

**AN ANALYSIS OF THE COVERAGE OF HELEN ZILLE AND PATRICIA DE  
LILLE PRIOR TO, DURING AND AFTER SOUTH AFRICA'S 2009 NATIONAL  
ELECTIONS BY SOUTH AFRICAN ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS**

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## **Abstract**

Feminist media studies theory and intersectionality were used to determine if South African national English daily, weekly and weekend newspapers perpetuated stereotypes when reporting about Helen Zille and Patricia De Lille, both of whom were female political candidates during the 2009 national election. The study explores the nexus between media, gender, race and class representation and political election campaign reporting. In particular, it seeks to find out if the different gender, race and class of two female candidates influenced national newspaper reporters; in either reporting negatively or positively about them as candidates during the elections.

Content analysis and critical discourse analysis were used as method to analyse the data collected from newspaper articles. The content analysis findings showed that Zille compared to De Lille received significant coverage and most headlines were referring to her. The findings of the critical discourse analysis indicate that language was sometimes used to perpetuate stereotypes through the use of tone, choice of language in headings, metaphors; puns, oxymorons as well as insinuations.

The hypotheses was that the race of the candidates would feature prominently in the findings however there was very little about the race of the candidates. The analysis revealed that there was a focus on the race and class of the audiences and voters addressed by Zille and De Lille during their campaign period.

**Keywords: Feminist media theory, race, media, gender, elections, Helen Zille and Patricia De Lille.**

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To my daughter, Olufemi.

To Kabo,

My supervisor, Prof Ohlhoff,

My mom and family.

My grandparents who shone the light from day one.

Everyone who read and gave feedback on this work.

## Table of Contents

<b><i>Tables and figures</i></b>	<b>7</b>
<b>CHAPTER 1</b>	<b>8</b>
Introduction	8
1. Introduction and background	8
1.1. Research problem	9
1.2. Research objective	10
1.3. Research questions	10
1.4. Limitations to the study	10
<b>CHAPTER 2</b>	<b>12</b>
<i>Literature Review</i>	12
2. Introduction	12
2.1. Representation in media studies	13
2.2. Media stereotypes	13
2.3. Gendered stereotypes	14
2.4. Representation of female political candidates in the media	16
2.5. Review of literature on the representation of female political candidates in the United States' media	17
2.6. Gender and media in Southern Africa	18
2.7. Stereotypical representation of women in SADC media	20
2.8. Representation of female politicians in African media	22
2.9. Previous studies conducted on the representation of female politicians in South Africa	25
2.10. Race in the representation of female political candidates	26
Conclusion	27
<b>CHAPTER 3</b>	<b>28</b>
<i>Theoretical Framework</i>	28

<b>3. Introduction</b>	<b>28</b>
<b>3.1. Feminist media studies</b>	<b>28</b>
<b>3.2. African feminist media studies</b>	<b>32</b>
<b>3.3. Intersectionality</b>	<b>37</b>
<b>CHAPTER 4</b>	<b>42</b>
<i>Methodology</i>	<b>42</b>
<b>4. Introduction</b>	<b>42</b>
<b>4.1. Research design</b>	<b>43</b>
<b>4.1.1. Data sampling</b>	<b>43</b>
<b>4.1.2. Sample</b>	<b>44</b>
<b>4.2. Data collection</b>	<b>47</b>
<b>4.2.1. Data collection process</b>	<b>47</b>
<b>4.2.2. Data coding process for content analysis</b>	<b>49</b>
<b>4.3. Methods to study gender representation in the media</b>	<b>52</b>
<b>4.3.1. Content analysis</b>	<b>52</b>
<b>4.3.1.1 Quantitative content analysis</b>	<b>55</b>
<b>4.3.1.2 Qualitative content analysis</b>	<b>56</b>
<b>4.4. Content analysis in this study</b>	<b>56</b>
<b>4.5. Critical discourse analysis</b>	<b>59</b>
<b>4.5.1. Process of conducting critical discourse analysis</b>	<b>63</b>
<b>4.5.2. Critical discourse analysis procedure</b>	<b>64</b>
<b>CHAPTER 5</b>	<b>67</b>
<i>Data Analysis</i>	<b>67</b>
<b>5. Introduction</b>	<b>67</b>
<b>5.1. Content analysis findings from newspaper articles</b>	<b>67</b>
<b>5.2. Findings from the Gender Links classification system coding</b>	<b>68</b>
<b>5.2.1. Blatant stereotype</b>	<b>69</b>
<b>5.2.2. Subtle stereotype</b>	<b>70</b>
<b>5.2.3. Gender blind</b>	<b>70</b>

5.2.4. Gender awareness	71
5.3. Patricia De Lille’s Gender Links classification system findings	74
5.3.1. Helen Zille’s Gender Links classification system findings	74
5.3.2. Zille and De Lille Gender Links classification system	75
5.3.3. Gender Links Classification system overall findings	76
5.4. Categories and themes on race, class and gender	77
5.5 Race	78
5.6. Class	83
5.7. Gender representation	87
5.7.1. Beauty treatments	88
5.7.2. Dress and looks	89
5.7.3. Stereotypical and gender-biased language	91
5.8 CDA analysis	92
5.8.1 Social abuse of power	92
5.8.2. Connotations and metaphors	93
5.8.3 Tone	95
5.8.4. Power relations	96
5.8.5 Omission of facts about Zille and De Lille	100
5.8.6. Analysis of headlines	101
5.9 Broad thematic CDA	108
5.9.1 Summary of findings from broad thematic CDA	109
Conclusion of analysis	110
<b>CHAPTER 6</b>	<b>113</b>
<i>Discussion of main findings</i>	113
6. Introduction	113
6.1 Gender stereotyping and leadership traits	113
6.2 Race, class and language	115
Conclusion	117
<b>CHAPTER 7</b>	<b>120</b>

<b>Conclusion And Recommendations</b>	<b>120</b>
<b>7. Introduction</b>	<b>120</b>
<b>7.1. Discussion</b>	<b>120</b>
<b>7.2. Recommendations</b>	<b>123</b>
<b>7.3. Significance of the study</b>	<b>124</b>
<b>8.BIBLIOGRAPHY</b>	<b>126</b>

### **Tables and figures**

Table 1 : Number of newspaper editions collected for the period of the study

Table 2 : Gender Links Classification System

Table 3 : Critical Discourse Analysis Table

Table 4 : Articles examined by means of content analysis

Table 5: Content Analysis Findings

Table 6: Newspaper Headlines

Table 7: Critical Discourse Thematic Analysis

Figure 1 - Text (i.e. the inner square), interaction (i.e. the middle square), context (i.e. The outer and bigger square, Janks 1999).

Figure 2 – Content Analysis results for Patricia De Lille

Figure 3 – Bar graph of Content Analysis result for Helen Zille

Figure 4 – Bar graph of Content Analysis results of coverage of Zille and De Lille

Figure 5 – Bar graph of categories for Content Analysis

Figure 6 – Bar graph of recurring words

## CHAPTER 1

### Introduction

#### 1. Introduction and background

The South African press performs a significant role in ensuring that the country's citizens are informed of current affairs and major political events such as elections. The media form part of the political economy of society; that is, they are part of the system that controls how meaning is produced, distributed and consumed. It also plays a pivotal role in positioning the individuals or organisation that participate in the democratic process in their quest to gain power and control over the economic, legislative and social resources.

When elections take place in democratic countries, or at least those that claim to be democratic, they take up a considerable portion of the daily output of media production and strongly influence public perceptions. Elections are often highly contested in the public space, with parties and politicians viewing the media as pivotal instruments with which to persuade voters to accord them governing power. Elections are vital in the democratic process because they legitimise political structures.

South Africa has one of the highest proportions of female representativity in parliament and cabinet in the world. However, there is minimal representation of women in leadership positions in political parties. During the 2009 national general elections, there were only three female-led political parties that contested the national general elections, namely the Democratic Alliance (DA), Independent Democrats (ID) and Women Forward.

It is against this backdrop – of few South African political parties being female-led – that the representation of female political leaders in media is explored in this study. Even though in terms of political developments, 2009 is a rather long time ago, the issues the study is concerned about in relation to representation of female politicians during elections and on a broader level of other socio-economic issues and the construction of their gender and race are still pertinent. In particular, this dissertation comprises an analysis of the coverage of Helen Zille and Patricia De



Lille during the 2009 general elections, with particular attention being paid to how notions of race and gender were reported. Zille, who is white, was the leader of the DA at the time of the 2009 elections, and De Lille, who is classified as coloured, was the leader of the ID as opposed to the other 37 parties that contested the elections and were male -led.

The race, class and gender of political candidates are represented in the media, which is utilised as a platform during elections to canvass voters. It is to be expected that the media will scrutinise all political candidates far more during this time than between elections. During elections, the media comprise some of the mechanisms used to inform voters of the politics, policies, personalities and other "interesting" data for the purpose of enabling voters to make an informed choice about who will govern them. In this way, all politicians who participate in elections are "fair game". During this time, as reporting increases, so too will the problematic representation of candidates on a variety of issues, including race and gender which can lead to media stereotyping.

### **1.1. Research problem**

The implications of media stereotyping are that a particular message created by the media can influence attitudes and opinions about candidates contesting in an election. This can be problematic, because readers might be unduly influenced by the media in terms of how they perceive female politicians.

Against this backdrop, several individual cases have been explored, such as how the press reported on Elizabeth Dole ( Heldman ,2005), Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin (Busher, 2006) in the US.

The Media Monitoring Project (MMP, 1999) undertook its first study in 1999 to evaluate the media coverage of a woman in politics during South Africa's 1994 national elections. The then Minister of Health, Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, a member of the ruling African National Congress (ANC), was the subject of the study. The MMP (1999) study was limited in that it focused on only one politician as a subject of study and, therefore, cannot be said to be a sufficient representation of female politicians in the country. Thus, further empirical case studies are needed to

demonstrate the seemingly abstract points made in gender studies in the media field, in order to provide a concrete picture of the situation worldwide.

## **1.2. Research objective**

In light of the above, the primary aim of this study was to contribute further case studies, from South Africa in particular, to flesh out the concrete picture of the worldwide situation. More specifically, the objective of this study was to determine whether South African national English daily, weekly and weekend newspapers used race, class and gender stereotypes when reporting on Zille and De Lille during the 2009 national general election. Both Zille and De Lille were amongst the first women to lead political parties in South Africa. De Lille was the first woman in 2003 to form and lead a political party, the Independent Democrats and Zille was the second woman to lead a political party, the Democratic Alliance in 2007.

## **1.3. Research questions**

The overarching question that guided this study was:

- Did the English national daily, weekly and weekend newspapers cover Zille and De Lille in a manner that highlighted their race, class and gender at the expense of their leadership qualities during the 2009 South African general election?

An ancillary question was:

- How did the English newspapers in South Africa represent Helen Zille and Patricia De Lille during the 2009 general elections?

## **1.4. Limitations to the study**

This researcher acknowledges that there are limitations to this study. Firstly, only South African English newspapers were explored; Afrikaans publications were excluded because this researcher's comprehension of Afrikaans is limited. Data from Afrikaans newspapers could have made the data sample more representative of the weekend and daily newspapers in South Africa.

Firstly, the findings of this study will add to the existing body of knowledge about race, gender and media. Secondly, and in particular, this study is will contribute to

the existing, albeit minimal, research on how the press reports on female political candidates affiliated with differing political parties from various racial backgrounds during South Africa's national general elections.

Thirdly, the outcome of the study might also provide a new perspective on a newspaper reporters' outlook on gender, race and media. Finally, the study might be useful for those doing studies on race, gender and media in Africa.

## **1.5. Overview of the dissertation**

This study is divided into seven chapters. Chapter 1 contains an explanation of the background to, and the relevance and importance of the study in the media studies field, followed by the research problem and the research questions.

Chapter 2 is a review of the relevant literature and previous research on African feminist media studies and those from an international perspective, namely North America, and the African perspective, as presented by various scholars on the continent, as well as studies specific to South Africa. Gaps within the existing literature are identified and previous studies are linked to the research questions.

Chapter 3 is a presentation of the theoretical framework. It contains an outline of theories about feminist media studies, including African feminist media studies. The final focus area of the chapter is on intersectionality.

In Chapter 4, the research design and methodology that was utilised in the study, namely the data collection and data analysis process, is described.

In chapter 5, the findings of the study, based on the analysis conducted using content analysis and critical discourse analysis, are presented.

Chapter 6 is a discussion of the findings that were presented in chapter 5.

The last chapter of the study, Chapter 7, comprises the overall conclusion to the study and recommendations for future research on the representation of female political candidates by South African media during elections and the significance of the study.

## CHAPTER 2

### *Literature Review*

#### **2. Introduction**

In this literature review, previous studies that are similar to this one are examined and gaps within the literature are identified. Previous studies on gender and media, as well as feminist media studies, are explored. Moreover, examples of previous newspaper research conducted in the field of the representation of female political candidates during an election period are outlined. The literature review constitutes an in-depth analysis of the media and gender nexus, especially in terms of how various researchers have attempted to answer questions related to the media and gender during election periods. The research issues tackled by scholars cited in the literature review include how female political candidates are represented by the news media during election campaign periods; how female political candidates utilise the media to profile themselves during elections; and how the media is representing female political candidates.

In this section I explore the overall situation of gender and media in Southern Africa from the perspective of media bodies that have conducted research in this area. The work surveyed for the literature review fits into this study and the insights are utilised by the current researcher to reflect on what has been studied, why it has been studied, how it is studied, when it was studied and, most, importantly the results of the various studies.

The first section of this chapter is about the media's representation of gender in particular, with a discussion on representation in the context of media studies. The manner in which the media's representation of gender is aligned with feminist scholarship is also outlined. The second section comprises review of previous studies on the representation of female political candidates in the media in North America.

The third section concerns gender and the media in Africa. The emphasis is on the perspectives found in previous studies on the representation of

women in the media in Southern Africa, with a focus on female political figures as party leaders, election candidates and members of parliament. In the fourth section, the focus is on the methods utilised for studies on gender representation in the media.

### **2.1. Representation in media studies**

“Representation” is viewed in differing ways in media studies. Taylor and Willis (1999:39) suggests that the term is used to describe the practice of placing various signs together to render complex, abstract concepts intelligible and meaningful. Representation, therefore, can never be neutral or objective; it can be used to reinforce negative or positive images. Furthermore, representation can be defined as the portrayal of certain groups of people in the media. Manny (2013:34) argues that representation theory is about distinguishing between reflecting reality and reinterpreting reality, meaning that a representation is neither real nor fiction, but constitutes an attempt to accurately reflect reality.

Ross (2019:2) states that "when it comes to representation of different groups and the reproduction of racial and ethnic stereotypes, the media matters, partly because they are a key filter through which groups learn about each other”.

### **2.2. Media stereotypes**

In *Key Works for Media Studies*, Seiter (2017), defines media stereotypes as systematic representations, repeated in a variety of forms, that include a descriptive based on physical appearance, in which people are judged from a particular perspective or point of view. Stereotypes are also utilised to characterise subordinated groups, whether it is men viewing women, whites viewing blacks, or the middle class viewing the working class. The false assumption underpinning stereotyping is that all people of a group act or behave in a particular, undesirable way, such that members of the dominant group should feel superior to them.

Oulette (2003:172) expands on Taylor and Willis' application of representation in media studies as a concept that "connects meaning and language to culture". Made (2009) refers to language and how it can be used in the coverage of women in an election. She proposes that the following questions can be asked:

1. Does the story contain language that promotes sexism, gender bias or discrimination, or gender stereotypes?
2. Does the language sensationalise the situation beyond what has happened to sell the news and attract audiences?
3. Do any of the adjectives used to describe the character or physical appearance of women politicians or candidates convey prejudice?

Kellner and Durham (2001:24), cited in Keller (2001), succinctly argue that the politics of representation is focused on both encoding and decoding, and texts and audiences, and thus calls for critical and discriminating responses to the products of media production. Therefore, the representation of reality and meaning enables us to understand the concept of representation as a form of decoding and encoding as the reader consumes the text and interprets what it means. The process of encoding and decoding means a reader or a consumer can understand a media text subjectively, because meaning is interpreted from a personal or individual perspective. Representation is an outcome of the process of encoding for the reporter and decoding for the reader.

### **2.3. Gendered stereotypes**

According to the Council of Europe's *Gender Equality Report* (2018), gender stereotypes are generalised views or preconceived ideas, according to which individuals are categorised into particular gender groups, typically defined as "women" and "men", and are arbitrarily assigned characteristics and roles determined and limited by their sex. Stereotypes are both descriptive, in that members of a certain group are perceived to have the same attributes regardless of individual differences,

and prescriptive because they set the parameters for what societies deem to be acceptable behaviour. Stereotyping becomes problematic when it is used as a vehicle to degrade and discriminate against women. Abolishing negative gender stereotypes is essential to achieving gender equality, and the media are central to promoting this change.

Pickering (2001:12) explains how the representation of women in the media is linked to feminist scholarship by asserting that the critique on stereotyping is exemplified by the contributions of feminist scholarship to media studies. He states that before the contribution of feminist scholarship in the 1970s, stereotypes of women and the media's role in their development, reinforcement and maintenance went largely unquestioned.

In particular, as Lowe-Morna (2002:4), argues women have always been subjected to stereotyping. She writes that "women are seldom portrayed as politicians, newsmakers, experts, business leaders and a host of other roles in which men regularly feature, even when women have broken into non-traditional jobs and social roles".

Everitt (2003:90) also argues that "traditionally, a major obstacle to the electoral success of female candidates is the media, and the amount and nature of coverage it assigns to their candidacy. Numerous studies have revealed that women frequently receive less coverage than their male counterparts, and that the coverage they receive tends to focus on their electoral viability, stereotypical feminine characteristics and issue competencies". It is argued that, with substantive media coverage and less stereotyping, female candidates could theoretically be placed on an equal footing with their male counterparts and compete on the basis of common leadership competencies.

Busher (2006) states that language choice is a key component in establishing frames. She argues that stereotypical language is common when discussing or describing professional women, and it often surfaces in media coverage of women candidates.

## 2.4. Representation of female political candidates in the media

Representation of female candidates in the media has been studied since the 1970s. Bertrand and Hughes (2005) state that

the search for equality and equity by feminist activists led bourgeois feminists to campaign for institutional research on gender imbalances within media industries and for improvements in the way women were represented in the media and so to conduct textual research, usually by quantitative content analysis, measuring media representation against either the roles of women in the real world or an idea of what those roles might be, leading to the concept of “positive” and “negative” media images of women.

Gallagher (2001) states that studies on women and the media were first conducted in North America and Western Europe. Gallagher (2001) explains that, in the 1970s, many groups around the globe began to track media content and put pressure on local and national media to take account of women’s interests in how they were represented in programming in broadcast media.

Gallagher (2003:10) gives an account of the progress made, beginning with the first extensive international quantitative study of women's portrayal in media, the Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP), in 1995. A one-day global media monitoring project monitored newspapers, radio and television news in 71 countries around the world, including the African continent, for one day in January.

The study found that only 17% of the world's news subjects (i.e. newsmakers or interviewees in news stories) were women (Media Watch, 1995). A further study was conducted in 70 countries on 1 February 2000, which indicated that the representation of women in the world of news had not improved in five years. On that day, women accounted for just 18% of news subjects (Spears et al., 2000).



The GMMP found that "television had slightly more women than radio or newspapers. Across the regions of North America, Oceania and Africa, female news subjects ranged from a high of 25% in North America and Oceania to a low of 11% in Africa. Many familiar gender differences were illustrated by the quantitative findings, whose only surprise was perhaps the consistency with which they depicted similar patterns right around the world." The limitation of this study was that it examined only a single day; thus, there is no longitudinal data showing variance or differences over a prolonged period.

WACC's Media Development (2013:4) states that "gender stereotypes are one of the most persistent causes of inequality between women and men in all spheres, impacting both their professional and private lives. Media content influences the way people perceive reality and contributes to shaping gender roles, and women (and sometimes men) are often poorly represented in the media".

The researcher notes that, compared to studies undertaken more than two decades earlier by scholars such as Gallagher (2001) in the advent of feminist media studies research, media representation remains a common denominator of the studies, irrespective of the media platform being analysed. This includes research on the representation of female political candidates in newspapers, television and online platforms such as online newspapers and social media.

## **2.5. Review of literature on the representation of female political candidates in the United States' media**

Researchers in the global north have produced a large corpus of studies on the representation of female political candidates in the media. An example of such research is Busher's (2006) study of how the *New York Times* represented Hillary Clinton when she was running for the senate, in which it was found that she was represented neutrally. Winfrey and Carlin (2009:4) subsequently conducted a study on the media representation of Clinton's campaign for the Democrat nomination for

president and Governor Sarah Palin's campaign for vice-president during the 2008 United States presidential election primary race. Winfrey and Carlin's (2009:3) study reveals that the media coverage incorporated gender stereotypes and gendered language, which influenced the way both women were viewed. They found that "women who exhibit too many masculine traits are often ridiculed and lose trust because they are going against a type or play into male stereotypes that voters are rejecting". Winfrey and Carlin (2009:337) further note that Clinton was not portrayed as weak or needing a man to carry her campaign; however the common media frame for her was that she was not feminine enough.

Busher (2006), and Winfrey and Carlin's (2009) studies indicate a huge disparity between the way the media represented Hillary Clinton when she was contesting for differing positions, which occurred three years apart. In the first year, 2006, during the period of Busher's study, when Clinton was running as a senatorial candidate, the media was neutral, but, in 2009, during the period of Winfrey and Carlin's study when she was running as a presidential candidate, it was negative and stereotypical.

The reason for the disparity could be that the position of senator that Clinton was competing for, as outlined by Busher (2006), can be viewed as politically junior to that of running in the presidential primary race. The representation of Clinton contesting for senator in 2000 and vice-president in 2008 could have been different as she advanced her political career, and the media could have been balanced in framing her instead of stereotyping her.

## **2.6. Gender and media in Southern Africa**

In 2003, a gender and media baseline study was conducted by the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) and media advocacy group Gender Links in 12 Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries. Mtonga (2009:149) asserts that the 2003 gender and media baseline study indicated that women in the SADC region featured in about 5% of political stories, as opposed to men, who are given 79% of the coverage.

The other 16% comprised stories on various topics. The Gender Links report suggested that women politicians could be offered more voice in SADC regional newspapers

MISA and Gender Links further found that the politics of media representation in the SADC region were similar. The report states:

Women politicians are especially invisible: Women were not represented in proportion to their strength in important categories such as politics, where women constitute 31% of members of parliament and cabinet, yet only accounted for 8% of the sources.

The report further states that the politics of media representation in the SADC were the same throughout the region (Gender Links, 2003:21). The report states that women politicians are invisible, and there is an inadequate share of female politicians' voices in the media in Southern Africa. The outcomes of the MISA report suggest that work needs to be done to ensure that women politicians are seen and heard in the media within the SADC region.

The introduction of a SANEF 2009 study that focused on the positions of women in the media states that

The study took place in the context of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development that calls for the mainstreaming of gender in all media laws, policies and training. It urges the media to achieve gender parity in media ownership and decision making, as well as to give equal voice to women and men; to challenge gender stereotypes; and ensure balance and sensitivity in all coverage, especially that relating to gender violence.

The Gender Links Gender and Media Progress Study of 2015, which is premised on the SADC Gender Protocol, had one time-bound media target: gender equality in and through the media by 2015.

The indicators used to measure the targets set out by the 2015 Media Progress Study included research that would produce results indicating gender sensitivity in the coverage of women and their use as news sources across the SADC region.

Outlining the representation of gender in South African media, Wasserman (2018:263) states, "Representation in South African media has received significant attention in the years since democratisation [in 1994]. Several studies on the representation of gender in the media, as well as the position of women in the media industry, have been conducted, among others by the South African National Editors Forum (SANEF) and the organisation Gender Links."

A 2018 study by Media Monitors, titled *A baseline study on election reporting in Zimbabwe's mainstream media*, indicated that "the gender dynamics were problematic, as the researchers noted that women political actors continued to be underrepresented in the media. They made up 16% of the space and time dedicated to political actors in the media, while men accounted for 84% of the coverage." The authors further stated that "a closer look at the coverage of individual women political actors confirms the concern that the space allocated to women political actors is very limited, as only 17 women were featured during the period monitored. It appears women politicians have tried hard to be considered newsworthy, as all the women political actors who received coverage in the print media occupy leadership positions in their parties or government."

## **2.7. Stereotypical representation of women in SADC media**

Studies conducted in the SADC region, including South Africa, show that there is a need for change in the status quo of the coverage of women in politics in countries such as Zimbabwe and South Africa. News coverage of female politicians in both print and online news media remains largely negative. Female politicians are viewed through the lens of various stereotypes associated with gender discrimination, as opposed to the leadership and political credentials required during an election period.

This use of the media would ensure that women can be heard and be visible in Southern African media, specifically in Zimbabwe, where there is an apparent erasure of women's voices. This erasure is due to the media reproducing traditional patriarchal notions of gender that dictate that women should not be visible in the public sphere.

The MISA (2005) study refers to a stereotypical representation of women in the media found in the SADC region, including South Africa. It posits that the manner in which the South African media approaches the representation of women is not as expected. The expectation was that there would be fair representation of women, with less negative reporting, and that women would have an equal share of voice as sources and subjects in the news media.

Subsequent studies conducted over a decade and more after the MMP study indicate that there is no change the media representation of female political candidates in Africa. Sichikwenke (2009:125) quotes *Faustina Sinyangwe*, a female parliamentarian from Zambia in the SADC region, as saying, "The media find joy in reporting negative things that involve female politicians, but when there are good things that the same politicians have done in their constituencies, the media is not interested."

Mtonga (2009:148) states that, in Southern Africa "women politicians become easy targets and are called all sorts of names" in election coverage. Mtonga argues that the underrepresentation of women in news on politics and government business is not justifiable, because women have also begun to take up influential political positions in government, in corporate and small businesses. Sichikwenke (2009:125) states that "Sinyangwe said that if the media aims to promote and support women politicians to achieve the targeted 50% representation in decision-making positions, they should be more interested in highlighting the positive achievements of women politicians".

## 2.8. Representation of female politicians in African media

Studies on women and the media on the African continent were prompted by the research of scholars such as Bosch (2011) and Gadzekpo (2009), and institutions such as Gender Links, Media Monitoring Africa (MMA) and MISA, because they provide a perspective of how the African continent fares compared to the United States and Latin America.

Eshiet (2013:135–149), an African media studies scholar, investigated the gendered portrayal of political actors in Nigerian print media and its impact on women's political participation. She states that "women politicians are also framed by the media as being 'outsiders'. Their representation further reinforces the societal perception that women are outsiders in politics."

Studies by the MMP (1994), Tapfumaneyi (2005), Katembo (2005) Gender Links, MMA (2009), and Mannya (2013) demonstrate that the African continent has begun to close the research gap on studies of the representation of female politicians in the media on the African continent. Katembo (2005:133) concludes her study by stating that

This study's analysis of the representation of women politicians in the *Sunday Times* during the 2004 general and presidential elections has demonstrated that South African women politicians are seriously underrepresented and that the manner of presentation marginalises, trivialises or subordinates them. Men politicians, on the other hand, enjoy frequent coverage, and in a manner quite different from that of their fellow women politicians.

Lowe-Morna (2002:7) cites the MMP's study on gender in the 1999 South African elections, which states that "women politicians were regularly demonised and infantilised by the media. They were branded 'unfeminine' or 'iron women' who were ruthless, belligerent and doggedly determined".

The MMP (1995), MMA (2009), Gender Links (2009), Mannya (2011) and Duncan (2014) studies found that the South African media were likely to

represent female politicians in terms of gender more than in terms of race during election periods in the country.

The findings in the studies cited above indicate that, regardless of whether female political candidates participate in a national, general or parliamentary election, they are subjected to gender and racial stereotyping.

Several studies have been published after election years, such as those by Katembo (2005) following South Africa's 2004 election, the MMA (2009) after South Africa's 2009 election, and Mannya (2013) on the DA's Lindiwe Mazibuko.

Mannya (2011) studied the representation of female politicians in South African online media. Mannya's (2011) study on Mazibuko, a former leader of the DA party in South Africa, found that online newspapers had a slant against Mazibuko's gender.

Katembo states in her introduction that she analysed the representation of South African women politicians in the *Sunday Times* during the 2004 general elections to determine the relationship between the representation of women politicians in the newspaper and their material existence in society. If she had considered data from a variety of newspapers, she could have shown variations and facilitated a comparison of data to ensure a representative sample of newspapers in South Africa.

Katembo (2005:100) found that of all the 588 identifiable news actors or sources counted, 135 were women and 453 were men. Of these, only 7.67% (or 26) were women politicians and 92.33% (or 313) were men politicians. In representations of male politicians, personality traits were mentioned for only 21.99% of them, while reference to their potential for office was made for only 14.66% of them. On the other hand, references to family relations were made for 22.22% of the women politicians, as compared to 3.66% of the male politicians. Moreover, physical attributes were mentioned in the coverage of 33.33% of the women politicians, as

compared to 9.42% of the male politicians. What the findings seem to be implying here is that society still defines women more in terms of their bodily appearances, an ideological view that borders on the objectification of women.

The outcomes of Katembo's study indicated that the media frequently chose generalisations and stereotypes about women's supposed values, concerns, and abilities as politicians during election campaign reporting.

Studies of scholars such as Katembo (2005) and Manny (2009) on gender representation in African media have explored the media representation of female political figures, either as candidates during an election period or as individuals who occupy a leadership position in a political party.

The findings of Katembo's study indicated that the representation of women politicians in the *Sunday Times* during the 2004 general and presidential elections demonstrated that South African women politicians were seriously underrepresented and the manner in which they were represented marginalised, trivialised or subordinated them. Men politicians, on the other hand, enjoyed frequent coverage, in a manner quite different from that of their fellow women politicians.

The findings of Katembo and Manny's studies indicate how various forms of old and new media platforms represent female political candidates competing for various political positions during election periods in South Africa.

The literature surveyed so far, in both the United States and Africa, suggests that women are often represented by the press in a stereotypical manner and often negatively, with reference being made to their physical attributes.



## 2.9. Previous studies conducted on the representation of female politicians in South Africa

Gender Links and MMA conducted a study on the 2009 South African national general election and concluded that "there are several examples of blatant gender stereotypes in South African print media, and these include the prominent coverage given to Zille admitting that she used Botox".

The MMA cite the *Sunday Times* (28 December 2009), which referred to Zille as the "poster girl" and COPE leader Mbazima Shilowa's wife, Wendy Luhabe, who was referred to as the "Sugar behind Shikota" (*Mail & Guardian*, 31 October 2009)".

The above statement from the MMA suggests that the *Mail & Guardian* stereotyped Shilowa's wife, Wendy Luhabe, who was not even a contender in the elections. The studies cited above indicate that there is a tendency in the South African media to marginalise women politicians.

Mannya (2013:52) conducted a study on the representation of former Democratic Alliance parliamentary leader Lindiwe Mazibuko in South African online news and concluded that "significant reference was made to Lindiwe Mazibuko's race, gender, and personal and physical attributes in the news found at four sites during the period of the DA parliamentary election". Mannya concluded that Mazibuko's gender was slightly more of an element than her race, and her leadership capabilities were not even considered by reporters. Mannya's findings imply that Mazibuko was subjected to gendered media stereotyping. The study by Mannya demonstrates that the advent of online news media did not transform the coverage of female politicians shown in Katembo (2005) and Tapfumaneyi's (2005) studies of print media.

According to Duncan (2014:133), "the South African media devote large amounts of space to elections and electoral campaigns". The media has considerable potential to influence elections, as Duncan suggests. To expatiate on how the media approach candidates during election

coverage, Siyangwe (cited in Sichikwenke, 2009:125) says the media follows male politicians to bars and other social places to obtain a story.

Ngubane (2017:71) analysis of the representation of female and male politicians during the 2016 South African local government elections: a case study of the Pietermaritzburg daily newspaper, *The Witness*. Suggests that it is evident that women do not get sufficient recognition in politics due to social circumstances and stereotypes attached to them by society. Ngubane (2017:75) further argues that coverage in *The Witness* was centred on coverage of female politicians focusing more on social and welfare issues such as education, health care and shelter which are viewed as feminine issues.

### **2.10. Race in the representation of female political candidates**

The interplay between race and gender in South African media in the above-cited arguments by Katembo (2005), Tapfumaneyi (2002) and Rabe (2005) illustrate that considering race and gender are essential when media is analysed. As Rabe (2002:158), argues, "apartheid stripped black women of their rights, as did capitalism and patriarchy. An investigation of the role of black women in the media is essential. Her weak media status is exacerbated by gender-driven news".

Rabe notes that there is also a difference of representation in media coverage of the roles of black, coloured and white women. The differences in representation also lead to a marginal use of black and coloured women as voices or opinionmakers in the news.

The literature surveyed did not have specific studies on the representation of female politicians and the intersection of their race and gender. Mannya's study, cited in the sections above, had a focus on race. In particular Mannya investigated whether Mazibuko was represented according to her race by online news media. Studies on gender and race in the media have focused primarily on racial and gender composition in the newsrooms, such as the 2018 Media Diversity Development Agency study on glass ceilings in South African newsrooms.

## **Conclusion**

The above-cited literature indicates the minimal presence of Southern African women who are used as sources and subjects of discussion within media news content.

The dominant mode of reasoning shown in the literature review is that elections are characterised by elements such as the power and influence of political leaders on voters. The media act as conduits for persuasion and influence. Political candidates capitalise on power and influence to sway the voters.

The studies mentioned above identify the inadequate share of female politicians' voices in the South African media. Not only are women politicians marginally quoted or reported on, but they have also been given low coverage during election campaign periods.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### ***Theoretical Framework***

#### **3. Introduction**

The theoretical framework of the study is presented in this chapter. In the first section, feminist media studies theory is presented as a framework for the study. This is followed by a discussion of two other theories, namely African feminist media studies and intersectionality. The three theories selected for this study are grounded in the interplay of media, race, class and gender.

The researcher starts by summarising the historical background of the theories, as described by various scholars, followed by definitions, interpretation and discussion of their key elements. Secondly, the researcher discusses intersectionality and elaborates on the intersecting themes of race, class and gender, which are pivotal to this study.

The theoretical framework is also utilised to link the chapters, 4, 5, 6 and 7 as the theory is applied to the findings, analysis, discussion and conclusion.

#### **3.1. Feminist media studies**

Feminist media studies have been a distinct scholarly field only since the 1970s, when the second wave of feminism emerged in the West and many other countries around the world (Carter, 2014:373). Byerly (2014:4) asserts that feminist media studies are based on the essential three-part critiques (i.e., absence, representation, employment or production). The three-part critique often refers to the absence of women in media texts, how they are represented and issues related to the glass ceiling, which concerns the number of women employed as decision-makers in newsrooms and as producers of media content.

In its explanation of how feminist media studies expanded in 1995, The World Association for Christian Communication (WACC) (2013:15) reports the following: "Section J of the Beijing Platform for Action addressed gender and the media, focusing on universal concerns about both the content of the media regarding women and the representation of women within the media."

Various scholars have provided definitions of feminist media studies. Sarikakis (2011:115) defines feminist media studies within the ambit of the three-part critique suggested by Byrlerly (2014) as a theory that focuses on women's positions in mediated and cultural spaces across the domains of the production and consumption of media content, including writings on women as subjects and objects within media content.

South African scholar Buiten (2010:80) defines feminist media studies by simply stating that "broadly speaking, feminist media studies can be said to be the study of the media through a feminist lens." Buiten's definition suggests that feminist theory is used to analyse and question the media's representation of females and this is also dependent on how the word feminist is applied and interpreted.

In their work on the theory of feminist media studies, Watkins and Emerson (2000:152) state that "feminist media criticism and practice began as a challenge to the culture industry's misrepresentation of women". Feminist media studies might be perceived as a theory that is focused on studying women as subjects in the media. As Nömm (2007) states, feminist media studies theorists "have often criticised that (sic) women are made objects by the way media represents them".

Gallagher (2001:11) states that proponents of gender equality in the media came to the realisation, and thereby a turning point, by acknowledging that empirical data could move their cause of activism to constructive dialogue. She further states that there is a push-and-pull relationship between action and research in feminist media studies, which

was defined by the earlier years of activism. The push-and-pull relationship was based on whether research in feminist media studies was preceded by action or vice versa.

In her study on feminist media studies and the coverage of women politicians by the media during elections, Gallagher (2001:80), found that "women entering the political arena provide news media with a problem. As women, they embody a challenge to masculine authority. As active, powerful women, they defy easy categorisation. Often media attempt to contain the threats they pose by trying to situate them as, 'women' rather than as 'politicians'".

Watkins and Emerson (2000:159) base feminist media studies on the critique of the particular ways in which the media represent black women. Their critique is essential for African feminist media studies and intersectionality, which specifically addresses intersecting categories of representation, such as the race, class and gender of women, in the media.

Scholars such as Van Zoonen (1994) have established a body of work on feminist media studies. Van Zoonen (1994:49) states that feminist media should be absolved from tensions of gender as a social construct and culture as negotiated meaning. Similarly to this study, Watkins and Emerson (2000:164) also suggest that feminist media studies can speak to and engage the representation concerns of black women in the media, thus adding to what Van Zoonen stated on feminist media studies being versatile and applicable to race in the media.

Consequent on the above-cited definitions of feminist media studies, Mitchell (2007:11) argues that feminist media theory is part of a growing body of knowledge that examines the gendered implications of news stories, issues or events that are directed at women and have negative repercussions. Mitchell (2007:11) asserts that feminist media theory dedicates much attention to the stereotypical representation of both women and men in the media.

Mitchell (2007:11) suggests that feminist media theory falls within the broad category of feminist methodology. Feminist media studies are broad and can be applied by scholars from various fields. The theory allows for the interfacing of women as subjects in media texts and how they are represented. Feminist media studies are essential for scholars questioning the interplay of media, gender and feminism. Mills and Barlow (2009:386) state that "much feminist media theory argues that the kinds of representation on offer for women are limited, are commonly distinguished from those of men".

Scholars such as Van Zoonen (1994), Katembo (2004) and Gadezko (2011) are proponents of feminist media studies. Sarikakis (2011:120) and Watkins and Emerson (2001) concur with the latter regarding feminist media studies being the relevant theory for scholars to apply to studies of the representation of female political candidates in media texts.

Byerly (2014:5) states that "inquiry into women's media representation has come to form the broad avenue which the majority of feminist media studies have taken in their work". The author also succinctly states that there is an essential element to feminist media studies that enables scholars to engage and respond to what they see and hear in the media about women.

Nömm (2007) further argues that feminist media theory is applied in gender and media studies by positing that

Since the feminist media theory devotes a great deal of attention to the stereotypical depictions presented in the media of both men and women, and the underlying ideological frameworks at play in the mediation process, it is the ideal methodological framework to apply to questions seeking to understand the image of feminism portrayed in the media.

To an extent, the definitions by Buiten (2010), Nömm (2007) and Mitchell (2007) are relevant to the issues raised in this study, in particular, the

representation of female politicians' race and gender during election periods.

### **3.2. African feminist media studies**

African feminist media scholars such as Opoku-Mensah (2001:28) assert that African feminist media studies are pivotal in research on women and the media. Opoku-Mensah (2001:25) explains that the field of feminist media studies is gaining an influential status as a respected academic field, in which scholars are thoughtfully exploring the intellectual and political connections between feminist theory and media theory. The formation of the gender subject has led to feminist media studies being focused on gender representation in the media and negating other aspects of feminist theories.

African feminist media studies is an emerging and expanding field that will be applied in this study as a theory. It is an undertaking by feminist media scholars that is a particularly significant focus within the African context. Gadzekpo (2009:70) argues, "In Africa, where basic development remains the most pressing agenda, feminist media academics need to raise fundamental questions about how effectively the media are being used in securing economic and social justice for women."

Gadzekpo (2009:70) asserts that there is a need for critical studies in the media and gender nexus in Africa, especially in areas outside of Southern Africa, because very little research is being undertaken across the African continent. She further suggests that "African feminist media research has had a short lineage, but it can draw on the work of critical African feminists who have challenged issues and the assumptions Western feminists make about universal oppression of women". African feminist media studies cannot be extricated from African feminist theory, which has its origins in the feminist media studies that emerged in the West in the 1970s.

The Southern African region has seen a contribution to feminist media studies by scholars such as Katembo (2005) and Manny (2009). Opoku-



Mensah (2001:30) notes that the media represent and reinforce social values; their role in constructing images of women has long been a central issue in feminist media debates and research.

The above-cited scholars' work in African feminist media studies correlates with Opoku-Mensah's (2001:28) call for a focus on new media for scholarship in African feminist media studies. For example, Manny's study is focused on the representation of a female politician in online media. Opoku-Mensah asserts that democratic changes and a responsive communication sector in Africa can "offer exceptional opportunities to engage in the much-awaited empirical research on women, gender, media and communication, which can only enrich the advent of feminist media studies on the continent".

Bosch (2011) introduces the concept of African feminist media studies as an interesting development in the field of feminist media studies. African feminist media studies, according to Opoku-Mensah (2001:26), is concerned with the increasingly diverse nature of women's use of the media in Africa. The scholar recognises African feminist media studies as a developing theory to be tested through its application in various studies on gender and media representation on the African continent.

West African scholars Gadzekpo and Opoku-Mensah are also noteworthy. Gadzekpo (2001:76) offers a view on feminist media studies, in particular the significance of African feminist media studies theory in cultural studies in Africa.

Gadzekpo has a complementary argument to Opoku-Mensah's (2001) on the way forward for research in African feminist media. Gadzekpo states that, in Africa, development remains the most pressing agenda for feminist media and academics, because they need to raise fundamental questions about how effectively the media is being used to secure economic and social justice for women. Related to this are the kinds of communication and media policies that are needed to address the broader development

agenda on the continent, and how these could potentially result in a change in the media and gender research landscape.

Bosch (2011:31) firmly posits that the future of African feminist media studies have to be founded on a basis that will enable it to contribute to a meaningful global dialogue by rearticulating old concerns and contributing toward more diverse and nuanced understandings of them, as well as by exploring new areas such as new media and youth articulations of feminisms and gendered identities.

Bosch (2011) states that feminist media studies are transdisciplinary, thus suggesting that the field interweaves with various disciplines, such as politics and feminism. Opuku-Mensah (2001) started a discussion on the development of feminist media studies in Africa by stating that the expansion of democratic governance on the African continent, and the participation of women in democratic processes such as elections, provides a platform for African feminist media studies to be firmly established as a form of scholarship to examine the representation and active participation of women in democratic processes.

Buiten (2013:56) contextualises media studies in South Africa by stating that

South Africa's news media represents a powerful site through which social and cultural meanings around gender are articulated and contested. The role of South African news media in shaping post-apartheid South African transformation agendas includes the shaping of discourse on gender transformations. Here too, the uneven trajectories regarding gender transformation that characterise wider social issues are clear – news representations often advance women's formal equality in terms of leadership, participation and rights, yet continue to reproduce various problematic social and cultural understandings of women and gender.

Buiten (2013) adds a vital contribution to the development of the theory of media studies and African feminist media studies in the context of South

Africa. She helps to locate feminist media studies research geographically, because of the aim to have an approach that allows for the theory to be contextualised within an African perspective.

The current researcher acknowledges that African feminist media studies comprise the main theoretical structure of feminist media studies. Feminist media studies in this study are part of the project suggested by Gadzekpo (2009); namely, an ongoing field of study that provides the missing link in African feminist scholarship. Moreover, she views it as an approach that complements feminist media studies as the core theory for media studies research.

Gadzekpo (2001), Carter and Steiner (2004), and Gallagher (2001) argue for an African feminist media studies approach to research that is undertaken to explore the interplay between gender, race and election campaign reporting, because most of the previous research has been concerned with the study of feminist media studies in the West. Gadzekpo (2001), Opoku-Mensah (2001:30) and Tapfumaneyi (2005) seem to construct similar arguments for African feminist media studies.

Gadzekpo (2001:14) illustrates women's representation and discourses in African media texts published in African countries. Gadzekpo (2013:1) argues that the subject of gender in media has not been interrogated enough in Africa and that the relationship between media and gender is complex, paradoxical and constantly in flux, and that is perhaps the reason why scholars on the African continent must continually interrogate it. Tapfumaneyi (2013:575) argues that

The burden of negative stereotypes especially in the African media and that Media Monitoring Africa observed that, on a daily basis, issues concerning the rights of women are rarely covered except towards significant days like Women's Day. In everyday reporting, women are more likely to make the headlines when they deviate from the expected societal norms of being the „super mothers“ and „patient wives“.

Nömm (2007) asserts that feminist media studies are focused on how gender is communicated in the media, and this is the same for African feminist media studies.

The literature surveyed and discussed provides a broad overview of how feminist and African scholars reference feminist media studies, which includes an application of societal stereotypes in media texts. The authors reviewed above explain how the various roles defined for women by the media and society are important to African feminist media studies scholarship and how they influence the research problems identified by researchers who undertake similar studies.

Moreover, there is an expectation of the development of African feminist media studies by media scholars in Africa, such as Opoku -Mensah (2001) and Gadzekpo (2009), who set the tone for the use of African feminist media studies in this study and future studies on the continent. Gadzekpo (2013:3) reviews contributions at the CODESRIA 2011 conference on Gender and Media and asserts that

Collectively, these contributions provide us with sound empirical arguments, suggesting that while there have been some changes in the construction and manifestation of gendering the African media, questions persist on fundamentals such as definitions and values, representations and portrayals, access and exclusion as well as power and control.

Buiten (2009:89) suggests that "there is quite resounding consensus among feminist scholars and activists in South Africa that the media is an important site of gendered social and political struggles (as well as the source of political leverage) and that it is not sufficiently transformed in terms of gender". Buiten shows that the most significant challenge to gender and media relations is in terms of gender, and we could relate this to ownership and decision making within the newsroom.

Buiten (2009) points out that there is a consensus in South Africa about the development and application of African feminist media studies and it can, therefore, play a catalytic role in analysing coverage of female political candidates such as those who are the subjects of this study, namely Zille and De Lille and further enhance consensus among scholars on the importance of analysing media text for studies examining gender representation of female politicians.

### **3.3. Intersectionality**

The term “intersectionality” was coined by feminist scholar and lawyer Kimberley Crenshaw (1993), who used the term to denote the various ways in which race and gender intersect to shape the multiple dimensions of black women's employment experiences in the USA (Crenshaw,1993:1240). Her theory of intersectionality was drawn from an understanding that women of colour (black women) and white women were situated differently in the economic, social and political worlds.

Crenshaw (1993:1240) asserts that she used the concept of intersectionality to denote the intersection of race and gender to investigate the criminal justice system and how it perceived black women because of their race and gender. Crenshaw (1993) further states that the aim of utilising intersectionality was to illustrate that many of the experiences black women face were not subsumed within the traditional boundaries of race or gender discrimination, as these boundaries were understood at the time. There was an intersection of racist and sexist factors in the lives of black women.

In defining intersectionality, Hill Collins (2015:2) states that the term refers to the “critical insight that race, class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, nation, ability and age operate, not as unitary, mutually exclusive entities, but as reciprocally-constructing phenomena that shape complex social inequalities”.

Lykke (2010) also defines intersectionality. She argues that "it is important to underline that the point is to analyse how different categorisations are

interwoven, how gender, for example, is interwoven with race, ethnicity, class and sexuality" ( Lykke, 2010). Lykke's definition is broader than Crenshaw's, because it does not single out the experiences of women belonging to a particular race group. In concurrence, Sarikakis (2011) argues for intersectionality in media studies by stating that the intersection of culture, politics, race, class and sexuality apply to feminist media studies.

Davis (2008) concurs with some aspects of Crenshaw's (1993) argument. She states that the term "intersectionality" is the core of feminist studies across various disciplines. The author further suggests that intersectionality is a broad term, and the reason is that it is used as a metaphor for the various sections of interacting power and identity structures such as race, class and gender.

McCall (2005:1780) further argues that "interest in intersectionality arose out of a critique of gender-based and race-based research for failing to account for the lived experience at neglected points of intersection", thus suggesting that gender and race research had to focus on how the two categories intersect or interact. Intersectionality can also be interpreted as a theoretical framework that is set out for gender or feminist scholars to answer their underlying questions on how race and gender intersect with power structures that are embedded in governance systems and processes such as elections.

In their study of the intersection of race and gender in election coverage, Coleman and Major (2008:315) argue that their study is significant because it builds a foundation for how stereotyping in media occurs when race and gender intersect in the reporting. This position is significant because it relates to the research questions in this study.

Hill Collins (1998) expands this argument by stating that "for example, intersectionality holds that knowing a woman lives in a sexist society is insufficient information to describe her experience; instead, it is also

necessary to know her race, sexual orientation, class, etc., as well as her society's attitude toward each of these".

Pinderhughes (2008:51) also notes the presence of intersectionality in the 2008 USA's presidential nomination campaign. The writer explains that "it (intersectionality) easily accommodates the notion that different dimensions of identity are simultaneously present, and challenge voters and candidates in different and conflicting ways".

Intersectionality has been applied to representation in media studies to a minimal extent, as in Zarkov in Lutz et al. (2011:105), who examined the representation of male-on-male violence during the wars in Yugoslavia and Abu Ghraib.

Zarkov analyses how the media represents the intersectionality of ethnicity, sexuality and heteronormativity as per the framework provided by previous scholars. The above-cited intersectionality studies in media demonstrate that it is feasible to apply intersectionality to this study by analysing the intersection between race, class and gender of two female politicians of distinct races.

This researcher combines feminist media theory, African feminist media theory and intersectionality in the study to connect the themes of race, class and gender. Scholars such as Buiten and Gadezkpo also used feminist media theory as the core theory, supported by African feminist media theory, which geographically located their studies.

Intersectionality cannot be utilised only to determine any prejudice or misrepresentation of women but, in particular, women of colour through analysis of the media. The concept of intersectionality helped to develop the study by enabling the scholar to examine the intersection of race, class, gender and politics in the newspaper articles.

Intersectionality facilitated an approach with multiple factors: race, class and gender, which made it possible to examine the representation of Zille and De Lille, as per the research question, by South African English, daily,

weekly and weekend newspapers during the 2009 general elections. The researcher combined the theories of African feminist media studies and intersectionality to answer the study questions presented in chapter 1.





## CHAPTER 4

### *Methodology*

#### **4. Introduction**

Feminist media scholars have premised their studies on how women are portrayed in the media and how that intersects with power and institutional arrangements. They have consistently utilised standard methods of analysis, namely content analysis and critical discourse analysis, in an attempt to understand how texts such as newspaper articles represent females within the public spheres. Content analysis, thematic analysis and framing analysis are listed as common methods by the researchers referred to in the literature review.

Carter and Steiner (2004:7) introduce other methods for analysing gender representation in the media. They state that, since the 1970s and 1980s, the methods have comprised simple and literal counting of individual women and men represented or appearing in the body of a media text. The methods listed by Carter and Steiner for studying media texts include ethnography, historical or archival research, participant observation, focus group interviews and discourse analysis

Byerly (2014:7) reviewed methods other than content analysis and critical discourse analysis (CDA) by recounting Claudia Buccefero's study of whether and how newspapers, magazines and other media platforms conveyed the realities that women across social classes encountered daily. Buccefero used an approach of gendered adaptations of historical analysis to track ways in which news reported on women leaders and ordinary women when the Chilean nation was undergoing political and economic upheaval.

The variety of methods referred to in the above paragraphs show that it is the prerogative of the scholar to choose the appropriate method for his or her study. The common thread among the methods referred to above is text analysis.

In this study, the methods of content analysis and CDA are used to examine South African English newspapers' representation of Zille and De Lille, as previously used by researchers in feminist media studies.

The chapter starts with the research design, which is an outline of the sample, data collection methods and coding of content for analysis.

The second part of the chapter is an overview of content analysis and CDA.

The content analysis and an explanation of quantitative and qualitative content analysis are discussed, as well as the approach to content analysis in the analysis of media texts. The processes of conducting content analysis are subsequently described.

In the second section of the chapter, the second method applied in the study, namely CDA, is explained, followed by a discussion on CDA and how it was conducted in this study

## **4.1. Research design**

### **4.1.1. Data sampling**

The current researcher used primary data sources, namely the *Sunday Times*, *City Press*, *Citizen*, *The Times*, *Business Day*, *Sunday Tribune*, *Mail & Guardian*, *The Star*, *Sowetan*, *Saturday Star*, *Sunday Independent* and *The Daily Dispatch*. The sample was limited to these newspapers because the entire population of South African newspapers would have been too large as a corpus, whereas the above newspapers constituted a workable sample for analysis. This researcher also consulted the University of Pretoria statistics department regarding the data sampling and collection, coding and analysis processes. The statisticians recommended that this researcher do a census of English daily and weekend newspapers to ensure that the sample of newspaper data was representative.

This researcher used a census as a sampling technique. Riffe et al. (2005:98) explain that "a census means every unit in a population is included in the content analysis". The census was of South African English national daily, weekly and

weekend newspapers, and the number of titles that constituted the census was 13. This researcher was also guided by Riffe et al.'s (2005:98) assertion that “a census often makes the most sense for research that examines a particular event or series of events.” This was applicable to the current study because the research context was a particular event: South Africa's 2009 national election. The researcher conducted a mock data collection and sampling of the census and found that the number of articles was sufficient for analysis.

The researcher was further guided by Newbold's three sampling steps, which are cited in Macnamara (2005:13). The steps were as follows:

- Selection of media form (newspaper articles)
- Selection of issues or dates for the period February 11 to May 11, 2009
- Sampling of articles on Zille and De Lille from within the newspapers

The dataset comprised newspaper articles only. Letters and opinion pieces were not representative of the population. Both Zille and De Lille wrote some letters and opinion pieces, which would have posed challenges, because they would have caused inconsistencies in the data.

The researcher found that print media was fertile ground for in-depth data for analysis. Moreover, print media had been used as a data source for most of the studies conducted previously. Print media have a particular focus on reporting on elections.

#### **4.1.2. Sample**

The sample discussed below is a summary of each newspaper that is analysed in this study. It was a challenge to find neutral sources for the profiles of the various newspapers, thus posing a challenge for writing up of the profiles as most information about the publications was found on the websites of the various titles.

### ***The Times***

According to The Times Media Group website, *The Times* navigates its busy readers through their day and ensures that they know about key events that affect them directly.

*The Times* is an offshoot of the *Sunday Times* platform, providing a rich multimedia offerings that can be followed online (Times Media Group, 2013).

*The Times* which was a daily newspaper is no longer in circulation in print. It is available only online. The last print edition was in 2018.

### ***Business Day***

According to The Times Media Group website, *Business Day* is South Africa's most influential and respected daily newspaper, offering incisive coverage of business, politics, labour and other current affairs written by the country's top journalists (Times Media, 2013).

### ***Sunday Tribune***

The *Sunday Tribune* is a KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) Sunday newspaper. The title offers comprehensive coverage of the province, backed up by national and international news (Independent Newspaper Company, 2013).

### ***Saturday Star***

According to the Independent Newspaper's website, the *Saturday Star* is an indispensable Saturday newspaper . It includes hard news from across the country, weekend sports coverage, features, travel and entertainment news. (Independent Newspaper Company, 2013).

### ***Sunday Independent***

According to the Independent Newspaper's website, the *Sunday Independent* is a firmly established, quality Sunday paper that features investigations and photography. It also is the newspaper that targets decision-makers throughout South Africa.

The publication includes high-quality news, opinion and debate, well-researched analysis, innovative business and sport. (Independent Newspaper Company, 2013).

### ***Mail & Guardian***

The *Mail & Guardian* is a weekly newspaper distributed on a Friday and it focuses on investigative journalism, arts and opinions. (M&G Media)

### ***The Star***

According to the Independent Newspaper group's website, *The Star* newspaper is unchallenged as South Africa's most influential daily newspaper. It covers the heart of the nation with unequalled reporting of local, national and international news, and sport. It is widely considered to be a superb advertising environment. (Independent Newspaper Company, 2013).

### ***Daily Dispatch***

According to the Times Media website, the *Daily Dispatch* is an Eastern Cape daily newspaper in the eastern half of the Eastern Cape and is known for its award-winning investigative journalism. The *Daily Dispatch* focuses on local news, sports, politics, business, jobs and community events. (Arena Holdings, 2020).

### ***Sunday Times***

According to the Arena Media Holdings website, the *Sunday Times* is South Africa's Sunday newspaper established in 1906. The *Sunday Times* is described as a paper that publishes news, particularly on the political front, in-depth investigative journalism and content from influential columnists, analysts and a range of lifestyle content. (Arena Holdings, 2020).

### ***Cape Argus***

According to the Independent Newspaper Company, the *Cape Argus* is the biggest-selling daily newspaper in Cape Town. The newspaper is published

from Monday to Friday and extends its footprint with separate Saturday and Sunday editions of the *Weekend Argus* (Independent Newspaper Company, 2013).

### ***Sowetan***

According to the Times Media website, the *Sowetan* is a English-language South African daily newspaper that started in 1981 as a liberation struggle publication. (Sowetan Live, 2020)

### ***City Press***

According to the Media24 website, *City Press* is a national Sunday newspaper that carries news from South Africa and the rest of the world and has separate sports, business and careers sections. Award-winning journalists and social commentators contribute to its opinion and analysis section. (Media 24, 2016).

### ***The Citizen***

The *Citizen* is a Gauteng-based newspaper, distributed from Monday to Friday, It represents the best of what a modern media house can produce. Today's journalists are storytellers and do so in a variety of ways on many platforms. The newspaper offers readers a smooth journey and fully-integrated experience across mobile, tablet, print and online media. (The *Citizen*, 2014).

## **4.2. Data collection**

The data collection process for this study included both data gathering and preparing the data collection instrument.

The researcher also prepared a data codebook. The section on content analysis contains the results of the classification and tabulation in a quantitative format, with a table outlining how many articles were coded per newspaper title.

### **4.2.1. Data collection process**

Collecting most of the newspaper articles took only a day, because the South African media database is easy to utilise. The newspaper articles were collected

per title and sorted per subject or candidate reported in the article. In addition, preliminary data collection was done during the proposal phase. The table below indicates the variety of newspaper genres from which the newspaper articles were collected.

This researcher used the SA Media database, an electronic portal database that can be accessed through the University of Pretoria's library electronic journal resource to collect relevant newspaper articles.

The SA media database was used to conduct keyword searches. The utilised keywords were: "elections", "politics" and the names of the candidates, "Zille" and "De Lille". The keyword search for "race" and "gender" did not yield any results because they were too broad. The other search function utilised to find the articles was that of entering the name of the newspaper, selecting the publication year and then searching within the 11 February 2009 to 11 May 2009 period which constituted of a period of 18 weeks, The data collection processes resulted in a sample of 100 articles from the 13 South African English newspapers. The researcher quantified the data as follows:

**Table 1 :Number of newspaper editions collected for the period of the study**

9 Broadsheets	<i>Sunday Times, City Press, Sunday Independent, Sunday Tribune, Mail &amp; Guardian, Saturday Star, Business Day, The Star</i>
3 Tabloids	<i>Citizen Sowetan, The Times</i>
4 Sunday newspapers	<i>Sunday Times, City Press, Sunday Independent, Sunday Tribune</i>
1 Weekly	<i>Mail &amp; Guardian</i>



1 Weekend	<i>Saturday Star</i>
7 Dailies	<i>Citizen, Sowetan, Daily Dispatch, The Times, The Star, Business Day</i>

The articles that were collected and quantified were captured on a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet, which was then converted into graphs for analysis.

After collecting the newspaper articles, they were sorted out by using a coloured highlighter and highlighting the names of the candidates in the articles collected. After highlighting the candidates' names, the articles were classified according to the name of the candidate, date of article publication, publication and the term election. The data was then sorted according to the newspaper title and the candidates' names.

Sorting and counting proved to be a complex process without the data being separately categorised. Coloured file sleeves were used to sort the data into categories and sticky notes to label the file sleeves. As a result, sorting the newspaper articles became easy and counting for capturing into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet became easier. The quantifying was then automated.

#### **4.2.2. Data coding process for content analysis**

Lindlof and Taylor (2011:247) explain that coding for content analysis can be for standard demographics such as sex, age, race and occupation. A researcher can then code the text by asking the critical question: What is this about? The question relates to the essence of the study and what it seeks to discover.

Following the process outlined in the previous paragraph of asking the question, "what is this about?" this researcher realised that the texts were about the individual attributes of Zille and De Lille, including mentions of gender, race, leadership qualities and personal appearance.

Open coding made it possible to identify recurring words in the text. The researcher then noted that the words created patterns. Therefore a pattern

analysis was conducted to determine the categories to which each word belonged. The final categories were developed from an analysis of the recurring words.

The researcher applied the Gender Links and Media (GEM) classification system, that had been developed by Gender Links and used by Nyoni (2009:112-113) in the study of media monitoring undertaken by the MISA–Zimbabwe during the election period in Zimbabwe, from the beginning of January to March 29, 2009.

Nyoni explains that the qualitative aspect of the monitoring used the Gender Links GEM classification system (Lowe Morna and Ndlovu, 2008) is focused on the following aspects:

- Whether the media were gender-sensitive in terms of coverage of male and female candidates in the election;
- How general electoral issues affecting both men and women were covered, considering the need for gender equity in media coverage; and
- Whether there was equal access to the media for all the political parties and candidates contesting in the election.

The GEM classification system comprises a qualitative coding sheet, which includes the following categories for coding:

Blatant Stereotype (BS) – Women are represented in stereotypical roles, such as victims or sex objects, while men are portrayed as influential businessmen or leaders;

Subtle Stereotype (SS) – Articles or images that reinforce notions of women's domestic and men's public roles as the norm. Articles or images in which women are referred to according to personal relations with no relevance to the story;

Gender Blind (GB) – Stories that lack balance in sourcing and which perpetuate stereotypes. Gender blindness also indicates the use of gender-biased language and a reporter's lack of awareness of gender dynamics; and

Gender Aware (GA) – Gender balance on sources and gender-neutral language and challenges of stereotypes.

**Table 2 : Gender Links Classification System**

<b>Gender Aware</b>	<b>Gender Blind</b>
Gender balance of sources (voices)	Lack of gender balance in sources (voices)
Gender-neutral language	Gender biased language
Awareness of the differential impact	Lack of awareness of gender dynamics
Fairness in approach to the issue <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● No double standards</li> <li>● No moralising</li> <li>● No open prejudice</li> <li>● No placing blame</li> </ul>	Biased coverage of the issue <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Double standards</li> <li>● Moralising; for example, being judgmental</li> <li>● Open prejudice; for example, women are less intelligent than men</li> <li>● Ridicule; for example, women in certain situations</li> <li>● Placing blame, such as on a rape survivors' dress</li> </ul>
Challenges stereotypes	Perpetuates stereotypes

Simple, accessible, gender-sensitive language	Use of jargon and stereotypical gender-biased language
<b>Blatant Stereotype</b>	<b>Subtle Stereotype</b>
Women are presented in stereotypical roles, such as victims or sex objects	Stories that reinforce notions of women's domestic and men's more public roles
Men are presented in stereotypical roles, such as strong businessmen or leaders	Stories about "special women" on specific days, such as Women's Day, but they receive no coverage at any other time

### 4.3. Methods to study gender representation in the media

#### 4.3.1. Content analysis

Content analysis is a suitable method for a study in which the focus is on media texts. Krippendorff (1989) asserts that content analysis is an important research technique in the analysis of media texts when one seeks to analyse data with a view to understanding meanings.

Krippendorff's (1989) definitions suggest that content analysis is a suitable method for the analysis of newspaper texts and, in particular, for this study because it comprised an examination of the representation of women politicians using categories such as race, class and gender.

Other researchers in Southern Africa have also relied on content analysis as a method for media textual analysis. For example, Mona (2009:37) used content analysis to examine news narratives to determine the representation of political women in the news in Southern Africa.

Neuendorf (2002:1) defines content analysis as

a systematic, objective, quantitative analysis of message characteristics. It includes the careful examination of human interactions; the analysis of character portrayals in TV commercials, films and novels; the computer-driven interaction of word usage in news releases and political speeches; and so much more.

Wimmer and Dominick (2003:141) assert that content analysis is systematic, with set criteria. They affirm that the use of this method means that if the research were replicated elsewhere, it would yield the same results.

Content analysis was utilised in this study to assist the researcher to make inferences about messages from the text of newspaper articles reporting on two South African female politicians, namely Zille and De Lille, during the 2009 general election period:

1. To describe the substance of the message content
2. To describe the characteristics of the message content
3. To make inferences about the producers of the content
4. To make inferences about the audiences of the content
5. To predict the effects of the content on the audience

Macnamara (2005:3) cites Berelson (1952), who suggested the five primary purposes of content analysis above. The current researcher paid attention to three of the purposes. Making inference about the audiences of content and to predicting the effects of content on the audience were excluded, because they did not align with the focus of the study.

Macnamara (2005) also asserts in that content analysis can be either a quantitative or qualitative. Scheier (2012:173) states that qualitative and quantitative content analysis share similarities and that both methods are concerned with the systematic description of data through coding. Zhang and Wildermuth (2009) outline the differences of qualitative and quantitative content analysis as follows: qualitative content analysis involves identifying themes for

the interpretation of meaning and quantitative content analysis requires presenting themes in the form of frequency, expressed as a percentages or actual numbers of key categories.

Zhang and Wildermuth (2009) note that the data sampling techniques required by the two approaches are different. They argue that quantitative content analysis requires that the data are selected using random sampling or other probabilistic approaches, so as to ensure the validity of statistical inference. By contrast, samples for qualitative content analysis usually consist of purposively selected texts that can inform the research questions being investigated. However, in the case of this study, the data sampling was the same for the two approaches.

It is generally expected that the products of the two approaches will differ as a result of the differing sampling techniques outlined by Zhang and Wildermuth. The quantitative approach is expected to produce numbers that can be manipulated by means of various statistical methods, whereas the qualitative approach is expected to generate unique themes that illustrate the range of meanings, rather than the statistical significance of the occurrence of particular texts or concepts.

In conducting content analysis for her study on the election coverage of six Canadian Maritime newspapers, Everitt (2003:92) selected newspapers by size of circulation. She included in her sample all articles that referred to the candidates in the provincial election, whether they be editorials, regular news or candidate profiles. The stories were then coded to indicate the newspaper they were found in, and the name, gender and party affiliation of the candidates being referred to. Everitt also coded negative or positive assessments of the candidates' viability, and whether newspaper texts referred to their appearance or stereotypical traits. Additional coding was done to find out if the candidates' family was mentioned, if there was reference to personal information about the candidate and if they discussed the candidates' issue position.

Mannya (2013:56) explains that she conducted content analysis to investigate the representation of young black women in South African politics in South African online news by following a process which included 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. Mannya's approach was guided by the 10 steps suggested by Wimmer and Dominick for conducting quantitative content analysis (2003); these are also applied in the current study and outlined in the following section.

The above-cited studies by Everitt (2003), Mona (2009) and Mannya (2013) suggest that content analysis was a suitable method for this study because they had a common focus; namely, the representation of female politicians in print media. The next section will comprise an explanation of how content analysis was applied in this study, beginning with a brief exploration of quantitative and qualitative content analysis.

#### **4.3.1.1 Quantitative content analysis**

Zhang and Wildermuth (2009:1) cite Hsieh and Shannon's (2005, p.1278) definition of quantitative content analysis as "a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns".

Content analysis, according to Byerly (2014:8), is a quantitative approach that is often utilised to determine how women are represented in news and other media genres. The method of quantitative content analysis includes the sampling procedure of defining a dataset from a large universe of stories or programmes. Following the sampling, the researcher often performs systematic procedures to quantify certain aspects of the content, such as story themes and length, as mentioned in the above citation of Byerly.

Bosch (2011:17) explains that the most common method for studies on the representation of women in the media is quantitative content analysis. She states that "much research located in media studies, and projects aiming to identify the proliferation of gender stereotypes or representations of women, often relies on quantitative content analysis".

For this study, quantitative content analysis was useful in establishing the number of electoral news items carried during the sampled period, including the number of race, class and gender categories used, as well as recurring words.

#### **4.3.1.2 Qualitative content analysis**

Schreier (2012:170) defines qualitative content analysis as a method to systematically describe the meaning of data by assigning parts of the material to the categories of a coding frame developed from the data, previous related studies or theories. She further adds that the method shares many features with other qualitative research methods.

Macnamara (2005:4) states that “qualitative content analysis collects data about media content such as topics or issues, the volume of mentions, ‘messages’ determined by keywords in context, circulation of the media (audience reach) and frequency”. The above-stated function of qualitative content analysis was applicable to this study, in particular the collection of data about media content issues and the volume of mentions and messages determined by keywords in a text.

Macnamara (2005:4) adds that qualitative content analysis relies heavily on the researcher’s readings and interpretation of media texts, and that qualitative analysis of texts is necessary to understand their deeper meanings and likely interpretations by audiences.

Qualitative content analysis was useful in assisting this researcher to interpret the meaning of recurring items carried in the sampled period, including the categories of race, class and gender within the sampled articles. The researcher also examined how specific meanings contributed to sustaining the status quo; that is, the negative or positive representation of Zille and De Lille in newspaper articles.

#### **4.4. Content analysis in this study**

This research utilised quantitative content analysis using Wimmer and Dominick’s (2003:145) suggested outline for content analysis, which lists steps



that can be used. In this study, the researcher followed nine of the steps, which had also been used by Manny (2013). The steps are listed below, followed by a brief description of how they were applied in this study.

1. Establishing research questions or hypotheses
2. Define the population in question
3. Select an appropriate sample from the population
4. Select and define a unit of analysis
5. Construct the categories of content to be analysed
6. Establish a quantification system
7. Code the content according to established definitions
8. Analyse the collected data
9. Draw a conclusion

The above-listed steps were applied in the study. Below is an outline of the processes undertaken by the researcher.

1. The research questions were established in chapter 1.
2. The population defined was South African English newspapers. The researcher sampled 13 South African English newspapers within that population.
3. The researcher selected news articles on elections with Zille and De Lille as subjects. She determined that the news articles found would suffice as a sample and would provide consistency and validity for the data collected.
4. Newspaper articles were selected as the unit of analysis. Letters, opinion pieces and cartoons were excluded from the unit of analysis.
5. Only newspaper articles that were published from 11 February to 11 May 2009 on Zille and De Lille and their election campaigns were chosen.

6. The researcher quantified the articles from the sample, and the recurring words and headlines dedicated to each candidate. The quantification was done using Microsoft Excel.
7. Lindlof and Taylor (2011: 249) explain that "coding can help analysts locate cultural and interpersonal patterns in the talk, stories, media content and other narrative texts". For coding in this study, the researcher constructed two coding processes: open coding and using a coding schema from previous research, namely the Gender Links classification system. Open coding was done by reading the articles and selecting recurring words. The researcher then did electronic coding using an Excel file.
8. Data collected was analysed using content analysis and critical discourse analysis. Quantitative content analysis enabled this researcher to identify occurrences of themes in newspaper articles for quantification and qualitative content analysis and critical discourse analysis allowed for in depth analysis into the text for meaning and identification of usage of lexical terms.
9. Conclusions were drawn from the analysis

Zhang and Wildermuth (2009) suggest that a coding scheme can be adopted from previous research. I chose to use the Gender Links classification system because it had been used for studies on representation of women in the media.

Priest (2010:91) explains that researchers have to create a codebook that describes the meaning assigned to each category. The open coding process led to the development of a codebook, ensuring that the content was from one particular genre. The researcher used the Gender Links classification system for coding, followed by coding developed by the researcher. The codebook developed by the researcher and the Gender Links classification system are outlined in the latter part of this chapter.

#### **The codebook categories:**

1. Source type: the newspaper title and unique reference number from the SA Media database

2. Themes: blatant stereotype; subtle stereotype; gender blind and gender awareness
3. Themes: race, class and gender

#### **4.5. Critical discourse analysis**

Locke (2004:11) argues that language is at the heart of CDA and that discourse is about language in use as a social practice, with particular emphasis on larger units such as paragraphs, utterances, whole texts or genres. Locke (2004:5) argues that discourse is a coherent way of making sense of the world as reflected in human sign systems, including verbal language.

Wodak and Fairclough (cited in Van Dijk, 1997:258) define CDA as “analyses of real and often extended instances of social interaction which take a linguistic form, or a partially linguistic form. The critical approach is distinctive in its view of (a) the relationship between language and society, and (b) the relationship between analysis and the practices analysed”.

Wodak and Meyer (2009:5-6) define CDA as follows;

CDA sees discourse – language use in speech and writing – as a form of ‘social practice, describing discourse as a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event(s) and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s) which frame it: The discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them. That discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned – it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people.

Critical discourse analysis enables one to study how newspapers influence discourse by using their powerful nature as the platform for voices of various groups in society that can be categorised according to class, race and gender. McGregor (2003) defines discourse as an expression of oneself using words. She further adds that

Discourses are ubiquitous ways of knowing, valuing and experiencing the world. Discourses can be used for an assertion of power and

knowledge, and they can be used for resistance and critique. Discourses are used in everyday contexts for building power and knowledge, for regulation and normalisation, for the development of knowledge and power relations and for hegemony (excess influence or authority of one nation over another). Given the power of the written and spoken word, CDA is necessary for describing, interpreting, analysing and critiquing social life reflected in text.

Studying newspaper texts that appeared during an election period enabled this researcher to discern the relationship between power and discourse, and power over discourse, as alluded to by McGregor (2003).

According to Van Dijk (1997:354), “CDA is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context”. This definition enabled the researcher to adopt a critical view of the study’s selected texts and analyse them in tandem with the social and political context, as suggested by Van Dijk.

Van Dijk (1998) states that “CDA focuses on the abuse of power, and especially on dominance, that is, on the ways control over discourse is abused to control people's beliefs and actions in the interest of dominant groups, and against the best interests or the will of others”.

Van Dijk’s assertion that CDA focuses on power is also noted by Richardson (2007:26), who states that “power relations have to do with discourse, and CDA studies both power in discourse and power over discourse”. Power relations that have to do with discourse are often located in the public sphere and in public texts such as newspapers. Elections are about the individuals represented as candidates who are pursuing positions of power.

Wodak and Meyer (2001:11) state that “a defining feature of CDA is its concern with power as a central condition in social life, and its efforts to develop a theory which incorporates this as a major premise”.

Wodak and Meyer (2001:11) add that the analysis of critical discourse includes an interest in how linguistic forms are used in various expressions and manipulations of power, as indicated by grammatical forms within the text. In CDA, the language of the text is critical, particularly in the context of periods of heightened quest for power and politics such as elections.

Elections are characterised by political discourse. Fairclough (1998:148) states in the discussion on political discourse in the media,

A way into the articulated structure of mediatised politics is to identify the main categories of agents that figure in mass media politics. Professional politicians are one, of course. Journalists are another. They have a prominent political role in their own right; they do not just mediate for others. There are a variety of agents that feature in mass media politics; women as political candidates also fit into the category of agents who utilise media for their own political ascension.

The latter implies that one has to take into consideration the agency of the political candidates during their campaign by noting their voice through comments in the articles and the paraphrasing of their views by journalist.

This researcher notes that the CDA undertaken by scholars such as Janks (1997), Wodak (1997), Fairclough (2004) and Locke (2004) were underpinned by differing definitions and application methods.

Janks (1999) suggests a process of social-cultural practice that includes the conditions of production and reception. As with Fairclough, the discourse practice includes the process of production, the process of reception, and the text description and interpretation.

Secondly, Janks (1999) elaborates that "CDA stems from the critical theory of language which sees the use of language as a form of social practice". Moreover, discourse relates to power through a series of questions such as, "How is text positioned or positioned?"; "Whose interests are being served by this positioning?"; "Whose interests are being denied?"; and "What are the consequences of this positioning?"

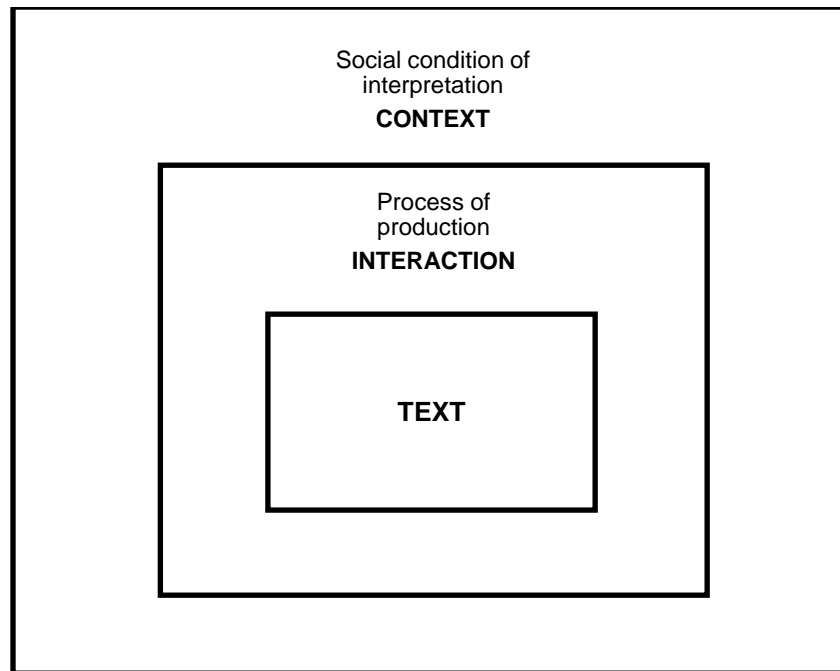
A citation of Fairclough's model for CDA, by the latter scholar comprises interrelated processes of analysis. According to Fairclough (1995:98) these dimensions are as follows:

1. Text analysis (description)
2. Processing analysis (interpretation )
3. Social analysis (explanation)

Lastly , Janks (1999) explains that the three interrelated processes of analysis are tied to three interrelated dimensions of discourse. She lists the dimensions as follows:

1. The object of analysis (including verbal, visual or verbal and visual texts).
2. The process through which the object is produced and received (writing, speaking or designing, and reading, listening or viewing) by human subjects.
3. The socio-historical conditions which govern these processes.

Below is a diagram that illustrates the processes outlined above.



***Figure 1 Text (i.e. the inner square), interaction (i.e. the middle square), context (i.e. The outer and bigger square, Janks 1999).***

#### **4.5.1. Process of conducting critical discourse analysis**

The CDA in this study was guided by Van Dijk (2000), who is cited in McGregor (2003) as arguing that “CDA does not have a unitary theoretical framework or method because it is best viewed as a shared perspective encompassing a range of approaches instead of one school”.

The first process in the CDA for this study was to develop a table based on the steps from various scholars such as Van Dijk and Wodak. The headings in the table were used to categorise the discourse in the newspaper articles to identify various communicators; the role they played and the power relations related to them as communicators; and the message they were communicating.

1. Identification of the communicator
2. The social role of the communicator
3. Context of the communication
4. Style of communication – based on context
5. Power or control relations (dominance) within the discourse
6. Broad meaning of the discourse (detailed/abstract; positive/negative etc.)

7. Structure of the discourse (us vs. them; narration used; positive or negative information, etc).

In the second CDA process that the researcher applied to the various articles was to identify discourse, examine its context and analyse power relations in tandem with race, class and gender. Van Dijk's proposed list of five processes for conducting CDA, as outlined below, were utilised in this study.

1. Examine the context of discourse
2. Analyse the groups, power relations and conflicts involved
3. Identify positive and negative opinions
4. Make explicit the presupposed and the implied
5. Examine all formal structures, lexical choices and syntactic structures in a way that helps to not focus negative or positive opinions, and identify any prejudice in the discourse

#### **4.5.2. Critical discourse analysis procedure**

The CDA procedure was conducted using the McGregor (2003) and Van Dijk (1983) guidelines. The researcher analysed articles identifying elements listed below and discussing them. The first set was analysis using the steps below followed by analysis using headings from the table illustrated below.

According to McGregor (2003) and Van Dijk (1993), CDA is conducted using, among other techniques, the following headings or prompts:

1. Social abuse of power – social power of societal groups and their dominance
2. Connotations and metaphors – connotations and metaphors are not always in the dictionary, but are often assigned on the basis of cultural knowledge
3. Tone – the tone of the text is set with specific words to convey the degree of certainty or modality and the tone of doubt is introduced by words such as “may”, “might”, “could”, “will” and “can”, among others. The tone of



- certainty can be created by the choice of a verb that asserts or denies the possibility or necessity of something.
4. Power relations – who is depicted as being in power and over whom? Power involves *control*, namely by (members of) one group over (those of) other groups. Such control might pertain to *action* and *cognition*: that is, a powerful group might limit the freedom of action of others, but also influence their minds.
  5. Omissions of facts – omission of information about agents of power can occur at the sentence level
  6. Headlines – communicating themes of media articles through headline analysis
  7. Voice – some voices are censored, some opinions are not heard, others are heard, some perspectives ignored.

A table was created based on the steps from various scholars outlined in the earlier sections of this chapter, such as Van Dijk and Wodak. The headings in the table indicated the variables that were used to identify who was communicating; their role as communicators; the context and style of the communication; the power, control and dominance in their discourse; and the broader meaning of the discourse.

This process enabled the current researcher to adopt a critical view of the study's selected texts and analyse them in tandem with social and political context. This process assisted the researcher to identify the voices in the articles and what they sought to communicate.

**Table 3 : Critical Discourse Analysis Table**

Identify the communicator	The social role of the	Context of the communication	Style of communication-	Power/control relations (dominance)	Broad meaning of the discourse	Structure of the disc
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	communicator		based on context	within the discourse	(detailed /abstract ; positive/negative etc.)	course (Us vs Them; narration used ; positive/negative information, etc.
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## CHAPTER 5

### *Data Analysis*

#### **5. Introduction**

According to Riffe et al. (2005), “the goal of data analysis may be relatively simple: to describe characteristics of a sample or population”. The approach to data analysis in this study is much broader and more detailed than that. The researcher has already provided a brief explanation of the composition of the population of the South African English newspapers and the selected sample, as well as its composition in terms of genre.

This chapter comprises an analysis of the content of 100 articles from South African English daily, weekly and Sunday newspapers on the representation of Zille and De Lille. Content analysis and CDA were applied for the analysis of the headlines and content of each news article.

Firstly, the findings of the quantitative content analysis are detailed in the form of graphs and discussion. The findings from the news articles sampled from the 13 English South African newspapers are outlined in tables and graphs. A description of the findings as per the codebook that was created and the Gender Links classification system is also presented. Secondly, the CDA findings are presented using the processes outlined in chapter 4. Lastly, the researcher concludes with a discussion of the overall findings.

#### **5.1. Content analysis findings from newspaper articles**

Table 4 below comprises the findings regarding the overall number of articles coded for analysis in this study. There were 100 articles published in 13 newspapers on Zille and De Lille during the specified period.

As observable from the table below, most of the articles were from the *Citizen* (17), followed by *City Press* (12), *Sunday Times* (9), *Business Day* (10), *The Star* (9), *Sunday Independent* and *The Times* (8), *Mail & Guardian* (7), *Sunday Tribune* (5), *Saturday Star* (6), *Sowetan* (4), *Cape Argus* (3) and *Daily Dispatch* (2).

It is important to note that some articles had similarities, because certain articles were published by a media company with various titles. For example, *The Times*, *Sowetan*, *Business Day* and *Sunday Times* were all published by the former Times Media Group (now Arena Holdings), whereas *The Star*, *Saturday Star*, *Sunday Independent*, *Sunday Tribune* and *Cape Argus* were published by the Independent Media Group. *The Citizen* is published by Caxton, *Mail & Guardian* by M&G Media Group and *City Press* by Media24.

**Table 4 :Articles examined by means of content analysis**

Newspaper	Number of articles
1. <i>Citizen</i>	17
2. <i>City Press</i>	12
3. <i>Sunday Times</i>	9
4. <i>Business Day</i>	10
5. <i>The Star</i>	9
6. <i>Sunday Independent</i>	8
7. <i>The Times</i>	8
8. <i>Mail &amp; Guardian</i>	7
9. <i>Sunday Tribune</i>	5
10. <i>Saturday Star</i>	6
11. <i>Sowetan</i>	4
12. <i>Cape Argus</i>	3
13. <i>Daily Dispatch</i>	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>

## 5.2. Findings from the Gender Links classification system coding

Table 5 below provides information relating to the overall number of articles coded utilising the Gender Links classification system; specifically the names of

the newspapers, subject and stereotype applied as per the classification system. An overview of the results demonstrates that the total number of articles analysed was 100 and, of those, 29 had blatant and/or subtle stereotypes, whereas 76 demonstrated gender blindness and gender awareness.

There were 68 articles on Zille and 13 on De Lille. The other 19 articles were on both Zille and De Lille. In total, there were 32 standalone articles and combined articles on De Lille and 87 for Zille.

Zille received more coverage than De Lille. There were more articles in which Zille and De Lille were referenced together than in which De Lille featured by herself. Thus, De Lille was given minimal coverage as a subject on her own.

### **5.2.1. Blatant stereotype**

The findings show that there was blatant stereotyping in 14 news articles on both Zille and De Lille, meaning that they were represented in stereotypical roles; there was a focus on Zille's dress, appearance and beauty treatments, whereas for De Lille there was a mention of her wiggling her hips which is offensive and is highlighted in feminist theory media as a negative way of constructing images of women. The reporting was in some instances sensational. For example, they included expressions such as "whose panties are the tightest, Zille or De Lille"? *Times* (20 April 2009) or the *Daily Dispatch* (7 March 2009) referring to Zille as a "dancing queen", which is the name of song by a popular Swedish group known as ABBA. The theme of dancing is applied to De Lille by *The Times* (20 April 2009) as it reported that, "but De Lille has been singing the song too. She was on campaign trail in the dusty Karoo towns this week and like a dancer rising from a large cake at a stag party, she'd emerge from the sun roof of an ID postered 4x4 and let it rip with her pipes". *The City Press*, the *Sunday Times* and *Mail Guardian* had the most articles that blatantly stereotyped Zille and De Lille. The phrases quoted in the above paragraphs demonstrate the blatant stereotyping that was directed at Zille and De Lille as they create images of both candidates' physical features and clothing items for the reader as opposed to traits about their leadership capabilities as politicians.

### 5.2.2. Subtle stereotype

There was subtle stereotyping in the coverage of Zille and De Lille in 15 news articles. In terms of this researcher's interpretation, *The Times*, *Sunday Independent*, *Saturday Star* and *Sunday Times* and carried stories in which Zille and De Lille were represented in ways that reinforced the notion that women in politics are viewed through their bodily appearance and thus not challenging stereotypes and defying categorisation of female politicians through physical features. The *Saturday Star* stating that the election was , "no beauty contest" , (*Saturday Star*, 7 March 2009) conveys prejudice through sensation by suggesting that Zille and De Lille view a pivotal democratic process such elections as a contests in which the winner is the woman judged the most beautiful.

The *Mail and Guardian* ( 18 March 2009) uses Zille's voice to represent a subtle stereotype by publishing a response to an interview question whereby they ask Zille if she has any skeletons in her cupboard and she responds by saying that she has one husband and has been a loyal wife with two children. She adds that she has not been a perfect mother but that she has also never been offered bribes.

### 5.2.3. Gender blind

Gender blindness was observed in two articles about Zille and De Lille. The Gender Links classification system show that articles published in *The Times* newspaper that was gender blind had a lack of awareness of gender dynamics or showed double standards. The reporting on Zille and De Lille was from a narrow point of view, with very little explicitly negative or positive reporting. *The Times* (20 April 2009) suggested gender blindness by reporting in an open prejudicial and judgmental manner about Zille's dress code in stating that, "Zille had dressed down for the occasion, wearing stretchy, comfort-fit type slacks, a DA T-shirt and trainers."

#### 5.2.4. Gender awareness

Seventy-four of the articles on Zille and De Lille, which account for the majority of the data collected, were written from a gender-aware perspective; thus the reporters utilised gender-neutral language that was not moralising and demonstrated no open prejudice or blame attribution. *Sunday Tribune* (19 April 2009) was using gender neutral language in their speculation of the DA winning the election and it reported that, “it will also undoubtedly feature prominently in the expected ANC victory celebrations this week-perhaps not in the Western Cape where the ANC might lose to the DA’s Helen Zille.” *The Star* ( 4 May 2009) also reported on Zille ascending to premiership in the Western Cape and stated that, “ days before a new Democratic Alliance-led administration takes over the running of the Western Cape and after seven years of ANC rule, premier- in waiting Helen Zille said her administration would take a careful approach to governing.”

The *Sunday Times* (26 April 2009) demonstrated reporting using “awareness of the differential impact “ by reporting that Zille “ almost doubled the DA’s 2004 share of the vote in the Western Cape this week, boosting it to 51.48% from 27.11%. Final results yesterday showed slightly more than a million people voted DA compared to 425000 in the previous election.” Gender neutrality was evident in reports relating to speculation of Zille’s success to her achievements during the elections as well as her plans for the governing the Western Cape as shown in the extracts above. The *Saturday Star* (2 May 2009) also refers to Zille’s feat in the election by reporting that, “ Zille added that the DA had achieved a “historic result” in the elections. The articles also quotes Zille as saying, “we now have the support and momentum to win towns and cities across the country in the 2011 local government elections and to form core of an alternative government nationally in 2014.”

The theme of Zille leading her party to victory recurs in most gender aware articles. The *Business Day* (24 April 2009) reported on Zille’s confidence in the DA winning the outright majority in the Western Cape and De Lille’s proposal for the formation of a coalition of opposition parties in the 2011 local government elections.

The following newspapers had the majority of articles written with gender awareness: *Business Day*, *Sunday Times*, *The Star*, *Cape Argus*, *City Press*, *Sowetan* and *Citizen*.

**Table 5: Content Analysis Findings**

Newspaper	Subject	Blatant stereotype	Subtle stereotype	Gender blind	Gender awareness
The Times	Helen Zille		1		
	Patricia De Lille				
	Helen Zille and Patricia De Lille	1	3	2	2
Business Day	Helen Zille		1		7
	Patricia De Lille				1
	Helen Zille and Patricia De Lille	1			
Sunday Tribune	Helen Zille		1		3
	Patricia De Lille				
	Helen Zille and Patricia De Lille				2
Saturday Star	Helen Zille	1	1		2
	Patricia De Lille				1
	Helen Zille and Patricia De Lille		1		
Sunday Independent	Helen Zille		2	2	2
	Patricia De Lille		1		
	Helen Zille and Patricia De Lille				1
Mail & Guardian	Helen Zille	2	1		2
	Patricia De Lille	1	1		
	Helen Zille and Patricia De Lille				



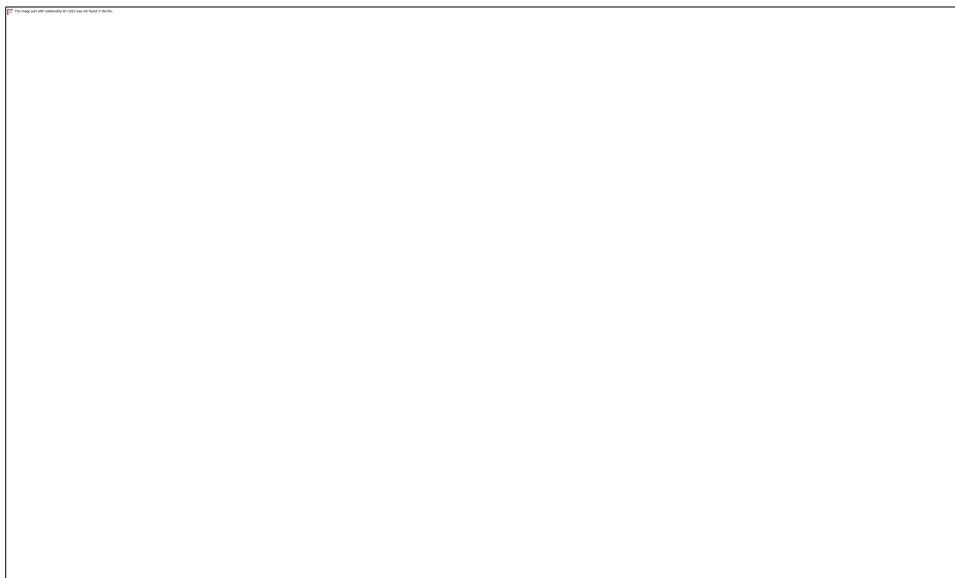
	Helen Zille	2			7
The Star	Patricia De Lille				
	Helen Zille and Patricia De Lille				
Daily Dispatch	Helen Zille	1			1
	Patricia De Lille				
	Helen Zille and Patricia De Lille				
Sunday Times	Helen Zille	1			4
	Patricia De Lille				1
	Helen Zille and Patricia De Lille	1	1		3
Cape Argus	Helen Zille				
	Patricia De Lille				
	Helen Zille and Patricia De Lille				3
Sowetan	Helen Zille				4
	Patricia De Lille				
	Helen Zille and Patricia De Lille				
City Press	Helen Zille	1			8
	Patricia De Lille	1			2
	Helen Zille and Patricia De Lille	1			
Citizen	Helen Zille				11
	Patricia De Lille				4
	Helen Zille and Patricia De Lille		1		3
<b>Total</b>		<b>14</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>74</b>

The above summary of the findings of the various classifications per newspaper was further broken down to indicate how the classifications applied per candidate. The table number 5 above outlines the quantitative findings of the various categories of stereotyping. The researcher concluded that there were 14 blatant stereotypes; 15 subtle stereotypes; four articles that indicated gender blindness and 74 that demonstrated gender awareness.

The findings are outlined in the next section as per classification.

### **5.3. Patricia De Lille’s Gender Links classification system findings**

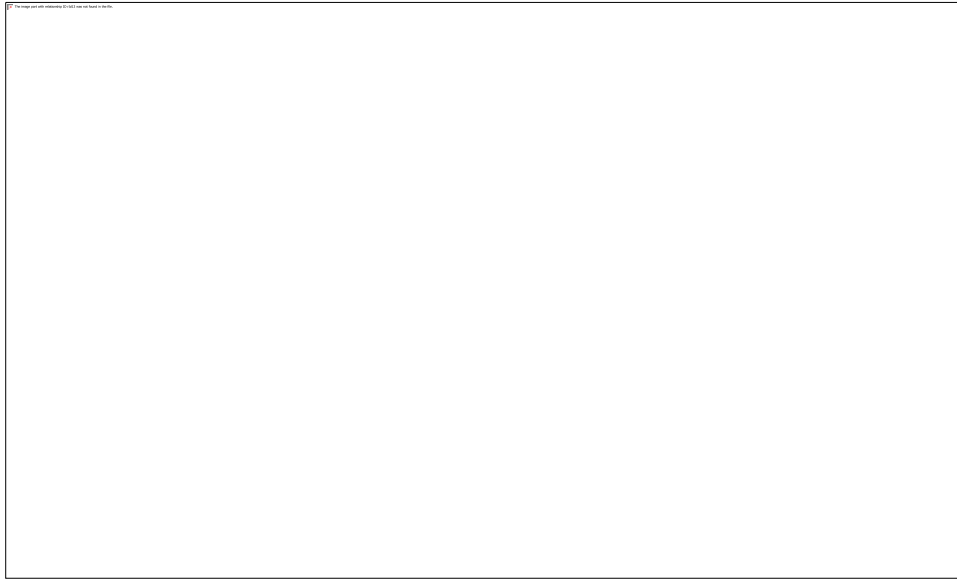
Figure 2 below indicates that De Lille received coverage in 11 articles, of which gender awareness reporting was found in eight stories and none were gender blind. Two articles had subtle stereotypes and one demonstrated blatant stereotyping.



***Figure 2 – Content Analysis results for Patricia De Lille***

#### **5.3.1. Helen Zille’s Gender Links classification system findings**

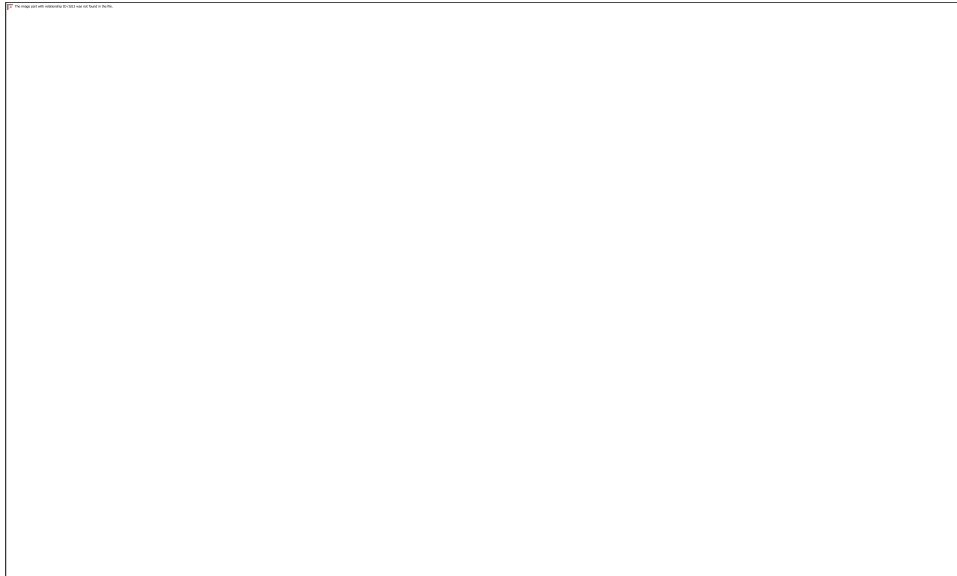
The figure below indicates that Zille was represented in 50 articles that had gender-awareness reporting and two gender blind articles. There were nine articles with subtle stereotypes and eight with blatant stereotyping.



***Figure 3 – Bar graph of Content Analysis result for Helen Zille***

### **5.3.2. Zille and De Lille Gender Links classification system**

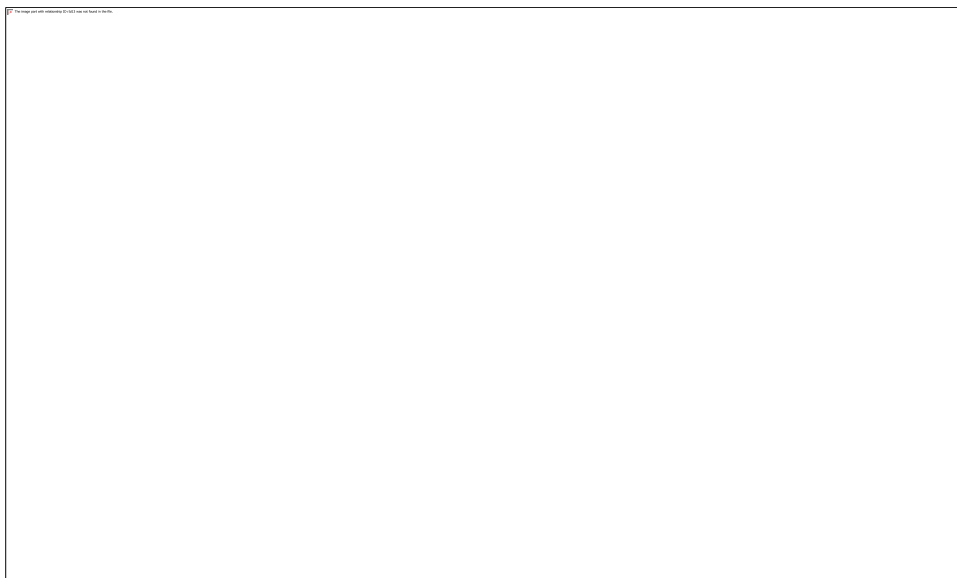
The below figure 5 indicates that 15 articles which mentioned both De Lille and Zille had gender awareness reporting. One article was gender blind and four had both subtle and blatant stereotypes.



**Figure 4 – Bar graph of Content Analysis results of coverage of Zille and De Lille**

### 5.3.3. Gender Links Classification system overall findings

The figure below shows the overall findings in terms of the Gender Links classification system. The findings indicate that 74 articles were gender aware, four were gender blind, 15 had subtle stereotypes and 14 blatant stereotypes.



**Figure 5 – Bar graph of categories for Content Analysis**

#### **5.4. Categories and themes on race, class and gender**

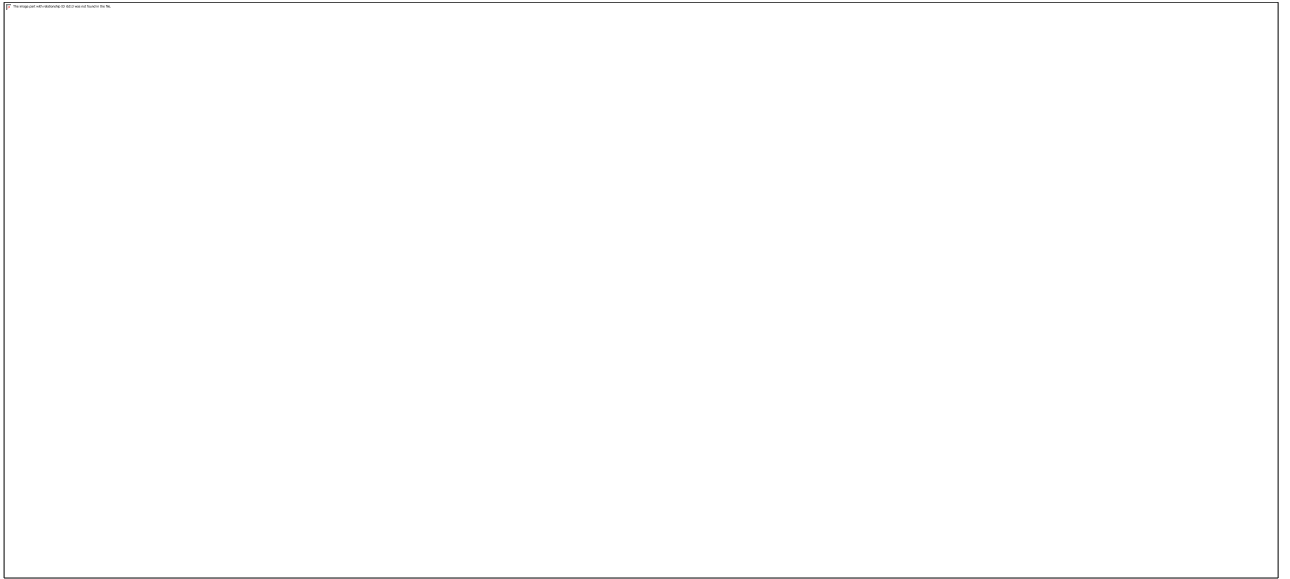
The theory of intersectionality discussed in the literature review underpins the following section on recurring words by outlining the interactions of race, class and gender as systems of discrimination in analysing whether race, class and gender were factors in the reporting on Zille and De Lille, and if they were used to discriminate against them.

The focus of this section is on the race, class and gender of Zille and De Lille. The section will show evidence of what the articles say about race, class and gender in the articles of the 13 newspapers sampled in this study. The first theme to be discussed will be race, the second class and the last gender.

The evidence indicates that race was a recurring theme, which appeared inconsistently in the articles. Reporters would mention the race of the audience being addressed, the racial category of voters and a political party's racial identity or affiliation, with the candidate's race being implied. There was one direct mention of Zille being white and an indirect inference to De Lille's race.

The categories or themes on race refer to voters and the candidates. Physical features, clothing, location, a position of power, gender, race and the names of politicians were among the recurring words and themes in the articles analysed. The table and graphs cited above indicate the recurring words and their number of recurrence.

Below is a table of the recurring words and their quantitative recurrence.



**Figure 6 – Bar graph of recurring words**

## 5.5 Race

The following words relating to the voters and candidates were found in the race category:

1. African (used to reference areas where black voters resided)
2. White
3. Coloured
4. Indian
5. Black

Secondly, there were direct references to the racial categories of the voters that Zille and De Lille were targeting. These were:

1. Black voters
2. Coloured voters

The quantitative analysis revealed that the word which recurred the most among the 100 articles sampled was “race”, which recurred 16 times. The word was used within the context of racial categorisation by reporters and the candidates being directly quoted. The *Sunday Times* (12 April 2009) used the word “race” in the

context of voter choices by paraphrasing De Lille: “Her candidacy, she said, was meant to unite racially diverse people of the province ‘so that we don’t have race-based campaigns throwing black people up against coloureds”.

Second to race, the most recurring word was the word “black”, which recurred 12 times. The term was used within the context of the racial categorisation of voters and audiences that were addressed by candidates, and also about stated locations at which election rallies took place. The *Sunday Times* (19 April 2009) used the phrases “black support” and “black passers-by”.

The *Sunday Times* of 3 May 2009 reported on Zille’s successful campaign using the words “black” and “coloured” in the context of location: “Zille claimed significant success in black and coloured areas in the Overberg and Swartland areas.”

The third most recurring word was “white”, which recurred nine times. It was used within the context of racial categorisation, similarly to the use of the word “black”. It also referred to voters being canvassed by Zille and De Lille, and the audiences they addressed. The *Daily Dispatch* (7 March 2009) used the word “white” about Zille’s party when reporting on an analyst who used the phrase “Zille to dispel the image of Democratic Alliance as a white party”.

The *Sunday Tribune* used the word “white” to describe Zille’s party, the DA. It stated, “The DA’s white identity repels the majority of blacks.”

The *Saturday Star* (18 April 2009) mentioned the word “white” twice in the phrases “Zille’s campaign trail has been designed to give the DA a national blueprint and shed the old label of it being a white party” and “people who say that we are a white party are being ignorant”.

The *Mail & Guardian* (29, April 2009) utilised the words “white” “coloured” and “coloured voters” in one paragraph. The reporter asserted that:

giving Zille a major lift was the fact that almost 90% of white people voted and gave her their overwhelming support. There was also a large swing among rural coloured people away from the ANC to the DA. Coloured voters – who form

about 53% of the Western Cape electorate – appear to have voted in larger numbers than previously and most voted for the DA. The IEC results show that 70% of coloureds voted.

The only direct reference to Zille's race was by the *Mail & Guardian* (16 April 2009). The reporter stated that "she is probably weeks away from becoming Cape Town's first white woman premier."

The phrases "black voters" and "coloured voters" were also used by reporters and the candidates when referring to voters being canvassed for the elections. The *Saturday Star* (21 February 2009) referred to coloured voters when referring to "an agenda that alienated coloured voters". The article also used the words "African" and "coloured". The *Daily Dispatch* (7 March 2009), reporting on Zille's campaign strategy, used the phrase "a clear strategy to attract black voters".

The *Sunday Tribune* (8 March 2009) referred to Zille and De Lille attracting black and coloured voters when reporting that "Helen Zille, who took over from the abrasive Tony Leon, has brought new vigour to the DA and is actively wooing black voters" and "the ID's Patricia De Lille is courting working-class coloured voters".

The *Sunday Times* (3 May 2009) used the majority of the recurring words on race, featuring the phrases "DA leader who swept to power on a wave of mainly white and coloured support"; "accused her of planning to drive black back to the Eastern Cape"; and "the DA turn the province into a white enclave on the backs of black workers".

*City Press* (26 April 2009) reported on De Lille's reaction to her party's performance in the election. It quoted her as saying, "Our performance in the Western Cape has finally laid to rest the myth that we are a coloured party. The reporter then paraphrases De Lille as saying that "financial constraints, the inability to attract coloured voters and failure to get people to the polls on election day were the reasons behind her party's poor performance."



The terms “coloured” and “black” were mentioned in the *Citizen* on 14 March 2009: “De Lille says 95% of ID supporters are black” and “De Lille addressed hostel residents near Eldorado Park, a predominantly coloured area.”

De Lille’s race is mentioned in *City Press* (14 March 2009) when the reporters quote a member of the public saying to De Lille, “You are coloured like us.”

The reporters of the *Sunday Tribune* updated readers before the elections in the excerpt cited below:

In addition to DA leader Helen Zille and Chairman Joe Seremane fronting the party street poster campaign, the DA is seeking to project itself as a multiracial party, using faces of people of different communities in its posters. However, an unconvinced Naidoo has accused the party of failing to put its money where its mouth is. He said the party had failed to choose a black leader, mayor of Cape Town or candidate for Western Cape premiership, [saying], “its leaders in various provinces are predominantly white”. (*Sunday Tribune* of 15 March 2009).

The following is a fuller quotation from the article in *Sunday Tribune* on Zille’s taking over from former DA party leader Tony Leon and the racial transformation occurring within the DA during the period of the 2009 national general elections. The article also refers to how the DA was trying to attract black voters under the leadership of Zille.

Helen Zille, who took over from the abrasive Tony Leon, has brought new vigour to the DA and is actively wooing black voters to increase her party's foothold while alienating the conservative element that Leon introduced to the DA. The DA has also refreshed its candidate list, introducing younger and darker faces at the top, including new stars such as party spokeswoman Lindiwe Mazibuko. (*Sunday Tribune*, 8 March 2009)

The article cited above indicates the use of racially-biased language that demeans black voters and leaders within the DA, with phrases such as “wooing black voters” and “darker faces at the top”. The phrases are indicative of a supposed undermining of blacks within the DA's campaign led by Zille. Zille is

compared to her predecessor Tony Leon, who is described as "abrasive", thus suggesting that Zille's approach towards blacks as voters and leaders within the DA is gentle as she was trying to draw black voters to increase the DA's support base. The article implies that that Mazibuko got the job only because of the colour of her skin, rather than because of her abilities – which is, demeaning.

A *Mail & Guardian* reporter compares how black people refer to Zille vs. opposition parties such as the ANC and the ID; she reports that "Capetonians like her. Black people call her 'Zill'; the ANC call her racist and anti-poor: the Independent Democrats are too scared to call her anything, and Cope seems to be staying out of her way" (*Mail & Guardian*, 16 April 2009).

The *Sunday Times* indicated that Zille was appealing to blacks by reporting that "These days, Zille attracts grins and greetings from black passers-by in the Eastern Cape" (*Sunday Times*, 19 April 2009).

The *Sunday Independent* also reported that "the ID's Patricia De Lille is still courting working-class coloured voters" (*Sunday Independent*, 8 March 2009). The use of the words "coloured voters" indicates the race of the voters and also highlights the continuation of reporting or quoting her in reports with a specific mention of race or class.

The *Citizen* (14 March 2009) also associated De Lille with coloured voters. It reported: "Later De Lille addressed hostel residents near Eldorado Park, a predominantly coloured area". The article in the *Citizen* also reported that "De Lille said 95% of ID supporters were black", thus contradicting other newspapers' reports that the ID was a "coloured party".

The quote by De Lille suggests that there was a contest in the Western Cape for votes from black and coloured voters and she felt that she was the person to receive votes from both races. This report was consistent with those cited about reports on Zille by utilising racial categories of black and coloured about voters targeted by both candidates.

De Lille's race was not mentioned in the reportage; however, her race was mentioned in the *Mail & Guardian*. A reporter who had spent a day with her on

the campaign trail said, “Zille’s a bit scary in that blonde, efficient German kind of way (she is half German). She’s deeply guarded and though she’s pointedly not making any election predictions, she is probably weeks away from becoming Cape Town’s first white woman premier” (*Mail & Guardian*, 16 April 2009).

## 5.6. Class

Recurring words associated with class often referred to groupings of people sharing a similar social position and characteristics. Class also indicates groups of people who are vulnerable and groups or systems that oppress them. The following recurring words were found:

1. Imperialist
2. Colonialists
3. Poor
4. *Baasskap*
5. Power

The quantitative analysis indicates that the word which recurred the most in the category of the class was “power”, which recurred nine times, followed by “poor”, which recurred eight times, and “colonialist”, which recurred five times.

The words “*baasskap*” and “imperialist” each recurred twice.

The words “poor” and “power” were mentioned in the *Sunday Times* of 19 April 2009 in a quotation of Zille saying, “We have to get the message through that people, not politicians, have the power and that corrupt leaders make poor people poorer.” The phrase “make poor people poorer” was also used in *The Star* (20 April 2009), in which Zille was also quoted saying, “corrupt leaders make poor people poorer”.

*The Star* (21 April 2009) mentioned the word “poor” twice in the context of Zille's comments on the ANC and “how it had failed the poor” and “she said the ANC had stolen all the money meant for services; hence the massive backlog in the poor

communities." The word "power" was also used in the same article, which quotes Zille saying, "do not allow a person who is power hungry to destroy the future".

The *Saturday Star* (4 April 2009) quoted De Lille using the word "poor" while campaigning in the Northern Cape area. De Lille is quoted as saying, "Many of them say this is the first time they've seen a political leader, a clear indication that the government has forgotten about the poor."

The *City Press* (5 March 2009) quoted De Lille using the words "poor" in the following context: "If elected as premier in Western Cape, I would bridge the gap between rich and poor."

De Lille is quoted using the word "poor" twice in an article in *The Citizen* (14 March 2009) in the phrases "my heart is with the poor" and "we've been helping thousands of poor children".

The *Daily Dispatch* (7 March 2009) reported that "Zille recently took on the controversial Malema after the latter called her a "colonialist" and "imperialist". The *Citizen* (23 February 2009) also reported on Malema calling Zille a "colonialist" and "imperialist". The *Sunday Tribune* (15 March 2009) mentioned the word "colonialist" in the phrase "if Helen Zille is a colonialist".

*The Times* (21 April 2009) used the term *baasskap* twice. It reported, "De Lille has responded in kind on Sunday and accused the DA of having *baasskap* mentality. The reporter then quoted De Lille as saying," the DA's problem is that they still have a *baasskap* mentality".

The themes that emerged about class often intersected with those of race. They are located in phrases such as, "courting working-class coloureds" and "racist, colonialist and imperialist".

*The Citizen* reported,

On Wednesday, DA leader Helen Zille continued preaching the "Stop Zuma, vote DA" campaign to about 1,200 black supporters in Butterworth's

Msombomvu's Community Hall. Accompanied by provincial leader Athol Trollip, Zille spoke mostly in IsiXhosa, urging voters to destroy the cronyism in the ANC by voting for the DA to ensure that the poor did not get poorer. (*Citizen* 19 April 2009).

The article indicated that Zille was speaking to black voters in Butterworth who spoke Isixhosa, because she spoke the language to them. Zille spoke Isixhosa among black Isixhosa speakers who were possibly living in poverty and who belonged to the working class.

The above-cited article is explicit in mentioning the race of the voters Zille was targeting and also suggested that they were poor, thus adding a class element to the reporting.

*The Times* continued by suggesting that there was a feud between Zille and De Lille. It stated that "Zille has on several occasions targeted De Lille, telling Western Cape voters that the ID leader cannot be trusted because she backed the failed bid for the re-election of the ANC's Nomaindia Mfeketo as Cape Town mayor in 2006. De Lille has responded in kind and on Sunday accused the DA of having a 'baasskap' mentality" (*The Times*, 21 April 2009).

The reference to the word "baasskap" in the article above indicates that the reporter was quoting De Lille's view that the DA was applying South African apartheid tactics of "baasskap", which is understood as a form of control by white people over non-white people (blacks and coloureds). The use of the word "baasskap" in the report suggests that De Lille was suggesting that Zille's party was seeking political domination over other racial groups.

The *Citizen* also reported on class and race; De Lille is quoted making remarks on class while the reporter remarks on race. The reporters also have an indirect reference to the class and racial profile of the audience De Lille is canvassing. De Lille is quoted in the *Citizen* (14 March 2009) as having said, "My heart is with the poor people. We didn't struggle so that a few can benefit." The reporters then add, "De Lille said that the ID would continue to fight for social grants for the poor. De Lille said that 95% of ID supporters were black." De Lille is then quoted as saying, "We have been helping thousands of poor children to continue

with their education because we cannot promise a child education.” The reporters then write, “Later De Lille addressed hostel residents near Eldorado Park, a predominantly coloured area. There she was greeted by the residents, of whom most were unemployed.”

Language categories can also be utilised for inference of race because persons of particular races speak specific dominant languages. The languages that were often referred to in the articles were: Afrikaans and IsiXhosa.

“Afrikaans” recurred eight times and “Xhosa” six times. Both language categories were utilised with respect to the languages spoken by the voters or Zille when she was speaking to the voters. The *Saturday Star* reported how Zille was diverse in her use of language. It reported that “it is clear that supporters of Zille’s DA are much more diverse than ever before. She found time to talk to them all – and in their languages: English, Afrikaans and Xhosa” (*Saturday Star*, 18 April 2009).

A *The Star* article, published on 20 April 2009, also referred to Zille’s use of multiple languages during her campaign trail in Middleburg: “During her speech, she switched easily between Isixhosa and English.”

There was also reference to Zille speaking to an Afrikaans-speaking audience in Graaf-Reinet that welcomed her by singing a song in Afrikaans. The reporter observes that “Zille was welcomed to the event with the mainly Afrikaans-speaking delegates singing “*Dis Zille wat die wind laat waa!*” (It’s Zille who makes the wind blow” (*The Star*, 9 April 2009).

The *Sunday Times* (19 April 2009) describes Zille’s preparation for her use of multiple languages in her campaign: “We watch as she researches and writes free speeches in three languages, tailored to each event’s audience, minutes before delivering them live.” Zille is then quoted as saying, “I have to write in English and write the Xhosa in between, using different colour pens. It’s the only way I can do it.”

There was no reference to De Lille’s use of a particular language when addressing voters, whereas Zille was often represented as being multilingual and

often associated with Afrikaans and Isixhosa speakers because of her use of both languages.

### 5.7. Gender representation

Gender representation occurred in a variety of ways, including references to beauty treatments, dress and stereotypical language. The discussion below will be on sub-themes that emerged under the broad theme of the gender representation of Zille and De Lille.

Recurring words associated with gender or gender roles found in the articles were:

1. Botox
2. Dress
3. Panties
4. Gender
5. Iron Lady
6. Madam
7. Sun Tzu

The phrase “Iron Lady” was used by *City Press* (5 April 2009) in relation to Zille not having a social media account. The reporter states, "Helen Zille had no account. One would have expected the ‘iron lady’ to follow in the footsteps of COPE leaders Mbhazima Shilowa and Mosioua Lekota and UDM Chief Bantu Holomisa."

The above-cited article also mentions the word “gender” when it quotes a political analyst as saying, "We have begun to elect leaders based on ability rather than race and gender." The *Saturday Star* (14 February 2009) mentions the word “gender” when quoting Zille saying that the DA was a party in which everyone did well, irrespective of their race, gender or religion.

The *City Press* (26 April 2009) also referred to Zille as an “iron lady” in an article about success in the elections: "South Africa’s iron lady not only gained the

premiership with an outright majority, but it was also a victory, making the DA the first opposition party to score an entire province from the ANC."

*The Star* (18 April 2009) reported on Zille's looks: "As for Botox, facelifts and her newfound dress sense..."

The word "panties" were used metaphorically and in the form of a pun thrice in an article in the *Times* of 20 April 2009; firstly, in the headline "Parties pull with panties"; secondly, in the opening sentence with the question, "Whose panties are the tightest? Hellen Zille's or Patricia De Lille's? and, lastly, towards the end of the article, with the reporter writing, "De Lille laughed heartily, but didn't offer an answer when asked who had the tightest panties – her or Zille?"

The *Citizen* (23 February 2009) reported on Malema having said that Zille's deputy's role was to "smile at the madam".

### 5.7.1. Beauty treatments

Zille's look was of interest to some reporters, who reported that

Zille, who recently admitted to using Botox treatment, has dropped her timid image. In her election campaign, Zille has taken to singing and dancing the Thriller Zille during her speeches. Some have even referred to her transformation from South Africa's "Iron Lady" to a dancing queen as a clear strategy to attract black voters".  
(*Daily Dispatch*, 7 March 2009)

The above-cited article is an example of how the reporter focused on Zille's beauty regimen and her image.

Also, the use of the term "Iron Lady" indicates that she was stereotyped, because the term was often used for former Prime Minister of Britain, Margaret Thatcher, and has a negative connotation which suggests that women leaders are masculine. According to the Collins English Dictionary (2010), "Iron lady" is "a nickname often used to describe female heads of government around the world, meaning 'strong-



willed woman'. Most famously used of the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom (1979 to 1990) Margaret Thatcher”.

*The Star* newspaper reported factually on Zille and De Lille. It reported that "Great-grandmother Magdaleen van Wyk, who will turn 80 the day after the April 22 election, said if DA leader Helen Zille wanted to use Botox to take away wrinkles, it was her choice. But a politician's appearance made no difference" (*The Star*, 11 March 2009).

The focus of the question to Magdalene Van Wyk on her opinion on Zille's use of Botox indicates that the reporter was interested in the Botox treatment that Zille supposedly had. Although Van Wyk dismissed the reporter's intention with her response, the reference to the anti-wrinkle treatment suggests that there was a focus on Zille's looks and beauty regimen, which was not relevant to her candidacy. The focus on Zille's look implies that there was gender-blind reporting when Zille was ridiculed for using Botox in the headline titled, 'Botox Helen'. This demonstrates clear prejudice on her choice of beauty treatment.

The cited response to Zille's use of Botox from Van Wyk indicates that the reporter was attempting to find out if Zille's beauty regimen influenced her as a voter. In concluding the analysis, it seems that the angle pursued by the reporter was that voters were not swayed by how candidates look.

The phrases cited in the article above, "to use Botox to remove wrinkles", could imply that readers should pay attention to Zille's grooming during the campaign period and not necessarily focus on her credentials as a political leader and candidate during the election period.

### **5.7.2. Dress and looks**

*The Star's* 20 April 2009 report on Zille's looks and dress on a campaign trail in Middleburg was extensive. The reporter described Zille by saying, "A passing breeze barely ruffled the perfect waves of her highlighted hair. Her lips were signature red. But that was it as far as glamour went. Zille wore dirty blue takkies, crumpled up jeans and a DA T-shirt. Her nails were unpainted, and she wore only her wedding ring, a watch and chunky silver necklace." The key phrases to

highlight Zille's looks are "perfect waves of her highlighted hair", "lips were signature red" and "unpainted nails" and the key phrases for her dress are "wore dirty blue takkies", and "crumpled up DA T-shirt". The phrases related to her looks signal that she was concerned about her facial appearance; hence the hair is "perfect " and she used her "signature" red lipstick. The phrases used to describe Zille's outfit are negative and signal that she had a poor dress sense because she "wore dirty blue takkies" and a "crumpled up DA T-shirt", which was part of the campaign marketing collateral.

In the *Saturday Star* of 18 April 2009, the reporter refers to an interview she had with Zille and reports that she did not ask her about her looks or dress sense. "As for Botox, facelifts and her newfound dress sense, I never got to asking her." However, when Zille told the reporter about the correction fluid to perk up the white on her DA logo on her T-shirt, it seemed irrelevant. The reporter wrote, "Although her hair did stay in place the entire day, she gets through a lot of red lipstick."

In addition to *The Star* and *Saturday Star*, Zille's dress is also mentioned in the *Sunday Times* of 19 April 2009. It reports that Zille, "Has had to use Tipp-Ex to fill in the holes in the Democratic Alliance logo on her T-shirt after a hasty ironing job by her husband." The reporter further reported on her dress sense: "For an Afrikaans church hall event on a Tuesday, she dressed smartly in a black-and-white suit; for the rest, it was jeans, takkies and any clean DA T-shirt."

Zille's dress was a prominent focus for *The Star*, *Saturday Star* and *Sunday Times* and the common references to her looks were on her hair and red lipstick. In terms of dress, the DA T-shirt was a common item of clothing mentioned.

The *Sunday Times* reporters continued by drawing a picture for the reader of the type of audience Zille was addressing during her campaign trail and how she was dressed for them. This implied that the reader needed to know that Zille chose different items of clothing for specific voters.

For example, the newspaper stated that she dressed smartly in a black-and-white pants suit for an Afrikaans church hall event; for the rest, she wore jeans and takkies. The article implies that Zille dressed up only for a white Afrikaans

audience possibly out of a matter of respect for them whilst she “dresses down” for poorer audiences in order to relate to them.

The representations of Zille and De Lille cited above from the *Sunday Times* seem to continue in *The Sunday Independent*, which appears to have gender blindness and gender awareness in their reporting. The article focuses on the way she dresses, and also refers to her persona, stating that, “Helen Zille, the DA leader, cut an authoritative figure in a pink suit, and Kenneth Meshoe, the ACDP leader, looked ever the family man, with his wife Lydia, daughter and son-in-law in tow” (*Sunday Independent*, 15 February 2009).

The article in the *Saturday Star* refers to Zille’s new look or image that she has adopted to attract voters: “Freshly made-over herself, Helen Zille is set to lead her rebranded party in all-out battle, not only to retain the Democratic Alliance’s position as the official opposition” (*Saturday Star*, 14 February 2014). The article suggests that her look is combative and is part of her strategy to fight in the elections.

### **5.7.3. Stereotypical and gender-biased language**

In some instances, Zille and De Lille were represented as leaders of the political parties. Most articles introduced them by saying, “Democratic Alliance leader, Helen Zille” or “Independent Democrats leader, Patricia De Lille”.

In the articles cited above on Zille and De Lille, there is continual use of metaphors, such as a report that states that “Democratic Alliance leader Helen Zille won her Western Cape premiership with her blood, sweat and tears, a gifted Sun Tzu and the inspired DA infantry who manned her election trenches. South Africa’s iron lady not only gained the premiership with an outright majority, making the DA the first opposition party to score an entire province of the ANC...” (*City Press*, 29 April 2009).

The phrases, “a gifted Sun Tzu” and “the inspired DA infantry” indicate that Zille was being negatively stereotyped, because the reporter painted an image of her being an army general leading the “DA infantry”. The language used was combative and aggressive.

Regarding De Lille, the *Sunday Times* stated, "De Lille, apparently mortally wounded by her flirtation with the ANC..." The *Sunday Times* use of the word 'flirtation', is often used to describe behaviour that demonstrates a playful sexual attraction, according to the Collins English Dictionary (2010). The expression "mortally wounded" is a reference to war; thus suggesting that De Lille's playful sexual attraction with the opposition party led her to be defeated in an election campaign battle.

## 5.8 CDA analysis

From the analysis of the 100 sampled articles and, as a first step, the researcher examined the data sample as a whole, pinpointing word choices, the broader discourse in the articles and sentences that were common to all the categories listed in section 4.6.3 as well as the table illustrated in the section. Below is a discussion of the analysis.

### 5.8.1 Social abuse of power

The discussion below uses extracts from newspaper articles to demonstrate how social abuse of power locates the findings in the study within the institutional power of media and how media is used to influence society within a patriarchal society and racialized system.

The *Citizen* (25 February 2009) reported, "No doubt DA leader Helen Zille was provoked and exasperated by ANCYL youth leader Julius Malema calling the DA youth 'garden boys' and suggesting that the role of her deputy leader, Joe Seremane, is to 'smile at the madam every time'".

The *Saturday Star* (28 February 2009) reported, "The DA and the ANCYL leader have been involved in a bitter slanging match since Malema last weekend called Zille 'a racist, colonialist and imperialist'. It degenerated further when Zille said he was an immature *inkwenkwe* or uncircumcised boy, prompting him to ask how she could know such as thing about him."

The suggestion by the reporters of the *Citizen* and *Saturday Star* was that the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) members were exercising

social abuse of power in their comments against Helen Zille. The comments implied that the DA youth were Zille's menial workforce, while Seremane acted like a buffoon before a white woman. This speaks to the themes of power, privilege and domination within politics.

The ANCYL's use of racial and derogatory terms for Zille, such as "colonialist", "imperialist" and "madam", demonstrates how Zille's leadership was trivial for them and they were exercising patriarchal misogyny. The terms mentioned were used historically in South Africa to refer to those who were oppressors during apartheid, which was a policy of separate development along racial lines, with whites dominating Indians, blacks and coloureds. The word "madam" was used by black women to address white women.

The league and the journalist also used words that suggested that the amount of power that Zille possessed was that of "Sun Tzu", an ancient Chinese general, military strategist, writer and philosopher. The lexical choice of "Sun Tzu" is often considered gender-neutral because it is used to refer to males or females who are cunning and strategic.

The *Saturday Star* of 14 February 2009 quotes Zille's sentiments on race, gender and religion and how the DA manifesto intends to approach these to attract voters. The article quotes Zille's party pitch as an "open opportunity society, where everyone has a chance to do well, whatever your race, gender or religion". The quotation highlights how the elections were marred by dynamics of social power of abuse, whereby political parties distinguished voters according to their racial, gender and religious affiliations.

### **5.8.2. Connotations and metaphors**

In this study, connotations and metaphors reinforce the representation of Zille and De Lille in the headlines and articles. The connotations emanate from popular culture and the metaphors often describe how Zille interacted with the voters, as well as the campaign of Zille vs. De Lille.

The Minority Front leader, Amichand Rajbansi, who was campaigning in the area of Phoenix among the Indian community, was critical of the DA winning votes in

the Western Cape. The article had sensational language, because the reporter quoted Rajbansi as saying, “We lost a bulk of our votes to the DA, but those voters fell for Zille’s dirty tricks, and they have to live with the consequences” (*Sunday Tribune*, 26 April 2009). The use of the metaphor “dirty tricks” creates sensation and implies that Zille did not play a fair game. It implies that she was utilising manipulative tactics to convince voters not to vote for the Minority Front party and that Zille was using unscrupulous means to attract Indian voters.

The findings indicate that De Lille took her party’s message to farmworkers, squatters and the “forgotten” indigent across the Western Cape (*Sunday Times*, 19 April 2009). The audience De Lille was said to be targeting is often classified as working class and poor. This is consistent with the other newspapers referring to her as “courting working class coloureds”. This creates a negative connotation that De Lille’s party was targeting the working class community or could easily be seen as a party that appeals to the working class and the poor, but not the elite.

On 20 April 2009 *The Times* used the metaphor “dish up risqué slice of the Cape” to create sensation in its headline. The introductory paragraph explains the use of the metaphor in the headline. It begins with the statement, “Whose Panties are the tightest? Helen Zille’s or Patricia De Lille’s?” Zille and De Lille are proposed to have been competing using risky behaviour to appeal to voters and the use of the pun “whose panties are tightest” constitutes sexist language.

The *Sunday Independent* refers to Zille’s outfit by saying that “Zille cut an authoritative figure in a pink suit (*Sunday Independent*, 15 Feb 2009). There is a negative connotation to Zille being dressed up in a pink suit while being authoritative. The phrase cited above suggests that, although Zille was wearing a suit whose colour is often associated with femininity, she was trying to be tough and masculine.

The *Sunday Independent* indicated that Zille was ready to agree to a coalition with the ANC. The reporter says about Zille, “for example, this could see the Western Cape ANC agreeing to make the DA’s Zille mayor. She could then jump into bed with the ruling party, despite protestations to the contrary” (*Sunday Independent* –

19 April 2009) . The phrase “jumping into bed” is political jargon using an object like a bed, which is kept in a private space such as the bedroom, to describe how an agreement would be made by Zille and the ANC.

The *Saturday Star* (14 February 2009) used gendered metaphors that stereotype female leaders by reporting on their physical appearance. In relation to Zille’s readiness to govern, the reporter uses the following phrasing: “Freshly made-over herself, Helen Zille is said to lead her rebranded party in an all-out battle.” The reporter uses phrases that describe Zille as having a refreshed physical appearance that will enable her to embark on a battle during the elections. Analogies of beauty and war are used to describe Zille’s strategy.

### **5.8.3 Tone**

The *Sunday Independent* (18 February 2009) uses a tone of certainty in relation to Zille’s comments on her party election manifesto being “unashamedly pro-poor”. The certainty is outlined with the use of the verb “breaking” in the sentence as the reporter explains that the DA manifesto is for the poor and that no other manifesto can address issues of poverty. The reporter quotes Zille saying, “In fact, it is the most pro-poor of any party’s manifestoes, because it is the only one that focuses on breaking the cycle of poverty by creating real opportunities for all”.

De Lille is quoted in the *Citizen* (2 March 2009) as saying, “ So, yes, I will be running against Helen Zille and Allan Boesak, but the electorate will make the decision.” The modal verb “will” is used to provide certainty that De Lille has only two opponents in the election and is trusting that the electorate will decide the fate of the winner.

De Lille is reported in the *Citizen* ( 2 March 2009)to have warned other parties not to play up racial tensions in the provinces as they campaign for the April 22 vote and, if any party plays the race card, they will deal with them, because they must unite the Western Cape. Again, the modal verb “will” is used to assert that De Lille expects other political parties to use race-based campaigns and, if they do, she and her party members will not hesitate to be critical of them.

*The Times* stated that "there are chants of 'Be gone Msholoz!' as Helen Zille addressed a mostly jobless crowd in Xhosa at a rally in rural Eastern Cape" (*The Times*, 19 April 2009). The writers also used words such as "chant", which is a repetition of specific words in rhythm to incite or signal protest action to question the intentions of Zille. This was in the context of *The Times* reporting that Zille was leading the anti-Zuma campaign and she was, for example, reported to have engaged in public rebuke of Zuma's efforts to be president at one of her rallies.

In continuing with the Zille vs. Zuma narrative and tone of uncertainty of who will win the elections, the *Cape Argus* of 3 April 2009 quoted Zille as saying

The ANC always tries to divide and rule before elections and this is a classic case. It's a very interesting basis on which they seek to divide and rule – because they always try to define people according to race and ethnicity. That suits the ANC because, if it can divide South Africa into separate boxes of race and ethnicity, they will rule forever and that's what they want to do."

In the above quotation, the modal verb "will" is used to predict that the ANC "will" rule forever if it divides voters along racial and ethnic lines.

The articles referenced in this section depict the tone of uncertainty used by media to describe the outcome of the elections. The tone differs across the various articles, because some of them are suggesting doubt about the possibility of Zille or De Lille winning the elections.

#### **5.8.4. Power relations**

Overall, the majority of the newspaper articles analysed in this study indicate that Zille was in a position of power. In CDA, power is specifically related to the social power of groups or institutions. In the case of Zille and De Lille, the power would be that of their political parties as institutions.

Zille and De Lille are positioned as having influence over the Afrikaans-speaking community. This is suggested in articles that reported on their response to the then ANC presidential candidate, Jacob Zuma, canvassing Afrikaans speakers. The *Cape Argus* (3 April 2009) cited Zille as having said, "Any attempt by Jacob



Zuma to woo Afrikaners was “embarrassing – and everyone sees right through it.” Zille was then quoted as saying, “I spoke to an audience of 100 percent Afrikaans-speaking South Africans in Upington last night. And when I mentioned what Jacob Zuma had said, the response was, ‘Oh please stop trying to patronise us.’ As if a little press on the ethnic button absolves the ANC of all its power abuse.”

The article continued that “ID leader Patricia De Lille was equally dismissive”. De Lille was quoted as saying, “ It’s a very populist statement. He is ignoring the fact that they (Afrikaners) are not a homogenous group.” The phrase “populist statement” indicates that De Lille was not attracting voters on the basis of telling them what they wanted to hear; she rather wanted to canvass Afrikaners to vote in a fair manner.

Zille was often referred to as a powerful leader who was taking the governing party to task. The *Sunday Times* referred to Zille's campaign as a success in the Western Cape Province by stating that "The DA leader now looks set to complete her mission of pushing the ANC out of power in the province by inducing smaller political parties to join her in forming a coalition government" (*Sunday Times*, 2009). The phrase “DA leader now looks set to complete her mission of pushing the ANC out of power” suggested that Zille’s approach to winning votes in the election was aggressive and combative. The use of the word “mission” seems to be another war metaphor used to describe Zille’s strategy in the election as warfare as the Collins English Dictionary (2010) explains that the word mission is used to describe a journey made by military aeroplane.

In reference to social groups that use indigenous South African languages, it was reported that Zille used IsiXhosa, Afrikaans and English to entice voters, while De Lille used English and Afrikaans. The language was used to represent Zille as more diverse while suggesting that De Lille was not making an effort to show diversity. If De Lille had used multiple languages she could have reached more audiences and possibly attracted more voters who were not conversant in English or Afrikaans. De Lille was limited by her inability to speak any languages other than English and Afrikaans to outline her party’s policy position, thus suggesting that Zille had more power than De Lille, because attracting black

voters would increase the votes for her party substantially on account of the fact that blacks were the majority in the population.

According to the *Sunday Times* of 19 April 2009, small towns are the barometer for testing the national mood during elections, and the mood was festive and impatient: "Nowhere was this more apparent than in Butterworth in the Eastern Cape, where loud singing and smoke from burning refuse near a neighbouring shebeen followed Zille into a community hall of 1,000 supporters. Speaking in IsiXhosa, she lashed out at the ANC for its failure on social grants, jobs and especially the joblessness that followed the closure of textile factories in the area."

*The Star* reported on De Lille's campaign trail and views on her party by saying:

But she was determined to dispel the myth that the party she founded in 2003 was a one-woman show with the base limited to the Western Cape. She said the idea was to net a million votes in the election. De Lille leaves Cape Town this weekend to drum up support [in the] North before returning on April 1. De Lille said the emergence of Cope was a welcome opportunity to break the ANC's dominance, but added there were a lot of opportunists in Cope.

A report in *The Star* on 7 March 2009 states that De Lille wanted to prove that her party was worthy of participating in the elections and that it was a fully-fledged party that was not run by herself alone, as suggested by use of the phrase "she was determined to dispel the myth that the party she founded in 2003 was a one-woman show". De Lille was reported to be targeting voters beyond the Western Cape with the use of the phrase "drumming up support in the North". The use of the word "myth" suggests that there was a false belief that the ID was a party that De Lille ran all by herself and that it did not have a support base.

The *Citizen* (7 May 2009) also reported that "at the polls, the ID did not fare as well as De Lille had hoped, falling woefully short of her predicted million votes and qualifying for only four seats in parliament". De Lille was positioned as being powerless, suggesting that her party's performance was dismal in the Western

Cape province, which is populated predominantly by coloured, and white citizens.

Zille is referred to in *The Star* as having a private jet to move around campaigning, with journalists accompanying her campaign team, thus implying she had resources to influence the amount of coverage she received and that she could therefore sway the social discourse. Zille's access to media was part of her using her agency and voice to create a narrative on her campaign. The *Times* (15 April 2009) report on the jet, using the wording "DA leader Helen Zille is leaving on a jet plane" and "the DA leader has hired a Beechcraft 'Premier One' to get her message to voters in every corner of the country by election day next week." There is intertextuality with the use of the phrase "leaving on a jet plane", which is from the title of a popular 1960s pop song by John Denver.

There was a suggestion that there was a power struggle in the Western Cape, which was alluded to in the following phrases: "Zille under siege: ANC meet her Western Cape ascendancy"; "Battle for Western Cape"; and "Zille has no powers to call in army". The word usage indicated that Zille was under attack and had no powers or agency.

A continuation of Zille's battle for the Western Cape is explicit in the headline "Zille and Boesak turn up the heat in the last push for votes" in *City Press* (19 April 2009). The headline has a metaphorical reference to the competition between Zille and Boesak during the last few days of the election campaign. The metaphoric use of the word "turn up the heat in last push for votes" implies that both Zille and Boesak were adding pressure to ensure that they would succeed in the election.

The words "siege", "battle", "last push for votes" indicate that there was a power struggle during the elections; the words suggest that it was not an easy feat to win the elections; the candidates had to be in war mode.

The reporter explained that "DA leader Helen Zille told about 3,000 supporters that the DA could stop Zuma from taking South Africa down the path of a failed state, cronyism and corruption." The reporter utilised a pejorative term that carried a negative connotation when describing Zille's criticism of her opponent.

The *Sunday Times* (3 May 2009) referred to the power dynamics in the Western Cape and the role race played in Zille's success as DA leader after the election results: "The Western Cape's defeated ANC is promising Helen Zille a rough ride as the premier of the only province not in the hands of the ruling party – but the DA leader, which swept to power on a wave of mainly white and coloured support, says she is ready for them."

As suggested by the above analysis of the Zille vs. De Lille's social and institutional power, De Lille had a small party that was poorly resourced, thus giving her minimal institutional power. Zille was suggested to have had financial resources, with coverage focusing on her traversing the country in a private jet and also having access to various racial groups.

#### **5.8.5 Omission of facts about Zille and De Lille**

Omissions of facts in the reporting were present in the articles, which are discussed in this section. Zille and De Lille were positioned as the main contenders to win the election in the Western Cape.

*City Press* reported on 15 March 2009 that "De Lille's visit was part of a five-day charm offensive, where her party got about 1.5% of the vote in the last elections. Although she has set her sights on the hotly-contested Western Cape, where she got more than 7% in the 2004 election, she seems determined to improve her party's support in Gauteng and capitalise on unhappiness over poor service delivery". The reporter omitted what other parties had obtained in 2004 in Gauteng and was subtly suggesting that De Lille's party was not likely to achieve any gains, either nationally or in the Western Cape. The results in the previous elections indicated her registering low voter turnout; therefore, in the last election other parties did far better than her party's 1.5% and 7%.

The use of the words "improve her party's support in Gauteng and capitalise on unhappiness over poor service delivery" also suggests that De Lille was being opportunistic with the use of the expression "capitalise on the ruling party's failures in Gauteng", where there was no record of her party's performance in the 2004 election.

The *Saturday Star* (7 March 2009) reported on the battle for the control of the Western Cape as follows: “De Lille says that the battle for the Western Cape will be no beauty contest and has promised to send booze and blooms to the ANC for helping make the job much easier.” The reporter seems to omit that the fact that De Lille was campaigning in the Western Cape and had been successful in previous elections. The “send booze and blooms” is used, ironically, to refer to sending alcohol and flowers as a thank you gesture for support, as opposed to sending it to an opposition party.

### 5.8.6. Analysis of headlines

The headlines listed below from the various newspaper articles are those in which metaphors and connotations were utilised. When analysing the headlines, those which had the name of Zille or De Lille were sought. Out of 100 articles, only 44 headlines featured the names of either Zille or De Lille, seven mentioned De Lille’s name and 37 Zille’s name. That is, 86% of the headlines had Zille’s name and 16% De Lille’s.

In this section, the themes that emerged from the abovementioned headlines are discussed. They reflect the views of the journalists and sub-editors who were mainly responsible for crafting the headlines. A thematic approach assisted in capturing important information or recurring issues in the content of the articles.

**Table 6: Newspaper Headlines**

Newspaper	Headline
<i>City Press</i>	1. <b>De Lille:</b> Gap between rich, <b>poor</b> must go
	2. We are tired of <b>promises:</b> Residents vent frustrations as <b>De Lille’s five-day charm offensive takes off</b>
	3. The art of Helen <b>Zille’s</b> offensive
	4. We are tired of <b>promises:</b> Residents vent frustrations as De Lille five-day charm offensive takes off
<i>Citizen</i>	1. DA’s <b>Zille</b> slams Bam outburst
	2. ID leader enters Cape fray: Election Race: <b>De Lille</b> up against Boesak

3. 'We'll get million **votes**', says **De Lille**
4. **Zille's** ten commitments
5. **De Lille** to feature in Soapie: Guest appearance: ID leader 'star' of Egoli
6. Your **vote** is **power**: **Zille**
7. **Zille** and Boesak turn up the heat in the last push for votes
8. **Zille** asks Zuma to stand-down
1. **Zille** has no **powers** to call in army

*Sowetan*

- Daily Dispatch*
1. ID's Patricia **De Lille** is still courting working class coloureds
  2. Snappy new **Zille** image a hit

*Saturday Star*

1. Zuma as wallpaper? Zille on Twitter? It's all out there in cyberspace
2. Malema will one day get his comeuppance, Zille predicts

*Mail & Guardian*

1. Expats give the DA thumbs up: 'Homesick' South Africans want to return to a country that works, **says Zille**
2. **Zille's blonde ambition**
3. **Zille** peps up party list
4. Its Z-time: the big wins go to Jacob Zuma and Helen **Zille** with the newcomer, Cope, finishing respectable third

*The Star*

1. **Zille's** cabinet recipe is too heavy on testosterone
2. **Zille** will take a careful approach to running Western Cape
3. DA leader's attack on ANC hots up: Zille says **corrupt**, ignorant leaders have failed the **poor**
4. **Zille** keep it low-key at Middleburg rally
5. Root out **corruption**, Zille says
6. **Zille** worried that ANC will receive two-thirds vote

*Business Day*

1. **Zille** stresses 'personal responsibility' as Western Cape **Premier**
2. **Zille** for **Premier** in Cape as DA claims majority
3. **De Lille** urges minority parties to unite for 2011 elections

#### 4. DA keeps IEC on straight and narrow, says **Zille**

##### *The Times*

1. Lack of cash may dash Zille's bid to overturn ruling
2. **Zille** makes good on **promises** to old and destitute North West woman
3. **Zille** in air blitz on Zuma
4. Boesak to sue Zille
5. **Zille** lashes out at 'knee-jerk' Boesak
6. **Zille** zaps accused number 1
7. **De Lille** rocket for 'baasskap' DA

##### *Sunday Times*

1. Cape **voters** propel **Zille** onto bigger stage
2. **Zille under siege: ANC meet her Western Cape ascendancy** with race politics and threats to mobilise

##### *Saturday Star*

1. On campaign with **superwoman**: The DA's Helen **Zille** has been carving out her campaign trail while at the same time keeping up with her day job – running the Mother City
2. **Battle for Western Cape no beauty contest**, says **De Lille**

##### *Sunday Independent*

1. Botox **Helen** is on the way out
2. Western Cape does the **Zille** swing

#### **5.8.6.1 Promises to voters**

Some headlines had the word “promises” in phrases such as “We are tired of promises” and “Zille makes good on promises” (to old and destitute North West woman). The headlines provided a narrative of election campaign being about commitments to the public, which politicians often do not fulfil once they have received their votes. Zille was, however, referred to in the headlines as making good on her promises, thereby suggesting that she was an honest, honourable politician. The description of the women as “old and destitute” is also indicative of her class ranking, thus suggesting that Zille honours promises to the poor.

### **5.8.6.2 Gendered metaphors and connotations**

The headlines contained gendered metaphors and connotations such as “no beauty contest”, “superwoman”, “Botox Helen” and “Zille’s blonde ambition”. The listed metaphors had a common thread: beauty, power, looks and ambition. Zille was referred to as superwoman, a fictional comic superhero with powers similar to those of Superman.

The word “superwoman” connotes a woman who tries too hard and multitasks at all costs, and also has special powers. Therefore, reference to Zille as Superwoman implies that she was juggling her careers as the mayor of Cape Town, leader of the DA, mother and wife. The headline writer in this instance uses intertextuality by referencing a comic book character.

By contrast, the use of the phrase “no beauty contest” suggests that De Lille was saying that Zille perceived the election campaign as a beauty pageant, in which women are given a prize based on their physical appearance and not their other traits, such as leadership or good articulation.

Zille was also given a nickname, “Botox Helen”, in a headline, suggesting that she was using Botox, possibly on her face, to change her facial features during the elections and possibly appeal to voters through an image created by an aesthetic beauty treatment.

The *Daily Dispatch* 7 March 2009 headline was “Snappy new Zille image a hit”, suggesting that Zille had revived her image to attract voters. The gendered metaphor in the phrase “new Zille image a hit” infers that, in order to attract voters, Zille had to change her image and her new one was received well by the voters. The reference to Zille’s image is indicative of blatant stereotyping of women in the media, whereby reporters focus on looks and omit other qualities, such as leadership or competency. Similarly, the headline “Snappy new Zille image a hit” infers that Zille’s image or physical appearance was a success with voters or it worked in her favour because it made her likeable or presentable.

The use of the phrase, “Zille’s blonde ambition” is similar to using an oxymoron (applying two opposite words) because the word “blonde” is often used to



describe females who are trivial and not intelligent, while ambition is the opposite because it refers to goal setting and strategic approaches.

“Zille’s cabinet recipe is too heavy on testosterone” (*Cape Times*, 11 May 2009) infers that Zille’s kitchen or cooking formula for putting together a cabinet was male-heavy. The use of the word “recipe” has a negative connotation and places Zille within the domestic sphere of the kitchen, which is a stereotype of women belonging in the kitchen.

The headline “Residents vent frustrations as De Lille five-day charm offensive takes off” made use of the oxymoron “charm offensive” to describe De Lille as both charming or alluring and repulsive at the same time. Another headline described De Lille as trying to charm voters by saying “IDs Patricia De Lille is still courting working class coloureds”. The headline also suggested that she was attempting to win the affection of working-class coloureds.

#### **a. 5.8.6.3 Voice of Zille, De Lille**

The voices in the headlines that are related to Zille and De Lille are those of the various journalists and other politicians. The journalists often voice their opinions of Zille and De Lille, while the other politicians also comment on their tactics and strategies during the election campaign. The voices of Zille and De Lille are dominant when they are directly quoted by the reporters.

In using experts and accredited representatives, the media gives a voice only to sources that are powerful and hold high positions.

The reporters also use additional voices to reflect on Zille and De Lille. The use of political analysts as experts suggest that media give a voice to sources that are influential, powerful and hold high positions.

In the articles, the voices of political analysts Judith February and Lesiba Teffo are used to air opinions about Zille. February was quoted in the *Sunday Times* of 26 April as saying, “Helen Zille’s campaign is spot on. She was talking to the fears that many people in the Western Cape have – about Zuma, about jobs, about services – and that always goes down here.”

Another analyst, Jan Joubert, was quoted in the *Daily Dispatch* (7 March 2009) describing Zille's approach to politics, dispelling the myth that the DA was a white party by commenting that "I do not think Zille relishes that kind of gutter politics. I think she is trying to reverse that image, especially among black voters, of being in a timid little party from the suburbs that if you shout at them they run away".

Indirect speech does not give the subjects a voice; the journalist rather mediates their voice. Thus, Zille and De Lille are not given an opportunity to rebut or agree with what is being said; the reader is given the opinion of the analyst and report of the journalist.

Zille and De Lille were also given the chance to articulate their positions using their own voices in quotations. Zille was quoted in the *Sunday Times* of 14 February 2009 commenting on her party's prospects of winning: "This fluidity creates significant opportunities to win and not only be in the opposition."

De Lille is quoted in the *Sowetan* of 11 February 2009 describing her party's capability to participate in the election: "The Independent Democrats have come of age. We have developed our own machinery over the past two years to reach the capacity required to double up our votes."

The dominance and inequality was reproduced by sub-editors, chief sub-editors and editors in the headlines referring to Zille as a stronger contender than De Lille. The headlines that focused on the competition between the DA and ID in the Western Cape for coloured voters also suggested that De Lille's victory was dependent on the coloured constituency that could relate to her as a coloured person.

Zille was represented by reporters as a potential winner in the Western Cape because she just needed to secure the black and coloured votes to win; the white voters had already identified with her because she was white.

#### **b. 5.8.6.4 War metaphors and connotations**

The headline "ID leader enters Cape fray: Election Race: De Lille up against Boesak", describes De Lille as entering the competition of the elections, with her

competitor being Boesak, (*Citizen*, 2 March 2009). The headline, “De Lille rocket for ‘baasskap’ DA” (*Business Day*, 20 April 2009) suggest that De Lille is launching an attack on the DA for their *baasskap*. The headlines cited above suggest that De Lille was depicted as on an attack and competing aggressively against the main opposition in the Western Cape.

The headline, “The art of Helen Zille's offensive” from the *City Press* ( 26 April 2009) infers that Zille has a talent or craft of being repulsive which has a negative connotation.

“DA's Zille slams Bam outburst. Zille: Rude: DA leader. ‘shattered over vote comment” (*Citizen*, 4 March 2009) suggest that Zille rebukes IEC chair’s emotional reaction of stating that , “South Africans living abroad have a right to vote because they ran away and bitch about the crime in the country”. The word ‘slams’ suggest that aggression and fighting from Zille, it has a negative connotation about her way of reacting to negative comments.

“DA leader’s attack on ANC hots up: Zille says corrupt, ignorant leaders have failed the poor”, (*Star*, 21 April 2009). Here Zille is referred to as critical of the opposition party and how they have served the poor, this is a continuation of a negative insinuation that Zille is ready to fight the opposition and is aggressive with her campaign.

*The Star’s* (16 April 2009) use of the metaphor “Root out corruption” in a headline suggests Zille is person who wants corruption to be completely eliminated and this is described metaphorically.

The headline “DA keeps IEC on straight and narrow” in the *Business Day* of 4 March 2009 indicates that Zille has a moral and ethical approach to her party’s conduct toward the electoral commission’s conduct.

“Zille in air blitz on Zuma”, (*The Times*, 15 April 2009) is a headline that suggests that Zille is metaphorically referred to as launching an airstrike on an enemy aircraft, which is metaphorically the leader of the opposition party, Jacob Zuma.

The headline “Zille zaps accused number 1” (*The Times*, 20 February 2009) is another suggestion that Zille destroys accused number 1. It is followed by another one that says, “Zille lashes out at ‘knee-jerk’ Boesak” in the *The Times* (12 March 2009): suggests that Zille is attacking opposition party leader Boesak and this is consistent with headlines cited earlier in this section.

To refer to Zille’s success in the Western Cape. The headline “Cape voters propel Zille onto bigger stage (*Sunday Times*, 26 April 2009): Voters take Zille onto a higher level” and “Western Cape does the Zille Swing” (*Mail and Guardian*, 29 April 2009) suggest that Western Cape voters take Zille’s side and possibly give her votes. There reporters use phrases to explain Zille’s success such as “higher level” and “Zille Swing”.

The use of the words “Zille under siege: ANC meet her Western Cape ascendancy with race politics and threats to mobilise”, (*Sunday Times*, 3 May 2009) in a headline suggests that Zille is being attacked by the opposition using race-based politics. This could be a response to her criticism of the ANC. The reporter also suggest that Zille is at risk of being comprised by threats and negative references to racial dynamics in the Western Cape.

## 5.9 Broad thematic CDA

A broad CDA thematic analysis is outlined in the table below and indicates the themes that emerged during the analysis in relation to the specified headings in the table. The analysis also indicates that some headings had only one theme, while others had several themes.

The CDA was also conducted utilising headings, for which questions were added during the analysis. Below is an outline of the headings and questions asked:

1. Identify the communicator – who wrote the article?
2. The social role of the communicator – what was being reported?
3. Context of the communication – when did the communication happen – prior, during or after the election period?
4. Style of communication based on context – is the reporting analytical or factual?

5. Power or control relations (dominance) within the discourse – who dominates the articles; who is the main subject?
6. Broad meaning of the discourse (detailed or abstract; positive or negative etc.) – what is the broader meaning of the content of the article and is it written in a positive, neutral or negative tone?
7. Structure of the discourse (Us vs. Them; narration used: positive/negative information etc). – who is the discourse on and what does it broadly say?

**Table 7: Critical Discourse Thematic Analysis**

Identify the communicator	The social role of the communicator	Context of the communication	Style of communication based on context	Power/control relations (dominance) within the discourse	Broad meaning of the discourse (detailed/abstract; positive/negative etc.)	Structure of the discourse (Us vs. Them; narration used; positive/negative information etc
Journalists /reporters and sub editor	Reporting on the elections	Days after election announcement	Factual reporting	Power relations between candidates: Zille and De Lille	Discourse is neutral and factual	Positive information is given on Zille's efforts during her campaign in the headlines;
Zille	Analysis on the elections	Prior to the election	Analytical reporting by reporters Reporters quoting analysts	Zille dominating the narrative : the language she uses with voters and commentary on the ANC	Discourse was negative in articles on intra party relations or commentary	us vs. them when reporting on Zille and De Lille competing for voters
De Lille	Update on election campaigns  Outlining party manifesto and commenting on the opposition party or their leader	Days before the election  Days after elections	Stereotypical reporting  Sensational reporting by reporters	Journalist dominating the narrative with their views on Zille of De Lille		Negative information on Zille vs. Zuma

### 5.9.1 Summary of findings from broad thematic CDA

The analysis indicates that the main communicators were the journalists, Zille and De Lille. In certain instances, comments from analysts were utilised to

provide an overview of the performance of Zille or De Lille in the election and their leadership characteristics.

The journalist, as the communicator, was reporting in a stereotypical manner on the election campaign and this was done using the style of analytical and general reporting, or updates on the election campaign. Furthermore politicians as communicators were outlining their campaigns by articulating the contents of their manifestos; rebutting the views that their campaigns were race-based; and providing commentary on the opposition party.

The communication took place prior to, during and after the elections. Most of the communication took place prior to the election period, from 11 February to 26 April 2009. In addition the reporting was mixed and Zille and De Lille were directly quoted. Reporting was done in a mostly factual way. It was and sometimes negative and rarely positive. The structure of the reporting contained an “us versus them” dynamic in terms of racial categories, ethnicity and language.

### **Conclusion of analysis**

The content analysis indicates that Zille received more coverage than De Lille. The articles that contributed to the high volume of coverage of Zille were gender-blind. Both Zille and De Lille were subjected to subtle and blatant stereotypes.

Secondly CDA indicated that word choice and the use of specific words to create phrases in the form of metaphors, oxymorons, connotations, hyperbole and puns were used in reference to gender, race and class. The dominant recurring themes were mainly on gender, followed by race and class.

The recurring themes in the category of race, class and gender indicate that female political candidates are often stereotyped, with references being made to their image during campaign trails. Furthermore, Zille’s looks were used to represent her feminine features, such as her blonde hair and the use of red lipstick. There was also criticism of her use of Botox. The reporters also focused on her clothing and appearance when she was addressing audiences. There was no mention of De Lille’s appearance or looks.

Zille was represented as a woman acting as a leader in a masculine job, this was done especially in articles when she was commenting on the ANC or the ANCYL was commenting on her leadership approach. Her leadership qualities were mentioned minimally. There was no mention of De Lille's leadership qualities. The articles insinuated that Zille's husband, deputy party leader and youth brigade members were her aides. There was no mention of De Lille's husband and no reference to other leaders in her party; often the reporters referred to the fact that the party was young and was a "one-woman show", which she refuted by often stating that she was the first female leader of a political party.

Neither Zille or De Lille were represented as equal to other candidates in the election campaign. War metaphors were used to depict the strategic approach of both Zille and De Lille during their campaigns, which suggested that both women were combative and aggressive. Their leadership credentials, political experience and competency as candidates were not mentioned in the coverage.

Metaphors were used by the various journalists to refer to the racial dynamics of the voters. The various articles contained metaphors that were to be interpreted by the reader, who was socialized in the context of the South African political landscape and race relations.

The analysis of the heading and text in the articles indicates that more coverage was given to Zille, as outlined in the section on headlines – 86% of the headlines mentioned her name and only 16% referred to De Lille by name. Most of the headlines indicated that there was hidden meaning in the word choices, mainly through the use of connotations and metaphors.

There was mention of the language used by both De Lille and Zille when addressing various audiences during their campaigns. In South Africa, language assists with denoting race, because most white South Africans do not speak indigenous languages and are predominantly associated with two languages; Afrikaans and English. South Africa has 11 official languages, namely English and Afrikaans, as well as those classified as indigenous: IsiZulu, IsiNdebele, IsiXhosa, IsiSwati, Setswana, Sesotho, Sepedi, Xitsonga and Tshivenda.

The discourse was also mixed in terms of reporting. Both Zille and De Lille's voices were used by reporters because they often quoted them, but they also paraphrased them frequently.



## CHAPTER 6

### *Discussion of main findings*

#### **6. Introduction**

This chapter comprises a discussion of the main findings that were reported in chapter 5. The previous chapter provided insight into how 100 newspaper articles represented Zille and De Lille during the 2009 South African national general election period.

The findings respond to the main and ancillary questions of the study:

How did the English newspapers in South Africa represent Hellen Zille and Patricia De Lille during the 2009 general elections?

Did the English national daily, weekly and weekend newspapers cover Zille and De Lille in a manner that highlighted their race, class and gender at the expense of their leadership qualities during the 2009 South African general election?

#### **6.1 Gender stereotyping and leadership traits**

The recurring words and themes emanating from the content analysis and CDA indicate that the message conveyed via reporters by Zille in the articles speaks to canvassing voters for the DA; thus she is subtly and explicitly represented as the leader of the DA, commanding the ship and being the party's main messenger or chief spokesperson.

The CDA further indicates that power was tilting towards Zille; she was guaranteed to win the election in the Western Cape because she was represented as a serious contender. The CDA of headlines in chapter 5 indicates how often headlines were used to suggest Zille's possible victory in the elections, such as "We are ready to govern – if you'll let us, says Zille" and "Cape voters propel Zille onto bigger stage".

The voice of an analyst was used to outline Zille's campaign strategy and the word choices included the use of metaphors in her speeches, such as "Zille should now

abandon the harsh rhetoric of her campaign and try to build bridges with Zuma and the ruling party”. Words were also used to indicate her competence, such as “Helen Zille’s campaign was spot on”. A *Sunday Times* (14 February 2009) reporter described her leadership traits and credentials by saying, “Zille comes with an enviable track record: feisty, independent journalist, activist in the trenches and MEC for education in the Western Cape, where her drive and intellect won her praise, even from her political opponents.”

The findings suggest that newspapers could be utilising different categorisations of gender representation for Zille than those used for the analysis: gender blindness, subtle stereotyping, gender awareness or blatant stereotyping.

The dress code mentioned in the articles indicated that the reporting was also focused on her physical appearance and sense of dress. An article that refers to Zille's husband ironing her T-shirt insinuates that she could be dominant and her husband subservient. The Gender Links classification system would categorise this citing as the reporter writing from a gender-awareness perspective, because Zille’s husband ironing her T-shirt challenges the stereotype of women being responsible for household chores.

The content analysis and critical discourse analysis findings answer the main question with reference to the representation of Zille. They indicate that a gendered narrative was executed through word choices such as “Botox”, “red lipstick”, “wearing a pink suit” and “unpainted nails”, “snappy new Zille image a hit” and “blonde hair”. The reporters mentioned her gender indirectly, and they used specific symbols to indicate her gender, her dress code, her grooming and her use of beauty treatments.

The CDA findings show how Zille’s leadership qualities were presented. Prevailing masculine narratives of war and combative language were present in word choices in the headlines, and the text of the articles made inferences about Zille’s leadership style and strategy in leading the DA during the election campaign. This was evident in wording such as “Firebrands on the warpath. On the eve of this week’s election we followed ANC president Jacob Zuma and DA leader Helen Zille on their campaign trails”; “Zille under siege” and “The art of Helen Zille’s offensive”; “The

DA strategy makes it the first party to win a province from the ANC”. The reference to Zille as an "Iron Lady" and “Sun Tzu” in a political context suggested that Zille’s leadership style was aggressive and she approached the elections like an army general or military strategist.

In comparison to Zille, De Lille’s role as leader of the ID was not overtly reported on. Similarly to the reporting on Zille, an analyst commented on her political strategy in the elections and utilised a narrative that stereotyped female leaders by suggesting that they play in the arena of male-centric politics using the phrase, “instead she decided to play with the big boys”.

There was a common approach to representing her and Zille as combative and aggressive. One headline read, “*Battle for Western Cape no beauty contest, says De Lille*”. However, the aggression was represented as more subtle than Zille’s. In comparison, De Lille’s voice was used to report neutrally on her leadership traits and credentials, and she was quoted in an interview reflecting on her leadership skills, saying that she chose to call herself, “first woman leader of a political party”, “powerful but not powerful to build this party alone”. De Lille was also represented as ambitious in a headline that indicated her voting target in the election: “We’ll get a million votes, says De Lille”.

There was reference to only De Lille’s physical features, in the phrase “earlier, she wiggled her hips to the music of the Rockets band”.

## **6.2 Race, class and language**

The questions indicate that the issues of race, class and language were not foreseen initially, when the study was conceptualised, as reflected in the research questions and rationale for the study; however they were often a critical feature in the reporting on Zille and De Lille. In several articles, they were both reported as canvassing black and white voters. Thus, the racial profile of their audiences was explicitly mentioned by the reporters.

Zille and De Lille were also cited as speaking to potential voters in churches, community halls, and stadiums, which suggested that they interacted with a multi-racial or multi-ethnic audience and a mixed range of classes.

There is a suggestion from the findings in chapter 5 that, for politicians to win the national election, they would need the vote of the majority, the majority being black citizens who are likely to be based in the townships and rural areas. However, the Western Cape is slightly different because it is densely populated by black Africans and coloureds; therefore the narrative on Zille and De Lille in the articles analysed was supplemented by the demographics of the Western Cape.

It was expected by the reporters that the ANC would rule the province on the support of black African and coloured voters, and that the DA led by Zille had the majority of support from white and some coloured voters.

The findings also suggested that there were almost two extremes in the content; the race of voters was a recurring theme, but the gender of the candidates was not mentioned in the articles, although indirect inferences were made to their gender.

In the case of Zille, the race of voters she canvassed to vote for the DA was explicitly mentioned, because she was reported as wooing black and coloured voters. The reference to Zille targeting either black or coloured voters was significant in the analysis.

The race of the voters was a prominent and recurring theme in the reporting. There was a strong focus in the reporting on how they were targeting potential voters that belonged to a specific race. Zille was reported as attracting coloured and black voters, and De Lille's race was compared with that of coloured voters.

De Lille's party, the ID, was the first party formed to obtain the coloured vote in the Western Cape. The ID was seen as destabilising the voting hegemony between the DA and the ANC. The analysis indicates that most reports had a narrative on the "battle" for the Western Cape between the DA, ANC and ID.

Van der Pas and Aaldering (2020:119) argue that, "women are thought to be better at dealing with compassion issues such as poverty". This applies to Zille and De Lille, because they were also represented with compassionate traits toward the poor; this was part of how they were represented in the category of class. De Lille's position on class and compassion was highlighted in the headline, "De Lille: Gap

between rich and poor must go” and Zille’s is referred to in the headline “Zille makes good on promise to old destitute North West Woman”.

## Conclusion

Zille received more coverage than De Lille, with 86% of headlines mentioning Zille’s name and 14% containing De Lille’s name. The figures in chapter 5 indicate the number of articles dedicated to Zille vs. De Lille and the number of articles that mentioned them both or quoted them.

Several factors could have contributed to Zille receiving more coverage than De Lille. One of the main ones is that Zille had made herself accessible to the media to gain exposure in the newspapers and used the resources at her disposal to ensure that she received coverage, such as allowing journalists on her jet and giving interviews during the campaign period. De Lille refers to her minimal media campaign in this manner in an interview in the *Mail & Guardian* (2 April 2009): “I can’t be blamed if the media don’t cover ID events.” “We also don’t issue hundreds of media statements every day – we pick our issues carefully”. The general policy in the media that more coverage is given to the bigger parties, less to the smaller ones. In other words, the amount of coverage depends on the size of the party.

The reporting also suggests that Zille had sufficient funds for her campaign. She was often reported as campaigning across the length and breadth of South Africa, which requires resources. This suggested that Zille had a well-resourced campaign, which included a jet plane: “Zille’s jet-propelled, weeklong whistle stop campaign tour of the country, which saw her visit towns in eight of the nine provinces”, ( *The Times*, 21 April 2009).

The findings also suggest that there was an intersecting of race, class and gender in reporting on the two politicians as candidates. Race, and gender were embedded in the reporting on Zille, who was referred to as “white” in one of the articles, signifying her racial category.

The results of the elections are summarised to indicate Zille’s support as per racial group, which was described using phrases such as “Zille’s reorientation of the party towards a racially-inclusive message”.

Furthermore, Zille's efforts to win black voters were covered extensively. However, the race marker was not explicit because “black” in the context of the new South Africa is a broadened term, according to the Constitution, that includes coloureds, Indians and Chinese.

The phenomenon of women in leadership positions in South African political and social arenas has been a focus since South Africa’s democratic dispensation in 1994 and the media play a significant role in advancing the agenda of transformation and women empowerment. Coverage of female leaders in the arena of finance, health care and environment related issues has a potential to expand the scope of how media influences representation of women across various fields.

Zille and De Lille were reported explicitly as taking a particular position of importance, such as competing in an election to obtain the position of premier in a province – or even president, should their party win the national election.

In the reporting on Zille and De Lille, the media excluded the socio-political environment in some articles on the 2009 election concerning the formation of the parties led by women during that period.

In the findings on omission of facts in CDA, factors that could have been included in the reporting were the fact that women have never been leaders in the political arena and at the forefront of leading a political party. Moreover, when the reporters referred to various locations at which Zille and De Lille were campaigning, there could have been consideration in the articles on the fact that South Africa was a racially divided country in 1994, and that social cohesion or racial integration was still to be attained.

In relation to omissions, there was a sharp display of gender blindness in stories on Zille and the perpetuation of stereotypes. The reporting also indicated a use of gender-biased language and the reporters’ lack of awareness of gender dynamics when reporting on Zille as a political leader and contender in the election.

In considering the ancillary question, of whether the English national daily, weekly and weekend newspapers cover Zille and De Lille in a manner that highlighted their race and gender at the expense of their leadership qualities

during the 2009 South African general election, the analysis indicates that the English national daily, weekly and weekend newspapers highlighted Zille and De Lille's race directly as a "white" or "coloured" woman only once.

The newspapers, however, did highlight their gender at the expense of other qualities, which were not mentioned consistently, such as leadership qualities. Reference to their gender was often embedded in language that represented them as aggressive and combative. Zille's gender was highlighted more than De Lille's and this was done using stereotypical language with reference to Zille's clothing, appearance and dress.

## CHAPTER 7

### *Conclusion And Recommendations*

#### **7. Introduction**

This chapter concludes with a general discussion and recommendations of the study. This study examined the newspaper representation of Zille and De Lille during the 2009 national general elections. It employed a qualitative research approach through its utilisation of content analysis and critical discourse analysis. 100 news articles were selected from 13 South African English newspapers.

#### **7.1. Discussion**

The theory underpinning this study; feminist media studies is concerned with challenging the culture industry's misrepresentation of women and studying women as subjects in the media. Feminist media studies theorists have often criticised that women are made objects by the way media represents them. Women are underrepresented in the political arena in South Africa as well as in South African English newspapers. This underrepresentation is without the fact that women have a role to play in democratic processes such as elections and the findings of the study give a perspective on this assertion.

The findings have addressed the gaps in the knowledge existing by adding a South African perspective, more importantly with the addition of an intersectional lens of race, class and gender of the political candidates. The literature review in Chapter 2 concluded that there is an inadequate share of female politicians' voices in the South African media and that women politicians are marginally quoted or reported on, but they have also been given low coverage during election campaign periods. The findings indicate that De Lille was subjected to low coverage during the election as opposed to Zille who numerically received more coverage.



The findings confirm the existing theories of feminist media studies, African feminist media studies and intersectionality. The findings concur with feminist media studies theorists who have often criticised media for making women objects and representing them in a stereotypical manner as media is a powerful platform that influences public perceptions. The findings challenge the theories by showing that the articles do not make emphasis of the personal attributes of Zille and De Lille that would mark them as women. The findings indicated that reference not made to De Lille personal and physical attributes in a significant way and Zille was subjected to some coverage of her beauty treatments, looks and dress sense.

Mannya's (2013) study partially replicates the findings in this study as its findings indicated that reference was made to Mazibuko's race, gender, and personal and physical attributes. Mazibuko's gender also was slightly more of an element than her race, and her leadership capabilities were not even considered by reporters.

The findings of the study indicated that coverage was not centred on social and welfare issues such as education, health care and shelter which are viewed as feminine issues and not as Ngubane's (2017) findings suggested in his study of coverage of female politicians during local government elections in the that in *The Witness* newspaper.

The findings indicate that language was used to perpetuate subtle stereotypes through the use of tone, choice of language including metaphors in headings. Additionally, it can be seen that the blatant and subtle stereotypes from the content analysis were supported by the results of critical discourse analysis indicators of omissions of voice and also who is depicted as being in power, who is omitted from power and who is exerting power in the examined discourse.

The findings show that the recurring themes in the category of race, class and gender indicate that female political candidates are often stereotyped, with references being made to their image during campaign trails by media. The various articles contained metaphors that were to be interpreted by the reader,

who was socialized in the context of the South African political landscape and race relations.

The findings summarily focus on gender stereotyping and leadership traits; race, class and language .

Women are further stereotyped in terms of their appearance, gender and race when they use media as a platform for their participation in election campaigns. The changing landscape for women politicians in South Africa is significant, and this is evident in various changes that have taken place since the 2009 election to date; women such as Helen Zille have led the DA, and Patricia De Lille is now leading the Good Party, media has played a significant role in outlining these changes and further using various forms of coverage to represent the changes that have occurred.

The 2009 election occurred after South Africa's 15 years of democracy. The election was the country's 4th democratic national general election of post-apartheid South Africa. Previously in apartheid South Africa, black people were excluded from voting and between 1994 and 2002, no political party was led by a woman.

Fifteen years after democracy also signals the same number of years for democratic or liberal media practices in the print media sector of South Africa. As an expanding industry newspapers such as *The Times* were launched by 2009, whilst others had been in existence for decades and the editors and journalists had also become more racially diverse. The newspapers were edited by males. However, the coverage was done by both male and female journalists. The 2009 election was also the 3rd election that journalists would have covered with females being at the helm of political leadership, albeit in the previous elections they were canvassing for their parties as members who were on the nomination list for parliament and not as leaders of political parties. Prior to the 2009 election journalists would have reported on male leaders only and on women in the dominant political parties who would be represented in the cabinet or national assembly.

The question provoked by this study is whether English daily, weekly and weekend newspapers were biased towards Zille and De Lille. The findings suggest that Zille received more coverage than De Lille from all the papers. Zille was quoted and indirectly referenced as a source more than De Lille. The language that was used by reporters to intentionally or unintentionally reproduced racial and gender stereotypes that are embedded in South African society which also find themselves reflected in media coverage of De Lille and Zille during the 2009 elections.

Based on the outcomes of the qualitative content analysis, there is an indication that the dominant voices referring to Zille and De Lille are those of political analysts and journalists. The coverage of Zille indicated that there was a specific focus on her dress, which is found to be common in previous studies conducted on coverage of female politicians in the press, thus suggesting that there was blatant stereotyping towards Zille more than De Lille.

The reporting on Jacob Zuma in the articles covering De Lille and Zille is an indication of how blatant stereotypes emerged in the reportage of the 13 English newspapers analysed for this study.

Lastly, the gender-blind articles indicate that there was some open prejudice and ridicule of Zille and De Lille by the reporters. The study helps to engage with the challenge of media stereotyping messages created by the media which can influence attitudes and opinions about candidates contesting in an election. The findings indicate that this can be problematic, because readers might be unduly influenced by the media in terms of how they perceive female politicians.

## **7.2. Recommendations**

For future studies on the representation of female political leaders in South Africa by the media, it is recommended that they should explore the gender of journalists who were covering Zille and De Lille and other female politicians contesting in national or party elective conferences. In studying the gender of the journalists who were covering Zille and De Lille among others, the researcher will explore if the gender of the reporter had any influence on how they reported

and whether reporter's gender had an influence in their bias or gender-sensitive reportage.

In the future, scholars could include the feature-length articles that were written by Zille and De Lille or other female politicians, editors and political analysts giving their opinions on the election for a similar study. The opinion pieces by lined by these could give a different perspective to the approach of the study or results and findings. The some opinion pieces by editors and political analysts could give insight into the posture of the newsroom decision-makers (editors) and public commentators (analysts) on Zille and De Lille in the context of their performance during national general elections or elective conferences.

The treatment of Zille and De Lille in the media, particularly the press or newspapers as indicated in the findings of this study, could be motivated by their political 'stance', in particular, what they both represented politically, racially and as leaders.

It would also be worth it for future researchers to find out, the sensational story angles on beauty treatments and dress sense of female politicians are part of the package they are selling, thus seeking to influence the journalist, sub-editors, and editors to pursue representing them in a certain manner. Furthermore, would the same packaging applied by a female who focuses on her looks be applicable for one who appeared to be more focused on the content of her party's manifesto which appeared to be represented through, honesty rather than public relations tactics.

Power of media coverage and power over voters by media are potential areas of study in the future of gender and media studies in Southern Africa and across the globe.

### **7.3. Significance of the study**

The current researcher anticipated, as indicated in chapter 1, that the findings of this type of study could add to the existing body of knowledge on African feminist media studies, and studies on gender and media, and its outcomes could benefit media practitioners. The results of the study indicate that its outcomes can be

useful for media practitioners to be mindful of how they represent female candidates, because the findings suggest that there were some blatant stereotypes, subtle stereotypes, gender blindness and gender awareness in the reporting. South African newspapers generally abide by the rule that race, gender, etc. should not be mentioned unless they are relevant to content of the story (as in it being relevant to mention that Zille and De Lille were targeting specific racial groups). The fact that this principle has held, for the most part, is a positive finding, because it shows immense improvement in newspaper reporting in this country in terms of race and gender issues. An examination of representation of women in other political positions such as; minister, mayor or speaker of parliament will also broaden the perspective of this study in future.

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