.

The perceptions of representations may vary significantly from one society to another, because of different frames of reference. Therefore, there is a need for a shared linguistic code or common understanding in order to make sense of the world around us and be able to interpret things meaningfully (Hall, 1997). The media is one of the central elements of modern life within the contemporary world, and most people tend to rely on the media for news and information. Therefore, the media contains many images of our social reality including portrayals of gender within our communities. Those images may in turn influence how we come to perceive women and men in our societies (Gunter, 1995). In this case, media images are one of the major tools in shaping people's attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs concerning gender within our society (Mtambalike, 1996).

Contemporary mass media plays a central role in the process of constructing meaning and maintaining public discourse in our communities (Fursich, 2001). Several scholars have argued that the media is one of the powerful institutions that reinforce a hegemonic status quo within our societies (Durham & Kellner, 2001). The ability of the media to direct individual's attention to certain topics often determines what issues will be more visible or ignored by society. As a result, issues that received full publicity have the potential to be included in public discourse. Media organisations play a significant role in deciding what is included in the mainstream discourse, what the message is, and how frames narrate. Media organisations are a primary tool for shaping individuals perceptions and opinions.

The media plays a vital role in displaying certain representations within our society, therefore shaping our social reality (Gallup, 1984). However, theorists argue that media does not present reality. Rather, it offers the public a selection of our social reality. Media producers and scriptwriters are responsible for making selections and changes to what displays through the media. Newspaper stories also go through the same process of selection relying on the journalists and editors to report stories, in order to construct and represent our social reality (www.jaconline.com).

The topic of media coverage and representation of gender has been an ongoing concern. In the last few years, there has been a large amount of research done relating to this study throughout the whole world. Existing research on this study is very diverse and includes a variety of material through different periods. Many studies focused on issues of representation of women in the media. Other studies focused on the portrayal of female and male candidates in the media. Other scholars focused on the misrepresentation of women in the media, and studies based on gender roles, such the study focusing on women who have made it into senior positions/high public office. Findings showed that most of female politicians struggles in high political office mostly because of the negative stereotypes attached to them and the roles given by society.

There have been several studies done in African countries based on media representation of gender within our society. Much of the research has included African scholars such as Beatrice Omari (2008) who wrote on the issues concerning the portrayal of women in the Kenyan print media. In her study, she found that media allocated women's issues less space and portrayed more negatively when compared with their male counterparts. The media also depicted women almost exclusively in traditional roles in the home, and not as independent minded and creative beings who have made many positive contributions to the country socially, economically, and politically (Omari, 2008).

Over the last few years, a number of scholarly works on representation have explored the South African context. The Media Monitoring Project (MMP) (2005) examined 14 different print and broadcast media over two weeks period between the 29th and 11th of June 2005. The overall findings revealed that the coverage of men was generally positive compared to women, as there are assumptions that men are generally represented as active achievers in the political and economic domains. Other studies reflected the overall representation of men

is neither clearly positive, nor clearly negative. For example, studies highlighted that 28% of the representation of men was found to be clearly negative (where men were represented as corrupt politicians and as murders), while 16% were represented in a positive light (as heroes, providers and leaders) (MMP & Soul City,2005).

Findings during the 2004 national elections highlighted the media's impact on representation of men and women in general. Through the media, coverage of men was evident more than three times as often as coverage of women. The ratio of people speaking in the media as sources was 74% men and 26% women sources compared to a regional average of 83% male 17% female (Gender & Media Baseline Study, 2003). In addition, another study revealed the ratio between images of women and men seen in the media is 76% for men, while women accounted for 24% of images (Media Monitoring Project (MMP) and Soul City, 2005).

The Media Monitoring project (1999) also carried out a quantitative and qualitative assessment of media coverage during the 1999 South African elections. Despite the fact that women comprised the majority of South African population, men accounted for 87 percent of news sources daily (Media Monitoring Project, 1999: 7). On the other side, the Global Media Monitoring Project (2000) also examined how the media reflected men and women on one chosen day during 1995. The study found that women constituted 17 percent of news sources daily. "Five years later, this figure had increased by a mere one percent to 18 percent" (Morna, 2002:2).

A number of scholars have written on the issue of women's betrayal in the media internationally too. Several researches approved that roles occupied by men are more diverse than roles of women. This is evident in the South Africa's patriarchal society, where men still dominate in almost all areas in our societies. For example, men are represented as professionals, economists, politicians, and leaders, through the media (MMP and Soul City, 2005) whereas women were rarely portrayed as politicians, experts, and leaders, within mainstream media (Morna, 2002).

There was a study conducted in 1993, 1997, & 2000 in Canadian elections based on television news coverage showed that messages from women party leaders were less likely to receive neutral coverage than those of men in politics, most of the time women get negative coverage about politics. For instance, the media represents them as caring mothers most of the time

not as political active beings who are capable of leading the country, in fact they are perceived as weak in politics (Gidengil & Everitt, 2003). Theorists such as Karen Ross (2002) argued that women politicians viewed the media as a barrier to office.Becausefemale politicians as a whole are extremely under-represented in politics, and when they are represented, the emphasis is placed on what they are wearing and not on their policies and ideologies.

The Global Media Monitoring project (1995) also revealed how women in the news media appear in a narrow and mostly negative range of roles, such as victims of circumstances. In addition, scholars such as Ross and Carter (2011) argued that the representation of women in the media is often bias. Within mass media women are more likely to be framed as victims of various crimes (26% newspaper; 28% radio and 24% television), which also includes domestic violence (19%), war (16%), and discrimination (16%).

Similarly, another study in the form of a content analysis on the coverage of women in the mainstream media revealed that a large portion of the coverage concerns the violence against women and domestic issues. Women's issues receive even less attention in the media, if reported the media is most likely to frame the issue in a bizarre or sensational way placing the blame on the victims. For example, there was an article in the Zimbabwean newspaper entitled "Suspect wets victim's bed" (Global media monitoring project, 1995). The story was about a rapist whom after he raped a women fell asleep on the victim bed and urinated on it. Various stories on domestic violence and rape are often sensationalized providing little context to victims. Media implies that women are asking for it through references to revealing clothes (Global Media Monitoring project, 1995). The heading of the article was sensationalist 'suspect wets victim's bed', and the articles covered the issue of violence against women in a less sensational way.

Moreover, other scholars based on representation of women argued that women tend to be portrayed more in ways that are incorrect and unfair. For example, there is a widespread of sexualised images of women in the media (Morna, 2000). In Zimbabwe a female gender activist known as Rudo Kwaramba the head of the Msasa Project that addresses violence against women. In the newspaper articles she was referred to as 'the woman who runs a secret house in Harare' (Morna, 2000). Moreover, in the South African context, there was a case of a man who shot and killed his wife, because she objected to him trying to feed a meat pie to their infant child, she was reported under the headline "wife killed after argument over

pie" (Morna, 2000). These stories were told in a sensational manner, very few of the articles conveyed the problems that these women really faced.

Scholars in India such as Dhar & Pattnaik (1996) observed that women issues are more likely to be ignored and they hardly get a chance to make it on the front page of the newspaper articles, unless they are crime, rape or sexual harassment issues. Furthermore, they asserted that women are presented as passive victims even in the news on issues related to them. Several studies make it clear that women are under-represented in media, and that when they are present they commonly dressed in revealing clothes. Several studies based on sex roles indicated that when women appear in the media they largely appear in sexualized roles (Rudy, 2011)

Another body of research done in recent years by scholar Karen Ross (2002), focused on the study of women who have made it into senior positions of high public office. Ross (2002) argued that the media, compared to their male colleagues, often treat women in high positions in government differently. Ross (2002) conducted a comparative study based on female parliamentarians in South Africa, Britain and Australia, and offered examples of how the media is obsessed with how women look in public, focusing on what women wear and their overall appearance (Dawn Primarolo MP, quoted in Ross, 2002: 90). Ross (2002) found that males often dominate higher positions in the political realm than women do.

Although females have tried to make some improvements in entering the political arena and top ranks within various organisations, the findings revealed that men still continue to dominate the executive and senior positions within our organisations world-wide (Eagly and Carly, 2003a, Eagly and Carli, 2007; Schein, 2007; UNDP, 2008). Findings from the Grant Thornton international business survey report also revealed that four in 10 businesses throughout the whole world there are no women in senior management positions (Grant Thornton international, 2007). In the U.S. the findings indicated that women only account for 15.7 percent of corporate officers in Fortune 500 companies (Catalyst, 2009).

Another study published in 2000 that was established by the United Nations, revealed that women's participation in the management and administrative jobs averaged 15% across 26 African countries (United Nations, 2000). A number of studies have regarded managerial positions as stereotypically male, and this can be viewed as a major explanation for women's

discrimination in the work place, because the highest positions were reserved for males (Schein, 2007).

Within the South African context historical racial hierarchies, under the system of apartheid, constructed different social places which structured gender and racial experiences in the work place (Kelly, Wale, Soudien, & Steyn, 2007; Booysen, 2007). The apartheid system in South Africa established a gender and race hierarchy fixed within unequal power relations. High positions, and skilled jobs, were reserved for white males, while women were assigned stereotypical jobs such as secretaries and nurses (Booysen, 2007).

In most cases when women are elected in high office they face discrimination within the organisation, because they are taken for granted in high positions (Braden, 1996). For instance, the coverage of U.S. elections in 2008 revealed that even though the U.S. is ready for an African American president, they are still not ready for a female president (Braden, 1996). In addition, several scholars also argued that gender differences in the press appeared to be more dramatic during the presidential candidates. For example, Elizabeth Dole's run for the 2000 United States Republican nomination for president revealed that female presidential candidates received less coverage than their male opponents, and received more gender biased coverage (such as focusing on their appearance and sex) (Aday and Devitt, 2001; Bystrom, 2006; Heldman, Carrol and Olson, 2005).

Unfortunately, people we see on television running governments and businesses are more often men than women. The proportion of women in Western Europe parliaments was only 21 percent on average (UN, 2000). In 1999, women accounted for 11 to 12 percent of corporate officers in 500 largest corporations in the United States of America. Women also accounted for 12 percent of corporate officers of the 560 largest corporations in Canada during 1999, and only occupied 3 per cent of the highest positions of those corporations (UN, 2000). Several scholars have also stated that the media plays a central role in contemporary election campaigns (Scammel and Semetko, 2000). Political campaigns have become largely media focused across modern democracies (Norris, 2000; 372).

Findings highlighted that the coverage of gender and candidates corresponded with common stereotypes generally assigned to men and women. For instance, news media focused on instrumental traits such as experience and leadership when describing male candidates,

whereas, expressive strengths such as compassion and honesty were commonly used to describe female candidates. In addition, the coverage of policy matters also corresponded to female and male stereotypical strengths. For example, the issues of defence, foreign policy, trade and the economy were more likely to be discussed by male candidates, whereas, women candidates were more often linked to issues of poverty, education and health care in their campaigns (Carrol & Schreiber,1997; Kahn, 1996). As a result, the majority of women politicians throughout the world perceive the media as a barrier to office (inter-parliamentary union, 1997). Another rich set of studies examined gender and the media in the Australian and Canadian elections. They demonstrated that, in both countries, women politicians were portrayed more often in relation of feminine stereotypes (Acker 2003; Robinson & Saint-Jean 1995).

Kevin Smith's (1997) study of 11 campaigns for the U.S. senate and governorship in 1994 suggested a general trend towards a more equitable coverage for both men and women candidates. The findings of the analysis of the 2000 Senate indicated that female candidates received more coverage than men. Similarly, James Devitt (1999) also examined news coverage in six state-wide races and found that female and male candidates received about equal amounts of news attention. Yet, policy issues linked with male candidates, while women linked with the issues based solely on education and health as their primary concern.

Moreover, female politicians were portrayed more often in terms of their feminine stereotypes (e.g. housewife) (Acker, 2003; Robinson and Saint-jean, 1995). Female party leader's messages were less likely to receive neutral coverage than those male party leaders (Gidengil & Everitt, 2003). The Global Media Monitoring Project (2010) in its global report revealed that only 24% of the people represented in print media, radio and television news were women while men represented at 76%. Women remain underrepresented in the total population of people heard, seen, or read about in the news media (Global Media Monitoring Project, 2010; 7).

Studies in India concerning the portrayal of female and male candidates took place in 1952. Conducted during the Indian first general elections, and examining how the mass media perceived female candidates in India, research found that woman's social and political rights, and their press coverage, are still very much the same. Women are often defined by their looks and the way they dress, whereas, men are defined mostly by their ideologies. The study

also revealed that with cases of women, media perceives family background as the primary importance. Hence, women are held accountable for their children's actions, while mEn enjoys power in the public life (Braden, 1996).

Traditionally the media portrays women as part of the private sphere with the primary function of homemaker. However, with the advent of feminism, traditional women expanded their borders into the public sphere. Yet, the media still portray women in traditional roles (Everett, 1981). A research study conducted in Britain and Ireland through content analysis, revealed that women were three times more likely than men to be described in terms of their family status (e.g. wife, mother, daughter) (Ross and Carter, 2011). On the other hand, the public sphere is highly regarded space occupied by males. If it happens that women enter into the public sphere, she is paid more attention because of the fact that she is a woman, not because of her qualifications or achievements (Braden, 1996).

According to a set of research conducted in New Zealand by Motion (1996; 5), "successful women in politics are often portrayed as lacking feminine characteristics and resembling their male colleagues". Research done by Pippa Norris (1997), also confirmed that women political leaders were less visible in the media. Additionally, scholars such as Kim Khan (1994), found that women in senate races received less coverage. Women politicians often encounter many barriers participating in politics. Within the entire Indian subcontinent, female members were regarded as weak in politics, incapable of handling the dirty game meant for men (Everett, 1981). In this case, and globally, men are seen as dominant in politics.

Several scholars argued that the media ignores women political candidates. A study conducted in the U.S. by the Media Monitoring Group reported that during 1994, and 1995, women sources were ignored by television, and less likely to be featured on a front-page story (Norris, 1997). The differences between the coverage of men and women is observed in all the sections of the newspaper, be it front page or editorial page. Findings pointed out that the space given to men is much more than the space given to women politicians in the media (Van Dijk, 1997). In addition, theorists further claim that the articles of women often received smaller headlines and are shorter in nature (Adams, 2003). Studies in India highlighted some of the difficulties encountered by women in the media (Adams, 2003). Theorists such as Buch, (2000) and Kumari & Kidwai (1998) argued that the major obstacles hindering women in

politics are due to a strong patriarchal structure within our societies, which is a source of male domination.

Even in the elections, women face complications within the parliament are rarely included in the leading positions. Few women stand a chance to win an election by garnering enough support within parliament. Women are rarely party leaders, particularly major parties. However, women are argued to be more visible in smaller parties that are often less successful in the election process. Additionally, women in parliament committees and public debates are not widely represented, as they tend to remain unseen within the party system (Witt et al., 1994). For instance, visual representation of a male politician in a Latvia newspaper was quite typical; it comprised a man wearing a suit and tie, with confidence written all over his face. Hence, clothing demonstrates a politician's responsibility and his serious commitment to work in politics. Therefore, the image of a male party leader are linked to the ideas of seriousness and responsibility, not only in visual representation but also in their party slogans (Connell, 1998 & Kimmel, 2001).

Studies regarding the portrayal of male bodies have looked at fashion as one of the major elements in constructing identities. The establishment of modern fashion since the mid to late 1980s came with significant changes throughout the world. Fashion is one of the material things that allows for the construction of meaning through clothes worn on a daily basis, which in turn, conveys who we are in the public. Clothes operate as signs and symbols, which hold representations in the social world. In addition, fashion is one of the major elements whereby the masculine and feminine identity is constructed.

The practices of masculinity appear everywhere, especially through mass media, especially in magazines and advertising campaigns. Depictions of males in the media reproduce visual coding of masculinity, as several adverts revealed men with particularly strong muscles and highly developed body, arms, and chest.

During the summer of 1986, there was a press launch of a poster by Grey Advertising for Beecham's Brylcreem. In that, campaign there was a range of masculine images, all playing of the look of early 1960s, of neat and respectable masculinity. The image displayed men with highly groomed hair and skin, developed arms and upper body muscles with confidence written all over the face. The emergence of masculine images has had direct changes in the

consumer markets and innovations in men's design, for instance, broader shouldered suits, with flamboyant coloured ties, shirts, and knitwear. It is through the representation of the men's wear designs that the "new man" is often coded. Representations of men in the adverts reproduce "a set of visual coding's of masculinity in this contemporary popular culture" (Melly, 1986; 290).

Giorgio Armani jeans adverts featured tennis player Rafael Nadal, where it showed an intense close ups of the male body and the curves of his muscular arms and upper body. In 1988, Frank Mort (1988) noted the visual presentation of the male body on the Levis Jeans adverts. Mort (1988) argued that what he saw in the adverts was the sexualisation of the male body constructed through the representations of jeans (Mort, 1988).

The change in the representation of male bodies established the term of the 'new man' which was reflected through the adverts and magazines. Today, one can say that there is no single entity of masculinity guaranteed by nature. Therefore, there are multiple masculinities in the whole world. Because this version of masculinity the 'new man' differs from other versions of masculinity that have existed in different time periods. For instance, masculinity before was believed to be characterized by aggression, competitiveness, emotional ineptitude, and coldness (Metcalf and Humphries, 1985).

In contrast, the middle class men known as the new men are believed to developed moral disposition and emotional attitudes or language. For instance, they believe in the power of love and they are sensitive towards others (Davidoff & Hall, 1987). This version of masculinity the 'new men' can be positioned in relation to masculinity and femininity because it has both the masculine and feminine characteristics (Davidoff & Hall, 1987). The new men invested time both in the public and private sphere, hence, having both domestic and outside world responsibilities such as providing for his family. Davidoff and Hall (1987) further argued that the involvement of middle class men in other places such as of production and designing resulted men having different types of skills that they did not have before.

In addition, the image of the middle class male referred to as new men is argued to be manifested through popular menswear designs. For example, nowadays the new man wears gorgeous clothes such as suits with flamboyant ties, instead of wearing heavy garments and narrow black ties, which signified the masculinity. Theorists such as George Melly (1986)

further elaborated that the visual representations of male bodies in the Armani and levi's jeans adverts manifested the notion of the new men. Where the male body was seen as passive sex objects, by showing off their half-naked muscular bodies with developed arms and chest muscles. Additionally, Frank Mort (1988) saw this as a sexualisation of the male body. Hence, these advert had less to do with masculine images of strength.

Furthermore, Melly (1986) and Mort (1988) suggested that the newspaper and magazine adverts were very important in terms of framing of the surface of men's bodies of which did not emphasize the assertive power of masculine physique body. Mort (1988) further argued that these muscular bodies of the new men on the adverts were inviting more of a desiring look. Because of their facial expression and body language, it portrayed both the softness and hardness in men. Men were perceived as being soft by wearing stylish clothes, which reflects a romantic masculine identity with physical feature signifying both sensuality of the male body and hardness (Mercer & Julien, 1988). Thus, it is the innovations in menswear designs and shops, which shaped a new version of masculinity known as the new men. Moreover, the real lives of the new men are visible in popular media culture, which carries a lot of information about being a man and their life style. Additionally, Davidoff & Hall (1987) also argued that there is a variety of formal and informal institutions whereby the construction of middle class masculinity was shaped and regulated (Davidoff & Hall, 1987).

Conclusion

Several conclusions have been reached based on the existing literature that have been done related to this research based on the representation of female and male politicians by the print media in South Africa. Studies have explored issues on the coverage of women and men in the media. Hence, there is little doubt that print media plays a significant role in gender depictions in our societies.

It has been evident in the research that the media plays a significant role in the representation of gender in our societies by reflecting social issues within our communities. Therefore, the media plays a central part in human relation and in the representation of reality today. In turn, those media representations may have a big impact on individual's behaviour and attitudes. Because individual perceptions of the world are more or less shaped by the media

representations, and many people spend huge amount of time in the media. In that case might have a big impact on how individuals perceive the world (Cole & Daniel, 2005).

Past research studies highlighted that the media is one of the central elements within the modern world. Many people rely on the media for news and information and to be updated about what is going on around. Moreover, existing literature on this study showed that the media contains many images of our social reality including portrayals of gender within our communities. However, the images on the media may in turn have an impact on how we come to perceive ourselves in our societies (Gunter, 1995). In other words, media plays a vital role in displaying certain representations in our society. Thus, the media has significant influence in our daily life and social activities.

Other scholars focused on the misrepresentation of women in the media. The findings show that the majority of women in the media are misrepresented and less portrayed by the media. Studies done in African countries based on media representation of gender in media, found that media allocated women's issues less space when compared with their male counterparts. More importantly, the media portrayed women almost exclusively in their traditional or domestic roles, not as independent minded beings who have many positive contributions in politics. Men, on the other side were portrayed largely as active achievers within the political domain and political activists (Omari, 2008).

Other scholarly articles showed that even in the developed western countries of North America and Europe, women are still underrepresented by the media. Moreover, when women are employed in the workplace they are more likely to be employed in administration jobs or being secretaries rather than in position of power. Men on the other side are more likely to be represented as professionals and leaders through the media (MMP and Soul City, 2005).

Gender plays a significant role in reaffirming the cultural spaces occupied by man, and set clear boundaries between masculine and feminine identities Davidoff and Hall (1987). Findings also revealed that there are some differences between the representation of women and men in general. For example, men and women are assigned different positions and roles in our society. For example, men are viewed as the head of the family and believed to be superior in the public sphere, while women are specifically placed in the private sphere. This

in turn may impose the belief that women are by nature less intellectual and physically incapable than men of which may be problematic somehow. Because this may instil the belief that woman are by nature weak and do not have the ability to lead this country as they are viewed as inferior compared to men. Hence, male still prevail and they are dominant within the political realm, while women faces many restrictions. This may also falsely imply that women are unimportant or invisible within our societies. These are some of the reasons why women are oppressed in our communities.

The media is influential in constructing individual identities with in our societies; in this way, media representations such as written words or visual images in the newspaper acts as major elements in producing shared meaning among individuals, thus constructing reality for us. Written words and images on the media stand for and represent things in the real world (Hall, 1997). Therefore, the things that we see on the media largely constructs our identity by reflecting our everyday life activities. Media contains many images of men and women, therefore, there are likely chances that those images represented by the media would have an impact in our sense of identities. Hence, it has been evident that the media reflect societal values. For example, we know, what we know and what it means to be a female or male through media representations.

However, it is not only the media who possess such power of constructing identities. There are other structured institutions with systems, which construct ourselves. Structural institutions such as at home and school are one of the major elements for creating identities by instilling certain behaviour and beliefs in ourselves. Foucault (1980) further elaborates that there are structured institutions, which carries a lot of power in terms of controlling and regulating our everyday behaviour/ conduct. Foucault (1980) used the term institutional state apparatuses to refer to physical places such as in churches and universities, which maintain power and create knowledge in our societies. Fashion is also one of the major elements that play a significant role in the creation of our identities. For example, men wear trousers while women wear skirts. However, drawn from a cultural and historical analysis, masculinity is not a fixed, or unitary, it is fluid. There is no true essence of masculinity guaranteed by nature

Chapter 3

Methodology

This chapter is going to discuss the research methodologies, data analysis and data collection procedures. The research design for this study is an interpretive case study that is analysed through qualitative methods. Text was used in order to determine the representation of women and men in the print media within the South African context. In order to achieve the objectives of this research several theories were implemented such as the theory of representation, stereotypes, masculinity and framing which was useful in this study.

Theory of representation was useful in this study because the researcher is concerned with how the print newspaper represents gender within our society and focuses on key aspect of our social world. The theory of representation is significant in the construction of meaning through certain text. Representation theory is fundamental in understanding relationships between different things or people (Hall, 1997). This research was concerned mostly about the construction of reality in print newspaper and how female and male politicians were represented in the media. This is a useful theory in understanding certain groups of people symbolized by the print media. The researcher chose this theory because the study focused on the everyday life experiences of people.

In addition, the theory of stereotypes was useful in terms of analysing differences between male and female politicians within society. The researcher also chose theory of masculinity because it has had a huge impact within the field of representation and gender studies. Last but not least, framing theory was implemented in this study, because it also focuses on the effects of media within society. This research will focus on comparing media content amongst women and men politicians

The proper exploration of political gender representations in South African media calls for a methodical and multifaceted approach. Detailed paradigms and techniques were selected to provide a qualitative textual examination of *The Witness* newspaper in order to study gender representations of politicians during the 2016 South African local government elections. Selected methods for this study include content, textual, and discourse analysis of newspaper articles from the 25th of July to the 3rd of August, I choose these dates because it is when there was full coverage of the political news regarding the 2016 upcoming government

elections, and it was the week before elections took place, thus politicians were busy preparing for the elections. The researcher chose to analyse three political parties such as the ANC, DA and EFF, because they are one of the most dominant political parties, hence, they have huge influence in South African politics. Politicians were rallying and doing campaigns for their political parties, so that week was very prominent due to it political influence. I selected *The Witness* because it is one of the largest circulation newspaper in Pietermaritzburg, and newspaper articles are significant sources of information. The methodology was designed to develop an in-depth understanding of social realities as they occur in the world.

To achieve this the researcher relied on the analysis of a daily newspaper in Pietermaritzburg (PMB) called *The Witness*. *The Witness* is the South African oldest newspaper which is published in English and circulated throughout KwaZulu Natal, and it is targeted at the ordinary and working class citizens, hence, many people have access to it. Furthermore, it is owned by news24 and in the past it was known as *The Natal Witness,*today it is known as the *The Witness*(www.brandsouthafrica.com).

The Witness newspaper was selected due to its major impact on political issues in PMB. It holds a significant place in the political narrative of the region and is historically seen as the official government voice in the province. Government tenders, court rolls, and other government statements, are advertised in this newspaper. *The Witness* consistently provides readers with full coverage of political news and keeps them up to date with what is happening both provincially and nationally (www.brandsouthafrica.com).

Why undertake research

The South African political landscape and ideas about male domination and women subordination in many spheres in societies were among the influences that led the researcher to conduct this research. Moreover, the researcher conducted this research because many studies of this nature have been done mostly overseas in European countries. Related studies focused mainly on the representation of men and women in the television, social media and magazines. Therefore, this study will contribute to the South African literature based on the representation of women and men politicians specifically in the print media.

Qualitative methodology

The qualitative approach for this study was designed to provide a comprehensive analysis of the selected media representations. Qualitative research is mostly concerned with the way people shape the world. It allows a researcher to investigate and review data that exhibits different forms. Central to this approach is the concept of language, which is a fundamental aspect of qualitative research. Language is used to understand and interpret an individual's experiences through human representation. Qualitative researchers try to understand the meaning of words and ideas in order to make sense of the world at large (Kvale, 1996). It is through the use of language that individuals make sense and construct their own social realities. Language is a fundamental part of all qualitative analysis (Williams, 1983). It is through our everyday discourse such as a way of writing, speaking and interacting that we communicate ideas and information amongst ourselves and therefore constructs our social realities (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998).

The researcher choose to use qualitative research because this method focuses mainly on studying people's experiences and how people behave in their everyday life. For example, this study will use language written in the newspaper in order to interpret and understand how female and male politicians are represented through the media. Qualitative research is significant in acquiring huge amount of information related to culture such as everyday behaviour, values and attitudes of a particular population within a society (Mack et al, 2005). The focus of qualitative research is to interpret social relations and understand social phenomena, of which is the main focus of this research (Kvale, 1996).

Scholars have perceived qualitative research mostly "as an attack on reason and truth" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998a). Researchers strive to understand the meaning of words within a particular text in order to communicate different ideas and information. Within qualitative method, researchers attempt to understand the meaning of words, concepts, and ideas (Postman, 1988). Theorists have asserted that qualitative methodology attempts to increase the understanding of why people act in the ways they do, and why things are the way they are in the social world. Qualitative researchers contend that reality is multiple, subjective and socially constructed by its participants (Krauss, 2005; Bryman, 1984; Lincoln & Guba, 2000; Guba and Lincoln, 1994; Amare, 2004). Qualitative research attempts to explore, discover, and understand particular phenomenon within our societies. In addition, qualitative research

focuses mainly on the subjective meanings, definitions, symbols, metaphors and descriptions of specific cases. They attempt to capture aspects of the social world as they occur in the natural world (Neumann, 2007). Qualitative researchers emphasize the importance of social context for understanding the social world, and are able to gather large amounts of information and get in-depth details on the cases being examined (Kaplan, 1964).

The purpose of a qualitative approach is to "rediscover the truths of social life, comment, and to criticize the moral behaviour of the people" (Postman, 1988; 18). Qualitative researchers understand that the words and concepts people use have an important denotative meaning and also connotative interpretation that are vital to consider when conducting research (Postman, 1988). Unlike quantitative researchers, qualitative researchers do not construct hypotheses, identify variables, and conduct experiments and measure data. Instead, they search for possible meaning ask research questions and also look for useful ways to talk about experiences within a cultural, economic, and political context (Postman, 1988). Qualitative researchers try to protect the form and content of human behaviour and also to analyse its qualities, rather than subject it to mathematical or other formal transformations (Lindlof, 1991).

Anderson and Meyer (1988: 247) also contended that "qualitative research methods are distinguished from quantitative methods in a way that they do not rest their evidence on the logic of mathematics, the principles of numbers, or the methods of statistical analysis". A positive aspect of qualitative research is it can be adapted to different contexts. In addition, theorists have argued that "the subject matter of qualitative research is not objective data to be quantified, yet meaningful relations to be interpreted" (Anderson & Meyer, 1988: 11) among individuals within the public. Researchers within this method attempt to present the public with a variety of meanings that exist within our societies, as it is recognized that reality is socially constructed. The research will focus on the diversity of meanings and values created through the media rather than focusing on media effects or influences as quantitative research does.

During the twentieth century the qualitative approach rejected the ideas and procedures of quantitative research. Qualitative approach is very different from quantitative approach in several ways; most importantly qualitative data tends to be revealed in the form of words, paragraphs, and sentences, not in the form of numbers. It is also argued that most people

find reports of qualitative research more enjoyable to read, instead of reading statistics. Qualitative research often contains description and colourful details which gives the reader a feel for social settings" (Neumann, 2007: 317). Quantitative analysis is argued to be developed and built on applied mathematics. In contrast qualitative data analysis is less standardized. Researchers within quantitative data analysis do not begin until they have collected all of the data and summarized them into numbers (Collins, 1984). "Quantitative researchers are able to manipulate numbers that represent empirical facts in order to test an abstract hypothesis with variable constructs.

In contrast, qualitative researchers create new concepts and theory by blending together empirical evidence and theoretical concepts. Instead of testing a hypothesis, qualitative analysts may illustrate in evidence that a theory, interpretation, or generalization is possible (Schatzman & Strauss, 1973). Qualitative researchers understand that words have a denotative meaning and connotative interpretation. Instead of identifying variables and constructing hypothesis, they ask research questions, search for meaning, and look for useful ways to talk about social experiences within a specific cultural, historical, and political context. Qualitative research aims to understand the meaning that people make in their everyday life activities (Schatzman & Strauss, 1973). It provides us with specific instructions on how to undertake research using a variety of different qualitative methods (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998).

Nonetheless, scholars have argued that qualitative research actually does not provide us with easy answers or exact measurements. Thus, it is a vague and inconsistent approach. Qualitative researchers understand that our everyday language is "lushly metaphorical, widely contradictory, willfully connotative, and cynically strategic" (Pauly, 1991: 6). Other opponents of qualitative research argue that the method is a messy, challenging, time consuming, and disordered. The belief that qualitative research is easy is a myth, as it is very difficult to conduct because it requires hard work and a very good writing skill of the individual researcher (Neuman, 2007). Other scholars have argued that qualitative research is difficult to define clearly as it has no theory or paradigm that is distinctively its own, nor does qualitative research have a distinct set of methods or practices that are entirely its own (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011: 6).

Qualitative research relies more on interpretive approaches. The interpretivist's paradigm views the world as constructed, independently interpreted, and experienced by individuals in

their everyday life interactions with other people (Maxwell, 2006: Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Guba and Lincoln, 1985; Merriam, 1988). The nature of the interpretivist paradigm is to understand a particular phenomenon within a context, not to generalize (Farzanfar, 2005). Interpretivists also place a strong emphasis on understanding the world through first-hand knowledge/experience (Merriam, 1988). Furthermore, interpretivist researchers go against the idea that reality exists irrespective of people, only waiting to be discovered, but rather perceive reality as a human construction (Mutch, 2005). Individuals construct reality in their daily activities or practices. This paradigm holds the view that people make their own sense of the world.

An interpretive approach was implemented in this study to try and make sense of our social reality. In addition, the researcher selected this paradigm because the study is going to interpret data collected from text through direct interaction with the phenomenon being studied. Therefore, this research will search for meaning through direct interpretation of what is observed as well as what is reported by the text.

An interpretive analysis is useful when attempting to gain key information about individuals. It tries to make sense of social situations as they occur in the real world, and then study them in their natural settings (Descombe, 1998).

It's an approach that seeks to describe and deduce meaning from people's feelings. Researchers who engage with this paradigm assume that people's subjective experiences are real and should be taken seriously. With this approach, a researcher works to understand other people's behaviour, by interacting, and paying close attention to what they have to say. They attempt to study individuals or groups as they go about their everyday lives. Focusing at how knowledge is being produced through observing other people's everyday activities (Descombe, 1998).

Researchers within the interpretivist paradigm are often seen as naturalistic, since they consider real world situations as they unfold naturally. They tend to be non-manipulative, unobtrusive, and adaptable. Researchers often rely on personal contact the group or individual studied. They are inductive in nature as they attempt to discover the process rather than describe or measure it (Ulin, Robinson and Tolley, 2004). There is an emphasis in understanding the world through first-hand experience as Merriam (1998) put it, than testing

laws of human behaviour (Bryman, 2001; Farzanfar, 2005). This method treats individuals as research participants not as objects as positivist's research approach does. It enables participants to make meanings of their own social realities or world views (Cohen & Manion, 2000).

In contrast to an interpretative approach, a positivist assumes that reality is fixed and measurable. Interpretive research seeks to understand values, beliefs, and meanings of social phenomena in the world, thereby obtaining a deep and sympathetic understanding of cultural activities and experiences within the social world (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000). An interpretivist paradigm was developed in contrast to positivism. There is a focus on studying people, not objects, that takes into consideration how those evolve overtime due to their environment. People are being affected by the things happening in their environment (Bryman, 2012). It is approached through describing meaningful social actions among individuals, and understanding human behaviour. Within a case study, interpretivists focus on getting an in-depth understanding of social phenomen (Bryman, 2012). Interpretivists see fact as fluid and dependent on context, as people do not see experiences the same way. Thus, there is no universal truth. Interpretivists are not interested in generalizing their results as positivists do. Rather, they strive to reveal meaning and value in the people studied (Bryman, 2012). Nevertheless, interpretivist explanations are argued to be messy rather ordered. It is also argued that this approach lacks rigor, as it often does not include statistical analysis (Descombe, 1998).

<u>Textual analysis</u>

A textual analysis provides insight through examining language in written or printed text. This includes newspaper articles as well as transcripts of verbal conversation and interviews. Anything that involves the use of language can be considered a text. The term language is mostly used in its usual sense to mean words, verbal language, or sentences. Text can prove to be very vital in our social life, as they might have an effect in individual's beliefs, attitudes and values either positively or negatively towards some people in our world. In this way text can be used to contribute to many changes in the world, such as changes in individual's attitudes, actions and their social relations with other people in our societies (Fairclough et al., 2002).In most cases, a text is something that we as individuals make meaning from.

Individuals use text in order to obtain how other cultures at particular time make sense of the world around them.

This is a qualitative study design that attempt to examine the representation of male and female politicians in the South African print media. The researcher selected textual analysis because the study is based on analysing information gathered from newspaper articles. Textual analysis is based mostly on the use of language in order to represents things in the social world (Brennen, 2013). Textual analysis is useful in order to understand and make sense of the social world that we live in (McKee, 2003). This study will use language in order to interpret information collected from a text because it create our everyday life reality and meaning. Textual analysis is useful in understanding different cultures and particular groups of people within a society (Brennen, 2003).

Within a textual analysis researcher try to interpret everyday life activities made by text, the researcher is trying to understand how articles on the newspaper were written and what impact they had on the representation of women and man politicians.

Critical discourse analysis.

The researcher engaged in a critical discourse analysis and frame analysis. The purpose of critical discourse is to analyse "the opaque (not clear) as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifestation of language" (Wodak, 1995: 204). This approach focuses on the relationship between language and society (Wodak, 1997: 173). Critical discourse analysis argues that "discourse is both socially constructed as well as socially conditioned" (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999: 4). Critical discourse analysis is perceived as a social practice in certain cultural and social contexts (Fairclough, 2003). The researcher selected critical discourse analysis because this research will focus mostly on analysing language and ideologies on *The Witness* newspaper articles. Hence, the study is trying to understand how social power of dominance is reproduced by the newspaper articles within the South African political context and how other social groups are misrepresented in various types of discourse.

Discourse analyses are based on the assumption that language is a complex part of social life (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999). Fairclough (1992) points out that there are three dimensions in analysing discourse. Firstly, discourse as a text, whereby one analyses linguistic

features of a text, such as words and metaphors, and where language is seen as a very important social structure. Secondly, discourse as discursive. For instance, political discourse might be seen as a structured set of discursive practices connected to the political sphere. Discourse is produced, circulated and consumed within our society. In this framework, the focus is on speech, not only at the textual level, but also the context of which it was made from.

Thirdly, discourse as social practice, where the focus is on the effects of ideology. Discourse can be seen as a means through which ideologies are created and reproduced. Ideologies are central within the critical discourse analysis. Ideologies are perceived as the representations of certain aspects of the social world that can be seen to contribute to establishing, maintaining and changing social relation of power, domination, and exploitation. Thus, text has a real impact on power relations within our societies (Thompson, 1984). Fairclough (1992) also argued that individuals within our society construct their own identities, social categories, and social reality. However, other scholars criticized discourse analysis for its blurring of important distinctions between concepts (Widowson, 1995, 1996, & 1998). Discourse analysis fails to take into account the wider social, and historical context in which the sample is situated. It is also difficult to conduct because it is a time consuming method of analysis that requires one to engage in a critical reading of a text (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999: 67). It will be applied in this study in terms of studying language used by male and female politicians in the articles.

<u>Frame analysis</u>

According to McQuail (1994) "the media have significant effects within our society by constructing social reality. In this case the media frame images of reality in a very predictable and patterned way" (McQuail, 1994: 331). Thus, media have powerful effects in individuals by attracting the public and directing their attention to certain issues and structuring their definitions of reality. In this case, the press is successful in telling people what to think about and what to experience (McQuail, 1994)

Therefore, journalists play a major role in terms of choosing and selecting what to display on the mass media. So they regulate what we come to experience as reality on a daily basis. Gitlin (1980: 7) further elaborated that "frames organize the world both for journalists who report

it and in some degree for the public audience who rely on their reports". Frame analyses was implemented in this research to examine the key words and metaphors embedded in the text, and "identifying what was included in the frame, as well as what was left out" (Connolly-Ahern & Broadway, 2008; 369). Moreover, this analysis will pay more attention on how the newspaper position both women and men politicians.

Frame analysis was used to define themes that are related to the representation of gender in *The Witness*. Newspaper articles were viewed from a gendered perspective, in terms of what it means to be man and women, and what roles are assigned to them in society. The researcher analysed how male and female politicians represented themselves in terms of speech and context, exploring what issues they focused on based on gender. Consideration was given to what the politicians said and did not say.

This research examined who is presented as a permanent problem solver of a particular area, and what are the women's and men's political responsibilities in the media discourse. Photographs, speeches, dress code, as well as discourse (including word usage, tone and context) will all be investigated. This study used discourse analysis to collect and analyse data extracted from a text, and to understand the material from the newspaper articles. This is a textual and discourse analysis that aims to assess many meanings found in texts, and try to understand how visual, written and spoken language help to construct our everyday social reality (McKee, 2003).

Data collection

A primary source of data collection for this study was the newspaper articles collected from *The Witness* and 2016 government documents such as parliamentary, executive and municipality reports concerning South African politics, because they seem to contain more relevant information about the nature of South African politics. According to McNair (2000: 136), "Newspapers are a good choice for a medium of analysis as they are able to communicate more complex ideas within our societies". Newspaper articles were collected from the Pietermaritzburg main library and government documents from the internet sources. The researcher examined specifically articles covering men and women politicians, and only focused on hard news which provides recent information about political issues which have a big impact within the society. Attention was not paid mostly on the images of

politicians; attention was paid on the written language and how their were covered by the print media. The researcher analysed the article one by one in order to get an in-depth understanding, and looked at the relevant themes that appeared most often on the newspaper articles.

The study analyses gender discourse in politics as reflected in media during the following periods of time. The newspaper articles from *The Witness* were collected over a period of one week from the 25th of July 2016 up until the 3rd of August 2016 in order to define the scope of this study. The researcher looked specifically at various articles that referenced female and male politicians or candidates. The selection of the time frame for the articles was based on the extensive coverage of South African politicians and heightened political activity, due to impending 2016 general local government elections. This period presented a strong and equal opportunity for both female and male political candidates to be covered in the media.

"There is considerable evidence that newspapers carry more information about state-level campaigns than local television news" (Goldenberg and Traugott 1987; Westlye 1991; 158), and that people receive more information about statewide races from newspapers than from television (Clarke and Fredin 1978). Furthermore, Westlye (1991, 45) argued that "newspapers present a large amount of information that closely approximates what politicians/campaigns are issuing". In order to get data this research focused on the three political parties namely the African National Congress (ANC), Economic freedom Fighter (EFF) and the Democratic Alliance (DA) and examined at least two men and two women from each party. I choose these three political parties because of their popularity and likeliness to appear on the mainstream media. These three political parties are most likely to have major influence in the South African politics, hence, they are very dominant within our societies. I believe they will help answer the research question of this study.

<u>Purposive sampling</u>

This research will make use of purposive sampling techniques in order to come up with the data to be analysed. Purposive sampling is most often used in a qualitative analysis, it uses small sample to allow for an in-depth analysis of a particular phenomenon, for instance, this study analysed (13 articles). "The purposive sampling technique is a type of non-probability

sampling that is most effective when one needs to study a certain cultural domain" (Bernard, 2002; 147). Here, the researcher chooses specific participants that possesses certain qualities.

Purposive sampling is a non-random technique that does not rely on underlying theories or a set number of informants. additionally, "the researcher decides what needs to be known and sets out to find people who can and are willing to provide the information by virtue of knowledge or experience at that particular context" (Bernard 2002; 147). Bernard (2002) further argued that purposive sampling is convenient in terms of providing reliable and robust data.

This research study was also based on a purposive sampling a selection process whereby the study's purpose, and researcher's knowledge of the population guides the process. This technique samples those who are believed to be the most appropriate for the study (Kidder et al,. 1991). Here, a researcher develop samples that will suit the needs of the study while ignoring those who do not fit the criteria. This research is cantered on this sampling method because the researcher already knows the participants that he/she is going to use in order to help answer the research questions (kidder et al, 1991).

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined and discussed various research methodologies, data collection and data analysis tools. Detailed paradigms and techniques were selected to provide a qualitative textual examination of *The Witness* newspaper in order to study gender representations of politicians during the 2016 South African local government elections. The research design for this study was an interpretive case study that was analysed largely through qualitative approaches mainly using critical discourse analysis and a textual analysis. These were implemented in order to achieve the goals of this research.

This study was conducted at the Pietermaritzburg (PMB) which is my home town, PMB has a rich history, and it is the capital city of KwaZulu Natal which makes it prominent. Today PMB is a home to over 600 000 people of diverse cultures, and it was founded in 1838 currently governed by the Msunduzi local municipality (www.msunduzi.com). It has been evident that the mass media such as newspapers in particular, are modern and popular cultural forms of representation within our societies, and they play a central role in shaping public opinion in the public.

<u>Limitations</u>

The study relied on a small sample size and the study was limited to a one week period which was short. The 25th of June 2016 to the 3rd of August 2016, was looked at to determine the portrayal of men and women politicians in the South African print media. However, the picture would have been more complete if the frame was extended to cover a longer time frame.Furthermore, it was difficult to get access of the newspapers articles online and the researcher was compelled to go to the Pietermaritzburg main library and photocopy all the newspaper articles needed.

Chapter 4

Data analysis

This chapter analyses the gendered representation of South African politicians in *The Witness* during the 2016 local government elections. A literature review determined that the print media plays a key role in portraying female and male politicians through a gendered lens. Research noted that print media, such as the newspaper, conveys significant information, representations and coverage of women and men politicians. This representation is not the same or equal. Male politicians in the newspaper tended to be represented as more active within the political realm and perceived as leaders of the country. Overall, men are adequate and fit for political office.

This study examined articles that were published in *The Witness* newspaper during the 2016 South African local government elections. The researcher looked at a period of one week from the 25th of July to the 3rd of August. The researcher only selected articles covering political candidates. *The Witness* is published in English which is the dominant language throughout the world, as it enables people from diverse cultures to communicate. (www.brandsouthafrica.com). A total of 13 articles on South African female and male politicians were found in *The Witness* newspaper. These stories were analysed according to the issues they presented.

Throughout The history, women have been one of the most subordinated groups, leading to their absence and underrepresentation in public spheres, especially politics. Stereotypes often prevent women from finding full legitimacy in politics. For example, our society believes that women are passive, dependent, and often incompetent (Mills, 1988). Evidence from the study done in Africa showed that the media depicted women almost exclusively in traditional roles in the home, and not as independent minded and creative beings who have made many positive contributions to the country socially, economically, and politically (Omari, 2008). Moreover, within the work place women are more likely to be expected to work as secretaries and in administration jobs. Whereas, Men are more likely to work as executives and managers within many organisations (Kanter, 1977). Lawrence Blum (2004) further elaborated that women are too emotional, weak as well as irrational, while men are perceived to be rational

and strong. Therefore, men are deemed to be fit in handling serious matters and making decision in the country.

Moreover, evidence from the 2016 government municipality report in South Africa indicated that women politicians in South Africa have had the lowest number of representatives in parliament especially in executive positions. In the executive report on ward candidates of 2016 revealed that the overall gender representation in party lists (ward) in all three major South African political parties such as the African National Congress (ANC) male candidates had 65.68% of representatives while women had 34,32% of representatives. In the Democratic Alliance (DA) male candidates had 65,46% whereas women had 34, 54%. Finally, in the Economic Freedom Fighter (EFF) male politicians had 67,37% of representatives, while women had 32,63% number of representatives in parliament. These results clearly show that male politicians in ward party list had most representatives, therefore they have the upper hand to be selected and put in power. Furthermore, male candidates stand a better chance of winning in the 2016 local government elections than female politicians. Because, they have enormous number of representatives in our societies.

These findings reveal the underrepresentation of women in political spaces, while men are dominant. In South Africa, most of the political parties still fail to achieve gender equality of 50% between men and women politicians. There is evidence of this when looking at the total number of executive mayors for 2016 in Kwazulu Natal alone, male politicians had 78% while female politicians had 22%. This shows the lack of balance in high positions of the political domain and further shows the prevailing dominance of male leaders in executive positions. According to the municipality report (2016) Underrepresentation of women is still evident at a local level, for example, the Umsunduzi mayor prior to the 2016 South African local government was male (Chriss Ndlela) whom was followed by another male, Thamba Njilo.

However, the results on the provincial level show a different picture as the overall representation of female candidates was 49% while male candidates held 51%. These findings showed that there has been a notable change towards gender equality in the provincial level. Evidence emerging from these results in the provincial level showed that progress is being made in terms of improving the overall number of women's representation and participation in politics, despite considerable setbacks. For instance, Scholars such as Colleen Morna (2002) asserted that women are rarely portrayed as politicians, experts, and leaders, within

mainstream media. In most cases, even when women are elected in high office they face discrimination, being called names by their male counterparts, just because they are taken for granted in high positions (Braden, 1996).

Furthermore, women ministers comprise 41% of the cabinet, deputy ministers comprise of 47% and 41% representation of women in the National Assembly. This illustrates a substantial improvement in women's representation in South African politics today. Furthermore, in the South African parliament there are 35 ministers 20 of them are men and 15 women. While men continue to hold more representation, the gap has become narrower.

However, when comparing gender in political parties in South Africa, such as the ANC, DA and EFF, it was evident that women are supportive of men who are always at the forefront of party control. For example, The ANC president (Jacob Zuma) the Deputy Minister (Cyril Ramaphosa) and leaders of the DA (Mmusi Maimane) and EFF (Julius Malema) are all men. Which clearly shows that all the major political parties in South Africa are currently being led by men. Minor parties being led by women such as the National Freedom Party (NFP) leader (Zanele Magwaza Msibi) and Agang SA (Mamphela Ramphele).

South Africa has never had a woman a president even though there were some women who contested the presidency in the past like Phumzile Mlambo Ngcuka. Since the democratic year South Africa have been lead by male leaders starting from the President Nelson Mandela to Thabo Mbeki followed by Jacob Zuma. However, in 2005 for the first time in history we had a female Deputy President(Phumzile Mlambo Ngcuka) since the Democratic elections of South Africa. Furthermore, 2007 was also historic as Helen Zille became the leader of the Democratic Alliance (DA). Furthermore, Phumzile Magwaza Msibi also became the president of National freedom party (NFP) in 2011.These findings showed that women were starting to be recognised in the South African parliament.

However, despite having Phumzile Mlambo Ngcuka as Deputy President, in the 2009 elections Jacob Zuma became the president of South Africa, and Kgalema Motlanthe became his deputy president. Today Jacob Zuma is the president of this country and the deputy is Cyril Ramaphosa and Nkosazane Dlamini Zuma. These results show that men dominate politics and question if we are ready to be led by women in South Africa.

Analysis of newspaper

An analysis of *The Witness* newspaper articles focused on candidates running for the 2016 local government elections in South Africa found significant results that played into gender stereotypes of politicians in South Africa. Representation of the candidates was examined based on gender to determine which politicians had more coverage. The results indicated that the majority of the *The Witness* newspaper articles examined focused predominantly on male candidates such as DA and ANC mayoral candidates Mergan Chetty and Themba Njilo, and focused mostly on the ANC and DA presidents like Jacob Zuma and Mmusi Maimane. Male politicians were viewed as more active in politics in terms of decision making compared to women, moreover male politicians are the ones hosting political campaigns and involved in public speaking addressing the public. For example, the article on the 25th of July by Kyle venktess entitled "Mass prayer for city" the article focused on the mass prayer for peace in Pietermaritzburg (PMB) during the 2016 South African local government elections. In that article the person who was chosen to address the masses was the former Msunduzi Mayor Chriss Ndlela a male figure (*The witness*, 2016). Furthermore, traditionally men are generally represented as active achievers in the political and economic domains (MMP & Soul city, 2005).Most of the political news on the articles were presented by male politicians: out of 13 articles 10 of them had men as news sources while only four included women. Therefore, male had more coverage in the news concerning the 2016 local government elections.

Another article on *The Witness* was entitled "The parties PMB pledges" in this article political candidates were addressing the public about what they are going to do for them in terms of service delivery. In the article there was a DA mayoral candidate Mergan Chetty, ANC mayoral candidate Themba Njilo and the EFF Umgungundlovu convener Rebeca Mohlala. The results on the article indicated that there are differences in terms of what type of issues are most often discussed when covering men and women candidates. Furthermore, women language was viewed as being supportive and shows emotion towards others, for example in the article the IFP Rebeca Mohlala (women) was quoted saying that "she will provide proper spacious housing for the people living in shacks" because it "poses a high health risk". In that case she was having sympathy for people living under badconditions. Furthermore, the EFF's Rebeca Mohlala uMgungundlovu convener of elections in her article spoke more about social issues that have impact in our communities. She quoted in the article that "The people of Msunduzi

are still living under poverty" (Nsele, *The Witness*, 2016). In her speech she spoke more about social welfare issues affecting our society.

On the other hand, men spoke a lot about business and politics. Themba Njilo's speech emphasized more on the economic issues affecting our societies such as the "upliftment of the business sector and developing communities" in order to fast track service delivery in our city" where DA's Mergan Chetty spoke more about "improving the infrastructure" (*The Witness*, 2016).

On the following day, 26th of July, there were reports that there were at least 12 people killed by other politicians. Another article on the 27th of July entitled "Buthelezi a worried man; political killings show we are far from free and fair elections" in this article Buthelezi was raising his concerns about the political violence during the upcoming local government elections. The article reported that there have been at least 14 political motivated killings in KwaZulu-Natal. These articles indicated that politics is extremely dangerous as politicians are killing one another in order to gain power. Moreover, they show that we are far from free and fair elections in South Africa.

A few days later another article reported a women known as Khanyisile Ngobese was killed by 10 men before she could be elected to lead her community as a council in Ladysmith (The Witness, 2016). Moreover, another article entitled "political parties all ready" revealed that Jacob Zuma was worried about the murders of four members of the party including women politicians including "Imbali ward 15 branch members Bededile Tshapa and Phetheni Ngubane who were all shot and killed". Which shows that there is no mercy in politics even women politicians are victims of political violence.

Articles on the 28th of July *The Witness* articles continued to launch more claims of political killings. Overall, these articles highlighted that during the elections it is where all the political parties become more active in their societies such as doing political campaigns and rallies. The articles regarding the elections covered a lot of space in the newspaper compared with other issues. Additionally, the articles focused mostly on the three political parties such as the ANC, DA and EFF making it a three-horse race, other political parties were invisible in the coverage. Politicians are represented as greedy and very corrupt. Most of the articles seem to be persuading and making a lot of promises in order support their party.

The research also highlighted differences in terms of the positions assigned to male and female politicians. For instance, in parliament a minister of basic education is MS Matsi, minister of social development is Ms Bathabile Dlamini, Human settlement is Ms Lindiwe Sisulu and minister of environmental affairs is Ms Bomo Molewa. These findings show that women are assigned to positions that are mostly associated with feminine issues. On the other hand, man are associated with masculine issues such as minister of economic development Mr Ebrahim Patel, minister of finance is Mr Knowledge Gigaba, minister of state security is Mr Mbanguseni Mahlobo, and minister of trade and industry is Dr Robert Davies, which shows that men are placed in economic and trading matters.

Even if you take a road trip around the area ahead of the elections most of the time you will see male faces on the campaign posters. This is evident on the article entitled "South Africa's politics is entering a new era" in this article there is an image where there is a poster of the DA leader Mmusi Maimane on the street light pole (The Witness,2016). Which also shows that female politicians did not receive an equal amount of media coverage consistent with male counterparts, as they were less visible on the media. This analysis indicated that men continue to play a relevant in the political arena and women are portrayed particularly as second-class citizens. In addition, out of 15 KZN mayoral candidates four of them were women while eleven were males (news24).

The overall number of ward seats occupied by women are low. For instance, women's representation in ward seats for the African National Congress (ANC) is 32%, the Democratic Alliance (DA) had 45% a slight increase, while Economic Freedom fighters (EFF) women hold 18%. Men hold more seats and power in terms of making important decisions for the country while women fall behind. Political parties led by women such as the NFP was not visible on the newspaper articles.

In addition, another incident involved a popular kwaito singer T'zozo where he insulted women in other political parties calling them 'babi' (Ugly) during an ANC campaign, there was article entitled "Kwaito singer T'zozo apologises after calling opposition women ugly". This shows a lack of respect towards women politicians making negative comments about them.

As this dissertation nears completion in November 2017, there has been an ongoing battle or race for the ANC Presidency between Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma (the "Zuma" preference) and

ANC Deputy President Cyril Ramaphosa. Several newspapers articles were looked at such as The Eyewitness article entitled "Analysis ANC leadership race: the fight for every single vote" this article highlighted that this was a two-horse race between Cyril Ramaphosa and Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma a male and female figure. The provinces were in favour of the two candidates, and it was evident that the Northen Cape, Gauteng, Western Cape, Eastern Cape and Limpopo preferred Cyril Ramaphosa. Whereas, The Free State, North West, KwaZulu Natal and Mpulamanga were going with Nkosazane Dlamini Zuma (NDZ). This showed that out of 9 provinces in South Africa (RSA) Cyril Ramaphosa is backed by five provinces while NDZ was backed by four provinces. Which revealed that Cyril Ramaphosa (male figure) had better chances of winning the race than NDZ because he had more support (The Eyewitness, 2017).

Additionally, the polling data suggested that "only 16 percent of South Africans believed that NDZ will be a good leader" (The Eyewitness, 2017). Which showed that NDZ had less support, while Ramaphosa had the upper hand, proving that men still dominate in many spheres as he became victorious. Despite NDZ winning with 123 votes in Mpumalanga, while Cyril Ramaphosa got 117 votes. In Free State "she garned the support of 206 branches, while 44 branches were behind Ramaphosa". Additionally, in North West NDZ had 291, Ramaphosa trailing behind with 44 (The Citizen, 2017). However, those result did not assist her to win in the elections for the ANC presidency in 2017.

Furthermore, there were articles written which emphasized the lack of support for NDZ. For example, the newspaper article entitled "NDZ may be dropped by the Zuma faction for Mkhize-ANC insiders", this article highlighted that people did not have trust in NDZ (women candidates) in leading the ANC, as the Zuma camp was preparing Zweli Mkhize as a "secret weapon in the fight to prevent the leadership being grabbed by Deputy President Cyril Ramaphosa", revealing that NDZ was perceived as unfit for the position. Showing that the country still pushes for a male presidency woman, yet women do not get enough support in high political office (The Citizen, 2017).

It is also evident in the article on The Citizen entitled "Details: How Ramaphosa and NDZ's campaigns are heating up as ANC conference draws closer" this article highlighted that in Eastern Cape Zweli Mkhize and David Mabuza (male candidates) were nominated to be Ramaphosas Deputy president, instead of "nominating presidential hopeful Lindiwe Sisulu"

(female candidate). Which further emphasized that men are perceived as leaders while women follow behind. Futhermore, "most provinces completely ignored Ramaphosa's choice, Naledi Pandor, as Deputy President". Emphasising that society still views women as weak in terms of occupying high positions within our communities (The Citizen, 2017).

Conclusion

This chapter has examined purposively and selected *The Witness* newspaper articles in order to examine how men and women politicians are portrayed within our society. Out of 13 articles on *The witness* regarding politics 10 of them had man politicians as news sources few articles covered women candidates. It has been evident that print media occupy an important role in distributing news and images of politicians. Moreover, the study has in this case examined representation of gender in South African politics during 2016 local government elections between the periods of the 25th of June to the 3rd of August. A sample of 13 articles were found, analysed and discussed from *The Witness*.

In response to the questions examined for this study, it has been evident that in South Africa politics women politicians and man politicians are not being treated the same way. For instance, there were only three articles that had women as news sources and women candidates were not mentioned like male candidates on the newspaper. Women politicians did not get too much attention than men politicians in the media. For example, the Umgungundlovu Mayoral candidate Thobekile Maphumulo was not even mentioned on the articles while The Umsunduzi Mayor Themba Njilo was all over the news. Political parties led by women such as the Agang SA and NFP were hardly mentioned. The relative lack of interest in women politicians compared to men show that women are not seen as valid contenders in politics. Moreover, one can conclude that the parliamentary systems of South Africa with their political parties still perpetuate gender stereotypes that link male candidates more often with stereotypically male issues and women candidates associated with female issues.

 It was evident whereby male politicians discussed more of economic issues in their speeches while women focused more on the social issues affecting our societies. This showed that society assigns different roles and positions between men and women in South African parliament. Furthermore, there was evidence highlighting that there was more coverage of men politicians than women on the newspaper articles. Because, only 3 articles out of 13

spoke about women candidates. And this gave men politicians a good opportunity to get exposure and recognition in the community. An analysis of the representation of women and men politicians by the newspaper was examined through qualitative analysis methods such as critical discourse and textual analysis to examine portrayal of South African politicians, these approaches were useful in analysing data gathered from newspaper articles as the study was focused on people's experiences on a text.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

This study explored theoretical concepts surrounding media and gender, and discussed the research methodologies, data analysis and data collection procedures that was implemented in this study. This was an interpretive case study of *The Witness* newspaper that was analysed through qualitative approaches such as content analysis, critical discourse and textual analysis.

An examination of the representation of gender in politics was explored through critical discourse analysis, content analysis, and qualitative methods. This research set out to analyse the representation of both female and male politicians during the 2016 local government elections in South Africa. Articles from *The Witness* newspaper and government documents such as executive, parliamentary and municipal reports were examined over a period of one week, starting from the 25th of July 2016 to the 2nd of August 2016. This study employed several methods, theories and approaches in order to answer the research objectives. Firstly, the researcher want to find out how did *The Witness* represent South African male and female politicians in the 2016 local government elections? Secondly, to explore if whether does the Witness reinforce gender stereotypes assigned to South African men and women in general? Thirdly, to examine how are these stereotypes mirrored in South African politicians? Last but not least, to determine if whether does the Witness equally represent South African women and men politicians?

In response to the questions examined for the purpose of this study, it is evident that in South Africa politics, female politicians and male politicians are not treated in the same way. Findings highlighted that women are not equally represented as men in politics. Men dominate in executive and leadership positions. It is also evident that women do not get sufficient recognition in politics due to social circumstances and stereotypes attached to them by society. The South African parliament is dominated by men who are associated with masculine stereotypes such as strength, business sense and leadership skills, while women are associated with weakness manifesting in nurturing and caring. These findings showed that there is still a need for better depiction of female political leaders as men dominate the political realm compared with women. In addition, this research has found that male

politicians are consistently associated with leadership positions. For instance, the majority of the political parties in South Africa are led by men. Therefore, one can say that male politicians politically dominate, as they have more influence in our communities

Politicians are significantly represented through mass media such as print media. For instance, Politicians depend mostly on the media in order to persuade the public and try to win over votes. Many public citizens receive their political news via newspapers articles. Newspapers are known to cover a wide range of issues affecting our societies and hold a considerable influence in many people's lives. Therefore, they have a vital impact in how individuals observe the world around them, as they reflect social reality. The written text and images in the newspaper articles reflect perceptions of everyday life. The media is a good platform for people in order to express their ideas throughout the whole society. Hence, there is no doubt that the media plays a significant role in our societies in terms of representation. The media is a significant tool of communication in our communities and is influential in terms of reflecting our everyday life activities.

Media plays a vital role in displaying representations in our society, which in turn shape our social reality. In this case, the media can be viewed as one of the major agents of social control tasked with shaping our worldview. Mass media played a significant role in the representation of male and female politicians during the 2016 local government elections in South Africa. Because people know what they know largely through media reflections, of which create our reality. Hence, contemporary mass media such as newspapers plays a central role in the process of constructing meaning and maintaining public discourse within our communities (Fursich, 2001). Thus, the media are central organizing ideas of our social reality in this contemporary world (Byars & Dell, 1992). The mass media has proved to be one of the most powerful tools that directs individual's attention to certain topics or issues. For instance, the media is selective in terms of what goes in the media and what not. In this case the media construct our public opinion, they tell us what to think, believe and how to behave. Consequently, they have significant effects within society as they frame images of social reality in a predictable manner. Hence, they directs individual's attention to certain experiences on a daily basis (McQuail, 1994).

Researches have revealed that women politicians have been less represented in politics. This was evident in this research as there were a few number of female politicians that occupied

high ranking positions in South African politics such as in parliament. In general, women are given positions of which has low status within society than men. In addition, male politician in Parliament occupy more seats than women. Which ultimately means that men are heard far more in a South African context. In other words men will continue to be dominant in decision making processes within our societies also dominant in controlling our social resources.

Past research based on women who occupy high positions in society, found that women encounter several issues in high office such as discrimination by their male counterparts. This discrimination is often justified by those who represent women as weaker and lacking leadership skills. Men on the other hand are believed be strong, natural leaders. Gender stereotypes attached to women often makes it difficult for them to hold high office or become leaders of this country. Gender stereotypes influence politics and the workplace. This study revealed that women often occupy positions of low status such as secretaries within organizations.

Those female leadesr who find themselves in power seem to be struggling. For instance, political parties led by women such as the National Freedom Party (NFP) and Agang South Africa are struggling to gain the majority of seats in parliament. Political parties such as the ANC, EFF, AND DA, who are led by male figures, have the majority of seats in parliament and are involved in decision making of the country. These findings showed that male politicians are at the forefront within our societies controlling resources within the public sphere which clearly shows the patriarchal nature of the South African politics.

There has been noticeable progress in gender equality and women are developing a firm voice in politics. Women's representation in the political realm has notably increased in South Africa. South African women have made progressive steps in increased representation in parliament. Past research has shown that out of 35 ministers in South Africa 20 are males and 15 females. Women ministers today comprise 41% of the cabinet, women deputy ministers make up 47% in Parliament and 41% representation of women in the National Assembly. This can be seen as a big improvement in terms of women's representation in politics.

Progress has been made in terms of gender equality within our societies. These results have shown that after many years of female subordination since from the colonial or apartheid era.

However, today women in this democratic era are starting to close the gap in terms of representation in politics, which is a step in the right direction in the South African politics. Statistics have revealed that before the advent of democracy in South Africa during 1994, there was 2.7% representation of women in parliament. However, since then, things have changed. This is evident in Parliament today whereby South African women now make up of 47% of Deputy Ministers in parliament and 41% of Ministers. There is still a gap but it is not that huge anymore. During the 2016 South Africa's local government elections an observation was made and revealed that within the past two decades of democracy women have witnessed an increase in the numerical representation of women in political and government institutions at local, provincial and national levels (municipality election report, 2016).

This study revealed that politics is a dangerous struggle for power in the region. As observed in The Witness newspaper articles, there were several reported deaths in KwaZulu-Natal related to the 2016 South African local government elections. Moreover, politically motivated killings in South Africa show that we are still far from free and fair elections. There is no remorse as even female politicians are victims of political killings.

The study showed inequality in terms of coverage of both female and male politicians in the print media. The results highlighted that women are less referred to in the media compared to male candidates and less featured in the political news, as they were covered in few articles regarding the 2016 local government election. This makes exposure and public recognition difficult for them. Women still remain underrepresented in the total population of people heard, seen, or read about in the print media regarding politics (Global media monitoring project, 2010). For example, during the 2016 local government elections observation was made and the majority of the people who appeared on the posters or bill boards were male candidates compared to female candidates. Another research done by Pippa Norris (1997) also confirmed that women political leaders were less visible in the media. In most cases women are viewed as insignificant within the political realm incapable of delivering positive change, because of the stereotypical roles and positions assigned to them by society which hinders them in many spheres.

The lack of press attention of women politicians in newspaper articles is one of the barriers hindering women candidates from becoming leaders of this country, as public citizens are unlikely to vote for candidates with whom they are unfamiliar with, or with whom they

haven't seen or heard about in the news media. Few women politicians were used as news sources in the Witness newspaper. The general conclusion that can be drawn from above statement is that men are more active in politics than women. Because men have huge number of representatives or participants in the political arena compared to women, whom have contributed less in politics. Men are the ones who seem to come with positive change within our society, because they are portrayed as political achievers.

Other result found that men and women seem to emphasize different sorts of issues in their campaigns. Findings revealed that male and female speeches differ in terms of the issues they focus on. These differences were evident in the messages they communicated in their political campaigns and rallies. For instance, male politicians received more coverage on the issues regarding the economy, politics, safety and security of the country, of which are known as masculine issues. Women, on the other hand focused more on social and welfare issues such as education, health care and shelter which are viewed as feminine issues. These findings highlighted that women are perceived to handle soft matters and positions in our societies. This shows that male and female politicians in our societies are given different responsibilities or assigned to different roles within our communities.

Articles in The Witness newspaper regarding the 2016 local government elections occupied a very large space, which shows it prominence during that time. The study observed in the articles is that most politicians instead of highlighting their own personal strengths in the articles, they focused more on criticizing their opponents on personal grounds. For instance, there were articles where the DA and the ANC presidents (Zuma and Maimane) were criticizing one another verbally, instead of providing solutions to the current problems of this country.

<u>Limitations of the study</u>

The study was limited in a number of ways. Firstly, the research was limited to a one-week period, starting from the 25th of July to the 2nd of August. Those days were looked at in order to determine the portrayal of both female and male politicians in the print media during the immediate days leading up to the election. The data would have been more in depth if a longer time period was analysed. Furthermore, this study focused on coverage of one newspaper which was also a limiting factor as more data could have been gathered regarding

the representation of gender in other newspapers. Hence, there could be issues of bias of the newspaper.

<u>Recommendations</u>

There is a need for equality in our country in every sector, and both men and women should get equal opportunities in this country. Future research should look at a long-time period and do a comparative analysis of more than one newspaper to get broad ideas about certain phenomena. Since there are fewer female than male politicians in most leadership/executive positions in this country, the study recommends that the government should make intensive efforts to implement positive action and create policies which will see more women appointed in prominent position in parliament.

<u>Acronyms</u>

ANC   African National Congress

NFP   National Freedom Party

DA   Democratic Alliance

EFF   Economic Freedom fighters

PMB   Pietermaritzburg

IFP   Inkatha Freedom Party

RSA   Republic of South Africa

NDZ   Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma

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