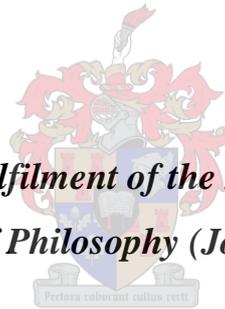


**Representation of black, young, women politicians in South
African online news media: a case study of Lindiwe Mazibuko**

by

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Date: March 2013

Declaration

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Abstract

One of the main areas of transformation that continues to be a priority in the 21st century in South African and all other democratic societies is equality between men and women. The media plays an important role in attaining the desired balance in the way it represents both genders. This study analysed the representation of South Africa's main opposition party's (Democratic Alliance) parliamentary leaders, Lindiwe Mazibuko, in the online print media in South Africa. Articles on Mazibuko from four leading news websites were analysed during the period in which her nomination to the position of parliamentary leader was announced, the run up to the party's elections, her election to the position and a month into her election.

Not all persons suffered equally under the Apartheid regime therefore the empowerment of black women and their rise to positions of leadership and power remains an important priority if the gains of freedom are to be completely attained. Therefore every hindrance that would hamper their efforts should be addressed. The way the media represents not only women in general, but black women in particular is an important area of focus. Moreover, coverage of these women when they are in power and how they are portrayed to be handling these positions is critical.

The paper approaches the representation of black, women politicians in the South African media from a womanist approach which goes beyond feminist assertions, from the mass communications theory, gender and media and the political economy theories. Using the quantitative research method of content analysis, 101 articles published on *Timeslive*, *City Press Online*, *Mail & Guardian Online* and *Independent Online* websites between 1 September 2011 and 30 November 2011 were analysed.

The findings revealed that Mazibuko's age was mentioned in 62% of the articles, her gender in 28% of the articles and her race in 21%. This means that more than her race and gender, her age was the main area of focus for the majority of the news articles. The conclusion of this study questions the focus of these attributes that have no influence on her performance or ability to do her work and what it means to the progression of media representation of not only black women political leaders, but aspiring young, black, women political leaders.

Opsomming

Gelykheid tussen mans en vroue is een van die hoofareas van transformasie, en 'n voortdurende prioriteit in die 21ste eeu in die Suid-Afrikaanse en talle ander demokratiese samelewings. Die media speel 'n belangrike rol om 'n gewenste balans te bereik deur hoe beide geslagte verteenwoordig of uitgebeeld word. In hierdie studie was die verteenwoordiging van een van Suid-Afrika se hoof opposisie partye (Demokratiese Alliansie) se parlementêre leiers, Lindiwe Mazibuko, in die aanlyn gedrukte media in Suid-Afrika geanaliseer. Artikels oor Mazibuko van vier toonaangewende aanlyn nuus webtuistes tydens die aankondiging van haar nominasie tot die posisie as parlementêre leier, die aanloop tot die party se verkiesing, haar verkiesing tot die posisie, asook 'n maand na haar verkiesing, is geanaliseer.

Nie alle mense het in dieselfde mate onder die Apartheidsbewind gely nie, daarom bly die bemagtiging van swart vroue en hul opgang na leierskap 'n gewigtige prioriteit indien die voordele van vryheid as geheel bereik sou word. Alle hindernisse wat hul pogings beperk moet dus aangespreek word. Die manier hoe die media nie net vroue in geheel, maar spesifiek swart vroue verteenwoordig, is 'n belangrike fokus area. Verder is die blootstelling van hierdie vroue wanneer hulle in magposisies is, asook hoe hulle voorgehou word om daardie posisies te hanteer, van kardinale belang.

Hierdie tesis benader die verteenwoordiging van swart, vroue politici in die Suid-Afrikaanse media vanuit 'n vroue (womanist) benadering wat verder as feministiese bewerings gaan, vanuit die massa-kommunikasieteorie, geslag en media asook die politieke ekonomiese teorieë. Daar was gebruik gemaak van inhoudsanalise om 101 artikels wat op die webtuistes van 'Timeslive', 'City Press Online', 'Mail & Guardian Online' en 'Independent Online' gepubliseer is tussen 1 September 2011 en 30 November 2011, te analiseer.

Die bevindinge het daarop gewys dat Mazibuko se ouderdom in 62% van die artikels, haar geslag in 28% van die artikels en haar ras in 21% van die artikels genoem was. Dit beteken dat meer as haar geslag of ras was haar ouderdom die vernaamste fokusarea van die meeste nuusberigte. Die gevolgtrekking van hierdie studie bevraagteken hierdie eienskappe wat geen invloed het op haar vordering of vermoë om haar werk te doen, en wat dit beteken vir die vooruitgang van mediaverteenwoordiging van nie slegs swart, vroue politieke leiers nie, maar aspirant jong, swart, vroue politieke leiers.

CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

1. Introduction

Every healthy democracy needs a healthy media as the media could be said to be the eyes through which societies perceive themselves and others. Therefore it is important that while the media embarks on its mandate of informing, educating and entertaining the public while playing the role of the watch dog in society, its own operations and output be scrutinized. Over the past 18 years of a democratic South Africa several studies have been conducted on the media's depiction of women in society. Whether the media's coverage of women perpetuates the existing stereotypes that are detrimental to transformation and progression or whether the fourth estate reflects the reality is a question of which came first between the chicken and the egg. This chapter is an outline of the study.

The first portion of this chapter gives a brief introduction to the topic and gives an overview of what the focal point of the study is. The second part provides the context within which the problem has been identified in the South African media landscape. In the third part the researcher outlines the research assumption which will be proven valid or invalid by the empirical research. The fourth section provides the theoretical approaches that provide the basis for the study. The fifth part outlines the research methodologies that are available in mass communication research and an overview of the mass communication research techniques that have been used in this study is briefly outlined. The significance and the value that this study will provide to the existing literature are explained. From there a brief overview of the chapters of this thesis is given and the researcher concludes the chapter.

1.1. Problem statement and focus

Although women have common struggles, the needs they have are not the same and the pressures they face in their sphere of influence differ. This study is interested in the media's representation of a particular group of women: black, young, women politicians. Women in politics face a unique set of challenges that their male colleagues do not face, and their careers are made more difficult or easier by certain institutions (Stokes 2005: 233). At the root of the perception that women politicians are not at the same level as their male counterparts is the thinking that the public sphere is for men while women belong in the

private sphere (Siltanen and Stanworth 1984: 208). The manifestation of this in the media takes a number of forms including the constant emphasis that these politicians are women before they are politicians and the focus on all other aspects of these individuals that have very little or nothing to do with their work. The case study is the online news media's coverage of Lindiwe Mazibuko during the period she was elected to be the Democratic Alliance's Parliamentary leader (September 2011- November 2011).

1.2. Context

Since becoming a democratic country, one of the priorities of transformation in South Africa is gender equality. As it stands, the country ranks fourth in the world for women representation in parliament, with 44% of Members of Parliament being women (Vetten *et al.* 2012: 1). Over the years more and more women have risen to influential positions in politics in the country. According to the Government Communication and Information Systems, women currently make up 13 of 33 cabinet ministers, 15 of 33 deputy ministers and five of nine provincial premiers (GCSI 2012).

However, although it seems the numbers are balancing out in these top positions, some areas remain untransformed. The reality is that the South African society is still patriarchal therefore it makes sense why reporting on women politicians is still faces the same challenge of patriarchy (MMA 1999: 10). Women politicians still do not enjoy the same amount and quality of media coverage as their male counterparts at the same level and positions. Their representation in the media still emphasises that they are women, some mothers, some wives, before they are politicians.

International Women in Media Forum (IWMF) head, Lize Gross (2010) suggests that the media is supposed to accurately reflect reality but it has thus far failed in doing this (Gross 2010: 29). In this case, the reality is that women are mentally, emotionally and intellectually as capable as their male counterparts and the constant emphasis on their gender takes away attention from this truth. The majority of women in top political leadership positions in South Africa are black. Their challenges are unique to their white counterparts given the nature of our historical background as country.

1.3. Research goals and objectives

The researcher makes two assumptions in this study, using Lindiwe Mazibuko as the case study. The first assumption is that during the DA Parliamentary leader election period, coverage on Mazibuko placed much emphasis on her gender, race, and age, physical and personal attributes. The second assumption is that the media tends to overlook these women as credible sources and this is evident in the case of Lindiwe Mazibuko, who's voice more often than not is absent in the news items found on online news media reports. The aim of this research is prove whether or not these two assumptions are valid or invalid. The other goal of this research study is to look at whether the representation of women politicians in the media has improved from 1994 to 2012.

1.4. Theoretical framework

The main theoretical approaches of this study are womanism as an alternative to feminism, Media Representations Theory and the Gender and the Media theory. These look at the struggles of women, in particular black women and they explain the kinds of challenges these women face with regards to being represented in the media. The other theories that are included are the Social Responsibility Theory because the study suggests that the media have some kind of responsibility towards the public to portray reality as accurately as possible. The Political Economy theory is also included because this explains the relationship between the media, the political and the economic spaces that directly and indirectly inform news media content.

1.5. Research Methodology

The research methodology options come in the form of qualitative and quantitative techniques. An overview of some of the most popular mass communication research techniques is provided. For this particular study, the quantitative technique of content analysis has been chosen to collect and analyse the data that informs this study and that will either prove or disprove the assumptions that have been made. Four news websites' articles have been selected as the sample form the population: Timeslive, Independent Online, City

Press online and Mail & Guardian Online. The period from which articles were collected was from 11 September 2011 to 30 November 2011. This period was chosen because this includes Mazibuko's first announcement that she would be standing for DA Parliamentary leader, alongside then incumbent Athol Trollip, the build up to the election, the announcement of the appointment and a brief period of reactions and reflections from multiple stakeholders.

1.6. Significance of this study

Although some research, though not enough, has been done on the way the media portrays women politicians, none of these studies place an emphasis on young women (i.e. under 35s) who because of their skill and talent have risen to top positions. Along with focusing on focusing on gender and race, this study seeks to look at the way young, black women are portrayed in the South African media in general but politicians in particular. As more doors of opportunities open for young women to get an education and have a world of careers as an option, quite a number of them will show interest in politics.

The way the media portrays the 'Lindiwe Mazibukos' of this generation could either encourage or discourage them from pursuing this career interest. Moreover, in a country where freedom to align oneself with any organisation and political party is enshrined in the constitution, it is imperative that the media not be seen to promote discrimination on any basis. One of the factors that informed the selection of online news media is that it is a fairly new medium in our country and is becoming a favourite with the younger generation. None of the studies looking at the media portrayal of black, women politicians focused on online media but rather on print and broadcast.

It would also seem that as the digital age is unfolding, online might be the future of print media therefore studies should not neglect focusing on news in this field.

1.7. Overview of chapters

This thesis is made up of seven chapters.

Chapter 1 gives an introduction of the topic at hand, why it is important and how it will be addressed.

Chapter 2 is a review of the existing literature and research that has been done in this area. Here key issues and concepts that are pertinent to this study are covered and areas that have been left out are highlighted.

Chapter 3 sets out the theoretical framework that informs the study including Feminism, Womanism, Social Responsibility theory, Media Representations Theory, Gender and Media theory and Political Economy Theory

Chapter 4 discusses the common qualitative and quantitative techniques often used in mass communication research and explains how content analysis is employed for this study.

Chapter 5 presents and briefly discusses the findings from the content analysis done on articles from the four titles between September and November regarding Lindiwe Mazibuko and the DA Parliamentary leader elections

Chapter 6 is a more thorough discussion of the main findings and links the results to each other in order to make sense of them

Chapter 7 is a conclusion of the study that includes a summary of what has been done, the challenges the researcher faced and some recommendations

1.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, the researcher has explained the topic of this study which is the media's portrayal of female politicians. As has been clearly defined the focus is on young, black, women politicians with the nature of online news media coverage that Lindiwe Mazibuko focused during the period of her election to DA Parliamentary leader. The context and background of the South African political and media landscape have been provided and the research goals have been defined.

The theoretical approaches that inform the study have been set out and an overview of the research methodology options that were available to the researcher has been given. The researcher then explained the importance of undertaking this specific study and has indicated what the contribution to the existing literature and research is. This last section is an overview of the chapters of this research thesis has been outlined.

The next chapter is a thorough discussion of some of the issues that arise in this study and the researcher looks at the research that has already been done in this area.

CHAPTER 2 – LITERATURE REVIEW

2. Introduction

In this chapter the researcher discusses some of the main issues that dominate the discourse in this particular field of research and looks at some of ground that has already been covered in the area of media coverage of women politicians. This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section is about the general representation of women in the media globally and in South Africa. The poor usage of women as news sources, constantly referring to their domestic roles, depicting them as victims and survivors are all probed. The focus is then shifted to the way women are represented in online news media, the strides that have been made in reporting on women and challenges that still persist.

The second section looks at the way women politicians are portrayed, presenting some statistics done by media monitoring groups then moving on to looking at the concept of gendered mediation of politicians which takes the form of portraying these women's achievements as special, over emphasising the emotional aspects of these leaders as well as many other things that do not have anything to do with their work. The third section focuses on the representation of young, black women in the media and in particular of politicians. The fourth section shifts the focus to where these reports are produced – the newsroom, looking at the experiences of female journalists. The conclusion provides a review of this chapter.

2.1. Representation of women in the media

One of the elements considered when measuring the transformation and progression of any society is the progression of gender equality. As a result of the pertinent role the media plays in the success of any healthy democracy, the way women are portrayed is of extreme importance. The Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) (2010), coordinated by the World Association for Christian Communication, the Media Monitoring Project and Gender Links conducted an international study find out what the status of media reporting on women is. The participants were activists, media professionals, journalism bodies, faith-based organisation, communication groups, communication researchers and students in 108

countries in 2009. The participants observed 34 543 news subjects, 20 679 new personnel in 16 734 news items on newspapers, radio and television (GMMP 2010: vii).

A summary of the findings reveals that women make up 24% of subjects seen, heard and read about in the media. Only 16% of the stories focused on women specifically and 12% highlighted gender inequality issues. Of the stories observed, 48% reinforce gender stereotypes while only 8% of the news stories challenged such stereotypes. Three out of four people in the news are male (GMMP 2010: vii). The other findings were that one in five experts interviewed were women, and women were five times more likely than men to be portrayed in their domestic roles (i.e. as wives and mothers) (GMMP 2010: viii). A discussion of the portrayal of women as sources, in their domestic roles, as victims or as unreasonably tough follows below.

2.1.1. Women as news sources

In South Africa, woman make up 52% of the population but in the *2010 State of South Africa's Media* report, Media Monitoring Africa (MMA) revealed that they make up only 23% of news sources in the country's media (MMA 2010:7). If women are slightly more than half the population in South African then a figure of 23% representation means that the media is one of the institutions still responsible for maintaining the imbalance in perceptions in society such as "it's a man's world". Head of the IWFM, Liza Gross (2010:27) expresses the concern of having few women sources. She states:

“...women and girls are seldom featured in journalism as narrators of their own experience or as authoritative sources on any given topic” (Gross 2010: 27).

Once again, although the scarcity of women sources should receive attention, what is equally as important as to probe is the level at which women are interviewed by the news media. As Gross indicates, there is a significant omission which is that of having women tell their own stories and be authoritative sources. There are two kinds of sources. The first is the group those who have acquired knowledge and the authority to speak on a certain issue because they have studied, researched and worked in that field. But the other kind of expert is one who has a lived reality of the experience in question. Although interviewing an oncologist would be of great value to an interview on breast cancer, a woman who has lived with the condition would provide richer insight on the matter, in terms of lived experience. Similarly,

a community development researcher may give insight to the plight of women living in an informal settlement. But a woman who lives and raises a family in that area will provide insight that cannot be drawn from anywhere else.

An argument may be posed that women do not feature as prominently as men in the 'expert' category purely because the majority of experts in a male-dominated sector such as the mining field, makes the male source easier to access. However, this argument is basically an expression of a reluctance to do thorough research and investigative work to find suitable female sources.

2.1.2. Women in their domestic roles

South African president Jacob Zuma was recently lambasted in the media for views he expressed on women and motherhood. In an *Independent Online* news article, the president is quoted as saying during a television interview:

“...I wouldn't want stay with daughters who are not getting married. Because that in itself is a problem in society. People today think being single is nice. It's actually not right. That's a distortion. You've got to have kids. Kids are important to a woman because they give extra training to a woman, to be a mother” (Padayachee and Mkamba 2012).

Multiple news articles came out heavily criticising and lambasting the president for expressing such an opinion. In this particular article entitled 'Zuma's single women views spark anger' the journalists quote several views on the utterance of the president. One of the critics quoted is gender issues NGO, Genderlinks CEO, Colleen Lowe Morna:

“You can deduce that he is saying all women should have children. This is problematic. Not all women choose to get married and have children, they choose to have careers. Being a woman means a lot more than being a mother. If a man does not have children or does not care for his children or does not care for his children would Zuma say he's less of a man?” (Padayachee and Mkamba 2012)

The article goes on to quote many people who expressed disapproval at the president's statement. Many other news articles expressing the same sentiments were written on the matter. For the purposes of this particular discussion, the researcher is not drawn into arguments of whether the president is justified or is in error to express such a view but is rather interested in the media and civil society's response. In the above statement Morna

suggests that the implication of what the president said is problematic. However what is also problematic is the suggestion implied in the statement that some women choose to remain single and “choose to have careers.” This gives the impression that speaker seems to view motherhood and building a career as an-either-or choice women have to make.

What is also interesting is the hypocrisy of news producers who lambasted the president for equating womanhood to motherhood because the GMMP study found that 18% of women news subjects were identified by their family status as opposed to 5% of men who were identified in this manner (GMMP 2010: 16). It would seem that talking about a woman’s family status, especially those in influential positions, gives us a bigger picture of who they are outside their workspaces. This in itself is not necessarily entirely problematic. The issue is that the same is not done with their male counterparts therefore reinforcing the stereotype that the identity of a woman is still shaped by her family responsibility when the same measuring yard stick is not used on men.

2.1.3. Women as victims and survivors

There are two unhealthy extremes with regards to reporting on the challenges that women face. The one extreme is where there is too little or no reporting on the violation of women. The other extreme, that becomes problematic in the long run is the constant reporting on women’s challenges and struggles that they are more often than not. The result is that women portrayed and therefore perceived as perpetual victims in society, as if the status of being a victim is an inherent element of womanhood. Of the 34 543 news subjects observed in the GMMP study, about 8 290 are women and of that about 36% (i.e. 3025) are depicted as victims. Of the same figure of about 8 290 women about 16% (i.e. 1300) are portrayed as survivors (GMMP 2010: 15). The above figures relate to women being victims of accidents, natural disasters, poverty, diseases, violence, crime, discrimination and other kinds of violations (GMMP 2010: 15). The first issue is that the figure of women as news subjects is far too small, a percent less than a quarter, as compared to their male counterparts. The second problem is that of this small figure, more than a third of the coverage paints the picture of women as victims and survivors.

However, some stakeholders in fact argue that women’s struggle are still not adequately covered in the news media. The MMP concluded in their *2010 Gender Fatigue in the Media*

Coverage of Women that the existing media coverage of women in South Africa is not reflective of problems these women face including poverty, lack of access to education and violence against them (MMP 2010: 16). Legitimate as this concern may be, one may argue that what is important is not simply how much coverage is afforded to such issues as they affect women but moreover how these issues are covered.

Media analyst, Rosa Nikanor (2010) highlights the poor coverage that often is afforded to issues of violence against women. Her criticism is directed towards the way the sensationalisation of crimes against women shifts the focus from the woman and makes it about the crime. This consequence is that the actual issues are not addressed and therefore very few times does such reporting yield a solution (Nikanor 2010).

2.1.4. Representation of women in online news

Online news is the latest platform on which news media is served from all the other mediums. The GMMP study found in their sample that women made up 23% of news subjects, 26% of photos and multimedia and 16% were portrayed as victims and survivors (GMMP 2010: 45). Although the digital divide still exists and the majority of South Africans still do not have access to the internet, it is interesting to note that on a platform that would be thought to be the future of journalism and news, the concerns still remain the same such as the questionable portrayal of women.

Furthermore, the study found that of the examined news items, 42% reinforced gender stereotypes, 5% challenged them and 54% neither challenged nor reinforced them. To make sense of these figures that are not necessarily all that different to the picture in print media, one needs to keep in mind that most of these news websites, particularly in South Africa, usually get the bulk of their news from their print editions. That means the same people who produce the news found in the newspapers are the same people who produce the online news that make up such statistics. The only difference is the media platforms used for output.

2.1.5. Strides made in reporting on woman

According to the MMP's 2010 report, *The State of South African Media*, during the 16 Days of Activism campaign, 55% of the sources featured in the news were women therefore for the first time there were more women sources than men. This was an increase of 9% since 2004

and was a notable improvement although the campaign lasts for 16 days (MMP 2010: 7). The other improvement is on the coverage of violence against women since the nineties where such stories were commonly reported from a male perspective and trivialised. Nowadays it has become common place for such reports to be highlighted and those who produce them taken to task (MMP 2010: 7). On this note, another positive development is that it has become unacceptable for news reports to disclose the name of an abused woman or the clothes she was wearing, which subtly gives the impression of justifying the abuse (MMP 2010: 10).

2.1.6. General challenges

Although it is very important that the way in which women are portrayed in the media is of utmost importance, unfortunately in a country like South Africa, efforts still need to be steered towards contending for women and their perspective of their issues to be featured in the news. Gross (2010: 27) suggests that women are still absent from the news and that we cannot shift all the focus to how they are perceived from the media when they are not even visible because the perception will still be limited (Gross 2010: 27).

But the question follows: how is this to be done without making women's news, views and perspective something to be shoved down society's throat in a manner that seems to be unsustainable? Ferial Haffajee, current editor of the *City Press* during her tenure as the editor of the *Mail & Guardian* brought up a concept the paper employed to address this issue:

“At the *Mail & Guardian* we are trying hard to make gender less self-conscious to ensure that gender perspectives are included in the cross-section of the newspapers. A gender perspective should inform how one chooses a freelancer, which economists are quoted, who is featured and on which page, who speaks on the budget” (Haffajee, 2009:4).

Such an approach would go a long way in mainstreaming the inclusion of women in the news in a more sustainable way that does not limit extensive coverage of women to the month of August (National women's month in South Africa) or to the *16 Days of Activism of Violence Against Women and Children* in November.

2.2. Reporting on women politicians

Writing on the portrayal of women in the media, Interim Executive Director of the IWFMF, Liza Gross (2010: 28). observes the unfair nature of coverage on female public figures:

“The clothing, makeup and hairdo of powerful female public figures is scrutinised obsessively and receives the same attention as their views and positions on vital issues, while no journalist can be bothered to comment on the wrinkled suit or the mismatched shirt and tie of an overweight male politician” (Gross, 2010: 28).

Although times are changing and to a certain extent things are improving, it remains the case that the media’s coverage of women public figures is still found wanting. From focusing on their physical appearance to finding evidence to support the perception that women, even as leaders are emotional and unstable to the portrayal of excessively strict leaders, unreasonable women. Lindiwe Mazibuko, the case study for this particular research project, is not the only one subjected to questionable media portrayal.

2.2.1. Coverage

Although research around the portrayal of women politicians in the media is still low, this kind of research in South Africa tends to focus on national election periods. Media Monitoring Africa (1999:2) conducted a study which probed the coverage of women politicians during the 1994 elections till 1999. One of the main assertions made by author of the study is that the media culturally and structurally discriminates against women by representing them stereotypically thus reinforcing patriarchy (MMA, 1999: 2). As the fourth estate of a democratic society, the media holds a very influential position, one may argue at the level of the legislative, judicial and the executive branches of society.

If the media could be equated with a part of the body it would be the eyes as this is the institution through which almost all people view the world. This means that the messages sent through the media, though negotiated by the recipients, contribute a great deal to the perceptions of reality that exist. One of the main findings of the study was that the problem with the reporting on women during the 1994 elections period was two-fold: women’s issues were afforded marginal importance and women politicians coverage was very low (MMA, 1999: 5, 6). These two problems are linked because if women are generally ignored in the

media, it is most likely that the same would apply in the case of women politicians. But Mervi Pantti (2005) adds a third problematic issue which probes not only the quantity of the coverage of women politicians by the nature and quality of such reports.

Another study that focused on the coverage of women politicians in South Africa was conducted by media researcher, Tina Katembo (2005: 3) in which she examined the Sunday Times coverage of women politicians during the period of the 2004 elections. The study reveals that of the 588 news sources/ actors used by the paper 22% were women and of this 588 figure only 7.6% were women politicians (Katembo 2005: 126). The publishing dates of the two above mentioned study are five years apart and yet it seems the challenges are still the same. It would appear that not much changed between women politician's coverage between South Africa's first democratic elections and the third democratic elections.

2.2.2. Gendered Mediation of politicians

Pantti (2005) refers to the concept being discussed as 'gendered mediation of politicians' which occurs when female politicians are 'presented in special ways, as stereotypes or through conventional frames' (Pantti, 2005). The concept defined above suggests that the media portrays male and female politicians through different lenses and this takes a number of forms.

2.2.3. Women politicians' achievements as 'special'

The first is through giving the impression those women who produce the same quality of men at their level, are somehow unique (Pantti 2005). As problematic as this is, one may argue that in the case of a country such as South Africa where for a long time men and women did not have the same rights and benefits (and actually still do not thus the need for gender biases in certain instances), it may not necessarily be negative that 'firsts' are highlighted as such. However, it would seem Pantti is making reference to the constant portrayal of the achievements of women as something special and out of the ordinary.

A good example of what is being highlighted above is that of Dr Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma. Dr Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma is one of the longest serving ministers in the democratic dispensation of South Africa having served as a cabinet minister since 1994, heading the ministries of health (1994-1999), foreign affairs (1999-2009) and most recently home affairs

(South African History Online 2011). She served during the terms of former presidents Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki and under the Jacob Zuma administration. The quality of work she produced in her 19 years as a minister means that although not perfect, she must have been doing something right. However, in a 1999 media survey project, the MMA found that despite embodying “all the qualities that are frequently admired in her male counterparts” she received negative labelling in the print media (MMA 1999: 12). Newspapers such as the Mail & Guardian, Business Day, Citizen and the Star were found carrying articles that described Dlamini-Zuma as a “tough nut”, “obstinate”, “arrogant”, “stubborn”, “consistently creating negative vibes” and having “a disregard for logical debate” (MMA 199: 12).

That was over a decade ago. Today, having risen above all the labels and criticisms, Dr Dlamini-Zuma is recently stepped down from her cabinet position to assume the position to which she was recently appointed - chair of the African Union Council. The fact that she is South African and the first woman to be appointed in this position, has had the different stakeholders, including the media singing her praises. Some of the most recent headlines read: “*What a woman, what a victory!*” (Independent Online 17/07/2012) “*If Dlamini-Zuma leaves, who will steer home affairs?*” (M&G 16/07/2012), “*Daughter of the soil*” (Sowetanlive 16/07/2012), “*A legacy for SA Women*” (Sowetanlive 07/08/2012).

Although the acclamation she received following the appointment was warranted, it is interesting to see how it took such a great accomplishment for her good work in her tenure as the minister of home affairs to be acknowledged by various stakeholders in society. The fact that her appointment to the position of chairperson of the African Union Council is in reality a first for a woman in Africa and although it is important to note this, given the historical and current oppression of women around the continent, it needn't be highlighted at the expense of her individual capabilities that led to the appointment.

2.2.4. Either woman of steel or emotional leader

The second form gendered mediation takes is reporting on the emotional capabilities of male politicians and that of their female counterparts differently or as Pantti (2005) puts it, it is reported that “men say, women blast” (Pantti, 2005). Such depictions lead to the perception that as leaders women either conform to one of two extremes: given to being overly

emotional or conforming to the title attached to former British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher – ‘iron woman’.

A case that illustrates this well is that of Lindiwe Sisulu. Currently member of the ANC’s National Executive Council (NEC) and Minister of Public Services and Administration (DPSA), Sisulu formerly served as Minister of Intelligence (2001-2004), Minister of Housing (2004-2009) and Minister of Defence and Military Veterans until she was moved to her current position in June 2012 (GCIS, 2012). Following the death of, Roy Padayachee, who was the DPSA minister, President Zuma reshuffled his cabinet on 12 June 2012. The reshuffling resulted in Sisulu being moved from her position as Minister of Defence and Military Veterans to heading up the DPSA. There were different versions of why the president had made this decision. The following day the Mail & Guardian Online broke a story with the headline “*Soldiers do cry: Sisulu weeps after cabinet ambush*” (M&G Online 2012).

In the story, journalist Matuma Letsoalo quotes an unnamed source that is apparently a government official in the department saying:

“When the president informed her, she cried. She was shocked. It [the decision] caught her off guard. She did not anticipate it. She can’t imagine that she is moving from such a key department to a lowly department like the Public Service & Administration... For her, the defence department was a prestige... she is a flamboyant woman. It can’t be easy to move from uniform to personal management system. Now she will go back to commercial flights, whereas at the defence department, she used to fly in military aircraft.”

The article paints a picture of a woman who enjoyed the luxuries that came with her prominent job and when that was seemingly taken away she throws all her toys to the ground in a sulk. The other point worth noting is the choice of the word ‘ambush’ in the headline which suggests that Sisulu was a victim to the decision of the president. Here, as mentioned earlier, a powerful woman is portrayed as a victim. An article published on the *Timeslive* the following day from that of the M&G carries the headline “*Sisulu didn’t cry*” (Timeslive 2012). It would seem that the issue of the minister crying over her lost position becomes a point of much interest, sensation and fascination for the news media with several other publications and website carrying either side of the story. It would be expected that after the

appointment of a minister into a new post, the news would carry articles that would inform the public on the minister's track record and what may be anticipated from such a new appointment. Rather, the focal point for those few days is whether she cried or not.

The other extreme mentioned by (Pantti, 2005) is that the media may focus on the 'confrontational' behaviour. Or as stated in the MMA (1999):

"Consequently the media and our society represent these women as unfeminine, as iron women", ruthless, belligerent and doggedly determined." (MMA 1999: 9)

This is the other label that seemed to be attached to Sisulu, who was once in intelligence and heading up the country's military. Another article is published on the *M&G* two days after the appointment headlined: "*Cosatu wary of Sisulu's tough attitude towards the Unions*" (M&G Online 2012). In the article the three journalists write of the minister:

"Her hostile attitude towards unions when she was defence minister has earned her several enemies, especially in union federation Cosatu. Senior Cosatu leaders told the M&G they were unhappy about Zuma's decision to redeploy her... The tough Sisulu effectively neutralised the soldiers' unions when she established an ombudsman's office in the military" (M&G Online 2012).

Descriptions such as "hostile attitude", "the tough Sisulu" depict the woman who was portrayed two days earlier by the same news site as an emotional wreck now seem to give the impression of an iron lady. Neither of these two extremes carry positive implications for someone who is about to lead thousands of civil servants.

Even the minister took notice of these portrayals. The following week from her appointment, the City Press Online had a story headlined "*Leaving my guns behind*" – *Sisulu*" (City Press Online 2012). Finally someone decided to sit down with the minister and talk to her about what should actually be the focus – the job at hand. The article states:

"Sisulu said the picture painted by the media of her as a union basher, based on the harsh action she took against defence force unions, was incorrect. "I don't have horns, I am not the devil," she said, adding there was no place in policy for unions in the defence force" (City Press Online 2012)

Although at an initial glance, the first statement seems objective, the choice of words of the writer "harsh action" only reinforces the perception that in the same statement the minister seems to try to correct.

2.2.5. All the things that have nothing to do with her work

Caroline Heldman, Susan Carroll and Stephanie Olson (2005) looked at the print media attention Elizabeth Dole, Republican presidential nominee candidate, received during the run up to the United States of America's 1999 presidential election. The findings showed that Dole did not receive as much media attention as her fellow nominees and the little coverage she received focused on her personality traits and appearance (Heldman *et al.* 2005: 12). More than the constant mention of their gender, media coverage on female politicians is notorious for making mention of their age, physical appearance, personality traits, marital status, etc. (Pantti 2005). Whether it is that her fashion sense leaves much to be desired, that her extrovert or introvert nature works for or against her or her ability to balance her motherhood role with their political career, women politicians face scrutiny for such things that do not have anything to do with their position or their work. In her ascent to the position of parliamentary leader of her party, a young Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) Zambian, female politician noted that the way she dressed and looked became an issue and further noted that this kind of attention is because of her gender and age (Geisler, 2005: 174).

Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, president of Liberia received a lot of media when she was elected and the coverage focused on two issues: she was a woman and was the first female to occupy the position in an independent African country, according to a study done by Jemima Asabea Anderson, Grace Diabah, Patience Mensa (2011: 251). Once again, much reference in the reporting made reference to her role as a mother and a wife, but that was not the case with her male opposition (Anderson *et al.*, 2011: 2516). However, it is worth noting that the study found that Western media made more statements that were bias against women than found in African news (Anderson *et al.*, 2011: 2516).

2.3. Young, black, women politicians

The research that has been done around women politicians focuses on prominent women leaders, the majority of whom are women above the age of 35 (MMA, 1999). However, there is a constant flow, though not necessarily an influx, of young women who are interested in entering the political arena as politicians.

2.3.1. Young black women in the media

The GMMP study (2010: 13) identified that the only time more women than men were featured on television is in the age group 19-34 where 54% of the news subjects were women and 46% were men (GMMP 2010: 14). In print media the most popular group by age featured were 13-18 year old girls (58% as opposed to 42% boys). In the age group 19-34, women made up 42% of the group while men made up 58% (GMMP 2010: 13). This means that the most popular group of news subjects in the media are women below the age of 35.

This leads to the question of how these young women are represented in the media, particularly in South Africa. The MMA study concluded that black women are still labelled by sexist myths, traditional stereotypes and this is a persistent problem (MMA 1999: 10). Certain stereotypes in South Africa have been attached to different groups of black, young people in South Africa and the media has not done much to aid but rather have contributed in perpetuating the situation.

2.3.1.1. The ‘coconuts’

The emergence of a new kind of discrimination has presented some opportunities for young black people to enter spaces they would have otherwise not have been able to in the previous dispensation, though these opportunities have not yet trickled down to every young South African. One of these has been access to schools and education facilities that were formally exclusively reserved for the white elite. Following these developments, the need for young people to prioritise education has been one of the loudest messages being communicated to young people by government, civil society, business, their communities and their families. Along with this new dispensation came the concept of black people who have been labelled as ‘coconuts’. In her thesis on South African writer Kopano Matlwa’s debut novel *Coconut*, Lynda Spencer (2009) took a closer look at identity politics in South Africa raised in the novel. She settles for the Mc Kinney’s (2007: 17) definition of coconut as a derogatory informal term that has been used to label black people who speak and act like white people, cannot speak an African language or choose English over their mother tongue (Spencer 2009: 67). Social commentator, Ndumiso Ngcobo (2008) states that the word at its most basic level is used to describe black people who choose to mostly speak English with a “white accent”, seem comfortable in the company of white people or are known to express opinions that are contrary to African values (Ngcobo, 2008).

It is not necessarily surprising that when a child goes to school and learns to speak English, they would pick up a certain accent, or when anyone spends large amounts of time with certain people there would be an exchange of ideas and habits. One would agree with Ngcobo that this label is not just used to describe certain black people because they speak or sound a certain way but rather this label of African self-hate goes deeper than just verbal descriptions. This label has been attached to people such as Lindiwe Mazibuko it may be because of the way she talks, her background or that she has chosen to align herself with a party that is predominantly white. For Higher Education Minister, the label has to do with Mazibuko's schooling and her accent.

A *M&G Online* article indirectly quotes the minister as calling Mazibuko a coconut because of "her Model C schooling" (*M&G Online* 2012). The common recipients of this label are young, black people. They are made to seem as though they are not 'black enough' but are neither white. This poses as a hurdle in the way of several young, black South Africans, many of which are female.

2.3.1.2. Gold diggers and 'Jezebels'

The other label that has been associated with many young, black women is that of 'gold digger' or 'Jezebel'. These terms are loosely used in South African popular culture to refer to young, black women who date men for the material possessions they can get from them (*Nyathikazi* 2011). As *City Press* columnist, Slindile Nyathikazi (2011) puts it:

"She is seductive, alluring, captivating and tempting. She is Jezebel. She occupies the passenger seats of many a snazzy Beemer (BMW). At the dinner table, she orders the most expensive meals and drinks and never stresses about who is footing the bill.... As a man, to be in her company, you'd better be sure that your money can talk for you" (*Nyathikazi*, 2011).

These young women are said to be after prominent and wealthy, usually older, men. An example of how the media had a feast with such a young woman was recently when Sports and Recreation Minister, Fikile Mbalula, admitted to having an affair with a young woman, 13 years his junior (*Sowetan* 2011). The name 'Joyce Molamu' became synonymous with the name 'Jezebel' and many more such articles were written labelling the woman, and many others who have been accused of similar moral failures as gold diggers (*Sunday World* 2011, *M&G Online* 2011).

Of the above incident, Nyathikazi goes on to say the affair “speaks volumes about who we are as black young women today and how much we value ourselves and our bodies” (Nyathikazi, 2011). Here is a young, black, woman columnist who writes in a nation newspaper that this incident of moral failure on the part of two individuals says a lot about what has come to define young black women. Although she says this in the light of the ‘gold-digger trend’ that has become popular it is both unfortunate and detrimental to the image of young, black woman that when they finally get media attention, it is those young woman who make bad decisions. The same can be said when teenage pregnancy is spoken about. Very few incidents when this makes the news are young men held accountable. Rather, it is young, black woman who are painted as promiscuous, with their priorities mixed up. Similarly, in the case of Mbalula and Molamu, the latter received the most amount of criticism and reproach for being involved with a married man.

2.3.2. Young, black , women politicians

Dr Mamphela Ramphele (2008: 115) describes sexism and authoritarianism as among the ‘ghosts of transformation’ in South Africa. She asserts that those in authority have the tendency to dismiss young people when it comes to making important decisions and young women in particular are mostly at the receiving end of these kinds of sexist and authoritarian attitudes (Ramphele, 2008: 115).

It is a rare sight in South Africa to see a young woman as a leader in a prominent, well-known political movement. Either one of the two is a startling reality: they exist and the media only captures the likes of Lindiwe Mazibuko or they are indeed extremely rare. The researcher suggests that both realities are the case. As Ramphele suggests, a good example of the latter assumption is evident in the ANC Youth League that seems to be a ‘boys club’ in its highest structures (Ramphele, 2008: 115). Currently, there is only one woman among five men in the party’s top six. This was also the case with the previous top leadership position. Although women do feature on the National Executive Committees’ 30 members (ANC 2012) they seem to always be the extreme minority when it comes to the top positions.

Two of the very few times the deputy-secretary of the Youth League, Kenetswe Mosenogi was featured in the media was in July and August 2012, when she was at the receiving end of heckling on two separate occasions at Youth League gatherings in KwaZulu-Natal (Sowetan

2012, Sowetan 2012). If Mosenogi was a man would these stories would have made headlines? It also gives some insights into the patriarchal attitudes that still exist within such movements which are said to supposedly be the grooming ground for the mother body's future leaders.

In a television interview broadcast on SABC 2's women's talk show *Motswako* (13 June 2011), former secretary-general of the League, Vuyiswa Tulelo, spoke about the challenges she had faced as a woman and a mother among men in the League. An example she gave was of having to respond to matters raised in a meeting and on the other hand having to breast feed her child. Her experience is not unique to her as a women political figure.

Pat Lebenya was the leader of the Inkhata Freedom Party Youth Brigade in 2010 and a Member of Parliament. However, although she occupied such a senior position in the fourth largest party in the country, she hardly ever makes the news. In fact, the leader of the break away New Freedom Party, Zanele kaMagwaza-Msibi is much more popular than Lebenya-Ntanzu in the media.

2.4. The newsroom

2.4.1. Experiences of female journalists in the newsrooms

It is not possible to talk about the representation of women by the media, reflect on the producers of this content and not look at the gender representation in the newsroom. The IWMF Global Report observed 500 media companies in 60 countries and found that men still dominate both management and reporting jobs in the media with 73% managers in these companies being male (IMWF, 2011: 9). However it is interesting to note that South Africa is one of the outstanding exceptions to this trend as 79.5% of senior managers in the examined media companies in the country are women (IMWF 2011: 9). As highlighted above, as with the figures in parliament, there is progress in the area of giving women top positions.

Regardless of these strides in the country's newsroom there are still challenges that are unique to women journalists. A study conducted by the South African National Editors' Forum (SANEF) (2006: 6) found that some of the main areas of concern in newsrooms across

the country were racism, sexism, prejudice, discrimination and the newsroom culture (SANEF, 2006: 6).

In her study on the experience of women journalists in South Africa media researcher Nokwazi Zimu (2011: 25) highlights some of the issues that are still great challenges for these women. One of the main hurdles to the progression of women journalists is the sidelining of women reporters to the sections on gender and lifestyle (Zimu 2011: 25). A long standing tradition, this practice is still enduring. Very rarely will one find a man heading up the gender section of a publication, the lifestyle pages on food and clothing or the section on parenting. The newsroom operates within the context of the society and however advanced the modern society may claim to be, women still dominate the kitchens in their homes, are still looked upon to head up the rearing of children in the home and still lead the discourse on balancing the genders.

This is a societal issue that spills over into the newsrooms. Therefore, a suggestion may be made that women in the newsroom do not necessarily choose the beats that ‘come naturally’ from the home but rather allow themselves to take up positions and a keen interest in the politics, technology and sports sections. However, a Genderlinks (2009:4) study found that a bit over 80% of South African finance and economics reporters in 2009 were women (Genderlinks, 2009: 4). This means that along with the lifestyle section, economics news are dominated by women. But these are only two of many areas in any newsroom, therefore progress is still very gradual.

Zimu (2011: 1) notes that black women journalists face a double-sided challenge in their workplace because of their race and their gender. She suggests that not only has the media “turned against the black women” in terms of the amount of negative reporting they endure but the presence of black women in the newsroom has not really proven to improve the situation (Zimu 2011: 22). She states that some of the factors that marginalise black women journalists include the absence of progression in their jobs, unsatisfactory salaries and the treatment they endure (Zimu 2011: 24).

It could be suggested that the above mentioned challenges mentioned by Zimu are not unique experiences to black women. American news reporter, Susan Reed (2002), notes in her article

on the unequal pay between men and women that a discrepancy still exists between men and women in the newsroom when it comes to payment. She goes further to suggest that one of the most common errors on the part of women journalists when trying to take the proverbial bull by the horns is comparing their pay to one another's as opposed to that of their male counterparts (Reed 2002).

2.4.2. Suggestions towards a solution

Some studies (MMA 1999) suggest that one of the solutions is ensuring that there are more women reporters in the newsroom as this would increase at least the quantity of reports that use women as sources. The reality is that women are rarely used as spokespersons (MMA, 1999: 7) and as Haffajee notes, this is usually because male sources are found to be more accessible and there are more male experts in fields such as politics and economics (Haffajee, 2004: 4.)

However, as Zimu (2011:139) notes that perhaps the solution lies more in a less formal gathering of women journalists to share their challenges and exchange knowledge and solutions. The other solution is to educate more women journalists. Perhaps one of the reasons reporting is not changing is greatly because of insufficient education with regards to how to go about reporting on certain issues (Zimu, 2011:39). For example, an initiative such as educating more women in the area of science and technology reporting would go a long way in increasing more women reporters who specialise in this area which is still dominated by male journalists.

The addition of more women journalists has not proven to really alleviate the poor coverage of women as there is no substantial increase in women's voices that come from the work of women journalists (Katembo, 2005: 127). This is because it is not necessarily the case that just because a journalist is a woman she is conscious of the gender struggle and interested in actively doing something about it.

2.5. Conclusion

The literature and research reviewed in this chapter suggest that women are still underrepresented in all forms of media and when they do receive coverage it is of a poorer

quality than that afforded to their male counterparts. It has been indicated that women politicians in particular receive coverage that usually focuses on many of their personal aspects such as their emotional state and personality traits. It was found that their achievements were made to seem as special and rare incidents. The section on the portrayal of young, black women showed that this group in the South African society is often painted with labels such as ‘coconuts’, ‘gold diggers’ and ‘jezebels’ and it is evident that they face the three-tiered challenge of racism, sexism and hierarchy that comes with age. Young, black women in top political positions have been found to be rare but even those that are present do not receive enough media coverage. The last section of this chapter found that women journalists also face unique challenges in the newsroom and the solutions that simply suggest that more women journalists be employed are inadequate to address the challenge of poor media representation of women in influential positions.

The next chapter looks at the theoretical framework that informs some of the structural and social issues that have been raised and they are applied to this particular study.

CHAPTER 3 - THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3. Introduction

Every study is rooted in some kind of theory to provide context and an explanation for the phenomenon being studied. This chapter is a discussion of the theories that inform the study being undertaken on women political figures in the media. The first section of the chapter looks at the significance of mass communication theories and what the role of the media is perceived to be under the positivistic, functionalist and critical approaches. Feminism is one of the dominant theories in this study and the researcher details the different approaches to this critical approach theory. After discussing some of the major criticisms that have been leveled against feminism, an alternative is discussed which is womanism. Other theories which will be discussed in this chapter that inform the study are the Media Representation Theory (MRT), Gender and media, Social Responsibility Theory and the Political economy theory. The main theoretical framework for this study is womanism as an alternative to feminism.

3.1. Mass Communication Theories

Mass communication theories seek to describe, understand, interpret, predict and change for the better the media's role and relationship with society (Fourie, 2007: 112). Media theorist, Mc Quail (2010: 13, 14) categorises schools of theories of mass communication into four categories. Firstly, social scientific theories observe the nature of mass communication, how it works and the effects the media has on society. Secondly, cultural theories on the other hand seek to not only observe but evaluate and where necessary challenge the nature, modus operandi and effects of the media. Thirdly, normative theories focus on the ideal and how the media ought to be and what it ought to do in the ideal situation. And fourthly, operational theories are those ideas and practices that are put together and applied by the media. In other words it is the way the media views itself and its works (McQuail, 2010: 13, 14). There are two main approaches to viewing and explaining mass communication, which both fall under either of the above mentioned categories. The positivistic approach of functionalism focuses on the way that audiences utilise and benefit from the media while the critical approach

places more emphasis on the sometimes subtle and underlying power at play in the media and how that informs production and consumption (Dominick, 1999: 30).

3.2. Role of the media

There does not exist one single and universal definition of the role of the media in society that encapsulates the many different views that exist. One may sum up the different views into categories on the basis on involvement in the media, for the purposes of this discussion, namely: the way the media views itself and the way society views the media. Even in these categories there are a variety of perspectives and some even conflicting with others.

The positivistic approach may be segmented into three main theories namely empiricism, behaviourism and functionalism (Fourie 2007: 118). Empiricism places much emphasis on knowledge being what it is through facts, therefore objectivity is prioritised in an effort to attain as accurate facts as possible (Fourie 2007: 118). Behaviourism analyses people's behaviour and actions more than their thinking and reasoning (Fourie 2007: 119). It is on these findings of experience that knowledge is based (Fourie 2007: 119).

Functionalism views society as a unit made up of many different elements that are interdependently linked. When one part is dysfunctional, the entire system is affected. Once again, in this approach to research of the elements that make up the society, the purpose is to have an objective view of society by looking at phenomenon that is constant and repetitive (Fourie, 2007: 120).

The critical approach theories, which may be classified as cultural theories, view the media as an active participant in society and critical theories see the media as an agent of socialization (Dominick, 1999:40). This means that the media play a huge role in suggesting to society what is acceptable and what is not by transmitting certain values; this dismisses the notion of a media that simply reflects the reality of society (Dominick, 1999: 40). McQuail indicates that the main propositions of cultural critical theories are that mass culture creates a false consciousness and perception of reality, is a carrier of ideology, and commodifies the production and consumption of the media (McQuail, 2010: 117).

Mass society theory was less generally less optimistic about the role of the media in society, viewing it as able to influence the minds of people for the worst. The assumptions that make up this theory are mainly that the media has the power to influence people's minds in order to bring about social chaos and lead to the deterioration of civilisation by contaminating and inferiorating culture in the minds of the masses. The modern form of this theory focuses on the media as an agent to impart certain ideologies that indirectly influences the way people view the world (Fourie, 2007: 125, 130). One of the most popular alternative ideologies that view the world from a feminine perspective is feminism.

3.3. Feminism

It is not possible to talk of the representation of women in the media without looking at theories such as feminism and womanism which focus on the role of women in society and the different struggles they face, depending on which of the above two one subscribes to. The focal point of these theories' objections with the media is how women are spoken for and what is spoken about regarding women (Gallagher, 2003: 25). It is also the way women are portrayed and the prominence and allowance they are given to speak for themselves in these public platforms. Theories of women place much emphasis on the liberation and emancipation of women and therefore the role of the fourth estate of society cannot be ignored. Feminism, however, is not single body of work but over the years has taken several forms with different streams of feminism taking different approaches to the theory. The most common ones have been liberal feminism, Marxist feminism, socialist feminism, and radical feminism and post feminism.

3.3.1. Liberal feminism

Liberal feminism finds its roots in the works of political theorists who focused on property rights as the source of economic power and wealth distribution. Lynn Parry and Beschara Karam (2006: 386) state that mental and rational development are the most valuable assets and the state should ensure that both women and men enjoy these rights (Parry & Karam, 2006:386). The area of concern for liberal feminism is those rights which would ensure mental and economic freedom and independence for women. Liberal feminism places much emphasis on equal professional opportunities for women and the redistribution of wealth (Parry & Karam, 2006: 386). The women empowerment agenda seeks to place as priorities

issues of women in the workplace, the unemployment of women and the need for women to be able to inherit land and positions of authority and power where they were formerly not able to.

The main criticisms leveled at this approach are that it does not explore the origins of differences between the gender and it is attributed to white, middle-class women (Parry & Karam, 2006: 386). This suggests that even the issues it brings up are within the context of this group of women and their solutions do not address the plight of women of other races. The preoccupation of the redistribution of wealth does not take into consideration the different classes of women that exist within economically fragmented societies. A similar observation in South Africa can be made where the struggles and oppressions of women in the boardroom cannot be said to be representative of women who do not even have a job. Therefore it is almost inaccurate for the former group of women to air their frustrations as though they are universal and inclusive of the latter.

3.3.2. Marxist Feminism

Marxist feminism is based on the work of social theorist Karl Marx whose main argument was that power belongs to those who own the means of production and in this case the powerful group are men (Karam, 2008: 309). Marx's work greatly criticised the capitalist society that advantaged the few at the expense of the poor majority. Therefore, for Marxist feminist theorist, the oppression and lessening of the value of women is linked to the capitalist state system (Parry & Karam, 2006: 389). This theory, therefore, would be a direct alternative to liberal feminism which it would criticise for focusing on the challenges of wealthy women to the exclusion of the plight of the working class woman.

3.3.3. Socialist Feminism

The weakness identified in this approach to feminism is that it does not place emphasis on the oppression of women by men. The focus of Marxist feminism on the class inequalities is that it downplays the gender struggle which feminism it ultimately based on. Socialist feminists argue that class and gender are equal areas of struggle for women (Parry & Karam, 2006: 390). But these are not the only areas in which women are oppressed as social feminists believe race, culture and language are also areas of oppression for women and should

therefore not be sidelined when addressing the holistic liberation of women (Karam 2008: 310).

Radical Feminism

Radical feminism is the most extreme of all the types of feminisms which have been mentioned above. At its core does the problematisation of the concept of gender and the two genders co-exist in the same society? Parry and Karam (2006: 394) state that radical feminism sees doing away with gender and social status as the solution to patriarchy and male control. This theory views women as the first group of people in human history to suffer domination by another (Parry & Karam, 2006: 395). Although it may be unrealistic, this school of thought seems to suggest that in the ideal world gender does not feature at best with the alternative being a society where men and women do not co-exist in the same society. At the heart of radical feminism is the call for manhood and womanhood to be done away with as oppression is the symptom of this societal 'disorder'. The conviction of radical feminists goes as far as believing that the ultimate solution is for men and women to live in separate societies, with different languages and unique cultures (Parry & Karam, 2006: 395).

3.3.4. Post-feminism

Post-feminism arose from the concern of that no one type of feminism can be said to speak for women in all societies of all genders and all races. In fact, one author goes as far as to say this theory is of the view that women in society no longer suffer patriarchal victimization and equality between the genders has in actual fact been achieved (Laughey, 2007:115). Similar to this approach is what Karam (2008: 312) refers to as Cosmo feminism. These are women who do not view practices such as grooming as male oppression. But she goes on to specify that "participants have to be in the right age and economic class and frequently a certain racial group to even attempt to gain entry into this exclusive club of feminists (Karam, 2008: 312).

3.3.5. Criticisms of feminism

As more women Europe came to the realisation that they did not just belong the kitchen pregnant and bare footed nor did they just belong in career streams that were known to be 'suitable' for women such as teaching and nursing, feminist ideologies emerged. Mainstream feminism asserts that women had the ability to do what men could do and is not inferior to

men in anyway. In fact, feminism asserts that women have the right to enjoy the same rights as men and exposed the presence of sexism in different spheres of society. It would seem the main preoccupation of feminism is to highlight the patriarchal nature of the world and how women everywhere suffer under the oppression of men.

From this focal point came the concept of essentialism. Alison Stone (2007: 18), who writes on the origins of feminism critiques, defines essentialism as a similar concept to universalism. With regards to feminism, it is the argument that all women possess similar elements that make them women. The main critique of essentialism is that it suggests that all women are the same, and face the exact same struggles (Stone, 2007:18). One of the implications is that these elements or the criteria used to identify these elements is created by a certain group of women and therefore cannot claim to be speaking for all women.

Alison Stone (2007), who is one of the defenders of anti-essentialism, highlights that one of the rebuttals of feminists theorists is that the denial of women sharing any common features demolishes any hope of women globally possessing any common threads that make them a distinguished group in society (Stone, 2007: 19). Anti-essentialism argues against the emphasis on the similarity between women everywhere mainly because this is the basis of dominant feminism ideology that suggests that even the struggles that women face are the same everywhere. The problem with this approach is that it denies the reality of the struggles of women who are usually not Western women, such as Africans. The women face the added struggle of racial discrimination in addition to sexism.

Women Studies writer Kathleen Cross (1996: 197) observes that the main area of discord in feminist theories is the issue of race which persists through the developments of the theory (Cross, 1996: 197). Whether from the first, the second or the third wave of feminism, the consistent criticism is the ignorance of the fact that patriarchy is no the only and the greatest challenge for women everywhere (Cross, 1996: 197). For women in countries like South Africa, and other non-white (especially black) women across the world, their skin colour and not only their gender, is used as a basis for discrimination. This discrimination still persists as much as gender discrimination is still a daily reality for many women.

Cross (1996: 200-204) goes on to summarise the three critiques against mainstream feminism as: suggesting the only oppression all women face is patriarchy, the tendency of feminist theorists to generalise 'Third world women' and creating a negative and undifferentiated

image of black women (Cross, 1996: 200-204). An overwhelming portion of feminist theories as they are known today originated and were developed in the Western world. They are the brain child of women who mostly do not have the experience of what it is like to be born, bred and matured in the ‘Third World’. Therefore their perspective of the challenges that women in these parts of the world face is narrow-minded and they only see a limited and sometimes warped version of reality. It is this perception of reality that forms their point of departure when they write on the plight of all women. For a long time it has been the cry of women to not have men speak on their behalf as they do not have the lived experience of the reality. A similar outcry is made against Western women to not claim to speak on behalf of all the women of the world

3.4. Womanism

Kenyan womanist Edith Miguda expresses the thoughts of many womanists, who refuse to subscribe completely to the assertions of western feminism:

“I was more conversant with feminism, but I did not feel that it represented me or my history. I also felt that it tended to represent history other than mine.” (Miguda, 2010: 453)

An alternative to Western feminism is black feminism or womanism. The term ‘womanism’ was coined by African American author Alice Walker. Alison Easton (1996: 108), who writes about gender and race in America, argues that most African-American women not only face racism, but sexism from men of both white and black communities. Furthermore, the image of black women is tarnished in the media as they are commonly portrayed as either matriarchs, submissive or lascivious (Easton, 1996: 108). Both depictions are still not uncommon. In South African popular culture the term “Jezebels” has been coined to describe young, usually black women who use their sexual prowess to lure older, often rich men. When women look a certain way and behave in a certain manner they would be labeled as “Jezebels”. The other stereotype of black women in the media is that of strong, independent single mothers who because of being toughened by circumstances become domineering and overbearing.

The latter label many black women earn can come from other women but also from black men. Easton suggests that slavery was the main contributor to the breakdown of relations between black women and men (Easton, 1996: 110). This is true of African American countries, as much as the same may be said for the contribution of the South African

Apartheid system to the breakdown of the black family (Ramphela, 2008). Many black South African men were employed in the mines in those days and many others had to find employment in the city where they were not able to live with their wives and children. A great number of women had to fend for their families while their husbands away, usually only returning at the end of the month. Many then developed an independence that was key for survival and to a certain extent this somehow added pressure on the relationship between black men and women.

Alice Walker initiated the term “womanism” which represented the experience of black women facing both social, political and cultural racism and sexism (Frenkel, 2008: 2). Unlike their non-black counterparts, the daily reality of many black women is having to prove themselves not only because of the discrimination against them if their gender but because of their race as well. Corporate management authors, Ancella Livers and Keith Caver (2002: 9), highlight a label that is often attached to black women in corporate America:

“For women the general stereotype is that they are supportive, cooperative, nurturing, less competent than men, and treated as sexual objects. Black women are also forced to deal with a set of perceptions beyond those. They are often considered aggressive and too direct, assertive and flashy for corporate America” (Livers & Caver 2002: 9).

This is not only the reality for many black women in corporate America but even in countries like South Africa and many others. Women face unique challenges in the work place but black women face another set of challenges in addition to that.

Ronit Frenkel observes two challenges that feminist theories face in South Africa. The first is getting rid of the racialised stereotypes. The second challenge is to include the different traditional beliefs (Frenkel, 2008: 3). South Africa is a very diverse nation and although sexism and racism are common struggles of women in the country, there is yet another addition. There are traditional beliefs that still empower and are beneficial to men at the expense of women. However, this assertion may be pushed to the extreme and often people who know little about the history of many of the African beliefs may be quick to suggest that generally African cultures are biased against women. Some feminist assertions may be seen to not acknowledge that it is not necessarily the case that roles in the African society favour men over women. It is not always a matter of hierarchy but rather the acknowledgement that men and women are different and therefore would assume different roles in society.

3.5. Media Representations Theory (MRT)

At the heart of the representation theory is what Beschara Karama (2006) calls the question of distinguishing between reflecting reality and reinterpreting reality. All media production is mediated reality (Karama, 2006: 468). This means it is not reality and if not fiction, tries as closely as possible to accurately reflect the reality. The question arises of how accurately reality can be reflected without compromising certain aspects during the process of production. The other concern is that someone tells the story and therefore the accounts that make up the news are ultimately someone's account of the events.

Arnold de Beer and Nicolene Botha (2008: 233) argue that news is a representation of reality. Although this is a valid observation, it is important to note the extent to which we can be sure that what is presented to audiences is as close to the truth as possible.

Even if the reporter gets several sources, which hold differing perspectives, they ultimately tell the story from their point of view. Therefore the account is not necessarily an accurate reflection of the events but rather a reinterpretation of the reality.

Julie Reid (2008: 199) puts it that all representations are simply "mediated versions of reality" (Reid, 2008: 199). One of the concepts in news reporting that gives weight to the assertion that news is representation is the concept of framing. Framing is simply the selection of what is reported and how the reporting is done and presented (De Beer & Botha 2008: 239).

Secondly, texts are usually in dialogue with other texts and thirdly, they are informed by certain ideologies.

Lynette Steenveld (2000a:43) points out that one of the greatest challenges the media experiences is the expectation to represent all different kinds of people. One of the solutions that Steenveld proposes is the training and employing of more black, female journalists in all the journalistic beats. She does however point out that the extreme of this is having each journalist report stories that have to do with their racial groups and thus perpetuate further racial polarization from the newsroom. Steenveld also asks, whether news reporters purely

reflect the news, manipulate it or manufacture it (Steenveld, 2000a:43). She agrees with the idea that representation can either make the truth seem even more true (hyper-real or extra real) or it can make the completely untrue seem true (Reid, 2008: 201).

3.6. Gender and Media

The theories relating to the representation of gender (specifically women) in the media were born from a concern similar to that of feminism, but in particular women are not enjoying as much or as prominent coverage as men in the media. The two major problems are under-representation and stereotyping (McQuail 2010: 120).

The news media, in particular has been accused for either sensationalising or trivialising reports around women and women's issues (McQuail 2010: 121). Whether it is a report on a woman who has suffered domestic violence sensationalized with dramatic depictions or whether it is the poor amount of coverage given to such issues, the media is still found hugely wanting in this area.

The gender and media theory makes several assertions. First is that the media has sidelined women in the public space (McQuail, 2010:123). Secondly, perpetuate the existing stereotypes of masculinity and femininity. Thirdly, the output of media products is still divided along gender lines and the reception of these products are also still gendered. The fourth suggestion is that the media is a platform for the display of both good and bad role models (McQuail 2010: 123).

3.7. Social Responsibility Theory

Writing on the position and role of journalism and the media in a democratic society, Nico Carpentier (2007: 151) subscribes to the notion of a journalist as 'a walking paradox' as was suggested by Nordestreng (1995). The daily reality of a journalist is the tension between serving more than one expectation, and at times these expectations are at loggerheads with one another. On the one hand journalists have their own code of ethics to live up to, on the other hand the organizational structure places its own demand on their output and still on the other side the expectations society has of the profession (Carpentier, 2007: 151). In addition, another element to the equation which is sometimes ignored is that public is not a monolithic construction but rather made up of different groups with a variety of standards and beliefs.

The concept of social responsibility in the media was the result of the findings of the Commission on Freedom of the press (popularly known as the Hutchins commission after its chairman Robert Hutchins) which was set up in the United States of America in 1947. The role of the commission was to probe the sensationalism, commercialism, monopolistic tendencies and the political imbalances that marred the American press (McQuail, 2010: 170). The Commission recommended that the journalistic profession be governed by the principles of truthfulness, provision of context when reporting events, representation of the wide spectrum of the particular society and that the press should be a platform for the exchanging of ideas, including criticisms (McQuail, 2010: 170).

The media is somewhat hard pressed on many sides with a number of stakeholders to deliver to and satisfy. As mentioned above, the social responsibility theory suggests that the media has an obligation to fulfill towards the public. But on the other hand, as media ethics writer Sharon Bracci (2003: 116) states, advertisers are another important stakeholder who practically keep the paper running. Advertisers inject their money into the media with the clear expectation of the delivery of the eyes and ears of the media's audience. The media therefore has an obligation to satisfy the fair exchange agreed upon with advertisers and this sometimes contradicts the best interest of the public within the society's specific cultural and intellectual context (Bracci, 2003: 116).

The social responsibility theory basically suggests that the media have a responsibility to society and ultimately belongs to the public. Secondly the media is called upon to be truthful and accurate in presorting. Although the press should enjoy freedom, the industry must make sure that it regulates itself. One of the ways this is to be attained is through upholding its code of ethics and maintaining high professional standards. The last, and often most contested is that in some cases the government will need to get involved on behalf of the public (McQuail, 2010: 171).

3.8. Political Economy Theory

McQuail (2010:566) defines political economy theory as the school of thought that perceives the media and society according to the economic factors that control the roles that the different stakeholders play and that ultimately politics is all about economic power.

Another definition of this theory it gives attention to the ‘politics and economics of media institutions and the texts they produce’ (Laughey, 2007: 122). The focus here is placed on the commercial aspect of the media because ultimately the media is a form of business. The other emphasis is on the relationship dynamics between the media and politics, governed by the commercial aspect for the relationship.

The critical political economy views the economy as the foundation of all ideas and institutions as well as other social structures in society. As the theory stems from the Marxist theory, it views all production as driven by profit which is closely related to the cost of labour (Fourie 2007: 136). Informed by this Marxist perspective of ownership of the means of production, the critical political economy suggests that the political and economic power relationships that govern the media help to maintain the system of inequality in society (Laughey, 2007: 135).

Operating and subscribing to the capitalist method of production the media does mass production of commodities which are produced using costly technology. Media organisations make use of highly specialized division of labour and the industry views the ability to keep costs to the minimum as one of the measures of success (Fourie, 2007: 136).

Carpentier (2007:152) indicates that the main issue is that the media and journalists do not operate on an ideological island but rather are influenced by certain ideologies which exist in society. This stance therefore nullifies claims of objectivity by the media because every report is produced within a certain social, historical, and political context. Claims of objectivity by the news media are denied on this and other bases.

There are several consequences of media organizations being run employing the capitalist techniques of production. Firstly the independence of news media sources is reduced. Secondly much attention is given to the biggest markets and their tastes and needs are prioritised while poorer groups are neglected. The third consequence is that very little capital is invested in activities that do not necessarily bring much profit such as investigative reporting (McQuail, 2005: 82).

3.9. Conclusion

It is often assumed that since women have their gender in common, their struggles can also be placed in the same category as they are made to have more in common than not. For

decades, feminist theories have objected to the sidelining of women's issues and women's perspective on what happens in society. But these theories did not identify the fact that there is a certain group of women that face even more and unique challenges – black women. Womanism aims to bring the issues and challenges that black women face as a result of their gender and race to the fore and to suggest an alternative perspective to women's issues and challenges. Theories such as Media Representation theories and the Gender and Media theory explain that discrimination against women in media representation is inherent the societal discrimination. The Social Responsibility Theory explains why there is a constant outcry against the media when it is found wanting in certain areas. The reason is that as an institution in society the media has a responsibility to its citizens. Lastly, the Political Economy theory suggests that a capitalist approach to running the media is responsible for some of the negative aspects that have been identified in the fourth estate.

In the next chapter, research methodology and the techniques used in this study are discussed.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4. Introduction

Any study rises and falls on the research approach utilised to gather, analyse and represent findings. In this chapter the author begins by giving a brief overview of research in mass communication and describes some of the common phenomena studied in mass communication research. From there definitions of the two approaches of qualitative and quantitative approaches are provided and the two methods are compared. The researcher goes on to define some of the most common qualitative and quantitative research techniques used in researching processes, audiences and producers in mass communication. For the purposes of this study, the technique of content analysis is employed. The researcher defines the technique, states some of its uses, details the process and gives both the advantages and disadvantages of this method. In the last section of this chapter, the use of content analysis for this particular study is provided.

4.1. Mass communication and media research

Like any other industry in society, the media has been subjected to research in order to better understand this field and its various stakeholders. Media researcher Roger Wimmer and Joseph Dominick (1991: 4-5) trace the development of research in the field of mass media and find it may be summed up into four periods over the years. The first is the study of the medium in question. There was a time where much emphasis was placed on the medium – understanding how it works, the technologies used, its functions, etc. In the second period, the focus shifted to more detailed information on the uses of the medium and audiences who were on the receiving end. In the third period the focus of research and investigations was on the broader context, looking at the effects of the media both socially and psychologically (Wimmer & Dominick, 1991: 4, 5).

In the most recent times studies of the media have been around finding ways to make the production and reception of media better, especially through the use of the latest technology (Wimmer & Dominick, 1991: 5). From these four periods, it may be deduced that research in media and mass communication either focuses on one of these or a combination thereof: the different mediums, media producer and production methods, audiences and the context, or the relationship between the media and society.

4.2. Quantitative and Qualitative analysis

Quantitative research may also be defined as “unobtrusive research” as it measures behavioural patterns without interrupting or affecting the process being observed (Babbie, 1995: 335). Some of the assumptions made by the quantitative approach are that communication can be objectively measured, that a hypothesis can be proven or disproven using the findings of an objective study (DuPlooy, 2009: 30). This view to mass communication research suggests that this field of knowledge, like many other fields can be studied and understood through scientific research techniques.

Barrie Gunter (2002: 234) states that essentially the outstanding defining element of quantitative research methodologies is the reduction of phenomenon to numerical codes. This is also the case in mass communication research. All techniques employed in doing research in this field from the quantitative research approach results in representing findings in numerical values first, then interpreting the data that is represented on charts and tables. Susanna Priest (1996: 4) takes it further to say this method of research makes use of numerical measures in order to investigate social phenomena.

There are certain kinds of studies that require data to be analysed in a different manner. Susanna Priest (1996: 5) suggests that when things that cannot be summarized numerically are being studied, qualitative method is the most suitable method to employ. Moreover, this approach rejects suggestion that anything that is significant and of interest can only be measured accurately (Priest, 1996: 5). There are certain realities that cannot be represented in numerical form. Some of these in mass communication research include people’s feelings, attitudes, memories, etc.

Although one can study and numerically represent the amounts of articles of a certain figure, such methods cannot tell how audiences’ attitudes towards the person in question have been affected. The main elements that define qualitative approaches include the value of context, having participants (subjects) in as natural an environment as possible and the interpretation of meaning (Jensen, 2002: 236). There are often tendencies to value numerical data is superior to non-numerical data, mainly because of the perception of objectivity in quantitative data. However, qualitative data often adds substance and somewhat of an

explanation to what would just be numbers and the qualitative approach may be more useful in certain areas of social research (Bless & Higson-Smith, 1998: 100).

4.3. Quantitative and qualitative research techniques used in mass communication research

There are a number of techniques that are used to conduct research in the qualitative and quantitative approaches to research. The following are some of the most common of these techniques often used in mass communication research.

4.3.1. Focus Groups

The main advantage of focus groups is that the insights of participants are immediately available and if captured on video, their body language and other non-verbal cues may be observed non-obtrusively (Berger, 1998: 91). Some of the disadvantages include individuals who dominate the discussions or participants saying what they think they are expected to because they are being observed and the fact that a focus group cannot be said to be accurately representative of the population (Berger, 1998: 91).

4.3.2. Interviews

One of the main forms of getting data from people is simply through having a conversation with them and asking questions that will lead them to reveal the necessary information. Depth interviews are more than just conversations. They are highly focus extended conversations conducted with the purpose of finding out the subject's opinions, feelings, attitudes, beliefs that the subject may sometimes not be aware of or fully conscious of the fact that they hold these (Berger, 1998: 55).

4.3.3. Ethnomethodological Research

Another form of "obtrusive" research is the ethnomethodological approach, which is a more long term form of participant observation. Kenneth Bailey (1978: 249) describes the use of ethnomethodology as to:

"...study how members of society, in the course of ongoing social interaction, make sense of... terms whose meaning is not universal but is dependent upon the context" (Bailey, 1978: 249).

Some of the main advantages include the fact that the researcher does not have to rely on the memory of participants to recall changes over a long period of time. It studies both verbal and non-verbal behaviours and gives a rich, in-depth understanding into the participants (Bailey, 1978: 263).

4.3.4. Participant Observation

Ethnomethodological research was among the first methods used to find out about different people groups. But there are other forms of participant observation that have become useful to researchers in all fields, including in mass communication research. At the most basic level participant observation involves the researcher entering the daily space of the participants, making observations, making notes about what they see the participant saying and doing without interfering or interrupting (Priest, 1996: 24). A good example of how this method is often applied in mass communication production research is when the researcher goes to a newsroom for a certain periods of times. Here the researcher would attend diary meetings, meetings where decisions are made, watch the journalist(s) as they gather their information, get it approved and produce their work. This method would provide valuable insight to a study on the processes of news production.

4.3.5. Historical Analysis

Another form of research technique is historical analysis which is essentially the gathering of information from the past for the purposes of documenting it. Types of historical research include biographical studies (focusing on the life of an individual), movement or idea studies (tracing developments of ideas and political or social movements), regional studies (looking at geographical areas), institutional studies (concentrating on organisations), case histories (single events), selected studies (focusing on special elements in complex processes) and editorial studies (Berger, 2011: 159, 160).

4.3.6. Content analysis

Content analysis is research conducted on text and images in documents. It is discussed in the following section.

4.3.7. Surveys

Social Sciences researcher Earl Babbie (1995: 276) describes surveys as the best way to derive information from a large population of people as it allows the researcher to get direct responses on research questions from as large a portion of the population as possible.

A researcher may undertake survey research through several mediums: mail (whether postal or electronic), telephonic, personal interview (such as those undertaken during a nation's census) or group administration (Wimmer & Domminick, 1991: 135).

The obvious advantage, as mentioned above is that it provides as much information on the population as possible. The limitation of this technique, however, is that the information provided can be more often than not superficial and artificial (Babbie, 1995: 277).

4.3.8. Experiments

Like surveys, the main weakness of experiments is that phenomena tested in a controlled environment is most likely to produce artificial results as the study is not conducted in everyday life atmosphere (Babbie, 1995: 253).

Laboratory experiments are more effective than field experiments because the researcher can control the environment to make sure that there are not any hindrances and interruptions that they would otherwise be subjected to in a real-life setting (Wimmer & Domminick, 1991: 99). The everyday setting of the participant is not always necessary. For example, if the researcher wants to observe the immediate reactions of teenagers after watching a certain TV program, the researcher may get the group into a room and allow them to view the program. Immediately after that they could be asked to fill in a questionnaire regarding what they have just viewed and their reaction to that. In this case it is not necessary to have them view the TV program in their own homes.

4.4. Mixing Methods

Some researchers (Bailey, 1978: 51) suggest that at the most basic level, the distinction between quantitative and qualitative research methods lies in defining of data according to numerical values with the former and names or labels with the latter. However there are times when qualitative research will make use of statistics and numbers when dealing with more complex information (Jensen, 2002: 7). On the other hand, quantitative research may be

somewhat superficial if it is not enriched with the context provided by the qualitative research approach. There are several reasons why a researcher would need to use both qualitative and quantitative research methods. These definitions give rise to two kinds of mixed methods. Fixed methods designs are studies where from the onset, during the planning stages, the researcher determined to use both methods. Emergent mixed methods designs define the employing of this approach mid-way through the research process as the researcher realises the need for both while conducting the study (Creswell & Clark, 2011: 54).

4.5. Content Analysis

4.5.1. Defining content analysis

There are many definitions for the concept and practice of content analysis. A thorough, six-part definition is provided by Kimberly A. Neuendorf (2002: 10):

“Content analysis is a summarizing, quantitative analysis of messages that relies on the scientific method (including attention to objectivity-intersubjectivity... reliability, validity, generalisability replicability and hypothesis testing) and is not limited as to the types of variables that may be measured or the context in which the messages are created or presented”.

From this definition, it is apparent that one of the distinguishing factors of content analysis that sets it apart from many of the research techniques in fields such as mass communication research is the fact that it aims to comply with the standards of the scientific methods. Firstly, as per the above definition, the scientific method is measured by objectivity and reliability. In this case objectivity simply means that if another researcher were to apply the process used, they should be able to come to the same conclusion thus successfully duplicating the process (Wigston, 2009: 5). Reliability suggests that if the process was to be repeated several times it should yield the same results and replicability means that the study should yield the same results each time even if the case studies and context are changed. Validity is the certainty that what is being measured is what was initially intended to be measured (Neuendorf, 2002: 12).

Another characteristic of the scientific method is generalisability, which means that the results should be the same even if the population being study is expanded as it is assumed the sample is as closely representative as possible (Neuendorf, 2002: 12). One of the most well-

known elements of the scientific method is the hypothesis testing. A hypothesis may be defined as the prediction of an outcome of the relationship that exists between two selected variables (DuPlooy, 2009: 77).

The definition provided above also states the summarising, quantitative and systematic nature of content analysis. Rather than place emphasis on specific details, content analysis summarises the results that represent reality (Neuendorf, 2002: 16). A good example of this is how results are often summarized into percentages. For example, a study of soapie audiences would report that 70% of the viewers are black women, 25% are black men and 5% are women and men of other races. The details that would be omitted may include facts such as what the daily lives of these groups of people look like. Such would be a more exhaustive study that would employ the usage of other research techniques such as interviews. The quantitative element means that the results should be precise and accurate and as such are usually presented in frequencies or numeric figures (Wigston, 2009: 5).

4.5.2. The uses of the technique

At the most basic level, the purpose of content analysis in media research is based on the supposition that investigating messages will provide enlightening and useful information into the intentions of the communicator and the interpretation of the message by those at the receiving end (Wigston, 2009: 7). This means that the ultimate focus and the uses that will be described are centered on the communicator, the message and the recipient. Furthermore, content analysis is useful for two kinds of research: descriptive research, which is the observation of messages for the purposes of describing an event and explanatory research which is the explanation of messages observed (Wigston, 2009: 8).

The uses of content research in mass communication and more specifically media may be summed up into five. The first is the description of content (messages) that are communicated (Wimmer & Dominick, 1991: 159). This function would fall under the descriptive purposes of content analysis as it suggests purely that the messages being communicated are identified and described. This would include trends as measured through methods such as frequency (Holsti, 1969: 43, 44). For example, a content analysis of a national newspaper's coverage of the South African president's relationship with the Zimbabwean president would fall under

this category. Examples of the measurement would be the number of articles that appear which report on the two head of states.

A second function of content analysis is to test the hypotheses of the characteristics of messages in question to ascertain the relation between the content of messages to the source of the messages (Holsti, 1969: 28). This would mainly be used when examining the ideology behind a certain message and linking it to the source. An example would be a study which links news bulletins that prioritized stories that report on the achievements and success of the Apartheid government to the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) during the Apartheid era. The result would not come as much of a surprise as the SABC was, as it still is, a state-funded entity.

Thirdly, content analysis may be used to compare certain media messages to actual reality (Wimmer & Dominick, 1991: 159). South Africa is often said to have one of the highest crime rates in the world. This statement is usually used in news articles and bulletins. Content analysis could be used to determine how many times such an assertion is made in a daily newspaper in a year and compared to actual statistics which compare crime rates of all the countries of the world.

A fourth use of content analysis is to assess how certain groups in society are portrayed (Wimmer & Dominick, 1991: 160). This particular thesis focuses on the way young, black female politicians are portrayed in the media. Young, black, female, and politicians are a very distinct group in society. Fifthly, the method may be used to analyse techniques of persuasion (Holsti, 1969: 59). A good part of mass communication is made up of advertising and the method is useful to this field of the media and the audiences as it provides an in-depth look into some of the ways audiences are lured into certain behavior (whether negative or positive).

4.5.3. Process of conducting content analysis

4.5.3.1. Formulate the research question or hypothesis

This first step involves coming up with an issue to investigate. This is usually the observation of a certain phenomenon in society that should be followed by some research, in the form of literature review into the problem. In simpler terms, Berger (2011: 216) suggest that a

hypotheses could start out as an educated guess of what the researcher expects to find and goes on to prove this through a content analysis study. The value and the worth of studying the subject matter should be evident right from the start. The literature review should also provide a contextualization of the phenomenon of interest, whether it is negative, positive or value neutral (Wigston, 2009: 11). As Wimmer and Dominick (1991: 161) put it, content analysis should not be the “counting-for-the-sake-of-counting syndrome”. It should look at addressing a significant issue in society. Once the subject of the study has been defined, it is important to define the concepts that make up the topic (Berger, 2011: 216). In the case of this particular study, definitions of terms such as young, black, female, politicians should be provided in order to make it very clear exactly what the study will be investigating.

4.5.3.2. Define the population

Once the decision has been made on what will be researched, the next step is to set boundaries on what to study. This would include elements such as which time period the population will cover based on what resources are available, how accessible the population would be and what would make the study most effective (Wigston, 2009: 13). Depending on the size of the population, the researcher may decide on whether to have a sample or not. Sometimes the population is small enough to not need a sample (Neuendorf, 2002: 74). For example, if the study is of how a monthly women’s magazine covered business women in the period of one year, it would not be necessary to get a representative sample. However, if the population is how the print media covers business women within the space of a year, it would be necessary to narrow down the population to a representative sample such as two or three daily newspapers.

4.5.3.3. Select sample from population

A sample is a representation of the greater population. As mentioned above, a sample needs to be representative otherwise it will not be useful for the study (Wimmer & Dominick, 1991: 63). There are essentially two categories of sampling methods, namely probability and non-probability sampling. Probability samples are randomly selected samples and for these to be representative the golden rule is that all the units within the population must have the same chance of being selected as part of the sample that will be used (Neuendorf, 2002:83). This

means that if a content analysis study is being conducted on the population of national Sunday newspaper print media, all the national Sunday papers must have an equal chance of being chosen as one of the four that will be used as a representative sample. Non-probability or non-random samples are the opposite where certain units are selected specifically and although they can be used, the results drawn from studies based on these samples should not be published as a representation of the population (Neuendorf, 2002: 87). The determining factors of which kind of sampling method will be employed will be the nature of the content being analysed as well as the size of the population (DuPlooy, 2009: 216). If one is studying the nature of the content of daily news bulletins over a period of a year across three national broadcaster channels that could be well over a thousand units. Probability sampling would be employed in order to select a representative samples, thus reduce the large number of news items to be analysed.

4.5.3.4. Establish a quantification or classification system

Once the sample has been chosen, the next step is placing the units that will be analysed into categories so that they are clearly defined. It is in this step that key concepts or categories need to be defined. Wigston (2009: 16) defines categories as meaningful groups into which we place the elements that will be analysed. The purpose of categorising the units into different groups is to help the coder to arrange the data in 'a visual summary'. The information needs to be categorised in a succinct and logical or some sort of chronological order (DuPlooy, 2009: 217). Categories need to meet three requirements, namely exhaustivity, mutual exclusivity and equivalence.

Exhaustivity means that all the selected elements should be able to fit into one of the established categories. Mutual exclusivity goes further to necessitate that each of these elements should belong to only one category and equivalence suggests that all elements must be equally significant (Wigston, 2009: 18). Moreover, and most importantly, the categories that are set up need to be aligned with the research questions (Holsti, 1969: 95). Once the units have been placed in the appropriate categories, the next step is to establish what the coding system should be.

4.5.3.5. Code the content according to definitions

Essentially coding is the process of placing the elements being analysed into the established categories (Wimmer & Dominick, 1991: 168). Holsti (1969: 94) defines coding as the process through which raw data is changed into units that allow for the accurate description of the content undergoing analysis (Holsti 1969: 94). This process is conducted by coders and their number is determined by the size of the sample. There are five main content analysis units. The first is the single word or symbol which is useful for smaller samples. The second is the theme unit which is often the most useful of the five for attitudes, values and for studies on propaganda. Character is the third, which is commonly used when studying broadcast media to assess the appearance of a certain character rather than words. The fourth is analysing sentences or paragraphs and the fifth kind of unit is the analysis of an entire published material or broadcast program (Holsti, 1969: 117).

Coding takes on the form of either manifest or latent coding. The former is an actual count of the items for the physical appearance of the specific categories while the latter is more subjective, focusing on the underlying, non-physical message being communicated (Wigston, 2009: 20). All the above are usually analysed using human coding (which is the manual labour of people). The alternative to this that has emerged with the development of technology is computer coding, which is useful only for coding manifest messages. For quantitative analysis, which is used for manifest coding, counting and scale scoring are used (DuPlooy, 2009: 218).

In order to ensure that the data is reliably coded, it is important to make sure that the coders understand the categories and are able to utilize them. Secondly, a pilot study is beneficial for the examination of all divergences and if necessary, revisit the relevant categories or establish some sort of procedure for realigning the disagreements. It is also necessary to make use of coding forms that have been standardised (Wigston, 2009: 22).

4.5.3.6. Draw conclusions

Findings can be visually represented in two main ways: through charts or tables. The value of these two methods would enable the researcher to contrast, compare and give a description of

the data (Wigston, 2009: 25). Although every step of the research process of content analysis is vital, this stage allows the researcher to make sense of the data that has been captured and coded for meaningful interpretation.

4.5.4. Advantages of content analysis

Content analysis is a popular research technique in the field of mass communication research for several reasons. Firstly, the method is unobtrusive (Berger, 2011: 213). Unlike other techniques such as experiments and interviews, this method does not require the researcher to work directly with people and derive information from them. Wigston (2009: 33) notes that the challenge with having to derive information directly from people is that most people act differently when they are aware that they are being watched. For instance, if one would like to find out the attitudes of a certain newspaper towards a certain political figure, one has a better chance of getting a more accurate view from observing the articles published in the paper about the person in questions than from asking the editor what they think.

However, it must be acknowledged that the use of other methods enrich content analysis when combined. The second advantage of content analysis is that it combines well with many other research techniques such as case studies, interviews and others (Wigston, 2009: 34). What other research techniques do when combined with content analysis is give a broader context and an explanation to findings. For example, findings from a content analysis study would provide a good basis for questions posed to the editor of the newspaper and provide facts to support the hypothesis that the newspaper has a certain attitude towards the political figure. Thirdly, the material that is used for content analysis is readily available (Berger, 2011: 213). Newspapers, magazines, documents, speeches, audio or video clips are all readily available and all the researcher has to do is gain access to them and begin the content analysis process. Almost all other techniques of qualitative or quantitative mass communication research require that the researcher in some way or another go out and create the content that will be used in the study. Libraries and internet technology make it easier to gain access to all kinds of material a researcher needs. The only difficulty in access could be if the material has not been archived or cannot be found in a library.

Fourthly, content analysis can cope with large amounts of data (Wigston, 2009: 34). Whether it is an analysis of a certain daily newspaper's articles over the time period of three years or a decade of a monthly magazine, content analysis can handle a lot of information. Although the larger the data being analysed, the more coders necessary the availability and accessibility of computer software that specialises in content analysis make this process more realistic to comp

4.5.5. Disadvantages of content analysis

Like all other research methods, content analysis has its shortcomings and limitations. There are several that stand out that would need to be taken into serious consideration by the researcher. The first is the challenges the researcher may face in getting a representative sample (Berger, 2011: 214). It is not necessarily difficult to find a sample from the population but as stated in earlier in this chapter, content analysis subscribes to the scientific method and therefore the results need to be as accurate as possible. Another possible shortcoming of content analysis is presented in latent coding, where reliability may be an area of scrutiny (Wigston, 2009: 34). As explained above, latent coding is a more qualitative approach to content analysis that essentially rests on the interpretation of the coder. The challenge is that ultimately subjective interpretations of message may vary from one coder to the other. Unlike in manifest coding where exact phrases, words or sentences are placed in different categories, latent coding allows for the coder to read into a message and make a decision on which category to place it in.

On the subject of coders, the process of coding may be time consuming and costly depending on the nature and the size of coders (Wimmer & Domminick, 1991: 160). Computer software that carries out content analysis may be costly but human coders may be expensive as well and both require ample time to be put aside. Although content analysis may provide helpful insights into the thinking of content producers, it does not necessarily provide information on how recipients of mass media interact with the messages (Wigston, 2009: 34). A content analysis on the depiction of single women in a particular soapie may give us insight into the biases and other attitudes of the producers of the specific soapie but it cannot provide us with any insight into how the audiences receive the message or how it impacts their thinking, attitudes and behavior. For that kind of information to be derived, another research technique

like interviews, focus groups and case studies have to be employed. Finally, the conclusions drawn from the findings of a single content analysis study are limited to the categories and definitions that are established (Wimmer & Domminick, 1991: 160). This means it is not necessarily possible to take the results of one study and generalise it to the entire population.

4.6. Research Design for this study

4.6.1. Research question

An overview of the available literature on the representation of women in the media seems to suggest that women are not portrayed through the same lenses as men (MMA 1999, Zimu 2011, Gross 2010). Women are either portrayed as victims, recipients of aid, “Jezebels” or “iron ladies” when in positions of power. Needless to say, the media often portrays women in powerful positions as incapable, overly critical or assertive or as “women of steel”. Their portrayal, to sum it up, is often somehow problematized or when they have achieved certain strides are made to seem as special or somewhat odd. This is the assumption of the researcher before conducting the study.

The case study for this project is Lindiwe Mazibuko, current DA Parliamentary leader. Born in 1980 in Swaziland and raised in KwaZulu-Natal, Mazibuko matriculated at a private school in Kloof in 1997 (Democratic Alliance, 2012). She entered the political arena after graduating from the University of Cape Town where she studied DA leader Helen Zille for her honours paper in Political Communication in 2007 and the next year her application to join the DA as researcher was accepted (UK Telegraph, 2011). Within a space of four years with the party, Mazibuko went from parliamentary researcher to DA national spokesperson, Shadow Deputy Minister for Communication in 2009 and Shadow Minister for Rural Development and Land Reform in 2010 became the (Democratic Alliance, 2012). Towards the end of October 2011, the DA announced the Mazibuko had been elected as the party’s new Parliamentary leader, successfully unseating her predecessor, Athol Trollip, who had occupied the position for two-and-a-half years (News24, 2011).

This study looks at the online news media coverage of Mazibuko between September and November 2011. In particular, the researcher is interested in finding out whether the selected

news media more often than not mentioned her race, gender, age, physical and personal attributes during this period where the focus was ideally supposed to be on her work and her capabilities to take on the position or not. The second assumption is that the media spoke about Lindiwe Mazibuko and not to Lindiwe Mazibuko during this period and hardly included her voice in their news items. In South Africa, racism and sexism still pose a hurdle that black women face in ascending to any significant position in society, particularly in those careers that have been known to be male dominated, such as politics. It is therefore crucial that institutions such as the media, which play a role in either remedying or perpetuating the situation, be interrogated to ensure they do not do the latter and therefore contribute to the regression of society.

4.6.2. The population

The population in question is the online news media. With the exception of sites such as News 24, the formal South African news media is dominated by websites that are an extension, and online version of hard copy newspapers. According to the South African Audience Rating Research Foundation, the weekly newspapers with the biggest readership (in order of size of readership) are *Sunday Times*, *Soccer Laduma*, *Sunday Sun*, *City Press*, *Sunday World*, *Ilanga Langesonto*, *Isolezwe Ngesonto*, *Sunday Sun*, *Sunday Tribune* and *the Post* (SAARF, 2011). There are 21 mainstream daily news papers and the biggest five are *Daily Sun*, *Daily Voice*, *Sowetan*, *Pretoria News* and *Isolezwe* (SAARF, 2011). Among the main South African news websites are *Timeslive* (which gets its main news from the *Times* and *Sunday Times* newsrooms), *Independent Online* (which gets its main news from dozens of weekly and daily national and regional newspapers), *City Press* online (which mainly gets its news from the *City Press* newsroom) and *Mail & Guardian* online (which gets a lot of its news from the *Mail & Guardian* newsroom). These four news sites also get news from other sources such as the South African Press Association (SAPA).

For the purposes of this research the online print media was chosen over broadcast media mainly because it would be easier to track the change in the language used in main stories, headlines, editorials, columns, and other kinds of stories that are published rather than in broadcast bulletins. The researcher also had better access to online print media from each of the news sites archives, found on their websites. Moreover, the online print media has more variety than the broadcast media in South Africa and therefore for the nature of the questions

being asked, the researcher found it fitting that the sample be chosen out of the population of the online print media in the country.

4.6.3. Representative sample

There are four main types of probability samples. Convenience (or accidental, available or opportunity sample) is selected from a convenient or most accessible portion of the population. A volunteer sample is made up of people who voluntarily agree to be participants in the research process and a snowball sample is made up of participants who respond to a survey and are as a result followed up (DuPlooy, 2009:123, 124). The fourth kind of sample is a purposive sample. When the researcher has prior knowledge of the population and the objective of the research project, they may use their judgment to choose a sample (DuPlooy, 2009: 124). The selected sample for this study is a combination of convenience and purposive sampling as the researcher had noted prior to the study that the four selected news websites had covered Mazibuko during the selected period in a variety of ways. This three-month period was chosen because it was during the last week of September that Mazibuko announced that she would be standing for election against Trollip. October was the build up to the election and in its last week the announcement was made. November was a period of reflection of sorts on the race and Mazibuko's appointment and the first few weeks she was in her new position. According to a study on the South African media landscape was conducted by the Media Democracy and Development Agency (MDDA) revealed that, with the exception of *City Press* online, three of the four selected news website for this study are among the top 5 news sites in the country (MDDA, 2009: 115).

4.6.3.1. Timeslive

Founded in 1906, the *Sunday Times* is currently the most read newspaper in South Africa. With an estimated readership of 3 659 000 it reaches about 10.8% of the South African adult population (SAARF, 2012). The paper is currently owned by Avusa (formerly called Johnnic Communications), a Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE) listed company. Mvelaphanda, the brain child company of business man and politician Tokyo Sexwale, owns 25.5% of Avusa and the other 75% is owned by public shareholders. The company has interests in the entertainment, publishing, retail, music and manufacturing industries (MDDA, 2009: 49). Timeslive is the online platform for the Sunday Times and the Times newspapers.

4.6.3.2. Mail & Guardian Online

The *Mail & Guardian*, which is on sale every Friday reaches about 1.1% of the adult population which is a readership of and estimated 383 000 readers. This makes it the eleventh most read weekly in the country (AMPS, 2011). The paper, formerly called the *Weekly Mail* was launched in the late eighties by a group of journalists and funded by liberal professionals, business people and academics. Established in 1994, *M&G Online* is the third biggest news site in South Africa and it runs the *Thought Leader* site which is a blog space for opinions and analysis from some of South Africa's most prominent thinkers (M&G Online, 2012).

4.6.3.3. City Press Online

After the *Sunday Times*, *Soccer Laduma* and *Sunday Sun*, *City Press* is the third largest Sunday publication in the country with a readership of more or less 1 600 000 (SAARF, 2011). The paper is one of many belonging to the biggest newspaper and magazine publisher, Media 24, which is a subsidiary of Naspers (Media24, 2012).

4.6.3.4. Independent Online

Owned by Independent News & Media Plc, Independent Newspapers was first established in 1994 when the company's main shareholder, Irish businessman Tony O'Reilly bought Argus Newspapers and gave the stable its current name (MDDA, 2009: 40). Today Independent Newspapers has nine mainstream dailies, four mainstream Saturday publications and four Sunday newspapers (MDDA 2009: 40).

From the four news sites, over this three-month period only articles which made reference to 'Lindiwe Mazibuko' and mentioned the DA parliamentary leader race, election and announcement were chosen. This left the researcher with 101 news items to work with. The news items fell into one of six categories: hard news, soft news (i.e. features and Q&A interviews), and letters from readers, opinion and analysis pieces by resident and guest columnists, editorials and speeches.

4.6.4. Classification system (Categories)

The coding schedule for the content analysis was made up of seven categories and each of the 101 articles was coded according to the categories. Each article has an identification code made up of the letters that represent the publication and its chronological number according

to articles appearing in the sample from the publication. Timeslive is represented as TL, Independent Online articles by IOL, M&G Online articles by MG and City Press online articles by CPO. An item's identification code looks like this, for example: MG2. On the coding schedule appears the name of the news website the news item was found on (i.e. Timeslive, Independent Online, City Press online and M&G Online). The date that appears on the top of each news item (e.g. 27 September) is the date on which the news item was posted on the website. In the first category the news items would fit into one of six identifying types of articles: hard news, soft news (Q&A interviews or profile features) and fourth was the editorials. The fifth type of news item were columns, opinion and analysis pieces. The sixth were speeches.

The second category was the mention of gender. The coder would look for and note the presence of the following words and phrases that were used in relation to Mazibuko: 'woman', 'female', 'lady' and 'girl'. If such was present the coder would specify how many times these appeared in the news item being examined. In the third category, race, the words 'black', 'blackness' and 'dark skin' are noted. The fourth category is age, represented by the words 'young', 'younger', 'youngest', 'her age' and '31'. Physical and personal attributes are the fifth category and the words noted were 'pretty', 'voice', 'accent', 'eloquent', 'fluent' and 'coconut'. The sixth category looked for instances where there was mention of Mazibuko drawing in black people to the DA. The identifying words were 'black voters', 'black electorate', 'black constituency' and 'black support'. The seventh category would tell whether Mazibuko was quoted directly or indirectly in the article.

4.7. Conclusion

The chapter began by giving a brief introduction to the value of research in mass communication, defined and showed the advantages and disadvantages of qualitative and quantitative approach to media research. The popular mass communication research techniques discussed include focus groups, interviews, ethnomethodological research, participant observation, historical analysis, content analysis, surveys and experiments. The ways in which qualitative and quantitative methods complement each other and may be used together were also discussed. The researcher went on to explain the content analysis process which includes establishing research questions or assumptions, defining the population,

selecting a sample, establishing a quantification or classification system, coding the content, analysing the results and drawing conclusions. After looking at some of the advantages and disadvantages of the method, the researcher explains how the method has been applied in this particular study, using the above steps to complete the process.

The next chapter outlines and briefly discusses the findings of the content analysis.

CHAPTER 5 – FINDINGS AND DATA ANALYSIS

5. Introduction

This chapter details the findings of the quantitative content analysis that was undertaken on the selected case study. It is divided into two sections. The first is the results of the content analysis. In this first section, the researcher begins by outlining how many news items were sampled from *Timeslive*, *Independent Online*, *Mail & Guardian Online* and the *City Press*. A description of the types of news items and the quantity of each in the sample is also presented. The researcher then goes on to present the findings that relate to the two hypotheses that the online print media placed much emphasis on Mazibuko's race, gender, age, personal and physical attributes. Each of these is looked at individually in comparison with the results.

The second assumption of the selected media not speaking to Mazibuko but about Mazibuko is observed according to the finding. The other interesting finding that was not part of the hypotheses is the mention of Mazibuko as somewhat of a draw card for black voters. The second section of the chapter is a discussion of the findings which draws links between the various findings, discusses some of the misassumptions that form part of the hypotheses and the chapter concludes with a brief analysis of whether the findings prove or disprove the assumptions initially made by the researcher.

5.1. Content Analysis results

Quantitative content analysis was used for the collection of the data from the four news websites (*Timeslive*, *Independent Online* (IOL), *Mail & Guardian Online* (M&G Online) and *City Press Online*) between the periods of 1 September 2011 and 30 November 2011. The sum total of the articles that fitted into the criteria described in Chapter 4.

Figure 1: Articles examined for Content Analysis

Publication	No. of articles	Hard news	Soft news	Editorial	Letter	Opinion pieces	Speech
<i>Timeslive</i>	29	13	0	1	10	4	1
IOL	52	45	1	1	1	4	0

<i>City Press</i>	10	6	1	1	0	2	0
<i>M&G</i>	10	5	2	1	0	2	0
Total	101	69	4	4	11	12	1
Percentage	100%	68,3%	3,96%	3,96%	10,89%	11,9%	0,99%

The total number of articles that were selected for the sample came up to 101 articles. As observable in the table above, most of the articles came from IOL with 52, 29 news items were found on *Timeslive* and *M&G* Online and *City Press* had 10 articles each. This is the number of articles each had on their websites that made reference to Lindiwe Mazibuko in the context of the DA Parliamentary head race and appointment. It is important to note that all these sites source a lot of their material from their mother newspapers' print edition (i.e. *Timeslive* gets some of their news from the *Times* and *Sunday Times*, *City Press* Online gets some news from the *City Press*, *M&G* Online gets some of their articles from the *Mail & Guardian*). *Independent Online* gets the majority of its news from some of Independent Newspapers' 14 titles including *The Star*, *Pretoria News*, *Cape Argus*, *The Mercury*, *Sunday Independent* and others. It therefore comes as a surprise that the majority of the sample came from the news site. A lot of the stories from the site also came from SAPA.

The majority of the articles posted on these websites were 'hard news' meaning these was stories written by journalists reporting on events and incidents. The second largest portion, 11, 9% of the sample was opinion pieces. These included pieces written by resident and guest columnists for the news sites (or newspapers where the stories were originally published). About 11% of the sample was letters written to the editor by readers.

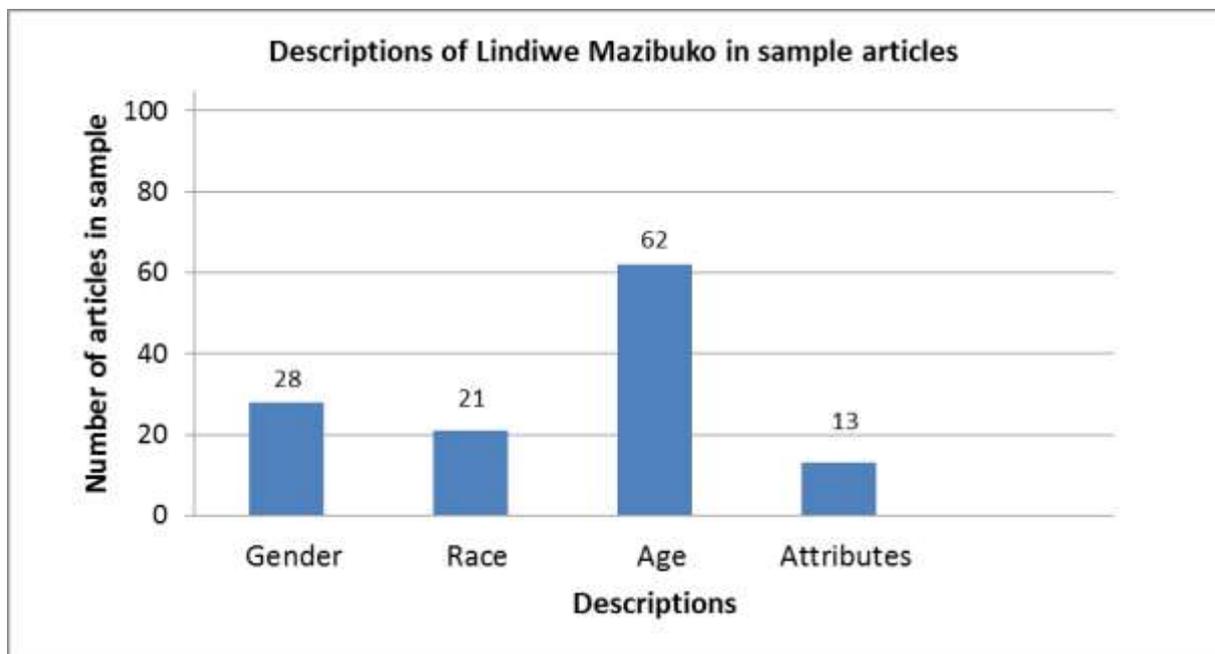
Timeslive made up almost this entire category of items from their popular iLive section that publishes as many as possible of its readers' views on a daily basis. This means between September and November 2011, ten of these letters were regarding the topic at hand. Such letters are not very popular on *City Press* Online and *M&G* Online, unless they are open letters or letters written by very prominent people that spark discussion. Soft news refers to features and Q&A (Question and Answer) interviews. All four of these articles were interviews with Mazibuko either prior to or after her election. *M&G* Online posted one Q&A

and one feature article while IOL and *City Press* posted a Q&A and a profile feature respectively. Each news site posted only one editorial each on the matter and *Timeslive* published one of Mazibuko's speech days after her appointment.

5.1.1. Assumption 1: the media focused on Mazibuko's race, gender, age, personality and physical attributes during the election period

The first hypothesis made by the researcher was that the online news media coverage Mazibuko received before and after her appointment made much reference to her race, gender, age, personality and physical attributes.

Figure 2: Bar graph of categories for content analysis



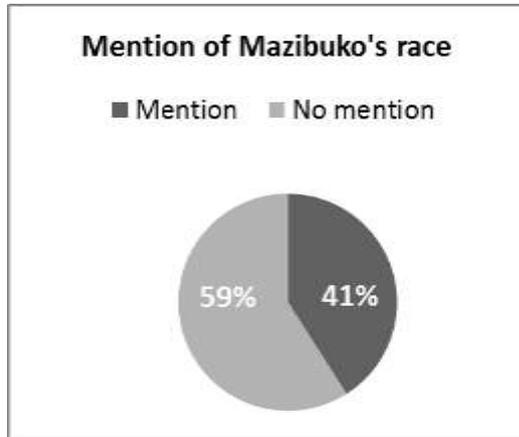
The graph above shows that the overwhelming description used in over half the news items was her age (either her exact age or the fact that she was young or younger than her competitor, Athol Trollip). The second most popular description was her gender and the third were her race. Her personality, verbal and physical attributes are the least mentioned elements of Mazibuko.

5.1.1.1. Race

The first part of this hypothesis was that the news items made much reference to her race more often than not during the selected period. In 21 news items (20, 8% of the sample) her

race was mentioned in several ways. Reference was either made to the fact that she is black, has dark skin and it was found that the term ‘her blackness’ was commonly used. These terms were used 71 times in these 21 news items.

Figure 3: News items that mentioned Mazibuko’s race



The pie chart in Figure 3 show that although reference was made to her race in 41% of the articles while 59% made no direct mention of it. This disproves the hypothesis that her race was highlighted in news items more often than not. However, the fact that the figure is 9% shy of half means this description was significantly used in reference to Mazibuko during this time period.

5.1.1.2. Gender

The second description that was assumed to be commonly used was that of Mazibuko’s gender. The most commonly used reference to this was the word ‘woman’ and in most cases it was preceded by the word ‘black’. The other reference to her gender was that she is female. Both these terms were often used when referring to the fact that she would be the first black woman/ female to hold the position of the DA’s parliamentary leader. The word ‘lady’ was used a total of four times. In one instance of the four, it was used with the prefix ‘tea-’. At this point it is interesting to note that another gender term used was ‘girl’. The majority of times this word was used (15 times) it was used to make reference to a comment made by then ANCYL president, Julius Malema, referring to Mazibuko as ‘the madam’s tea-girl’ (by ‘the madam’ he was referring to Helen Zille). The other times in the news items the word was used was describing Mazibuko as the DA’s ‘poster girl’ while the remaining two instances made reference ‘a black township girl’. Figure 4 shows that 72% of the news items made no

reference to Mazibuko's gender. The 28% represents 48 references in 28 news items of the 101 examined. This means that once again, the majority of the news items were silent on her gender and just less of a third mentioned that.

Figure 4: News items that mentioned Mazibuko's gender

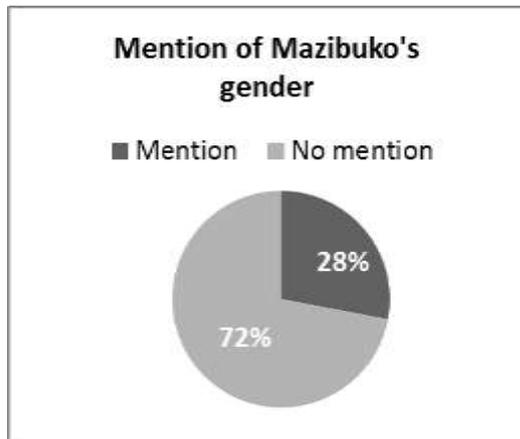
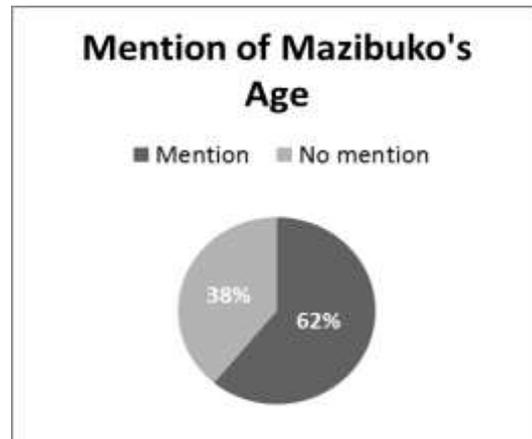


Figure 5: News items that mentioned Mazibuko's age



5.1.1.3. Age

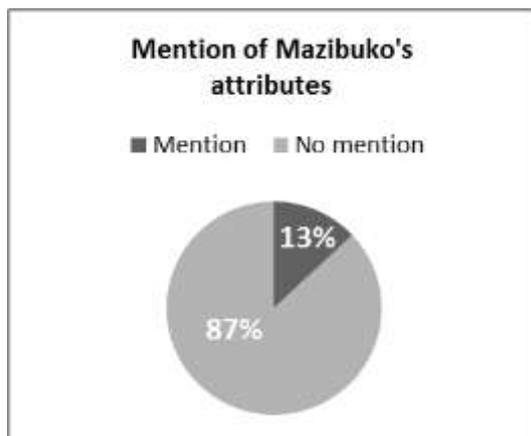
Of all the four descriptions used, Mazibuko's age was mentioned the most. Her numerical age (31 during the selected time period), the fact that she was young, the fact that she was the youngest Member of Parliament or that she was younger than her competitor was mentioned 92 times in 62 articles, as shown in the pie chart, Figure 5, above.

Part of the assumption regarding her age was that the reference to her age was linked to the perception or presumption of inexperience. However, this was in actual fact not the case. In the majority of cases, especially prior to the 27th October (the day her appointment was announced) the reference to an age was either just stating her age, that her age would work to the party's advantage.

5.1.1.4. Personal and Physical Attributes

For the purposes of this study, attributes describes physical appearance, the way she speaks and sounds and terms used to describe her personality.

Figure 6: News items that mentioned Mazibuko’s attributes



The pie chart (Figure 6) shows that all the above mentioned were made reference to in 13% (or 13) of the sample of news items. The total number of references in all the articles was 26. Ten times in the articles she was referred to as a ‘coconut’ (all instances were direct or indirect quotes of people like higher education minister, Blade Nzimande or Julius Malema). The most mentioned of her attributes was her accent, sometimes preceded by words such as ‘posh-’ or ‘private school-’. In all the articles only three references are made to her physical appearance, two which mention her hair and one which uses the word ‘prettier’ when comparing her to Athol Trollip. The descriptions ‘fluent’, ‘eloquence’ and reference to her voice are made once each.

5.1.2. Assumption 2: During the period of her election, the online print media was speaking about Mazibuko but not speaking to her

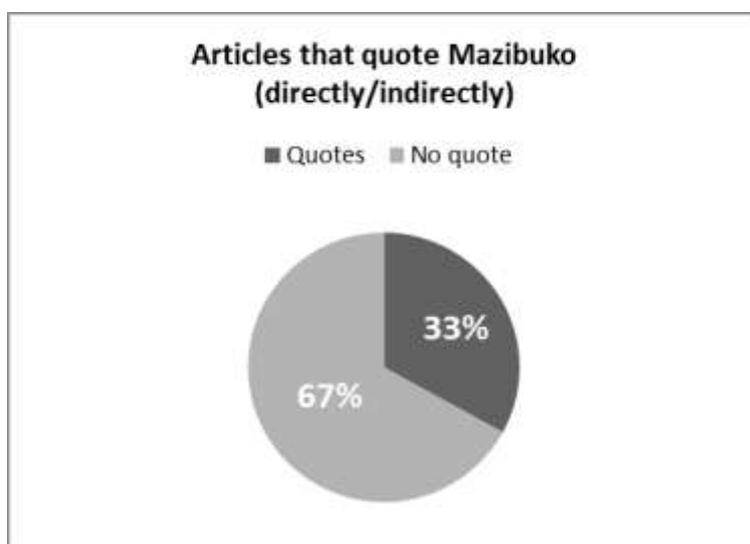


Figure 7: News items that directly or indirectly quoted Mazibuko

Figure 7 proves the assumption correct as Mazibuko is only quoted directly or indirectly in 33 articles of the 101. This means that in all the other 67 news items she is being ‘talked about’. In fact, it is also interesting to note that in many of the articles other sources are asked questions about her capabilities, her qualifications and her background.

5.1.3. Other interesting findings

One thing that was not in the researcher’s initial hypothesis was the online print news media’s emphasis on the fact that because Mazibuko was black, she was useful for drawing more black people to the DA.

Figure 8: News items that mentioned Mazibuko as useful for enlarging black constituency

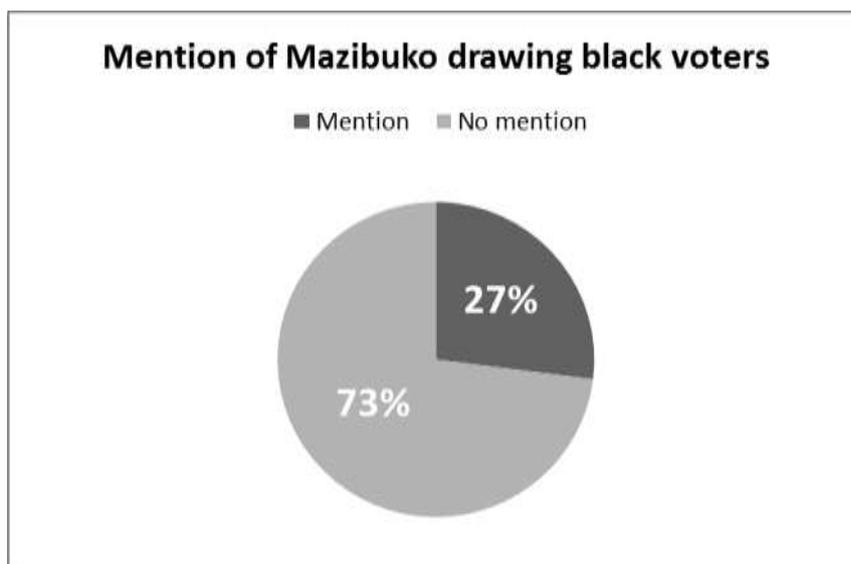


Figure 8 shows that in 27% of the sample, it was mentioned that Mazibuko would be useful in drawing ‘black voters’, ‘black votes’, the ‘black electorate’, a ‘black constituency to the DA. These phrases were used 38 times in the 27 news items. This is just below a third of the articles which means it was not the case with the majority of articles but nevertheless the figure is significant.

5.2. Data Analysis

The content analysis study has shown that a significant amount of reporting around Lindiwe Mazibuko during the period of her election to being the DA's parliamentary leader focused on her race, age, gender, personal and physical attributes. However, with the exception of her age, none of these elements were mentioned in more than half the sample each. It is therefore incorrect and inaccurate to claim that more often than not these three issues were mentioned in the online news media during the selected period.

What is also interesting is that the literature review revealed that women politicians are often scrutinised for their physical appearances. During this period, this was not the case with Mazibuko, besides the usage of the word 'prettier' to describe her once and two mentions of her name, in all the 101 news items there was not mention of her physical appearance. Though not dominating but more prominent was the description 'coconut' and the reference to her accent. These were mentioned more than her physical attributes.

It is also interesting to note that her accent was linked to her 'blackness' in most of the cases, questioning whether she appealed to the black majority or pointing out that her accent has been scrutinised and used to define how black she is. This is one aspect of identity that many young South Africans, though not the majority, struggle with – being labelled 'a coconut'. It would seem that when it comes to Mazibuko then, the greater obsession is not with her clothes or her physical appearance but rather with the way she talks, the way she sounds and what that represent in the minds of different people.

It is interesting to see that in almost two thirds of the news items, Mazibuko's age is mentioned. However, in the majority of cases it is not highlighted to suggest inexperience but rather to highlight what an achievement this is, often used in the context of her being the youngest member of parliament or how her achievement is uncommon for her age. This is supported by observation made by Pantti (2005) that one of the forms gendered mediation of woman politicians can take is by making constant reference to their age. Although it may be argued that the context in most of these cases is not necessarily negative, the constant reference to her age in itself is worth probing.

The hypothesis that the media spoke about Mazibuko and not to her is confirmed by the study with more than three quarters of the news items making no reference to direct or indirect quotations by Mazibuko. The IWMMF report stated in the literature review suggested that women are often not commonly consulted as news sources. It is worth noting that a lot of opportunities to ask Mazibuko questions about her qualifications, capabilities, concerns and doubts raised around her nomination were missed with close to none of the articles mentioning that she declined to comment which creates the assumption that she was not approached for comment. It would seem that when compared with the MMA study on women politicians in the media in 1999 (MMA, 1999), the study on women politicians representation in 2005 (Zimu, 2005) and this case study of a young, female politician on a platform that is supposed to be the future of online print media not much has changed.

5.3. Conclusion

In this chapter the researcher presented the findings of the online news media content analysis and found that although significant reference was made of Lindiwe Mazibuko's race, gender, personal and physical attributes in the news items found on four news sites during the period of the DA parliamentary leader elections, it cannot be said that these features were mentioned more often than not. However the results reveal that her age was mentioned in more than half the news items examined. It was also confirmed that the online news media mainly spoke about and not to Lindiwe Mazibuko during this period.

The next chapter is a continuation and more in-depth discussion of the main findings highlighted above.

CHAPTER 6 – DISCUSSION OF MAIN FINDINGS

6. Introduction

In the previous chapter the results of the content analysis on the sample online media's representation of Lindiwe Mazibuko between September and November 2011 were presented. This chapter is a discussion of some of the main findings and how the findings relate to each other. The first finding that will be discussed is that of race and why the question of who is black and who is African is discussed. The second issue looks at another form of discrimination which arises when the question of 'how black is black enough' is discussed. The third finding that is discussed is that of age and why it has become an issue. The pre-conclusion section looks at some of the solutions in this area.

6.1. Race is still an issue

A study by the South African Institute of Race Relations (2011: 830) revealed that in 2009 54% of South Africans primarily identified themselves by their nationality, 30% identified themselves as African, 7% by race, 1.9% by language and 6.7% used other ways to define how they identify themselves (SAIRR, 2011: 830). At first glance one could argue that this means that race has become less of a factor when determining self-identification. However, in the constant South African context, there is a constant discussion about who is African, who is not and what determines this. Often such debates end up being about race vs. geographical place of birth and residence.

Thought Leader columnist, Sentletse Diakanyo (2010) argues that ultimately the deciding factor of who is black and who is not should be the colour of one's skin. He insists that although other races belong and should be embraced in South Africa, black people are the original Africans (Diakanyo, 2010). Nigerian writer, Jideofor Adibe (2009: 22) views the approach of defining African identity purely by race as inaccurate and incorrect. He suggests that a combination of African values consciousness, geographical residence, race, citizenship and place of birth would better define who is or is not African. He concludes that these elements will mean that some people are more African than others but the fact that someone

does not have dark brown skin does not exclude them from those that are called African (2009: 23). Although many people agree with the inclusive definition Adibe provides the reality is that in a racialised country such as South Africa, many people still define ‘Africanness’ by black skin. Therefore the above SAIRR figures could actually mean that there are a lot more people who define themselves by their race.

The findings of the content analysis of news items published on Lindiwe Mazibuko on the online news media websites, suggest that in her case, gender was slightly more of a factor than race. Once again, there is more than what lies at the surface. More than any physical or personal attribute, the issue that kept being quoted was that of her accent and in most cases that was followed by the word ‘coconut’. As suggested in the literature review, the concept of a coconut, ‘black on the outside, white on the inside’, means the discourse is still about race. It is most unlikely that Mazibuko’s race would be a factor worth mentioning if she was a member of the ruling ANC. One could therefore conclude that her race is an issue worth mentioning because she is in a predominantly white political party.

This is similar to an argument made by writer Kwesi Kwaa Prah (2009:57) that elsewhere in Africa, mentioning that one is African is almost nonsensical as it is given. But in a country like South Africa this is a valid assertion because the country is a diversity of cultures and ethnicities (Prah, 2009: 57). Therefore in a party where the majority is white, the black people that are prominent are made, in this case by the media, to stand out for that. Therefore not only does Mazibuko’s gender stand out because politics is still a male dominated space but her race stands out because the top positions and the party (DA) is still generally white. The problem with placing constant emphasis on these two elements is that it slows down the process of normalisation. This means the media’s constant emphasis on how special appointments like Mazibuko’s are because of her race and gender perpetuates the stereotypes that only on rare occasions are black women able to achieve these things.

6.2. Another kind of racism – ‘not black enough, not white enough’

The findings of the study suggest that although Mazibuko’s race is still more mentioned than her accent or the label ‘coconut’ it would seem that a new form of discrimination is entering the South African public sphere. It is almost absurd to imagine that people could be

discriminated against because of their accents. But the issue is that the label ‘coconut’ has come to represent more than an accent, the constant usage of English by a black person or a poor command of indigenous African languages. As Stephanie Rudwick (2008: 112) found in her study on mostly “English-speaking” Zulu people in Umlazi (KwaZulu-Natal), are considered outsiders in the township because for the many people the issue goes beyond language to embracing or rejecting one’s cultural identity (Rudwick, 2008: 112).

Radio and TV personality and columnist, Redi Tlhabi (2011), argues that an opportunity to challenge and criticise Mazibuko’s political ideology is lost to attention to the manner in which she speaks and her educational background. This kills the spirit of embracing diversity in the country (Tlhabi, 2011). One could take it further and suggest that this negative attention to an issue that has nothing to do with her capabilities is because she is a black woman who chose to align herself with a white political party in South Africa and strongly advocate its ideas and ethos. It is unfortunate that in a country that has suffered at the hands of racial and gender discrimination, a new kind of discrimination is still being allowed to emerge. Given South Africa’s history, one would expect that all kinds of destructive discrimination be taken to task to avoid further divisions.

6.3. When age more than ‘just a number’

The perception that young people are politically apathetic and are not interested in active, conventional politics goes hand in hand with the perception that there is a certain level of leadership in politics that requires one to be a certain age in order to be successful. The study reveals that Lindiwe Mazibuko’s age is mentioned more often than her race, gender, physical and personal attributes. The fact that she is younger than her competitor, and was the youngest Member of Parliament in 2011 was constantly highlighted in the news items surveyed. The issue of hierarchy and age remain prominent in the African political discourse. During his tenure as the leader of the ANCYL, Julius Malema was often reprimanded for disrespecting his elders when he threw caution to the wind in addressing senior members of the ruling party, unions and opposition parties alike. However, this study reveals that in Mazibuko’s case, her age was not used to justify why she did not qualify for the position.

6.4. Moving towards a solution

The existing literature in this area suggests a two-way approach between the media and women politicians that will see the politicians making more of an effort to avail themselves for interviews and comments so that it is easier to include them more in articles and stories (MMA, 1999: 17). The other solution that has been brought to the fore is to ensure that not only are more women employed in the newsroom but to make sure that journalists are better educated as to how to be gender sensitive in their reporting . After taking into consideration the literature review and the findings of this study, the research proposes that a few more solutions be incorporated. Firstly, news websites such as the ones that were included in the study can make a conscious effort to include more one-to-one interviews with these women so that they give them a platform to speak about themselves for themselves. It is clear to see that in the majority of news items, Mazibuko is spoken for and not spoken about. Secondly, more than just exclusive interviews, it should be made a strict rule of thumb in newsroom that when stories are written about these women an attempt is at least made to include them in these reports.

To add to the suggestion of women politicians being more proactive, in this era where social media platforms have become a field of story ideas for journalists, women politicians should make more of an effort to engage with these platforms. Although Mazibuko has active Twitter and Facebook profiles, few politicians take the risk of putting themselves on these platforms. This would be useful in removing the mystery that veils perceptions of people around these women.

6.5. Conclusion

It is evident that race is still an issue in South Africa and this is evident in the way people still identify themselves and are defined by others according to the colour of their skin, although there have been suggestions that race is not an adequate identification for being African. A new form of discrimination has become popular post-1994 where people are identified as coconuts because of the way they speak, their command of languages and their own personal opinions that have led to them being ostracised in certain communities for ‘not being black enough’. It is also clear that when it comes to young women politicians the question of their age is still a very topical issue.

The next chapter is a conclusion to this thesis which summarises each chapter, discusses some of the challenges the researcher faced and some solutions.

CHAPTER 7- CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7. Introduction

This final chapter is a summary of the study that was conducted on the media's representation of young, black, women politicians in South Africa. The chapter begins by giving a summary of each chapter then looks at the main findings that resulted from the study and reports on whether the results proved or disproved the assumptions. The researcher then discusses some of the main challenges that limited the study and concludes with recommendations for the future.

7.1. Summary of chapters

Chapter 1 gave an introduction of the study, the topic, how it would be handled and why this study is important in the broader media and political landscape.

Chapter 2 was a discussion on the existing literature and the research that has been done on women representation, representation of women politicians, media representation of young, black, women and politicians that fall under this category. The literature around women's experiences in newsrooms was also provided.

Chapter 3 provided the theoretical framework that informed this study including Feminism, Womanism, Media Representations Theory, Gender and the Media theory, Social Responsibility Theory and the Political Economy theory.

In **Chapter 4** the application of quantitative and qualitative research approaches to mass communication research was discussed, some of the main techniques were defined and the application of content analysis to this study was explained.

Chapter 5 was presentation and brief discussion of the findings of the content analysis.

In **Chapter 6** some of the main findings were discussed in more detail and the link between the different findings was discussed.

Chapter 7 is a conclusion of the study and provides recommendations.

7.2. Research assumptions and the findings

The media portrays professional women as women first then corporates, entrepreneurs, politicians, sports people, etc. (MMA 1999: 4). This is the main assertion from which the assumptions of this study stems.

The researcher made two assumptions prior to conducting this study. The first assumption of the online news media overemphasising Lindiwe Mazibuko's age, gender, race, personal and physical attributes has been proven true to a certain extent. Her age, race and gender were most mentioned. However, her physical appearance did not feature in any of the news articles, with the exception of one news item. Although mentioned a few times, attributes relating to her personality were found to be focused on her accent because of which she has constantly been referred to as a 'coconut', a label used to define people who some perceive as 'not black enough'.

The second assumption that the news media hardly ever used Mazibuko as a source was found to be true as she was only quoted in 33% of the articles directly or indirectly. This proves true the suggestion that when it comes to women in general and women politicians in particular, the media does not use them as credible sources and even where the issue is their personal experiences and lived realities, other people are spoken to and not them personally.

Society and the media give the impression that the public sphere is for men only while the women's domain is the private sphere (MMA 1999: 9) or as Katembo (2005: 126) puts it fields such as politics are seen as a man's domain while the women's place is the domestic space.

7.3. Limitations and main challenges

Over a period of a few days over a sample of articles that made any mention of Lindiwe Mazibuko between 1 September and 30 November 2011 on the websites of *City Press*, *Mail&Guardian*, *Timeslive* and *Independent Online* were collected. The 101 articles were selected for the final sample as they made reference to Lindiwe Mazibuko in the context of the DA's parliamentary leader election race. "Lindiwe Mazibuko" first then "DA parliamentary leader" were the phrases used as keywords when searching the online archives for the articles that would make up the sample. The advantage of using these online articles was that they were accessible, not difficult to retrieve and the majority of them appeared in the above mentioned newspaper versions.

One of the main challenges, especially with the *Independent Online* articles, is that because the website sources the stories published from the numerous publications owned by Independent Newspapers, some of the stories were very similar and some even identical. The other challenge is that although the online news articles were more accessible to the researcher than the hardcopy versions of all these news outlets, the majority of South Africans still consume their media traditionally. Therefore it is very difficult to assess how many people actually read the articles. Whereas with print the circulation can predict the readership figures of the publication, it is not necessarily the same for online news media. Some people access the articles through the online e-editions to which they subscribe, others read these articles via platforms such as Twitter.

7.4. Recommendations

As mentioned above, there are still very few online news sites that originally get their stories from their own newsrooms and journalists. The majority of the online news articles are written by the same journalists that write for the newspaper versions and are sometimes simply edited or shortened to suit the online platform. Therefore, the changes that need to take place for improvement are the same that need to take place in the print media.

Firstly, journalists still need to be conscientised, sensitised and educated on how to report on race and gender in South Africa. Although gradual strides are being made, the news media need to move from just focusing on the quantity of articles on women to how the women they feature are portrayed in comparison to their male counterparts (e.g. when a male leader is appointed to a position, no special mention of his gender is made and constantly highlighted).

Secondly, reporting on women should not just be assigned to a woman reporter whose speciality is “gender issues”. It is still the case that men still make up the majority of journalists in the newsroom. Therefore as effort is made towards correcting this imbalance, men journalists should also be encouraged to report on women’s issues and educated on how to best go about it.

Thirdly, women politicians and their media liaison teams also have a role to play in that they need to be proactive in putting themselves out there. Instead of shying away from the media, or simply responding when asked for comment, they should be proactive in engaging reporters thus having a greater chance of speaking for themselves as opposed to just being written about. Lastly, the role that the tertiary institutions play cannot be over-emphasised. It is becoming less easy for people to enter the profession of journalism without some kind of tertiary education, which was common in the past. This means the majority of the future journalists are in the tertiary education system and this is where sensitive and sensible reporting still needs to be taught, not just as an ideal but in practice. The other role tertiary institutions and other research institutions need to play is the producing of more research around the representation of women in different spheres of influence as these studies are still very few and far in between.

Research studies also need to focus on the new generation of young generally, women in particular, politicians in South Africa and the unique challenges they face in the different landscape they find themselves operating in.

7.5. Conclusion

As opportunities become available for young, black, women in the young democratic South Africa, it is important that hindrances to their empowerment be addressed. As the digital era progresses and online news media gradually become the media consumption of choice, it is also important that news on this medium be analysed for the aiding of improvements where necessary. Lindiwe Mazibuko is one of the very few young, black women in influential political positions but her portrayal in the news media could be telling of what other young, black women aspiring to such can expect if things do not change (including those in other key industries such as economics, law, health and the sciences). These are the women who will be the next Dr Mamphela Rampheles, the next Dr Nkosazana Dlamini Zumas, the next

Condoleeza Rices of our generation. It is therefore important that age be added to race and gender when probing the way the media covers these women politicians. This would be a hindrance to the empowerment of women in the country. Therefore the focus on the representation of women by the media remains a crucial area of study in mass communication research.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Content Analysis Coding Manual

CATEGORIES	DETAILS
1.Name of news website	Timeslive Independent Online (IOL) <i>City Press</i> Online (CPO) Mail & Guardian Online (M&G Online)
2. Date of publication on site	Date-Month (All in 2012)
3.Type of news item	1 = Hardnews 2 = Soft news (interviews, features) 3 = Editorial 4 = Reader's Letter 5= Column, opinion or analysis piece 6 = Speech
4.Gender	'woman', 'female', 'lady', 'girl'
5.Race	'black', 'blackness', 'dark skin'
6.Age	'31' (Mazibuko's age), 'young', 'younger', 'youngest', 'age'
7.Attributes	'pretty', 'voice', 'accent', 'eloquent', 'coconut', 'fluent'
8.Black voters	'black voters', 'black votes', 'black electorate' 'black constituency', 'black support',
9. Inclusion of Mazibuko's comment	Direct quote

	Indirect quote
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Appendix 2: Spread sheet for Content Analysis

Identification number	News Website	Date (in 2012)	Type	Gender	Race	Age	Attributes	Black voters	Quoted her
T1	Timeslive	22-Sep	4						
T2	Timeslive	26-Sep	1		1	1		1	
T3	Timeslive	27-Sep	1						
T4	Timeslive	27-Sep	1						1
T4	Timeslive	30-Sep	4		1	1			
T6	Timeslive	02-Oct	1			3		1	1
T7	Timeslive	09-Oct	1			1			
T8	Timeslive	09-Oct	1			1			
T9	Timeslive	10-Oct	1			1			
T10	Timeslive	10-Oct	1						
T11	Timeslive	11-Oct	4			1		1	
T12	Timeslive	11-Oct	3		1	2		3	
T13	Timeslive	11-Oct	4						
T14	Timeslive	13-Oct	5			1			
T15	Timeslive	13-Oct	4			2			
T16	Timeslive	13-Oct	4		1				1
T17	Timeslive	31-Oct	4		1			3	
T18	Timeslive	31-Oct	1		1				
T19	Timeslive	01-Nov	4		1	1		1	
T20	Timeslive	01-Nov	1	1		1			
T21	Timeslive	01-Nov	1	1					
T22	Timeslive	02-Nov	4			1		1	
T23	Timeslive	06-Nov	5						
T24	Timeslive	06-Nov	5	4	6		6		
T25	Timeslive	13-Nov	4						
T26	Timeslive	15-Nov	1						

T27	Timeslive	20-Nov	5						
T28	Timeslive	29-Nov	6						
T29	Timeslive	30-Nov	1			1			1
IL1	IOL	25-Sep	1	1	1	1			
IL2	IOL	27-Sep	1	4		1	2	2	1
IL3	IOL	27-Sep	1	1			1		1
IL4	IOL	27-Sep	1			1			1
IL5	IOL	27-Sep	1		1	1			1
IL6	IOL	27-Sep	1	1	1	2			1
IL7	IOL	27-Sep	1	1	1	1			1
IL8	IOL	28-Sep	3		1	1			
IL9	IOL	28-Sep	1		1	2			
IL10	IOL	28-Sep	5			2			
IL11	IOL	29-Sep	1			1			1
IL12	IOL	30-Sep	1		1	3			
IL13	IOL	02-Oct	1		2	2		3	
IL14	IOL	05-Oct	1	1		1			
IL15	IOL	09-Oct	1			1			
IL16	IOL	10-Oct	1			1			
IL17	IOL	10-Oct	1			1			
IL18	IOL	10-Oct	1			1			
IL19	IOL	13-Oct	5	4	1	2	1		
IL20	IOL	13-Oct	1						
IL21	IOL	16-Oct	1		1	1			
IL22	IOL	19-Oct	1						
IL23	IOL	21-Oct	1			1			1
IL24	IOL	21-Oct	1		3			1	1
IL25	IOL	21-Oct	1						1
IL26	IOL	23-Oct	1			1		1	1
IL27	IOL	24-Oct	1			1		1	1
IL28	IOL	26-Oct	1			1		1	
IL29	IOL	27-Oct	1	1	1	2	2		
IL30	IOL	27-Oct	1		1				1
IL31	IOL	27-Oct	1			1			
IL32	IOL	27-Oct	1						
IL33	IOL	27-Oct	1			1			
IL34	IOL	27-Oct	1			3			1
IL35	IOL	27-Oct	5						

IL36	IOL	27-Oct	1			2			1
IL37	IOL	28-Oct	1			1		1	
IL38	IOL	28-Oct	1	1	2	2	1		1
IL39	IOL	28-Oct	1	2	2	2			1
IL40	IOL	28-Oct	1	1	2	4			1
IL41	IOL	28-Oct	2	2		1		1	1
IL42	IOL	30-Oct	1	2	1	2	1	1	
IL43	IOL	31-Oct	1	2	1	4		1	1
IL44	IOL	31-Oct	1		1			1	
IL45	IOL	31-Oct	1		2			2	
IL46	IOL	01-Nov	4						
IL47	IOL	01-Nov	1						
IL48	IOL	03-Nov	1	3	2	1	1	3	
IL49	IOL	08-Nov	1					1	
IL50	IOL	08-Nov	1						
IL51	IOL	15-Nov	1			1			
IL52	IOL	16-Nov	5	1	1	1			
CP1	City Press Online	27-Sep	1						1
CP2	City Press Online	11-Sep	5						
CP3	City Press Online	02-Oct	1						
CP4	City Press Online	30-Oct	2	1	1	2			1
CP5	City Press Online	27-Oct	1		1	1			
CP6	City Press Online	01-Nov	1	1		1			
CP7	City Press Online	30-Oct	3	3	6	1	1	2	
CP8	City Press Online	30-Oct	5	1		1			
CP9	City Press Online	06-Nov	1						1
CP10	City Press Online	31-Oct	1	1				1	
MG1	M&G Online	29-Sep	2	3	1	1	2		1
MG2	M&G Online	07-Oct	5		1	5	4	1	
MG3	M&G Online	09-Oct	1			1			
MG4	M&G Online	14-Oct	3	1	1			1	
MG5	M&G Online	21-Oct	2	2	4	1			1
MG6	M&G Online	27-Oct	1						1
MG7	M&G Online	28-Oct	1		2				1
MG8	M&G Online	03-Nov	1		1				1
MG9	M&G Online	04-Nov	5	1	8	2	1	1	
MG10	M&G Online	04-Nov	1		2			1	1
		TOTAL*		48	71	92	25	38	0

		TOTAL**	28	41	62	13	27	33
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*Total number of articles with occurrences

** Total number of occurrences in all articles

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African National Congress. 2012. *National Executive Committee*. <http://www.anc.org>

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