

https://dspace.org/

A comparative analysis between the representations of black women and black men in political leadership in the South African mediain

Khumalo, Enhle Lucinda

2018

https://hdl.handle.net/10539/27392

Khumalo, Enhle Lucinda, (2018) A comparative analysis between the representation of black women and black men in political leadership by South African Media, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, https://hdl.handle.net/10539/27392.

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/



Research Topic:

A Comparative Analysis between the Representations of Black Women and Black Men in Political Leadership in the South African Media.

By

Enhle Lucinda Khumalo

711287

Supervisor:

Doctor Siphiwe Dube

Department of Political Studies

University of the Witwatersrand

A Research Report submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for A Masters by Coursework and Research Degree. Supervised by Dr. Siphiwe Dube.

1. Abstract

A Comparative Analysis between the Representations of Black Women and Black Men in Political Leadership in the South African Media.

In an ever shifting world the study of gender is an expanding field. However, there remains wide knowledge voids within academia around theories of representation and media framing. This is especially important in contemporary times where our daily lives are centered on media access. Moreover, since knowledge and information are increasingly available through the media, it is imperative to study gender representation through the media frame. This research project investigates the many gendered representations of black women in political leadership in South Africa. These various representations of black women in political leadership by the media are compared to some of the representations of black men in political leadership. The knowledge void which relates to black women in comparison to black men in political leadership in the South African media is thoroughly studied. Finally, the project seeks to understand the relationship the media have with female leaders as a representation of the scene of 'womanhood' or what it means to be a black woman leader in a patriarchal society.

KEYWORDS

Patriarchy, representation, gender equality, media sexism, political leadership



School of Social Sciences

SENATE PLAGIARISM POLICY

Declaration by Students

I Enhle Lucinda Khumalo (Student number: (711287) am a student registered for Masters by Coursework & Research in the year 2017. I hereby declare the following:

- I am aware that plagiarism (the use of someone else's work without their permission and/or without acknowledging the original source) is wrong.
- I confirm that ALL the work submitted for assessment for the above course is my own unaided work except where I have explicitly indicated otherwise.
- I have followed the required conventions in referencing the thoughts and ideas of others.
- I understand that the University of the Witwatersrand may take disciplinary action against me if there is a belief that this is not my own unaided work or that I have failed to acknowledge the source of the ideas or words in my writing.

Signature: _E.L.Khumalo_ Date: 1 August 2018

Acknowledgements

I wish to offer my sincerest gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Siphiwe Dube for his endless support, assistance, and invaluable guidance throughout the process of formulating this research report. His mentorship, encouragement, and patience gave me the opportunity to strive for excellence in the field of political studies. Without the compassion and support he provided during tough periods, my research report would be compromised.

I also with the express my gratitude to my reader, Dr. Danai Mupotsa who provided sound critique and support during the beginning stages of my research paper. Her suggestions, insight and comments were invaluable. It is through their knowledge, guidance and contributions that this research paper is complete.

Moreover, I would like to thank the Dean of Humanities Prof. Ruksana Osman, Ashina Daya and Shaeera Khala for their assistance throughout my years of studies.

Dedication

To Nomvula Nzimande and Agatha Dimakasto Nzimande

Thank you for guiding me, pushing me, celebrating me and believing in me. My success is yours.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Feminism: Activities, ideas and policies with the goal of removing discrimination towards women, whilst deconstructing socially regulated male domination of society.

Media Framing: The way in which media presents a story by choosing to eliminate, highlight, and give preference or draw attention to specific subject matter. Media framing focuses on the content of media coverage.

Sex: The biological difference between men and women.

Gender: Social meaning and naming given to biological differences between women and men. However, the roles given are not homogenous as they may vary according to culture over time.

Media: This refers to the multiple methods employed for communication. For example, radio, television, and print. Media can also be understood as a collective noun to refer to press agencies.

2. Table of Contents

A Comparative Analysis between the Representations of Black Women and Black Men in Political Leadership in the South African Media.

1. Abstract
2. Table of Contents

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Chapter outline……...8

Introduction……9-11

Relevance of research topic and background……11-12

Research questions ……12

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Literature review ……13-30

Representation……30-31

Theoretical Approach…….31

Social Constructivism…….32

The Semiotic Approach…….32-33

The Discursive Approach……...33

Gender concepts…….33-34

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research methodology and theory……34

Research design ……34

Method of gathering data……...35

Analytical framework……36-37

Application……38

Ethical Discussion…….38

CHAPTER FOUR: ANAYLISIS INTERPRETATIONS OF THE FINDINGS RECCOMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

Analysis and Results……39

Summary of results……..39-63

Conclusion……63-64

Bibliography……..65

ABBREVIATIONS

ANC: African National Congress

DA: Democratic Alliance

EFF: Economic Freedom Fighters

MP: Member of Parliament

AU: African Union

Introduction

Female leadership in the political arena remains a bone of contestation despite the advancements that women have made historically through policies, rights, and activism. Generally speaking, women's leadership has been footnoted or underappreciated by scholars and policymakers, despite the role that female leadership has played in constructing the world as we know it. Simply put, the contributions of women, black women in particular, have faced the possibility of erasure and vulgarization.

This research report investigates the various gendered representations of black women in political leadership in South Africa. The various representations of black women in political leadership by the media are compared to some of the representations of black men in political leadership.

Context and Research Debates

The South African Human Rights Act places emphasis on equal treatment of all South Africans without discrimination. The rights stipulated in the charter applies to all genders, however, many scholars make the argument the media represents black women political leaders differently to black male political leaders therefore negating the possibility of genuine 'equality' as by the South African Human Rights Act.

Despite the protection provided by South African constitution, the social nuances between how men and women are represented differs as the representation of black female political leaders in the South Africa media is molded around stereotypes and personal and characteristics instead of professional capabilities. The authors state that:

> In terms of nature of coverage, media portrayals of female candidates are wrought with sex–based stereotypes, evident in their tendency to emphasize personal characteristics such as hair, clothing, compassion/empathy and expertise in areas such as women/children, relationships, motherhood and educational issues, while stereotyping men as possessing different traits such as strong leadership, competence and expertise in defense and economic security issues. (Everitt, 2003; Robinson & Saint-Jean, 1991)

At close inspection is it evident that media coverage of politician's lacks neutrality when it comes to black women political leaders and black men political leaders. Gendered social constructs find expression through the media which is then processed as 'fact'. Moreover, in most cases, women get less coverage and time in the media compared to men (Gershon, 2012)

Often, tools of deliberate erasure, language and imagery has a long and gendered history in the South Africa media despite social feminist movements speaking back to this problematic arena or representation. For instance, these movements have engaged with the media's distorted representation and erasure of Winnie Madikizela-Mandela albeit her role in South Africa's liberation movement. The representation of Winnie Madikizela's role in comparison to her former husband, Nelson Mandela is worlds apart. Where she was a tyrant, Nelson Mandela was represented as a savior and saint, yet their stories of fighting for a free and fair South Africa run parallel with the final objective being a democratic South Africa.

Moreover, former Health Minister Manto Tshabalala-Msimang's drinking problem was foregrounded by the media, yet Thabo Mbeki's personal life was not treated as the focal point during the HIV/Aids crises. A similar case can be seen more recently with how the media centered Bathabile Dlamini's alcoholism yet reports about Jacob Zuma's other allies such as Gwede Mantashe were not focused on his personal life. From the direct mocking of Member of Parliament Lindiwe Mazibuko's attire or 'mini-skirt' when she addressed Parliament to former Minister of Basic Education Angie Motshekga's panty being waved in the air by a teacher's union during a protest: the long history of fighting for fair representation for women has not yet been fully realized. Post-Apartheid South Africa remains a tumultuous space for black women in the media space.

Gap

There is a gap of knowledge which relates to black women political leaders, particularly in the contemporary South African. The report sought to understand the relationship the media have with female leaders as a representation of the scene of 'womanhood' or what it means to be a black woman leader in a patriarchal society. Therefore, representations of black women political leaders are important to study as they speak to how 'representation' through media molds political figures and navigates the politicization of the female body for purposes of consumption from buyers of multi-media products. The research report thus concerns itself with theories of representation, questions of spatial politics which interrogate what the

presence of black women in public spaces means, and what it does will be foregrounded to guide the analyses. Furthermore, an investigation of what media forms, narratives, and representations are also analyzed to further contextualize the research question. Moreover, this research report does not assume that its theories are ahistorical. Therefore, the research project contextualizes theories of representation, meaning and identity using a post-Apartheid analysis where black women are legally permitted to enter national politics and, as a result, into the media space.

The comparison between how black women in political leadership are represented in the media in relation to black men has the potential to expose potential media discrepancies, especially the patriarchal nature of the media. The role of the media, it is argued, is thus not only for purposes of regulating fact or information. Instead, through their use of gendered representations, media transforms themselves from a fact-based knowledge management hub into spaces of scrutiny, opinion, praise, and potentially- social death for black women in political leadership, because of the ways in which the media represent black women in political leadership. For example, black women political leaders are often portrayed as flat beings who embody binary oppositions as being either stone cold or too emotional. Black women in political leadership are thus, to an extent, forced into a state of double consciousness within the political public scene.

Aim

Ultimately, the project exposes the potential prejudices of information hubs and the various ways through which patriarchy, as a traceable factor in the media, can self-regulate. Furthermore, the report's related aim dissects the theoretical concerns of gender, by studying the differences in the ways black women in political leadership are reported about compared to black men in the South African media.

This research report fills the scholarship void which insufficiently compares the disparities between how black women political leaders are reported about compared to black male leaders. This interrogates how meaning is inscribed, narratives are driven, and representation is possible

Broadly, the report engages the following themes: gender, and subtlety gestures to other intricacies such as race, representation through the media, and male-dominated spaces such

as the political arena. The project particularly concerns itself with the 'representation' of black women political leaders in South Africa. As it is, gender and racial stereotypes overlap to create uniquely powerful stereotypes and, as a result, directly impact on the representation of black women political leaders in the South African media.

Relevance

The research is a worthwhile project as it engages with the media's approach to representation, which impacts the lived experiences of black women. Moreover, the research report is worthwhile as it analytically dissects the thematic concerns of gender by studying the reporting of black women compared to black men in the South African media. The research report investigates the question of how women are 'created' in a particular image as a result of how they are represented by the media, through various methods determined by images, language and communication tools seen in the media. The study of gender, blackness, and patriarchy also cements the relevance of this research report as it brings into question more theoretical questions around gender and representation in the South African media, thus further politicizing the research question.

Furthermore, with the emergence of an increasing number of black women who have entered the field of politics, it is important to examine the manner in which they are represented and portrayed in the media in order to problematize and, subsequently, re-imagine the media space with the possibility of making it less violent for future black women leaders. In a sense, the project extends on existing work that relates to black women, representation and the media by investigating these factors using a contemporary lens to study how black women in political leadership are represented in the South African media in comparison to black men in political leadership.

The media acts as the primary source of information distribution regarding political events and societal issues (Wasburn and Wasburn, 2011; Rättvisaren, 2015; Women's Media Center, 2016; Kahn, 1994; Ibroscheva and Raicheva-Stover, 2009). Therefore, literature related to gender and the media and other intersecting factors for these concepts provides a sound basis for the necessity of better understanding and studying the contradictions between how black women political leaders are represented in the media in comparison to how black men are represented in the media. This molds reality and allows for room to reimagine the media space outside of its contradictions.

Chapter 1

Chapter Outline

This section outlines the way in which the research report is structured by highlighting the content of the chapters to follow in the research report.

Chapter One:
Introduction - Chapter one of the research report is made up of the introduction as well as the background of the research report, which directs the reader towards what the report seeks to study. This section reveals the statement of the problem, the research aim, the reports objective, hypothesis, the overall scope of the study, and a summary of the research methodology and theoretical framework.

Chapter two:
Literature review - An overview of the research question is contextualized in this section. It provides a theoretical background which is to be used to theoretically and thematically understand and engage with the research question.

Chapter three:
Research Methodology – Chapter three is a guide relating to the techniques, methods, and data- analysis methods used to answer the hypothesis and study the themes of the research report. Moreover, it outlines the possible hindrances or difficulties which may transpire and skew the results of the report.

Outcomes – The presentation of Data, Interpretations and Discussions can be found in this chapter. The outcomes/ analysis of the research report is presented using sources and a narrative format.

Chapter Four:
Closing chapter – Conclusions, Summary, and Recommendations can be found in the closing chapter of the research report.

Research questions

In order to gauge fully the purpose and relevance of this research report, it is imperative to outline the primary and secondary research questions put forward throughout the research report. In doing this, the focus on the report becomes clearer.

Primary Question

1.1 How are black women in political leadership represented in comparison to black men in political leadership in the South African multi-media context?

Secondary questions

1.2 The assumption is that the media are inherently highly gendered and patriarchal spaces. As such it is important to outline: Why are the media gendered?
1.3 In what ways do historic patriarchal biases affect media representation of black women in post-apartheid South Africa?

The secondary questions assist in studying the process of gendering found in media spaces, thus allowing for a thorough analysis to answer the primary research question.

Chapter 2
Literature Review

This chapter gives an overview of the relationship the media have with black women leaders in politics in comparison with black men in politics. The chapter contextualizes the theoretical nuances of key concepts related to the research report such as: gender, representation, media culture, patriarchy and feminist thought. The chapter critiques the role of the media in framing gendered discourse, its role in the socialization of political figures and gendered norms and the regulation of hegemonic gendered norms.

Despite being historically overlooked by the media, female leadership has not been absolutely unnoticed by scholars who have advocated for women's leadership (Adkison, 1981; Bell, 1990; Lawson, 1991; Fitzgerald, 2003; Chin, 2004; Alston, 2005; Murtadha & Watts, 2005; Rusaw, 2005). The humanities field has been, to some extent, more inclusive of women studies by engaging on gender studies and women in leadership as general subjects of study. However, the research has been more in line with broad and general approaches to women in leadership and the media. Previous research thus fails to thoroughly investigate the nuanced representation of black female political figure heads and the processes which drive how different bodies are represented in the media space. (Stephens, 2003) research on leadership explores societies patriarchal understanding of leadership concluded that this patriarchal oppression along with women's leadership is a cultural oxymoron. The phenomenon of the cultural of patriarchal oppression makes for an interesting foundation in our understanding of what drives representation in the media.

Patriarchy particularly manifests itself through the process of naming, which is then followed by behavioral and social expectation. For example, the notion of 'double jeopardy' is reflective of how the gender bias shaped by patriarchal norms as well as other social constructs such as race affects the daily lives of women in their work. It is found that that black women are more likely to report having to prove themselves time and time again. (Stephens, 2003). The implication of such a bias leaves black women facing subtle and unsubtle macro-aggressions which heighten ideas of inferiority and non-belonging. This also leaves little room for women to redefine themselves. In spite of the double jeopardy faced by black women in political leadership, a triple jeopardy is possible when they are compared to their male counterparts. Therefore, the ways in which black political leaders are represented

in comparison to how black male political leaders are represented in the South Africa media will carry this triple jeopardy when creating content, forming imagery, and driving narratives about political heads.

A strong argument could be made that male dominated arenas, such as the political arena, morph into a space infested with gendered ideas and expectations. A case in point is a study by (Stephens, 2003) and colleagues which found that black women face a higher chance of being judged harshly for making mistakes in the sciences. It is important to note that the sciences field is a male dominated arena where women and racial minorities have historically been underrepresented. Williams calls this the "prove it again" experience as black women violate both the gender and racial stereotypes of what a leader or scientist is. Consequently, they are held to higher standards of competence than people who violate only one of these stereotypes (i.e. black men or white women). This begs the question of whether the media co-opts the gendered norms found in male-dominated spaces and takes that at face value when regulating its media coverage. It could be argued, therefore, that the media does not function in isolation; it as an active institution that carries similar cultures found in any other institution, such as political institutions.

Previous research in gender representation in the media

Previous research on media coverage, websites and gender has pointed out the significant differences between how women and men are represented. However, there has been link studied which determine how leaders are represented and on what basis the differences are founded. Therefore, theoretically, there has been a scholarship void. The most prominent study of media coverage of women politicians by Kim Fridkin Khan (1991, 1992, 1996, 1997) reflect that women get less media coverage than their male counterparts. This theory also shows that women politicians marital status, sex and physical appearance are mentioned more often, male and female's politicians are connected to different societal issues, and the media observes the female politician's personal traits and her viability over policy discussions for female politicians. However, the question of how and why the media creates its content is not largely studied.

Although there are some indicators which suggest that there is a positive shift in how female politicians are represented, other research shows that there are other factors to consider when

discussing media coverage of female politicians compared to male politicians (as listed by Bystrom et al (2004). Such factors include that basis that media coverage in also determined by public perception of female and male politicians. For example, society views female politicians as more tender, compassionate and honest but view men as sterner and better-decision makers. These perceptions drive the typecasting reflected in gendered media coverage of male politicians in comparison to female politicians. Women are thought of as important in policy issues related to women and children as well as education and health matters whilst being less important in issues related to business, economy, and global affairs (Dolan, 2004). Evidently, this leads to the logical conclusion of gender systems which dictates that: men and women political leaders are perceived and presented differently- with the traits and societal issues that are liked with male politicians being viewed as more important.

Moreover, the question of the extent to which politicians contribute to gender specific representation is not widely researched. However, because of the increasing coverage of female media coverage more data is available to study the gap of knowledge of self-representation (Dolan, 2005). This research report will fill the scholarship void which insufficiently compares the disparities between how black women political leaders are represented in the South African media compared to black male political leaders.

The Role of the Media, Black Feminist Thought, and Identity.

Power and Representation

In the article, "Analyzing power, language and representation in metaphors of the New South Africa", Pumla Gqola (2005) engages with the idea of the normalized narratives of political bodies. Gqola uses methods of disruption in order to look beneath the surface of what is taken for granted or deemed natural. In doing this, Gqola is able to reveal contradictions between language, metaphors, meaning, and representation - ultimately revealing the stark contrasts between the representations of men and women in the new South Africa.

Gqola's work is interesting as it contextualizes representation through the medium of language and metaphors whilst placing them in the post-apartheid South African context. The

post-apartheid study of language, narratives and metaphors posits a 'transformation' agenda within the spatial politic of South Africa. This begs the question of where gendered political consciousness, re-imagination, and representation is inserted within the new order of the day. That is, 'new' South Africa presents an array of contradictions.

The "New" South Africans and its institutions, such as the media, cannot function in isolation outside of contradictory sites where identity and its meanings are contested and regulated. The South African political arena is that serves as a clear site of gendered and racialized contestation. The gendered contradictions are visible in different sites in politics such as in Parliament, where female political leaders such as member of the Democratic Alliance Lindiwe Mazibuko faced scrutiny over her choice of clothing, particularly because she chose to wear a short dress which in socially understood to be unacceptable. However, her male colleagues are not placed under the same method of scrutiny where physical appearance becomes the theme surrounding their leadership capabilities.

A strong case can be made that because South Africa is a state with a transformative agenda it burdens its citizens with imposed notions such as national unity, heterogeneity, and imagined community. This suggests that identity is never complete. Instead, it is continuously inscribed and presented in language (Erasmus, 1996). This results in different accents in the media on the ways in which womanhood is defined by using vocabulary which is borrowed from a patriarchal navigation of the world. This begs the question of whether this vocabulary is able to define and potentially reconstruct media centered narratives of black women leaders in politics. Therefore, by thoroughly investigating the language of representation, including the power ushered through it will reveal the disparities between how black women political leaders are represented in the media compared to black male leaders.

Language as a form of communication prescribes meaning. This lends itself into the construction of social norms. The media serves as a point of communication between the reader, listener or viewer. Language, throughout this period of communication is the method used to express media generated content. However, the language used by the media is borrowed from historical patriarchal language, therefore, the media becomes complicit in how it represents different genders through naming, emphasis on particular subject matter, or selection of content. For example, this use of media framing is seen in the South African media as it takes on the titles given to political figures. In the case of Lindiwe Mazibuko of

the Democratic Alliance, she was termed ‘the tea girl’ whilst Mbuyiseni Ndlozi of the Economic Freedom Fighters was reoccuringly called ‘The peoples bae` by the media. By repeating society’s titles given to political figures, it becomes an un neutral and gendered space because society uses a gendered lens to view the world.

In *Writing in Uganda and South Africa: Emerging Writers from Post-Regressive Regimes* Lydia Spencer (2014) uses novels as her point of analysis. Spencer articulates the politicization of the public and private space with a focus on how the personal is political. The scholar offers a critique of how hegemonic narratives morph into a form of gendered nationalism. Spencer’s work is relevant as it provides a critical analysis of gendering black women in different spaces produced through narratives which emerge in post-repressive or post-colonial nation states. For instance, in the South African context, gendered nationalism finds expression through its highest law in the land, the South African constitution. The law acts as a practical buffer for black women to halt racial and gendered discrimination. The law, however, does not drive a new social consciousness which ‘de-genders’ women to the extent in which the media represents black woman political leaders in the same way as it represents black male political leaders.

It cannot be assumed that hegemonic assumptions on gender and gender based narratives are frozen in time. It therefore becomes imperative to note and draft a comparative analysis which contextualizes how black women leaders in political leadership are represented post-repression whilst also wrestling with the fact that social constructions change, but not only through legislations and policies. Therefore Spencer’s work is able to lend insight on the gendered narratives of black women during and post the prolonged period of repression in South Africa. However, by using fiction as her method of study, Spencer’s deductions have the potential to be counter-reality, depicting a diluted reflection of representation.

Using intersectionality as a fundamental framework, Settles (2006) places emphasis on the unique lived experiences of black political leaders racial and gender identities by studying the ways in which race and gender can influence an individuals lived experiences. The study shows that the intersectional identities of Black women were viewed as more important than the identity of the ‘individual’ as women and Black people. The conclusion of the study showed that the media places more emphasis and importance of on both the race and gender of Black female politicians rather than qualifications ad capabilities. Moreover, black women

politicians place importance on their race and gender as they understand themselves as not just Black people or as women but as a part of the more complex identity of "Black Women" (Whitehead, Moodley, 2013). Acker (2006) makes the arguments that the complex identities of all women works to construct an "inequality regime" for "black female politicians which limits their ability to fully self-actualize (Whitehead, Moodley, 2013).

In analyzing the theme of power and representation, it is important to study the role in which the governing party plays in re-directing historical and present day gendered norms and expectations.

In *The ANC Women's League: Sex, Gender and Politics* (2014) Shireen Hassim investigates the role of the ANC Women's League within the mother body. It is worth noting that the ANC is the governing party of South Africa, thus, the ANC is constitutionally and socially the navigator of social change and re-direction. However, there has been a misalignment between the ANC Women's League and its role to advocate for gender neutrality and equality within the media, government and society at large. Hassim states:

> "The ANC Women's League has no analysis of gender power; no analysis of patriarchy; basically, they are cheerleaders for male leaders within the ANC, and usually they choose the side that is least favourable for a transformed gender politics."

Instead, the ground work in holding society and the media responsible with the gender agenda is being adopted and driven by young, often apolitical sub-movements such as *The Fallists,* who use the media as a platform to express concerns about female representation in and outside of the political arena.
Hassim eloquently concludes that the ANC Women's League is a process in which articulation gender is possible but disabled. The ANC Women's League, however, remains central in determining South African politics, with gender as its main point of reference.

Media Culture

Carby, H. (1987) moves from the rational method of studying underrepresented minority groups to a theoretical method. Carby discusses the scholarship on media representations of men and women as multiple racial groups. Carby.H states:

> Our theoretical and conceptual orientation encompasses research that is commonly referred to as "critical/cultural studies." Numerous theoretical approaches have been used to examine issues of race, gender, and media, but we contend that critical/cultural studies represent the most salient contemporary thinking on media and culture. More important, unlike most social and behavioral scientific research, most critical and cultural approaches to media studies work from the premise that Western industrialized societies are strati- field by hierarchies of race, gender, and class that structure our social experience. Moreover, cultural studies utilize inter- disciplinary approaches necessary for understanding both the media's role in the production and reproduction of inequity and for the development of more equitable and democratic societies. (Carby, H. 1987)

Through using interdisciplinary approaches to the study of gender answering the research question is made possible. By using this approach, the research report thoroughly analyzes its themes of patriarchy and representation whilst contextualizing it within period of time from an African perspective which moves away from the Western theme of stratified industrialized societies driven by hierarchies, gender, and class. This is especially important because South Africa is made up of an 80% black populous. However, South Africa is different in that it functions as a 'western' industrialized society. However, that may only be the case if the political arena is studied from a metropolitan point of view. This begs the question of how traditional political leaders function outside of the hegemonic South African constitutions would be represented by their media, and whether there would be similarities between how black female political leaders in traditional setting are represented in comparison to black men.

However, Carby fails to thoroughly investigate how the media acts as a tool which reproduces femininity and masculinity in order to gain a conceptual and theoretical understanding of gender. Moreover, Carby does not isolate representation in relation to Western industrialized societies, thus Carby neglects to investigate the relationship with representation in the media outside of one racial/social category.

The author studies how personal histories in combination with collective history of liberation or oppression lends itself to stereotypes and misinformation. The author thus places emphasis on how the media may impact the prospects for an individual on a personal, social, or

economical level. Because media forms are not stagnant and produce different meanings over time. At a first glance one could argue that her work is irrelevant. However, at a closer inspection- terms of human interaction and meaning have repeated itself in history despite the socio-political shifts. Stereotyping, for example- and the meanings and narratives it produces can, to an extent, be analyzed outside of time.

This research report defines media sexism, which the idea of issues related to gender in the media as well as the through identifies: Media sexism is the portrayal of Black female politicians under a gendered lens which is skewed by factors such as the misrepresentation of Black female politicians, the underrepresentation of Black female politicians in the media, gender stereotyping content, and gendered type-casting where women are valued for physical appearance, age, family status – factors which are not attributed to male political leaders.

The Global Media Monitoring Project (2010) emphasizes the point of linear gender binaries in the South African media:

"Women are more likely than men to be represented as students and homemakers in media, while in all other professions, men are more likely to be represented as leaders and captains of industry. These differences cannot simply be explained by the media mirroring the composition of societies."

Media Effects

The research below will analyses how the literature has problematized media inconsistences in relation to how the media represents Black female politicians in comparison to male politicians.

Ross (2010), the theorist places emphasis on the role that the media plays in shifting and shaping attitudes towards women politicians by studying the frames it uses while covering female political leaders. According to Ross (2010), the media often performs an affirmatory function in sealing dominant norms and values to the larger society. Media coverage, at times, goes beyond reporting on factual content by giving analysis and evaluations.

Nesbitt (1996) postulates that political reporting includes selection, filtering, selection, as well as emphasis because media houses cannot create content for political figures and events in their entirety due to space and time- this is the nature of fast passed media organizations.

Nesbitt adds that political happenings and actors are mediated when content creator, editors, and journalists use "frames, methods, and stereotypes to ensure that the content ins understandable, interesting and media 'worthy'. Scholars such as Khan (1996) and Norris (1997) introduce the idea of gender in media coverages. This gender system plays a central role in feminist theory related to media outputs. Gayle Rubin (1975) coined the term sex/gender system and defines it as "the set of arrangements by which a society transforms biological sexuality into products of human activity, and in which these transformed sexual needs are satisfied" (pg 159).

Because South Africa is a democratic country the media has to abide to specific rules and regulations in order to produce content that is free and fair. However, in the South African context, freedom of expression is also protected as a constitutional right. This way, the individuals the media covers may protect themselves through the law by filing a suit for, example, defamation of character, whilst the media may protect itself through arguing for freedom of speech. However, in spite of black female political leaders have the ability to protect themselves by harnessing the might of the law, the media may still use gender systems of 'framing', which emphasis news plots in gendered ways.

Hirdman (1990) argues that the gender system is founded on two logical assumptions, the first being; the separation of sexes (difference creation) and the second; male dominance as a norm (hierarchy). These regulated logical deductions are sustained by what Hirdman (1990) and Norlander (2003) refer to as the gender contract, which states that women and men are born into and formed by the gender system which they are naturally to oblige to. The thinkers suggest that a debate is needed over terms about how gender differences in media representation are described. Khan (1996) makes use of the concept 'sex stereotypes' which she terms as "a cognitive structure of inferential relations that ink personal attributes, behaviors and beliefs to the social categories male and female" (pg 6). Norris (1997) makes use of the concept 'gender frames' to show how the media uses conventional contexts to develop the idea of categories or 'schemas' to refer to the conceptual cognitive structure people use to understand "traits, activities and behaviors traditionally associated with men or women" (pg. 35).

"All these concepts are useful in different ways; 'stereotypes' can be used to describe the social categories male and female, 'frames' better describes how the media make uses these

categories or 'schemas' is useful to understand how the individual builds up an understanding of male and female."

Politics and Media Coverage

Scholars Oates (2008) and Corner (2003) argue that societies engage, share, and seek to come to terms with political happenings though the media. The media is understood to be a part of the public sphere in which the identities of politicians is constructed. The media's performative criteria's are not neutral and can be used to disqualify candidates politically or through social means by constructing personality cults through the use of, for example, stereotyping.

A case in point for the argument presented by Oates (2008) and Corner (2003) was the public 'lynching' of Minister Nomvula Makonyane, where her personal life became her 'identity'. Makonyane was often referred to as 'Ben 10 because of her affinity to younger men therefore the media backgrounded her political ambitions and capabilities.

Gendered framing of politicians in the media

Gamson & Modigliani (1987) make the case that the way in which the media covers women leaders could be a result of how the content creators are socialized to perceive women leadership. In turn, these content creators use that frame to report of women is a gendered way. To date, there have been several studies about print media framing and the coverage of women in politics by the media Terkildsen & Schnell (1997) did content analysis of print media which gets published weekly and its coverage of the women's movement. They analyzed *Time, Newsweek, U.S News, and World Report* of the women's movement using the time period; 1950 and 1979. The scholars found five different frames to describe women and the movement in the media coverage:

> Traditional gender roles, which framed women as the weaker sex and in terms of their physical appearance; (ii) antifeminism, which framed emerging feminists against the norms of society; (iii) women's political roles, which was dominant during the campaign for women's suffrage, and later when women sought public office; (iv) feminist, which framed feminism as disrupting the status quo, and evolved to include sexism,

> gender discrimination, and the idea that feminists were lesbians; and (v) economic equality, which included themes of women seeking higher wages and eventually general employment rights. (Terkildsen & Schnell, 1997)

Overall, it could be determined that the economic equality and feminism frames were dominant in the media coverage of women's rights. This was followed by the role of women in politics and traditional gender roles, divisions and fractions within the women's movements, and anti-feminism sentiments.

Moreover, in Women's representation in Government: quotas, substantive equality and self-interested politicians. *Transformation: Critical perspectives on Southern Africa*, 77(1), Professor. Amanda Gouws highlights how the ANCWL league, a body which should protect, and vanguard gender activism and equality fails to look at the underlying causes and complexities of a society like South Africa's.

Gouws emphasises how the ANCWL has shifted responsibility to civil society in tackling the gender question. In doing so, the ANCWL exonerated itself from the ground work of re-directing narratives even in a democratic South Africa. This strategy and tactic from the movement serves as an indication of the lack of accountability from government level down to media or social level in matter related to gender. Instead, the ANCWL is accountable to and allied with party leaders and media houses rather than a constituency of women. Simply put, Gouws argues that the ANWL' role is not to challenge patriarchal norms, instead it is there to amplify it. Therefore, sensationalism and narratives around women leaders are left uncontested. This is primarily due to the inability to separate women's issues from party issues. A distinction must thus be made between 'Women's' movement and 'Feminist' movements.

In another study, Phalen and Algan (2001) analyzed the *New York Times* and *Los Angeles Times* coverage of the 1995 Fourth United Nations World Conference on Women. The study was analyzed before, during and after the conference in order to engage with how media outlets covered the events. The study exposed that media houses focuses on incidents and issues related to logistical matters rather than issues related to policy. Moreover, media houses, more often than not, frame the conference as a foreign affairs issue between China and the United States rather than on women's issues. The general theme which dominated

coverage was a matter of the communist country vs. the western country. Furthermore, media houses associated women's issues with radicalism and failed to represent women's rights as

The section below studies literature on the use of gendered coverage by the media while covering Black female politicians.

Gendered Mediation of Politicians

Feminist analysis has been concerned with female representation in the media. Tuchman's "symbolic annihilation" directs us to the media practice where women's lived experiences are reoccurringly trivialized, marginalized, and effaced. Parts of this symbolic annihilation are still important issues for contemporary studies of women, politics and the media. Feminist scholars have studied the marginalization and the trivialization of women in terms of both quality and quantity. Gidengil and Everitt (1999) understand these phases in the study of women, politics and the media as the introduction to questions of viability and invisibility, then secondly, the examination of the coverage of women politicians, and finally, examining gendered mediation. The penultimate phase studies the subtler, but arguably more insidious, form of bias that arises when conventional political frames are applied to female politicians".

Scholars have looked at the contradiction between how black female political leaders have been represented in comparison to black political leaders. The concern that has stood out is that there has been a consistent use of traditional concepts of gender, such as the dominance of men, in contemporary times. Moreover, the glorification of personalities has done little to back track women's misidentifications in the media. Instead, as vim Zoonen (2005) suggests, the attention paid to personalities functions "as a continuous reminder of their odd choices as women and their odd position in politics".

This speaks truth to the case of Nomvula Mokonyane who was positioned in two categories. These binary oppositions titles her as Jezebel or the Minister with the short skirt. Thus, traditional concepts were used by the South African media within contemporary times.

The Black Feminist Critique of Representation

Black women have historically been depicted through using fixed categories. The categories understand black womanhood as a collective identity rather than an individual identity. The dawn of South Africa's democracy neglected to review type casts which see black women as

a collective identity which is scrutinized according to personal traits, physical appearance and other factors which do not have to do with her personal capabilities. Although South Africa reviewed other traumas experienced during the Apartheid regime through, for example, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. This is important to note because it could be argued that the ushering of a new South Africa did not particular present a newness of identity for black women. Therefore, the ways in which black women political leaders are represented in the media is borrowed from past (and now present) stereotypes and misconceptions of black womanhood. For example, member of Parliament Lindiwe Mazibuko is often referred to as 'the tea girl' by her colleagues and mainstream media. The type casting of a black woman as a maid is deeply rooted in a racist and gendered history where black women were seen as the help to their masters. In the case of Mazibuko, Helen Zille, a white woman who was the head of the Democratic Alliance, was represented as Mazibuko's 'master'.

The black feminist critique of representation of black women in the media is founded on the struggle to resist oppression. Black feminists employ the theory as a means to produce social analyses, which places emphasis on gender as a component of power relations in society. The black feminists argue that the media is important in the reconstruction of ideologies, and subsequently, gender socialization.

The research report will echo the black feminist critique, however, it will use its understanding of representation, gender, and the media and make it relevant to contemporary frameworks.

It is important to note, however, that this school does not privilege gender and white women over the social slots or intimate experience, such as race and class (hooks, 1990; Dines, 1995; Dines & Humez, 2003).

'Black feminist scholars have acknowledged the neglect which women of color, specifically black women, have experienced through their selective inclusion in the writings of feminist cultural analysis (hooks, 1990; Bobo & Seiter, 1991; Valdivia, 1995). Black feminism positions itself as critical social theory (Hill Collins, 2004) and is not a set of abstract principles but of ideas that come directly from the historical and con- temporary experience of black women.'

Black feminists have been vocal in their critique of mainstream media and their dark depictions of black women (Bobo, 1995; Hill Collins, 2000, 2004; hooks, 1992; Lubiano, 1992; Manatu, 2003; McPhail, 1996; Perry, 2003). They challenge the media portrayals of black women as matriarchs, jezebels, and welfare mothers. Author and thinker bell hooks (1992) contends that black female representation in the media "determines how blackness and people are seen and how other groups will respond to us based on their relation to these constructed images" (p. 5).

Hudson (1998) and Hill Collins (2000, 2004) both advance the notion that media images of black women are a result of dominant racial, gender, and class ideologies. Echoing hooks' discussion of representation, Hudson (1998) argues that "these stereotypes simultaneously reflect and distort both the ways in which black women view themselves (individually and collectively) and the ways in which they are viewed by others" (p. 249).

Tamale (2001) In African Sexualities: A Reader, uses pop culture to assess the what, why, how question around the topic of African sexualities which informs the reader about the diverse nature of or sexualities and womanhood- its stigmas, practices, transgressions and abuses. Concurrently, Tamale interrogates assumptions and hegemonic gender based discourses.

Tamale's work is interesting in that it concerns itself with the metaphoric or less tangible ideas of femininity. These ideas lend themselves to notion that the representations of women political leaders in comparison to male political leaders are contradictory in a more nuanced manner. This site of contradiction is littered with imagery and language used by the media which gives it contextual form. Feminization of political leaders, from this perspective, are navigated by language devices such as irony and parody because of its clear contradictions, wavelengths and power which freezes woman political leaders into social and political spaces through panel codification and invisible alliances with socio-political authorities and cultures (Tamale, 2001).

The media serves as a space where feminization is reproduced. This is made most obvious by the methods it uses when exploring subject matters related to sex. The South African media is no different in its reproduction of the feminine and masculine by using language, images and framing. For example, Minister Nomvula Mokonyane and Minister have both made front page headlines for their relationships and infidelity. However, media coverage of Gigaba

mainly used images of his wife and mistress whilst the opposite was visible for Mokonyane, who was depicted alone on front pages whilst her male lovers where not the focal point. It is evident the women become the focal point of the media's coverage with issues related to sex, whilst males are exonerated.

Through studying Tamale's work, it is evident that the lack of subversion or resistance to representing black women leaders in political leadership speaks to how sexualities, gender identities and leadership are mapped by the media. This offers 'expansions of these issues and excavate the political origins and social consequences of the politics of gender in Africa" (Tamale, 2001).

Language as Representation

Stuart Hall (1996) postulates that identity is defined and accessible in language. Many scholars have made convincing arguments on the inextricable relationship between language and identity. Annamarie van Niekerk, (1998) has drawn parallels between the manner in which systems of dominance mark female bodies through the language. Therefore, investigating language and representation through the use of language requires multiple formations which power systems are resisted, constructed, driven and subverted in and through linguistic agency- despite these linguistic devices not being free from the dominance which give them form.

South Africa is burdened by the happenings of patriarchy. Patriarchal language still dictates the manner in which we oppose it.

The language of patriarchal definition, although a historically erased movement in South Africa, has always been present, making the language of patriarchy a disputed arena. The ANC Women's League and Umkhonto weSizwe, for example, recognized the need to form a movement separate from male influence in order to unpack female identities and reclaim womanhood.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission provide a site where the subaltern can speak despite the site of contradiction. Much has been theorized about this site which sought to neutralize a brutal past through public trial of the construction of memory (Asmal, Asmal and

Roberts 1996, Baderoon 1997, Gqola 2000, Krog 1998, Liebenberg and Zegeye 1998, Motsemme and Ratele forthcoming, Prins forthcoming, Soyinka.1999).

There are many fractures caused by the physical and psychological history of South Africa. The violence and inequality are ongoing parts of women's lives in this country. These violence is still reoccurring through media platforms despite an altered political context. Albeit the assumption of equality through political reforms and constitutional rights, women issues cannot be simply footnoted and assumed that equality has occurred. In studying the climate which permits for women to be violated or experience a social death as a result of media coverage, the drafting of a gender fair constitution should have left a valuable legacy which lifts the burden of violence (Goldbratt and Meintjies, 1996)

"The project of memory-making is not one of retrieval. Rather, it is constructed through language subject to processes of reduction, distortion and selection 'to sanction the interpretation to which it is meant to contribute' (White 1978:107). The safeguarding of memory is therefore selective and implicated in power. When the 'truth' of 'reconciliation' is privileged, 'other possibilities about the same past get repressed, transformed, marginalized, forgotten or silenced" (Motsemme and Ratele, 2000)

Michele Wallace (1990) In *The Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman* concerns herself with blasting the masculine biases of black politics that arose from the 60s. Wallace, in Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman was the vanguard who spoke wrote provocatively about patriarchal culture. She described the marginalization of women by the patriarchal culture in the Black Power movement, showing ways in which a real female subjectivity was deliberately hindered by the old-age myths of black womanhood.

Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman is a text that lent vocabulary to a grammarless experience of black women bore after the civil rights movement failed to protect intersections of the movement as a result of black men reifying their manhood in the eyes of white society.

Wallace makes the argument that the 'black macho' oratory of the civil rights movement deliberately marginalized black women by placing them as the 'trope' "independent black woman", which was seen as an obstacle to the black man's masculinity.

Wallace is important as she meditates extensively on the image of black womanhood, which is rid of any vulnerability and exempt from weakness. Wallace argues that black women are created, and their creation is ordered around independence and strength: being a 'superwoman', with an inordinate strength that outpaces that of white women and even most men. (Wallace, 1980)

However, Wallace does not trace what the consequences are of making black women tropes in the civil rights movement and beyond, Thus, it is unclear how gendered representation of black women compared to black men directed or re-directed history. Her problem statement leaves a gap which the research report seeks to fill.

Staples (1980), in 'The myth of black Matriarch' argues that black women's objective reality in a society is related directly to her womanhood within patriarchal confines, where the cause is the consequence. The cause being her gender, and the consequence being socio-economic exploitation. She faces a situation of a lack of black men because of their extraction from black communities by circulation by America's neo-colonialist wars, railroaded into prisons, or killed by the conditions in the ghetto.

Thus, Staples argues that it is incorrect to label black women as matriarchs. Staples stipulates that this is a method to make the victim the criminal as the label contradicts the empirical objective reality of their status. (Staples, 1970)

Staples does not dissect her findings to fit a contemporary context. Moreover, Staples work is more committed to understanding femininity and power on a private level (what happens inside of a household and a lower class level). Therefore, Staples findings towards how black women are represented may be fallible, as the scholar does not study black women from the assumption that she has socio-economic prowess.

Media sexism and Media Gaze

Media sexism can be categorized into several slots which are better understood through a media literature lens. The first media theory is: media bias theory'. Media bias theory is used by Lavery (2013) and concludes that media frames individuals differently according to gender thus presenting and excluding date to the public in gendered ways. The second media

bias is ‘gendered mediation theses. Ibroscheva and Raicheva-Stover (2009) state that the media agenda is patriarchal by nature, thus giving privilege and preference to male-as-norm within the political arena. ‘Wright and Holland (2014) make the case that the media is a gendered regulator, covering female political leaders differently to male political leaders. These scholars argue further that specific roles are projected onto female and male political leaders which put women in a double bind where the female leader must choose between binary oppositions of embracing their femininity as is expected by patriarchal norms, or portraying masculine traits to allude to power (p.456).

Concurrently, it can be deduced that the media represents women through the reproduction social of norms. The theory of medialization states that media impacts the power distribution in society because the actors in society, to increasing degrees — both individual people and institutions — adapt themselves to the media’s way of working and thinking, and the conditions media sets” (Asp, 2011, p.151 [self-translation]). The agenda of the media can thus be put into question as the media drives how female political leaders are evaluated.

Again, the case which compares Minister Gigaba and Minister Mokonyane as seen above rings true to Wright and Holland’s (2014) theory. These theories suggest that the media favors existing hierarchies and projects its themes on political leaders. The question of what should be shown; of whom and how, has a reoccurring impact has on how society develops as well as how society views black female political leaders in comparison to black male political leaders.

Using the theories discussed it can be summarized that the media has the power to direct and redirect our perceptions and realities. Media can mirror co-opt sexist societal norms by for example “showing less women in the news categories where women are underrepresented in real life, and thereby strengthen the norms and values that exclude women from these roles. In democracies with women’s rights legally upheld, this could limit women’s ability to move past social barriers” Wright and Holland (2014). By publishing stereotypes and objectifying women, media can highlight that women and femininity are less desirable for politics.

Media Sexism and The Media Gaze

The media can be harshly critiqued in that the media may publish content without outlining or declaring its underlying agenda or intent. The 'gaze' includes:

> The process through which the media (and media actors) construct media-centric images of the world by framing social reality in a manner consistent with media values, norms, priorities and interests. In the process, information is framed in a way that draws attention to some aspects of reality and away from others by encouraging a preferred reading consistent with a prevailing media gaze (Fleras, 2011, p. 37).

According to Robinson and Saint-Jean (1991) make the case that the traditional style of the media focused largely on biology as a rational basis for discrimination, therefore, presenting women as biologically 'different' while also coupling that fact with the language of 'first' or the 'token' in predominantly male political spaces. This heightened the 'otherness' of women political leaders sending the message of un-belonging. However, in contemporary periods, we have seen the restriction of women's public participation to issues to that which is usually associated with women such as: women and children's issues, welfare, and education.
Narrow representation is a method which regulates the professions backgrounds, interests and capabilities of women in a limited category. In spite of having similar or even better qualifications than her male counterparts, in relation to politics, management and experience women are still understood or presented to be the 'other' in politics which makes their biological difference coupled with social expectations the focal point of their volubility.

Robinson & Saint-Jean's study exposes how stereotypes work as normalizing perceived social contradictions between women's biology and political leadership. The first stereotypes such as 'the wife of', and/or other family related designations places emphasis on making women politicians gender bound. For example, Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma was presented within the role of being Jacob Zuma's ex-wife, thus, she was not presented as an individual who has power and political will in her own right. Instead, the focal point of her run to become the President of the ANC linked her to her former husband and who was, during the period of her race, the President of the ANC.
The second set of stereotypes according to Robinson and Saint-Jean, (1991) aim to portray female politicians' sexuality is a negative manner. Here, her personal life becomes public. By

emphasizing phrases such as ‘spinster and club-woman’ and the lack of fulfilment of social rules also makes her personal life political.

Representation

Representation has identifiable double meanings according to Murdock (1999). The first meaning of representation is that rhetorical and ideological method of how ‘something is described and how something appears’. The second meaning of representation is the solid action of representing someone though speaking on behalf of the individual or group. Although the two aspects are closely linked and run parallel to one another, for the purpose of this research paper, focus will be laced on the first meaning of representation which aims to understand how women politicians are represented in the media.

Because of the many hindrances and prejudices imposed by gender specific media representation it becomes imperative for female politicians to strategically take their identities into their own hand by defining their own image or their self-presentation (Bystrom et al. 2004 p.9). However, it must be noted that self-presentation is intertwined with the cultural representation of social categories that the individual belongs to. The sociologist Erving Goffman (1973) describes self-presentation as “a theatre where people are actors who try to convey an impression to others which is in their interest to get across.” However, this agency is limited as only the audience can determine what they believe to be real and true.

French theorists Roland Barthes studies the meanings in images. In Barthian semiotics, the first theme is understood as the denotative layer or more as more commonly referred to, the signifier. The second conceptual theme is known as the connotative layer or also known as the signified. For the theorist, the signifier and the signified regulate myths which lend themselves to societies perceptions on gender (Bignell, 1997). Therefore, semiotics has the ability to reveal the ways in which images and the myths attached to them are circulated by the media and lend itself to the research projects question around the theme of representation.

Chang and Hitchon’s (1997) gender schema theory highlights the agency afforded to women and its limitations;

“There are expectations and attributes connected to a person’s gender, and when the performance of the person matches these expectations it will be more likely to have an impact on the audience” (Hitchon, 1997)

Theoretical approaches

The project is informed my various theoretical approaches and interests. The approaches provide an ontological and theoretical viewpoint which lends language for resolving the research question because media related discourse usually relates to linguistic and sociolinguistic analysis, conversation analyses, cultural generic analyses, and social-cognitive analyses (Fairclough, 1995). The report relates to five theoretical approaches, namely; social constructivism, representation, gender theory, discursive approach, and semiotic approach. The approaches and interests are outlined below.

Social constructivism

This is an ontological viewpoint of my research paper. Social constructivism, at its most basic description is that the world is a constructed socially. The perception of social order and morality etc. are fluid concepts which are formed by social constructivism. Meaning is thus constructed through interactions and language which is continuously shifting (Bryman 2008, p. 19-20).

‘It is social actors who use the conceptual systems of their culture and the linguistic and other representational systems to construct meaning, to make the world meaningful and to communicate about that world meaningfully to others” (Hall, 1997).

Representation analysis is the most relevant form of constructivism for this research project (Marsh & Stoker, 2010). What is interesting in this thesis then is the social construction of men and women: how gender is perceived and reflected in the media.

The Semiotic Approach

“Semiotics is the study of signs that convey particular meanings and messages. More specifically, visual semiotic analysis asks ‘the questions of representation (what do images Represent and how?) and the question of the “hidden meanings” of images (what ideas and values do the people, places and things represented in images stand for?)” (van Leeuwen, 2001).

This approach speaks to the meaning of language. This approach considers the analysis of text as imperative function in cultural analyses of the media (Lacey 2000, p. 238. Fairclough 1995, p. 24). Language is a function created to assign meaning. There are many ways in which language can reflect meaning: images, sounds, and written words.
This signifier in this context is the word, image or photo of the object and the signified is the object itself. For example, the image of a walkman is a signifier, whereas the signified is the concept (Hall 1997, p. 30-31).

Language, through imagery and written form is the most relevant for this research report. The use of language, in the case of this research project, is interesting to study as it functions as a means to and end which enables gendered representations in the media. The semiotic approach goes on to beg the question how gender is constructed through language in the South African media. In this sense, it is an impactful tool that links to my research endeavor of studying how black women in political leadership are represented in the South African media in comparison to black men in political leadership today.

The Discursive Approach

This approach does not totally disregard language. However, it is more interested in the production of language and meaning. This approach indirectly speaks to power and knowledge which is historically connected (Hall,1997).

The discursive approach is relevant to the research report as it traces the functionality of language. The discursive approach activates what could be passive words or imagery as seen in multi-media. The discursive approach prescribes meaning, thus enabling the research project to engage on how language becomes gendered as a consequence of power relations, knowledge and history. This approach would thus draw parallels between gender, power and history, which impacts representation.

Gender Concepts

Gender systems are central to understanding feminist theory. Gayle Rubin makes the assertion that sex/gender system are "the set of arrangements by which a society transforms biological sexuality into products of human activity, and in which these transformed sexual

needs are satisfied" (Rubin, 1975)

The gender system is built on two logical assumptions. The first is the separation of the sexes (difference) and the second is the male dominance or norm (hierarchy).These logics are then upheld by what Hirdman metaphorically calls the gender contract, stating that women and men are born into and formed by the gender system (Norlander, 2003). There is a problem of terminology in the debate about how gender differences in media representation should be described.

Khan uses the concept 'sex stereotypes' which she defines as "a cognitive structure of inferential relations that ink personal attributes, behaviors and beliefs to the social categories male and female" (Khan, 1996).

Chang and Hitchon construct the idea of; gender schemas' to name the conceptual structure society uses to understand "traits, activities and behaviors traditionally associated with men or women" (Chang and Hitchon, 1997).

These concepts are useful for different reasons; 'stereotypes' can be useful in that is describes the social categories male and female whilst 'frames' describes how media houses make use of these categories, 'schemas' is useful in that is enables one to understand how the individual forges an understanding of male and female. However, at closer inspection it is clear that all these concepts fit into the logic of hierarchy and differences.

Hirdams gender system as described above can thus be viewed as a holistic framework.

Chapter Three

Research Methodology

This research report qualitatively investigates media prejudices relating to how black women in political leadership are represented in comparison to black men. The main elements of my research design are descriptive and correlational research design, which are done by implementing qualitative research methods. This is to study the relationship between the themes of the research report using broad-scale content analyses, through expanding on existing work and filling the gaps of knowledge where they presented themselves. The project is driven by conceptual understanding of political theories such as gender.

It is important to note that gender media prejudices are a global phenomenon. The outcomes of the media biases according to gender may vary as a result of context; depending, for example, if a state is more conservative or liberal. However, to engage thoroughly with my research paper I focus on South Africa as case study.

For the aim of the report, the most suitable method is a comparative analysis, using discourse analyses as a tool to gather and analyze data which seems adequate in solving the research question. Media related discourse usually relates to linguistic and sociolinguistic analysis, conversation analyses, cultural generic analyses, and social-cognitive analyses (Fairclough,1995). The report relates to five theoretical approaches, namely; social constructivism, representation, gender theory, discursive approach, and semiotic approach.

Gathering Data:

In this research report I do not falsify or verify theories, but instead, I draw out the differences in representation in the media. In this instance, I gather data through engaging multi-media content which is related to my research topic.
This method of engaging and gathering data does, however, presents limitations. For one, there is a large amount of media content to study, so there is no direct or single way of conducing one method of investigation. It then becomes necessary for me to create a method to collect data.

Method of collecting data

The coding method can be found below and in appendix 1. A challenge in conducting this research has been to design variables that were functional for all the different types of media types. The coding method is constructed by using an open coding method. This is to say that all articles and images were analyzed in a consistent manner by using all the possible signifiers for each political personality: Facial expression, clothing, body language, framing, focus, and camera angle. Thereafter, the signifiers will assist in forming qualitative data. As mentioned above, these signifiers are then related to five theoretical approaches, namely; social constructivism, representation, gender theory, discursive approach, and semiotic approach.

Coding Method:

1. I methodologically investigated key political leaders across different party lines in South Africa. i.e. EFF/DA/ANC.

2. I studied the media responses to women leaders compared to male leaders by studying the medias response to their personalities and positionality. i.e.) Julius Malema vs Hellen Zille

3. Analysis: I made assumptions.
4. I substantiated the assumptions whilst focusing on thematic concerns. Ex. Minister. Gigaba's affairs were treated lightly because he functions within the economy of practice which says that it is okay for men to have multiple women.

Coding the data made the process of investigation clearer.

Analytical framework

In order to answer the research question most accurately and coherently four major media outlets were used to make an analysis. The four media hubs are South Africa's biggest

distributors, meaning that they create content regularly and are widely read by South Africa's Moreover, the media hubs are interested in political matters in the country as well as the counties leaders.

The report studied how black women in political leadership are represented in comparison to how black men are represented in the South African media using Media24 as well as M&G Media as the main media distributors.

Media24

Media24 owns *The Daily Sun*. *The Daily Sun* has a daily circulation of over 500 000 and readership of 7.7-million, while Media24's other as listed outlets as seen above (other than twitter) have a circulation of over 800 000. The company's weekly urban newspapers are responsible for a circulation of about 1.4-million a week; the community newspaper division accounts for 1.3-million a week.

With regards to its space on the internet, 24.com , was set up in the year. 24.com gives a variety of online services, such as careers, classifieds, property, politics and instant messaging, blogs and photo albums. Media24 also owns News24.com, the most popular news site in South Africa.

M&G Media

M&G Media's target market is the more serious reader. *The Mail & Guardian's* Audit Bureau of Circulation number sit at approximately 58 000 weekly sales and its readership is 500 000 adults of all races. (Statistics South Africa, 2016)

Social Media

With a total population of 55,21 million people in South Africa, the Urbanisation rate is 66%. Within that, 28,6 million (52%) people use the Internet in some for different benefits. However, 15 million users make use of social media platforms, with the penetration rate being 27% of the total population. (Statistics South Africa, 2016)

The chosen media outlets content is engaged by all classes, genders and races. For instance, the Daily Sun has mainly a black readership. It is important to gage if there are any inconsistences with how black women political leaders are represented in the media in comparison to black male political leaders by engaging with media hubs that every type of

South African engages with - from every strata in South Africa in order to get an accurate result.

-News24- Online media
-IOL News- Online media
-City Press- Print and online newspaper
-Daily Sun- Gossip newspaper
-Mail & Guardian- Print media
-Twitter- Social Media

Application

Six political leaders (three case scenarios) were used to answer the research question. The research paper studied how black women political leaders are represented in the media in comparison to how black men political leaders are represented. The comparisons were studied as follows:

1. *Emphasis of Role and an Under Emphasis on Qualifications*
   Presidential candidates for the African National Conference Elective Conference (2017-2018)

   Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma vs. Cyril Ramaphosa

2. *Physical Appearance*
   Top leadership in the Democratic Alliance and the Economic Freedom Fighters and Members of Parliament.

   Lindiwe Mazibuko and Mbuyiseni Dlozi

3. *Misconduct*
   Members of Parliament

   Malusi Gigaba , Nomvula Makonyane

Method of Analyzing Data

In order to sustain the mythological aspects of the report I focused on particular signifiers for each political personality: Facial expression, clothing, body language, framing, focus, and camera angle. These signifiers will assist in forming qualitative data. Furthermore, I used the categories to assist in making deductive assumptions for the research hypothesis: images, newspaper headlines, direct quotes and social media comments. I use newspaper articles which have received the most hits, I used quotes taken from articles with the most hits as well as social media comments with the most likes, shares, or retweets.

Ethical Discussion

The research report does concern itself with political figures. However, the information provided by the paper about the individuals is information that is already available for public consumption.

Secondary Sources: Sources included existing work on theories related to race, gender, and media biases. The sources were taken from three main sources which fall under M&G Media and Media24: print media (newspapers), online media, and social media. Emphasis was put on sources from print media such as newspapers. Moreover, imagery assisted in driving the research report, particularly work from satirists or cartoonist in print media as this enabled one to derive how black women political leaders are represented in the media in comparison to men.

Chapter Four:

Analysis, Interpretation of findings, recommendations and conclusions

1. Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma and Cyril Ramaphosa: Presidential Candidates for the ANC

Timeframe:

The ANC Elective Conference which took place on December 2017.

(Characters): Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma, Cyril Ramaphosa

Description of Events:

The relationship both parties have with President Jacob Zuma is relevant as both Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma and Cyril Ramaphosa's proximity to Jacob Zuma yet it is understood and represented differently. Nominations driven by ANC branches reflected a tight race between Cyril Ramaphosa and Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma. The party's 54th national conference was to be held at Nasrec where the President of the African National Congress is to be ushered in. At the end of the week-long conference, the results were as follows:

Results: ANC top 6 post elective conference:

1. President: Cyril Ramaphosa
2. Deputy president: David Mabuza
3. National chairperson: Gwede Mantashe
4. Secretary general: Ace Magashule
5. Deputy secretary general: Jessie Duarte
6. Treasurer general: Paul Mashatile

Analysis:

Emphasis of Role and an Under Emphasis on Qualifications.

According to Robinson and Saint-Jean (1991) the media focuses on stories in a way that undervalues a women's capacity and her qualifications in the political profession. In the media, this traditional narrative style involves a restriction on the topic assignment which in turn marginalizes women politicians. This style of narrative links in with the media's portrayal of Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma, a visible back runner in the run up to the ANC Presidential race. The majority of the media coverage concerned Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma's ex-husband whilst Cyril Ramaphosa mentions were centered around his professional qualifications and capabilities.

'Wife of'

As previously analyzed, the gender system is built on logical norms, one being the separation of the sexes (difference) and the other is the male dominance or norm (hierarchy).These norms are then upheld by what scholar Hirdman metaphorically calls the gender contract, stating that women and men are born into and formed by the gender system (Norlander, 2003) such as in the case of Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma.

Familial relationship designation stereotypes, according to Robinson and Saint Jean (1991) and the construction of black female politicians as 'the wife of', portrays women politicians in relation to men, therefore they are understood to be appendages to their more powerful husband. Women are therefore being viewed through a family lens despite their individuality and their role in the political arena. For example, the portrayal of Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma. The average number of articles covering her in the ANC Presidential Conference is 123, of those articles, Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma was the main subject in less than half of those articles, whilst the majority of the articles portrayed her as a secondary matter or subject. Of the articles about her that made newspaper headlines in her entire race coverage, a majority stereotyped her as an incidental subject rather than the main subject with a visible explicit reference to her relationships or spousal history.

Many scholars made the argument that a headline 'imparts to the reader an overall idea of the story that follows to summarize the story's most important information' (Henry & Tator, 2002, p. 75). Therefore, headlines do not only place emphasis on the most important topic but they also activate the chosen social knowledge that the reader needs in order to understand and place the story within a familiar context. An analysis could be made that the articles

portraying Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma showed that less than half of the articles had her name in the headline. Of these articles, majority of them had her name attached to Jacob Zuma in the context of their former and current relationship and her role in his life as his former wife. For instance, an article in News24 states: NDZ 'offended' by claims of her aiming to protect Zuma from prosecution". This was one of the final articles to come out before the voting of President for the ANC. It enabled the narrative that Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma is an appendage to Jacob Zuma.

In *Writing in Uganda and South Africa: Emerging Writers from Post-Regressive Regimes* Lydia Spencer (2014) articulates the politicization of the public and private space with emphasis on how the personal is political. The scholar offers a critique of how hegemonic narratives morph into a form of gendered nationalism visible in how Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma is represented in the South African media through stereotypes, linear gender binaries and emphasis on personal life, her relationship with men, and physical appearance rather than her professional qualifications.

Image

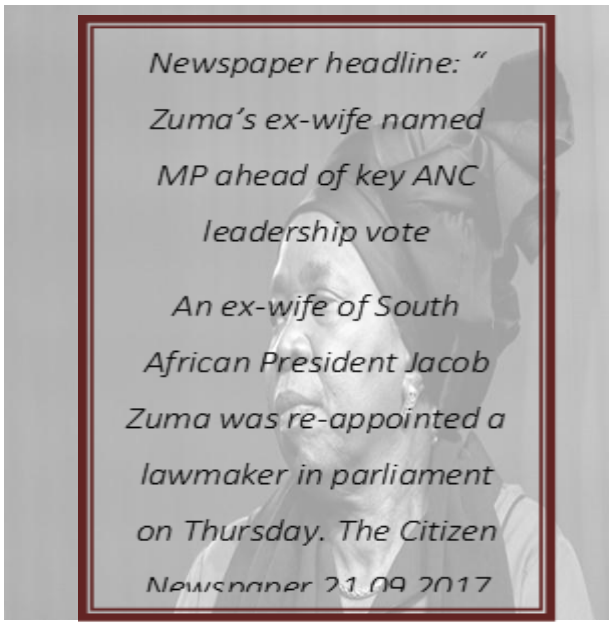


Figure 1. Njanji (2017)



Figure 2. Zapiro (2017)

Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma is inextricably linked to her ex-husband Jacob Zuma. This is evident in The Citizen's newspaper article which refers to Dlamini Zuma as Jacob Zumas ex-wife, negating to mention Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma's name. This gendered erasure is possible as Dlamini Zuma- throughout her presidential campaign struggled to form her own

individual identity because of how her contribution to South Africa was regulated through the media. The misrepresentation of Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma came at the expense of her credentials in the political arena being footnoted.

Contrary, Cyril Ramaphosa's proximity is not put into question in the image above. Both Dlamini Zuma and Ramaphosa are close to Jacob Zuma in proximity, however, the response to said proximity is treated differently. For instance, in the image above, Ramaphosa is positioned as a hero who does not have to work hard in order to prove that he is worth of being elected as president. This is made obvious by the print on the image which states "Hard to get excited when the bar is so low." Despite Ramaphosa leading under the Zuma administration- he is made a martyr who is exonerated from Zuma's wrong doings whereas Dlamini Zuma is publicly lynched under the same circumstance. The loss of individual identity for Dhlamini Zuma jumps at you, whilst Ramaphosa is still seen as an individual.
These newspaper article headlines were taken from around the same period. Moreover, the headlines are interested in the same subject matter, which is the ANC presidential campaign at the ANC Elective Conference.

This stereotyping of women by the media theoretically validated by the Global Media Monitoring Project (2010) which states:

"Women are more likely than men to be represented as students and homemakers in media, while in all other professions, men are more likely to be represented as leaders and captains of industry. These differences cannot simply be explained by the media mirroring the composition of societies."

Newspaper Headlines

Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma	**Cyril Ramaphosa**
NDZ 'offended' by claims of her aiming to protect Zuma from prosecution"- news24 2017-08-29 14:20 / Writer not shown	"No going back for presidential hopeful Ramaphosa"- news24 2017-08-06 06:01 / Hlengiwe Nhlabathi
"ANC Women's League believes men used Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma" – Mail &	"ANC dirty campaign hits" Ramaphosa- IOL 14 August 2017, 06:19AM / Luyolo

Guardian 19 Dec 2017 16:32 / Dineo Bendile	Mkentane and George Matlala
"I'm my own woman, says Dlamini Zuma" – The Star 8 May 2017, 08:22AM / Japhet Ncube	"What does Ramaphosa's victory mean for South Africa's economy?"- Mail & Guardian 25 Dec 2017 10:12 / Owen Skae
Dlamini Zuma: 'I'm not just Zuma's ex'- The New Age Online 17 August 2017 / Mbali Sibiya	"Cyril, he's a man of the people" - Mail & Guardian 20 Dec 2017 / Tebogo Tshwane

Table 1

The number of times in which Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma is placed as a secondary subject in the newspaper headlines is telling of the gendered nature of media representation. For instance, in the samples provided above, Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma is placed in conjunction to another subject. In her case, the other subject is either the men in the African National Congress or her ex-husband, Jacob Zuma.

In contrast, the media reports on Cyril Ramaphosa according to his individual capabilities or his relationship with the event being reported on. There is therefore more emphasis on his individual personality, qualification, and capability in comparison to the media coverage received by Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma.

In the newspaper headlines it is evident that the gendering of black female political leaders is framed differently from black male political leaders. In the case of Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma, she is closely linked to her former husband, President Jacob Zuma. The media's lack of interest in her credentials is prominent in how her former relationship dominates the headlines. Language such as "I am not just Zuma's ex' from widely read print media suggests that the narrative surrounding Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma during the period of her campaign was directed towards her former relationship with President Jacob Zuma.

The representation of black women in political leadership in comparison to the representation of black male leadership in the media differs. In this case in point, the representation of female leadership is one that is dependent on her relationship with men as well as her personal matters whereas the opposite is true for the male political leader.

Newspaper headline published by News24 is suggestive of the fact that Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma faced frustration with the way in which her campaign was being covered by the media. The headline reads: "NDZ 'offended' by claims of her aiming to protect Zuma from prosecution." Yet, the same publication represented Presidential hopeful Cyril Ramaphosa in a different light. News24 did not personalize Ramaphosa as a political figure. Therefore, Ramaphosa is afforded the privilege of being represented as an ahistorical figure who is not linked to anyone or any former scandal. Instead, his campaign for Presidency is foregrounded above all else. The headline reads: "No going back for presidential hopeful Ramaphosa"- (News24, 2017-08-06 06:01 / Hlengiwe Nhlabathi)

Moreover, when Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma is the matter of subject on a headline, she is not the matter of subject independently from men in the African National Congress. For instance, the Mail & Guardian reported on Nkosazana Dlamini's loss at the ANC Electoral Conference and again men were centered around the political figure. The headline reads: "ANC Women's League believes men used Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma" – Mail & Guardian 19 Dec 2017 16:32 / Dineo Bendile

The tone of newspaper headlines is also, to an extent, a gendered nuance. By studying the above newspaper headlines, a comparative analysis between Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma and Cyril Ramaphosa highlights the following;

Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma

Negative tone /language: 3
Positive tone/language: 1
Number of time Dlamini Zuma was the independent focus in relation to the campaign and the candidate's capabilities and qualifications: 0

Cyril Ramaphosa

Negative tone/language: 1

Positive tone/language: 3

Number of time Dlamini Zuma was the independent focus in relation to the campaign and the candidates capabilities/ qualifications.

Direct Quotes

Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma	**Cyril Ramaphosa**
It was the plan all along," said an ANC national working committee member in Dlamini Zuma's camp. "We spoke about the fact that baba [Zuma] is considering leaving before his presidential term is up, probably after the December conference. He is avoiding this thing of two centres of power, so we need her to be a parliamentarian to take over from him." news24 2017-08-29, 14:20	"Today people, rich or poor, know the difference between what is right and wrong. Therefore, I don't care about those who are buying votes. We won't be part of those buying votes," Motlatsi is one of 12 campaign managers in the Ramaphosa camp
"Men did not lift the candidate up, they used her as a ladder, that one we are not shy to say. They used her as ladder for themselves. It's our demonstration to you, to say this is how patriarchy has reared its ugly head in our society," said women's league spokesperson Toko Xasa.	"The irony is that it was Zuma who revived Ramaphosa's political career when it seemed dead and buried. Without Zuma's blessing, Ramaphosa would not have been elected ANC deputy president by the party's national conference in 2012." - S'thembiso Msomi. Mail & Guardian 19 Dec 2017 16:32 / Dineo Bendile
"I am my own woman and I have worked hard to be here." "No amount of patriarchy will stop me from serving my people. I divorced him in 1998, when I was health minister, and long before he became president. He wasn't even deputy	

president. He was an MEC in KwaZulu-Natal. I was already in government and had a career for myself." – Nkosazana Dhlamini Zuma	

Table 2

Again, when studying the direct quotes, it is evident that most of the narratives surrounding Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma is closely related to President Jacob Zuma. If her association with Jacob Zuma is not put into question, the conversation shifts towards her relationship with men in the ANC who speak on giving her directive. Language used in the headlines such as "No amount of patriarchy will stop me" and "men in the ANC did not lift the candidate up" exposed the consistent gendering of the subject.

Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma's quotes suggest that she is speaking back to accusations related to her personal life. In this case, her personal and professional life are put into question which backgrounds her ability to be the ANC President whilst foregrounding her relationship with Jacob Zuma and the patriarchy embedded in the African National Congress. Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma finds herself having to explain her social and professional position in order to highlight that she is her own women and that she is qualified for the job at hand.

"I am my own woman and I have worked hard to be here." "No amount of patriarchy will stop me from serving my people. I divorced him in 1998, when I was health minister, and long before he became president. He wasn't even deputy president. He was an MEC in KwaZulu-Natal. I was already in government and had a career for myself." – Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma

In contrast, quotes published by media house for Cyril Ramaphosa were more centred around the campaign itself rather than Ramaphosa's personal relationships. A case in point, in the quote below, the media quoted Cyril Ramaphosa's campaign manager which frames the narrative related to Cyril Ramaphosa's campaign around the Elective Conference rather than Ramaphosa's social positionality.

"Today people, rich or poor, know the difference between what is right and wrong. Therefore, I don't care about those who are buying votes. We won't be part of those buying votes," Motlatsi is one of 12 campaign managers in the Ramaphosa camp

Social Media

Fikile Mbalula @MbalulaFikile JUST voted for the mother princess NDZ #HistoryBeckons Dedication to all women #womenpower Malibongwe!!! 4:21 AM – Mbalula (2017)
Jackson Mthembu @JacksonMthembu_ Voted for @DPRamaphosa and other five incorruptible leaders @MYANC Conference . My vote is to save @MYANC and my country . We must !! 3:00 AM – Mthembu (2017)
Tumi Sole @tumisole #ANC54 #ANCElectiveConference #CountryDuty We can't ignore the fact that the leadership elected thus far are males! 7:10 PM – Sole (2017)

Table 3

Social Media uses language which feminizes black female political leaders, whilst assimilating into the social norms of hyper-masculinity. Fikile Mbalula's tweet refers to Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma as a 'mother princess', subscribing her to female roles or typecasts. He then goes on to use gendered hashtags such as #womenpower and dedicated Dlamini Zuma's potential win to all women.

Again, the gendered nature of social media visible when Tumi Sole tweets that it is hard to ignore that the leadership elected are all males. This shows how the socio-political arena is

gendered and it thus filters down to how social media is uses and narratives around gender in social media is formulated.



Figure 3

Image: ANC mentions from 1 October to 24 November 2017: Data provided by Crimson Hexagon and analysed by WordStart.

Data provided to WordStart by Crimson Hexagon shows a total of 15,565 posts about the ANC, across all media platforms between the dates 1 October and 24 November 2017. Digital news media platforms (49%) and Twitter (38%) led in molding public sentiment and in navigating discussions. The remaining 13 % of mentions came in from Instagram, Facebook, blogs and other platforms.

Moreover, October's data reflects that the ANC only contributes a small fraction of the most influential social media content where the message is very quickly taken over by news

platforms, and opposition parties, mostly the official opposition to the governing part, the Democratic Alliance (DA), who are quick to reveal their thoughts. September data shows a comparatively similar picture, with the ANC nowhere to be found among the top-20, most influential and vocal sources of ANC social media content. Looking at previous months from June, in order to draw comparisons and follow the various presidency campaigns, we see that the public gets most of its candidate material from the news media. Again, this strengthens the picture of a divided ANC or on a potential winner for the ANC Elective Conference.
News of the elective conference, ongoing disputes in the party, Jacques Pauw's book, The President's Keepers, and OR Tambo, were the most prevalent topics discussed in relation to Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma's run for Presidency.

The various news media platforms contributed 7,699 posts out of the total of 15,565. Most of these were engrossed on campaign issues, corruption charges against the president as well as the 2019 elections.

Case Study 2:
Lindiwe Mazibuko and Mbuyiseni Ndlozi

Timeframe:
2016

(Characters):
Lindiwe Mazibuko , Mbuyiseni Ndlozi

Description of Events:

Part of the top leadership for the opposition party, Dr Mbuyiseni Quintin Ndlozi is a South African politician and the spokesperson for the Economic Freedom Fighters. He is also the youngest member of the Economic Freedom Fighters in Parliament and s often referred to as 'The People's Bae'.

Lindiwe Mazibuko was a Member of Parliament for the official opposition party- the Democratic Alliance. She was one of the youngest member of parliament working under the

leadership of Hellen Zille. She has since exited South African politics to pursue further studies abroad. She has been dubbed as "The Tea Girl."

Analysis:

Physical Appearance

The media use physical appearance as another means of gendered mediation. The analysis of Lindiwe Mazibuko's physical portrayal, as also discussed in the portrayal of Nkosazana-Dlamini Zuma shows how the media links the appearance of women leaders to the feminine or wife like roles. This section of the paper expands on the examination of this theme in relation to the media portrayal of Member of Parliament Lindiwe Mazibuko in comparison to Mbuyiseni Ndlozi.

Theoretically, according to Ross (2010), the media often performs an affirmatory function in sealing dominant norms and values to the larger society. Media coverage, at time, goes beyond reporting on factual content by giving analysis and evaluations. Nesbitt (1996) postulates that political reporting includes selection, filtering, selection, as well as emphasis because media house cannot create content for political figures and events in their entirety due to space and time- this is the nature of fast passed media organizations.

Image:

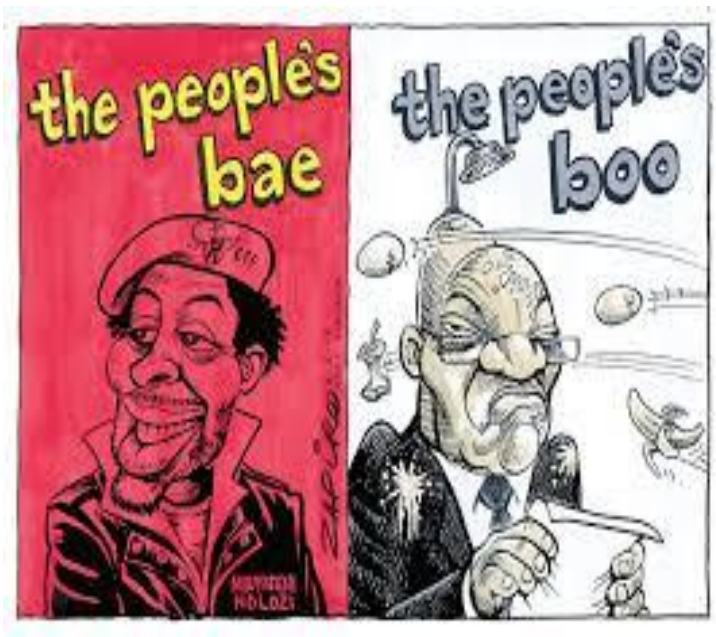




Figure 1 Figure 2

Lindiwe Mazibuko is depicted wearing a maid's outfit. Mazibuko's outfit is made to be provocative as she often dresses provocatively; her femininity is therefore foregrounded as a matter of importance in Mazibukos character. Mazibuko's leadership and decision to study abroad is also reduced to her being a 'tea-girl' to Hellen Zille. The inability to see Lindiwe has an independent and sound leader is put into question though the imagery which suggests that Mazibuko is a puppet who has long aimed to please her master.

In contrast, fellow parliamentarian Mbuyiseni Ndlozi architypes as 'The Peoples Bae'. Ndlozi's physical appearance is also foregrounded by the media, however, unlike Lindiwe Mazibuko, his beauty is celebrated rather than mocked by the media. The term 'the people's bae' also submits that Dlozi is loved by the nation. Ndlozi has a smug look on his face which reflects his comfort in South African politics as he in not ridiculed in a similar fashion has his female colleague. Unlike Mazibuko who is dressed in a maid's uniform, Ndlozi is wearing his EFF regalia with a popped collar. This shows his arrogance and constant reassurance of his position as a leader in South Africa. Moreover, Ndlozi looks away from the image whilst Jacob Zuma- who is his political superior stares enviously at Ndlozi. The power dynamics between superiors and inferiors are pertinent with both images. In Mazibuko's image- Zille is the dominant figure where is in Ndlozi's image, Ndlozi is the political figure in charge. This speaks to scholar Nesbitt's analysis which adds that political happenings and actors are mediated when content creator, editors, and journalists use "frames, methods, and stereotypes to ensure that the content is understandable, interesting and media 'worthy'. Scholars such as Khan (1996) and Norris (1997) introduce the idea of gender in media coverage.

Newspaper Headlines

Lindiwe Mazibuko	**Mbuyiseni Ddlozi**
"A brief look: Tannie Evita and the Tea Lady" – Daily Maverick 08 AUG 2011 09:16 / Carien du Plessis	"Even as a youngster, Dr Ndlozi wanted to change the world"- TimesLive 06 December 2017 - 11:05 / Naledi Shange

"Malema dubs DA's Mazibuko a 'tea girl'"- IOL News 20 MAY 2011, 4:08PM / Yadhana Jadoo	Say hello to Dr People's Bae" – eNCA Saturday 19 August 2017 - 7:27am / eNCA
"ANC defends Mazibuko 'weight' comment" - eNCA 13 June 2013 - 3:11pm / Benita Enoch	"Mbuyiseni Ndlozi posts cute pic amidst EFF protest" – News24, 2017-01-24

Table 1

The language used to describe Lindiwe Mazibuko is centered on her femininity, jolting her into stereotypes about women. The Daily Maverick refers to Mazibuko as 'the tea lady'. This is emphasized across South African media. For instance, around the same period, the Daily Maverick published an article about the politician and headlined it: "A brief look: Tannie Evita and the Tea Lady" – Daily Maverick, 08 AUG 2011 09:16 (SOUTH AFRICA / Carien du Plessis.

The media reproduces Mazibuko's femininity using different methods by not only inscribing gendered titles on the political figure, but by also reducing her political work by over-emphasizing their coverage on her physical appearance- not in a way which celebrates it, but in one that subjugates her into merely being a physical entity in a public space. For example, with Lindiwe Mazibuko, the article published in IOL News states: "Malema dubs DA's Mazibuko a 'tea girl"- IOL News, 2011. This portrayal of Lindiwe Mazibuko categorizes her and gives detailed descriptions about her appearance. Going into such fine detail to describe a Member of Parliaments appearance reduces her role within the political arena.

Direct Quotes

Lindiwe Mazibuko	

"We have no desire of playing fashion police in this institution, however, the inappropriate manner in which Mazibuko was dressed yesterday showed total lack of respect to the debate and the decorum of the House." - Spokesman Moloto Mothapo	“Meet Dr. Mbuyiseni Ndlozi!” - News24
"While the Honourable Mazibuko may be a person of substantial weight, her stature is questionable." - NC MP John Jeffery	Ndlozi wins 'Most Influential Young South African' award- IOL
ANC MP Buti Manamela also addressed Mazibuko, criticising her attire as inappropriate and irresponsible for a role model	The 32-year-old, who is the youngest MP for the EFF, may have strayed from his dream of being a psychologist but he has certainly made a mark.- TimesLive

Table 2

In the quotes below which focuses on Mazibuko’s physical appearance, the media has placed itself in a third person position to cover the story. The media outlet uses inverted commas to distance itself for the objectification:

“ANC defends Mazibuko 'weight' comment” – Enca,
13 June 2013 - 3:11pm / Benita Enoch

Contrarily, when addressing the physical appearance of Mbuyiseni Ndlozi the same media house covers the story in the first person. This speaks to the fact that the subject matter is being celebrated rather than being shamed. Therefore, eNCA does not need to employ grammatical methods in order to exonerate itself from it reporting.

“Say hello to Dr People's Bae” – Enca, Saturday 19 August 2017 - 7:27am / eNCA

These scholars argue further that specific roles are projected onto female and male political leaders which put women in a double bind where the female leader must choose between binary oppositions of embracing their femininity as is expected by patriarchal norms, or portraying masculine traits to allude to power (p.456).
Concurrently, it can be deduced that the media represents women through the reproduction social of norms.

Social Media

Lindiwe Mazibuko	
@LindiMazibuko So, my body is trending in Parliament.Last year, it was my hair. When will ANC just come out & say "You disgust us because you're a woman."? 8:26 PM - Mazibuko, (2013)	Fezeka Stwayi @fezeka_stwayi Replying to @AldrinSampear and 3 others I cannot get over the cuteness maan, of course his articulation brings me back to reality. He was destined to be where he is today. 1:55 PM - Stwayi, (2017)
@Justine "Shush and eat your donut... no one is judging you, we are just saying that if we were in a Zombie Apocalypse, you would die first... That's all... 9:01pm – Justine, (2013)	Dieketseng @Dieketseng_Pru Dr Ndlozi has always been bae guys like. Can he now get a Nobel prize or something . Pru, 2014)

Table 3

When investigating the social media quotes, it is evident that there is an attack on personalities on the public domain and inside parliament. This reflects that parliamentarians are uncomfortable with women leadership and the absence of public debate around women leadership despite the rules of parliament's and the South African constitution. In the case of

Lindiwe Mazibuko, misogyny is displayed because Lindiwe's skirt is short. The response of social media helps serve as an overall comment of societies view on women in political leadership. Lindiwe took to social media to address this issue and stated:

@LindiMazibuko
So, my body is trending in Parliament. Last year, it was my hair. When will ANC just come out & say "You disgust us because you're a woman."?
8:26 PM - Jun 12, Mazibuko, (2013)
162 162 Replies 273 273 Retweets 45 45 likes

The opposite is evident in how Mbuyiseni Ndlozi's appearance is covered on social media. Mbyiseni Dlozi's nikename (the people's bae), unlike Lindiwe Mazibuko's, is gender neutral. Moreover, his physical appearance is related somehow to a position of power. For instance, one of the tweeters suggests that he should get a Nobel Peace Prize and another user stated that Mbuyiseni should be 'where he is today', whereas Lidiwe Mazibuko is dubbed a tea-girl having to speak herself in order to maintain her integrity in the public eye.

The nick-naming of Mbuyiseni Dlozi and Lindiwe Mazibuko is of course not ahistorical. Lindiwe Mazibuko was first referred to as a tea girl the leader of the Economic Freedom Fighters, Julius Malema. Since then, the name has been regurgitated by the media. Ndlozi's nickname was first found on social media platforms, and in turn, the media has used it to refer to Ndlozi.

Case Study 3
Malusi Gigaba and Nomvula Makonyane

Timeframe:
2016-2017

(Characters):
Malusi Gigaba, Nomvula Makonyane

Description of Events:

Ministers in the Governing PartyMinister of Water Affairs Nomvula Mokonyane

It has been said that the Minister of Water Affairs Nomvula Mokonyane has several young lovers, which are commonly referred to as her 'Ben 10's' whom she allegedly gives financial favors to which include access to tenders. Since the surfacing of these allegations, the Democratic Alliance announced that it would send a request to the Auditor-General, Thembekile Makwetu, to begin an independent investigation into the matter of gross mismanagement of public funds by Minister Nomvula Mokonyane.

Minister of Finance, Malusi Gigaba

Rumours of an affair with stylist Buhle Mkhize quickly surfaced soon after Minister of Finance Malusi Gigaba married Nomachule (Norma) in early 2014. When Gigaba's wife was made aware of the affair, she instructed the Minister to cut all contact with Buhle in a bid to save their marriage. Moreover, Norma sent Buhle direct threats through social media channels, warning her to stay away from Malusi. It has also been alleged that Malusi Gigaba used public funds to fund his relationship with Buhle Mkhize.

Analyses

The Media and Misconduct

Staples (1980), in 'The myth of black Matriarch' contends that black women's objective reality in a society is related directly to her womanhood within patriarchal confines, where the cause is the consequence. Following from this, key theme in the study of media portrayal is the media's portrayal of misconduct. The case study studies the relationship Malusi Gigaba has in relation to scandal or misconduct in comparison to the relationship that the media has with Nomvula Mokonyane.

With regards to media coverage, the Mail & Guardian had a total of 12 articles representing the case in point where Malusi Gigaba's extra-marital activities were covered. Out of the articles covering the story, 30 had Malusi Gigaba's wife are the mistress' opinion, feelings, or picture as the main headline. Most, if not all the articles place her outside the context of his scandal.

Of 12 articles covering Nomvula, all 12 emphasized her misconduct whilst a small percentage focused on her political role. Nomvula, unlike Malusi is the headlining politician in charge of her scandal, whereas Malusi was an incidental subject in his scandal.

This is in spite of the fact that perception of social order and morality etc. are fluid concepts which are formed by social constructivism. Meaning is thus constructed through interactions and language which is continuously shifting (Bryman 2008, p. 19-20)

Image



Figure 1



Figure 2

Both images are from the Sun newspapers. Gigaba is depicted with two female figures in the newspaper headline. The woman closest to him is his mistress and the woman furthest from him is his wife. Gigaba is foregrounded in the image whilst the two females in his life hover over him in the background. The subject's facial expressions are worth noting. Gigaba, the middle man in the affair has his eyes looking away from the camera and his mouth is slightly open. His look is one of fearful or is a victim. His mistress's facial expression suggests that she is confident and fierce. She gives a 'side-eye', also though she is evil. She is also placed in the middle of Gigaba and Gigaba's wife, which symbolizes the fact that she has come into the middle of their union. Gigaba is made to be the victim in the image. He is exonerated from responsibility, whilst the female figures become the focal point. Gigaba's unfaithful

behavior is not the bone of contestation. Rather, the framing suggests that the women are the key players, in spite of the women not being the public political figures.

Contrary to the framing evident in the image for Gigaba's headline, Nomvula Mokonyane is alone on the newspapers front page. Her male concubines are given the privilege of anonymity whilst Gigaba's wife and mistress were not. The focus on misconduct is solely on Nomvula Mokonyane's shoulders, it is not spread between her and her lovers. Nomvula Mokonyane is wearing sun glasses in the image, which suggests that she ought to be embarrassed or ashamed.

Moreover, on the front page of Nomvula Mokonyane's story, there is large print with sweeping accusations about her affairs. The Daily Sun newspaper goes on to label Nomvula Mokanyane. They use titles such as 'thirsty' to describe her choice in men. Gigaba does not have a large headline with accusations pointed at him, nor does his affair or interest in multiple women have a title to categorize him.

Newspaper Headlines

Malusi Gigaba	**Nomvula M**
"Gigaba's Former Mistress Took SA Twitter On An Emotional Rollercoaster, And We Were Barely Able To Cope." - The Huffington post 10/05/2017 12:17 SAST | Updated 10/05/2017 12:20 SAST /Staff Reporter -	"Nomvula Mokonyane speaks out on 'Ben10' allegations" 20 February 2017 - 15:56 / Kgothatso Madiso
"Noma Gigaba: She had sex with my man."- IOL - 24 January 2016, 1:02PM / Siphelele Buthelezi	"NOMVULA 'THIRSTY FOR BEN 10!'- Daily Sun - February 12 2017 11:05/ Norman Masungwini
"EFF has something to say about Malusi Gigaba's alleged cheating scandal."- Drum Digital – 04 December 2015, News24	

Table 1

In the misconduct related to Minister Gigaba, newspaper headlines often omitted his name and focused on his wife and his mistress. The misconduct was framed around the argument between Gigaba's wife and Buhle, his mistress rather than on Gigaba's misconduct as a husband and a Minister. The newspaper pit Noma Gigaba and Buhla against one another and heightened their role and feelings towards the affair over Gigaba's role and feelings.

Language used in the headlines such as 'emotional roller-coaster' 'we are unable to cope' and 'took my man' lends itself to the stereotypes that women are illogically emotional and 'catty' towards one another. Again, by focusing on the role of the female subjects in the misconduct, the media is shifting the gaze away from Gigaba, giving him some room for exoneration and repair. The opposite is true for Minister Nomvula Mokonyane who is the only subject visible in the newspaper headlines. Any other key players are absent, unlike in the case of Minister Gigaba. The titles used to refer to his choice of men (Ben 10) categorizes Minister Nomvula Mokonyane, whilst Gigaba is free from any titles. Unlick Gigaba, the newspapers make the use of cap-locks and the use of her name in the headlines which typecasts her.

Direct Quotes

Minister Gigaba	Minister Mokonyane
"People were saying 'How can she say this as a minister's wife?' For me, I didn't care who was saying what, this was my husband. I'm the one he made vows to and I had to take care of the situation," she said. From Norma Gigaba's interview with eNCA	February 13 (ANA) - The African National Congress Women's League (ANCWL) says the "vicious character assassination campaign unleashed" against its member and Minister of Water and Sanitation Nomvula Mokonyane is driven by "hatred towards black women".
EFF spokesperson Mbuyiseni Ndlozi said in a statement: "We do not care much about the Minister's affairs and infidelity because he is renowned for using government's credit card and money to buy flowers for girlfriends, breaking people's families and engaging in unacceptable extra-marital	"I know that for you to get at a woman you must throw something about sleeping, I don't know how many he (Julius Malema) has said I slept with, the list is long. But it's okay, I'll pay this price as long as I'm determined to serve the people of South Africa," she said. Luyolo Mkentanza and

practices.” news24 – 6 August 2017 06:01/ Hlengiwe Nhlabathi	George Matlala – Mail & Guardian 19 Dec 2017 16:32 /

Table 2

Quotes taken from interviews reflect an interesting dynamic in that the quotes are usually extracted from other politicians who have a vested interest in how either Minister Gigaba or Minister Mokonyane is portrayed.

However, there is a difference in how the two subjects are positioned in the quotes. In the case of Minister Mokonyane, her women-hood is the forefront of discussion. This is then connected to her ‘misconduct’, her work, and her character. For instance, a quote from Minister Mokonyane herself suggests that her misconduct is met with abrasiveness simply because she is a woman. She says, “I know that for you to get at a woman you must throw something about sleeping.” The way in which the media and the public engage with her misconduct is therefore gendered in nature. This is further emphasized by the ANC Women’s League’s statement which reads; “vicious character assassination campaign unleashed" against its member and Minister of Water and Sanitation Nomvula Mokonyane is driven by "hatred towards black women". It is suggested, therefore, that Minister Mokonyane’s misconduct and the way in which the media and the public have responded to it is a comment on the patriarchal structure of the media and society at large.

Quotes extracted about Gigaba’s misconduct are different to minister Mokonyane in that his misconduct is not related to his ‘manhood’. Gigaba’s misconduct is treated as an individual case, rather than a comment on how society or the media responds to misconduct. Moreover, his misconduct is treated as a norm by a fellow politician, Mbuyiseni Dlozi who states; We do not care much about the Minister’s affairs and infidelity because he is renowned for using government’s credit card and money to buy flowers for girlfriends, breaking people’s families and engaging in unacceptable extra-marital practices.”

Social Media

@siwa_menze Yuh I'm beyond shook #BuhleMkhize Menze, (2017)
@THISisLULE Also, I think a side is well within her rights to drag you by your edges if you publicly demonize her while treating your man like a saint 9:43 PM – Lule, (2017)
@Poplak I cannot wait for the ANC Women's League press release on the Buhle Mkhize vs. Gigabyte thing. Can. Not. Wait. 8:34 AM - Poplak, (2017)

Table 3

Social Media's account of the misconduct by Minister Ggaba and Nomvula Mokonyane is difficult to study because it happens in 'real-time'. Therefore, the tweets focus or emphasis what the most pertinent issue is as it unfolds. It is even more difficult to analyze these cases because the spat between Mrs. Gigaba and Buhle occurred on social media, whilst Nomvula Mokonyane is absent from the platforms.

In terms of engagement, content related to Buhle and Norma Gigaba received the most engagements, shares, and retweets. The focal point of the misconduct therefore become the two female figures. Content related to Nomvula Mokonyane is almost absent on social media. However, it is more available on online newspapers and blogs. Tweets related to Nomvula Mokonyane, once more, focus on her womanhood. Therefore, theories or representation, patriarchy, and how femininity is constructed is brought into question in a didactive method when the misconduct is related to women political leaders. Tweets such as "so what f she has boyfriends. Does it only matter because she is a woman?" speaks to the link between social commentary and construction of female political leaders. The opposite is true for misconducts related to male political leaders. The misconduct is engaged with as more of a scandal rather than a social issue of comment.

On Minister Gigaba's account, his misuse of state money is less pressed on. Minister Nomvula Mokonyane has also misused funds for her affairs, yet the issue became a pressure point in the media whilst Minister Gigaba's mismanagement of state funds for his affairs was not brought into question.

Chapter Four

Conclusion

The research project argues that there is a difference between how black women in political leadership are represented by the South African media in comparison to how black male leaders in political leadership are represented. By studying representation through different ontological and theoretical approaches, the nuances of the gender system through gendered hierarchies and differentiation in the political area and the media space are visible.

Previous research has reflected how the media's direct use and manipulation of representation is important in determining the culture of gendering, particularly gendering women who are active in male dominated arenas. However, little research is done on how this is regulated in contemporary South Africa and how this allows for the politicization of black female bodies.

This research project has developed a framework for how answering the research question can be conducted though content analysis of multi-media forms. The findings of the research project indicate that the female political leaders are represented differently in the South African media in comparison to black male political leaders. Often, the personal rather than the political is foregrounded when women are the subjects being represented. Therefore, the logic of the media gender-system and social constructs related to gender are regulated by the media.

In conclusion, it appears re-accordingly that the media focuses on women's physical appearance, her conduct, and her association to men as a point of entry rather than her qualifications, competence and professional history, whilst the opposite is true for black male political leaders. The reproduction of how black women politicians are represented in the South African media differs in comparison to how black male politicians are represented. Media representation thus prescribes stereotypes as 'truth' because of the unbalanced nature of media coverage. Forms of representation which are driven by the media are therefore morphed and understood as 'reality' given that the role of gender and reinforcement of social constructs assumes the subordination of women which is exclusionary and discriminatory of black women

Bibliography

Ansolabehere, S., Roy., B. and Iyengar, S. (1993). *The Media Game: American Politics in the Television Age*, New York: Macmillan.

Bartels, M. (1996). *Politicians and the Press: Who Leads, Who Follows*? Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco.

Bendile, D. (2018). ANC Women's League believes men used Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma. [online] *The M&G Online*. Available at: https://mg.co.za/article/2017-12-19-anc-womens-league-believes-men-used-nkosazana-dlamini-zuma [Accessed 7 Jan. 2018].

Bobo, J. and Seiter, E. (1991). *Black feminism and Media Criticism*: *The Women of Brewster Place*. Screen, 32(3), pp.286-302.

Brooker, P. (2003). *A Glossary of Cultural Theory (*2nd ed.). New York: Oxford University Press.

Bysrtom, D., Terry, A., Robertson, and Banwart., M. C. (2001). Framing the Fight: An Analysis of Media Coverage of Female and Male Candidates in Primary Races for Governor and Senate in 2000. *American Behavioral Scientist,* 44 (12): (12), pp. 1999-20.

Bystrom, D. G. (2006). Advertising, Web Sites, and Media Coverage: Gender and Communication along the Campaign Trail. In Susan J. Carroll, & R. L. Fox, *In Gender and Elections. New York*: Cambridge University Press.

Carby, H. (1987). *Reconstructing Womanhood: The Emergence of the Afro-American Woman Novelist*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Cantor, M. (1988. July/August*). Feminism and the Media*. The Society, pp. 76-81.

Carroll, S. and Ronnee, S. (1997). Media Coverage of Women in the 103rd Congress. *In Women, Media and Politics.* (P. Norris., Ed.) Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Caul, M (1999). *Women's Representation in Parliament: The Role of Political Parties, Party Politics* 5(1), pp. 79-98.

Collins, P. (2000). *Black feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (2nd ed.). New York: Routledge.

Curran, J. (1991). Mass Media and Democracy. In J. Curran, & M. and Gurevich, *Mass Media and Democracy*. London: Edward Arnold, pp. 101.

Dailymaverick.co.za. (2018). Home | *Daily Maverick*. [online] Available at: https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/ [Accessed Jan. 2018].

Diekman, A., and Alice H. Eagly. (2000). Stereotypes as Dynamic Constructs: Women and Men of the Past, Present, and Future. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 26 (11), pp. 1171 88.

Dolan, K. (2005). *Do Women Candidates Play to Gender Stereotypes? Do Men Candidates Play to Women? Candidate Sex and Issues Priorities on Campaign Websites.* Political Research Quarterly 58 (1), pp. 31-44.

Etman, R. M. (1993). *Framing: Towards Classification o f a fractured Paradigm*. Journal of Communication, pp. 51-58.

Fiske, J. (1987). *Television culture: Popular Pleasures and Politics*. London: Methuen.

Fiske, J. (1996). *Media Matters: Race and Gender in U.S. Politics.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Fiske, S. T., and Taylor, S. E. (1991). Social Cognition. New York: Mcgraw-Hill. Gamson, W. A., & Modigliani, A. (1987). *The Changing Culture of Affirmative Action*. Research in Political Sociology, 3, pp. 137-177.

Gans, H. (1979). *Deciding What's News*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Gerbner, G. A. (1974). *System of Cultural Indicators*. Public Opinion Quarterly, pp. 38.

Gider.gil, E., and Everitt, J. (1999). Metaphors and Misrepresentation: *Gendered mediation in news coverage of the 1993 Canadian leaders' debates.* Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics, 9(1), pp. 48-65.

Gingras, F.P. (1995). Daily Mail Delivery: Women and Politics in the Daily Newspaper. *In Gender and Politics in Contemporary Canada*, ed.

Gouws, A. (2011). Women's representation in Government: quotas, substantive equality and self-interested politicians. *Transformation: Critical perspectives on Southern Africa*, 77(1), pp.70.

Graber, D. (2000). *Media Power in Politics*. Washington DC: CQ Press.

Gqola, P. (2000). *Women's testimony to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa*. Paper presented at a conference on Black Women in Africa and the Diaspora, University of Illinois at Urban- Champion.

Gqola, P. (2001). *Defining people: Analyzing Power, Language and Representation in Metaphors of the New South Africa*: Michigan State University.

Hall, S. (1996). *Culture Identity in the Diaspora*, (ed) Contemporary Postcolonial Theory: a reader. London and New York: Arnold.

Hall, S. (1997). *Representation: Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices*. London: SAGE Publications.

Hernandez, D.G. (1996). *Women and Front Page News*. Editor and Publisher, 129 (36), pp. 18-37.

Hernandez, D.G. (1994). *Good and the Bad about Women's News in Newspapers.* Editor and Publisher, 727(21), pp. 17,41.

Hassim, S. (2014). *The ANC Women's League*: Sex, *Gender and Politics.* Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press. 159 pp.

Hassim, S. (2006). *Women's organizations and democracy in South Africa*. Madison, Wis: University of Wisconsin Press.

Ines, G. (1995). *Class, Gender and Race in North American Media Studie*s. Race, Gender & Class, 3(1), pp. 97–112.

Iyenger, S. (1990*). Framing Responsibility for Political Issues: The Case of Poverty. Political Behavior,* (12), pp. 19-40.

Jalalzai, F. (2008). *Women Rule: Shattering the Executive Glass Ceiling, Politics & Gender* 4(2): 1-27. Jalalzai, Farida and Mone, Lena Krook. (2010). Beyond Hillary and Benazir:

Kahn, K. F. (1992). *Does Being Male Help? An Investigation of the Effects of Candidate Gender and Campaign Coverage on Evaluations of U S Senate Candidates*. Journal of Politics, (54), pp. 497-517.

Kahn, K. F. (1996). *The Political Consequences of being a Woman. How Stereotypes Influence the Conduct and Consequences of Political campaigns.* New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 106.

Khan, K. (1990). *The Distorted Mirror: Press Coverage of Women Candidates in Statewide Office.*

Khan, F, K., and Goldenberg, E. (1991). *Women candidates in the news: An Examination of Gender Differences in U.S. Senate Campaign Coverage.*

Kelley, C. E. (1990). *Bad Men 'Speaking' Well: A Case Study of Political Campaign Ethics.* Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Eastern Communication Association.

Krook, M. L. (2009). *Quotas for Women in Politics: Gender and Candidate Selection Reform Worldwide.* New York: Oxford University Press

Liebler, C., and Smith, S. (1997). *Journal of Broadcasting and electronic Media,* 41 (1), pp. 58-68.

Lithgow, L. (2000). *A Question of Relativity: The Role of News media in Shaping the View of Women in Asian political Dynasties.* Harvard University. The Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy.

Liswood, A. (1995). *Women World Leaders: Fifteen Great Politicians Tell Their Stories*. San Francisco, CA: Pandora.

Lynda, K. K. (2008). *Handbook of Political Communication Research*. Mahwah, NJ: Routledge Inc, Publishers.

McCombs, M., and Ghanem, S. I. (2003). *The Convergence of Agenda sSetting and Framing*. In S. D. Reese, O. H. J. Gandy, & A. E. Grant (Eds.), Framing public life: Perspectives on media and our understanding of the social world.

MMP. (1999). *Monitoring Media Coverage of Women in Politics during the 1994 National Elections* (Vol. 5). (M. M Project, Ed. Media Mask.

Moore, G., and Shackman, G. (1996). *Gender and Authority: A Cross-National Study*, Social Science Quarterly 77, pp 273-88.

Nesbitt-Larking, P. (1996*). Politics, Society and Media. Annals of the American Academy of Political Science,* pp. 316-317.

Nhlabathi, H. (2017), Nomvula Mokonyane: *news24*

Niven, D. (1998), *Party Elites and Women Candidates: The Shape of Bias*. Women in Politics 19(2), pp. 57-80.

Njanji, S. (2017). "Zuma's Ex Wife Set to Be President of the ANC." *The Citizen Newspaper*

Noelle-Neumann, E. (1973). *Return to the Concept of Powerful Mass Media. Studies of Broadcasting.* Norris, P. (1987). Politics and Sexual Equality: The Comparative Position of

Norris., Pippa and Lovenduski., Joni. (1995). *Political Recruitment: Gender, Race, and Class in the British Parliament.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Norris, P. (2009). *Driving Democracy.* New York: University Press.

Norris, P. (1997*). Women, Media, Politics*. New York: Oxford University.

Mkentanza and George Matlala. (2017). Tea Girl Lindiwe Mazibuko): *IOL*

Oates, S. (2008). *Introduction to Media and Politics.* London: SAGE Publications Inc.

Open Library. (2018). *Black Macho and the Myth of Superwoman* | Open *Library*. [online] Available:https://openlibrary.org/works/OL4450038W/Black_macho_and_the_myth_of_superwoman [Accessed 27 Dec. 2017].

Piper-Aiken, K. (1999). *Journalists and Gender: An Analysis of the New York Times Coverage of the 1996 US Presidential Election'*, the annual convention of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication. New Orleans.

Ramsden, G. (1996). Media coverage of Issues and Candidates: What Balance is Appropriate in a Democracy? *Political Science Quarterly*, 111, pp. 65-85.

Reynolds, A. (1999). *Women in the Legislatures and Executives of the World: Knocking at the Highest Glass Ceiling.* World Politics 51(4), pp. 547-72.

Rosenbluth., Frances., Salmond., Rob., and Michael F. (2006). *Welfare Works: Explaining Female Legislative Representation.* Politics Gender 2(2), pp. 165-92.

Ross, K. (2002). *Women, Politics & Media: Uneasy Relations in Comparative Perspective.* Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Ross, K. (2010). *Gendered Media Women, men, and Identity Politics*. Plymouth: Rovvman & Littlefield Publishers.

Rosenwasser, Shirley M., and Norma Dean. (1989). *Gender Role and Political Office: Effects of Perceived Masculinity/Femininity of Candidate and Political Office.* Psychology of Women Quarterly 13 (1), pp. 77-85.

Rosenwasser, M., and Jana, S. (1988). *Attitudes Toward a Hypothetical Male or Female Candidate: A Research Note*. Political Psychology 9 (4), pp. 591-99.

Sapiro, V. (1982). If U.S. *Senator Baker were a woman: An Experimental Study of Candidate Images*. Political Psychology, 3, 61-83. Legislative Studies Quarterly 31(2), pp.175-204.

Scheufele, D. A. (2000). *Agenda-setting, Priming, and Framing Revisited. Another look at cognitive effects of political communication*. Mass Communication & Society, (3), pp. 297-316.

Scheufele, D. A. (2007). *Framing, Agenda Setting, and Priming: The Evolution of Three Media Effects Models.* Journal of Communication (57), pp. 9-20.

Schmidt., Gregory D., & Saunders, Kyle L. (2004). *Effective Quotas, Relative Party Magnitude, and the Success of Female Candidates: Peruvian Municipal Elections in Comparative Perspective*.Comparative Political Studies 37(6), pp.704-34.

Spencer, L. (2014). *Writing Women in Uganda and South Africa: Emerging Writers from Post-Repressive Regimes*. University of Stellenbosch.

Sreberny-Mohammadi, A., and Ross, K. (1996). *Women MPs and the Media: Representing the body politics.* In J.Lovenduski& P. Norris (Eds), Women in Politics (pp. 105-117). Oxford: Oxford University Press in association with the Hansard Society for Parliamentary Government.

Staples, R. (1970). *The Myth of the Black Matriarchy*. The Black Scholar 1(3-4):8–16.

Steeves, H. (1987). *Feminist Theories and Media Studies. Critical Studies of Mass Communication* (4) (2), pp. 95-135.

Tamale, S. 2001. *Bravo Women MPs: From 18 to 24%*, The Sunday Monitor, July

Terkndsen, N., and Schnell, F. (1997). *How Media Frames Move Public Opinion: An Analysis of the Women's Movement.* Political Research Quarterly, (50), pp. 879-900.

Vreese, H d. (2005). *News Framing: Theory and Framing Typology: The effects of frames in political television.* Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly, (81), pp. 51-61.

Williams, J., and Best, D. (1990). *Measuring Sex Stereotypes: A Multination Study*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications

Witt, L., and Karen, M., Paget, L., and Glenna, M. (1994). *Running As a Woman: Gender and Power in American Politics*. New York: Free Press.

Woodall, G., and Fridkin, L. (2007). *Shaping Women's Chances: Stereotypes and the Media.* In Lori Cox Han and Caroline Heldman (editors)

Zapiro. (2018). *Cartoons - Zapiro*. [online] Available at: https://www.zapiro.com/ [Accessed 7 Jan. 2018].