

DECONSTRUCTION OF GENDER STEREOTYPES IN THE MEDIA: AN  
ANALYSIS OF MEDIA FRAMING OF WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP POSITIONS IN  
PARLIAMENT AND STATE-OWNED ENTERPRISES (SOE'S) IN NAMIBIA

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## **ABSTRACT**

The study examines the power the media play in driving public perceptions and makes a cogent case to challenge the traditional gender stereotypical frameworks assigned to women in media reportage in politics and corporate business. The study analysed gender stereotypical frameworks in the Namibian print media on women in leadership positions in Parliament and State Owned Enterprises (SOEs) by employing the triangulation method of using both the quantitative and qualitative tools of analysis of data collected from news articles in four newspapers, namely: *The Namibian*, *Namibian Sun*, *New Era* and *Windhoek Observer*, for a period of seven years (2013-2019). The study established that, among others, women in leadership positions in both Parliament and SOEs are targets of gendered stereotypes and the Namibian print media are more prone to discuss women in leadership's behavioural and character traits, name-calling is recurrent, their position of power is challenged, their competency is questioned and masculine frames are reinforced. The study recommends that media houses endorse policies that can heighten and deconstruct the language used in media reportage on women in leadership positions in Parliament and SOEs. The public sector and civil society need to reinforce policy direction on gender through on-going training courses for journalists to periodically resuscitate gender-awareness in their writing. Government needs to introduce a national drive to popularise the National Gender Policy and address patriarchal attitudes, while universities and colleges need to incorporate gendered media studies into their curriculums.

**Keywords:** Agenda setting; media framing; gender stereotypes; Namibia, gender and media, gender and representation, gender research

## **DEDICATION**

First and foremost, I dedicate this study to the Almighty God for giving me the wisdom and guidance to complete this thesis.

I would also like to dedicate this study to my father, Mr Benjamin Kazondovi, who has always inspired me since my childhood to believe that education comes first and is the greatest equaliser.

Also, I would like to dedicate this study to my friend, Ms. Foibe Phillipus, who has always been an inspiration and moral support since my undergraduate studies.

In addition, I would like to dedicate this study to my beautiful daughters, Diamanté and Berlin whose unconditional love kept me going when it felt impossible.

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I am very thankful to the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences for their tough but constructive criticism of my work without fear or favour when at times I could only sigh with disillusionment, wondering if I would ever be able to complete this thesis.

My sincere gratitude goes out to my family and friends who had to endure my absence as I embarked on this mammoth task of completing this thesis.

Last but not least, only through His grace was I able to complete this thesis. I praise the Lord for allowing me to keep my sanity during very trying times.

## **DECLARATION**

I, Frances Magreth Nunuhe hereby declare that this study is a true reflection of my own research, and that this work or part thereof, has not been submitted for a degree in any other institution of higher education.

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

ACC	Anti-Corruption Commission
GAMAG	Global Alliance on Media and Gender
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
ILO	International Labour Organization
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union
ISA	Ideological State Apparatuses
LAC	Legal Assistance Centre
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MICT	Ministry of Information, Communication and Technology
MVA	Motor Vehicle Accident Fund of Namibia
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NTA	Namibia Training Authority
PACE	Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe
PLAN	People's Liberation Army of Namibia
SADC	Southern-African Development Community
SOEs	State-Owned Enterprises
SWAPO	South West Africa People's Organisation
SPYL	SWAPO Party Youth League

UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
VVTC	Valombola Vocational Training Centre
WTO	World Trade Organisation

<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS</b>	
<b>ABSTRACT .....</b>	<b>i</b>
<b>DEDICATION.....</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENT .....</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>DECLARATION.....</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS .....</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>LIST OF TABLES .....</b>	<b>xi</b>
<b>LIST OF FIGURES .....</b>	<b>xiii</b>
<b>LIST OF APPENDICES .....</b>	<b>xiv</b>
<b>CHAPTER ONE .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY.....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>1. Introduction .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>1.1 Orientation of the study .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>1.2 Statement of the problem.....</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>1.3 Objectives of the study .....</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>1.4 Significance of the study .....</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>1.5 Limitations of the study .....</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>1.6 Delimitations of the study .....</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>1.7 Definitions of key concepts .....</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>1.7.1 Agenda Setting .....</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>1.7.2 Culture .....</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>1.7.3 Content analysis .....</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>1.7.4 Discrimination.....</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>1.7.5 Dominant Ideology.....</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>1.7.6 Feminism.....</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>1.7.7 Framing.....</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>1.7.8 Gender.....</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>1.7.9 Gender roles .....</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>1.7.10 Gender mainstreaming.....</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>1.7.11 Gender stereotypes .....</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>1.7.12 Hegemony .....</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>1.8 Summary .....</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>CHAPTER TWO .....</b>	<b>16</b>

<b>LITERATURE REVIEW</b> .....	<b>16</b>
<b>2.1 Introduction</b> .....	<b>16</b>
<b>2.2 Understanding the power and effects of the media</b> .....	<b>16</b>
<b>2.3 Culture, subordination of women and the media</b> .....	<b>20</b>
<b>2.4 Objectives of the study</b> .....	<b>23</b>
<b>2.4.1 The frequency and extent to which women in leadership positions are stereotyped in media reportage</b> .....	<b>23</b>
<b>2.4.2 The common gender stereotypes used in the media about women in leadership positions</b> .....	<b>28</b>
<b>2.4.3 The common stereotypical frames used in print media towards women in leadership positions</b> .....	<b>33</b>
<b>2.4.4 Agenda setting in the media and influence on public opinion about women in leadership positions</b> .....	<b>41</b>
<b>2.5 Feminism</b> .....	<b>48</b>
<b>2.5.1 Feminism and agenda setting</b> .....	<b>50</b>
<b>2.5.2 Feminism and media framing</b> .....	<b>51</b>
<b>2.6 Theoretical framework</b> .....	<b>52</b>
<b>2.6.1 Agenda setting theory</b> .....	<b>52</b>
<b>2.6.2 Framing theory of the media</b> .....	<b>54</b>
<b>2.6.3 Feminist theory</b> .....	<b>55</b>
<b>2.7 Summary</b> .....	<b>56</b>
<b>CHAPTER THREE</b> .....	<b>57</b>
<b>RESEARCH METHODOLOGY</b> .....	<b>57</b>
<b>3.1 Introduction</b> .....	<b>57</b>
<b>3.2 Research Design</b> .....	<b>57</b>
<b>3.3 Population</b> .....	<b>58</b>
<b>3.5 Research procedure</b> .....	<b>59</b>
<b>3.6 Data analysis</b> .....	<b>61</b>
<b>3.6.1 Quantitative content analysis</b> .....	<b>61</b>
<b>3.6.2 Qualitative content analysis</b> .....	<b>62</b>
<b>3.6.3 Framing analysis</b> .....	<b>63</b>
<b>3.7 Research instruments</b> .....	<b>64</b>
<b>3.8 Research ethics</b> .....	<b>65</b>

3.9 Summary .....	65
<b>DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS.....</b>	<b>66</b>
4.1 Introduction .....	66
4.2 Case studies .....	67
4.2.1 Case study 1 - Katrina Hanse-Himarwa.....	68
4.2.2 Case study 2 - Pendukeni Iivula-Ithana.....	69
4.2.3 Case study 3 - Margaret Mensah-Williams.....	70
4.2.4 Case study 4 - Sara Naanda .....	71
4.2.5 Case study 5 - Theo Namases.....	72
4.2.6 Case study 6 - Maria Nangolo-Rukoro .....	73
1.3 Presentation of Results.....	73
4.3.1 The frequency and extent to which women in leadership positions are stereotyped in media reportage. ....	78
4.3.2 Common stereotypes used in the Namibian print media towards women in decision-making positions in both the public (Parliament) and SOEs sectors. .....	90
4.3.3 Establish the common frames used in the media about women in leadership positions in both parliament and State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs). .....	96
4.3.4 The media sets the agenda for the public’s attention in its pattern of news coverage that has the possibility of influencing public opinion about women in leadership positions.....	112
4.4 Summary .....	118
<b>CHAPTER FIVE.....</b>	<b>119</b>
<b>INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS .....</b>	<b>119</b>
5.1 Introduction .....	119
5.2 Frequency and extent to which women in leadership positions are stereotyped in media reportage.....	120
5.3 The common gender stereotypes used in the media about women in leadership positions in both parliament and State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs).121	
5.4 The common gender frames used in the media about women in leadership positions in both parliament and State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs). ....	127
5.6 Summary .....	137
<b>CHAPTER SIX .....</b>	<b>138</b>
<b>SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....</b>	<b>138</b>

<b>6.1 Introduction .....</b>	<b>138</b>
<b>6.2 Summary of findings .....</b>	<b>139</b>
<b>6.2.1 The frequency and extent to which women in leadership positions are stereotyped in media reportage. ....</b>	<b>139</b>
<b>6.2.2 The common gender stereotypes used in the media about women in leadership positions in both parliament and State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs). ....</b>	<b>139</b>
<b>6.2.3 The common stereotypical frames used in the Namibian print media towards women in leadership positions. ....</b>	<b>140</b>
<b>6.2.4 The media’s agenda for the public’s attention in its pattern of news coverage that has the possibility of influencing public opinion about women in leadership positions.....</b>	<b>142</b>
<b>6.3 Recommendations .....</b>	<b>143</b>
<b>6.3.1 The frequency and extent to which women in leadership positions are stereotyped in media reportage. ....</b>	<b>143</b>
<b>6.3.2 The common gender stereotypes used in the media about women in leadership positions in both parliament and State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs). ....</b>	<b>144</b>
<b>6.3.3 The common frames used in the Namibian print media towards women in leadership positions.....</b>	<b>146</b>
<b>6.3.4 The media’s agenda in its pattern of news coverage that has the possibility of influencing public opinion about women in leadership positions. ....</b>	<b>147</b>
<b>6.4 Conclusion .....</b>	<b>148</b>
<b>6.5 Further research.....</b>	<b>150</b>
<b>References .....</b>	<b>151</b>
<b>APPENDICES .....</b>	<b>173</b>
<b>Appendix 1: Coding scheme for newspaper content analysis: .....</b>	<b>173</b>
<b>Appendix 2: List of newspaper articles .....</b>	<b>184</b>
<b>Appendix 3: Letter of ethical clearance.....</b>	<b>193</b>

## LIST OF TABLES

<b>Table 4.1:</b> Total number of newspaper articles .....	74
<b>Table 4.2:</b> Total number of newspaper articles about MPs: 48.....	75
<b>Table 4.3:</b> Total number of newspaper articles about CEOs/MDs: 45.....	76
<b>Table 4.4:</b> Frequency of the common stereotypes found in The Namibian about Hanse- Himarwa.....	79
<b>Table 4.5:</b> Frequency of the common stereotypes found in The Namibian about Mensah- Williams.....	80
<b>Table 4.6:</b> Frequency of the common stereotypes found in Namibian Sun about Hanse- Himarwa.....	82
<b>Table 4.7:</b> Frequency of the common stereotypes found in New Era about Hanse- Himarwa.....	83
<b>Table 4.8:</b> Frequency of the common stereotypes found in New Era about Pendukeni Iivula-Ithana.....	84
<b>Table 4.9:</b> Frequency of the common stereotypes found in New Era about Mensah- Williams.....	85
<b>Table 4.10:</b> Frequency of the common stereotypes in Windhoek Observer about Hanse- Himarwa.....	86
<b>Table 4.11:</b> Frequency of the common stereotypes found in the Windhoek Observer about Mensah-Williams:.....	87
<b>Table 4.12:</b> Frequency of common stereotypes about Hanse-Himarwa.....	88
<b>Table 4.13:</b> Frequency of the common stereotypes about Iivula-Ithana .....	89
<b>Table 4.14:</b> Frequency of the common stereotypes about Mensah-Williams .....	89
<b>Table 4.15:</b> Frequency of the common stereotypes about Namases .....	90
<b>Table 4.16:</b> Frequency of the common stereotypes found about women in the newspapers.....	90
<b>Table 4.17:</b> The most common stereotypes found about Hanse-Himarwa in the four newspapers.....	91
<b>Table 4.18:</b> The most common stereotypes found about Iivula-Ithana.....	92
<b>Table 4.19:</b> The most common stereotypes found about Mensah-Williams.....	92
<b>Table 4.20:</b> The most common stereotypes found about Namases .....	93

<b>Table 4.21:</b> The most common stereotypes found about women in decision-making in the four newspapers. ....	94
<b>Table 4.22:</b> The common frames in The Namibian about Hanse-Himarwa .....	97
<b>Table 4.23:</b> The common frames in the The Namibian about Iivula-Ithana. ....	98
<b>Table 4.24:</b> The common frames in The Namibian about Mensah-Williams.....	98
<b>Table 4.25:</b> The common frames in The Namibian about Sara Naanda .....	100
<b>Table 4.26:</b> The common frames in Namibian Sun about Hanse-Himarwa .....	103
<b>Table 4.27:</b> The common frames in Namibian Sun about Iivula-Ithana.....	103
<b>Table 4.28:</b> Common frames in Namibian Sun and New Era about Sara Naanda.....	104
<b>Table 4.29:</b> The common frames in the New Era about Hanse-Himarwa .....	104
<b>Table 4.30:</b> The common frames in the New Era about Iivula-Ithana. ....	105
<b>Table 4.31:</b> The common frames in the New Era about Mensah-Williams.....	106
<b>Table 4.32:</b> The common frames in the Windhoek Observer about Hanse-Himarwa..	106
<b>Table 4.33:</b> The common stereotypes found about Iivula-Ithana.....	107
<b>Table 4.34:</b> The common frames in the Windhoek Observer about Mensah-Williams	107
<b>Table 4.35:</b> Common frames in the Windhoek Observer about Sara Naanda. ....	108
<b>Table 4.36:</b> Common frames about Katrina Hanse-Himarwa.....	109
<b>Table 4.37:</b> Common frames about Pendukeni Iivula-Ithana .....	109
<b>Table 4.38:</b> Common frames about Margaret Mensah-Williams.....	110
<b>Table 4.39:</b> The common frames about Naanda in the four newspapers .....	110
<b>Table 4.40:</b> Common frames about Theo Namases .....	111
<b>Table 4.41:</b> Common frames about Maria Nangolo-Rukoro .....	111
<b>Table 4.42:</b> The common frames found about women in leadership.....	112
<b>Table 4.43:</b> Number of articles on women in leadership .....	113
<b>Table 4.44:</b> Type of articles in which women leaders are covered .....	114
<b>Table 4.45:</b> Themes of articles .....	115
<b>Table 4.46:</b> Types of sources.....	116
<b>Table 4.47:</b> Where sources are quoted in articles.....	117
<b>Table 4.48:</b> Proportion of opinion of leader quoted.....	118

**LIST OF FIGURES**

**Figure 4.1:** Total number of newspaper articles ..... 73  
**Figure 4.2:** Total number of articles about MPs ..... 74  
**Figure 4.3:** Total number of articles about CEOs/MDs ..... 75  
  
**Figure 4.4:** The most common stereotypes found about women in decision-making positions in both the public (parliament) and SOEs ..... 94

**LIST OF APPENDICES**

**Appendix 1:** Coding scheme.....170  
**Appendix 2:** List of newspaper articles .....181  
**Appendix 3:** Letter of ethical clearance .....190

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY**

#### **1. Introduction**

This chapter begins by presenting the orientation of the study and underlining the importance of the research, while giving background information. The chapter also gives credence to previous studies done and indicate the gaps thereof. Recent developments are reviewed in this chapter, while the research objectives and significance of the research are outlined. In addition, the statement of the problem is presented followed by highlighting the significance of the study. The chapter will give an explanation of the limitations and delimitations encountered during the process of data collection and a review of the findings. Finally, a clear definition and meaning of key concepts used are given.

#### **1.1 Orientation of the study**

In 1987, the United Nations (UN) statistics indicated that women constituted a mere 7.1 per cent of representatives in parliaments in sub-Saharan Africa, while 60 per cent of all countries had no female ministers and on average no more than four women held a ministerial post (Geisler, 2004, p. 9).

But this picture has changed since 1999 where statistics have shown a sweeping rise of women to positions of power with the figure of women elected to parliament in sub-Saharan African countries having increased to an average 11.5 per cent (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 1999, as cited in Geisler, 2004, p. 9). Decades of organising and lobbying for gender equality by women NGOs in the region seem to have had an impact on the Southern-African Development Community (SADC) to issue a Gender and

Development Declaration, which committed its heads of state to achieve at least a 30 per cent representation of women in political decision-making by 2005.

The SADC Gender Protocol provided that by 2015, all countries shall have endeavoured to enshrine gender equality and equity in their Constitutions. (Groettinger, & Grange, 2015, p. 16). The document also recommended that broadcasters reinforce the development and implementation of gender mainstreaming policies at all levels by 17 August 2015.

In 2014, 30 strategic partners for the 50/50 campaign attended the Namibia SADC Gender Protocol Summit and Awards 2014 50/50 in Windhoek, Namibia demanding a strong post-2015 agenda (Gender Links, 2016). The post-2015 gender agenda identified a need for State Parties to encourage the media to give equal voice to women and men in all areas of coverage.

Earlier than that in December 2013, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and partners also gathered media organisations, media professionals, academics, policy-makers, civil society groups, and development agencies in Bangkok for a Global Forum on Media and Gender. The forum took the 1995 Beijing Declaration as its reference point and resulted in the setting-up of a pioneering Global Alliance on Media and Gender (GAMAG).

The aim of GAMAG was to ensure constructive dialogue between media partners and civil society and enable all stakeholders to collectively give momentum to women's access to expression and decision-making by promoting a gender-inclusive media and communication environment (UNESCO, 2014).

In Namibia, the Congress of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) epitomised the greatest opportunity for female politicians to heighten their representation in Parliament in June 2013 as the party adopted the 50/50 gender quota. The Congress selected a higher percentage of women candidates in Parliament, which saw an increase of women representation in Cabinet to 41 percent in 2015 from the 24 percentage representation prior to the 2014 national elections (Lowe-Morna, Rama, Makamure & Makaya-Magarangoma, 2013, p. 83).

Concurrently, a small fraction (around 21 percent) of Namibian women also rose to executive positions as managing directors (MDs) and chief executive officers (CEOs) in State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs), among others. Out of a total of 72 public enterprises, women took up at least 15 positions in leadership roles over the years.

Recently, the President of Namibia, Dr Hage Geingob in his latest appointments showed again a commitment to gender equality in representation to the National Assembly when on 22 March 2020 he appointed four women and four men - representing the 50 percent gender parity (New Era, 2020).

Furthermore, the President appointed nine (9) out of twenty-one (21) female Cabinet Ministers and eleven (11) out of twenty-one (21) female Deputy Ministers when he announced his new Cabinet of Ministers. This roughly amount estimate to 42.8 percent of women appointed to the position of Minister and 52 percent of women appointed as Deputy Ministers.

There is a view that if politics and business are to serve national interest, then its leadership composition should be illustrative of the people it serves. Women in Namibia make up more than 51 percent of the population, hence, it is only fair that they are equally

represented in public institutions, which demonstrates a greater connection between the public and its leaders.

The adoption of the National Gender Policy of 1997 was one of the milestones for women rights and gender equality in Namibia, which would see several strategic actions implemented, such as the policy objective on gender to promote women's access to information and communication technology and eliminate the negative portrayal of women and girls (Ministry of Gender Equality and Child Welfare, p. 34).

However, patriarchy still remains very deep-rooted in the Namibian society and there is evidence that women continue to be persuaded, manipulated or coerced to follow oppressive cultures, prejudices and other discriminatory practices, which contribute to be barriers in their career achievements.

A Legal Assistance Centre (LAC) report (2017) confirmed that women and girls still rely on and perpetuate societal perceptions that women are subservient to men (p. 186).

This position is articulated by several Namibian authors who contend that patriarchy still exists in some Namibian societies, especially in rural settings and many women are marginalised by culture, which, irrespective of laws in place protecting the rights of all citizens, women continue to be culturally oppressed (Andima & Tjiramanga, 2014, p. 78).

While Namibia has heightened its representation of women in leadership positions and was one of the first SADC countries that signed and ratified the SADC Gender Protocol, according to Shejvali (2013), reportage remains male-dominated. Studies also indicate that despite gains from Namibia's progressive constitution, discriminatory practices, social norms and persistent stereotypes continue.

Media discourse on females in leadership roles in Namibia tend to often deconstruct the language used to portray women through a number of stereotypical frameworks that denigrate the important roles they play in the political and corporate business arena, while reinforcing female traditional gender stereotypes.

For the purpose of this study, women in leadership positions are all female Members of Parliament and women who are the top echelons of SOEs, designated as CEOs and MDs or any other equivalent title.

The issue of framing in the media and stereotyping of women is not new as Namibian women have for long experienced injustices created by past socio-economic, political and cultural inequalities which existed in the Namibian society (Ministry of Gender Equality and Child Welfare, 2010, p. 9). The gender policy advocates for the promotion of women's access to information and communication technology and the elimination of negative portrayal of women and girls (p. 34).

However, the Namibian media seem to actively reinforce gender stereotypes - whether consciously or sub-consciously - that affect women's advancement as females in leadership roles' competence are often questioned and suppositions are formed that suggest women are not capable of managing politics or corporate businesses.

Media discourse in Namibia appear to be playing against the targets set by the Namibian National Gender Policy 2010-2020 to achieve the creation of a society in which women and men enjoy equal rights and opportunities to participate in and contribute towards political, social, economic and cultural development in Namibia (Ministry of Gender Equality and Child Welfare, 2010, p. 10).

There is evidence of stereotypes of women in general, but it is the reinforcement of traditional gender stereotypical roles and the male dominant voice in the media that impact the perception of how the public view a woman and a man in leadership positions in relation to their sex.

Several cases have pointed to stereotypes and framing of female leaders and such types of news reports may be more prevalent as regards to women who head SOEs and female Parliamentarians.

In SOE's, a small number of Namibian women also rose to top positions, but many have either been terminated or forced to resign, which some critics have described as victimisation and discrimination by male-dominated boards.

Some women delegates at the International Women's Day commemoration in Windhoek in 2016 expressed their concern that it "was not a difficult thing to get top jobs, but to maintain it, one needed to work twice as hard as men" (Haidula, 2016).

Martha Namundjebo-Tilahun, the Chairperson of the United Africa Group, who runs a multi-million dollar business empire condemned the suspensions of the women CEOs and argued that this has shown how difficult it is for Namibian women to advance in leadership and corporate executive positions (Namundjebo-Tilahun, n.d).

Namundjebo-Tilahun (n.d) protested on her website that the suspensions were fuelled by sheer male chauvinism "and probably a deliberate attempt by some men who are uncomfortable to see women leading national institutions."

Most of the data on gender which can be found in the literature pertain to gender based violence and framing of women in general, however, none of the studies have focused on the media framing of women in leadership positions in the public sector in Namibia. There is extensive literature on gender in Namibia, such as the framing of violence against women in print media (Nzuma, 2015), objectification and sexualisation of women in the Namibian mainstream print media (Van Wyk & Mwilima, 2015), and Namibia gender analysis (Legal Assistance Centre, 2017).

Also, gender imbalance has been the topic of much condemnation of many civil rights groups, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and feminist groups. Several studies by Gender Links have established that women and men in news stories are often treated differently, displaying significant gender bias.

This study sought to analyse media discourse in the Namibian press on women in leadership positions and deconstruct the language used to frame them, identify recurring patterns and gender stereotypical frameworks that are purported about women and how that affect women's ambitions and advancement in leadership roles in politics and in the corporate business world in Namibia.

## **1.2 Statement of the problem**

While stereotyping of women in politics and in the public sector has existed for quite some time, media reportage seem to entrench and reinforce gender stereotypical frameworks of women in leadership positions in the public sector. The overarching problem that prompted this study is the perceived way women in leadership positions in Parliament and

in SOEs are framed in the media and how the media reinforces traditional gender stereotypical roles that may jeopardise women advancement in their careers.

Several studies by Gender Links (2011) have established that women and men in news stories are often treated differently, displaying significant gender bias, but none have focused on the stereotyping and framing of women in leadership positions in the public sector. Besides, the Gender Links (2011) study also contend that the tendency to identify women based on their physical attributes persists, while women also tend to be portrayed more as victims, their age is mentioned and they are identified by family status (Walter, 2011, p. 25).

It is in this light that this study wishes to highlight the evidence of the stereotypical frameworks used in media reportage on women in leadership positions in Parliament and in SOEs through content analysis. By studying these frameworks, this study can assist the policy on gender in Namibia to eliminate the stereotypical constructions of women in the media and to improve on reportage that can promote the attainment of gender equality and women empowerment.

### **1.3 Objectives of the study**

The objectives of the study are to:

1. Determine the frequency and extent to which women in leadership positions are stereotyped in media reportage.
2. Assess the common gender stereotypes used in the media about women in leadership positions in both parliament and State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs).

3. Establish the common gender frames used in the media about women in leadership positions in both parliament and State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs).
4. Investigate if the media sets the agenda for the public's attention in its pattern of news coverage that has the possibility of influencing public opinion about women in leadership positions.

#### **1.4 Significance of the study**

An understanding of the effects of media framing of women in leadership is needed to endorse policies that can heighten gender equality and bring about women's empowerment, revise methods in place that can circumvent preconceived biases or notions about the sexes and in turn influence how journalists report news. It is hoped that this study would help to influence implementation of a gender policy in all newsrooms, see a monitoring system in place to heighten awareness and bring about greater balance and fairness in the coverage of both men and women.

This study has the possibility to change the direction on how women in leadership positions in the public sector are presented in the media, reinforce policy direction on gender and give impetus to the need for the media to improve on reportage that can promote the attainment of gender equality and women empowerment. Since no previous studies have been done on media framing of women in leadership positions in Namibia before, the findings of this study will go a long way to providing data that address any areas requiring redress in women empowerment. The study will benefit institutions such as the Ministry of Gender Equality and Child Welfare, the Legal Assistance Centre (LAC), Gender Links and also gender advocacy groups and activists, media students, media

houses and media practitioners, including Journalism/Media Studies Departments at academic institutions in Namibia and elsewhere.

### **1.5 Limitations of the study**

This study will only be done in Windhoek due to time limitations and financial constraints, more so, as over 90 percent of media houses are based in Windhoek, which would give a fair pool of contents to analyse.

### **1.6 Delimitations of the study**

This research will not include electronic media, such as radio, television and online media. It will also not include or analyse gender equality in general, employment equity in general and entertainment and advertising. The study will not cover other topics on gender, such as gender-based violence (GBV) in general.

## **1.7 Definitions of key concepts**

The following key concepts are defined and clarified in this section as they pertain to the context of this study:

### **1.7.1 Agenda Setting**

The art or science of controlling an agenda so as to maximize the probability of getting a favourable outcome. As many social choice procedures have the property that a given set of preferences can lead to different outcomes if votes are taken in a different order, there is often scope for manipulative agenda setting. (Brown, McLean & McMillan, 2018).

### **1.7.2 Culture**

The ways of behaving and the ultimate goals of society; the norms and values of a society. Culture has been taken as constituting the way of life of an entire society, including the codes of manners, language, rituals, norms of behaviour, and systems of belief (Kent, 2007).

### **1.7.3 Content analysis**

Content analysis is a “method of analysing written, verbal or visual communication messages.” Content analysis is the study of recorded human communications such as dairy entries, books, newspaper, videos, text messages, tweets, Facebook updates etc. Being the scientific study of the content of communication, content analysis is actually the study of contexts, meanings, subtexts, intentions contained in the messages (Cole, 1988, as cited in Huma & Showkat, 2017).

#### **1.7.4 Discrimination**

Treating one or more members of a specified group unfairly as compared with other people. Discrimination may be illegal on the ground of sex, sexual orientation, race, religion, disability, or nationality (Gooch & Williams, 2015).

#### **1.7.5 Dominant Ideology**

Dominant ideology is a system wherein symbolic forms are used by those with power to establish and sustain relations of asymmetrical social domination. Socioeconomic elites are able to saturate society with their preferred ideological agenda because they control the institutions that dispense symbolic forms of communication, including the mass media (Thompson, 1990, as cited in Lull, 1995).

#### **1.7.6 Feminism**

A political, cultural, and economic movement that aim to establish equal rights and legal protections for women (Friedan, 2018).

#### **1.7.7 Framing**

The process by which some aspects of reality are selected and given greater emphasis or importance, so that the problem is defined, its causes are diagnosed, moral judgments are suggested and appropriate solutions and actions are proposed (Entman, 1993, as cited in Ardèvol-Abreu (2015).

### **1.7.8 Gender**

The notion of what it means to be male or female. Gender here expressed the acculturation of an individual into femininity or masculinity as practised in a given culture; that is, it was regarded as socially constructed, whereas sex was viewed as biologically given through female or male bodily traits (Griffin, 2017).

### **1.7.9 Gender roles**

The phrase gender roles describes norms of behaviour and attitudes in a given culture attributed to people on the basis of their sex to which people are expected to conform. While many cultures and contexts regard gender roles in binary terms, expecting females and males to behave in accordance with socially constructed prescriptions which differentiate between them, it is also the case that gender roles have changed over time (Griffin, 2017).

### **1.7.10 Gender mainstreaming**

A measure for promoting gender equality. It consists of assessing the implications of any action or policy on women and men with a view to establishing equality of opportunity for them. Such assessment should lead to the implementation of measures designed to combat any inequality observed, for example ensuring that women have equal pay for equal work (Griffin, 2017).

### **1.7.11 Gender stereotypes**

Preconceived ideas whereby females and males are arbitrarily assigned characteristics and roles determined and limited by their gender (European Equality Commission of the Council of Europe, 2015).

### **1.7.12 Hegemony**

The system by which social institutions are largely created and maintained by the dominant groups within particular historical, cultural and political environments and thus create cultural hegemony, which is “the process through which the interests of dominant groups become dominant by establishing their beliefs as common sense (DeFrancisco & Palczewski, 2007).

## **1.8 Summary**

This chapter presented the background to the study, the orientation of the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, significance of the study, limitation and delimitation of the study and definitions of key concepts. The next chapter discusses the literature review.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter will discuss the literature review as obtained from available books, journals, the internet and content analysis and more as per the objectives of the research. Stilwell (2000), posits that “a good literature review needs to indicate the different views, agreements, disagreements and trends of thought on the topic of research and be accurately portrayed and acknowledged in the text...” and that “a literature review needs to produce a conceptual framework and philosophical stances and theoretical assumptions and theoretical problems.” (p.173)

Some of the key concepts that will be discussed in this chapter include stereotypes, dominant ideology, hegemony, culture, effects of the media and media framing. The chapter will also discuss broad theoretical frameworks such as agenda setting, the framing theory of the media and the feminist theory. Furthermore, the chapter explores the literature by giving background of the vast body of literature in relation to the research topic and thesis. The chapter will draw discussions/arguments from previous studies on key concepts as per the objectives of the research. This chapter aims to clarify the meaning of some of the terminologies used to dispel previous misunderstandings.

#### **2.2 Understanding the power and effects of the media**

There is a vast body of literature on the power of the media, which gave birth to introspective models such as stereotyping theory, framing of the media and agenda-

setting theory to be discussed in this chapter. Extensive research on how the media traditionally reinforces certain norms and how that has influence on public perception has been done.

One of the most notable neutral interpretation of the effect of the media is Schramm's (1961) citation that "the media influence some people, some of the time, about some things" (Schramm et al, 1961).

Gerbner (1956) maintains that the process of perception is not simply a matter of 'taking a picture' of an event - it is a process of active interpretation as demonstrated in his famous General Model of Communication, which emphasises the dynamic nature of human communication.

A number of critics have challenged the views about the effect and power of the media, rejecting the notion that the media has enormous influence on public perception. Klapper (1960) argued that mass communication does not ordinarily serve as a necessary and sufficient cause of audience effects, but rather functions through a nexus of mediating factor (Klapper, 1960, as cited in McQuail, 1979, p. 10).

Another argument against the perceived power of the media is McQuail and Trenaman (1961) assertion that the mass media, primarily radio, film or print at the time most research was conducted, emerged as unlikely to be major contributors to direct change of individual opinions, attitudes or behaviour or direct cause of crime/disapproved social phenomenon (McQuail and Trenaman, 1961, as cited in McQuail, 1979, p. 10).

McQuail (1979) still maintained in later works that different research has not shown different media to be without effects, but it had established the primacy of other social facts and showed the power of the media to be located within the existing structures of social relationships and systems of culture and belief.

Van Dijk (1995) recently held that although the power of the media is generally symbolic and persuasive, in that it has the potential to control to some extent the minds of readers or viewers, it does not directly control their actions.

He further insisted that because the media usually lack access to the sanctions that other bodies such as the legal or bureaucratic-institutions may apply because of noncompliance, mind control by the media can never be complete.

Furthermore, Van Dijk (1995) upheld that media power was generally symbolic and persuasive, in the sense that the media primarily have the potential to control to some extent the minds of readers or viewers, but not directly their actions.

Harmonious with van Dijk's (1995) viewpoints is Scherer (1998), as cited in Wirth & Schramm (2005), who also refuted the elevation given to the media in terms of influence, asserting that there is not much of a difference between emotions developed during media reception and those that develop from everyday situations not influenced by media. According to Scherer (1998), people conceptualize media emotions as a result of a (normally unconscious) appraisal process.

The above objections must, of course, be considered, nevertheless, Martin's (n.d.) maintained that the media has enormous power and drew much emphasis on the

significance of semiotics. He argued that the uncovering of hidden meanings can play a crucial role in the furtherance of democracy and in the quest for a more just and ethically aware society (Martin, n.d., as cited in Fortner & Fackler, 2014, p. 56).

There has been much interest in the concept of semiotics, as defined by French semiotician Jacques Fontanille – “the ultimate goal of the semiotic enterprise that is ideological” (Fontanille, n.d., as cited in Fortner & Fackler, 2014). Fontanille articulates that the discipline seeks to bring into question the fundamental value systems underlying our societies and to open a pathway toward a new humanism.

Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913), who pioneered the semiotics discipline, made his case by emphasizing that words do not signify in isolation, but only in relationship to or in opposition to other words:

there can be no “up” without “down”

no “good” without “evil”

no “freedom” without “confinement”

no “winner” without a “loser” (de Saussure, n.d., as cited in Fortner & Fackler, 2014). p. 57).

Roland Barthes (1915-1980) took this further, by pointing out that language itself, through its codes and conventions, shapes reality and constructs values and ideologies (Barthes, n.d., as cited in Fortner & Fackler, 2014). He underlines cultural meanings as the basis of language.

Whereas there may be contestations about the effectiveness and power of the media as per the arguments presented by the different authors, Althusser (1971) allude that the media is definitely the most successful in the persuasion of social consensus on issues which they legitimise by their biased reporting when supporting or rejecting Repressive State Apparatus of courts, police, prisons and the military,

### **2.3 Culture, subordination of women and the media**

One of the earliest pioneers of cultural anthropology, British anthropologist Edward Tylor (1870) coined culture as that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society (Tylor, 1870, as cited in Spencer-Oatey, 2012, p. 1).

Ruth Benedict (1947), American cultural anthropologist and folklorist, took on a more concise definition when she wrote that “culture is more than a collection of mere isolated bits of behaviour. It is the integrated sum total of learned behaviour traits which are manifested by the members of a society” (Benedict, 1947, as cited in Bennett, 2015, p. 553).

Another American anthropologist, Geertz (1973) defined culture in more complex terms, described culture as "a historically transmitted pattern of meaning embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life"(p. 89).

There is considerable body of research on culture and pondering on a more current descriptive definition is linguist and sociologist, Helen Spencer-Oatey (2008) who made the submission that ‘culture is a fuzzy set of basic assumptions and values, orientations to life, beliefs, policies, procedures and behavioural conventions that are shared by a group of people, and that influence (but do not determine) each member’s behaviour and his/her interpretations of the ‘meaning’ of other people’s behaviour’ (Spencer-Oatey, 2008, as cited in Spencer-Oatey, 2012, p. 1).

There has also been much interest in culture and its relevance to women’s human rights. One of the earliest authors, American writer, social reformer and pioneer of modern feminism, Gilman (1911), highlighted how culture has been at the centre of women subjugation. In her book, ‘The Man–Made World’, she made a summation of how male-dominated culture has through the very social devices that keep it in place, conspired to produce greater human suffering than is truly necessary. In this landmark transcript, she explained how economic status, mobility and autonomy are at the root of the subjugation of women worldwide:

“All our human scheme of things rests on the same tacit assumption; man being held the human type; woman a sort of accompaniment and subordinate assistant, merely essential to the making of people. She has held always the place of a preposition in relation to man. She has always been considered above him or below him, before him, behind him, beside him, a wholly relative existence” (p. 7).

This skewed concept of power imbalances, resting on the subordination of women, has been the genesis of women subjugation since Gilman first articulated it in the early 20<sup>th</sup>

century.

This brings us to how culture filters itself into media. DeFrancisco and Palczewski (2007) draws attention to the issue of social institutions and their influence on society, who suggested that social institutions are largely created and maintained by the dominant groups within particular historical, cultural and political environments and thus create cultural hegemony, which is “the process through which the interests of dominant groups become dominant by establishing their beliefs as common sense” (p. 144).

Hodkinson (2011) observed that even when women appear to dominate media content, their role are subservient to those of men. From this, we can see again the predetermined cultural gender roles reflected in the media, as argued by Foucault (1990) and Butler (1990), that gender should be understood as a series of performances based on prevailing understandings of what it is to be male and female (as cited in Hodkinson (2011)).

Another more recent elucidation by Miranda (2005) in her paper “Impact of Women’s Participation in Decision-making,” reported that most women have been socialised into traditional roles in a patriarchal society and have integrated these traditional values of inequality between women and men (p. 4).

Miranda (2005) holds that there should be equal if not more work done to develop responsible citizenship among women and men relative to the work done to promote women’s leadership and participation in decision-making in public office.

## **2.4 Objectives of the study**

The objectives of this study were to:

1. Determine the frequency and extent to which women in leadership positions are stereotyped in media reportage.
2. Identify the common gender stereotypes used in the media about women in leadership positions in both parliament and State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs).
3. Establish the common gender frames used in the media about women in leadership positions in both parliament and State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs).
4. Investigate if the media sets the agenda for the public's attention in its pattern of news coverage that has the possibility of influencing public opinion about women in leadership positions.

### **2.4.1 The frequency and extent to which women in leadership positions are stereotyped in media reportage**

A number of studies globally have shown that there is frequency of gender stereotypes in media reportage. A research by the UN Women United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women spanning across more than 100 countries has found that 46 per cent of news stories in print and on radio and television, uphold gender stereotypes (UN Women n.d.).

The UN Women group assert that the media play a decisive role in either reinforcing or dismantling female stereotypes and stresses that the language, vocabulary and form of

communication used by the media create a social image of the representatives—and also the reality—of businesses and firms.

In the United States, Wood (1989) depicts media's representation of gender as follows:

White males make up two-thirds of the population. The women are less in number, perhaps because fewer than 10 percent live beyond 35. Those who do, like their younger and male counterparts, are nearly all white and heterosexual. In addition to being young, the majority of women are beautiful, very thin, passive, and primarily concerned with relationships and getting rings out of collars and commodes.

Wood (1989), emphasised how media insinuate their messages into our consciousness at every turn throughout our daily lives. First, she argued that women are underrepresented, which falsely implies that men are the cultural standard and women are unimportant or invisible. Second, she pointed out how men and women are portrayed in stereotypical ways that reflect and sustain socially endorsed views of gender, while the media equally distort reality in underrepresenting women.

According to Wood (1989) this constant distortion tempts us to believe that there really are more men than women and that men are the cultural standard.

She highlighted how typically men are portrayed as active, adventurous, powerful, sexually aggressive and largely uninvolved in human relationships, while depictions of women are as sex objects who are usually young, thin beautiful, passive, dependent and often incompetent and dumb.

Equally important, Wood (1989) contends how media images of women reflect cultural stereotypes that depart markedly from reality, where a woman may be strong and

successful if and only if she also exemplifies traditional stereotypes of femininity, subservience, passivity, beauty and an identity linked to one or more men.

In Europe, the Council of Europe - Women in Media (n.d) have critiqued how women represent only about a quarter of the persons heard, read about or seen in the news, while in media content, the status quo is often reinforced by perpetuating stereotypes and attitudes that condone discrimination and violence against women.

The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) also noted how women were the victims of sexist stereotypes in the media, where if not under-represented, they were invisible in the media. According to PACE, there is the persistence of sexist stereotypes in the media that hold women and men to traditionally assigned roles by society (Parliamentary Assembly, 2010).

In another study on media gender stereotypes in the UK, Williams (2018), investigated and compared newspaper coverage in *The Guardian*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Mirror* and *The Sun* about Margaret Thatcher and Theresa May during their first three prime ministerial weeks in 1979 and 2016, respectively. He found the UK politicians' gender to be emphasised, while the women were often regarded as novelties or trivialised as opposed to their male counterparts who were portrayed as the norm.

The study pointed out that while men are expected to adhere to the stereotypically masculine behavioural norms of politics, when women adhere to these norms they are perceived to be cold, aggressive, bossy or 'bitchy'. Contrastingly, women are caught in a double-bind because when they act too 'feminine' they are seen to be ineffectual, weak, incompetent and overly emotional, according to Williams (2018).

The study found that in the first three weeks of their respective terms as PMs, on average, Thatcher's gender was mentioned in 44 percent of the articles surveyed while May's gender was mentioned in 48 percent.

The female politicians were also referred to as girls, infantilising and patronising them. Williams (2018) asserts that this type of discourse or language denigrates their skills as successful politicians and prime ministers.

Studies in India have also shown the same trend of traditional gender stereotypes reinforced in the media. Kiprotich and Changorok (2017) found that in many communities in India, a girl child could be considered inferior to a boy child. This is based on the conscious and unconscious motives of someday "giving her away" and "saving for her dowry/marriage expenses" which may bring despair.

The study by Kiprotich and Changorok (2017) also found that within the African context, a study found gender stereotypes to be reinforced by cultural and socio economic features as depicted in the mass media. Within African culture gender roles manifest themselves from birth where subtle stereotyping begins where for a boy child, conscious and unconscious motives of having the family race continue through him, bring joy, while girls are viewed differently.

This notion is supported in a paper prepared by Gender Links (2015) for the African Union Specialized Technical Committee on Information and Communications (STC- IC), which states that while women represent more than half of the population in many African countries, they are underrepresented or misrepresented throughout all existing media whether online or offline, news media or entertainment.

The Gender Links study (2015) found that women voices were not heard, they were likely to be portrayed in a stereotypical manner and they were less likely to hold influential positions in the media and ICT.

The paper also noted that in Africa women's relative presence in the news has increased from 19 percent in 2010 to merely 22 percent in 2015.

In Southern Africa, Gender Links, the leading Southern African Women's Rights Organisation, further posits that women and men in news stories in Southern Africa are often treated differently, displaying significant gender bias (Walter, 2011, p. 24).

The study further contended that the tendency to identify women based on their physical attributes persists, while women also tend to be portrayed more as victims, their age is mentioned and they are identified by family status (p. 25).

In South Africa, according to the Gender and Media Progress Study by Gender Links (2010), women's voices are mostly likely to be heard in the "soft" areas, which include sex and sexuality (45 percent), gender equality (38 percent) and education (33 percent). Women's voices are least heard in topics such as sports (10 percent), mining and culture and tradition (15 percent) and economics (16 percent).

In Namibia, women are more likely to be portrayed as victims, model/beauty contestants, health workers and homemakers, while men's framing are as officials, policy makers, business and sports personalities (Lowe-Morna, Rama & Muriungi, 2005).

Gender Links holds in its Gender and Media Progress Study that stereotypical depictions of women and girls persist despite gains from Namibia's progressive constitution, (Groettinger & Grange, 2015).

According to the study, despite the fact that there are women working in the media in reasonable numbers in Namibia, news stories are still told overwhelmingly from a male perspective.

The study further states that women constitute only 19 percent of Namibian news sources, and the proportion has remained the same over the last 12 years. Advertising is the only genre where women and men are equally represented, however, unrealistic images and female stereotypes are frequently used for advertisement.

#### **2.4.2 The common gender stereotypes used in the media about women in leadership positions**

Lippmann (1922), as cited in Woods (2010), defined "stereotype" as a "distorted picture or image in a person's mind, not based on personal experience, but derived culturally." Lippmann held that the formation of stereotypes are driven by social, political, and economic motivations, and as they are passed from one generation to the next, they can become quite pervasive and resistant to change

With regard to gender stereotypes, the European Equality Commission of the Council of Europe (2015) defines gender stereotypes as preconceived ideas whereby females and males are arbitrarily assigned characteristics and roles determined and limited by their gender.

Several scholars have pointed to the prevalence of gender stereotypes in the media, such as McIntosh (2013) who asserts that female political leaders face increased media scrutiny, which is attributed to the media's adherence to gender stereotypes that favour men over women in positions of power.

Stereotypes, as Hodkinson (2011) puts it, may have an impact on the self-esteem, ambition and attitude to society of members of the stereotyped group themselves (p. 203). This pervasive stereotypes may have impact on people's self-esteem as they may start to associate themselves with the particular characteristics even when they do not aspire to them. Pickering (2001) emphasises that stereotypes are liable to render uniform everyone associated with a particular feature (Pickering, 2001, as cited in Hodkinson, 2011, p. 201).

With particular reference to gender stereotypes, Valenti (2008) makes an interesting submission about language use in her publication, 'He is a Stud, She's a Slut and 49 Other Double Standards Every Woman Should Know', illustrating how semantic asymmetries are still issues where gender inequalities are clearly seen:

“He is a politician, she's a fashion plate

He's angry, she's PMSing

He is the boss, she's a bitch” (Valenti, 2008, as cited in Mills and Mullany, 2011, p. 33-34).

Several studies have amply proven over the years that gender stereotyping in the media is pervasive and it is clear that either women are 'invisible' in media reports or are depicted in stereotypical ways.

In the United States of America, Wasburn and Wasburn (2011) studied the case of Sarah Palin's vice presidential campaign. Palin was a television personality, who was also the ninth governor of Alaska from 2006-2009 before she became the Republican Party nominee for Vice President in the 2008 election.

The two authors established five patterns of stereo types: (i) female candidates receive proportionally less coverage than male candidates; (ii) stories on female candidates focus more on aspects such as appearance and family; (iii) women are more likely to be trivialised and scrutinised in terms of their competence; (iv) women's policy positions on women's issues will be in focus, whether or not this is a policy area on which they stand; (v) and their potential influence if they were to win is questioned.

Baxter (2018), who studied how messages are constructed by means of gender and sexual stereotyping also argued that British newspapers often construct senior women in essentialist, reductive and/or sexualised ways despite women's increasing success in education and many careers. He opines that these media representations are potentially damaging to aspiring women as they send out messages that they are not suitable for leadership in a male world.

To illustrate this, Baxter (2018) applied the perspective of four women leader stereotypes (iron maiden, seductress, mother and pet) as originally developed by Kanter (Men and women of the corporation, Perseus Books, New York, 1993) to the discursive constructions of women leaders across different professions.

In many parts of Africa, there is limited empirical literature on how women are treated in media reportage as their presence is hardly visible. According to Holmes (2005), while

women are “increasingly crash[ing] through the glass ceiling and reach[ing] the highest levels in politics, government institutions and corporate organizations”, the media still present female political leaders as ‘a novelty’ (Holmes, 2005, as cited in Anderson, Diabah & hMensa, 2011).

Holmes (2005) noted that politics is still constructed in many societies in stereotypically masculine terms. In Africa, many of the studies have been based on news reports emanating from Europe, the United States, and Asia, while very little work has been done on news reports that are written by Africans or on African female leaders.

A study carried out by Anderson, Diabah and hMensa (2011) examine the African and international media coverage of the Liberian elections which brought to power Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, the first female president in an African nation.

The study did a comparative analysis between two key candidates in the election: Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf and George Oppon Weah. From the articles that were studied, it was found that the media made explicit mention of Johnson-Sirleaf’s appearance but nothing was said about Weah’s clothing in the 23 reports that were studied.

The study concluded that the focus by the media on such trivialities makes female politicians less appealing to the serious-minded reader or politician. Reference was also made to Johnson-Sirleaf’s marital or maternal role, while no mention was made of Weah’s paternal status.

Elsewhere in Africa, a study by Thuo (2012) indicates that there has been an increase in the media coverage of women in Kenya. However, Thuo (2012) has found that Kenyan

women parliamentarians still receive dismal coverage compared to their male counterparts and only make headlines when they are associated with controversy and corruption.

In Namibia, there has been indicative demographic shift in women's rise to positions of power, but there are uncertainties whether this increase of women has been anything more than mere symbolic gestures as the prevalence of media gender stereotypes that contribute to the antagonistic perception of women in leadership persist.

Previous research studies in Namibia have been done on women's representation in the media, gender mainstreaming, women's empowerment and the framing of violence against women, but the aspect of media framing and stereotyping of in Namibia has not been given much attention.

A study by Van Wyk and Mwilima (2015) established that media coverage was unbalanced and distorted against Namibian women and girls and called for the re-organisation of the inherent interpretative nature of reporting by journalists to avoid sensational imagery. The majority of participants in the research agreed that the Namibian media is inclined to misrepresent women.

A more recent study conducted by the Legal Assistance Centre (2017) titled "Namibia Gender Analysis 2017" concluded that despite the fact that there are women working in the media in reasonable numbers in Namibia, news stories are still told overwhelmingly from a male perspective.

This was further affirmed in an African Media Barometer Namibia (2015) where panellists also asserted that stories reported about the Namibian First Lady (Mrs Monica Geingos),

for example, focused more on the way she dresses, instead of concentrating on her vocation as having been an incredibly successful businesswoman.

The panelists agreed that women were often being consulted on or were reported on in relation to victimhood or issues that are stereotypically categorised as ‘female’ matters.

Gender stereotypes in the media work against the aims of the Namibian National Gender Policy (2010) which contends that women must not only be present in positions of power, but their voices must be heard as Namibia faces challenges of ensuring meaningful and substantive participation of women in decision-making roles (Ministry of Gender Equality and Child Welfare, p. 33).

The National Gender Policy also supports the SADC Gender Protocol Barometer (2015) which provided that by 2015, all SADC countries should have endeavoured to enshrine gender equality and equity in their constitutions (Groettinger & Grange, 2015, p. 16).

According to Walter (2011), identifying women by their family status and at the same time playing down their roles in their community masks women’s other identities as independent, autonomous beings active participants in the wider society beyond the home (p.26).

#### **2.4.3 The common stereotypical frames used in print media towards women in leadership positions**

Gamson and Modigliani (1989), as cited in de Vreese, 2005, p. 53, refer to frames as ‘interpretative packages’ that give meaning to an issue. According to the authors, at the

core of this package is ‘a central organizing idea, or frame, for making sense of relevant events, suggesting what is at issue’ (italics in original).

According to Entman (1993) “to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described.” (Italics in original) (Entman, 1993, as cited in Weaver, 2007, p. 143).

According to Ardèvol-Abreu (2015), frames draw attention to some aspects of reality at the expense of others, so “in order to define them we must take into account what is described and what is left out”. He maintains that framing is present in the mind of the journalist who writes the news report, but also in the news report that he builds, reaching the reader through a decoding process that is necessary to understand the news report and the reality to which it refers (p. 424).

In the same vein, De Vreese (2005), holds that one influential way that the media may shape public opinion is by framing events and issues in particular ways (p. 51).

When it comes to gender, Ryan (2013) defines media frames as stereotypes that society holds for a specific gender that are then applied to all members of that gender by the media. This confines those members to a specific role or type of coverage that is not necessarily appropriate or accurate. He further postulates that despite major shifts in the way that society views a woman’s role in the public sphere, the media continues to treat female politicians and candidates in traditional gender role frames (p. 13).

When it comes to politics, McIntosh (2013), proclaim that although the duty of journalism is to provide audiences with truthful representations of reality, the type

of coverage dedicated to female politicians, the use of positive and negative vernacular about a politician or a political party, or the amount of coverage given to political events impact how a public views a political leader or party.

This trend shifts the focus away from a woman's applicable skills and potential to insignificant themes that fail to take into account the nature and work of politics, according to McIntosh (2013).

McIntosh (2013) further argues that media framing is central to the problem of news reporting as it fails to focus on the relevant issues when reporting on political office bearers, specifically women.

She posits that it is clear that patriarchy is alive and well in the coverage of women in politics and continues to threaten women's success and ability when working in this field.

Hodkinson (2011) maintains that women feature in the media prominently, but their status as opposed to men is often of less importance. This view is congruent with Campus (2013) who postulates that even though there have been positive developments with more women being brought to the fore in politics, there has always been controversy in how they are covered in the news.

She points out that female political leaders face increased media scrutiny prevalent with gender stereotypes, focusing on what she wears, her hairstyle, while her emotional demeanour to tend to topical issues are overshadowed.

This is consistent with Sheila's (1983) views that women are generally looked at while their ideas tend to be ignored or debunked unless they reinforce existing beliefs.

Campus (2013) argues that the power of men has been public and visible, whereas when women had power, it was mostly covert and informal (Campus, 2013, as cited in McIntosh, 2013, p. 100).

This is particularly true, as Campus (2013), articulates that for the field of politics and government, where until the past century women exerted their political influence only as a result of private relationships, whether as wives or mistresses. The only exception to the rule was a small group of reigning queens who inherited the crown in the absence of a male heir (p. 100).

Bringing another aspect to the theory of framing is Myers (2008) who finds that when women in leadership positions conform to traditional female roles, they are seen as "too soft to be effective," but when they defy society's norms, "they are seen as 'too tough'".

Several studies have pointed to media framing of gender in the media. In the United States, Fox (2008) looked at the portrayal and framing of Sarah Palin and Hillary Clinton to identify if they were framed in the "double bind theory" as pronounced by Myers (2008), who theorised that "women are expected to act like men, and are then criticized for just that".

The theory postulates that when women in leadership positions conform to traditional female roles, they are seen as "too soft to be effective," but when they defy society's norms, "they are seen as 'too tough'" (Myers, 2008, as cited in Fox, 2008).

In the articles from three major newspapers, namely the *Washington Post*, the *New York Times* and *USA Today* that were analysed, Palin and Clinton were usually represented as extreme figures, falling in the category of “too soft,” or “too hard” while their families were included in a large percentage of their media coverage.

Fox (2008) found the articles about Palin focused more on personal traits and characteristics than they did on election issues such as foreign policy, taxes and spending, social ideals, or campaign finance issues, while reference were also made about her family life, notably her children and husband.

On the contrary, Clinton’s image was conflicted, with some articles presenting her as an accommodating candidate who can relate to her constituents and others showed her as a confrontational candidate who is impersonal and clashes with other candidates. Fox (2008) found that her husband, Bill Clinton was omnipresent in Hillary’s campaign coverage.

Fox (2008) inferred that media coverage of women in politics has evolved over the last half century, but the biases and stereotypes seen in both public relations materials and print journalism articles leads to the conclusion that women are still represented differently when it comes to national political campaigns.

In the UK, despite the legal barriers for the political representation of women having been removed, British politics is still far from achieving equal representation of the genders. According to Khan (1996), as cited in Markstedt (2007), media spends less time describing policy priorities of female candidates and more time discussing viability, character traits and appearance than for male candidates. In addition, media describes men

and women politicians' policy interests and character traits differently (Bystrom et al. 2004, as cited in Markstedt, 2007).

In New Zealand, Fountaine and McGregor (2003) examined the framing of women by the news media in both national and civic politics. It asked whether women have improved in terms of the quantity of coverage and whether the coverage has improved in relation to condemnation and trivialisation.

The paper found that the modern bias facing women in politics is that the media simply use traditional frames built around the dominance of men in coverage of women, making it difficult for women to be portrayed as anything other than political outsiders.

The Kenyan study by Thuo (2012) sought to find out how the Kenyan newsprint media framed 22 women parliamentarians in their coverage and remarkably found that the media in Kenya rarely use personal trait frames in the coverage of women politicians with only one MP who received coverage discussing her personality, such as being the "Iron Lady", "a reformist", "tough", "no-nonsense", "clean", "dependable".

Thuo's (2012) findings defied the norm in the way women are framed in the media and found that female MPs were covered in relation to politics, issues on corruption and reforms. She concluded that print media in Kenya does not necessarily use female or male trait frames significantly in coverage of female MPs.

But in Namibia, a study by Lowe-Morna, Rama and Muriungi (2005) found that women in the news in Namibia are more likely to be framed as victims, model/beauty contestants,

health workers and homemakers while men are framed as officials, policy makers, business and sports personalities.

In this study, several female politicians in Parliament and top managers in SOEs in Namibia who appear to have been targets of media framing and stereotypes are discussed in case studies.

#### **2.4.3.1 Media framing and hegemony**

Straubhaar (1991) defines hegemony as the power that one social group holds over others. This can refer to the “asymmetrical interdependence” of political-economic-cultural relations between and among nation-states or differences between and among social classes within a nation (as cited in Lull, 1995, page 31).

Another scholar, Hall (1985) defines hegemony as dominance and subordination in the field of relations structured by power (as cited in Lull, 1995, page 31).

He contends that hegemony is not direct stimulation of thought or action, but a framing of all competing definitions of reality within the dominant class’ range, bringing all alternatives within their horizons of thought (p. 33).

According to Hall (1985), using mass-mediated ideologies, the power structures transcend with messages that reinforce the status quo in public institutions, businesses, religious groups, the military and media, among others. Wood (1989) argues that ironically, while two-thirds of journalism graduates are women, they make up less than 2 percent of those in corporate management of newspapers and only about 5 percent of newspaper publishers ("Women in Media," 1988).

This gives impetus to Gender Links (2011) study that the same gender biases found in the institutions of society filter into media houses and newsrooms where men construct the rules and regulations and set the standard of what is newsworthy and what is good professional conduct (p. 49).

Walter (2011) stresses that it should be noted that where gender stereotypes are propagated in and through the media, they reinforce inequalities in gender power relations and provide justification for the perpetuation of discriminatory practices based on gender (p. 36).

Juxtaposing ideology against hegemony is Lull (1995), whose supposition is that dominant ideologies are cultivated hegemonically, contributing to the formation of mainstream consciousness.

Van Zoonen (1994), as cited in Walter (2011), has argued that the traditional science approach in news gathering with its emphasis on objectivity, value freeness and neutrality has been concerned with themes, theories and methodologies which have been shown to be male-biased in that particular experience of men has often been presented as having universal validity (p. 58).

Objectivity, value-freeness and neutrality are offspring of the hegemony mode of masculine modes of thinking that ignore women's themes and experience and denies the validity of "women's ways of knowing", noted Van Zoonen (1994).

In Namibia, much has been written on male hegemony, which has been central to the dominance and subordination of women, but not how that is permeated in the media. Links (2008) once purported in a newspaper article that the issue of women in the

Namibian media, especially in journalism, has become something of a political issue and for years now media organisations have been bombarded with the messages of gender mainstreaming and gender sensitivity.

But he found that though more women were enrolled in schools of journalism, female voices were oddly diminishing while more stereotypes were being presented in media coverage. Links (2008) made some thought-provoking submissions but congruent with the arguments of other authors on how hegemony has predisposed women in Namibia to embrace the status quo. He makes akin references of the paternalistic society we live in - the dominant and authoritative male voice – the unquestioning respect for authority that “the little girl” must conform to due to her apportioned gender role in society. Links (2008) argues that the pressure on women because of years of subjugation, “compounded by years of poor education, manifest themselves in low confidence levels in the young woman, especially the young black woman, that “by the time she steps into the journalism classroom or newsroom, submissiveness has been internalised.”

#### **2.4.4 Agenda setting in the media and influence on public opinion about women in leadership positions.**

The two most basic assumptions of agenda setting are: (1) the press and the media do not reflect reality; they filter and shape it; (2) media concentration on a few issues and subjects leads the public to perceive those issues as more important than other issues (Freeland, 2012). The time frame for this is one of the most critical aspects of the agenda setting role in mass communications.

According to McCombs and Estrada (1997), as cited in Kwansah-Aidoo, K. (2001), inherent in agenda-setting research is the assumption that at any given time people can talk about a set of issues that are important to them personally, and also to others that they know

Lippman (1922), as cited in Fortner and Fackler (2014) identified the setting for the news media's role in the formation of public opinion with the phrase "the world outside and the pictures in our heads" (p. 251). He made the argument that:

What we know about the world is largely based on what the media decide to tell us. More specifically, the result of this mediated view of the world is that the priorities of the media strongly influence the priorities of the public. Elements prominent on the media agenda become prominent in the public mind (as cited in McCombs', 1972, p.2).

Lippman (1922) suggested that there is a bridge between the media and the public, where the media transmits a version of the world to the public, who then form a mental picture, transcending as public opinion and behaviour.

This bears relevance to McCombs' (1972) later suggestions of agenda setting, stating that not only do people acquire factual information about public affairs from the news media, but readers and viewers learn from experience what value to ascribe to a topic on the basis of where the news item is placed in the news. He elucidated that newspapers provide a host of cues about the salience of the topics in the daily news – lead story on page one, other front page display, large headlines; television news also offers numerous

cues about salience – the opening story on the newscast, length of time devoted to the story. These cues repeated day after day effectively communicate the importance of each topic. In light of this, McCombs (1972), reasoned that the news media can set the agenda for the public’s attention to that small group of issues around which public opinion forms.

This implies that, as McCombs and Shaw (1972) put it: that “the media sets the public agenda in the sense that they may not exactly tell you what to think, but they may tell you what to think about.” The authors point out that in choosing and displaying news, editors, newsroom staff and broadcasters play an important part in shaping political reality.

This view is supported by Cohen (1963), who states that, “The press may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about.”

One classic example of agenda setting is gender influence on how reporters cover campaigns involving women candidates. In the US, Aday and Devitt (2011), as cited in Dunaway, Lawrence, Rose and Weber (2013), found that the press agenda focused on traits rather than the policy platforms when covering Elizabeth Dole in the US presidential run.

Dole ran for the Republican nomination in the US presidential election of 2000 but withdrew before the presidential nominating convention. This proved that women have to work harder to generate issues coverage because news professionals choose to focus on less substantive traits content (Dunaway et al., 2013).

Research has also shown that women journalists - along with women public officials – are under used as expert sources relative to men (Boutinger, 2015, as cited in Trucotte & Paul, 2015).

Grate et al. (2011), as cited in Trucotte and Paul (2015) also observed that more men than women cover presidential newsbeats and that stories produced by male reporters are featured more prominently.

In Africa, there is still a paucity of research regarding how the concept of agenda setting operates within the African media landscape. While two previous studies (Sikanku, 2010; 2011) have addressed the concept in Africa, the study argued that much may be gained from systematically subjecting the issue of media agenda setting to further imperial investigation.

However, there remains an absence or little empirical studies on agenda setting in the media in Africa and comparative work remains largely unexplored.

#### **2.4.4.1 Agenda setting and the dominant ideology**

The origin of ideology as a critical concept in social theory can be traced back to the late eighteenth century France (Thompson, 1990, as cited in Lull, 1995). Lull (1995) defines ideology as organised thought – complements of values, orientation and predispositions forming ideational perspectives expressed through technologically mediated and interpersonal communication. He maintains that ideology is never innocent and ideologies are implicated by their origins, their institutional associations and the purposes to which they are put, though these histories and relationships may never be entirely clear (p. 7).

Williams (1976) described ideology as a set of ideas which arises from a given of material interests or more broadly from a definite class or group (Williams, 1976, as cited in Lull, 1995). Most interesting for this analysis is the remarks by Thompson (1990) who explains that ideology can only be properly understood as “dominant ideology” wherein symbolic forms are used by those with power to establish and sustain relations of asymmetrical social domination. He argues that the socioeconomic elites are able to saturate society with their preferred ideological agenda because they control the institutions that dispense symbolic forms of communication, including the mass media (Thompson, 1990, as cited in Lull, 1995). Lull (1995) contends that “no individual person, social group or institution dispenses ideology as attractively and continuously as the mass media” (p. 31).

As Lull puts it:

Some ideological sets are elevated and amplified by the mass media, given great legitimacy by them, and distributed persuasively, often glamorously, to large audiences. In the process, selected constellations of ideas assume ever-increasing importance, reinforcing their original meanings and extending their social impact (p. 8).

According to Lull (1995) the ongoing manipulation of public information and imagery constructs, which helps to sustain the material and cultural interests of its creation is the resultant dominant ideology, where fabricators of dominant ideology draw their power from directly articulating their preferred systems of ideas .

This dominant ideology sieves itself into the media, as Van Dikj (1995) would argue that more or less subtly, the press and most other news media position themselves in all these power conflicts at the side of the dominant group, thereby confirming the status quo, legitimating inequality and reproducing the (in group) consensus on which they rest.

He points out that occasionally the news media may sustain the side of the subordinate groups but only “when a clear and powerful movement of (usually moderate) dissent has been established among the elites”. In that way they may become agents of change, but hardly ever initiate such change. Van Dikj’s (1995) evaluation of dominant ideology also illustrates how male dominated value structures dispense themselves in the media where male-dominated reporting dictates.

Walter (2011) infers that the world we live in is predominantly male and the absence of women is congruent with the reality as seen by news presented from a male-centred view. This speaks directly to society’s social patterns in Namibia, where the level of gender composition theatres itself in media houses as evidenced in its patriarchal social order.

#### **2.4.4.2 Agenda setting and framing**

There have been contestations as to whether agenda setting and framing are the same and can be used interchangeably or if they are complimentary.

McCombs, Llamas, López-Escobar and Rey (1997) have argued that framing is a natural extension of the agenda-setting model (McCombs et al., 1997, as cited in Ardèvol-Abreu, 2015, p. 426).

But not all scholars agree that second-level agenda setting is equivalent to framing, at least not to more abstract, or macro-level framing.

Weaver (2007) notes that whereas the “first level” of agenda setting is focused on the relative salience (usually operationally defined as perceived importance) of issues or subjects, the “second level” examines the relative salience of attributes of issues (p. 142).

This argument is further expounded by Jasperson, Shah, Watts, Faber and Fan (1998), who argued that “the traditional agenda-setting concept attempts to explain only why one issue becomes more important than another issue in the public’s mind; it does not explicitly focus on the nuances of coverage within an issue” (Jasperson et al., 1998, as cited in Linström & Marais, 2012, p. 22).

Whereas the “first level” of agenda setting is focused on the relative salience (usually operationally defined as perceived importance) of issues or subjects, the “second level” examines the relative salience of attributes of issues, as McCombs (2005) and Ghanem (1997), as cited in Weaver (2007), have described it in detail. These agendas of attributes have been called “the second level” of agenda setting to distinguish them from the first level that has traditionally focused on issues (objects), although the term “level” implies that attributes are more specific than objects, which is not always the case.

The above authors explain that the perspectives and frames that journalists employ draw attention to certain attributes of the objects of news coverage, as well as to the objects themselves, and some of these perspectives can be very general (e.g., a “Cold War” frame).

Gamson (1992), as cited in Weaver (2007), has gone a step further by breaking down framing in terms of a “signature matrix” that includes various condensing symbols (catchphrases, taglines, exemplars, metaphors, depictions, visual images) and reasoning devices (causes and consequences, appeals to principles or moral claims).

But a recent elucidation by Alvernia University (2018) puts agenda setting in its most simple terms: First, the media filters and shapes what we see rather than just reflecting stories to the audience. An example of this is seeing a sensational or scandalous story at the top of a broadcast as opposed to a story that happened more recently or one that affects more people, such as an approaching storm or legislative tax reform.

Second, assumption is that the more attention the media gives to an issue, the more likely the public will consider that issue to be important. Another way to look at it: Mass media organizations aren't telling us what to think or how we should feel about a story or issue, but are giving us certain stories or issues that people should think more about.

According to Alvernia University (2018), there is psychological and scientific merit to the agenda-setting theory. The more a story is publicised in the mass media, the more it becomes prominently stored in individuals' memories when they're asked to recall it, even if it doesn't specifically affect them or register as a prominent issue in their minds.

## **2.5 Feminism**

The definition of feminism is varying among scholars. Steiner (2014) defines feminism as an emancipatory, transformational movement aimed at undoing domination and oppression.

Giddens (2012) makes a distinction between liberal and radical feminism, defining the former as proposition of fundamental equality between women and men, which can be achieved by transforming social attitudes and practices to remove unfair discrimination, while he delineates radical feminism as a focus on analysing patriarchy: the system of domination of men over women, emphasizing women's role in biological reproduction, male violence against women and the sexual objectification of women.

Briefly, feminism reflects "a world view that values women and that confronts systematic injustices based on gender" (Chinn & Wheeler, 1985, p. 74).

According to Lay and Daley (2007), a feminist lens asks us to see individuals, groups, family, and organizations in their social, political, economic, ethnic, and cultural contexts, which produces potential for oppression that is rooted in gendered relationships.

Friedan (2018) describes the term *feminism as* political, cultural, and economic movements that aim to establish equal rights and legal protections for women.

According to Friedan, feminist history can be divided into three waves. The first wave, according occurring in the 19th and early 20th century, was mainly concerned with women's right to vote, while the second wave, at its height in the 1960s and 1970s, refers to the women's liberation movement for equal legal and social rights.

The third wave, beginning in the 1990s, refers to a continuation of, and a reaction to, second-wave feminism. Third-wave feminism began in the early 1990s, responding to perceived failures of the second wave and to the backlash against second-wave initiatives. The third-wave sees women's lives as intersectional, demonstrating how race, ethnicity,

class, religion, gender, and nationality are all significant factors when discussing feminism (Friedan, 2018).

### **2.5.1 Feminism and agenda setting**

Kenney (2003) questions why some issues surge to the forefront of our attention while others languish in obscurity struck by political scientists' shocking willingness to ignore women, women's issues, and the feminist movement, no matter how pertinent to the phenomenon being explored.

Despite a burgeoning body of literature on feminist social movements within history, political science and sociology over the last twenty-five years, scholars of agenda setting, public policy, and American politics more generally have largely ignored this work (Kenney, 2003).

In Kenya, many of the studies undertaken in the last two decades have found that though most women leaders have been setting some kind of an agenda as part of the process of seeking political office, few women candidates articulate that agenda in feminist terms, due to the predominantly patriarchal political context that remains intolerant to feminist agenda/ideology (Nzomo, 2011).

According to Nzomo (2011), the predominant discourse among gender/feminist researchers focusing on Kenya women's political participation, "is still preoccupied with the issue of access and presence; of obstacles and strategies of attaining the optimal numbers ("critical mass"): of women in political leadership, and less on the question of agenda setting and accountability."

### **2.5.2 Feminism and media framing**

Several scholars have inspected frames in the construction of news stories about feminism. Schreiber (2010) points out how feminists have frequently accused media outlets of not giving them enough coverage and/or portraying them negatively, similarly to the position of conservative women who have argued that media suffer from liberal biases. While some studies have addressed the larger question of media and ideological prejudices, none have examined how media report women's activism in comparative terms, according to Schreiber.

Critics to the positions of the former authors are Lind and Salo (2006), who preserve that although feminists are shown in a personalised and trivialised fashion and represented less often than "regular" women, feminists are less often victims, more often have agency, and more often are associated with the goals of the women's movement than regular women.

But Barnett (2005), Hardin, Simpson, Whiteside and Garris (2007); Vavrus, (2007) Williams et al. (2006), as cited in Hardin & Whiteside, (2009), argue that journalists' use of frames that reinforce gender-related myths in their reporting of events and issues greatly concern feminist media researchers, who contend that such frames impact social policy

decisions and reinforce commonsense assumptions that privilege men in the social hierarchy.

## **2.6 Theoretical framework**

The theoretical framework introduces and describes the theory which explains why the research is being conducted (Ngulube, Mathipa & Gumbo, 2015). The authors further explain that the theoretical framework is the structure that can hold the theory of a research study. The theories are formulated to explain, predict and understand phenomena, and in most cases to challenge and extend knowledge within the limits of the critical bounding assumptions. Other scholars like Ennis (1999, as cited in Nguluben & Mathipa) also share similar views that the development of a theoretical framework to guide one's research is the central piece in the research puzzle. King, Keohane and Verba (1994, as cited in Nguluben & Mathipa) argue that no empirical investigation can be successful without theory to guide the research's choice of questions.

In view of the importance of a theoretical framework, this study used the agenda setting, the framing theory of the media and the feminist theory as a lens to analyse the stereotypical frames used in the media.

### **2.6.1 Agenda setting theory**

The agenda setting theory was used in the current study, given the important role the theory plays in positioning the media agenda and shaping how the public perceives its prominence.

The Agenda Setting Theory was first introduced in 1972 in *Public Opinion Quarterly* by Drs. Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw. This theory was developed as a study on the 1968 presidential election where Democratic incumbent Lyndon B. Johnson was ousted by Republican challenger Richard Nixon. Known as the “Chapel Hill Study,” McCombs and Shaw surveyed 100 residents of Chapel Hill, North Carolina on what they thought were the most important issues of the election how that compared to what the local and national media reported were the most important issues (McCombs & Shaw, 1972, as cited in Freeland, 2012).

The principal outlines of this influence were sketched by Walter Lippmann in his 1922 classic, *Public Opinion*, which began with a chapter titled “The World Outside and the Pictures in Our Heads.” He noted that the news media are a primary source of those pictures in our heads about the larger world of public affairs, a world that for most citizens is “out of reach, out of sight, out of mind.”

According to Lippman (1992), what we know about the world is largely based on what the media decide to tell us. More specifically, the result of this mediated view of the world is that the priorities of the media strongly influence the priorities of the public. Elements prominent on the media agenda become prominent in the public mind.

The power of the news media to set a nation’s agenda, to focus public attention on a few key public issues, is an immense and well-documented influence, according to McCombs (1972). Not only do people acquire factual information about public affairs from the news media, readers and viewers also learn how much importance to attach

to a topic on the basis of the emphasis placed on it in the news. McCombs (1972) also emphasised how newspapers provide a host of cues about the salience of the topics in the daily news – lead story on page one, other front page display, large headlines, etc.

### **2.6.2 Framing theory of the media**

The theoretical framework is also rooted in the framing theory of the media, which meshes well with the definition of Ardèvol-Abreu (2015), who articulates that frames draw attention to some aspects of reality at the expense of others, so in order to define them we must take into account what is described and what is left out. He points out that framing is, thus, present in the mind of the journalist who writes the news report, but also in the news report that he builds, reaching the reader through a decoding process that is necessary to understand the news report and the reality to which it refers.

Ardèvol-Abreu (2015) further explains that any communicative text, either informative or persuasive, requires narrative structures to organise its discourse. In the case of the media, news stories appear to be systematised, based on narrative conventions that offer an explanation about who is doing what, and with what purpose.

While there is no unified definition of framing, some scholars have explored some delineations of the term, with one of the most productive researchers in framing theory, Entman (1993) defining framing as a process in which some aspects of reality are selected and given greater emphasis or importance, so that the problem is defined, its causes are diagnosed, moral judgments are suggested and appropriate solutions and actions are proposed (Entman, 1993, as cited in Ardèvol-Abreu (2015).

Also, Tuchman (1978) describes news as a window whose frame limits the perception of reality, by limiting the perception of different realities and focusing on a specific piece of it. As a result of these processes, some aspects of the reality perceived through the news will be more prominent than others (Tuchman, 1978, as cited in Ardèvol-Abreu (2015).

### **2.6.3 Feminist theory**

Feminist theory was also chosen as a theoretical framework as it focuses on analysing gender inequality. There are many definitions of feminism in sociology and philosophical literature. According to Crossman (2018) feminist theory is about viewing the social world in a way that illuminates the forces that create and support inequality, oppression, and injustice, and in doing so, promotes the pursuit of equality and justice for all. Also, he analyses the feminist theory as a major branch of theory within sociology that shifts its assumptions, analytic lens, and topical focus away from the male viewpoint and experience and toward that of women.

In doing so, Crossman (2018), articulates that the feminist theory shines a light on social problems, trends, and issues that are otherwise overlooked or misidentified by the historically dominant male perspective within social theory.

When it comes to politics, Khan (1996) argues that stereotypical news coverage is an obstacle for women candidates, but points out how the context of the election is of decisive importance for how the gender stereotyping of women politicians affect their likelihood of being elected.

## **2.7 Summary**

This chapter discussed the literature review, drawing on some key concepts such as stereotypes, dominant ideology, hegemony, culture, effects of the media and media framing. The chapter discussed the theoretical frameworks such as agenda setting, the framing theory of the media and the feminist theory. In addition, the chapter gave background of the vast body of literature in relation to the research objectives and also drew discussions/arguments from previous studies on key concepts.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents the research methodology that was applied for this study. According to Kothari (2004), research methodology is a way to systematically solve the research problem and it may be understood as a science of studying how research is done scientifically (p. 21). The chapter addresses the following areas of research: research design, population, sampling, research procedure, data analysis, research instruments and research ethics.

#### **3.2 Research Design**

The fundamental objective of the research was to establish the frequency and extent to which the media reinforce traditional gender stereotypical frames about women in leadership positions in both Parliament and State-owned Enterprises (SOEs) and how that may jeopardise women advancement in their careers.

Cresswell (2014) describes research design as a type of enquiry within qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods approaches that provide specific direction for procedures in a research study (p. 295). According to Greener (2008), choosing a proper design or strategy depends on factors including a research topic, audience for the research, time and resources and the kind of study considered appropriate for the topic (p. 38)

This study employed quantitative and qualitative tools of analysis of data collection to analyse how the media packages news. Quantitative research was used to source the numerical representation of news articles for a period of seven years (2013-2019) using

content analysis, while qualitative research design was used to do an in-depth qualitative content analysis of the print media content to establish the frames discussed. The interpretive paradigm was used to frame this study by applying framing analysis to determine the dominant news frames used by the media.

### **3.3 Population**

The research objectives set out to compare Namibian newspaper coverage of females in leadership positions in both Parliament and SOEs. The newspaper coverage was limited to Namibian national newspapers for the period of seven years from 1 January 2013 to 31 August 2019. The timeframe chosen was because of the heightened election campaigns for the 2014 National and Presidential Elections where the ruling party, SWAPO, championed the 50/50 gender parity drive for inclusion of its female leaders to Parliament who have been for long under-represented.

While hype for women's equal representation was taking centre stage in the political arena, the timeframe also coincided with how female CEOs and MDs at SOEs were being consecutively booted out of their jobs by their boards of directors for apparent incompetence, conflict of interest, insubordination and more.

The population for the study was the thirteen (13) newspapers in Namibia (Larsen, 2007). *These are Allgemeine Zeitung, Die Republikein, New Era, The Namibian, Namibian Sun, Confidanté, Economist, Informante, Namibia Today, Namib Times, The Southern Times, Windhoek Observer and The Villager.*

The study universe was contents in all newspapers over a seven-year period (2013 to 2019).

### **3.4 Sampling**

Systematic random sampling was used to select the 359 articles over the seven years to come up with a representative sample.

Out of the thirteen (13) newspapers, four (4) newspapers were selected through purposive sampling, namely *The Namibian* because it is the most widely circulated newspaper and has a large national coverage. The *New Era*, a government newspaper, was also chosen because of its consistent coverage of government parliamentary issues and it is also widely circulated to the remote areas. Furthermore, the *Namibian Sun*, a privately owned daily newspaper was selected for the study as it has gained popularity over the years since its inception in September 2007 and the *Windhoek Observer* – a popular weekly and one of the oldest newspapers in Namibia was analysed for its content as well.

Six (6) detailed case studies of women in Parliament and SOEs were investigated to present the trends. Three female politicians in Members of Parliament (MPs) and three female CEOs/MD at SOEs who appear to have been targets of stereotypes and media framing during the time period were examined for the study to gain evidence of the stereotypical frames used against women leaders.

### **3.5 Research procedure**

The study examined 359 articles to gain evidence of the stereotypical frameworks used in the four newspapers. Of the 359 articles, 93 articles were found to conform to the objective of the study. A coding schedule that can capture aspects in line with the objectives of the study was drawn up using priori (predetermined) and emergent codes as well. To come up

with emergent codes, the researcher randomly selected a certain number of articles from each of the four newspapers to pick out suitable themes.

A coding scheme was developed to collect data looking at type of issues discussed, frequency of stereotypical frames used, the tone (use of negative, positive or neutral vernacular) of the newspaper articles and the type of coverage dedicated to female leaders.

To ensure reliability of the coding scheme, the researcher first conducted a pilot study by training another coder before finalising the coding schedule.

Neuendorf (2002) contends that more than one coder gives an opportunity for the principal coder to ascertain that the coding scheme is being used in a reliable manner. The addition of another coder(s), according to Neuendorf (2002), also relieves the principal coder if the data to be examined is large, while consistency between coders can also be easily examined when same material is measured for inter-rater reliability.

He further suggests that scores above 80 percent (agreement between coders) would be acceptable 'in most situations' but with more disagreement for lower values. According to Du Plooy-Cilliers, Davis and Bezuidenhout (2014), inter-coder reliability not only makes coding more efficient, it also helps to dismiss skeptical reviewers and critics (p. 169).

Coding began with randomly selecting a sample of the data to identify problems with the coding scheme or coders' ability to employ it. Through pilot testing, problematic codes were eliminated as each news article was read several times, while the researcher made thorough notes, and thereafter the news frames were decided upon.

Once the coding scheme was complete, the data was then used to draw an inductive analyses through the selection of news frames, where frames emerged as the research progressed.

### **3.6 Data analysis**

Content analysis was used to analyse a broad range of texts from the four newspapers for this study. According to Krippendorff (1980), Downe-Wamboldt (1992) and Sandelowski (1995), content analysis as a research method is a systematic and objective means of describing and quantifying phenomena (Krippendorff et al., as cited in Elo & Kyngas, 2007, p. 108). Other authors included Weber (1990) who described content analysis as “a research method that uses a set of procedures to make valid inferences from text” (Weber, 1990, as cited in Macnamara, 2005, p. 2). A definition closer to the objective of this study is Berger’s (1991) definition of content analysis as a research technique that is based on measuring the amount of something (violence, negative portrayals of women, or whatever) in a representative sampling of some mass-mediated popular form of art” (Berger, 1991, as cited in Macnamara, 2005, p. 2)

#### **3.6.1 Quantitative content analysis**

Quantitative content analysis was pragmatic for this research as it encompasses a wide range of social science topics including gender. Berelson (1952) described content analysis as a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication (p. 18).

The advantage of quantitative content analysis is that it is a flexible research approach that can be applied to a wide variety of text sources. It can also be aided by the availability of computer software programs, such as SPSS and ATLAS.ti which deal with large amounts of data.

Some of the weaknesses of quantitative content analysis, according to Insch, Moore and Murphy (1997), arise with the process of sampling and coding where document availability and the sampling process can introduce bias. Insch, et al. (1997) argue that developing the coding scheme and coding always involve interpretation, which face the risk of similar biases to those faced by other measurement techniques. In short, the authors postulate that content analysis can struggle to provide explanations for particular findings where the source of the explanation lies outside of the text itself.

### **3.6.2 Qualitative content analysis**

The qualitative research method was also used for this study to provide additional understanding through literature review to convey information on key issues in framing of the media. According to Van Maanen (1979) “qualitative research is an umbrella phrase covering an array of interpretive techniques which seek to describe, decode, translate and otherwise come to terms with the meaning of naturally occurring phenomena in the social world, to locate existing sources, documents, law reports, correspondence, official statistics, the researcher uses to describe, analyse and interpret events that have already taken place” (Van Maanen, 1979, as cited in Rahman, 2016, p. 103). Van Maanen was an American an organisational theorist best known for his contributions to qualitative studies in management and to organisational ethnography. Strauss and Corbin (1990), stated that

“by the term ‘qualitative research’, we mean any type of research that produces findings not arrived at by statistical procedures or other means of quantification. It can refer to research about persons’ lives, lived experiences, behaviours, emotions, and feelings as well as about organisational functioning, social movements, cultural phenomena, and interactions between nations” (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, as cited in Rahman, 2016, p. 103).

The advantages of qualitative research approach produces detailed description of participants’ feelings, opinions, and experiences and interprets the meanings of their actions (Denzin, 1989, as cited in Rahman, 2016, p. 103). On the other hand, Silverman (2010) argues that qualitative research approaches sometimes leave out contextual sensitivities, and focus more on meanings and experiences (Silverman, 2010, as cited in Rahman, 2016, p. 103).

### **3.6.3 Framing analysis**

Gamson and Modigliani (1989), as cited in de Vreese, 2005, p. 53, refer to frames as ‘interpretative packages’ that give meaning to an issue. According to the authors, at the core of this package is ‘a central organizing idea, or frame, for making sense of relevant events, suggesting what is at issue’ (*italics in original*).

Entman (1993), as cited in Weaver, 2007, p. 143, reiterates that “‘to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described.’” (*Italics in original*).

When it comes to politics, McIntosh (2013), proclaim that although the duty of journalism is to provide audiences with truthful representations of reality, the type of coverage dedicated to female politicians, the use of positive and negative vernacular about a politician or a political party, or the amount of coverage given to political events impact how a public views a political leader or party.

This trend shifts the focus away from a woman's applicable skills and potential to insignificant themes that fail to take into account the nature and work of politics, according to McIntosh (2013).

Framing analysis was used to identify thematic selection of stories in this study, by looking at metaphors, catchphrases, visual icons, and other framing devices that immerse audiences into different semantic contexts.

### **3.7 Research instruments**

Each news story's content was analysed independently before being loaded on ATLAS.ti to generate a coding book. ATLAS.ti is a powerful workbench for the qualitative analysis of large bodies of textual, graphical, audio and video data with sophisticated tools which helps to arrange, reassemble, and manage material in creative, yet systematic ways. The results from ATLAS.ti were then exported to Microsoft Excel for data tabulation and then presented in Microsoft Word using tables and charts.

Articles written from 1 January 2013 to 31 August 2019 were surfed through online archives of the four newspapers using the quantitative method. A thematic selection of stories was done to come up with categories into which the stories were placed. The stories

were then thoroughly analysed to establish the common stereotypical frames in reportage. In the absence of online material, paper-based archive material from newspapers were sought from the media organisations through their library archives in Windhoek. Nevertheless, the four newspapers selected for this research have a good online presence and access to archive data was freely available in the public domain.

### **3.8 Research ethics**

The researcher obtained an ethical clearance letter from the University of Namibia before embarking on this study. The researcher undertook to clarify the nature and purpose of the study in the study's consent form. The researcher undertook to interact with the contents from newspapers with the greatest care.

### **3.9 Summary**

This chapter discussed the research methodology used for the study, including the research design, population of the study, sampling method, research procedure, method of data analysis, research instruments and research ethics. The next chapter discusses data analysis and presentation of findings.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

#### 4.1 Introduction

Data analysis is defined as the process of evaluating data using analytical and logical reasoning to examine each component of the data provided. According to the online business dictionary (business dictionary.com), data from various sources is gathered, reviewed, and then analysed to form some sort of finding or conclusion.

This chapter set out to critically analyse the stereotypical frames used in four (4) selected Namibian newspaper reports by analysing and presenting the findings. 93 articles that were randomly selected from the newspapers' websites were then analysed through content analysis.

Each news story's content was analysed independently before being loaded on ATLAS.ti to generate a coding book. ATLAS.ti is a powerful workbench for the qualitative analysis of large bodies of textual, graphical, audio and video data with sophisticated tools which helps to arrange, reassemble, and manage material in creative, yet systematic ways. The results from ATLAS.ti were then exported to Microsoft Excel for data tabulation and then presented in Microsoft Word using tables and charts.

This was followed by framing analysis to present a schemata of interpretation of each frame. Goffman (1974) developed the general concept of framing and defined it as the "principles of organization which govern events—at least social ones—and our subjective involvement in them". Hence, frames help people organize what they see in everyday life. Goffman (1974) calls frames the "schemata of interpretation," - a framework that helps in

making an otherwise meaningless succession of events into something meaningful. These primary frameworks vary in degree of organization and help the user to “locate, perceive, identify, and label” problems and solutions (Goffman, 1974, as cited in Borah & Bulla, 2006, p. 10).

## **4.2 Case studies**

Martin Shuttleworth (2008) defines a case study as an in-depth study of a particular situation rather than a sweeping statistical survey - a method used to narrow down a very broad field of research into one easily researchable topic. He argues that a case study may not answer a question completely, but it will give some indications and allow further elaboration and hypothesis creation on a subject. Shuttleworth (2008) further notes that whilst some argue that because a case study is such a narrow field that its results cannot be extrapolated to fit an entire question and that they show only one narrow example, a case study provides more realistic responses than a purely statistical survey.

The three MPs selected for case studies were Katrina Hanse-Himarwa, the former Minister of Education and former Governor of the Hardap Region in the south of Namibia; Pendukeni Iivula-Ithana, former secretary-general of SWAPO, former Minister of Home Affairs, former Minister of Justice and Attorney-General and Margaret Mensah-Williams, current Chairperson of the National Council and regional councillor of the Khomasdal Constituency north of Windhoek were chosen for analysis.

Three CEOs/MDs, namely Sara Naanda-Katiti, former CEO of TransNamib; Theo Namases, former Managing Director (MD) of Air Namibia and Maria Rukoro-Nangolo,

former CEO of National Training Authority (NTA) were also selected for the investigation.

#### **4.2.1 Case study 1 - Katrina Hanse-Himarwa**

The reason why Katrina Hanse-Himarwa was chosen as a case study of interest for this research was because of the way her corruption court case played it out in the media, attracting not only more newspaper coverage, but ridicule and slander than any other female political leader since she was a governor for the Hardap region in the south of Namibia. Name-calling and slander intensified during her trial, especially between 2018 and 2019.

The High Court found Hanse-Himarwa guilty on 9 July 2019 for corruptly using her office or position to manipulate a list of beneficiaries under the government's mass housing development programme when she was a governor. She was found guilty for removing two names of beneficiaries from the original housing project list and replacing them with those of her relatives.

Hanse-Himarwa was the first government Minister to be sentenced for corruption since Namibia's independence in 1990. She was sentenced to a fine of N\$50,000 or in default of payment, to 24 months' imprisonment, plus a further 12 months' imprisonment suspended for a period of five years on condition that the accused is not convicted of the same crime committed during the period of suspension.

Hanse-Himarwa was the first female Education Minister with her appointment in 2015. She resigned from that position after her conviction in July 2019. She remains a Member of Parliament and a member of the SWAPO Central Committee and Politburo.

#### **4.2.2 Case study 2 - Pendukeni Iivula-Ithana**

Pendukeni Iivula-Ithana was selected for this study because she is considered as one of the most influential women in Namibian politics. Her illustrious political career spans over decades, where apart from being the first woman to become the SWAPO secretary-general, she has held several Cabinet positions including Minister of Home Affairs, Minister of Justice, Attorney-General, Minister of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation and Minister of Youth, Sports and Culture.

Iivula-Ithana was the first woman to contest the SWAPO presidential candidacy at the 2012 party congress and also in 2017, where together with Minister of Sport, Jerry Ekandjo challenged President Hage Geingob for the SWAPO presidency as running mates. They were fired from their Cabinet positions after Geingob's camp won the elections. Currently, Iivula-Ithana is a back-bencher in Parliament.

Iivula-Ithana is also known for having championed the 50/50 gender quota after she was elected as the secretary-general in 2007 (Mongudhi, 2013a), which saw an increase in women's representation in Parliament after the SWAPO party's congress in 2013.

She was quoted in *The Namibian* as saying that the '50/50 provision was the highlight of her tenure as secretary-general.

### **4.2.3 Case study 3 - Margaret Mensah-Williams**

Margaret Mensah-Williams was chosen for this study because of her conviction and activism in the fight for women and girls' rights and her advocacy on gender-based violence. Her bold stance on social issues such as legalisation of polygamy in Namibia raised some eyebrows when she argued in Parliament that if men were allowed to practice polygamy by customary law, "women should also have the right to practice polygamy...as the failure to do this would amount to discrimination against them" (Beukes, 2016).

Mensah-Williams is the current Chairperson of the National Council and regional councilor of the Khomasdal Constituency, a northern suburb in Windhoek. She became the first woman to be elected as the Vice-Chairperson (Deputy Speaker) of the National Council in 1999. Mensah-Williams is a member of both the Politburo and of the Central Committee of the SWAPO Party.

Among many of her accolades, she has served as a member of the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) Executive Committee and as President of the IPU Bureau of Women Parliamentarians for two terms. In addition, she served as the Vice-Chairperson of the IPU Working Group on Syria during the 137th IPU Assembly in Russia. She works on various boards of women's organisations and is the patron of several women's and educational institutions.

She has also been on the IPU Executive Committee and Committee on Middle East Questions, as well as taking up her role as President of the Coordinating Committee of Women MPs in March 2014. In 2018, Mensah- Williams was elected as the new co-chair of the Parliamentary Conference of the World Trade Organisation (WTO).

Mensah-Williams also suffered the name-calling in newspaper columns- although not to the same degree as Hanse-Himarwa - where she was called a drama queen. Together with Hanse-Himarwa, they were likened to a character in a book that was apparently a “loose tongue, talkative and irritating” (Amupanda, 2019).

#### **4.2.4 Case study 4 - Sara Naanda**

The former CEO of TransNamib, Sara Naanda was selected for this study because of the peculiarity of how the media could have played a role in her fall as there appeared to be an active agenda stemming from a cloud of doubt that was created in reportage since her appointment. Naanda was accused of competing for the position of TransNamib CEO against former MVA Fund CEO (Jerry Muadinohamba) whom she apparently head-hunted for the position. She was previously the Deputy Chairperson of the TransNamib board before her appointment as CEO. She is perhaps the most illustrious example of how gender bias in the media could set up women in leadership for failure.

Naanda was appointed as the CEO of TransNamib from 2013 until she was forced out in 2016 through a settlement or “golden handshake” as the parastatal withdrew all disciplinary charges against her. From the onset of her appointment, the media, in particular *The Namibian*, went out of its way in what seemed to be overzealous or fervent enthusiasm by the same reporter to find confirmation that Naanda’s appointment was in fact a sham.

It all started with a probe at the Anti-Corruption Commission (ACC) which concluded that there was nothing wrong with her appointment (Mongudhi, 2013b). As if that was not enough, *The Namibian* then probed former Minister of Works and TransNamib Erkki

Nghimitina, who rejected claims that the appointment of Naanda was flawed (Mongudhi & Shinovene, 2013). There was also excessive use of anonymous sources in several news articles about the ‘controversy’ of Naanda’s appointment, which raised questions as to whether the anonymous sources were having personal vendettas against the incumbent or had own agendas unless the sources’ anonymity could be justified.

#### **4.2.5 Case study 5 - Theo Namases**

The former managing director (MD) of Air Namibia Theo Namases was also chosen for this study because of the stark similarity in her forced resignation from the parastatal akin with Naanda’s departure from TransNamib. The boards of the two parastatals appeared to overstep their power or disregard the authority of the incumbent CEO and MD as they seemed to interfere with the day-to-day running of the parastatals.

Like Naanda, Namases was also given a “golden handshake” through a settlement as the parastatal withdrew all counts of misconduct for which she never sat before a disciplinary hearing. Namases was the human resources general manager until 2010 before she was appointed as acting-MD and subsequently to the MD position in 2012. While newspapers appeared to be candid when reporting about the Air Namibia/Namases saga, none of the newspapers took interest in interrogating the allegations made by the boards against Namases. They simply reported verbatim what they were told by members of board of directors, seemingly reinforcing the motives or agendas of those boards.

#### **4.2.6 Case study 6 - Maria Nangolo-Rukoro**

The former CEO of Namibia Training Authority (NTA) Maria Nangolo-Rukoro was selected for this study, because she was also forced to resign from her post in a similar manner like Naanda and Namases, where male-directed boards challenged their authority as heads of parastatals. Charges of misconduct made against Nangolo-Rukoro were also withdrawn and she never set before a disciplinary hearing.

As in the Namases' case, none of the newspapers took interest in questioning the allegations made by the boards against Nangolo-Rukoro while it has become a trend for those in boards to reinforce the status quo in public institutions, reproducing consensus of the dominant group/s – in this case male. The media simply reported verbatim what was narrated by members of board of directors, seemingly reinforcing the motives or agendas of some board members.

Nangolo-Rukoro and NTA board chairperson Otto Shikongo allegedly did not see eye to eye after the cancellation of a tender by Nangolo-Rukoro for the renovations of the Valombola Vocational Training Centre (VVTC) in Ongwediva worth more than N\$50 million in which one of Shikongo's companies had interest. Nangolo-Rukoro was the NTA's CEO until her suspension in 2013 for various charges which included conflict of interest, fraud, gross negligence and insubordination (Shipanga, 2013a, 2013b).

### **1.3 Presentation of Results**

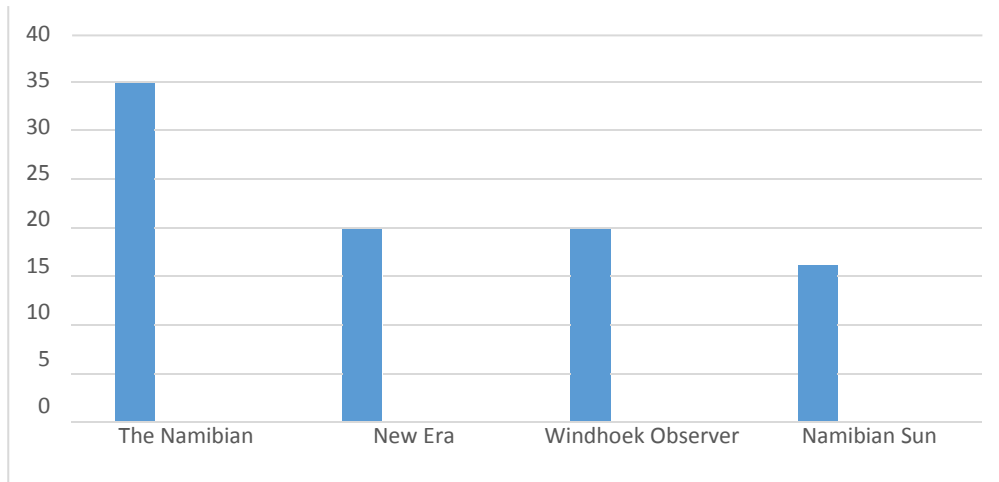
An online search for articles by mention of the female leader selected for the study in the different newspapers produced 359 articles, but when narrowed down for the scope of this

research, 93 articles conformed to the central themes derived from the research objectives. Table 4.1 indicates the number of articles generated against the number of articles that were researched for evidence of gender stereotypes and frames.

**Table 4.1: Total number of newspaper articles**

<b>Newspaper</b>	<b>Number of articles researched</b>	<b>Total number of articles generated</b>
The Namibian	35	111
New Era	20	141
Windhoek Observer	22	56
Namibian Sun	16	51
<b>Total:</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>359</b>

Table 4.1 indicates that out of the total of 359 articles generated, the *New Era* produced the majority of 141 articles, followed by *The Namibian* with 111 articles, the *Windhoek Observer* (56) and *Namibian Sun* (51). However, when it comes to the total number of articles found to carry gender stereotypical frames in conformity to the research objectives, *The Namibian* was found to carry the majority of 35 articles followed by the *Windhoek Observer* with 22 articles and *New Era* 20 articles each, while the *Namibian Sun* only carried 16. Figure 4.1 illustrate the number of articles that were used for this study.

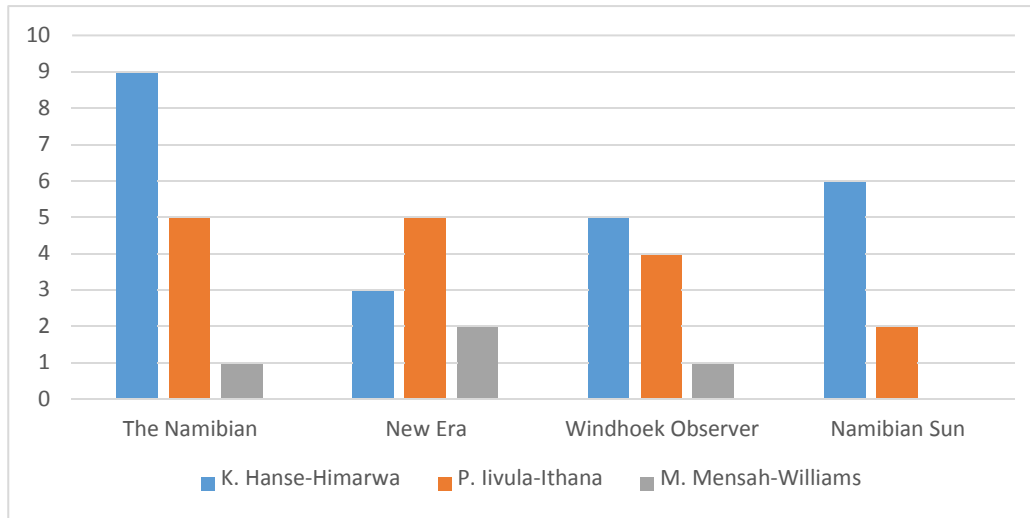


**Figure 4.1: Total number of newspaper articles: 93**

Table 4.2 indicates the total number of 48 newspaper articles about MPs were used for this study. Figure 4.2 shows the total number of articles about MPs.

**Table 4.2: Total number of newspaper articles about MPs: 48**

<b>Newspaper</b>	<b>Katrina Hanse-Himarwa (case 1)</b>	<b>Pendukeni Iivula-Ithana (case 2)</b>	<b>Margaret Mensah-Williams (case 3)</b>
The Namibian	14	5	1
New Era	3	5	2
Windhoek Observer	5	4	1
Namibian Sun	6	2	-
<b>Total:</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>4</b>

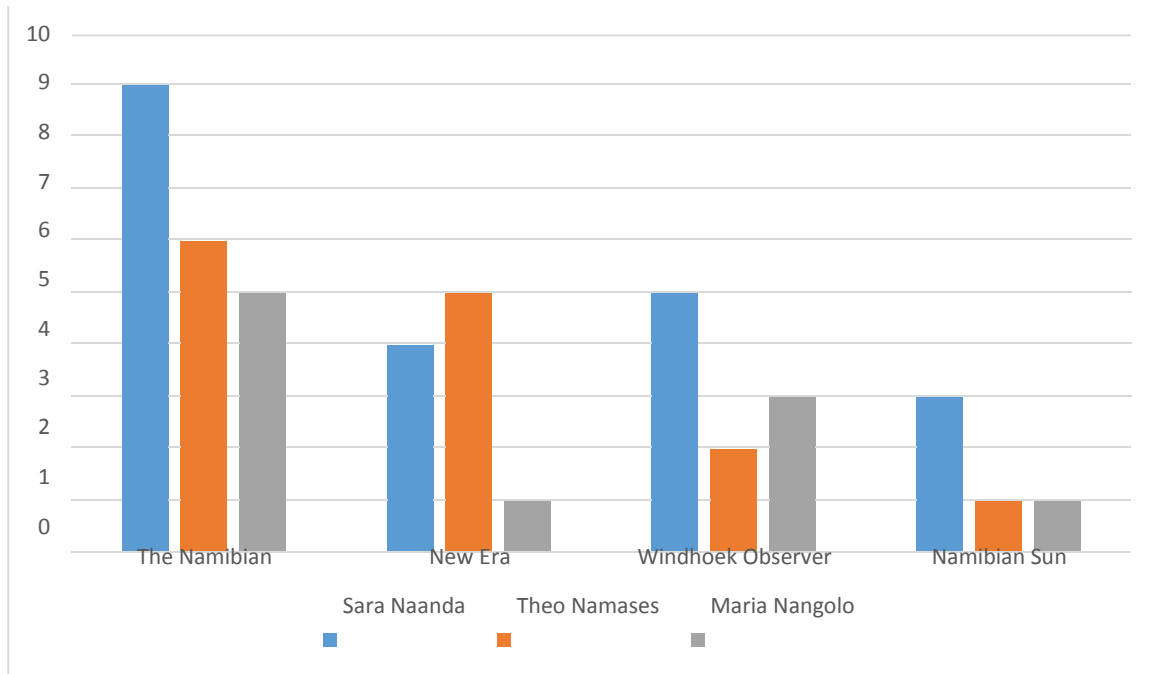


**Figure 4.2: Total number of articles about MPs**

Table 4.3 indicates the total number of 45 newspaper articles about CEOs/MDs were used for this study. Figure 4.3 shows the total number of articles about CEOs/MDs.

**Table 4.3: Total number of newspaper articles about CEOs/MDs: 45**

<b>Newspaper</b>	<b>Sara Naanda (case 4)</b>	<b>Theo Namases (case 5)</b>	<b>Maria Nangolo-Rukoro (case 6)</b>
The Namibian	9	6	3
New Era	4	5	1
Windhoek Observer	5	2	5
Namibian Sun	3	1	1
<b>Total:</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>10</b>



**Figure 4.3: Total number of articles about CEOs/MDs.**

The analysis and findings of the study are discussed according to the following themes derived from the objectives of the study as follows:

1. Determine the frequency and extent to which women in leadership positions are stereotyped in media reportage.
2. Identify the common gender stereotypes used in the media about women in leadership positions in both parliament and State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs).
3. Establish the common gender frames used in the media about women in leadership positions in both parliament and State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs).
4. Investigate if the media sets the agenda for the public's attention in its pattern of news coverage that has the possibility of influencing public opinion about women in leadership positions.

#### **4.3.1 The frequency and extent to which women in leadership positions are stereotyped in media reportage.**

The first objective was to find out the frequency and extent to which women in leadership positions are stereotyped in the media. The six detailed case studies were investigated to present the trends.

##### **(i) The Namibian**

An online search in *The Namibian* by mention of Katrina Hanse-Himarwa produced 40 articles that mainly reported on her activities as an Education Minister about school results, class room donations, school enrolment and photo caption stories, among others. A total of 14 newspaper articles that conformed to the objectives of the research were selected and analysed. The articles, mainly in *The Namibian's* satirical column *The Rambler*, focused on the corruption case in which she was found guilty of corruptly using her office or position to manipulate a list of beneficiaries under the government's mass housing development programme (*The Rambler*, 2015, 2016a, 2016b, 2018, 2019).

Table 4.4 illustrates the frequency of the common stereotypes found in *The Namibian* about Hanse-Himarwa.

**Table 4.4: Frequency of the common stereotypes found in *The Namibian* about Hanse-Himarwa.**

Stereotype	Frequency of stereotype	
Character/behavioural traits	renowned for physical altercations boorish bulldozer got involved in a brawl over food moered (beat up) one Willie Swartz ratchetry (ghetto) that our Katrina attracts never shunned a brawl like a typical school girl brawler could d*nner (beat) anything straight while her skirt is tucked into her panties lokasie (location) credentials shone through her loutishness (rudeness/vulgarity) running her mouth caused scandal and shame galore at her sister's wedding arrogant She never misses an opportunity to make an arse of herself Immaturity on fleek (flick)	15
Name-calling	Hurricane Katrina make a top minister of curtains Minister of Witch Hunts Witch hunt x3	6
Physical attributes/appearance	lokasie's (location) hottest departed looks trompoppie (cheerleader) in high school head trompoppie (cheerleader) salmonella-filled chicken masquerading as a gourmet dish pretty face	6
Incompetent	Gross incompetence Manufactured pseudo-leaders like Hanse-Himarwa, Career for this former teacher in stand-up comedy She is experienced in the dark art of curtains Clown Mental ineptitude Failing to do her damn job Dumb ass Backwardness Stupid	10
<b>Total:</b>		<b>37</b>

Articles by mention of Pendukeni Iivula-Ithana in *The Namibian* garnered 27 hits, with the majority of articles covered about her activities as then Minister of Home Affairs. News stories included immigration issues, marriages with foreigners, the much debated

Citizenship Bill, time change and her sacking by President Hage Geingob. A total of 5 newspaper articles that conformed to the objectives of the research were selected and analysed. Apart from being called the “Iron Lady”, no other stereotypes were found in *The Namibian* (Mongudhi, 2013a).

Articles in *The Namibian* about Margaret Mensah-Williams produced 15 stories which were mainly on human trafficking, National Council activities, international awards and domestic abuse. One newspaper column (article) in *The Rambler* titled ‘Rambler... Social Media for Dummies’ (*The Rambler*, 2016a) that conformed to the objectives of the research was selected and analysed. Table 4.5 presents the frequency of the common stereotypes found in *The Namibian* about Mensah-Williams.

**Table 4.5: Frequency of the common stereotypes found in The Namibian about Mensah-Williams.**

Stereotype	Frequency of stereotypes	
Character and behavioural traits	d*ck-riding the First Couple and Sam Nujoma Don't cry an immature politician not expose your ignorance limited intellectual level not an 18-year-old girl any more.	6
<b>Total</b>		<b>6</b>

*The Namibian* generated 14 articles by mention of Sara Naanda of which 9 were found to be suitable for the objective of this research. Not much was written about her activities as the CEO of TransNamib, but stories that dominated *The Namibian* headlines regarding her, focused on her troubles with the parastatal and its board of directors, her suspension,

hearing and eventual settlement with the parastatal after she resigned, which appeared to be a forced resignation. However, no articles generated stereotypes directed at Sara Naanda.

By mention of Theo Namases in online search, 6 articles were produced in *The Namibian* of which all 6 were suitable for the objective of this research. However, no articles generated stereotypes directed at Namases.

Maria Nangolo-Rukoro's name produced 9 articles in *The Namibian* of which 3 conformed to the objectives of this research. However, no articles generated stereotypes pointed at Nangolo-Rukoro.

**(ii) The Namibian Sun:**

Hanse-Himarwa's name brought up 16 articles of which only 6 suited the objective of the research. The majority of articles were written in 2019 in the prelude to her conviction. In the article 'D-Day for Katrina', she was described as someone "known for her nonsense and no-holds-barred approach to life and politics" (Beukes, 2019a). In other articles titled 'Katrina shows her claws (Leuschner, 2019) and 'God has spoken' (Beukes, 2019b), the journalists went to great lengths to describe Hanse-Himarwa's dressing code. A headline titled 'Katrina unleashes hurricane' (Muraranganda, 2015) continued with the name-calling of Hanse-Himarwa as someone 'stormy' or violent as she was also inducted by the media as 'Hurricane Katrina'. Table 6 illustrates the frequency of the common stereotypes found in *Namibian Sun* about Hanse-Himarwa.

**Table 4.6: Frequency of the common stereotypes found in Namibian Sun about Hanse-Himarwa.**

Stereotype	Frequency of stereotypes	
Character/behavioural traits	Katrina shows her claws Katrina unleashes hurricane	2
Physical attributes/dress	Dressed impeccably in her signature white dress and doek An immaculately dressed Hanse-Himarwa	2
Age	The 52-year-old former Hardap governor	1
<b>Total</b>		<b>5</b>

In the case of Iivula-Ithana, the *Namibian Sun* produced 16 articles of which only 2 newspaper articles suited the objective of the research. There were also no other stereotypes found in the *Namibian Sun* about Iivula-Ithana apart from being called “Iron Lady” (Beukes, 2017).

Search for articles about Mensah-Williams in the *Namibian Sun* generated 4 articles but none conformed to the objective of this research.

An online search for articles relating to Naanda in the *Namibian Sun* produced 5 articles of which only 3 newspaper article suited the objective. However, no articles generated stereotypes directed her.

Mention of Theo Namases in the *Namibian Sun* produced 5 articles of which 5 article was found to be suitable for the purpose of this research. However, no articles generated stereotypes pointed at Namases.

An online search for articles relating to Maria Nangolo-Rukoro in the *Namibian Sun* generated 5 articles of which 1 article was found to be suitable for the purpose of this research. However, no articles generated stereotypes pointed at Nangolo-Rukoro.

### (iii) New Era

A search for articles about Hanse-Himarwa in the *New Era* generated 50 articles, with subjects on a variety of issues from the education bill, private schools and genocide of which only 3 suited the objective of the research. In an article titled ‘Challenges facing the public system’ the former Education Minister was described as someone incompetent, (New Era, 2018), while another article titled ‘Hanse-Himarwa wanted things done her way – witness’, her dressing code was described again (Routh, 2018). Table 4.7 indicates the frequency of common stereotypes found in *New Era* about Hanse-Himarwa

**Table 4.7: Frequency of the common stereotypes found in New Era about Hanse-Himarwa**

<b>Stereotype</b>	<b>Frequency of stereotypes</b>	
Incompetent	Outright incompetence Have little understanding of what they are doing	2
Physical attributes/dress	Made the trial her own fashion show- dressed in a bright green dress with darker patches, a matching jacket and shoes	1
<b>Total</b>		<b>3</b>

A search for articles about Iivula-Ithana in the *New Era* generated 53 articles with a variety of issues from women’s rights, Home Affairs turn-around strategy, immigration, employment and teenage pregnancy. Only 5 articles suited the objective of the research. Some of the common stereotypes were her age mentioned, such as in the article titled ‘Iivula-Ithana gets her MBA at age 64’ (Ikela, 2017) and the recurring name-calling – Iron

Lady and strong or tough (Haufiku, 2015). Table 4.8 shows the frequency of the common stereotypes found in *New Era* about Pendukeni Iivula-Ithana:

**Table 4.8: Frequency of the common stereotypes found in New Era about Pendukeni Iivula-Ithana**

<b>Stereotype</b>	<b>Frequency of stereotypes</b>	
Strong	she has become very strong	1
Age	her MBA at age 64 at the age of 64. 68-year-old	3
Character and behavioural traits	outspoken Minister of Home Affairs seen as a tough nut to crack	2
Name-calling	known as the “Iron Lady”	1
Total		7

A total amount of 17 (seventeen) articles about Mensah-Williams were generated from the *New Era* about her election to the World Trade Organisation (WTO) Parley Standing Committee, domestic violence, her activities in the National Council on a range of subjects and more. But in one newspaper column opinion titled “An ontological response to Margaret Mensah-Williams” in the *New Era*, the latter was likened to a character in a book (Amupanda, 2019). Table 4.9 indicates the frequency of the common stereotypes found in *New Era* about Mensah-Williams.

**Table 4.9: Frequency of the common stereotypes found in New Era about Mensah-Williams**

Stereotype	Frequency of stereotype	
Character and behavioural traits	talkative and untrustworthy woman loose tongue talkative and irritating character loudmouths are untrustworthy leading cheerleader(s) drama queen(s)	6
<b>Total</b>		<b>6</b>

A search for articles about Naanda in the *New Era* generated 9 articles of which 4 conformed to the objectives of this study. However, no articles generated stereotypes directed at Sara Naanda in the New Era.

Articles about Theo Namases in the *New Era* garnered 11 articles of which 2 conformed to the objectives of this study. However, no articles generated stereotypes pointed at Namases.

Maria Nangolo-Rukoro's name in the *New Era* generated 1 article that conformed to the objective of this research.

**(iv) Windhoek Observer**

A total amount of 19 articles about Hanse-Himarwa were generated from the *Windhoek Observer* on a variety of subjects, including Grade 12 results, teachers and sexual affairs and training teachers. Of the 19 articles, 5 articles that conformed to the objectives of the research were selected and analysed. Hanse-Himarwa was rebuked in the *Windhoek*

*Observer* for various reasons, especially in opinion pieces. In an article titled ‘Katrina is gone; corruption remains’ (*Windhoek Observer*, 2019a), reference was made about “her lacquered, pearl-tipped fingernails”, while in another article titled ‘Katrina: Diplomacy is Everything’, she was admonished for her “grit and brashness’ and “blunt take on events” (*Windhoek Observer*, 2019b). She was also called ‘a beacon of incompetence’ (Smith, 2018), among others. Table 4.10 indicates the frequency of the common stereotypes in *Windhoek Observer* about Hanse-Himarwa.

**Table 4.10: Frequency of the common stereotypes in Windhoek Observer about Hanse-Himarwa**

<b>Stereotype</b>	<b>Frequency of stereotypes</b>	
Character/behavioural traits	outspoken governor grit and brashness blunt take on events angry outbursts the outbursts	5
Controversial	controversial Governor of the Hardap Region did not mince her words she regularly seems to attract criticism	3
<b>Total</b>		<b>8</b>

A total amount of 13 articles about Iivula-Ithana were generated from the *Windhoek Observer* on a variety of subjects, including the sale of Erindi rest camp, on the renovation of SWAPO headquarters at a record sum of N\$730 million, the foodbank and land resettlement. Of the 13 articles, 4 articles that conformed to the objectives of the research were selected and analysed. There were no other stereotypes found in the *Windhoek Observer* about Iivula-Ithana apart from being called “Iron Lady” as in the article titled ‘Iivula-Ithana has no regrets’ (Ndimbira, 2013).

The *Windhoek Observer* generated a total amount of four (4) articles about Mensah-Williams on a range of subjects, including allegations that she used her official vehicle for a private trip to Cape Town, Khomas regional elections, Parliamentarians declaration of assets and the issue of polygamy. But it was the article ‘Mensah-Williams told to shut up’ (Smith, 2016) that conformed to the objectives of the research as masculine stereotypes were reinforced. Table 4.11 indicates the frequency of the common stereotypes found in the *Windhoek Observer* about Mensah-Williams.

**Table 4.11: Frequency of the common stereotypes found in the Windhoek Observer about Mensah-Williams:**

<b>Stereotype</b>	<b>Frequency of stereotype</b>	
Character/behavioural traits	told to shut up shut up? rather keep quiet.	3
<b>Total</b>		<b>3</b>

Seven articles about Sara Naanda were generated from the *Windhoek Observer* of which 5 conformed to the objective of this study. However, no articles generated stereotypes directed at Sara Naanda in the *Windhoek Observer*.

A total amount of 4 articles about Theo Namases were generated from the *Windhoek Observer* of which 1 conformed to the objective of this study. One article titled “Next lamb to the slaughter” (Ndimbira, 2014) carried gender stereotypes about Namases attributed to victimhood.

A total amount of 9 articles in the *Windhoek Observer* about Maria Nangolo-Rukoro were generated of which 5 conformed to the objectives of this study. However, no articles generated stereotypes pointed at Nangolo-Rukoro.

#### **4.3.1.1 Frequency of common stereotypes found in the newspapers about the women in leadership.**

Frequency of the common stereotypes found in the newspapers about the women in leadership are illustrated in Table 4.12, 4.13, 4.14, 4.15 and 4.16 as per case study.

##### **(i) Case study 1**

**Table 4.12: Frequency of common stereotypes about Hanse-Himarwa**

<b>Stereotypes</b>	<b>Frequency of stereotypes</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Character and behavioural traits	22	41.5%
Incompetent	12	22.6%
Physical attributes/dress	9	16.9%
Name-calling	6	11.3%
Controversial	3	5.6%
Age	1	1.8%
<b>Total:</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>100%</b>

**(ii) Case study 2**

**Table 4.13: Frequency of the common stereotypes about Iivula-Ithana**

<b>Stereotypes</b>	<b>Frequency of stereotypes</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Name-calling	4	40%
Age	3	30%
Character and behavioural traits	2	20%
Strong	1	10%
Total:	10	100%

**Case study 3**

**Table 4.14: Frequency of the common stereotypes about Mensah-Williams**

<b>Stereotypes</b>	<b>Frequency of stereotypes</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Character and behavioural traits	15	100%
Total:	15	100%

**Case study 4**

No articles generated stereotypes directed at Naanda.

### Case study 5

**Table 4.15: Frequency of the common stereotypes about Namases**

Stereotypes	Frequency of stereotypes	Percentage
Character and behavioural traits	2	100%
Total:	2	100%

### Case study 6

No articles generated stereotypes directed at Case study 6 about Nangolo-Rukoro.

**Table 4.16: Frequency of the common stereotypes found about women in the newspapers**

Stereotypes	Frequency of stereotypes	Percentage
Behavioural traits and character	41	50%
Incompetent	12	14.6%
Name-calling	10	12.1%
Physical attributes/dress	9	10.9%
Age	4	4.8%
Controversial	3	3.6%
Insubordinate	2	2.4%
Victim	1	1.2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>100%</b>

#### **4.3.2 Common stereotypes used in the Namibian print media towards women in decision-making positions in both the public (Parliament) and SOEs sectors.**

The second objective was to find out the common stereotypes used in *The Namibian* print media towards women in decision-making positions in both the public (parliament) and SOEs sectors. The six detailed case studies were investigated to present the trends.

#### 4.3.2.1 Katrina Hanse-Himarwa (Case 1):

Table 4.17 presents the most common stereotypes found about Hanse-Himarwa in the four newspapers in descending order as per the frequency with which they appeared in the newspapers in.

**Table 4.17: The most common stereotypes found about Hanse-Himarwa in the four newspapers.**

	<b>The Namibian</b>	<b>Namibian Sun</b>	<b>New Era</b>	<b>Windhoek Observer</b>	<b>Total</b>
1. Behavioural traits/ Character	15	2		5	<b>22</b>
2. Incompetent	10		2		<b>12</b>
3. Physical attributes/dress	6	2	1		<b>9</b>
4. Name-calling	6				<b>6</b>
5. Controversial				3	<b>3</b>
7. Age		1	1		<b>2</b>

The most dominant stereotype about Hanse-Himarwa was in reference to her character and behavioural traits which received 22 hits in total, with *The Namibian* containing the vast majority of 15 stereotypes. *The Namibian* was the only newspaper which carried the most stereotypes in reference to incompetence (12) while physical attributes/dress (9) was the third most dominant stereotype about the former Minister of Education in the four newspapers.

#### 4.3.2.2 Common stereotypes about Pendukeni Iivula-Ithana (Case 2)

Table 4.18 presents the most common stereotypes found about Iivula-Ithana in the four newspapers in descending order as per the frequency with which they appeared in the four newspapers.

**Table 4.18: The most common stereotypes found about Iivula-Ithana**

	<b>The Namibian</b>	<b>Namibian Sun</b>	<b>New Era</b>	<b>Windhoek Observer</b>	<b>Total</b>
1. (a) Name-calling	1	1		1	<b>3</b>
1. (b) Age			3		<b>3</b>
2. Behavioural traits/ Character			2		<b>2</b>

The stereotypes that were dominant in the four newspapers about Iivula-Ithana was in reference to her age and name-calling where she was referred to as the ‘Iron Lady’.

#### 4.3.2.3 Common stereotypes about Margaret Mensah-Williams (Case 3)

Table 4.19 presents the most common stereotypes found about Mensah-Williams in the four newspapers in descending order as per the frequency with which they appeared.

**Table 4.19 1Table 4.19: The most common stereotypes found about Mensah-Williams**

	<b>The Namibian</b>	<b>Namibian Sun</b>	<b>New Era</b>	<b>Windhoek Observer</b>	<b>Total</b>
1. Behavioural traits/ Character	6	-	6	3	<b>15</b>

The most dominant stereotype about Mensah-Williams was in reference to her character and behavioural traits which received 15 hits in total, with *The Namibian* and the *New Era* evening it out with 6 stereotypes each.

#### 4.3.2.4 Common stereotypes about Sara Naanda (Case 4)

There were no stereotypes found about Naanda.

#### 4.3.2.5 Common stereotypes about Theo Namases (Case 5)

Table 4.20 presents the most common stereotypes found about Namases in the four newspapers in descending order as per the frequency with which they appeared in the newspapers.

**Table 4.20: The most common stereotypes found about Namases**

	<b>The Namibian</b>	<b>Namibian Sun</b>	<b>New Era</b>	<b>Windhoek Observer</b>	<b>Total</b>
1. Behavioural traits/ Character				2	2

The most dominant stereotype about Theo Namases was in reference to her character and behavioural traits which received 2 hits in total, with the *Windhoek Observer* containing the only stereotypes.

#### 4.3.2.6 Common stereotypes about Maria Nangolo-Rukoro (Case 6)

There were no stereotypes found about Nangolo-Rukoro.

#### 4.3.2.7 Common stereotypes towards women in decision-making positions in both the public (parliament) and SOEs:

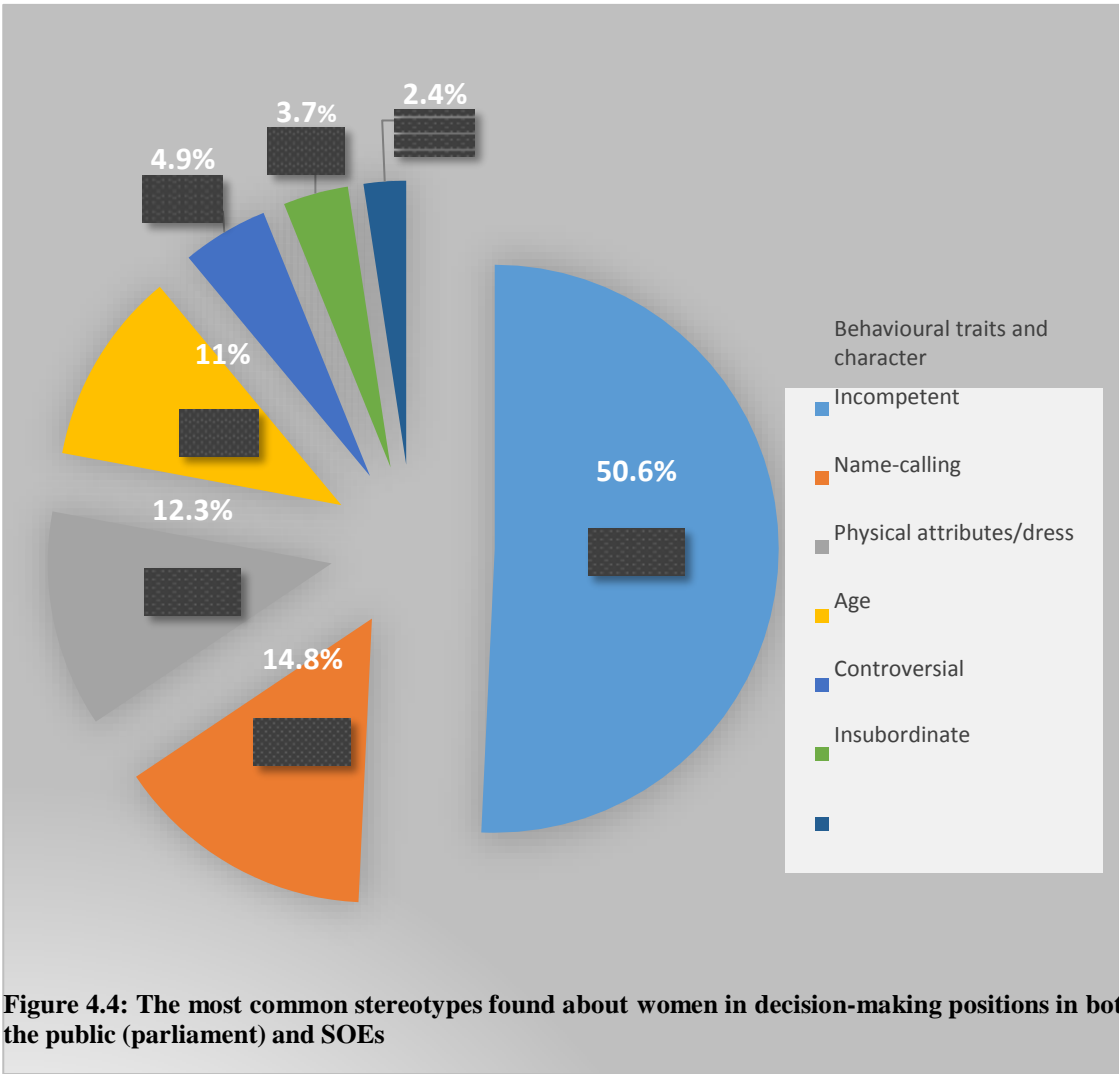
The common stereotypes about women in decision-making positions in both the public (Parliament) and SOEs in the four newspapers were 80 of which 41 (majority) of stereotypes were in reference to their character and behavioural traits, followed by stereotypes in reference to incompetence (12) while name-calling was the third most dominant stereotype with 10 hits.

Table 4.21 presents the most common stereotypes found about women in decision-making positions in both the public (parliament) and SOEs in in the four newspaper in descending order as per the frequency with which they appeared in the newspapers.

**Table 4.21: The most common stereotypes found about women in decision-making in the four newspapers.**

<b>Stereotypes</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage/%</b>
Behavioural traits and character	41	50.6
Incompetent	12	14.8
Name-calling	10	12.3
Physical attributes/dress	9	11
Age	4	4.9
Controversial	3	3.7
Insubordinate	2	2.4
Total	81	100

Figure 4.4 presents the most common stereotypes found about women in decision-making positions in both the public (parliament) and SOEs in in the four newspapers.



**Figure 4.4: The most common stereotypes found about women in decision-making positions in both the public (parliament) and SOEs**

### **4.3.3 Establish the common frames used in the media about women in leadership positions in both parliament and State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs).**

The third objective was to establish the common frames used in the media about women in leadership positions in both parliament and State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs). The six detailed case studies were investigated to present the trends.

#### **(i) The Namibian**

Derived from the stereotypes about Hanse-Himarwa in *The Namibian* which made reference to her character and behavioural traits such as being called “someone renowned for physical altercations, a boorish bulldozer who shunned a brawl, acting like a typical school girl, a brawler, her loutishness (rudeness/vulgarity), running her mouth and being arrogant”, framed Hanse-Himarwa as angry and violent and also scandalous (Rambler, 2015, 2016a, 2016b, 2018, 2019).

Constant remarks were also made about Hanse-Himarwa’s physical attributes where she was described as a formerly “lokasi's (location) hottest, departed looks, trompoppie (cheerleader) in high school, head trompoppie (cheerleader), which framed her appearance in degrading ways.

Incompetence was yet another common gender stereotype, which framed Hanse-Himarwa as having questionable intelligence by the way insults were hurled at her as someone having “ mental ineptitude, accusing her of failing to do her “damn” job, gross incompetence, a manufactured pseudo-leader, befitting the career in stand-up comedy, a clown, dumb-ass and backward”.

Name-calling was another stereotype common about Hanse-Himarwa, with names like Hurricane Katrina, Minister of Curtains and Minister of Witch Hunts, which bordered on mockery of her portfolio or designation, undermining her position of power.

The most common frames found about Hanse-Himarwa in *The Namibian* are presented in Table 4.22 in descending order as per the frequency with which they appeared in the newspapers.

**Table 4.22: The common frames in The Namibian about Hanse-Himarwa**

<b>The Namibian</b>
1. Angry and violent
2. Appearance
3. Questionable intelligence
4. Position of power
5. Scandalous

*The Namibian* carried only one stereotype about Pendukeni Iivula-Ithana calling her the Iron Lady. While name-calling in the case of Hanse-Himarwa bordered on mockery and undermining her position of power, calling Iivula-Ithana as such was supposed to praise her or elevate her position of power (Mongudhi, 2013a). However, the “Iron Lady” is a masculine framing that define a woman as tough and strong just like the stereotypes of leaders that are culturally masculine. The inferences being made is that the other women, unlike the Iron Lady, are weak and in the lower power group. Table 4.23 show the common frames in *The Namibian* about Iivula-Ithana.

**Table 4.23: The common frames in the The Namibian about Iivula-Ithana.**

<b>The Namibian</b>
1. Masculine

*The Namibian* carried several stereotypes in their reportage especially in reference to Mensah-Williams’ character and behavioural traits where the latter was admonished not to expose her ignorance and not to “cry” and reminded that she was “not to act like an 18-year old girl anymore”. She was also accused of having limited intellectual capability while being scolded for d\*ck-riding the First Couple and Sam Nujoma. The stereotypes framed Mensah-Williams as someone of questionable intelligence (*The Rambler*, 2016a).

Table 4.24 presents the common frames in *The Namibian* about Mensah-Williams.

**Table 4.24: The common frames in The Namibian about Mensah-Williams.**

<b>The Namibian</b>
1. Questionable intelligence

Not much was written about Sara Naanda’s activities as the CEO of TransNamib, but stories that dominated *The Namibian* regarding her focused on her troubles with the parastatal and its board of directors where positioned high on the agenda. This appeared to reinforce and confirm the status quo in public institutions and business, which legitimises inequality and reproduce consensus of the dominant group, such as elites, board of directors and male.

The way news was packaged from the onset about Naanda regarding her appointment, especially in *The Namibian* – the constant probing (agenda setting) about the legitimacy of her appointment as the new CEO.

Articles titled ‘TransNamib CEO job raises eyebrows’ (Kisting, 2013); ‘TNamib CEO hunter turns hunted’ (Mongudhi, 2013b), ‘ACC rule out conflict of interest at Tnamib’ (2013c), ‘No Cabinet blessing for TransNamib CEO’ (Mongudhi & Shinovene, 2013) and ‘TNamib says recruitment for CEO was above board’ (Mongudhi, 2013d) and the excessive use of anonymous sources suggested an attempt to persuade an agenda as well as framing her as a devious or untrustworthy person.

The views of the other potential candidate for the CEO job and those of the ACC and Ministers (all males) were sought, while little attempts were made to seek her opinion/comment, framing her as someone who is perhaps not worthy of giving an opinion, thus reinforcing (gender bias) that women are incompetent and are best suited for lower positions in the echelons of power or the traditional gender role frame in the home and not in the office (Mongudhi, 2013b). There also appeared to be a selection of certain ideas to give them ever-increasing importance over others, such as the repetition of how Naanda apparently head-hunted a potential CEO for the parastatal and then competed against him – another reinforcement of gender bias.

The board framed her as insubordinate and incompetent, leading to her eventual suspension, hearing, resignation and settlement with the parastatal, but the reportage did not demonstrate as much enthusiasm and attention to probe what appeared to be deliberate attempts to frustrate and break Naanda’s morale to carry out her mandate. Nor was there

a similar focus by *The Namibian* to probe the appointment of TransNamib’s chairperson (Dr Pieter Oosthuizen) who may have been working in Namibia without legal papers and whose qualifications were under scrutiny, while there was the constant probing and questioning of the legitimacy of Naanda’s appointment. This framing of Naanda in *The Namibian* challenged her position of power, reinforcing the old adage of male dominance central to the subordination of women.

The common frames that were found in *The Namibian* about Sara Naanda were being framed as devious and untrustworthy, incompetent, insubordinate, incompetent and position of power. The common frames in *The Namibian* about Sara Naanda are presented in Table 4.25.

**Table 4.25: The common frames in The Namibian about Sara Naanda**

<b>The Namibian</b>
Devious or untrustworthy
Incompetent
Insubordinate
Position of power

The case of former managing director (MD) of Air Namibia Theo Namases followed an almost similar trend as that of Naanda. However, there was evidently no direct concerted effort to frame her in certain ways that had the potential to undermine the appointment of Namases. The media simply reported verbatim as per members of board of directors, seemingly reinforcing the motives or agendas of those boards in articles such as ‘Namases reports to work’ (Haidula, 2014), ‘Namases takes AirNam fight to court’ (Mongudhi & Haidula, 2014).

While newspapers appeared to be candid when reporting about the Air Namibia/Namases saga, none of the newspapers took interest in interrogating the allegations made by the boards against Namases, which framed her as devious or untrustworthy. Little attempts were also made to seek her opinion/comment, framing her as someone who is perhaps not worthy of giving an opinion, thus reinforcing gender bias that women are incompetent and are best suited for lower positions in the echelons of power or the traditional gender role frame in the home and not in the office. This framing of Namases challenged her position of power, reinforcing the old adage of male dominance central to the subordination of women. The board accused or framed her as insubordinate and incompetent, leading to her eventual suspension, hearing, resignation and settlement with the parastatal.

The former CEO of Namibia Training Authority (NTA) Maria Nangolo-Rukoro followed the similar trend as that of Namases and Naanda. However, as in the case of Namases, there was evidently no direct concerted effort to frame her in certain ways that had the potential to undermine her appointment. The media simply reported verbatim as per members of board of directors, seemingly reinforcing the motives or agendas of those boards in articles such as 'NTA board suspends CEO' (Shipanga, 2013a), 'Dead silence on NTA probe findings' (Shipanga, 2013b) and 'NTA 'offers' to pay off former boss' (Mongudhi, 2014)

While newspapers appeared to be candid when reporting about the NTA/Nangolo saga, none of the newspapers took interest in interrogating the allegations made by the board against Nangolo-Rukoro, which framed her as devious or untrustworthy. Little attempts were also made to seek her opinion/comment, framing her as someone who is perhaps not worthy of giving an opinion, thus reinforcing gender bias that women are incompetent and

are best suited for lower positions in the echelons of power or the traditional gender role frame in the home and not in the office.

The board accused her of being insubordinate and incompetent, leading to her eventual suspension, hearing, resignation and settlement with the parastatal. This framing of Nangolo-Rukoro challenged her position of power, reinforcing the old age adage in culture where women were not heard but only seen.

The common frames that were found in *The Namibian*, *Namibian Sun*, *New Era* and *Windhoek Observer* about Nangolo-Rukoro were being devious or untrustworthy, incompetent, framed in gender role, insubordinate, incompetent and position of power.

#### **(ii) Namibian Sun**

Although the *Namibian Sun* carried only a few stereotypes about Hanse-Himarwa in its reportage, headlines titled ‘Katrina shows her claws’ (Leuschner, 2019) and ‘Katrina unleashes hurricane’ (Muraranganda, 2015), also had the potential of framing her as someone who is violent and angry.

The *Namibian Sun* was also descriptive in covering Hanse-Himarwa’s trial at court, going to lengths to create visual images of her appearance, describing how the “immaculately dressed Hanse-Himarwa” (Leuschner, 2019) was “dressed impeccably in her signature white dress and *doek* (turban)” (Beukes, 2019b). This type of framing creates the impression that she is a vain person whose interest is only in clothing - a ‘fashion plate’, which takes away from her other important attributes. The common frames in *Namibian Sun* about Hanse-Himarwa are presented in Table 4.26.

**Table 4.26: The common frames in Namibian Sun about Hanse-Himarwa**

<b>Namibian Sun</b>
1. Angry and violent
2. Fashion plate

The *Namibian Sun* also carried only one stereotype about Pendukeni Iivula-Ithana calling her the Iron Lady (*Namibian Sun*, 2014), framing her in a masculine frame. Table 4.27 indicates the common frames in *Namibian Sun* about Iivula-Ithana.

**Table 4.27: The common frames in Namibian Sun about Iivula-Ithana.**

<b>Namibian Sun</b>
1. Masculine

In the case of Sara Naanda, *Namibian Sun* and *New Era* news reports seemed to simply be report verbatim on the squabbles at the parastatal as there appeared to be no deliberate or purposeful attempt to frame Naanda in certain ways. This inactive reporting appeared to reinforce positions of dominant groups that confirm the status quo in public institutions and business. Such reports seemed to reinforce the agenda of the dominant group(s) framing Naanda as insubordinate and incompetent, devious and untrustworthy. Common frames in *Namibian Sun* and *New Era* about Sara Naanda are presented in Table 4.28.

**Table 4.28: Common frames in Namibian Sun and New Era about Sara Naanda.**

<b>Namibian Sun and New Era</b>
Insubordinate
Incompetent
Devious or untrustworthy

**(iii) New Era**

The *New Era* also carried only a few stereotypes about Hanse-Himarwa in their reportage. The first was about her alleged incompetence, which framed Hanse-Himarwa as someone with questionable intelligence. Like *Namibian Sun*, the *New Era* also framed her as a ‘fashion plate’ by the way they described her appearance during the court reporting that Hanse-Himarwa has “made the trial her own fashion show- dressed in a bright green dress with darker patches, a matching jacket and shoes” (Routh, 2018). The common frames in the *New Era* about Hanse-Himarwa are presented in Table 4.29.

**Table 4.29: The common frames in the New Era about Hanse-Himarwa**

<b>New Era</b>
1. Angry and violent
2. Fashion plate

The *New Era* carried several stereotypes in their reportage about Iivula-Ithana with the common one being her age. Her age was mentioned several times with one being when she graduated where the title of the article was ‘Iivula-Ithana gets her MBA at age 64’ (Ikela, 2017). Her age was also mentioned for being nominated as one of the presidential

appointees to Parliament in 2015. This type of framing stems from views on gender stereotypes, depicting women as sex objects who are usually young. Other common stereotypes were also in reference to Iivula-Ithana’s character and behavioural traits and being referenced as strong, where the former government Minister was described as outspoken and “seen as tough nut to crack” (Haugfiku, 2015). Just as in the case of the “Iron Lady” name-calling, the referencing is also a masculine framing that defines a woman as tough and strong, similarly to how the stereotypes of leaders are culturally masculine. The inferences being made is that the other women, unlike the Iron Lady, are weak and in the lower power group. Table 4.30 presents the common frames in the *New Era* about Iivula-Ithana.

**Table 4.30: The common frames in the New Era about Iivula-Ithana.**

<b>The Namibian</b>
1. Masculine

The *New Era* also carried several stereotypes in their reportage especially in reference to Mensah-Williams’ character and behavioral traits where she was described as “talkative”, “untrustworthy”, “loose tongue”, “irritating character”, “loudmouth”, “untrustworthy”, “leading cheerleader” and a “drama queen”. This was in a column (opinion) titled “An ontological response to Margaret Mensah-Williams” in the *New Era* where the latter was likened to a character in a book (Amupanda, 2019). The stereotypes framed Mensah-Williams as someone of questionable intelligence. Table 4.31 shows the common frames in the *New Era* about Mensah-Williams

**Table 4.31: The common frames in the New Era about Mensah-Williams**

<b>New Era</b>
1. Questionable intelligence

**(iv) Windhoek Observer**

The *Windhoek Observer* carried several articles with gender stereotypes about Hanse-Himarwa’s character and behavioural traits, such as describing her as the “outspoken governor, known for her grit and brashness, a blunt take on events and angry outbursts, framing her as angry and violent (*Windhoek Observer*, 2019b).

The *Windhoek Observer* also stereotyped the former Governor of Hardap Region as someone “who is controversial, who does not mince her words and who regularly seem to attract criticism”. This framed Hanse-Himarwa as someone who is scandalous and cannot be trusted. The common frames in the *Windhoek Observer* about Hanse-Himarwa are indicated in Table 4.32.

**Table 4.32: The common frames in the Windhoek Observer about Hanse-Himarwa**

<b>Windhoek Observer</b>
1. Angry and violent
2. Scandalous

The *Windhoek Observer* carried only one frame about Pendukeni Iivula-Ithana calling her the Iron Lady, which framed her as masculine. The common stereotypes found about Iivula-Ithana in the four newspapers are presented in Table 4.33:

**Table 4.33: The common stereotypes found about Iivula-Ithana**

<b>Windhoek Observer</b>
1. Masculine

A letter published to the *Windhoek Observer* titled ‘Mensah-Williams told to shut up’ (Smith, 2016) carried gender stereotypes about Mensah-Williams in reference to her character and behavioral traits where she was told to “shut up” and “keep quiet”. This frames her as someone on the low end, while overlooking her position of power. This framing challenges her position of power, which reinforces the old age adage in culture where women were not heard but only seen. Table 4.34 presents the common frames in the *Windhoek Observer* about Mensah-Williams.

**Table 4.34: The common frames in the Windhoek Observer about Mensah-Williams**

<b>Windhoek Observer</b>
1. Position of power

There appeared to be also no deliberate or purposeful attempt to frame Naanda in certain ways as the *Windhoek Observer* simply reported verbatim on the squabbles at the parastatal. However, the reportage seemed to also reinforce positions of dominant groups at parastatals, framing Naanda as insubordinate, incompetent, devious and untrustworthy. A story titled ‘Naanda’s NamPower role under scrutiny’ (Angula-Smith, 2016) went on

to question why Naanda - “axed” former TransNamib Chief Executive Officer - was appointed to the new NamPower Board of Directors.

The report seemed to frame Naanda as someone who is incompetent since she was “axed” (inaccurate reporting) at TransNamib, this while she was “cleared of the disciplinary hearing process and all charges levelled against her are unconditionally withdrawn” (Angula-Smith, 2016). Common frames in the Windhoek Observer about Sara Naanda are presented in Table 4.35.

**Table 4.35: Common frames in the Windhoek Observer about Sara Naanda.**

Windhoek Observer
Insubordinate
Incompetent
Devious and untrustworthy

#### **4.3.3.1 Common frames found in the newspapers about the women in leadership.**

**(i) Common frames about Katrina Hanse-Himarwa (Case 1)**

Common frames found in the newspapers about Hanse-Himarwa are illustrated in Table 4.36

**Table 4.36: Common frames about Katrina Hanse-Himarwa**

1. Angry and violent
2. Scandalous
3. Appearance
4. Questionable intelligence
5. Position of power
6. Fashion plate

**(ii) Common frames about Pendukeni Iivula-Ithana (Case 2)**

Common frames about Pendukeni Iivula-Ithana in the newspapers are illustrated in Table 4.37.

**Table 4.37: Common frames about Pendukeni Iivula-Ithana**

1. Masculine
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**(iii) Common frames about Margaret Mensah-Williams (Case 3)**

Common frames about Margaret Mensah-Williams in the newspapers are presented in Table 4.38.

**Table 4.38: Common frames about Margaret Mensah-Williams**

1. Questionable intelligence
2. Position of power

**(iv) Common frames about Sara Naanda (Case 4)**

The common frames about Sara Naanda in newspapers are illustrated in Table 4.39.

**Table 4.39: The common frames about Naanda in the four newspapers**

1. Devious or untrustworthy
2. Incompetent
3. Insubordinate
4. Position of power

**(v) Common frames about Theo Namases (Case 5)**

The common frames about Theo Namases in the four newspapers are presented in Table 4.40

**Table 4.40: Common frames about Theo Namases**

Devious or untrustworthy
Incompetent
Insubordinate
Position of power

**(vi) Common frames about Maria Nangolo-Rukoro (Case 6)**

The common frames about Maria Nangolo-Rukoro in the four newspapers are presented in Table 4.41.

**Table 4.41: Common frames about Maria Nangolo-Rukoro**

Devious and untrustworthy
Incompetent
Insubordinate
Position of power

**4.3.3.2 The common frames found about women in decision-making positions in both the public (Parliament) and SOEs in all four newspapers.**

The common frames found about women in decision-making positions in both the public (Parliament) and SOEs in all four newspapers are presented in Table 4.42.

**Table 4.42: The common frames found about women in leadership**

1. Angry and violent
2. Appearance
3. Questionable intelligence
4. Fashion plate
5. Masculine
6. Position of power
7. Devious/untrustworthy
8. Incompetent
9. Insubordinate
10. Incompetent

**4.3.4 The media sets the agenda for the public’s attention in its pattern of news coverage that has the possibility of influencing public opinion about women in leadership positions.**

The fourth objective was to investigate if the media sets the agenda for the public’s attention in its pattern of news coverage that has the possibility of influencing public opinion about women in leadership positions. The four newspapers were investigated to present the trends.

**4.3.4.1 Number of articles on women in leadership**

A total of 93 articles about women in leadership as per the case studies were found to conform to the objective of the study. *The Namibian* had the majority of 35 articles, followed by the Windhoek Observer with 22 articles, the *New Era* (20) and *Namibian Sun*

(16). Of the 93 articles, the majority of articles were written about Katrina Hanse-Himarwa with 28 articles (30 percent), tailed by Sara Naanda with 21 (28.5 percent), Pendukeni Ithana-livula following with 16 articles (17 percent) and Theo Namases with 14 articles (15.3 percent). Maria Nangolo-Rukoro with 10 articles (10.9 percent) and Margaret Mensah-Williams with only 4 (3.6 percent) articles had the least of articles written about them in conformity of the objectives of the research. Table 4.43 presents the findings on the number of articles on women in leadership.

**Table 4.43: Number of articles on women in leadership**

	<b>The Namibian</b>	<b>Namibian Sun</b>	<b>New Era</b>	<b>Windhoek Observer</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>
Katrina Hanse-Himarwa	14	6	3	5	<b>28</b>	30
Pendukeni Ithana-livula	5	2	5	4	<b>16</b>	17
Margaret Mensah-Williams	1	-	2	1	<b>4</b>	3.6
Sara Naanda	9	3	4	5	<b>21</b>	28.5
Theo Namases	6	1	5	2	<b>14</b>	15.3
Maria Nangolo-Rukoro	5	1	1	5	<b>10</b>	10.9
<b>Total</b>					<b>93</b>	

#### **4.3.4.2 Type of articles in which women leaders are covered**

The study found that the majority of stories about women in leadership were covered in the national category (42.8 percent), followed by finance/economics (12 percent) and columns/opinions (10.9 percent), as illustrated in the Table 4.44 below.

**Table 4.44: Type of articles in which women leaders are covered**

	<b>The Namibian</b>	<b>Namibian Sun</b>	<b>New Era</b>	<b>Windhoek Observer</b>	<b>Total</b>
National	17	-	8	15	39
News story	2	-	-	-	2
Editorial	1	-	-	1	2
Column/ Opinion	6	1	1	2	10
Politics		1			1
Justice		6			6
Education		1			1
Government		1			1
Finance/ Economics	6	2	3	-	11
Frontpage	1	-	2	-	3
Transport	-	1	-	-	1
Local	-	2	3	1	6
Letters	2	1	-	1	5
Analysis/ Feature/ Special focus	-	-	2	2	3
	<b>(35)</b>	<b>(16)</b>	<b>(20)</b>	<b>(22)</b>	
<b>Total</b>					<b>93</b>

**4.3.4.3 Themes of the articles**

The themes of the articles were mostly found to carry a negative slant but an almost equal amount of articles were also found to be general, while prejudice directed at women was also common place. Few articles carried a positive slant while ambiguity in articles was the least common. Table 4.45 illustrates the themes of articles in the four newspapers.

**Table 4.45: Themes of articles**

	<b>The Namibian</b>	<b>Namibian Sun</b>	<b>New Era</b>	<b>Windhoek Observer</b>	
<b>Theme</b>					
Ambiguous (A)	1				1
Negative (N)	16		5	2	23
General (G)	13	5	4		22
Positive (P)	1	1	1	1	4
Prejudiced (Pr)	4	1		6	11

#### **4.3.4.4 Types of sources**

The study found that in most of the news articles quoted, the type of sources cited in the articles were male, while a substantial amount of articles carried anonymous sources or it was unclear what the sex of the source was. Most of the sources in the articles were from the business community, or there was no source in the story. Government sources, opinion pieces, public sources and court testimonies were the least of sources quoted, respectively. The types of sources in newspaper articles are illustrated in Table 4.46

**Table 4.46: Types of sources**

	<b>The Namibian</b>	<b>Namibian Sun</b>	<b>New Era</b>	<b>Windhoek Observer</b>	
<b>Sources cited?</b>	33	6	9	8	56
No source (N)	9	3	1	1	14
<b>Male source cited</b>	15	10	3	6	34
Male/female	2				2
Anonymous/ Unclear (A/U)	25	2	2	7	36
<b>Type of source</b>					
Opinion (O)	6		1	1	8
Business/ Private sector (B/P)	14	1	5	6	26
Public/political (P)	3	1	3	1	8
Government (G)	4	1		1	6
Court testimony/ Lawyer (C/L)	1	2	1	1	4
Members of public (MP)	1	1			2
					1

#### 4.3.4.5 Where the source is quoted in the article

The study found that in the majority of news articles, the source was quoted in the entire article (one sourced story), where in fewer instances, the source would be quoted partially, in the bottom half of the article, in the upper half of the article or in the first paragraph of the article as illustrated in the table below. Table 4.47 illustrates where the sources were quoted in articles.

**Table 4.47: Where sources are quoted in articles**

	<b>The Namibian</b>	<b>Namibian Sun</b>	<b>New Era</b>	<b>Windhoek Observer</b>	
<b>Where source is quoted</b>					
Headline (H)	3				3
H. to first paragraph	3				3
1 <sup>st</sup> paragraph	1			3	4
Upper half	3			1	4
Middle	1				1
Middle/bottom	4	2			6
Bottom	4			2	6
All	10	3	12	1	26

#### **4.3.3.7 Proportion of opinion of leader quoted**

The study found that in the vast majority of news articles, the leader’s opinion was quoted, but contrastingly in a sizable amount of articles, the leader only got mentioned or hardly got mentioned at all. Table 4.48 presents the findings about the proportion of opinion of leader quoted.

**Table 4.48: Proportion of opinion of leader quoted**

	<b>The Namibian</b>	<b>Namibian Sun</b>	<b>New Era</b>	<b>Windhoek Observer</b>	
<b>Proportion of leader opinion</b>					
Vast majority	8	2	8	2	20
Majority	2				2
Hardly	4				4
Hardly at all	8			2	10
Only gets mention	5	5	2	4	16

#### **4.4 Summary**

This chapter critically analysed the stereotypes and frames used in four (4) selected Namibian newspaper reports by analysing and presenting the findings. The study presented case studies to analyse and determine if women in leadership are in fact stereotyped and framed in media reportage that has the potential of jeopardising their careers. The presentation of results and newspaper analyses were also done in this chapter. The next chapter will interpret and discuss the findings.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

#### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings and interpretation of data gathered about females in leadership positions in both Parliament and SOEs in four (4) selected Namibian newspaper reports, namely *The Namibian*, *Namibian Sun*, *New Era* and *Windhoek Observer* according to the objectives of the study as follows:

The findings and interpretation are discussed according to the themes derived from the objectives of the study as follows:

1. Determine the frequency and extent to which women in leadership positions are stereotyped in media reportage.
2. Identify the common gender stereotypes used in the media about women in leadership positions in both parliament and State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs).
3. Establish the common gender frames used in the media about women in leadership positions in both parliament and State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs).
4. Investigate if the media sets the agenda for the public's attention in its pattern of news coverage that has the possibility of influencing public opinion about women in leadership positions.

## **5.2 Frequency and extent to which women in leadership positions are stereotyped in media reportage.**

The first objective sought to find out the frequency and extent to which women in leadership positions are stereotyped in the media. This study has established that discourse in the Namibian press use stereotypical language which frame women in leadership positions that affect their ambitions and advancement in leadership roles in politics and in the corporate business world in Namibia. For example, in the case of Hanse-Himarwa, it was determined that the frequent stereotypes in the four newspapers about her were dominated by character and behavioural traits (41.5 percent), incompetence (22.6 percent), physical attributes/dresscode (16.9 percent), name-calling (11.3 percent), being called controversial (5.6 percent) and her age being mentioned (1.8 percent). In the case of Mensah-Williams, it was also established that three newspapers - *The Namibian* (6), *New Era* (6) and Windhoek Observer (1) carried articles and opinion pieces associated with her character and behavioural traits.

The present study concurs with other studies where this norm has also been observed in other countries across the globe where women are either absent from reportage or are misrepresented in reportage. Williams (2018) investigated and compared newspaper coverage in *The Guardian*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Mirror* and *The Sun* about Margaret Thatcher and Theresa May in the UK during their first three prime ministerial weeks in 1979 and 2016, respectively and found that the UK politicians' gender to be emphasised, while the women were often regarded as novelties or trivialised as opposed to their male counterparts who were portrayed as the norm.

In the United States of America, Wasburn and Wasburn (2011) studied the case of Sarah Palin's vice presidential campaign where they also established patterns of stereotypes.

McIntosh (2013), argues that while the duty of journalism is to provide audiences with truthful representations of reality, the type of coverage dedicated to female politicians, the use of positive and negative vernacular about a politician or a political party, or the amount of coverage given to political events impact how a public views a political leader or party.

*The Namibian* newspaper accounted for the most frequent gender stereotypes used against women in leadership positions among the four newspapers analysed for the purpose of this study.

Katrina Hanse-Himarwa, the first Namibian female Education Minister, was the most targeted parliamentarian who received the most hits (37) for gender stereotypes in newspaper reports. This was especially rampant in *The Namibian's The Rambler* column where constant insults were hurled at her and where there appeared to be a concerted effort to discredit her, questioning her personal character and describing her behaviour in demeaning ways.

### **5.3 The common gender stereotypes used in the media about women in leadership positions in both parliament and State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs).**

The second objective sought to find out the common gender stereotypes used in the media about women in leadership positions in both parliament and State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs). The study found the common gender stereotypes in the media to be character and

behavioural traits, incompetent, name-calling, physical attributes/appearance, age, strong, controversial and victim.

The present study has revealed that when Namibian female leaders are mentioned in the media, there seem to be reinforcement of societal constructs and sustainment of gendered frameworks within which female leaders must fit regardless of their specific individual traits.

The study established that the media reports less on the policy and strategy priorities within the scope of responsibilities of female leaders and are more prone to use gender stereotypes to discuss their behavioural and character traits, name-calling is recurrent, their position of power is challenged, their competency is questioned and masculine stereotypes are reinforced.

One example is about Margaret Mensah-Williams where salient remarks were made in *The Rambler* where she was told “don’t cry” (like a little girl?) ...“you are not an 18 year-old girl anymore” (Rambler, 2016a).

These type of remarks usually reinforce the male stereotype that buttress the notion that women are weak and crying is associated with weakness, while men have purportedly superior social emotional skills “as they don’t cry”.

Such type of gender stereotypes implicitly impact the expectations we have about women versus men in leadership positions as observed by McIntosh’s (2013) in her deduction that this trend shifts the focus away from a woman’s applicable skills and potential to insignificant themes that fail to take into account the nature and work of politics.

For example, in a Q&A interview with the Windhoek Observer, Hanse-Himarwa, was asked what her opinion was regarding certain (political) party members who have at times apparently accused her of being “ungrateful” about her political ranking (Ndimbira, 2013). The question in itself appear to give some legitimacy to the accusations made by the party members going back to the perceived reinforcement of traditional gender stereotypes where women are not accepted as equals in the echelons of power and are seemingly brought there by ‘luck’ or as tokens to make up the numbers.

Literature has also shown that, as elucidated by McIntosh (2013), that female political leaders face increased media scrutiny, which is attributed to the media’s adherence to gender stereotypes that favour men over women in positions of power.

This view stems from the underlying notions of dominant ideology that manifests itself into the media, as Van Dikj (1995) would argue that more or less subtly, the press and most other news media position themselves in all these power conflicts at the side of the dominant group, thereby confirming the status quo, legitimating inequality and reproducing the (in group) consensus on which they rest.

The examples above illustrate how traditional gender stereotypical frameworks sieve themselves into the media and how the media traditionally reinforces certain norms supported by structures of dominance. One such structure is hegemony defined by Hall (1985) as dominance and subordination in the field of relations structured by power (Hall 1985, as cited in Lull, 1995, page 31).

According to Hall (1985), using mass-mediated ideologies, the power structures transcend with messages that reinforce the status quo in public institutions, businesses, religious groups, the military and media, among others.

A study by the International Labor Organization (ILO) titled 'Breaking barriers: Unconscious gender bias in the workplace' (2017) has noted that unconscious gender bias remains a significant barrier to women's career advancement and is also difficult to identify and prevent.

The paper defines unconscious gender bias as unintentional and automatic mental associations based on gender, stemming from traditions, norms, values, culture and/or experience. It explains that automatic associations feed into decision-making, enabling a quick assessment of an individual according to gender and gender stereotypes.

The ILO paper goes further to explain that workplace norms may hinder women's careers, like when senior leadership positions are held exclusively by men (which is indeed the typical phenomenon), perpetuating the "think-manager-think-male" perspective.

Eagly, et al. (2011) argue that "the characteristics that people commonly ascribe to women, men, and leaders contribute to the challenges that women face in obtaining leadership roles and performing well in them."

Walter (2011) stresses that it should be noted that where gender stereotypes are propagated in and through the media, they reinforce inequalities in gender power relations and provide justification for the perpetuation of discriminatory practices based on gender (p. 36).

The findings concurs with a Gender Links' study which established that women and men in news stories are often treated differently, displaying significant gender bias (Walter, 2011, p. 24).

Name-calling was another common/frequent stereotype used in the newspapers towards female leaders. Analysis of newspaper articles established that there was some degree of affixation with insulting and demeaning labels at certain female leaders that have the potential of forming negative opinions about the individuals.

As previously, Katrina Hanse-Himarwa was constantly called "Hurricane Katrina" by the majority of newspapers in Namibia. A hurricane is a monstrous storm that can blow things away and cause major damage, but in literature, the word hurricane often refers to 'a woman scorned'.

Hurricanes are also synonymous with anger - stereotypically women are called angry when they are assertive or independent. But 'Hurricane Katrina' was also the name of the deadly hurricane that caused wide-spread disaster and killed over 1800 people in 2005 in the United States' New Orleans and surrounding area. Referring to Hanse-Himarwa as 'Hurricane Katrina' appears to give the impression or suggest that the former government Minister is as deadly and violent as the hurricane that swept through the southern part of the US.

The name 'Iron Lady' was attributed to Pendukeni Iivula-Ithana. However, while the "Iron Lady" referencing may sound to be a positive term, it is laced with sexist stereotypes, which can imply that a woman cannot be as strong, unapologetic, assertive and uncompromising unless she is an "Iron Lady".

A similar position is articulated by Feldt (2016) who contends that while the intent is to praise, the implication suggests that most women, unlike men, are delicate flowers with only a few that rise to warrant the “strong” label. She argues that in general, the lower-power group requires an adjective while the powerful group takes the noun, for example, ‘women artists’ versus artists or ‘black poets’ versus poets.

*New Era* once referred to Iivula-Ithana as a “tough nut to crack” (Haufiku, 2015) – another stereotypical label, which is similar to the “Iron Lady” or “strong” attribution. Feldt (2016) posits that labelling “keeps all women mired in a mental model that already casts us as the weaker sex”. She argues that “strong woman” diminishes with faint praise at best and reinforces a culturally ingrained gilded cage at worst, locking women into secondary roles, all while seeming supportive and modern.

The nickname “Iron Lady” was first attributed to the former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher because of her uncompromising politics and leadership style.

Nonetheless, Iivula-Ithana was one of the women in leadership that attracted the least stereotypes. The *New Era* was the biggest culprit in the frequency of the number of stereotypes attributed to Iivula-Ithana with 7 stereotypes mainly focusing on her age, character and behavioural attributes, name-calling and “strong” as an attribute. *The Namibian*, *Namibian Sun* and the Windhoek Observer, only referred casually to her as the “Iron Lady” (name-calling stereotype).

Margaret Mensah-Williams also suffered the name-calling - although to a lesser degree than Hanse-Himarwa - where she was called a drama queen. Together with Hanse-Himarwa, they were likened to a character in a book that was apparently a “loose tongue,

talkative and irritating”. In the opinion piece in the *New Era* titled ‘An ontological response to Margaret Mensah-Williams’, the two politicians were further labelled as the “leading cheerleaders and loudmouths that are untrustworthy” (Amupanda, 2019).

Similar studies elsewhere have also reported gender stereotypes towards women in leadership to be prevalent in the print media. Thuo (2012) found media to use traits such as iron lady, honest, emotional, experienced and controversial for Kenyan women MPs. However, the print media was not found to be mentioning personality traits as in the case of Namibian print media.

A South African study by Phiri (2014) titled “Media representation of South Africa’s female politicians: The case of the Mail & Guardian – 2010 to 2011” found that reinforcement of gender oppression and stereotypes persist in that country and female politicians were denigrated indirectly in media reports.

#### **5.4 The common gender frames used in the media about women in leadership positions in both parliament and State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs).**

The third objective set out to establish the common gender frames used in the media about women in leadership positions in both parliament and State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs).

The study established that the common gender frames in the media about women in leadership in the four newspapers were ‘angry and violent’, appearance, questionable intelligence, fashion plate, masculine, position of power, devious/untrustworthy, incompetent, framed in gender role, incompetent and insubordinate.

This study found that the Namibian media uses metaphors and catchphrases to frame women in ways that impact how the public view them as leaders. The most pervasive frame about women in leadership positions in Namibia was being framed as incompetent.

Women heading SOEs were especially put in the incompetent frame since their appointments as CEOs and MD. The newspapers reinforced the agenda of the male-dominated boards who framed them as incompetent in the jobs they held.

In the case of Naanda, there seem to have been concerted effort to undermine her appointment, while the media reported verbatim about Namases and Nangolo-Rukoro as related by the parastatal's members of board of directors, reinforcing the motives or agendas of those boards.

While newspapers appeared to be candid when reporting about the Air Namibia/Namases saga, none of the newspapers took interest in interrogating the allegations made by the boards against Namases.

As in the Namases' case, none of the newspapers also took interest in questioning the allegations made by the boards against Nangolo-Rukoro while it has become a trend for those in boards to reinforce the status quo in public institutions, reproducing consensus of the dominant group/s – in this case male.

This lopsided nature of reporting undermined the appointments of the three female leaders in SOEs, casting doubt on whether women are naturally competent to run big corporations or are worthy of such positions.

Katrina Hanse-Himarwa's court attendance also attracted stereotypical framing about her appearance and dressing code in newspaper coverage. Reporting on one of her court

appearances, *New Era* descriptively mentioned her sense of style in an article titled ‘Hanse-Himarwa wanted things done her way’, where the reporter went to lengths to relate how Hanse-Himarwa “has made the trial her own fashion show...dressed in a bright green dress with darker patches, a matching jacket and shoes” (Routh, 2018).

The frame ‘competence questioned’ also appeared prominently. As was custom, *The Namibian*’s column, *The Rambler* stood out with insults directed at Hanse-Himarwa where her 11-year stint as governor was equated to “ground zero after a nuclear bomb was dropped” in a column titled ‘Etiquette, Rambler Style’. The insults continued where her competence was further questioned on how “such inappropriately skilled leaders ascend to power” (Rambler, 2015).

Hanse-Himarwa’s competence was also interrogated in an article titled “Challenges facing the education system’ in the *New Era*, where the opposition party, the Popular Democratic Movement tore into her personality, declaring that she “is the last in a long line of Swapo leaders who has succeeded only in producing spectacular failures and the most ingenious of excuses for these failures in public education in Namibia”.

Mensah-Williams equally suffered the wrath of the media in *The Namibian*’s column, *The Rambler* where her competence was also questioned with inferences made that she did not deserve her position because “Swapo didn’t win that constituency because of you”. In the column titled ‘Social Media for Dummies’, it was claimed that “even if they put up an orange, a small dog or an old car as councillor in Khomasdal North, they (Swapo) will still win the constituency hands down” (Rambler, 2016a).

Mensah-Williams was further castigated in the column that her “grammar and spelling is in the toilet” and that she is an immature politician and that should not expose her ignorance on social media.

Several adverse stereotypes were also perpetuated against her in the *Windhoek Observer* news article titled ‘Mensah-Williams told to shut up’ where a former male member of Swapo’s military wing during the liberation struggle, the People’s Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) combatant, launched gratuitous attacks on the MP and was allowed space in the *Windhoek Observer* (Angula-Smith, 2016).

Such type of reportage bear evidence of how traditional gender frames are reinforced in the media, where women must seemingly keep quiet when men speak. In this case, there appears to be no sensitivity on the part of the newspaper in how a female politician is treated in the imbalanced article, where the combatant is allowed to hurl insults with impunity.

The ‘position of power’ was another frame that was found to be recurrent in the findings of the study. Pendukeni Iivula-Ithana received the most hits for the ‘position of power’ framing, but she seems to be the exception to the rule in how she was framed by the media. It stems from her unapologetic, assertive and uncompromising stance that has earned her unequivocally favourable publicity. She has been praised for the constitutional amendment (50/50 provision) that saw the Swapo party mandate equal representation of women and men in all structures as noted in the article ‘Iivula-Ithana says 50/50 is her highlight’ (Mongudhi, 2013a).

Worldwide, studies have shown that societal expectations of the ‘good manager’ are closely related to the male stereotype where results indicate that female managers are expected to conform more closely to male stereotypes than are male managers (Gmür, 2006).

In another study by Koenig, Eagly, Mitchell and Ristikari (2011) titled ‘Are Leader Stereotypes Masculine? A Meta-Analysis of Three Research Paradigms’, it was found that the characteristics that people commonly ascribe to women, men, and leaders contribute to the challenges that women face in obtaining leadership roles and performing well in them (p. 616). The scholars concluded that cultural stereotypes can make it seem that women do not have what it takes for important leadership roles as all three paradigms indicated that stereotypes of leaders are decidedly masculine. According to Eagly and Karau (2002), this cultural mismatch or role incongruity between women and the perceived demands of leadership underlies biased evaluations of women as leaders (Eagly & Karau, 2002, as cited in Koenig, Eagly, Mitchell & Ristikari, 2011).

Several scholars found that women who exhibit masculine personality traits have a 4.3 percentage points greater likelihood of gaining access to occupations than those displaying feminine personality traits, while women with masculine personality traits also take up positions which offer 10 percentage points higher wages in comparison to those with feminine personality traits. Women with masculine personality traits have an occupational access advantage, as compared to those exhibiting feminine personality traits (Drydakis, Sidiropoulou, Patnaik, Selmanovic & Bozani, 2017).

The framing of Sarah Palin and Hillary Clinton in the United States was one classic study where Fox (2008) looked at the portrayal of the two politicians to identify if they were framed in the “double bind theory” as pronounced by Myers (2008), who theorised that “women are expected to act like men, and are then criticized for just that”.

The theory found that when women in leadership positions conform to traditional female roles, they are seen as “too soft to be effective,” but when they defy society’s norms, “they are seen as ‘too tough’” (Myers, 2008, as cited in Fox, 2008).

This gives credence to the position of the Legal Assistance Centre report (2017) that societal perceptions are still perpetuated that women are subservient to men no matter their standing in society.

McIntosh (2013) posits that it is clear that patriarchy is alive and well in the coverage of women in politics and continues to threaten women’s success and ability when working in this field.

She argues that media framing is central to the problem of news reporting as it fails to focus on the relevant issues when reporting on political office bearers, specifically women.

Khan (1991, 1992, 1996, 1997) argues that women’s political authority is not always overtly undermined but they are cast as superwoman and while that is not necessarily demeaning, it nonetheless positions women by their sex rather than their political competencies (Khan, 1991, 1992, 1996, 1997, as cited in Carter, Steiner & MacLaughlin (2014).

**5.5 The media sets the agenda for the public's attention in its pattern of news coverage that has the possibility of influencing public opinion about women in leadership positions.**

The fourth objective sought to determine if the media sets the agenda for the public's attention in its pattern of news coverage that has the possibility of influencing public opinion about women in leadership positions. The study found that the Namibian media sets the agenda for the public's attention in its pattern of news coverage that has the possibility of influencing public opinion about women in leadership positions. These findings were reflective of the articles analysed where it was established that the majority of articles about women in leadership positions carried a negative slant; in most of the stories, the sources were male or they were anonymous, while other sources such as members of the public were rarely quoted and one sourced stories were prevalent.

The study also found that the articles where the leader was quoted in entire article carried the same weight as articles where the leaders' opinion was hardly sought and where only mere mention of her name was made without seeking her side of the story.

This was demonstrated by how Naanda's appointment was covered in the media and by how *The Namibian*, in particular, went out of its way in what seemed to be overzealous or fervent enthusiasm by its reporters to find confirmation that Naanda's appointment was in fact a sham.

Naanda's appointment as the CEO of TransNamib was questioned from the onset by *The Namibian* and it seemed like when the newspaper could not sustain the allegation that

Naanda's appointment was flawed, as in an earlier article titled 'No Cabinet blessing for TransNamib CEO' (Mongudhi & Immanuel, 2013), the newspaper approached the Anti-Corruption Commission (ACC) to find out whether there was any legitimacy to Naanda's appointment.

In the article titled 'ACC rule out conflict of interest at Tnamib', it was alleged that Naanda head-hunted a potential CEO for the parastatal and then competed against him, but the ACC declared that there was no merit to conclude that there was a conflict of interest (Mongudhi, 2013c).

In the article titled 'No Cabinet blessing for TransNamib CEO' (Mongudhi & Shinovene, 2013), *The Namibian* seem to have exonerated the former CEO (Titus Haimbili) of any wrong-doing, reporting that he was dismissed "under strange circumstances" while in Naanda's case, there appeared to be a conscious exertion to convince readers that her appointment was inconsistent and to create doubts that her appointment was anything but legal.

The articles also appeared to endorse the candidacy of former Motor Vehicle Accident Fund of Namibia (MVA) CEO (Jerry Mwandinohamba) as indirect insinuations were repetitively made that had it not been for Naanda's 'unfair advantage' over the latter for being a former board member, that Mwandinohamba could perhaps have been appointed as the new CEO.

The newspaper articles appeared to be gender biased and concertedly challenged Naanda's appointment to a position of power - whether deliberately or consciously.

In the case of the three CEO's, Naanda, Namases and Nangolo-Rukoro, male-dominated boards appeared to drive the agenda leading to their resignations. In all three cases, accusations were brought against the three female bosses, which included insubordination, but none of them appeared before a hearing and all cases were settled out of court.

While the cases against the CEOs may have had validity (which is not the central argument to the study), the questions that begs to be asked are how the media reported on the three cases.

Did the male-dominated media 'aide' the fall of the three CEOs'? Could the media consciously or sub-consciously have reinforced traditional gender stereotypical roles in their reportage? Why was the same intensity in the media, like questioning the appointment of Naanda, not used to question the appointments of boards of directors, cum acting CEOs/MD, and their suitability?

For example, in the case of Naanda, the former chairperson of the TransNamib board Pieter Oosthuyzen's academic credentials were questionable while he also served in a position contrary to his work permit terms, but there was no consistency in media reportage to show the same concerted effort to go behind the truth on the validity of his appointment.

This, again, suggests that the appointment of males to positions of leadership in Namibia are rarely questioned by the media while females' appointments raise eyebrows, owing to the think manager–think male paradigm, indicating that prejudice against female leaders does exist in Namibia.

Also common among the media reports, especially for the female leaders in the SOEs, was a lesser amount of news articles written on the activities of the female managers at the parastatals while much attention was directed to the disciplinary hearings and their eventual exit from the institutions.

This supports Lull's (1995) earlier assertions that "some ideological sets are elevated and amplified by the mass media, given great legitimacy by them, and distributed persuasively, while in the process, selected constellations of ideas assume ever-increasing importance, reinforcing their original meanings and extending their social impact").

The ongoing manipulation of public information and imagery constructs helps to sustain the material and cultural interests of its creation...where fabricators of dominant ideology draw their power from directly articulating their preferred systems of ideas (Lull, 1995).

In the United States, Elizabeth Dole's nomination to the Republican in the presidential election of 2000, led to her premature withdrawal which appeared to have been triggered by the fervent coverage of her campaign. According to Aday and Devitt (2011), as cited in Dunaway et al. (2013), the press agenda focused on traits rather than the policy platforms when covering her in the US presidential run.

This proved that women have to work harder to generate issues coverage because news professionals choose to focus on less substantive traits content (Dunaway et al., 2013).

Meeks (2012) also noted that journalists tend to overemphasise the "novelty" narrations of women candidates, which may contribute to normative social assumptions that position women as socially incongruent with political office.

Research has also shown that women journalists - along with women public officials – are under used as expert sources relative to men (Boutinger, 2015, as cited in Trucotte & Paul, 2015).

Grate et al. (2011), as cited in Trucotte and Paul (2015) also observed that more men than women cover presidential newsbeats and that stories produced by male reporters are featured more prominently.

In Africa, there is still a paucity of research regarding how the concept of agenda setting operates within the African media landscape. While two previous studies (Sikanku, 2010; 2011) have addressed the concept in Africa, the study argued that much may be gained from systematically subjecting the issue of media agenda setting to further imperial investigation.

## **5.6 Summary**

This chapter presented the findings and interpretation of data gathered about females in leadership positions in both Parliament and SOEs in four selected Namibian newspaper reports. Case studies were analysed according to the objectives of the study before results were presented in this chapter. The next chapter will present the summary, conclusion and recommendations.

## CHAPTER SIX

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 6.1 Introduction

This chapter summarises the key findings of the overall study and presents a conclusion and recommendations. This study sought to identify the frequency and extent to which women in leadership positions are stereotyped in media reportage and establish the common stereotypical frames used in the Namibian print media towards women in decision-making positions in both the public (parliament) and State-Owned Enterprises (SOE's) sectors. Six (6) detailed case studies of women in Parliament and SOEs were investigated to present the trends of which three (3) were female politicians and three (3) were CEOs/MD at SOEs who appear to have been targets of stereotypes and media framing during the time period of the research. Based on a quantitative and qualitative content analysis of print media articles in four newspapers, namely *The Namibian*, *Namibian Sun*, *New Era* and *Windhoek Observer* were analysed.

The summary, conclusion and recommendations are discussed according to the following themes derived from the objectives of the study as follows:

1. Determine the frequency and extent to which women in leadership positions are stereotyped in media reportage.
2. Identify the common gender stereotypes used in the media about women in leadership positions in both parliament and State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs).
3. Establish the common stereotypical frames used in the Namibian print media towards women in leadership positions.

4. Investigate if the media sets the agenda for the public's attention in its pattern of news coverage that has the possibility of influencing public opinion about women in leadership positions.

## **6.2 Summary of findings**

The study established that women in leadership positions in both Parliament and SOEs in Namibia are targets of gendered stereotypes and framing that affect their ambitions and advancement in leadership roles in politics and in the corporate business world.

### **6.2.1 The frequency and extent to which women in leadership positions are stereotyped in media reportage.**

The study established that women in leadership positions are frequently stereotyped in print media. The study also found that stories about the women leaders' activities as regards their policy and strategy outputs within their scope of responsibilities are often overlooked in the print media while stories that put them in disrepute are more prominent in newspaper reportage.

*The Namibian* newspaper was found to be the biggest culprit in the frequency of gender stereotypes about women in leadership in the media.

### **6.2.2 The common gender stereotypes used in the media about women in leadership positions in both parliament and State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs).**

The study established that the Namibian print media are more prone to discuss women in leadership's behavioural and character traits, name-calling is recurrent, their physical

attributes/appearance and age are mentioned, “strong”, “victim” or “controversial” were some of the other attributes.

The most pervasive stereotype about women in leadership positions in Namibia was about their character and behavioural traits. In some instances these stereotypes bordered on insults and vulgarity mostly hidden in opinion and column pieces. Less time was spent on covering policy priorities of female candidates and more on discussing the leaders’ viability character traits. The findings support research that has shown that the media focus on the personal characteristics (appearance, clothing, and accessories) of female political leaders rather than on their achievements and abilities.

The second most persistent stereotype was incompetence which reflected on the perceived culturally endorsed views of gender, while name-calling was yet another stereotype recurring in articles about the female leaders. Physical attributes and appearance was also found to be common among stereotypes attributed to women in leadership positions in Namibia.

Age, “strong”, controversial and victim were the other stereotype found in articles regarding women leaders, however, those qualities fell under the least of stereotypes used by the media in reportage.

### **6.2.3 The common stereotypical frames used in the Namibian print media towards women in leadership positions.**

This study established that the most common stereotypical frames in media reportage

were 'angry and violent', appearance, questionable intelligence, fashion plate, masculine, position of power, devious/untrustworthy, incompetent, framed in gender role, incompetent and insubordinate.

The most pervasive frame about women in leadership positions in Namibia was being framed as incompetent. Women leaders in SOEs were especially put in that frame since their appointments as CEOs and MD. The newspapers reinforced the agenda of the boards to frame them as incompetent for the jobs they held.

This skewed nature of reporting seemed to undermine the appointments of the three SOE leaders and appeared to reinforce the notion that the SOEs leaders are not competent or worthy of the positions, perhaps also reinforcing the notion that women are naturally incompetent and cannot assume such high-levelled positions.

Another common frame about women in leadership positions was being framed as devious or untrustworthy. There appeared to be deliberate or purposeful attempts by boards to frame the three women leaders in SOEs as dishonest in leading the parastatals.

The male-dominated boards framed the female leaders in the three parastatals as insubordinate whereas there was no evident proof in the news articles that there was insubordination on the part of leaders. The media reported that verbatim, reinforcing gender bias by male-dominated boards.

The media framed women in leadership as having questionable intelligence, while a number of female leaders were also framed in their positions of power, reinforcing the old adage of male dominance central to the subordination of women.

The study found that the frame ‘masculine’ made inferences that unlike the Iron Lady (Iivula-Ithana), the other women are weak and in the lower power group category.

This findings are congruent with suppositions that media reportage in Namibia seem to entrench and reinforce gender stereotypical frameworks of women in leadership positions in the public sector.

**6.2.4 The media’s agenda for the public’s attention in its pattern of news coverage that has the possibility of influencing public opinion about women in leadership positions.**

The study also established that despite the progress made in the rise of women to leadership positions in Namibia, women struggle in upholding their positions as there appears to be target fixation and agenda setting on them that are damaging to their careers.

A total of 93 articles about women in leadership as per the case studies were found to carry gender stereotypes and stereotypical frames about women in leadership. *The Namibian* carried the majority of 35 articles, followed by the Windhoek Observer with 22 articles, the *New Era* (20) and *Namibian Sun* (16).

The study found that the majority of stories about women in leadership were covered in the national category (42.8 percent), followed by finance/economics (12 percent) and columns/opinions (10.9 percent).

## **6.3 Recommendations**

This section presents recommendations to address the issues raised about the stereotypes and frames used against women in leadership as per the research objectives as follows:

### **6.3.1 The frequency and extent to which women in leadership positions are stereotyped in media reportage.**

The study established that women in leadership positions are frequently stereotyped in print media. As a result, the following recommendations are made:

- It is recommended that since women are minorities by power structures, serious critical inquiry into the activities of the print media must be done especially in the analysis of the role it plays in the reinforcement of stereotypes that disempowerment women in leadership.
- This could be done by openly condemning news articles that have stereotypes and openly confront media houses that place such articles to ensure that more women's advancement in leadership roles are not placed in jeopardy or in disadvantageous positions when they assume senior positions.
- Remind media houses of the need to endorse policies that can heighten gender equality and bring about women's empowerment, revise methods in place that can circumvent preconceived biases or notions about the sexes and in turn influence how journalists report news.

- This can be done through devising on-going training courses for journalists that periodically resuscitate not only their writing skills, but to also continue being gender-aware in their writing.
- Critically analyse the statements, speeches and utterances by male sources to check the domination of sexist and gender biased discourse they create that suppress public space for women to participate.
- Disseminate this recommendations to raise awareness among the relevant stakeholders and the media, in particular about the central role of gender equality for democracy and the full enjoyment of human rights by all.
- Develop guidelines that can improve the visibility of women in media reportage and the avoidance of language that is sexist.
- Pioneer gender balance in the appointment of men and women to regulatory and monitoring bodies and encourage self-regulatory establishments to do the same.

### **6.3.2 The common gender stereotypes used in the media about women in leadership positions in both parliament and State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs).**

The study established that the Namibian print media discuss women in leadership's behavioural and character traits, name-calling is recurrent, their physical attributes/appearance and age are mentioned, "strong", "victim" or "controversial" were some of the other attributes. Based on these findings, the following recommendations are made:

- Media use gender-neutral language about women and men in promoting and strengthening social awareness of gender equality and in particular, promoting a positive and non-stereotyped image of women in the media.
- Media institutions, media houses, government institutions, NGOs, and more be encouraged to combat gender stereotypes by encouraging the media to pursue policies that promote equality between women and men.
- Sensitise the media sector, journalists and other actors and their respective organisations to monitor how the media report on women in leadership so that the reinforcement of traditional gender stereotypical roles and the male dominant voice in the media is challenged and discouraged as that impact the perception of how the public view a woman and a man in leadership positions in relation to their sex.
- Take a fresh look at training curricula by mainstreaming gender in journalism communication and media studies curricula and teaching.
- Improve enrolment of women in media training institutions for programmes that are usually stereotyped as male such as sports, politics and economy reporting.
- That universities and colleges incorporate gendered media studies into their curriculum to ensure that journalists are trained especially in gender sensitive language so that they do not perpetuate stereotypes that reflect or sustain socially and traditionally limited views.
- Government introduce a national drive to popularise and raise awareness campaigns on combating gender stereotypes in the media about the National Gender Policy as patriarchal attitudes cannot only be addressed at the professional level.

### **6.3.3 The common frames used in the Namibian print media towards women in leadership positions.**

This study established that the most common stereotypical frames in media reportage about women leaders were being framed as ‘angry and violent’, appearance was discussed, their intelligence was questioned, framed as fashion plates, masculine stereotypes attached to them, position of power was challenged, framed as devious/untrustworthy, incompetent, framed in gender role and incompetent and insubordinate. The following recommendations are made:

- That the Ministry of Information, Communication and Technology (MICT) adopt and implement national indicators for gender equality in the media, promote media literacy and active citizenship.
- Media institutions, media houses, government institutions, NGOs, and more Strengthening of self-regulatory mechanisms and codes of conduct to condemn and combat sexist language by
- Proactively addressing the effects of gender framing by educating and raising awareness in society through the media coverage of issues that suppress women.
- Encourage and influence the media institutions, media houses, government institutions, NGOs and the general public have a monitoring system in place in order to deconstruct the language used in media reportage.

- This will heighten awareness and bring about greater balance and fairness in the coverage of both men and women and assist the policy on gender in Namibia to eliminate the framing of women in the media.
- Encourage public-spirited media enterprises or civil society with a feminist outlook to question, reflect and introspect the way media represent women's issues on a weekly/monthly basis.
- MICT, the Ministry of Gender Equality and Child Welfare, the Editors' Forum, Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) and the Editor's Forum codify progressive gender code guidelines for reporting on women's issues.
- Adopt an appropriate legal framework to ensure that there is respect for the principle of human dignity by prohibition of gender stereotypes and framing in the media as well as of incitement of sexism and any form of gender-based discrimination within the media.
- Review media policies and mainstream gender to eliminate gender framing in content to improve the participation of women in the media as a tool for positive reinforcement

**6.3.4 The media's agenda in its pattern of news coverage that has the possibility of influencing public opinion about women in leadership positions.**

The study also established that there is agenda setting about women in leadership that is damaging to their careers. As a result, the following recommendations are made:

- Media practitioners influence implementation of a gender policy in all newsrooms.

- The public sector and civil society, including the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) reinforce policy direction on gender and give impetus to the need for the media to improve on reportage that can promote the attainment of gender equality and women empowerment.
- That MICT devise guidelines which can create the appropriate conditions under which the media can promote gender equality as a fundamental principle.
- Encourage media outlets to adopt self-regulatory measures, internal codes of conduct/ethics and internal supervision to develop standards in media coverage that promotes gender equality.
- Influence implementation specific reference the role of media and ICTs in advancing gender equality and women's empowerment in the Namibian National Gender Policy make.
- Develop women expert databases; f training courses aimed at raising the awareness of media professionals to the gendered nature of the media.

#### **6.4 Conclusion**

This study has demonstrated that the Namibian print media continues to treat women in traditional gender roles in their reporting that affect their advancement as equal participants in politics (Parliament) and business (SOEs) in Namibia. There is less coverage of women leaders as sources in media reportage, but stereotyping and framing is common place. Masculine hegemony in the workplace/media houses does not seem to be discouraged and the media publishes news from a male perspective.

It is clear in Namibia that media reportage emphasises a set of gender stereotypical frames that denigrate women in leadership and this was established through analyzing contents that were selected from *The Namibian*, *Namibian Sun*, *New Era* and the Windhoek Observer's hard news, opinions, features, editorials, columns and more from 2013 to 2019.

This was observed in the framing of women by how their positions of power were challenged; how male stereotypes were sifted into the media where female managers were expected to conform more closely to the expectations of men's style of leadership; where print media tended to position itself on the side of the dominant group in conflicts as seen by how male-dominated corporate boards continuing to reproduce or legitimise inequality by engineering the discharge/resignation of female leaders in SOEs as their competence continued to be questioned.

The study supports the notion that the news media in Namibia generally adopt the perspective of the elite or dominant groups and legitimatise that perception based on the dominant ideology. This is then confirmed as a general rule, contributing to the mainstream perception.

Through qualitative content analysis, the researcher determined that the news articles under review fulfilled the suppositions that the print media somehow have an influence in on the fall of women, or how women's advancement to positions of leadership are affected, that the competence of women in leadership are deliberately questioned, that male bias and male dominant voice in reportage is prevalent, that women's themes and experiences are ignored, that the use of gender reflective terminologies/tags, such as their

age, physical appearance, dress code, behavioural traits are common and that traditional gender stereotypical roles are reinforced.

The study also established that despite the progress made in the rise of women to leadership positions in Namibia, women seem to struggle in maintaining their positions as there appears to be target fixation and agenda setting on women in leadership that are damaging to their careers.

### **6.5 Further research**

To better understand the implications of the results of this study, future studies could carry out one-on-one interviews with the editors, supervisors, middle-management and top management at print media houses to determine why there is a lack of gender sensitivity in the news reported about women and whether there is a gender policy in place that implement, monitor and evaluate news in accordance with such a policy. Further studies can also establish through mini interviews and questionnaires disseminated to journalists whether they take cognisance of the need for gender sensitivity in their reporting and whether they are aware of gender stereotypes in the media. Such a research is needed to find new perspectives that can deconstruct the language used in media reportage.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1: Coding scheme for newspaper content analysis:

#### 1. Paper:

1= *The Namibian*

2= *New Era*

3= *Namibian Sun*

4= *Windhoek Observer*

**Date:** Date on which the report/article appeared:

#### 2. Page:

##### Page on which the report/article appears/starts:

1= leading/main news

2= front page news

3= news story

4= prominent news story

2= national news

3= analysis

4= comment

5= column

6= feature

7= editorial

8= letters

- 9= focus
- 10= finance/economics
- 11= culture/society
- 12= women
- 13= style/fashion
- 14= education
- 15= tabloid section
- 16= cartoon/illustration
- 17= other

**3. Section:**

**Section on which the report/article appears/starts:**

- 1= leading/main news
- 2= front page news
- 3= news story
- 4= prominent news story
- 2= national news
- 3= analysis
- 4= comment
- 5= column
- 6= feature
- 7= editorial
- 8= letters
- 9= focus
- 10= finance/economics

- 11= culture/society
- 12= women
- 13= style/fashion
- 14= education
- 15= tabloid section
- 16= cartoon/illustration
- 17= other

**4. Themes: Theme**

**of the report:**

- 1= general
- 2= policy/legislation
- 3= positive
- 4= negative
- 5= ambiguous
- 6= prejudice directed at the poor
- 7= prejudice directed at women
- 8= election Issue
- 9= ethnic discrimination
- 10= culture
- 11= economic talk
- 10= other

**5. Sources in commentary:**

**5.1 Source cited:**

1= Yes

2= No

9= other

**5.2 Is the source male?**

1= yes

2= no

3= unclear

**5.3 Type of source:**

1= opinion

2= polsters

3= private sector research/market researchers

4= business sector/corporate sector actors

5= government officials/actors

6= members of the public

7= lawyer/soliciter

8= political analyst

9= others

**5.4 In which part of the article is the source quoted?**

- 1= headline/leader
- 2= first sentence
- 3= first paragraph
- 4= second paragraph
- 5= upper half of report
- 6= photo caption
- 7= other

**5.5 In which part of the article is the leader referred to?**

- 1= headline/leader
- 2= first sentence
- 3= first paragraph
- 4= second paragraph
- 5= upper half of report
- 6= photo caption
- 7= other

**5.6 Proportion of article concerning the actions/opinions of the female parliamentarian/business leader:**

- 1= all
- 2= vast majority
- 3= majority
- 4= half
- 5= less than half
- 6= hardly at all

7= only gets a mention

8= source used as example of larger trend

9= other

**6. Stereotype and framing of the News:**

**6.1 Does the article refer to the leader's sex?**

Yes

No

Ambiguous

Notes: \_\_\_\_\_

**6.2 Does the article refer to the leader's physical attributes/appearance?**

Yes

No

Ambiguous

Notes: \_\_\_\_\_

**6.3 Does the article refer to the leader's age?**

Yes

No

Ambiguous

Notes: \_\_\_\_\_

**6.4 Does the article refer to the leader's family status/marital status?**

Yes

No

Ambiguous

**6.5 Does the article refer to the leader's character?**

Yes

No

Ambiguous

Notes: \_\_\_\_\_

**6.6 Does the article refer to the leader's private background?**

Yes

No

Ambiguous

Notes: \_\_\_\_\_

**6.7 Does the article take a negative/positive slant on the leader?**

Yes

No

Ambiguous

Notes: \_\_\_\_\_

**7. Use of words:**

**7.1 Does the article use descriptive words like 'wheelbarrowed'?**

Yes

No

**7.2 Does the article use descriptive words like 'angry'?**

Yes

No

**7.3 Does the article use descriptive words like 'victim'?**

Yes

No

**7.4 Does the article use descriptive words like 'incompetent'?**

Yes

No

**7.5 Does the article use descriptive words like 'insubordinate'?**

Yes

No

**7.6 Does the article use descriptive words like ‘fashionable’?**

Yes

No

**7.8 Does the article use descriptive words like ‘PMSing’?**

Yes

No

**7.9 Does the article use descriptive words like ‘bitch’?**

Yes

No

7.10 Other: \_\_\_\_\_

**8. Agenda setting:**

**1. Does the article persuade the preferred ideological agenda of the dominant group, such as elites/board directors/male, etc?**

Yes

No

Ambiguous

Notes: \_\_\_\_\_

**2. Does the article select certain ideas to give them ever-increasing importance over others?**

Yes

No

Ambiguous

Notes: \_\_\_\_\_

**3. Does the article fabricate certain ideas to manipulate public information?**

Yes

No

Ambiguous

Notes: \_\_\_\_\_

**4. Does the article omit certain ideas to manipulate public information?**

Yes

No

Ambiguous

Notes: \_\_\_\_\_

**5. Does the article select certain ideas to give them ever-increasing importance over others?**

Yes

No

Ambiguous

Notes: \_\_\_\_\_

**6. Does the article position itself in the power conflict on the side the dominant group, such as elites/board directors/male, etc??**

Yes

No

Ambiguous

Notes: \_\_\_\_\_

**7. Does the article confirm the status quo in public institutions and business, thereby legitimising inequality and reproducing consensus of the the dominant group, such as elites/board directors/male, etc??**

Yes No

Ambiguous

Notes:  \_\_\_\_\_

**8. Does the article illustrates/reinforce male dominant value structures?**

Yes

No

Ambiguous

Notes: \_\_\_\_\_

**9. Does the article illustrate/reinforce patriarchal social order?**

Yes

No

Ambiguous

Notes: \_\_\_\_\_

**10. Does the article illustrate/reinforce the position of women in the social structures?**

Yes

No

Ambiguous

Notes: \_\_\_\_\_

**11. Does the article ignore women's themes and experiences?**

Yes

No

Ambiguous

Notes: \_\_\_\_\_

**12. Does the article ignore 'women's ways of knowing'?**

Yes

No

Ambiguous

Notes: \_\_\_\_\_

**13. Does the article illustrate increased media scrutiny in adherence to gender stereotypes that favour men over women in positions of power?**

Yes

No

Ambiguous

Notes: \_\_\_\_\_

**14. Does the article play down women's other identities as independent and active participants in the wider society beyond home?**

Yes

No

Ambiguous

Notes: \_\_\_\_\_

**15. Does the article actively drive the fall of women in leadership through their fixation (agenda setting)?**

Yes

No

Ambiguous

Notes: \_\_\_\_\_

**16. Does the article present the power/authority of women in leadership visibly?**

Yes

No

Ambiguous

Notes: \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix 2: List of newspaper articles

### 1. THE NAMIBIAN

	Name	Where article Appeared	Headline of article	Date published	Newspaper website address
1.	K. Hanse-Himarwa	Page 1	All-round denials from Hanse-Himarwa	2019, April 3	<a href="https://www.namibian.com.na/187216/archive-read/All-round-denials-from-Hanse-Himarwa">https://www.namibian.com.na/187216/archive-read/All-round-denials-from-Hanse-Himarwa</a>
2.	K. Hanse-Himarwa	News/National	The Hanse-Himarwa verdict: GUILTY	2019, July 8	<a href="https://www.namibian.com.na/190471/archive-read/The-Hanse-Himarwa-verdict-GUILTY">https://www.namibian.com.na/190471/archive-read/The-Hanse-Himarwa-verdict-GUILTY</a>
3.	K. Hanse-Himarwa	Page 11/Editorial	Guilty or Not, Dignity is Lost: Hanse-Himarwa and Moral Authority Opinions	2019, May 24	<a href="https://www.namibian.com.na/188873/archive-read/Guilty-or-Not-Dignity-is-Lost-Hanse-Himarwa-and-Moral-Authority">https://www.namibian.com.na/188873/archive-read/Guilty-or-Not-Dignity-is-Lost-Hanse-Himarwa-and-Moral-Authority</a>
4.	K. Hanse-Himarwa	Page 1	Hanse-Himarwa claims conspiracy against her	2016, June 16	<a href="https://www.namibian.com.na/152023/archive-read/Hanse-Himarwa-claims-conspiracy-against-her">https://www.namibian.com.na/152023/archive-read/Hanse-Himarwa-claims-conspiracy-against-her</a>
5.	K. Hanse-Himarwa	Page 12/Rambler	No One Should Be Able To Afford A Fraud Conviction	2019, Aug. 2	<a href="https://www.namibian.com.na/191475/archive-read/No-One-Should-Be-Able-To-Afford-A-Fraud-Conviction">https://www.namibian.com.na/191475/archive-read/No-One-Should-Be-Able-To-Afford-A-Fraud-Conviction</a>
6.	K. Hanse-Himarwa	Opinions/Columns	Rambler ... Etiquette, Rambler Style	2015, Sept. 25	<a href="https://www.namibian.com.na/142289/archive-read/Rambler--Etiquette-Rambler-Style-IT-has-come">https://www.namibian.com.na/142289/archive-read/Rambler--Etiquette-Rambler-Style-IT-has-come</a>
7.	K. Hanse-Himarwa	Rambler/Opinion	Rambler ... Leadership Dololo	2016, Oct.21	<a href="https://www.namibian.com.na/157199/archive-read/Rambler--Leadership-Dololo">https://www.namibian.com.na/157199/archive-read/Rambler--Leadership-Dololo</a>
8.	K. Hanse-Himarwa	Rambler/Opinion	Rambler ... Minister of Ratchetry	2018, March 9	<a href="https://www.namibian.com.na/175277/archive-read/Rambler--Minister-of-Ratchetry-That-Swapo">https://www.namibian.com.na/175277/archive-read/Rambler--Minister-of-Ratchetry-That-Swapo</a>
9.	K. Hanse-Himarwa	News/National	Hanse-Himarwa returns to court for	2019, July 23	<a href="https://www.namibian.com.na/191056/archive-read/Hanse-Himarwa-returns-to-court-for-presentence-hearing">https://www.namibian.com.na/191056/archive-read/Hanse-Himarwa-returns-to-court-for-presentence-hearing</a>

			presentence hearing		
10.	K. Hanse-Himarwa	Page 1	PG to decide Hanse-Himarwa farm case	2019, Aug. 2	<a href="https://www.namibian.com.na/191514/archive-read/PG-to-decide-Hanse-Himarwa-farm-case">https://www.namibian.com.na/191514/archive-read/PG-to-decide-Hanse-Himarwa-farm-case</a>
11.	K. Hanse-Himarwa	Page 1	State argues for Hanse-Himarwa conviction	2019, May 22	<a href="https://www.namibian.com.na/188784/archive-read/State-argues-for-Hanse-Himarwa-conviction">https://www.namibian.com.na/188784/archive-read/State-argues-for-Hanse-Himarwa-conviction</a>
12.	K. Hanse-Himarwa	Page 1	State wants jail time for Hanse-Himarwa	2019, July 25	<a href="https://www.namibian.com.na/191157/archive-read/State-wants-jail-time--for-Hanse-Himarwa">https://www.namibian.com.na/191157/archive-read/State-wants-jail-time--for-Hanse-Himarwa</a>
13.	K. Hanse-Himarwa	Page 1	Hanse-Himarwa escapes prison	2019, Aug. 1	<a href="https://www.namibian.com.na/191408/archive-read/Hanse-Himarwa-escapes-prison">https://www.namibian.com.na/191408/archive-read/Hanse-Himarwa-escapes-prison</a>
14.	K. Hanse-Himarwa	Page 1	Curtain falls as Hanse-Himarwa resigns	2019, July 10	<a href="https://www.namibian.com.na/190592/archive-read/Curtain-falls-as-Hanse-Himarwa-resigns">https://www.namibian.com.na/190592/archive-read/Curtain-falls-as-Hanse-Himarwa-resigns</a>
15.	P. Iivula-Ithana		Iivula-Ithana says 50/50 is her highlight	2013, June 27	<a href="https://www.namibian.com.na/111201/archive-read/Iivula-Ithana-says-5050-is-her-highlight-THE">https://www.namibian.com.na/111201/archive-read/Iivula-Ithana-says-5050-is-her-highlight-THE</a>
16.	P. Iivula-Ithana	News/National	SPYL key agents of peace, development – Iivula-Ithana	2014, July 21	<a href="https://www.namibian.com.na/125852/archive-read/SPYL-key-agents-of-peace-development-%E2%80%93-Iivula-Ithana">https://www.namibian.com.na/125852/archive-read/SPYL-key-agents-of-peace-development-%E2%80%93-Iivula-Ithana</a>
17.	P. Iivula-Ithana	News/National	Iivula-Ithana savages Geingob	2017, Oct. 10	<a href="https://www.namibian.com.na/170325/archive-read/Iivula-Ithana-savages-Geingob">https://www.namibian.com.na/170325/archive-read/Iivula-Ithana-savages-Geingob</a>
18.	P. Iivula-Ithana	News/National	No formula for Swapo's 50/50	2014, March 11	<a href="https://www.namibian.com.na/120811/archive-read/No-formula-for-Swapo%E2%80%99s-5050">https://www.namibian.com.na/120811/archive-read/No-formula-for-Swapo%E2%80%99s-5050</a>
19.	P. Iivula-Itha	Letters	Iivula-Ithana's 50/50	2013, July 8	<a href="https://www.namibian.com.na/111471/archive-read/Iivula-Ithana%E2%80%99s-5050">https://www.namibian.com.na/111471/archive-read/Iivula-Ithana%E2%80%99s-5050</a>
20.	M. Mensah-Williams	Rambler/Opinion	Rambler... Social Media for Dummies	2016, May 27	<a href="https://www.namibian.com.na/151188/archive-read/Rambler-Social-Media--for-Dummies">https://www.namibian.com.na/151188/archive-read/Rambler-Social-Media--for-Dummies</a>
21.	S. Naanda	Economic news	ACC rule out conflict of	2013, June 6	<a href="https://www.namibian.com.na/108746/archive-read/ACC-rule-out-conflict-of-interest-at-TNamib-THE">https://www.namibian.com.na/108746/archive-read/ACC-rule-out-conflict-of-interest-at-TNamib-THE</a>

			interest at TNamib		
22.	S. Naanda	Economic news	Broke TNamib splurges	2013, June 12	<a href="https://www.namibian.com.na/110869/archive-read/Broke-TNamib-splurge">https://www.namibian.com.na/110869/archive-read/Broke-TNamib-splurge</a>
23.	S. Naanda	Page 3	Director rejects ex-CEO payout	2017, April 11	<a href="https://www.namibian.com.na/163460/archive-read/Director-rejects-ex-CEO-payout">https://www.namibian.com.na/163460/archive-read/Director-rejects-ex-CEO-payout</a>
24.	S. Naanda	Economic news	4. No Cabinet blessing for TransNamib CEO	2013, May 27	<a href="https://www.namibian.com.na/index.php?id=108416&amp;page=archive-read">https://www.namibian.com.na/index.php?id=108416&amp;page=archive-read</a>
25.	S. Naanda	Page 1	Private firm to investigate suspended Naanda	2014, Oct. 31	<a href="https://www.namibian.com.na/129934/archive-read/Private-firm-to-investigate-suspended-Naanda-THE">https://www.namibian.com.na/129934/archive-read/Private-firm-to-investigate-suspended-Naanda-THE</a>
26.	S. Naanda	Page 3	Naanda settles with TransNamib	2016, April 29	<a href="https://www.namibian.com.na/150329/archive-read/Naanda-settles-with-TransNamib">https://www.namibian.com.na/150329/archive-read/Naanda-settles-with-TransNamib</a>
27	S. Naanda	Economic news	TNamib CEO hunter turns hunted	2013, June 5	<a href="https://www.namibian.com.na/108708/archive-read/TNamib-CEO-hunter-turns-hunted">https://www.namibian.com.na/108708/archive-read/TNamib-CEO-hunter-turns-hunted</a>
28.	S. Naanda	Front page	TNamib says recruitment for CEO was above board	2013, June 13	<a href="https://www.namibian.com.na/108969/archive-read/TNamib-says-recruitment-for-CEO-was-above-board">https://www.namibian.com.na/108969/archive-read/TNamib-says-recruitment-for-CEO-was-above-board</a>
30.	S. Naanda	Economic news	TransNamib CEO job raises eyebrows	2013, Jan. 16	<a href="https://www.namibian.com.na/index.php?id=104240&amp;page=archive-read">https://www.namibian.com.na/index.php?id=104240&amp;page=archive-read</a>
31.	T. Namases		Air Namibia, Namases part ways	2015, June 25	<a href="https://www.namibian.com.na/index.php?id=138674&amp;page=archive-read">https://www.namibian.com.na/index.php?id=138674&amp;page=archive-read</a>
32.	T. Namases	News/ National	AirNam on auto-pilot	2014, June 18	<a href="https://www.namibian.com.na/124641/archive-read/AirNam-on-auto-pilot-AIR-Namibia-troubles-are">https://www.namibian.com.na/124641/archive-read/AirNam-on-auto-pilot-AIR-Namibia-troubles-are</a>
33.	T. Namases	News/ National	AirNam takes care of Namases	2015, July 31	<a href="https://www.namibian.com.na/140139/archive-read/AirNam-takes-care-of-Namases-AIR-NAMIBIA'S">https://www.namibian.com.na/140139/archive-read/AirNam-takes-care-of-Namases-AIR-NAMIBIA'S</a>
34.	T. Namases	News/ National	Namases reports to work	2014, June 19	<a href="https://www.namibian.com.na/124704/archive-read/Namases-reports-to-work">https://www.namibian.com.na/124704/archive-read/Namases-reports-to-work</a>

35.	T. Namases	News/ National	Namases takes AirNam fight to court	2014, July 14	<a href="https://www.namibian.com.na/125596/archive-read/Namases-takes-AirNam-fight-to-court-SUSPENDED">https://www.namibian.com.na/125596/archive-read/Namases-takes-AirNam-fight-to-court-SUSPENDED</a>  ONE MORE STORY HERE!!
36.	M. Nangolo-Rukoro	Economic news	Dead silence on NTA probe findings	2013, May 8	<a href="https://www.namibian.com.na/107863/archive-read/Dead-silence-on-NTA-probe-findings">https://www.namibian.com.na/107863/archive-read/Dead-silence-on-NTA-probe-findings</a>
37.	M. Nangolo-Rukoro	Economic news	NTA board suspends CEO	2013, Feb. 12	<a href="https://www.namibian.com.na/index.php?id=105149&amp;page=archive-read">https://www.namibian.com.na/index.php?id=105149&amp;page=archive-read</a>
38.	M. Nangolo-Rukoro	News/ National	NTA 'offers' to pay off former boss	2014, Aug. 8	<a href="https://www.namibian.com.na/index.php?id=126586&amp;page=archive-read">https://www.namibian.com.na/index.php?id=126586&amp;page=archive-read</a>
39.	M. Nangolo-Rukoro	Page 1	NTA ordered to increase suspended CEO's salary	2015, March 30	<a href="https://www.namibian.com.na/135311/archive-read/NTA-ordered-to-increase-suspended-CEO%E2%80%99s-salary">https://www.namibian.com.na/135311/archive-read/NTA-ordered-to-increase-suspended-CEO%E2%80%99s-salary</a>
40.	M. Nangolo-Rukoro	Page 3	ACC clears Nangolo- Rukoro	2015, Sept. 8	<a href="https://www.namibian.com.na/index.php?id=141575&amp;page=archive-read">https://www.namibian.com.na/index.php?id=141575&amp;page=archive-read</a>

## 2. NAMIBIAN SUN

	Name	Where article Appeared	Headline of article	Date published	Newspaper website address
41.	K. Hanse-Himarwa	Justice	D-Day for Katrina	2019, July 31	<a href="https://www.namibiansun.com/news/d-day-for-katrina2019-07-30">https://www.namibiansun.com/news/d-day-for-katrina2019-07-30</a>
42.	K. Hanse-Himarwa		Katrina quits	2019. July 10	<a href="https://www.namibiansun.com/news/katrina-quits2019-07-09">https://www.namibiansun.com/news/katrina-quits2019-07-09</a>
43.	K. Hanse-Himarwa		'God has spoken'	2019, Aug. 1	<a href="https://www.namibiansun.com/news/god-has-spoken2019-08-01">https://www.namibiansun.com/news/god-has-spoken2019-08-01</a>
44.	K. Hanse-Himarwa		Katrina shows her claws	2019, April 3	<a href="https://www.namibiansun.com/news/katrina-shows-her-claws2019-04-03">https://www.namibiansun.com/news/katrina-shows-her-claws2019-04-03</a>
45.	K. Hanse-Himarwa		Katrina's fall from grace	2019, July 25	<a href="https://www.namibiansun.com/news/katrinass-fall-from-grace2019-07-24">https://www.namibiansun.com/news/katrinass-fall-from-grace2019-07-24</a>

46.	K. Hanse-Himarwa		Katrina unleashes hurricane	2015, June 6	<a href="https://www.namibiansun.com/news/katrina-unleashes-hurricane">https://www.namibiansun.com/news/katrina-unleashes-hurricane</a>
47.	P. Iivula-Ithana		Iivula-Ithana: Youth key agents of peace and development	2014, July 20	<a href="https://www.namibiansun.com/news/iivula-ithana-youth-key-agents-of-peace-and-development/">https://www.namibiansun.com/news/iivula-ithana-youth-key-agents-of-peace-and-development/</a>
48.	P. Iivula-Ithana		Making Swapo strong again	2017, Oct. 27	<a href="https://www.namibiansun.com/news/making-swapo-strong-again2017-10-27">https://www.namibiansun.com/news/making-swapo-strong-again2017-10-27</a>
49.	S. Naanda	Local news	TransNamib accused of white supremacy	2014, Oct. 31	<a href="https://www.namibiansun.com/news/transnamib-accused-of-eurwhite-supremacyeurtm">https://www.namibiansun.com/news/transnamib-accused-of-eurwhite-supremacyeurtm</a>
50.	S. Naanda		TransNamib to get new board	2018, Sept. 19	<a href="https://www.namibiansun.com/news/transnamib-to-get-new-board2018-09-19">https://www.namibiansun.com/news/transnamib-to-get-new-board2018-09-19</a>
51.	S. Naanda		Naanda's exit mired in controversy	2016, May 3	<a href="https://www.namibiansun.com/news/naandas-exit-mired-in-controversy">https://www.namibiansun.com/news/naandas-exit-mired-in-controversy</a>
52.	T. Namases	Business	Air Namibia, Namases part ways	2015, June 30	<a href="https://www.namibiansun.com/news/air-namibia-namases-part-ways">https://www.namibiansun.com/news/air-namibia-namases-part-ways</a>
53.	M. Nangolo-Rukoro		Stop suspensions at parastatals - Jooste	2015, May 5	<a href="https://www.namibiansun.com/news/stop-suspensions-at-parastatals-jooste">https://www.namibiansun.com/news/stop-suspensions-at-parastatals-jooste</a>

### 3. NEW ERA

	Name	Where article Appeared	Headline of article	Date published	Newspaper website address
54.	K. Hanse-Himarwa		Challenges facing the public system 2018-01-05	2018, Jan. 5	<a href="https://neweralive.na/posts/challenges-facing-the-public-education-system">https://neweralive.na/posts/challenges-facing-the-public-education-system</a>
55.	K. Hanse-Himarwa	Front page	Hanse-Himarwa wanted things done her way – witness	2018, Nov. 2	<a href="https://neweralive.na/posts/hanse-himarwa-wanted-things-done-her-way-witness">https://neweralive.na/posts/hanse-himarwa-wanted-things-done-her-way-witness</a>

56.	P. Iivula-Ithana		Who are the presidential appointees?	2015, Feb. 3	<a href="https://neweralive.na/posts/presidential-appointees">https://neweralive.na/posts/presidential-appointees</a>
57.	P. Iivula-Ithana		Iivula-Ithana gets her MBA at age 64	2017, Oct. 2	<a href="https://neweralive.na/posts/iivula-ithana-gets-her-mba-at-age-64">https://neweralive.na/posts/iivula-ithana-gets-her-mba-at-age-64</a>
59.	P. Iivula-Ithana		Star of the Week: Pendukeni Iivula-Ithana	2017, May19	<a href="https://neweralive.na/posts/star-of-the-week-pendukeni-iivula-ithana">https://neweralive.na/posts/star-of-the-week-pendukeni-iivula-ithana</a>
60.	P. Iivula-Ithana	Politics, Features	Women should prove 50/50 won't be a handicap	2014, July 16	<a href="https://neweralive.na/posts/women-should-prove-5050-wont-be-a-handicap">https://neweralive.na/posts/women-should-prove-5050-wont-be-a-handicap</a>
61.	P. Iivula-Ithana		Home Affairs undergoes major transformation	2014, Nov. 12	<a href="https://neweralive.na/posts/home-affairs-undergoes-major-transformation">https://neweralive.na/posts/home-affairs-undergoes-major-transformation</a>
62.	M. Mensah-Williams	Opinion	An ontological response to Margaret Mensah-William	2019-01-30	<a href="https://neweralive.na/posts/an-ontological-response-to-margaret-mensah-williams">https://neweralive.na/posts/an-ontological-response-to-margaret-mensah-williams</a>
63.	M. Mensah-Williams	Special Focus, Features	How she came, saw and conquered	2017, Feb. 24	<a href="https://neweralive.na/posts/mensah-williams-how-she-came-saw-and-conquered">https://neweralive.na/posts/mensah-williams-how-she-came-saw-and-conquered</a>
64.	S. Naanda		Metcalf labels TransNamib CEO's suspension a 'hoax'	2014, Nov. 7	<a href="https://neweralive.na/posts/metcalf-labels-transnamib-ceos-suspension-hoax">https://neweralive.na/posts/metcalf-labels-transnamib-ceos-suspension-hoax</a>
65.	S. Naanda		TransNamib settles with Naanda	2016, April 29	<a href="https://neweralive.na/posts/transnamib-settles-naanda">https://neweralive.na/posts/transnamib-settles-naanda</a>
66.	S. Naanda		'Naanda will not restrict her movements to Windhoek'		<a href="https://neweralive.na/posts/naanda-restrict-movements-windhoek">https://neweralive.na/posts/naanda-restrict-movements-windhoek</a>
67.	S. Naanda		TransNamib charges its suspended CEO	2015, March 26	<a href="https://neweralive.na/posts/transnamib-charges-suspended-ceo">https://neweralive.na/posts/transnamib-charges-suspended-ceo</a>
68.	T. Namases		Namases, Air Namibia part ways	2015, June 30	<a href="https://neweralive.na/posts/namases-air-namibia-part-ways">https://neweralive.na/posts/namases-air-namibia-part-ways</a>
69.	T. Namases		Former Air Namibia boss breaks silence	2015, July 3	<a href="https://neweralive.na/posts/air-namibia-boss-breaks-silence">https://neweralive.na/posts/air-namibia-boss-breaks-silence</a>

70.	T. Namases		My conscience is clear, says Namases	2015, July 24	<a href="https://neweralive.na/posts/conscience-clear-namases">https://neweralive.na/posts/conscience-clear-namases</a>
71.	T. Namases		Works ministry turns on ex-Air Namibia board	2015, July 16	<a href="https://neweralive.na/posts/works-ministry-turns-ex-air-namibia-board">https://neweralive.na/posts/works-ministry-turns-ex-air-namibia-board</a>
72.	T. Namases		Namases suffers legal setback	2014, July 15	<a href="https://neweralive.na/posts/namases-suffers-legal-setback">https://neweralive.na/posts/namases-suffers-legal-setback</a>
73.	M. Nangolo-Rukoro		Maria Nangolo to head NIPAM	2018-, July 6	<a href="https://neweralive.na/posts/maria-nangolo-to-head-nipam">https://neweralive.na/posts/maria-nangolo-to-head-nipam</a>

### 3. WINDHOEK OBSERVER

	Name	Where article Appeared	Headline of article	Date published	Newspaper website address
74.	K. Hanse-Himarwa	Rambler/Opinion	Katrina: diplomacy is everything	2016, June 17	<a href="https://www.observer.com.na/index.php/national/itemlist/search?searchword=Katrina%3A+diplomacy+is+everything&amp;categories=">https://www.observer.com.na/index.php/national/itemlist/search?searchword=Katrina%3A+diplomacy+is+everything&amp;categories=</a>
75.	K. Hanse-Himarwa	Editorial	Katrina is gone; corruption remains	2019, July 12	<a href="https://www.observer.com.na/index.php/national/itemlist/search?searchword=Katrina+is+gone%3B+corruption+remains&amp;categories=">https://www.observer.com.na/index.php/national/itemlist/search?searchword=Katrina+is+gone%3B+corruption+remains&amp;categories=</a>
76.	K. Hanse-Himarwa		Hanse-Himarwa ‘a beacon of incompetence	2018, Jan. 12	<a href="https://www.observer.com.na/index.php/national/itemlist/search?searchword=Hanse-Himarwa+%E2%80%98a+beacon+of+incompetence%E2%80%99&amp;categories=">https://www.observer.com.na/index.php/national/itemlist/search?searchword=Hanse-Himarwa+%E2%80%98a+beacon+of+incompetence%E2%80%99&amp;categories=</a>
77.	K. Hanse-Himarwa		‘I’m not a small girl who landed a big job’	2013 March 21	<a href="https://www.observer.com.na/index.php/national/itemlist/search?searchword=%E2%80%98I%E2%80%99m+not+a+small+girl+who+landed+a+big+job%E2%80%99&amp;categories=">https://www.observer.com.na/index.php/national/itemlist/search?searchword=%E2%80%98I%E2%80%99m+not+a+small+girl+who+landed+a+big+job%E2%80%99&amp;categories=</a>
78.	K. Hanse-Himarwa		Hanse-Himarwa alleges conspiracy against her in court	2018 Oct 29	<a href="https://www.observer.com.na/index.php/national/itemlist/search?searchword=Hanse-Himarwa+alleges+conspiracy+against+her+in+court&amp;categories=">https://www.observer.com.na/index.php/national/itemlist/search?searchword=Hanse-Himarwa+alleges+conspiracy+against+her+in+court&amp;categories=</a>
79.	P. Iivula-Ithana		Iivula-Ithana has no regrets	2013, March 7	<a href="https://www.observer.com.na/index.php/national/item/1083-iivula-ithana-has-no-regrets">https://www.observer.com.na/index.php/national/item/1083-iivula-ithana-has-no-regrets</a>

80.	P. Iivula-Ithana		Leave me alone - Pendukeni	2019, July 5	<a href="https://www.observer.com.na/index.php/national/item/11282-leave-me-alone-pendukeni">https://www.observer.com.na/index.php/national/item/11282-leave-me-alone-pendukeni</a>
81.	P. Iivula-Ithana		‘SWAPO women president a distant dream’	2017, July 21	<a href="https://www.observer.com.na/index.php/national/itemlist/search?searchword=%E2%80%98SWAPO+women+president+a+distant+dream%E2%80%99&amp;categories=">https://www.observer.com.na/index.php/national/itemlist/search?searchword=%E2%80%98SWAPO+women+president+a+distant+dream%E2%80%99&amp;categories=</a>
82.	P. Iivula-Ithana			2017, June 30	<a href="https://www.observer.com.na/index.php/national/item/8334-netumbo-and-i-are-not-rivals-pendukeni">https://www.observer.com.na/index.php/national/item/8334-netumbo-and-i-are-not-rivals-pendukeni</a>
83.	M. Mensah-Williams		Mensah-Williams told to shut up	2016, February 12	<a href="https://www.observer.com.na/index.php/component/k2/itemlist/search?searchword=Mensah-Williams+told+to+shut+up&amp;categories=">https://www.observer.com.na/index.php/component/k2/itemlist/search?searchword=Mensah-Williams+told+to+shut+up&amp;categories=</a>
84.	S. Naanda		Naanda demands reinstatement	2015, March 27	<a href="https://www.observer.com.na/index.php/national/itemlist/search?searchword=Naanda+demands+reinstatement&amp;categories=">https://www.observer.com.na/index.php/national/itemlist/search?searchword=Naanda+demands+reinstatement&amp;categories=</a>
85.	S. Naanda		Naanda suspended for insubordination	2014, Oct. 31	<a href="https://www.observer.com.na/index.php/national/itemlist/search?searchword=Naanda+suspended+for+insubordination&amp;categories=">https://www.observer.com.na/index.php/national/itemlist/search?searchword=Naanda+suspended+for+insubordination&amp;categories=</a>
86.	S. Naanda		Knives out for Naanda	2014, Sept. 19	<a href="https://www.observer.com.na/index.php/national/itemlist/search?searchword=Knives+out+for+Naanda&amp;categories=">https://www.observer.com.na/index.php/national/itemlist/search?searchword=Knives+out+for+Naanda&amp;categories=</a>
87.	S. Naanda		<u>Naanda’s NamPower role under scrutiny</u>	2016, Dec. 9	<a href="https://www.observer.com.na/index.php/national/itemlist/search?searchword=Naanda%E2%80%99s+NamPower+role+under+scrutiny&amp;categories=">https://www.observer.com.na/index.php/national/itemlist/search?searchword=Naanda%E2%80%99s+NamPower+role+under+scrutiny&amp;categories=</a>
88.	S. Naanda		Naanda hits back	2014, Nov. 7	<a href="https://www.observer.com.na/index.php/national/item/3731-naanda-hits-back">https://www.observer.com.na/index.php/national/item/3731-naanda-hits-back</a>
89.	T. Namases		<u>Namases next lamb to the slaughter</u>	2014, August 29	<a href="https://www.observer.com.na/index.php/national/itemlist/search?searchword=Namases+next+lamb+to+the+slaughter&amp;categories=">https://www.observer.com.na/index.php/national/itemlist/search?searchword=Namases+next+lamb+to+the+slaughter&amp;categories=</a>
90.	T. Namases		<u>Air Nam MD still in the dark</u>	2015, February 20	<a href="https://www.observer.com.na/index.php/national/itemlist/search?searchword=Air+Nam+MD+still+in+the+dark&amp;categories=">https://www.observer.com.na/index.php/national/itemlist/search?searchword=Air+Nam+MD+still+in+the+dark&amp;categories=</a>
91.	M. Nangolo-Rukoro		Nangolo-Rukoro hearing in disarray	2015, May 8	<a href="https://www.observer.com.na/index.php/national/itemlist/search?searchword=Nangolo-Rukoro+hearing+in+disarray&amp;categories=">https://www.observer.com.na/index.php/national/itemlist/search?searchword=Nangolo-Rukoro+hearing+in+disarray&amp;categories=</a>
92.	M. Nangolo-Rukoro		NTA boards acts on	2013, April 19	<a href="https://www.observer.com.na/index.php/national/item/1331-nta-board-acts-on-uncertified-audit-report">https://www.observer.com.na/index.php/national/item/1331-nta-board-acts-on-uncertified-audit-report</a>

			uncertified audit report		
93.	M. Nangolo- Rukoro		NTA board acts unlawfully	2013, Feb. 5	<a href="https://www.observer.com.na/index.php/lifestyle/item/967-nta-board-acts-unlawfully">https://www.observer.com.na/index.php/lifestyle/item/967-nta-board-acts-unlawfully</a>

### Appendix 3: Letter of ethical clearance



Committee (UREC) in accordance with the University of Namibia's Research Ethics Policy and Guidelines. Ethical approval is given in respect of undertakings contained in the Research Project outlined below. This Certificate is issued on the recommendations of the ethical evaluation done by the Faculty/Centre/Campus Research & Publications Committee sitting with the Postgraduate Studies Committee.

**Title of Project:** DECONSTRUCTION OF GENDER STEREOTYPES IN THE MEDIA: AN ANALYSIS OF MEDIA FRAMING OF WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP POSITIONS IN PARLIAMENT AND STATE-OWNED ENTERPRISES (SOE'S) IN NAMIBIA

**Researcher:** Frances Magreth Nunuhe

**Student Number :** 2018178226

**Supervisor:** Prof. T. Kalusopa

Take note of the following:

- (a) Any significant changes in the conditions or undertakings outlined in the approved Proposal must be communicated to the ADREC. An application to make amendments may be necessary.
- (b) Any breaches of ethical undertakings or practices that have an impact on ethical conduct of the research must be reported to the ADREC.
- (c) The Principal Researcher must report issues of ethical compliance to the UREC (through the Chairperson of the Faculty/Centre/Campus Research & Publications Committee) at the end of the Project or as may be requested by ADREC.
- (d) The ADREC retains the right to:
  - (i) Withdraw or amend this Ethical Clearance if any unethical practices (as outlined in the Research Ethics Policy) have been detected or suspected,
  - (ii) Request for an ethical compliance report at any point during the course of the research.

HREC wishes you the best in your research.

Dr. H. Kapenda: ADREC Chairperson

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'H. Kapenda', written over a horizontal line.

Ms. P. Claassen: ADREC Secretary

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'P. Claassen', written over a horizontal line.