COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

Research School of Social Sciences

SCHOOL OF POLITICS & INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

HIGHER DEGREE BY RESEARCH

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

FROM TIGHTROPE TO GENDERED TROPE: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE PRINT MEDIATION OF WOMEN PRIME MINISTERS

BLAIR ELIZABETH WILLIAMS

A THESIS SUBMITTED FOR

THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

OF THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

19 SEPTEMBER 2019

Declaration of Originality

I, **Blair Elizabeth Williams 2019**, hereby declare that the thesis here presented is the outcome of the research project undertaken during my candidacy, that I am the sole author unless otherwise indicated, and that I have fully documented the source of ideas, references, quotations and paraphrases attributable to other authors.

Word count: 92,452

In dedication to my father

Ronald Charles Williams

(1957 – 2013)

Acknowledgements

Undertaking this thesis has been a highly rewarding experience, uniting my feminist activism with my passion for intellectual pursuits. I entered my candidature as a twenty-one-year-old Honours graduate, leaving friends and family in Adelaide, despite severe anxiety, to further pursue the questions prompted by my research in Canberra. I finish this stage of my life with more support and encouragement than I could ever have imagined, and with a measure of confidence that I have earned through many struggles as a young queer woman in academia. I owe many people a debt of gratitude for their unwavering support throughout this most difficult yet most rewarding time in my life.

Above all, I thank my supervisor and chair of panel, Emeritus Professor Marian Sawer AO, for her continual support and confidence in my ability, especially through the arduous process of data collection and analysis. Marian continues to provide a source of great inspiration, both for her contributions over several decades to feminist activism in Australia and internationally, as well as to the discipline of political science, and for her active role in expanding scholarly awareness of gender politics, her collegiality and her support. Forty years ago, Marian co-founded the Women's Caucus of the Australian Political Studies Association (APSA) to support women academics in political science, for which I have been the social media coordinator since 2016. Through Marian's support I have not only become a better researcher and feminist, but have gained a passionate commitment to the support of women political scientists like myself.

To my supervisory panel members, Associate Professor Helen Keane and Associate Professor Fiona Jenkins, I am very grateful for your guidance and encouragement and for providing an interdisciplinary feminist perspective to an indelibly interdisciplinary feminist project.

I would like to thank former Australian Prime Minister, the Hon. Julia Gillard, and former New Zealand Prime Minister, the Rt Hon. Helen Clark, for taking the time to speak with me and for the inspiration to undertake this project. Thank you for your strength and passion in spite of all you have endured, and thank you for inspiring generations of women to stand up to the patriarchy, to oppose sexism and misogyny, and to discover a passion for politics. I would also like to extend my gratitude to the other women leaders examined in this dissertation and globally – thank you for smashing the various glass ceilings and for showing the world that 'we can do it'.

I wouldn't have gotten far on this journey without support, reassurance and inspiration from other strong academic women. I am deeply grateful to my Honours supervisor Professor Carol Johnson who, during my undergraduate studies, encouraged me to undertake Honours in political science, and who has provided continued support since. I would also like to acknowledge the many peers and mentors I have had the pleasure to meet throughout my candidature: Associate Professor Cassandra Star, Dr Chris Wallace, Professor Linda Trimble, Professor Karen Ross, Professor Sarah Childs, Associate Professor Mirya Holman and Professor Mona Lena Krook.

I would like to acknowledge the guidance, inspiration and friendship offered by my colleagues in the School of Politics and International Relations at the ANU: Dr Kim Huynh for his inspirational teaching abilities and genuine care for students, and Associate Professor Juliet Pietsch for her passion, determination and sustained belief in me as a researcher and educator.

life and especially my candidature, and for showing me how to be a strong, independent and, most importantly, *resilient* woman.

Lastly, all this would not be possible without my late father, Ronny Williams, who sadly passed away a week before my third undergraduate year. You raised me to care about politics and to pursue knowledge, inspiring me to follow in your footsteps not only by completing an Honours degree in politics, but also by becoming the first in the family to undertake a PhD. Though it is hard to find any semblance of light in something as tragic as an early death, one must in order to continue. Your absolute love of life motivated me to go beyond my comfort zone and live life to the fullest – to undertake Honours, to move interstate to a place where I knew no-one, to travel the world, to constantly pursue knowledge, to make change, to fight and to love wholeheartedly. I know you would be so proud of where I am.

I was told early in my candidature that you cannot be an activist and a PhD candidate, yet I can't see how you can separate one from the other. So to the feminists before me, to the women who have fought and struggled against the patriarchy, to the witches they could not burn – this is for you. To women fighting against the patriarchy everywhere and to the women in the future – this is for you. To women who have been labelled as bitches, bossy, opinionated, loud-mouthed, aggressive – this is for you.

Abstract

Women politicians have historically experienced and continue to experience gendered and misogynistic coverage in the mainstream print media. This is visible above all in an undue media focus on their gender, appearance and personal lives that serves to delegitimise and trivialise their political careers. This dissertation aims to interrogate the origins and implications of such coverage for women prime ministers in Westminster-style democracies, and to demonstrate the central role that the media plays in the upholding of gender norms. As such, it is guided by a central question: how do the mainstream print media produce and reinforce gender norms in their coverage of women political leaders? Several sub-questions flow from this inquiry, including: How do the media construct gendered representations, and does this change across countries and over time? Do gendered representations differ in accordance with the political affiliation of the leader and newspaper?

To address these questions, I examined print media coverage of the respective prime ministerial ascensions of the United Kingdom's Margaret Thatcher and Theresa May, Australia's Julia Gillard, and New Zealand's Jenny Shipley and Helen Clark, analysing a representative sample of 1039 mainstream newspaper articles published during the first three weeks of each leader's prime ministerial term. I used feminist critical discourse analysis (FCDA), feminist content analysis (FCA) and visual analysis to deconstruct and understand how and why the media rely on gender norms and stereotypes. I also interviewed former prime ministers Helen Clark and Julia Gillard, adhering to a feminist interviewing approach to gain a personal perspective and original insight into this phenomenon.

On the basis of the research findings I developed a framework of 'gendered tropes', encompassing five significant themes found in the media coverage of women political leaders. The

gendered tropes are: gender and femininity; appearance; family; first names; and comparisons to Thatcher. Each of these encompasses many 'sub-tropes', themes and metaphors that together serve to emphasise gender norms and thereby reinforce the existing gender order. I also found that the political spectrum was of relevance, as the conservative press generally rely on gendered tropes more frequently and more intensely than their progressive counterparts, especially with reference to progressive leaders. Finally, I show that gendered reportage differs over time, with recent leaders experiencing more gendered and misogynistic coverage than their predecessors, reflecting an increase in the personalisation of politics. Through these main findings, this dissertation opens up various avenues for discussion and exploration of the phenomenon of gendered media, and increases our understanding of a problem that not only affects women politicians and political leaders, but all women.

Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

> *Margaret Thatcher is just the girl to do the job* (*The Sun* 1979)

> *Battle of the Boadiceas: leaders skirt round expected tussle in the House* (Armstrong 1997a)

> *Julia Gillard was chosen as Prime Minister because she is, without doubt, the best man for the job* (Glover 2010)

> *And finally, aged 59, the field has been cleared for this grammar school girl* (Woods 2016)

As these examples from newspaper coverage of Margaret Thatcher, Theresa May, Julia Gillard, Jenny Shipley and Helen Clark suggest, the mainstream press has treated women entering political roles as atypical and has focused on and politicised their gender, appearance and personal lives. I first witnessed this phenomenon when Julia Gillard ascended to the prime ministerial role, to become Australia's first woman in the top job, two days before my seventeenth birthday. The next three years of her prime ministerial term therefore coincided with my growth to adulthood and, more specifically, to womanhood.

Seeing a woman lead the country felt empowering and brought hope to many that our society was changing, that women really *can* succeed. Yet Gillard's victory was stained by the relentless gendered critiques she experienced, both from within her own party and from the Opposition, as well as from the media and society at large. This treatment of our first woman prime minister left a deep impression on me and many other Australian girls and women. It demonstrated that women, and especially women in power, are perceived in a negative light, and it revealed that we must adhere to social norms and gendered expectations or risk a similar fate.

On my twentieth birthday, I watched in shock as Kevin Rudd deposed Gillard to return to the position he had lost three years earlier. It was the end of a short era that many felt had been

marred by misogyny. Gillard's deposition did, however, inspire my academic decision to further explore and understand the gendered media coverage of women politicians and political leaders. Above all, I sought to discover: How did mainstream print media in other countries portray women political leaders? Was the unrelenting gendered media coverage of Gillard isolated to Australia? Or was this a more widespread phenomenon?

1.2 Women in Politics

Since the world's first woman prime minister, Sri Lanka's Sirimavo Bandaranaike, was elected in 1960, more women have entered politics, and some have attained the rank of president or prime minister. In contrast to the breakthrough of women political leaders in South Asia and South America, however, it was not until Margaret Thatcher's successful election campaign in 1979 that a European country elected its first woman head of government. This was a ground-breaking moment, yet Thatcher was often the sole woman present at political summits and even in her own cabinet. By the turn of the millennium, there were many more women political leaders. The number of women entering parliament has slowly increased, with a significant surge in the 1990s when 16 countries elected their first women political leaders, more than doubling the number from six countries that had done so in the previous decade. It was not until the 2010s, however, that nearly every continent could boast a woman political leader, and it became clear that the privilege of leadership was not the sole preserve of men. As of June 2019, there are currently 11 women serving as head of state and 12 as head of government (UN Women 2019), and, since Bandaranaike was elected in 1960, there has been a total of 110 women political leaders in power across the world (Christensen 2017; Planet rulers 2019).

Although Thatcher retired at the start of the 1990s, this decade saw more women entering politics with the rise of 'New Labour' in England, and with the implementation of gender quotas and more women-friendly Labor/Labour parties in Australia and New Zealand. Each of these three

countries experienced a surge in women's parliamentary representation, as shown in Table 1.1, yet

the most substantial advance came following the 1997 election in the UK, when the percentage of

women in the House of Commons doubled in comparison to the previous election's figures

(Lovenduski and Norris 2003, 84). The 1990s in New Zealand saw the election of that country's first

two women prime ministers, Jenny Shipley and Helen Clark, as well as another 'first' when the

1999 election was fought without a single male major party leader in the running.

Table 1.1. Gender breakdown of parliament by country.

	Percentage of Women in Parliament	
Country	**1990**	**2000**
UK		
House of Commons	6%	18%
House of Lords	7%	16%
Australia		
House of Representatives	6.8%	22.3%
Senate	23.3%	30.3%
New Zealand		
House of Representatives	14.4%	30.8%

Data source: Lovenduski and Norris (2003), Williams and Sawer (2018) and Inter-Parliamentary Union (2019).

Two decades have passed since these women proved their aptitude for political leadership,

yet their presence in parliament has still not been normalised. While these changes do represent

shifts in cultural and social attitudes, women in masculine spaces are 'othered' and disparaged on

a regular basis. The mainstream media, also a gendered institution, plays a central role in shaping

this dimension of public opinion (Baumgartner and Jones 2009; Bleich et al. 2015; Gamson and

Modigliani 1987, 1989; Iyengar 1991; Kingdon 1995; Soroka 2002), a role that is exemplified by the

Australian media's portrayal of Julia Gillard, who was forced to withstand an unprecedented

amount and ferocity of criticism during her prime ministerial term (Johnson 2015; Trimble 2017;

Williams 2017). As discussed at greater length in Chapter Two, there is now a significant body of analysis by international scholars showing that women experience such gendered and personalised media representation more than their male counterparts. Women politicians and political leaders frequently experience gendered and misogynistic critiques from within parliament and from the mainstream media, and are often treated as novelties because of their gender. They are portrayed as women first and politicians second. While some women can and do evade such treatment, it can always potentially be used against them.

The definition of misogyny has been shifting in recent decades from the conventional meaning—where it simply refers to the straightforward hatred of women—to a more broad and encompassing definition of the prejudices that women face under the patriarchy. I follow the understanding of the term advanced by feminist philosophers Kate Manne (2018) and Louise Richardson-Self (2017, 2019): as a systematic component of patriarchal society that ensures continuity of established social power relations. Manne (2018, 33-34; emphasis theirs) defines misogyny as:

> primarily a property of social systems or environments as a whole, in which women will tend to face hostility of various kinds because they are women in a man's world (i.e. a patriarchy), who are held to be failing to live up to men's standards (i.e. tenets of a patriarchal ideology which have some purchase in this environment).

Misogyny is therefore implicitly and explicitly hostile toward women not simply because they are women, but because they subvert gender roles and gender norms, refusing to comply with the patriarchal social order (Richardson-Self 2017, 261). In contrast, 'sexism' does not require hostility but rather provides the basis for a hierarchical distinction between women and men, justifying patriarchy by presenting men as 'naturally' superior and women as inferior (Richardson-Self 2017, 261). Sexism can, however, be used to support misogynistic ends.

The hostility imbued within misogyny is especially evident in those public and private institutions that have 'proved extraordinarily resistant to having women exercise real power within their ranks' (Summers 2013, 20). When women rise within these institutions, they often face implicit and explicit hostility, further intensified for those in the public eye. Manne's (2018, 80) analysis presents the idea that misogyny—unlike sexism, which separates women from men and discriminates only against the former—distinguishes 'good women' and 'bad women', targeting and punishing the latter to coerce all women to adhere to the patriarchal social order. Those women who rise in male-dominated institutions are therefore marked as 'bad women' who can potentially threaten the patriarchy, making them targets for implicit and explicit misogyny.

Gendered, sexist and even misogynistic portrayals of women politicians, especially women political leaders, can have what is called a 'bystander effect' on ordinary women and their own political aspirations, giving evidence to Manne's (2018) understanding of misogyny as a coercive tool that can be deployed against all women. As bystanders, women experience sexism indirectly, and can be negatively affected even if they are not the target (Haraldsson and Wängnerud 2018, 4). Witnessing sexism decreases self-esteem and diminishes career aspirations. This can impact both men and women, yet women are more acutely affected (Geringer 2015, 29). Haraldsson and Wängnerud's 2018 study examined whether media sexism, or gendered and sexist coverage, can affect women's political ambitions. They observed that ambient sexism in the media does exert a bystander effect (Haraldsson and Wängnerud 2018, 6) and, moreover, that the higher the level of media sexism, the lower the ratio of women candidates seeking to enter parliament. They conclude that sexist coverage of women politicians can deter other women from entering politics by reinforcing traditional or stereotypical gender roles. The depiction of women politicians and candidates as less credible, agentic or legitimate 'signals that women considering a political career must overcome powerful informal norms, even in contexts where official laws and regulations

already have been altered to include them' (Haraldsson and Wängnerud 2018, 12). This can also influence the 'gatekeepers' in political parties, who may be less likely to seek or nominate women candidates after witnessing negative coverage of women politicians and candidates (Haraldsson and Wängnerud 2018, 6). The bystander effect means that sexist media coverage not only affects the ability of women political leaders to perform their roles effectively, but also exerts a significant influence for many women in the broader civic community. It is important, therefore, to analyse mainstream media discourses that represent women political leaders in a gendered or sexist light.

My own previous research has shown that Australian women were significantly affected by negative and misogynistic mainstream media representations of Gillard throughout her prime ministerial term (Williams 2013). Above all, such manifestations of misogyny affected women's aspirations to enter politics as well as their overall desire for leadership (Williams 2013, 4). More research is needed to deconstruct how and why the media present women political leaders in this light, and to increase our understanding of this issue as a wider social problem that not only affects political leaders, but women in general.

1.3 Research Problem

Feminism isn't a cloak that I put on in the morning and take off at certain times. It's who I am. I look at the world through eyes that are very alert to gender injustice, and I always will.
—Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie.

This is an indelibly feminist project born from the struggles I experienced as a young woman and witness to the sexist, discriminatory treatment endured by Australia's first woman prime minister. It is a project that seeks to connect women through our collective experience as bystanders to the sexist media portrayal of women politicians in Australia and worldwide, and the frustration that this sexism has provoked. Finally, it is a project that seeks to uncover the specific techniques deployed by the mainstream print media to portray women political leaders in a negative light,

and to expose how they wield power through forms of discourse that reinforce gender norms and stereotypes. I hope that bringing to light the concrete evidence of sexism faced by politicians will provide women with some solace and solidarity through opening new discussions of gendered double standards.

Like Nigerian novelist Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, as a feminist and activist I find it impossible to disentangle feminism from my research. It is foundational to my view of the world and offers a lens through which my attention is drawn to instances of gender injustice and unequal power relations. A feminist approach therefore underlies the entirety of this dissertation, from the conception of ideas and formulation of research questions to the presentation of findings. As a witness to the gendered media coverage that Julia Gillard faced, I have found myself compelled to undertake research projects dedicated to exploring the experiences of women political leaders and their media treatment. Past research into parliamentary gender quotas has shown that the cultivation of projects that encourage more women to enter government is an important first step on the path to the reduction of gender bias and bigotry (Sawer 2010, 214). However, this progress may be hindered if women are consistently dissuaded from entering a highly masculinised space by the additional threat of media bias. The media hold a great deal of power to perpetuate stereotypes and sexual bias while appearing to show the 'real' world (Ross 2010, 90–91). The gendering of women political leaders in the media is often a deliberate political act, with multiple ramifications for these women and society in general (Trimble et al. 2013, 3).

A growing number of studies have examined the media representation of women political leaders, including foundational research by Pippa Norris (1997) and recent books by Karen Ross (2017) and Linda Trimble (2017). These show that the gendered mediation of politics includes a disproportionate focus on the personal lives, families, appearance and gender of women political leaders. Much of this literature seeks to establish *whether* women politicians experience more sexist

media treatment than their male counterparts. The aim of this dissertation, on the other hand, is to understand *why* they experience this and *how* the media deploy such coverage in its role as a regulatory power that reinforces heteronormativity and binary gender norms. While it would be useful to analyse male politicians' performances of gender and their media reception as well, this is outside the scope of the current study. Drawing from Jill Vickers' work into the gender mainstreaming of political science, and from her 1997 principles on which to base a feminist methodological approach, I am choosing not to focus on men in this particular study. Vickers argues that a feminist political science methodological approach should compare women to women, to 'eliminate men as the norm against which women must be compared and question the idea that all women have the same experiences' (2015, 763). The aim of this thesis is to examine the similarities and differences in the print media coverage between women prime ministers rather than comparing their experiences to that of their male predecessors.

For my own past research, I applied a theoretical perspective derived from Judith Butler's concept of gender performativity to Gillard's media performances of gender, tracing the extent to which she was compelled to 'walk the tightrope' between acceptable levels of 'femininity' and 'masculinity' to be deemed suitable for the masculine role of prime minister. I made clear that this balancing act is nearly impossible to achieve for an already 'othered' body in a masculine space. This dissertation extends such research, adding a comparative dimension to measure the extent to which other women prime ministers in Westminster democracies experience similar misogynistic treatment. My aim is to compare Australian media representations of Gillard with similar portrayals of women prime ministers elsewhere to measure the extent to which gendered and misogynistic coverage is a globally occurring phenomenon.

There is a distinct lack of research that seeks to establish *why* women prime ministers experience gendered media coverage and to demonstrate *how* the media use discourse to this end.

From Tightrope to Gendered Trope

I aim to address both issues by answering the question: How do the mainstream print media use language/discourse in their coverage of women political leaders to produce and reinforce norms that support the heteronormative gender binary? From this central inquiry, multiple sub-questions flow:

I.   How do the media construct gendered representations?

II.   Do these representations differ for women prime ministers in similar countries with similar media agencies?

III.   Do gendered representations differ over time?

IV.   How do gendered representations differ in conservative and progressive media?

V.   Finally, how do these gendered representations differ for women prime ministers who are conservative versus those who are progressive?

The overall purpose of this dissertation is to examine how the media respond to women prime ministers, and to more accurately define the nature of this response, as a first step toward positive change. While I predominantly focus on print media coverage that reinforces gendered or even sexist assumptions and a binary differentiation of gender, I acknowledge that counter-stereotypical articles critical of gender-based scrutiny do exist in media coverage of the leaders chosen for analysis. A comparative mode of analysis, across country and political affiliations, has been chosen as beneficial for developing a greater understanding of media perceptions of women politicians in general, as well as the gendering of different positions on the political spectrum. The effects of political affiliation, in terms of both the media and women leaders, has been neglected in current analyses of media responses to women politicians.

Alongside Gillard, I focus on women prime ministers from three other Westminster democracies: The United Kingdom; Australia; and New Zealand. These are: Margaret Thatcher 1979–90; Theresa May 2016–19; Julia Gillard 2010–13; Jenny Shipley 1997–99; and Helen Clark

From Tightrope to Gendered Trope

1999–2008. In 2017, Labour leader Jacinda Ardern became New Zealand's third woman prime minister through forming a coalition with the Greens and New Zealand First parties following the general election. However, as this occurred during the data analysis and writing stages of my thesis, I was unable to include her in my analysis. Examining the media coverage of Ardern's ascension and her prime ministerial term more generally would be fruitful, and would further add to our understanding of this phenomenon. A focus on women leaders in countries with similar political and media systems will enable me to examine whether the levels of misogynistic treatment that Gillard endured are more widespread. While a substantial number of scholars have studied media responses to women politicians, the innovation of this dissertation is to focus on the crucial first weeks of a woman's prime ministerial term, to measure the media's initial and often most unguarded reactions.

I adopt a critical feminist poststructuralist approach, drawing and combining key concepts from feminist poststructuralism and critical theory to emphasise the importance of discourse as a regulatory form of power that simultaneously produces and reinforces gender norms but also has the potential to expose their social construction. To establish this dual significance, I analysed a total of 1039 mainstream newspaper articles published in the first three weeks of each leader's prime ministerial term using a synthesis of Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA), Feminist Content Analysis (FCA) and Visual Analysis. Additionally, I interviewed former prime ministers Helen Clark and Julia Gillard, adhering to feminist interviewing approaches, to gain a perspective that is rarely acknowledged in gendered mediation literature: that of the women politicians and political leaders themselves.

1.4 Originality and Significance

This thesis expands and enriches current literature on gender, politics and the media in several important respects. First, it presents an original feminist discursive and content analysis of

the print media coverage of Thatcher, May, Gillard, Shipley and Clark during their prime ministerial ascensions. Most scholars analysing gendered coverage of women politicians collect their data using online newspaper archives, where only the text is available, and this limits access to and analysis of images and formatting; they present the text without the context. To address this, I have used microfilm/microfiche scans to view articles in their original printed form, observing the range of type, text and images deployed to construct certain interpretations of events.

Second, while previous scholars have adopted a primarily quantitative view of gendered media coverage, I have conducted interviews with Clark and Gillard to gain some understanding of its qualitative effects through their insights and experiences. Interviews provide a more in-depth understanding of such a deeply emotive phenomenon, as they offer reflective insight, thus bringing the personal into the political and offering a perspective rarely seen in gendered mediation literature.

Third, I incorporate a Butlerian theoretical perspective in my discursive analysis to argue that the media, intentionally or not, reinforce gender stereotypes and the heteronormative gender binary. A focus on gender, femininity, appearance, family and personal life trivialises these leaders and demonstrates that women in power, and especially those who take up roles predominantly occupied by men, are regarded with disdain.

Fourth, I consider whether gendered coverage differs based on the political affiliation of the leader and the newspaper. This perspective will produce a more nuanced analysis of the mainstream press that goes beyond treating women political leaders and the press itself as homogenous groups, and instead acknowledges their political differences and the impacts these can have on the type and degree of gendered reportage.

Fifth, I make an innovative contribution to the gendered mediation literature through examining and quantifying print media coverage that also critiques—rather than reinforces—

gender-based assumptions and norms. This contributes to our overall understanding of the gendered media reportage of women political leaders and demonstrates how there is a possibility for change.

Lastly, by seeking to discover *how* gendered stereotypes are deployed in media coverage of women prime ministers, I identify a framework of gendered tropes that can be used to recognise and understand different iterations of this phenomenon. The term 'gendered tropes' refers to the significant themes that I have found to be recurrent in coverage of women politicians and political leaders and that are associated with constantly reiterated gender stereotypes and norms that reinforce the existing gender order. Neither journalists nor newspapers are necessarily aware of their reliance on these gendered tropes, as they reflect how our society views women, especially women in power. The five main tropes identified are: gender and femininity; appearance; family; first names; and comparisons to Thatcher. Each of these tropes encompasses many sub-tropes, themes and metaphors. The main chapters of this thesis correspond with these five tropes, with two additional chapters on the theme of the 'anti-' trope, or critiquing gender-based scrutiny, and political cartoons. While some of these themes have been explored in previous studies, I have further extended and reinforced such research by establishing a clear framework that establishes the prevalence of these tropes in media coverage of the five leaders analysed and provides a clear definition of gendered coverage.

1.5 Gender and Femininity

I draw my understanding of gender and femininity as distinct categories from the work of Judith Butler, and especially from her concept of gender performativity. Butler argues that one cannot 'be' a sex or gender, rather, these are the results of repetitive, historical and intelligible actions that are continuously performed and are conceived as femininity and masculinity. Gender is not a 'cultural interpretation' of sex, itself a socially constructed 'gendered category' (1990, 10),

but a cultural norm that regulates the materialisation of bodies (1993, 2–3). To quote Butler, 'gender is the repeated stylisation of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being' (1990, 33). It is not a static or essential structure but, rather, something that is constituted through and by performance, always in formation and flux. Individuals only become 'intelligible' by 'becoming gendered' in conformity with identifiable norms of gender intelligibility. It is therefore the act of performing gender that constitutes identity.

Within a heterosexual binary, continuity is enforced between sex, gender, sexual practice and desire. Oppositional genders—'man' and 'woman'—are assumed and are seen to be based on the 'natural' sexes of male and female, while desire is normalised as heterosexual, and gender is viewed as a dichotomy: 'one is one's gender to the extent that one is not the other gender' (Butler 1990, 30). That is, 'gender' is a label used to describe compulsory and repetitive acts associated with the sexes of 'male' and 'female', which in turn are thought to constitute gender. It is also a 'form of social power' (Butler 2004, 48), a mechanism that produces and normalises masculinity and femininity, which are intertwined with the hormonal, physical and performative practices that comprise gender (Butler 2014).

Following this determinist logic, femininity and masculinity are constituted by these acts, by learned performances of gendered behaviour that are continuously repeated to the point that they appear natural and inherent. Femininity is understood to consist in the natural attributes of females/women, in opposition to masculinity, understood as the natural attribute of males/men (Butler 1990, 16). This process manifests throughout our lived existence, from our first breath to our last, and is inextricable from our perception of our own and others' identities. It is constantly produced and reproduced through language, body language and acceptable forms of relationship. However, the construction of these binaries through the heterosexualisation of desire and

13

heteronormativity often implies that masculinity and maleness are traits of a 'rational and autonomous agent' while femininity and femaleness are incompatible with autonomous rationality (Butler 1990, 16). Butler makes it clear that the traits we associate with 'woman' or 'man' are re-enforced by dominant social heteronormative structures, empowering those who follow their normative iteration while disempowering those who deviate. In this thesis, I follow Butler's use of the term 'normative' to describe 'the norms that govern gender' (Butler's 1999 Preface to *Gender trouble*, xxi).

It is important to note that gender and femininity/masculinity are inextricable from the political, cultural and historical intersections that repetitively produce and maintain them (Butler 1990, 5). They intersect with class, race, ability, sexuality and ethnicity so that different norms arise in different contexts (Butler 1990, 4). All five leaders examined in this thesis are white, heterosexual, able-bodied and, at the time of their prime ministerial terms, middle-class. As such, their femininity is a certain kind of femininity: a privileged kind of femininity. As a result of gender norms that are contextually constituted and influenced by other social and cultural identities, women who are white, middle-class, able-bodied and heterosexual experience gender differently from those who are non-white, poor, disabled or queer (Trimble 2017, 8). When we speak of femininity, we must acknowledge the very specific women to whom this term has historically been applied, as well as the class and racial associations that it communicates. Rather than a race-neutral category, femininity is 'always already raced as white' in Western societies (Deliovsky 2008, 58).

Furthermore, while parliament is a masculine domain, it should be acknowledged that in the countries examined it is also a place of whiteness. White men, above all, are hegemonic and privileged, while those who do not conform to this ideal are othered. White women politicians may differ from the political gendered norm but still maintain their whiteness and the privilege it affords them. That there have only ever been white women prime ministers in Australia, New

Zealand and the UK demonstrates this privilege and the unspoken rule that 'only certain women have the necessary qualities to succeed' (Trimble 2017, 8). However, their whiteness is never mentioned in media coverage. It is invisible because it is positioned as neutral—rather than 'white femininity', it is instead seen as simply femininity (Deliovsky 2008, 54), although this complete discursive silence renders their race visible in its very invisibility. However, as all leaders examined in this thesis are white, there is no opportunity to examine how non-white women leaders' femininity is reported, demonstrating the need for future research to examine racialised aspects of gendered mediation.

1.6 Pathways to Premiership

Focusing on women leaders from English-speaking countries with similar political systems allows for a valuable comparative analysis examining their gendered media coverage. However, it is necessary to examine their pathways to premiership to understand how they aligned and diverged and the impacts that this can have on their respective media coverage.

1.6.1 Margaret Thatcher (1979–1990)

Margaret Thatcher was interested in politics from a young age and became politically active with the Conservative Party while studying Chemistry at Oxford University, eventually rising to a position of authority as one of the first woman presidents of the Oxford University Conservative Association. After unsuccessfully running for parliament in 1950, in 1959 Thatcher won the 'safe' Conservative seat of Finchley and quickly rose within the party, serving as a parliamentary secretary in the Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance from 1961-64 and chief opposition spokesperson on education from 1969-1970. When the Conservatives gained power in 1970, Thatcher was appointed secretary of state for education and science, a position she held for four years. The Conservative Party's loss in the 1974 February and October general elections gave Thatcher an opportunity to successfully challenge former-prime minister Edward Heath, and in

1975 she secured party leadership. After a period of economic instability under the Labour government, Thatcher led the Conservatives to victory in the 1979 general election, becoming the first woman prime minister of the UK and 'the West'. Thatcher went on to win three elections and became the longest serving British prime minister of the 20th century. Her political philosophy and economic policies—known as 'Thatcherism'—defined her governance, characterised by advocacy for increased independence of the individual from the state, the privatisation of public assets and state-owned enterprises, reduction in social services expenditure, lowered taxes and restrictions on trade unions. In response to a series of unpopular policies introduced in the final years of her eleven-year term in office, she was challenged by former-defence minister Michael Heseltine in 1990. Thatcher secured the first leadership ballot but the margin for outright victory was too small and she was compelled to resign on 28 November 1990, to be replaced as prime minister and party leader by John Major.

1.6.2 Jenny Shipley (1997–1999)

Jenny Shipley joined New Zealand's National Party in 1975 and, after holding several positions within the party, secured election to parliament in 1987. After the National Party won the 1990 election with Jim Bolger as prime minister, Shipley was appointed minister of social welfare (1990-93) and minister of women's affairs (1990-96). The Nationals retained their authority in the 1993 election, following which Shipley was appointed minister of health and went on to implement several important measures to lower abortion rates. In 1996, the Mixed-Member Proportional (MMP) system[1] superseded the first-past-the-post voting system that had prevailed in New Zealand until that time, making it difficult for one party to have complete dominance in the House and forcing parties to enter into a coalition in order to govern. As a result, the 1996 election saw

---

[1] Under the MMP system, each citizen has two votes each—the first vote is the electorate vote whilst the second vote is the party vote. The former determines the local representative for the local electorate whilst the latter determines the number of seats each party is overall entitled to.

the National Party forced to form a coalition government with the New Zealand First Party following their failure to win an outright majority, with Shipley named minister for transport. Unpopular policies and public dissatisfaction with then-prime minister Bolger prompted a leadership challenge in 1997 led by Shipley and backed by the caucus. Bolger resigned to avoid a confidence vote and Shipley was elected unopposed in November 1997. She was sworn in as New Zealand's first woman prime minister on December 8. During her term, she tried to cut national debt, decrease welfare and simplify the tax system. However, her government became increasingly politically unstable and her alliance with Winston Peters, leader of the New Zealand First Party, deteriorated as the coalition became strained and ultimately collapsed in 1998 (Trimble 2017, 20). In September of that year, Shipley called for a vote of no confidence to demonstrate that her government still had parliament's support, which she narrowly won. However, in the 1999 election—which historically saw women lead both major parties to an election, therefore ensuring that New Zealand would have another woman leader—the National Party lost to the Labour Party and Helen Clark became New Zealand's second woman Prime Minister.

1.6.3 Helen Clark (1999–2008)

Helen Clark was politically active from a young age, majoring in political studies for both her bachelor's and master's degrees and subsequently lecturing in the same topic while undertaking her PhD (which she did not complete). She joined New Zealand's Labour Party in 1971 while at university and unsuccessfully ran for office in a National Party safe seat in 1975 at the age of 25. From 1976-1986, she represented the Labour Party on multiple occasions at the Socialist International congress and Socialist International Women congress. In 1981, she was elected to parliament despite opposition within the Labour Party and her personal sense of political isolation in parliament. Clark openly criticised the sexism of Labour's leadership team, but this did not stop her rising within the ranks to become a Cabinet member in 1987. In this role, she served as minister of conservation (1987-89), minister of housing (1987-89), minister of health (1989-1990)

and minister of labour (1989-1990). In 1989, she was promoted to deputy leader prime minister, becoming the first woman to secure this position in New Zealand. However, after increasing dissatisfaction with the neoliberal reforms—labelled as 'Rogernomics' after then-finance minister Roger Douglas—implemented by government between 1984-1990, her party lost the 1990 election.

After another election loss in 1993 under the leadership of Mike Moore, caucus members sought a new leader and Clark, still serving as deputy, successfully challenged to become the first woman leader of the opposition in December of that year. As a result of the vitriol directed at Clark from Moore and his supporters subsequent to her challenge, she received extremely low opinion poll approval ratings that made her first term as Opposition Leader extremely difficult and likely contributed to her narrow loss in the 1996 election. It was assumed that Clark—New Zealand's first woman deputy leader of a major party and first woman opposition leader—would become the first woman prime minister. However, Shipley won this position when she successfully challenged Bolger in 1997. Clark later became New Zealand's first *elected* woman prime minister after winning the 1999 election, forming a coalition with Alliance Party. Clark was popular throughout her term and was particularly interested in social policy and equity. Upon her ascension, she appointed a remarkably diverse cabinet, including 11 women and four Maori. Her government addressed many frequently controversial social issues, such as Maori rights, same-sex civil unions, legalising sex work, opposing the US and British invasion of Iraq, increasing worker's rights and remuneration, introducing paid parental leave and seeking to become the world's first ecologically sustainable nation. Clark won two subsequent elections in 2002 and 2005 before losing the 2008 election to John Key (Nationals), after which she resigned from the leadership position and then, in 2009, resigned from parliament. She remains the longest-serving leader of the Labour Party and the fifth longest-serving prime minister of New Zealand.

1.6.4 Julia Gillard (2010–2013)

Julia Gillard was an active member in student politics while attending university, joining the Adelaide University Labor Club and gaining the office of President of the Adelaide University Union from 1981 to 1982. She moved to Melbourne in 1982 to work with the Australian Union of Students, where she became their second woman leader. After graduating from the University of Melbourne with a double degree in Law and Arts, she joined the law firm Slater & Gordon in 1987, specialising in industrial law, and became a partner in 1990. Gillard served as the President of the Carlton branch of the Labor Party from 1985-89 and was a member of the administrative committee of the ALP in Victoria from 1993-96. Prior to the 1993 federal election, she stood for Labor preselection in the Division of Melbourne but was defeated by Lindsay Tanner. She also unsuccessfully ran as a Victorian Labor senator for the 1996 election. From 1996-98, Gillard was appointed chief of staff for the Victorian ALP leader John Brumby, where she drafted the Victorian Labor Party's affirmative-action rules, which required that women must be pre-selected for 35 per cent of 'safe' seats. Gillard was also a founding member of EMILY's List Australia, an independent body outside the ALP that supports women candidates seeking election and aims to increase the number of women in parliament.

In the 1998 federal election, Gillard was elected into the House of Representatives as the member for Lalor. While the Labor Party was in opposition from 1996 to 2007, Gillard was appointed the shadow minister for: population and immigration (2001-03); reconciliation and Indigenous affairs (2003); health (2003-06); employment and industrial relations (2006-07); and social inclusion (2006-07). During this time, Gillard was widely regarded as a popular and skilful politician, leading to her appointment as deputy leader in 2006. Public dissatisfaction with the Liberal government and prime minister John Howard, combined with the popularity of Labor leader Kevin Rudd, led to an overwhelming victory for the Labor Party at the 2007 federal election, making Gillard Australia's first woman deputy prime minister. During this time, Gillard was

appointed to three portfolios: minister for education, minister for employment and workplace relations and minister for social inclusion.

Despite the widespread popularity of the Rudd government, the Labor party became increasingly frustrated with Rudd's leadership style in the lead-up to the 2010 federal election. These tensions culminated in a challenge for leadership spearheaded by Gillard who, following Rudd's withdrawal despite earlier assurances that he would contest the challenge, was elected unopposed and became Australia's first woman prime minister on 24 June 2010. Her unprecedented displacement of a popular first-term prime minister during an election year, however, prompted an overwhelming amount of backlash and accusations of disloyalty and treachery that counterbalanced the celebrated historic significance of her victory and status as the 'first woman', launching the sexism and misogyny that she experienced for the next three years of her term (Williams 2017). Although she called an election for 21 August 2010 to achieve a more secure sense of legitimacy through the validation of a popular vote, she did not receive a majority as intended and was forced to either relinquish government control to the Coalition or negotiate with three Independents and the Greens to attain a minority government. On 7 September 2010, following 17 days of counting votes, compromising and making deals, Gillard successfully formed a minority government with the support of the Independents and the Greens (Gannon 2010, 1). Throughout her term she was hounded by then-opposition leader Tony Abbott, known for being an aggressive 'headkicker', and simultaneously undermined by Rudd (Walsh 2013), who unsuccessfully challenged for leadership twice, in February 2012 and March 2013, and then gained success in a ballot on 26 June 2013. Gillard resigned on the same day, announcing that she would not recontest her seat in the upcoming September federal election. Despite her relatively short term and minority government, Gillard was the most productive prime minister in Australian history and passed 543 acts, including the establishment of an Emissions Trading Scheme (ETS), the

National Broadband Network (NBN), increased school funding following the Gonski Review and the introduction of the publicly funded National Disability Insurance Scheme (NDIS).

1.6.5 Theresa May (2016–2019)

From an early age, Theresa May publicly voiced her political ambition to become the UK's first woman prime minister, expressing annoyance when Margaret Thatcher beat her to it. She began her political career in 1986 after securing election as a councillor in Merton, a London borough, a position she held until 1994. In the 1992 election, she unsuccessfully stood as a Conservative candidate in the safe Labour seat of North West Durham and for Barking in the 1994 by-election. In 1997 , she gained the seat of Maidenhead despite the historic landslide win for Labour that saw Tony Blair come to power. May quickly rose to the frontbench and was appointed shadow secretary of state for: education and employment (1999-2001), transport, local government, and the regions (2001–02), the family (2004–05), culture, media, and sport (2005), and shadow leader of the House of Commons (2005–09). During this time, she became the Conservative Party's first woman chairperson and aimed to modernise the party by increasing the number of women MPs. In her notorious 'Nasty Party' speech she held the party to account for their compromised public reputation:

> You know what people call us? The Nasty Party. In recent years a number of politicians have behaved disgracefully and then compounded their offences by trying to evade responsibility. We all know who they are. Let's face it, some of them have stood on this platform.

May became known as a 'no-nonsense' politician and a tough negotiator. When the Conservative Party won the 2010 election, seeing David Cameron rise to the prime ministerial role, May was appointed home secretary (2010-2016)—the second woman to hold this position and the longest serving home secretary for over 60 years — and minister for women and equality (2010-2012).

In 2016, May stood with Cameron in opposing the British withdrawal from the European Union, referred to as 'Brexit'. After Cameron took this issue to a national referendum and lost, he resigned and May announced her candidacy for the leadership of the Conservative Party, seen as a frontrunner along with vocal 'Leaver' Boris Johnson, who withdrew after Michael Gove, his ally, announced his own candidacy. Within a week of announcing her candidacy May won the First Ballot, knocking one candidate out of the race while another withdrew. The Second Ballot was between the remaining three—May, Gove and Andrea Leadsom—which May also won, while Leadsom beat Gove. As the final candidates, May and Leadsom faced a vote by general Conservative Party members on September 9, but Leadsom withdrew on July 11 after making a controversial statement about motherhood being a qualification for leadership, thereby emphasising May's lack of children. As the sole remaining candidate, May was sworn in as the UK's second woman prime minister on 13 July 2016. May's term was defined by her attempts to secure Brexit and to unite a divided and fraught United Kingdom. Due to divisions within parliament, May called for a snap election in 2017 to secure a larger majority, but was instead forced to form a minority government with the support of Northern Ireland's Democratic Unionist Party (DUP). After multiple setbacks, including a historic defeat of her proposed Brexit deal in early 2019, May announced her resignation on May 24, officially stepping down from her role in July and taking her place on the backbench. She was re-elected in the 2019 general election and currently remains MP for Maidenhead.

1.6.6 Similarities and Differences

The various pathways to premiership followed by these five leaders share certain similarities. Above all, each woman expressed an interest in politics from a young age, often becoming politically active while studying at university. Clark, Gillard and May are also united by their ardent campaigns for gender equality and the increase of women MPs throughout their careers, while May and Shipley both served as minister of women and equality and minister of

women's affairs, respectively. Once elected, all five quickly rose within the ranks and were appointed to Cabinet positions. Gillard and Clark both served as deputy leader and deputy prime minister prior to their ascensions. Shipley, Gillard and May secured the prime ministerial role through winning the leadership position when their parties were governing, while Thatcher and Clark became leaders of opposition parties that were likely to win office at the next election. Both situations are unusual, as women politicians are far more likely to become leaders of minor parties or of major opposition parties considered unlikely to win the next election (Trimble 2017, 23).

However, the political contexts surrounding their ascensions differed. Gillard stands apart from the other leaders as she notoriously ascended to the leadership role by challenging a sitting first-term prime minister at the height of his popularity only months before the federal election. The way she gained the leadership position was viewed as unusual, particularly for a woman, and garnered widespread comment and criticism (Hall and Donaghue 2013; Johnson 2015; Trimble 2016; Trimble 2017; Williams 2017). Therefore, unlike the media's slow and continuous coverage of Clark and Thatcher during their years as opposition leader and respective elections, Gillard made a shocking entry that caused a media frenzy. When she challenged Rudd, her public image immediately shifted from that of a loyal deputy in a supportive role—a position acceptable for women—to someone perceived to be self-interested, disloyal and immoral. Although Shipley ascended in a similar manner—by challenging a sitting prime minister—Bolger was in his third term and the public had shown an increasing dissatisfaction with his governance.

In contrast, Thatcher and Clark were elected after successful campaigns at their respective federal elections. Both leaders also served as opposition leader for multiple years prior to their ascension. For example, Clark had been Labor Leader since 1993 when, after serving as Deputy Leader of the Opposition since 1990, she successfully challenged the sitting leader. It was subsequently assumed she would be New Zealand's first woman prime minister. Meanwhile, May

ascended to the prime ministerial role after winning the leadership ballot on the resignation of the previous leader, and was considered the most popular choice by those within her own party as well as the public.

From this, a difference in media representation of these leaders could be expected. However, as will be explored, I found that this was not the case. Although Gillard received more negative coverage (Table 1.2**Error! Reference source not found.**), it was not always gendered, and, in turn, gendered coverage is not necessarily negative; positively toned articles can still rely on gender norms and stereotypes. Additionally, although Shipley ascended in a similar manner as Gillard, she did not receive as much negative or gendered coverage, while May was portrayed in a highly gendered way. Rather than the immediate political context, the most evident variance in the media coverage related to their countries' media cultures, the political alignment of the press, and how recently they had become prime minister.

Table 1.2. Percentage and number of newspaper articles that had a neutral, positive or negative tone

	Neutral		*Positive*		*Negative*	
	Percentage	*Number*	*Percentage*	*Number*	*Percentage*	*Number*
Thatcher	71.7%	124	20.2%	35	13.9%	24
May	59.6%	112	23.9%	45	16.5%	31
Gillard	59.7%	298	9.8%	49	30.5%	152
Shipley	65.3%	47	11.1%	8	23.6%	17
Clark	78.5%	84	11.2%	12	10.3%	11

1.7 Media Contextualisation

While collecting data from the British Library, London, the National Library of New Zealand, Wellington, and the National Library of Australia, Canberra, I observed numerous characteristics that distinguish print media representations of women leaders in these countries. The most notable overarching trend was the relative similarity between the UK and Australian

presses, despite divergences in media landscape, in contrast to the press of New Zealand, where celebritisation and presidentialisation of sitting prime ministers were not as prominent. The UK and Australian presses rely on personalised, informal and infotainment styles of reportage, but in New Zealand a more formal, less polarising tone is generally adopted. This does not mean there were no instances of gendered mediation in the coverage of women leaders in New Zealand, but rather that reporting was usually more formal and polite. Additionally, there were far fewer articles in general that were dedicated to politics and prime ministers, whereas for Australia and the UK it was common for politics, particularly the new leaders, to be daily frontpage news. To explain this, I have identified three key differences between the UK/Australian and New Zealand presses: the concentration of media ownership and range of distribution (national vs local); the influence of the Murdoch press; and the publication of tabloids.

1.7.1 Concentration and Range

There has been a recent trend toward increased media ownership concentration, particularly in Australia and New Zealand (Tiffen 2015, 64), whereby fewer individuals own a greater percentage of the assets as a result of buyouts and mergers. A study by the International Media Concentration project (Noam 2011) found that Australia has the highest concentration of print media ownership of 26 countries analysed. Similarly, the New Zealand Media Ownership Report (2008) revealed that print media ownership in New Zealand is also highly concentrated. As shown in the table below (Table 1.3), the mainstream print media in Australia and New Zealand are dominated by two media corporations, comprising 86% and 92% of daily newspaper circulation respectively. In the UK, on the other hand, press ownership is significantly less concentrated, though the two largest media corporations still own over half of daily circulations.

Table 1.3. Comparative newspaper ownership concentration: percentage of national daily newspaper circulation held by the top 1 and top 2 leading media corporations in relation to total circulation and population.

Country	Top 1	Top 2	Total Circulation (m)	Population (m)
Australia	58%	86%	2.953	21.02
New Zealand	48%	92%	0.675	4.26
United Kingdom	34%	54%	9.820	61.4

Data is from 2008–10. UK data is for national newspapers only. Data source: Noam (2011), Tiffin (2015), Rosenberg (2008), McNair (2009).

This trend has tangible ramifications in reportage, framing and type of news published. Such concentration could result in an over-representation of specific and hegemonic political ideas, values and perspectives (Doyle 2002, 13). However, for political scientist Sally Young, a 'small media market' decreases the likelihood of 'overt partisan bias', as the risk of alienating consumers who support a different party compels media actors to cultivate as broad and appealing a perspective as possible (2017, 866). In New Zealand, for example, there is no official national newspaper, and only a single daily newspaper in most major cities (Gibbons 2014). As a result, these local newspapers must appeal to a wide range of people, necessitating more neutral and less biased reporting. The UK press occupies the other end of the spectrum, with less media ownership concentration and more choice for consumers, while Australia is firmly placed between the two.

The range of distribution also differs in these countries. The UK landscape is dominated by national dailies, despite the existence of numerous regional newspapers (McNair 2009, 8). These national dailies are administered in London and target an English audience. Australia, on the other hand, has only two national daily newspapers—the wider-appealing *The Australian* (broadsheet; Murdoch-owned) and the finance- and business-focused *Australian Financial Review* (broadsheet; Nine Entertainment-owned)—and various metropolitan newspapers. Aside from the two major state capitals, Sydney and Melbourne, all other cities only have one metropolitan daily alongside

the largely Murdoch-owned tabloids (Young 2010, 612). The New Zealand press differs in that there is no national newspaper, although *The New Zealand Herald* and *The Dominion* (now *The Dominion Post*) are available outside their core cities.

1.7.2 Murdoch

The second main difference between New Zealand, Australian and UK media landscapes is the varying level of influence that the Murdoch press wields in each county. Australia and the UK are both home to newspapers owned by a subsidiary of Murdoch's News Corp: News UK; and News Corp Australia.[2] Murdoch does not own a subsidiary in New Zealand, though he did hold shares in the publisher Independent Newspapers Limited (INL), which, at its height in the 1990s, controlled most daily metropolitan newspapers in New Zealand. However, Murdoch sold these shares in 2003.

The Murdoch press is especially dominant in Australia. As of 2014, News Corp Australia accounted for 63% of national daily circulation, far in excess of the 22.6% controlled by the second largest media conglomerate, Fairfax (Tiffin 2015, 66). News Corp's share of metropolitan daily circulation was even higher, at 68.2%, in comparison to Fairfax's 21.3% (Tiffin 2015, 66). For politics and media specialist Rodney Tiffin:

> In no other country does the leading company (in Australia, Murdoch's News Corp) account for more than half of national circulation. (2015, 65)

In numerous state capitals, News Corp press functions as a monopoly, and in New South Wales and Victoria, Australia's two largest states, there are no tabloid competitors (Young 2017, 867).

Although media ownership in the UK is more diverse and News Corp does not completely dominate the market, the Murdoch press remains highly influential. News Corp UK papers have

---

[2] The publishing wing of News Limited was renamed 'News Corp' in 2013.

the largest circulations and, in combination with Lord Rothermere's Daily Mail Group, control almost 60% of national circulation (Media Reform Coalition 2015, 7). Like *The Herald Sun* in Australia, Murdoch's *The Sun* had the widest circulation in the UK in 2016 (Media Reform Coalition 2015, 4).

The dominance of the Murdoch press is an important factor to consider when undertaking a comparative print media analysis, due to its power and overall influence. Murdoch is notorious for his ideological interference in print media and, as Kelsey (1999, 195) notes, he 'runs the world's biggest media empire. He strongly defends his right to interfere in editorial matters, and sees it is his responsibility to do so'. Although Murdoch had a significant presence in New Zealand in the 1990s through INL, his control was more focused on editorial matters and less on exerting political influence (Cross and Henderson 2004, 149). In Australia and the UK, however, Murdoch has long and successfully attempted to exert political influence (McKnight 2010, 303). Despite his initial libertarian stance, he adopted a conservative neoliberal ideology in the mid-to-late 1970s that was reflected in his newspapers (McKnight 2003, 348). Particularly influential was his relationship with Thatcher following *The Sun*'s endorsement of her and the Conservative Party in 1979, when their ideological and political outlooks converged (McKnight 2003, 348; Shawcross 1992, 209–10). Former *Sunday Times* editor Andrew Neil (1983–94) has stated that Murdoch was instrumental in promoting Thatcherism, as he

> expects his papers to stand broadly for what he believes: a combination of right-wing Republicanism from America mixed with undiluted Thatcherism from Britain … the resulting potage is a radical-right dose of free market economics, the social agenda of the Christian Moral Majority and the hard-line conservative views on subjects like drugs, abortion, law and order and defence. (Neil 1996, 165)

This permeates Murdoch's daily UK newspapers, specifically his notably partisan tabloid *The Sun*, which was and continues to be renowned for explicit front-page political support and rejections

(Young 2017, 866). Murdoch uses News Corp to support his political causes and to endorse politicians who align with his ideology and financial interests (see Arsenault & Castells, 2008; Hobbs, 2007, 2010; Hobbs & McKnight, 2011; Hobbs & McKnight, 2014; McKnight, 2012; Tiffen, 2014).

News Corp Australia also wields considerable political influence, and has been criticised for anti-Labor reporting, particularly during the 2013 election (see Hobbs and McKnight 2014; Young 2013). *The Australian*, above all, is widely acknowledged for its neoliberal and partisan political agenda that has been instrumental in constructing a platform for Australian conservative columnists (McKnight 2003, 347; Young 2017, 867). Like *The Sun*, *The Australian* welcomed Thatcher's prime ministerial ascension, remarking on her 'refreshing idealism' (McKnight 2003, 353). *The Australian* espoused many elements of Thatcherism, including small government, reduced taxes, spending cuts, privatisation and the application of free-market principles to all areas of society (McKnight 2003, 351). Despite its relatively small circulation, *The Australian* plays a major role in intermedia agenda-setting and it remains common for prime ministers to seek endorsement from News Corp editors (Hobbs and McKnight 2014, 4; Hobbs and Owen 2016, 140). *The Australian* also has the potential to damage the reputations of Murdoch's political 'enemies', who are routinely negatively portrayed 'following an initial act of transgression against the newspaper's core politics' (Hobbs and Owen 2016, 140).

Murdoch's role in News Corp goes beyond figurehead status; there are numerous accounts of his efforts to exert control through editorial appointments and promotions for employees who echo his ideological position (for example, Hobbs and Owen 2016, 139). This is apparent not only in Australia and the UK, but also in the US, where he uses his newspapers to advance his political ideology and business interests (Rosenberg 2008, 352). Some, however, argue that Murdoch is merely a businessperson with traditional business-conservative positions, driven by the bottom

line and not by ideology (Arsenault and Castells 2008, 497; Fallows 2003, 81, 98; Gershon 1997, 33).

However, numerous News Corp papers run at a loss, such as the *Wall Street Journal*, *The London Times* and *The Australian*, demonstrating that Murdoch uses News Corp to further his conservative political agenda despite it potentially conflicting with his corporate interests (Gaber, 2012, 641–43).

The Murdoch press has been a key 'ideological player' in Australia's 'culture wars'[3] and, to a lesser extent, in similar ideological struggles in the UK and the US, though not in New Zealand (Abjorensen 2009, 59; Hobbs and Owen 2016, 140). Journalists and columnists in *The Australian* played a major role in constructing an anti-elitist discourse that characterises the left as inner-city elites out of touch with ordinary people in their dogmatic adherence to issues such as feminism, environmentalism, and Indigenous and minority rights (Scalmer and Goot 2004). Consequently, it is evident that Gillard, as both a woman *and* ALP prime minister, was portrayed negatively by the Murdoch press in an attempt to tarnish her reputation and thereby undermine her antithetical political ideology and threat to the gendered status quo (Williams 2017, 552).

News Corp has facilitated such culture wars as part of a global campaign opposing liberal progressivism and 'political correctness', the latter an ambiguous term used to describe many forms of left-aligned political activity including feminism. It is this ideological role, in combination with Murdoch's personal influence and stranglehold on the intermedia news agenda, that sets News Corp apart from other media conglomerates as a force for political influence. In the UK,

---

[3] The 'Australian culture wars' refers to the political and ideological metaphorical 'battles' fought to determine the core of Australia's values and identity. Arising in the leadup to the 1988 bicentenary, which spurred debates as to Australia's history and identity, the notion gained traction in the 1990s as a conservative backlash against the rise of feminism, multiculturalism and socially liberal values of the 1960s and 1970s. This backlash was mobilised politically by John Howard, both as leader of the opposition and as prime minister, and after his electoral win in 1996 it became a central feature of contemporary Australian politics (McKnight 2005, 141). It centres on concepts such as family values, national identity, Australia's colonial history, relations between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people and Western values—privileging whiteness, maleness and heterosexuality. Above all, it is divisive, labelling those who disagree with these particular values as 'the elite' or 'politically correct' and those who agree as 'average Australians' or 'battlers'. However, it was marginalised and disadvantaged groups that were pushing for social justice and equality while drawing attention to the homogenous racial, ethnic and gender makeup of the elites in power (Johnson 2000, 65). Howard's rhetoric stigmatised these groups and implied that 'ordinary Australians' are not 'Aboriginal, Asian, homosexual, lesbian, feminist or migrant' (Johnson 2000, 65).

From Tightrope to Gendered Trope

Murdoch's political ideology was ascendant from the 1970s, and he sought influence through relationships with prime ministers, conservative figures and right-wing think tanks. In Australia, his political power was enhanced by his ownership of one of the two sole national daily broadsheets[4] and the sole metropolitan newspaper in several state capitals. Young (2017, 866) argues that News Corp tabloids in Australia have moved toward a more UK-influenced style of blatant partisanship, particularly evident in the 2013 federal election and indicative of a shift in the Australian print media towards strongly opinionated reportage.

The dominance of the right-wing Murdoch press has resulted in a largely conservative Australian and UK media landscape. Australia has a dominance of conservative newspapers, largely Murdoch-owned, with little in Australia that is centre-left (Table 1.4). As explored above, while the Murdoch press has been criticised for being anti-ALP, newspapers in Australia have also traditionally supported conservative political parties, particularly the Liberal and National Parties (McKnight 2010, 311; Young 2017, 68). In contrast with the Australian press, there is more diversity in the UK (Table 1.5), with both conservative and progressive newspapers and a signature partisan-style reporting of politics (Young 2017, 866). The New Zealand landscape is considerably less partisan. Although *The New Zealand Herald* is regarded as conservative, it leans more to the centre than the conservative papers in Australia. There also is a lack of a progressive daily press, and instead most of the daily newspapers are considered to be centrist.

---

[4] Rivalling the national daily finance and business focused newspaper, the *Australian Financial Review*.

Table 1.4. Australia: Likelihood of a masthead's reader voting Liberal and National Party
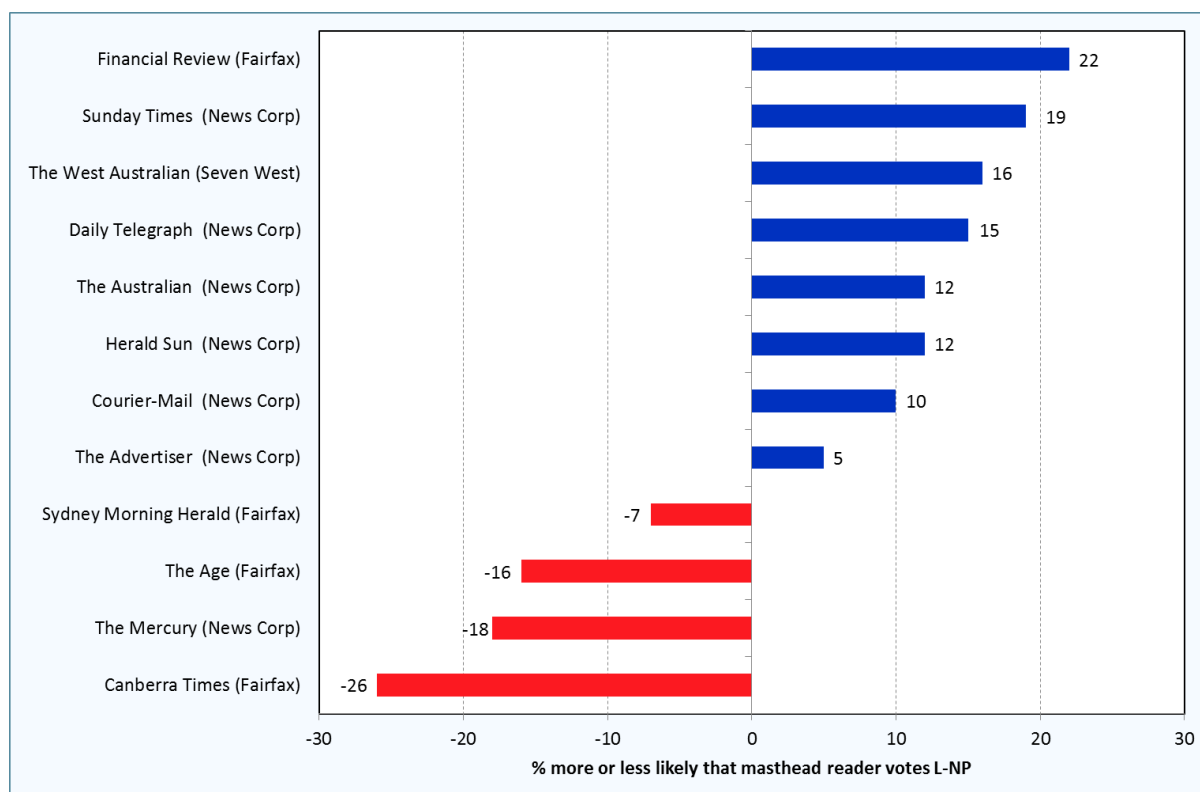
Source: Roy Morgan Single Source (Australia) July 2012 – June 2013. Base: Australian Electors who provided a first preference vote (n = 37,301). Index is based on a first preference vote norm in the sample period of 45% (L-NP), 36% (ALP), 11% (Greens) and 8% (Independent/Other).

Table 1.5. UK: Political allegiance of newspaper readership (2010)

Newspaper	Labour	Conservative	Liberal Democrat	Swing (Lab-Con)
The Guardian	46	9	37	3.5 (Lib Dem-Lab)
The Mirror	59	16	17	6.5
The Telegraph	7	70	18	5.5
The Sun	28	43	18	13.5
The Independent	32	14	44	1.5
The Times	22	49	24	8
The Star	35	21	20	10
The Daily Express	19	53	18	7
The Daily Mail	16	59	16	4

Source: Wring and Ward (2010, 808)

The political slant of a newspaper can affect how women prime ministers are portrayed.

During my interview, Gillard particularly noted that conservative newspapers such as those

32

owned by News Corp Australia are more likely to be biased against women's issues and progressive women politicians:

> In [the Australian] media market, which is so concentrated and *so* conservative, I think there is a bias towards the conservative side of politics in the News Corporation newspapers … And, part of that conservative layer is to dismiss a lot of what we've been talking about [issues of gendered media coverage] as just 'fluffy silly political correctness' rather than 'seriously getting to grips with the issues'. (Interview, 13 February 2019)

The conservative ideology of these newspapers—with values often opposed to issues of social progress and equality, such as women's rights, and forcefully advocating Christianity, the traditional family and conservative morality—influences how they portray women in political leadership positions who threaten the status quo (George 2009, 5; see also McKnight 2005, 139). This creates a media landscape that permits and even encourages the use of gendered and misogynistic representations to unduly criticise women prime ministers.

1.7.3 Tabloids

The third, and most noticeable, characteristic distinguishing print media landscapes in the UK, Australia and New Zealand is the varying presence of a tabloid press. This term is difficult to define: 'tabloid' usually refers to the size and shape of a newspaper, although not all newspapers of this size conform to our current understanding of the term. Apart from size, the distinctive features of the tabloid press are its sensationalist content and tone, and its association with the entertainment industries and popular culture (Biressi and Nunn 2008, 8). Tabloids devote very little attention to politics, economics and society, preferring to focus instead on glamour, scandal, sports, and, above all, private lives (Sparks 2000, 10). A line is commonly drawn between such sensationalism and the 'serious' journalism of broadsheets, defining the latter as 'objective' and factual and the former as 'subjective' and dedicated to populism, emotions and entertainment over the facts (Sparks 2000, 10–11). The term 'broadsheet newspaper' typically refers to the size and

33

shape of the paper, characterised by long vertical pages, and this style of newspaper has connotations of being more 'highbrow' than the tabloid due to its tendency to house more intellectual and in-depth content. Linguistic and editorial features may also determine whether a newspaper is characterised as tabloid or broadsheet. Tabloids reflect the vocabulary and style of the 'average' reader, and rely on colloquial expressions, metaphors, populist rhetoric and puns (Conboy 2006, 14). They are renowned for the use of sensationalist front-page images, frequently photoshopped for comic emphasis (Young 2017, 870).

Despite their supposed preferences for entertainment over politics, tabloids have political undertones. Hansen et al. (1988, 218) have observed a tradition whereby tabloids regularly display emotional and political partisanship, regulate moral boundaries, and support causes instead of adhering to an 'objective' stance of independent reporting that focuses on facts and events. Some argue that tabloid journalism appeals to the lowest common denominator—simplifying news and world events, personalising political and public actors, and thriving on scandal and sensationalism—and therefore diminishes the quality of public discourse (Örnebring and Jönsson 2008, 23). However, others argue that tabloids portray news in a less abstracted way that is more comprehensible and accessible to a broader range of readers (MacDonald 1998; Skovsgaard 2014, 201). Örnebring and Jönsson (2008, 24) have shown that the main traits of tabloids— emotionalism, sensationalism and simplification—are not inherently antithetical to serving the public good, and that tabloids may fulfil this aspiration more efficiently than 'serious' journalism. They can also serve as a platform *for* the people, or for the popular, and can be more inclusive of such voices than traditional, serious newspapers (Matheson 2007, 31).

Nevertheless, the tabloid press does raise some legitimate concerns. It can be a powerful agent for social and cultural change through influence exerted on a large readership that usually exceeds that of broadsheets, covering stories 'with such intensity and ferocity that other media

often feel they have to pay attention as a result' (Young 2017, 884). Tabloid newspapers may also act to maintain the status quo, politically and culturally, and to reinforce gender, racial and heteronormative stereotypes (Conboy 2006, 13; Brooks 2008, 199). For Conboy, tabloids

> demonstrate that there is a receptive audience for stories which demonstrate directly or indirectly a disrespect for those in certain positions of social authority, reinforcing the sense of distance between the powerful in society and those excluded from these circles. (2006, 13)

van Zoonen has identified a dichotomy of feminine and masculine styles of media that aligns with the binary of tabloid and broadsheet. A 'masculine' style is associated with seriousness and objectivity, while the 'feminine' is linked with entertainment, emotion and subjectivity (1998, 45). However, the tabloid press has become increasingly sexualised, endorsing a view of the 'female body [as] a depoliticised site of pleasure and enjoyment' (Biressi and Nunn 2008, 192). A reliance on personalised and sensationalist coverage renders politicians and political leaders vulnerable to exposure of their personal lives, with a specifically gendered element doubly impacting women political actors who threaten the status quo.

The presence of a tabloid press varies between the UK, Australia and New Zealand. Tabloids comprise over half of the 11 national UK dailies, including the three with the widest circulation and largest readership (Media Reform Coalition 2015, 4). In Australia, on the other hand, there are only four broadsheet newspapers, of which three are 'compact' broadsheets—meaning that the paper is of broadsheet-quality but in tabloid format—and most state capitals do not have a broadsheet newspaper. Out of the 12 daily newspapers, 10 metropolitan and two national, seven are tabloids. Aside from *The West Australian*, all of these tabloids are owned by News Corp. This dominance in the UK and Australia, further compounded by intermediary influence, has allowed the tabloid press to dictate cultural values, norms and stereotypes, and to reinforce their ideological and political influence.

In stark contrast, there is essentially a complete lack of tabloid press in New Zealand. Cross and Henderson (2004, 142) observe a general reluctance to adopt the tabloid style of journalism prevalent in the US, UK and Australia, with its personalisation and sensationalising of politics and its interrogation of politicians' private lives. While there has been a recent shift toward a tabloid style of journalism, as exemplified by the merger of broadsheet *The Dominion* with the *Evening Post,* I am focusing only on the New Zealand print media landscape prior to the close of Helen Clark's final prime ministerial term in 2008. During this time, a high ownership concentration and the relative lack of a Murdoch or tabloid press combined to create a print media landscape very different to that in the UK and Australia, and characterised by a less sensationalised or personalised journalistic style. While the New Zealand press still regularly relied on gendered tropes, norms and stereotypes, these were used less often. In general, the New Zealand press reported on political leaders far less frequently than press in the other two countries and, when it did report on political leaders, it was more formal in tone and less reliant on sensationalism, infotainment or personalisation.

1.8 Thesis Structure

The central argument underlying this thesis is that the media rely on and reproduce gender norms and stereotypes in their coverage of women prime ministers. Chapter Two, the first section following this introduction, reviews relevant literature within two categories. Firstly, I give an outline of the guiding theoretical framework for the thesis, focusing on Judith Butler's concept of gender performativity and the related idea that gender is socially constructed to empower men and disempower women. I also provide theoretical grounding for concepts of gendered mediation and the personalisation of political reporting, identifying gaps in the current literature. Finally, I shed light on three important aspects of gendering in parliament: its history as a highly masculinised institution; association of the political spectrum and political parties with gender

stereotypes; and the expectations on individual politicians to conform to such stereotypes. In the second part of the Literature Review, I give a comprehensive account of the body of scholarly discussion that has developed to date around Thatcher, May, Gillard, Shipley and Clark, using this account to justify the focus of the current thesis.

In Chapter Three, addressing the gaps and challenges presented by the literature, I explain the motivations for my chosen research approach and methods. This thesis is situated in a broader 'feminist research' framework and underpinned by a critical feminist poststructuralism seeking to raise awareness and develop constructive ideas about the gendered coverage of women prime ministers. I have chosen to use a Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA), a Feminist Content Analysis (FCA), and visual analysis to deconstruct and understand how and why the mainstream media rely on gender norms and stereotypes, and a Feminist Elite Interviewing approach in my discussions with Clark and Gillard. Applying these methods to the data selected for analysis, I identified five gendered tropes that were consistent across coverage of all five leaders and that I have consequently used to structure the body chapters of the thesis. Each of these chapters additionally demonstrates whether coverage differs based on political affiliation—of newspapers and of leaders—and identifies how each trope indicates a rise in personalised and gendered media representation.

Chapter Four is the first of these chapters, dedicated to the trope of 'femininity'. I show that gender and femininity refer to different aspects of gender performativity. The former refers to a socially constructed gender identity that locates bodies in a clear hierarchy, empowering men and disempowering women, and that labels those who transgress such heteronormative binaries as deviant. Femininity, on the other hand, is a learned, iterative performance that our society sees as naturally progressing from being a woman, and that it associates with behaviour that conforms to gendered norms and stereotypes. I address media framing of both categories in their coverage of

women political leaders, focusing above all on the gendered metaphors and themes deployed to construct women political leaders as subjects. These, in turn, highlight the inherent subversion of performed gender by women in leadership roles that have historically been filled by male bodies.

Chapter Five is dedicated to the trope of appearance. Scholars of gendered mediation often focus on the mainstream media's undue attention to women leaders' appearance and sartorial style, and the extent to which this highlights their difference. I further extend this line of thought to demonstrate *how* print media use discourse in their appearance-based coverage of women political leaders. More specifically, I examine the media use of metonymy and celebritisation to emphasise and exaggerate their subjects' fashion choices, and to dissect them into body parts such as hair, noses, skin, figure, etc.

In Chapter Six, I explore the trope of family and analyse how Thatcher, May, Gillard, Shipley and Clark are portrayed as wives, mothers/childless and daughters. To a far greater extent than the parallel personalisation of their male colleagues, this emphasis on women leaders' families and personal lives ensnares them in a gendered double bind, inviting judgement about whether they should or shouldn't have children, how they should parent, whether they should sacrifice their careers or, if they do not have children, whether they are 'unwomanly'. I show that such relegation of women leaders to the familial realm, often tying them to male relatives, can both trivialise them as leaders and highlight their gendered transgressions.

Chapter Seven raises two distinct, but similar, tropes related to the theme of 'names': the frequent reference to women leaders by first names only; and their equally frequent comparison to Thatcher, as the first woman prime minister in the Euro-American world. The first trope is a clear attempt to mark a leader as a woman and to delegitimise or make her appear less serious. The second not only emphasises their gender and subversive choices, but also generalises women political leaders as a homogeneous category.

Chapter Eight departs from previous chapters by focusing on what could be termed an 'anti-' trope, or articles that critique or sometimes ridicule the gendered double standard applied to women political leaders, whether from within parliament or society and the media. Such critiques are expressed in various forms, prompting comparison of the conservative and progressive presses and following changes over time. While many scholars have studied misogynistic media coverage of women politicians and leaders, very few have addressed articles that are critical of such coverage. To address this oversight, I provide a comprehensive analysis of this criticism.

Chapter Nine also deviates from previous chapters by focusing solely on political cartoons, which have been widely and historically used as communicative objects by newspapers and the media to express certain meanings and messages. Again, very few scholars have examined how gendered political cartoons of women prime ministers unsettle notions of sex/gender and woman/man. With reference to semiotic theory, I therefore show that cartoons are central, most likely unintentionally, to the unsettling and simultaneous re-enforcing of gender norms through visual imagery, often as a form of ridicule or parody.

I conclude in Chapter Ten with some recognition of the real-world implications of this research for the academic fields of gender politics, gender studies and media communications, and for broader academic and non-academic understandings of gendered media coverage. I hope that the concrete evidence of sexism experienced by women political leaders provided by this thesis will open new discussions of the gendered double standards applied to women.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to examine how the media rely on and reproduce gender norms and stereotypes in their coverage of five women prime ministers: Margaret Thatcher; Theresa May; Julia Gillard; Jenny Shipley; and Helen Clark. It is demonstrated that, despite a greater number of women entering politics in recent years, the reliance on and reproduction of gender stereotypes is increasing rather than decreasing.

This chapter provides an overview of the existing literature on this topic, split into two parts. Firstly, the theoretical framework for this thesis and scholarship on gendered mediation are discussed, setting out Judith Butler's notion of gender performativity (1990) and its usefulness in providing insights into media representation of women political leaders. The concept of gendered mediation itself is then examined, identifying its methodological limitations and oversights. Three additional areas of gendered scholarship essential to my overall argument are also outlined: the gendering of political institutions and the political spectrum; and the measurement of politicians' behaviour according to gender stereotypes. The study of gender stereotypes is largely situated in the discipline of political psychology, suggesting women politicians experience a 'double bind' when expected to conform to feminine traits while displaying the necessary masculine traits demanded of all politicians.

The second part of the chapter surveys current research that addresses gendered mediation of Thatcher, May, Gillard, Shipley and Clark. There are four sub-sections: one each for Thatcher, May and Gillard; and a fourth for Shipley and Clark due to the paucity of research focused solely on Shipley. In this part of the chapter, I identify gaps in the analysis of these leaders and establish how these oversights are addressed in this thesis.

2.2 Part One: Gender, Media and Power

Scholarship on gendered media responses to women politicians and prime ministers is highly developed, with key works including: Norris, *Women, media and politics* (1997); Ross, *Women, politics and media* (2002); *Gendered media* (2010); and *Gender, politics, news* (2017); and Trimble, *Ms. Prime Minister* (2017). These studies all examine the gendered mediation of women politicians and political leaders, their trivialisation, and their portrayal as novelties. These studies influenced the conceptual foundations of this dissertation, particularly in their use of the concept of gendered mediation and the many ways this affects the coverage of women political actors. I build on this research by incorporating Butlerian theorisations of gender performativity along with a textual and visual discursive analysis of newspaper articles, strengthened by interviews with Clark and Gillard, to further understand how and why women prime ministers experienced gendered media coverage.

2.2.1 Gender Performativity

The idea that gender is 'performative', or a 'performance', is common in sociological and feminist discussions of gender, and appears in disciplines such as anthropology, literary studies, critical psychology, gender studies and, increasingly, political science. However, there are multiple theories of performative gender. Erving Goffman's formative (1956) *The Presentation of self in everyday life* provided the underlying principles by demonstrating that there is no innate maleness or femaleness, and that gender is instead constituted through social practices that privilege men over women (1977, 319).

Sociologists Candace West and Don Zimmerman, in their renowned article aptly titled 'Doing Gender', extended Goffman's original argument by proposing that gender is integral to the 'business of interaction' (1991, 17). They theorise that 'doing gender' necessitates the creation of binaries between girls and boys, and women and men, that are not innate, essential or biological

but are 'used to reinforce the "essentialness" of gender' (1987, 137). For West and Zimmerman, 'doing gender' involves the risk of negative assessments and even subjection to disciplining when gender norms are flouted (1987, 137). They cite Foucault's model of the Panopticon (1975) to show that socially-approved performances of gender are self-regulated and policed by constant surveillance (1987, 142).

Judith Butler, although she engages with the psychoanalytical models proposed by these and other scholars, adopts a fundamentally poststructuralist perspective in her conceptualisation of 'gender performativity' (1990). Rather than social interactions, Butler asserts that discourse is the origin of gender, and that it is therefore unstable and not inherent to our being. She introduced the concept of gender performativity in her influential text *Gender trouble* (1990), in which she proposed a genealogical analysis of gender following Foucault's work on sexuality (1978) and defined performativity as the normalisation of masculinity and femininity through the reiterated 'acting' of gendered identity (1990, 16–17). Butler argues that gender and sex are discursively produced within the 'heterosexual matrix', that being the system of power in which heterosexuality is enforced (1990, 47–106). Interrogating de Beauvoir's famous assertion that 'one is not born, but rather becomes, a woman' (de Beauvoir 1949, 293), Butler contends that one cannot 'be' a sex or a gender because these are performed as a continuous process. When not performed, therefore, gender identity has no independent existence (Butler 1990, 24–25). Moreover, Butler argues that we cannot choose how we are gendered because we cannot exist outside the socially-accepted terms of gender identity; 'our choices are limited rather than free' (Salih 2002, 51).

Rejecting the idea that gendered identities are 'stable signifiers', Butler argues that they are constituted in varying historical, social and political contexts (1990, 3). Following intersectional theories of identity, she rejects the universality of 'womanhood' and contends that gender always intersects with class, racial, ethnic, sexual and geographical identities. There is no single definition

of a woman, though certain kinds of womanhood and femininity are preferred and privileged. This theorisation is particularly relevant to the gendered expectations of political leaders, making visible their race and to a lesser extent their class, both of which have an assumed neutrality due to the normality of whiteness and middle-classness, as discussed in Chapter One.

Alongside Butler's concept of gender performativity, her notion of gender subversion is also integral to this thesis. Butler defines as subversive those acts that reveal gender to be tenuous, imitative, and malleable. In the 1999 Preface to *Gender trouble*, she argues that subversion is 'the occasion in which we come to understand that what we take to be 'real,' what we invoke as the naturalized knowledge of gender is, in fact, a changeable and revisable reality' (xxiv). Butler contends that the binary association of female/male with femininity/masculinity is re-enforced by dominant social structures, empowering those who adhere to their normative iteration and disempowering those who deviate. While iteration enforces normative gender roles, and correctly 'doing' gender reinforces legitimacy and power, subversion prompts accusations of illegitimacy and a subsequent disempowerment. Those who follow this path, including many women politicians, are inevitably seen as a threat to the stability of established gender identities (1990, ii–iii). While a 'correct' performance of gender reinforces normative concepts of biological essentialism, Butler argues that an 'incorrect' performance 'initiates a set of punishments both obvious and indirect' (Butler 1988, 528). Agents of subversion—intentional or not—are punished by their society and culture. It is always in the interests of political, social and cultural institutions to enforce punishment to minimise the extent to which norms are destabilised (1990, 139–140). These institutions are regulatory powers that can quickly exploit those who subvert gender norms, using them as 'aberrant examples to … leverage the rationality of their own continued regulatory zeal' (Butler 2014). Regulation is connected to the process of *normalisation* that encourages certain standards and prohibits others.

Butler's theory of gender performativity is a valuable analytic tool, yet her deconstruction of gender and vision of it as *performative* has been both applauded and denounced by feminists within and outside of academia. Many authors, for example, have critiqued her inaccessible writing style (Nussbaum 1999), her supposed misunderstanding of Freud's work on psychoanalysis (Prosser 1998), her lack of attention to the body or to agency when focusing on discourse (Bordo 1993; McNay 1999), and her obscurantist theorisation of subversion (Bordo 1993). I am inclined to agree with critics who view Butler's research as inaccessible. Explanatory texts such as Sara Salih's *Judith Butler* (2002) are often needed for clarification of her meaning. Nevertheless, her argument remains valuable for its *discursive* element, particularly her theorisation that performativity not only communicates but creates the naturalisation of gender, while subverting this leads to punishment. This outlook underlies my argument that the media is a regulatory force that upholds the gender binary and norms through reprimanding gender subversion, and this is precisely why I have chosen Butler's work as a keystone in the theoretical framework of this thesis.

Although it may be considered 'overused' in social and cultural studies (Salih 2002, 44), Butler's theory has not been widely applied in political science. Her approach has been applied in analyses of women, politics and the media by a small but growing group of scholars who cite her theories while exploring the gendered dynamics of the media reportage. Very few of these writers, however, have provided an in-depth Butlerian analysis of the gendered media coverage of women politicians and political leaders. One exception is Australian scholar Carol Johnson (2013a; 2015), who has incorporated a gender performative framework in her analysis of how the 'gender card' was used against Gillard during her prime ministerial term, and how former US president Barack Obama and Australian opposition leader Tony Abbott iterated masculinity. Internationally, Judy Motion (1996), Inaki Garcia-Blanco and Kain Wahl Jorgensen (2011), Frank Rudy Cooper (2009),

Harmer et al. (2017) and Trimble (2017) have all drawn on Butler's notion of gender performativity, either to underpin their own interpretations of gender or as a framework for their analyses of politicians' gender performances. From an institutional perspective, Nirmal Puwar (2004) has similarly used Butler's theory to conceive of bodies within parliament and political traits as performative, arguing that this can impact on who is perceived to belong, and who is out of place.

2.2.2 Gendered Mediation and Personalisation

Alongside Butler's concept of gender performativity, theories of gendered mediation are also central to my research project as a means to understand more fully the gendered nature of the media and, most importantly, its regulatory role in upholding gender norms. These theories foster discussion of the media as an active agent that relies on gender stereotypes. Prior to exploring this literature, however, it is important to understand the concept of mediation apart from its gendered implications. The term 'mediation' is used to refer to the techniques and processes of selection, production and consumption used to communicate issues and events to an audience (Mazzoleni and Schulz 1999, 249). *Gendered* mediation refers more specifically to the use of these techniques and processes to reinforce gender norms and power relations (Trimble 2017, 9–10).

Scholarly analyses of gendered mediation fit within a broader field of studies analysing the relationships between women, politics and the media. Political scientists Elisabeth Gidengil and Joanna Everitt (1999) have identified three phases in this research. The first phase is defined by a focus on the invisibility and underrepresentation of women in the media, as exemplified by sociologist Gaye Tuchman's (1978) ground-breaking work on women's 'symbolic annihilation'. Writers associated with the second phase are more concerned with the presence of gender stereotypes and bias in reportage of women politicians (see: Carlin and Winfrey 2009; Carroll and Schreiber 1997; Davis 1982; Falk 2010; Jamieson 1995; Kahn 1996; and Ross 1995), inspired by the disparity between the increasing presence of women in the public sphere and the persistence of media coverage focused on gender. The third phase is characterised by a close study of the

45

processes of gendered mediation and the more 'subtle, but arguably more insidious, form of bias that arises when conventional political frames are applied to female politicians' (Gidengil and Everitt 1999, 49). It is to the last phase above all that this thesis will contribute.

The term 'gendered mediation' was coined by Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross (1996) in their influential study of British women MPs, in which they demonstrated that the mediation of politics is not neutral or objective as in the classic upholding of 'objective journalism', but is heavily gendered, and reinforces men as the norm and women as novelties (Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross 1996, 112). Many studies published in Australia and internationally (Braden 1996; Carroll and Schreiber 1997; Devitt 2002; Jenkins 2006; Motion 1996; Norris 1997; O'Neill et al. 2016; O'Neill and Savigny 2014; Ross 2002, 2010; Ross and Comrie 2012; Williams 2017; and Young and Ricketson 2014) have expanded this thesis, providing evidence for the claim that women experience different and often more negative media treatment.

Trimble (2017) takes a more performative angle when defining gendered mediation. She argues that gendered mediation refers to the intersection of media practices, gender performances and the regulation of gender (2017, 10). Drawing on Butler (1990), she exposes how the media reinforce the 'public man/private woman binary' integral to the construction of parliament as a political institution. Trimble identifies three key factors fundamental to gendered mediation. Firstly, the media replicate and communicate the 'gender regulations' of the patriarchal culture in which they function through news articles, editorials and opinion pieces (Trimble 2017, 11). Secondly, the media utilise a masculine narrative in which men are regarded as the norm in politics and women as the 'Other' (Trimble 2017, 11). Thirdly, women politicians are presented differently to their male colleagues, creating gendered frames and news selection practices that reinforce this bias (Trimble 2017, 11). As a result of all of these practices, the media uphold the dominant gendered political status quo.

In the same vein, Ross has extended her original (1996) analysis to argue that, through gendered mediation, the mainstream news media reproduce dominant norms, values and ideals that support male dominance and female subordination under the guise of showing the 'real' (Ross 2010, 90–91). Other gendered mediation scholars have further elaborated this idea (Burk and Mazzarella 2008; Sreberny and van Zoonen 2000; Trimble 2017; van Zoonen 1994). van Zoonen (1994), for example, argues that it is important to pay attention to the gendered structure of news production as a mechanism to uphold gender norms. By analysing masculine control over news production *and* politics, she demonstrated that men have long dominated news and print media, and thereby confirmed the existence of what Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross (1996, 114) termed the 'masculinist norms of the news industry' that govern the production of news (van Zoonen 1994, 43). It is therefore unsurprising that the media actively perpetuate traditional masculinist views of politics and politicians rather than merely reflecting them (Burk and Mazzarella 2008; Rakow and Kranich 1991; Sreberny and van Zoonen 2000). Gidengil and Everitt (1999; 2010) and Burk and Mazzarella (2008) take up the same line of argument by observing that masculine coverage reaffirms male politician's 'traditional dominance of political life' and implies that women are 'atypical' and trivial (Burk and Mazarella 2008, 3; Gidengil and Everitt 1999, 49).

However, Trimble's 2017 book, *Ms. Prime Minister*, aimed to 'trouble' this idea that the gendered mediation of women politicians solely reinforces a hegemonically masculine view of politics. Instead, she argues that the gendered reporting of women, and also of male leaders, not only reinforces but also disrupts gender norms and stereotypes (2017, 7). Trimble draws again on Butler's theory of gender performativity, and above all on the idea that gender is constituted through the repetition of bodily practices that are not based on any 'essence'. Through repetition, these performances 'have the capacity to alter norms in the course of their citation' (Butler 2004, 52). For this reason, the gendered mediation of women in political roles previously coded as

masculine can 'unsettle the lines of demarcation between woman/man, public/private, and feminine/masculine' (2017, 11). Trimble argues that future gendered mediation research should consider that, while coverage of women politicians and political leaders relies on gender, there is a possibility of change, resistance and 'an opportunity to interrogate the parameters of gender, politics and leadership' (2017, 12–13).

Alongside Trimble, a growing number of scholars have drawn on gendered mediation theory to analyse women politicians and political leaders (Gidengil and Everitt 1999; 2000; 2003; 2010; Ross and Sreberny-Mohammadi 2000; Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross 1996). This research is grounded in a *discursive* analysis of gendered reportage of women politicians, either through content analysis, discourse analysis or a combination of the two, though rarely employing visual analysis. It has identified a double standard whereby women politicians experience far more gendered and personalised media coverage than their male counterparts (Norris 1997; van Acker 1999; Ross 2002a; 2002b; 2010). Importantly, however, these studies also go beyond the identification of double standards to reveal *how* the media use gendered stereotypes, metaphors and images.

Many of these scholars have found that appearance and family life have drawn the most attention and, often, criticism (Braden 1996; Bystrom et al. 2001; 2004; Falk 2010; Harmer et al. 2017; Murray 2010a; 2010b; O'Neill et al. 2016; Ross and Sreberny-Mohammadi 1997; Trimble and Everitt 2010). Ross (2010), for example, contends that women are constantly belittled for their appearance and private lives and repeatedly undermined by a focus on their age and physical appearance (Ross 2010: 98). Other researchers—largely from New Zealand, Canada and the US—find that there is little difference in the degree of media focus on women and men's appearance, though it should be noted that these scholars concentrate solely on election campaigns (Bystrom et al. 2001; Trimble 2007; Trimble and Treiberg 2010). Additionally, Trimble et al. have countered these claims by

demonstrating that such coverage is 'highly case dependent' and that gender plays a large role in determining the kind of personalised newspaper accounts that are published, at least in the case of Canadian leaders (2013, 466). More recent studies have found that politicians' age and sexuality are also highlighted, with women's age mentioned with greater frequency, reflecting 'gendered assumptions about their suitability for office', while their sexuality or sexual behaviour is used by the media to undermine their legitimacy (Trimble et al. 2013; Trimble and Everitt 2010).

A significant number of scholars (Devitt 2002; Bystrom et al. 2001; 2004; Trimble 2017; Trimble et al. 2013) have found that women candidates' and politicians' marital and parental status were more frequently mentioned than that of their male counterparts. This has distinct gendered ramifications due to the double bind around parenthood, whereby women are expected to have children but, if they do, their competency is questioned (Thomas and Bittner 2017, 3). Other scholars argue that such focus on women's families might be receding (Miller 2017; Kittilson and Fridkin 2008). In their comparison of press coverage of women and male candidates in the 2004 Australian, 2006 Canadian and 2006 US elections, Kittilson and Fridkin (2008) used content analysis to show little difference in the amount of media attention directed at candidates' families. Content analysis, however, while useful, can lack depth and can fail to expose covert gendered meanings or the communication of gender norms and stereotypes through images and political cartoons. Erika Falk (2010), for example, has used a content-based and more comprehensive rhetorical discursive analysis to examine three decades of press bias toward women presidential candidates in the US, discovering that they were portrayed as unviable and that their appearance, gender and family status were unduly highlighted. However, there is a lack of similar longitudinal research outside the US. It should also be noted that both studies included sub-presidential or sub-prime ministerial offices without acknowledging that the frequency and intensity of gendered mediation can increase with seniority of political role.

The effects of seniority have been extensively analysed by Australian scholars of gendered mediation and the gendered media coverage of women politicians. Australian political scientist Elizabeth van Acker has definitively shown that sexism worsens with the seniority of the women represented, as these positions are more firmly labelled as masculine, and are also quite visible, with those most senior regarded as 'a novelty, receiving enormous media attention' (2003, 120). For example, my previous research has found that Gillard was regarded as a loyal deputy prime minister, but as soon as she challenged Rudd, she went from being a loyal deputy in a supportive role—a position that is more acceptable for women—to someone who was portrayed as self-interested, disloyal and immoral (Williams 2017). This disparity motivated my decision to focus solely on women prime ministers to trace exactly how the mainstream press responds to the most visible and powerful woman political actors. Like van Acker, in *Media Tarts* (2004), journalist and academic Julia Baird drew on interview conversations with senior women politicians and opinion leaders in the press gallery to expose the gendered mediation of women politicians. Although departing from the usual direct analysis of news texts on which most other scholars rely, Baird's analysis similarly demonstrates that male-dominated mainstream media vilifies women for their appearance, leadership style and personal lives, while overlooking these aspects of male politicians' careers (2004, 6). Baird's text is highly influential and was foundational for Australian scholarship on gender, media and politics, yet it was written prior to the ascension of Australia's first woman prime minister or even deputy prime minister. I intend to build on their foundational research through examining the gendered mediation of Gillard, strengthened by my interview with her, which incorporates her perspective of the situation, to add a contemporary analysis to the Australian gender, media and politics scholarship.

Current scholarship on gendered mediation and coverage of women political actors generally lacks visual analysis. The visual elements of news texts are extremely significant to any

gendered mediation analysis, as they remain one of the clearest avenues through which gender norms and stereotypes are communicated, both overtly and covertly. From a critical discursive perspective, it is important to analyse visual texts to expose the role they play in the production of meaning, knowledge and power. Some scholars incorporate the visual into their overall textual analysis, as in Gidengil's and Everitt's (1999) study of the 1993 Canadian televised leadership debates, or Lee-Koo's and Maley's (2017) analysis of conservative femininity in news articles, images and political cartoons. Other researchers (Flicker 2013; Lundell and Ekström 2008; O'Brien 2014) solely examine visual texts. For example, Lundell and Ekström concentrate on three Swedish political scandals that involved women political actors, employing a qualitative textual analysis to analyse published photographs of these women to reveal that they were portrayed as both 'others' and as relatable (2008, 905). However, most gendered mediation research into women political actors focuses only on written texts.

Although gendered mediation is heavily indebted to social constructionist views of gender and related critiques of normative or binary frameworks, relatively few scholars in this field have engaged with Butlerian performative analysis. Among those who have, Trimble (2017), Garcia-Blanco and Kain Wahl-Jorgensen (2011), Frank Cooper (2009), Judy Motion (1996) and Puwar (2004) are significant for this thesis. Trimble cites Butler's theories of gender, gender norms and gender enforcers in her analysis of women prime ministers. Garcia-Blanco and Wahl-Jorgensen argue that the media play a crucial role in the hegemonic production of gender, 'disseminating, constructing, normalizing and legitimating accepted definitions of desirable gender attributes, roles and behaviours' (2011, 424). Motion (1996) briefly mentions Butler in relation to the use of women politicians' bodies to frame them as divergent from their male counterparts (1996, 111). Cooper, on the other hand, draws extensively on Butler's notion of gender as a social construct to

51

analyse then-president Obama's dual performances of black masculinity and a 'balancing' femininity.

The concept of personalisation is another integral theory for my research project. Politics has increasingly become a form of mediatised entertainment in the age of social media, the twenty-four-hour news cycle, electronic communication and the more sensationalised, trivialised and individualised media constructions of news that these technological advances have inspired (Trimble et al. 2013, 464; van Zoonen 2005). This shift has taken three primary forms: 'personalisation', or the emergence of politician-centred politics (Stanyer 2013, 6); privatisation, or the media focus on politicians' personal characteristics and lives (Rahat and Sheafer 2007, 68); and presidentialisation, or the increased media focus on the prime minister in parliamentary systems (Van Aelst et al. 2012, 207). Together, these trends have drawn new attention to an unprecedented range of factors in political leaders' personal lives, including their upbringing and family, qualities of character, even their hobbies and fashion. This phenomenon has been termed 'the celebritisation of politics', and Van Aelst, et al. (2012) argue that it is the product of two interweaving factors. The first is the 'weakening of traditional affective ties between voters and parties', and the second is the shifting media landscape where television and social media have taken on growing roles in political communication (Van Aelst 2012, 204).

Personalisation, however, does not affect all politicians equally: like many other aspects of politics and the media, it is gendered. Trimble et al. (2013) have discovered that personalisation and gendered mediation are inextricably connected, arguing that the latter is predominantly leading the personalisation of political reportage (2013, 474). While much work remains to be completed to identify the gendered aspects of personalisation, van Zoonen has done much to address this oversight, arguing that women experience personalisation, privatisation and presidentialisation differently from their male counterparts due to the 'inbuilt and extreme

polarisation of femininity and politics' (van Zoonen 2006, 287). The 'celebritisation' of politics limits the options available to women politicians, who are forced to downplay their femininity to 'imitate men' or be accused of 'frivolous, coquettish … and loose' behaviour, while maintaining an appearance of stereotypical femininity to avoid accusations of a 'cold' or 'aggressive' manner (Schwartzenberg 1977). Even more than in the past, then, women political leaders are othered both by the gender norms to which they are expected to conform, and in the political realm due to the constricting influence of these same norms (van Zoonen 2006, 298). While some women politicians can use gender and femininity to their advantage, it 'is always a potential source of problems' (van Zoonen 2006, 298). Furthermore, the increase in personalisation runs the risk of further othering women, as it accentuates their private and family lives, drawing attention to any subversive gender choices that might otherwise have remained hidden.

2.2.3 Gendered Institutions

Another topic of research of importance to this thesis is the normalisation of parliament as a gendered sphere—that is, as a space for men—that marginalises women. Many scholars have explored the gendered nature of institutions and organisations, concentrating on the mechanisms by which these are made, for and by men, to privilege masculinity. Most relevant to this thesis are those who have examined the gendered nature of specifically *political* institutions.

A significant amount of research in the fields of political science, sociology, labour studies and social psychology cites or applies Joan Acker's (1990; 1992) theory of gendered organisations to political institutions. Following Acker's notion that institutions are constructed by men to uphold a culture of traditional masculinity, subsequent research (Crawford and Pini 2010a; 2010b; Erikson and Josefsson 2019; Galea and Gaweda 2018; Kenney 1996; Krook and Mackay 2011; Lovenduski 2005) has identified that such institutional sexism empowers male politicians and disadvantages women in the same roles. This is despite formal anti-discrimination rules and regulations, which have done little to dissolve entrenched power hierarchies, norms and

53

expectations that privilege men/masculinity. Applying Acker's framework to Australian parliament, former parliamentarian Mary Crawford and academic Barbara Pini (2010a) assert that the gendered nature of the latter has been concealed so that it appears to be a 'degendered institution'. There is a refusal to acknowledge the extent to which the political process has been defined by 'masculinities', perceived as neutral (Crawford and Pini 2010a, 82, 94); hence a 'masculine blueprint' is imposed on what it means to be a politician, privileging men and granting them greater power and advantage, particularly during the electoral process.

Political scientist Joni Lovenduski (2005, 47–49) further explores this masculine regime in parliament, observing that it is permeated by and perpetuates a hyper-masculine culture that regulates norms concerning the presentation and behaviour of (male) politicians. Social psychology researchers (Burgess and Borgida 1999; Eagly and Karau 2002; Heilman 2001; Heilman et al. 2004) have shown that this can lead to discrimination and harassment of women due to a perceived incongruence between their stereotypically feminine attributes and masculine occupational norms, causing them to be regarded as less competent and their performances to be devalued (Childs 2004; Erikson and Josefsson 2019, 200).

Gendered norms and expectations can change over time, between institutions and in different contexts. However, gendered institutional theory highlights 'the interconnectedness and the gendered consequences of formal and informal rules, practices, and discourse as they relate to one another and political actors' (Galea and Gaweda 2018, 277; Mackay, Monro, and Waylen 2009, 254). It also exposes a gendered hierarchy in parliament that is constituted and legitimised through everyday social interactions and shielded by the guise of normal and universal political practices (Gains and Lowndes 2014; Galea and Gaweda 2018). This conceptualisation is therefore important in identifying why women are perceived as subversive in the prime ministerial role. Despite its

value, however, this research does not generally incorporate concepts of gender performativity in its analysis of organisational gendering.

One notable attempt to address this gap in the context of parliament is Puwar's (2004) addition of the *performative* body to Acker's theory. In *Space Invaders: Race, gender and bodies out of place* (2004), Puwar links ideas of gender performativity and subjectivity, arguing that we can only understand our inherited notions of belonging in parliament and the consequences of entry to this space for those who have traditionally been excluded by considering the body (2004, 78). Male bodies have historically been regarded as the norm in Western thought, while female bodies have been defined in relation and opposition to this norm, impacting the terms of women's existence in the body politic. The historical association between the latter and the male body is currently fixed, but has the potential for (limited) change due to its performative nature (2004, 78). Through the enforcing of a heteronormative gender binary, we have witnessed the separation of bodies into categories of male and female, and the splitting of public and private spheres whereby one group of bodies is aligned with the former and the other relegated to the latter. Puwar argues that this separation and the historic occupation of politics and leadership positions by male bodies has meant that a 'gendered symbolism in regard to positions of leadership' has emerged (2004, 78–79). A performative analysis of parliament as a gendered institution can therefore expose the artificiality of gender binaries as discursive constructs through which men and masculinities retain dominance and are reinforced as the norm, while women are trivialised and marginalised, and those who do not conform to the gender binary are completely absent.

Despite studies like that conducted by Puwar, however, there remains a lack of gendered institutional research that examines how this affects media representations of women. Additionally, aside from a few studies that cite gendered institution theory or Acker's (1990; 1992) framework (for example, Wright and Holland 2014), little gendered mediation research considers

gendered institutionalism. Considering these oversights, I have two aims: firstly, to incorporate an awareness of institutional gendering in my performative analysis, thereby strengthening my argument that women prime ministers experience trivialising gendered media coverage due to their subversive status as women in roles designed for men and masculinity; secondly, to contribute to the field of gendered mediation research by normalising the use of an analytical framework that examines how and why women politicians experience gendered media coverage.

2.2.4 Gendering of the Political Spectrum

Following from the identification of parliament as a gendered institution, and vital for my analysis, is the related idea that the political spectrum and political parties are also gendered and associated with gender stereotypes. The overarching concept established by current studies in this field is that conservativism is now largely associated with men and masculinity and progressivism is linked with women and femininity, even if both parties are largely comprised of men.[5] Very few scholars have yet examined this gendering of the political spectrum in any depth, and of these, the majority focus on the United States. The key areas of focus in this literature are the gendering of political parties, the stereotypical association of parties with either women or male candidates, and the varied gendering of progressive and conservative women. A rising number of European scholars have explored the gendered associations of far-right parties, particularly in recent years with the rise of right-wing extremism. A great deal of this research focuses on the gendering of attitudes to the welfare state and the free market, with the former perceived as female/feminine and the latter as male/masculine. Relatively little has been written from an Australian perspective.

---

[5] Traditionally conservatism was associated with women, which is why progressive parties were ambivalent about women's suffrage, believing that women were too influenced by the church and would vote for conservative parties. The traditional gender gap with women being more likely to support conservative parties changed into the modern gender gap in the 1990s with women being more likely to support progressive parties (Norris 1996). This shift was largely attitudinal; more women were moving towards the left of politics as a result of value changes, particularly egalitarian attitudes related to feminism and post-materialism (Inglehart and Norris 2000, 454).

Political scientists Nicholas Winter (2010) and Jeffrey Koch (2000), sociologist Michael Messner (2007), and linguist George Lakoff (2004), all based in the US, argue that politicians on the right are seen as tough, authoritative and economically driven while those on the left are seen as compassionate, nurturing and socially driven. Unlike Messner and Lakoff, who take a more qualitative approach, Koch and Winter use experimental research designs to trace the relationship between gender stereotyping of political parties and voter perceptions. Winter's (2010) extensive study has found that the association of the Democrats with femininity and Republicans with masculinity reflects citizens' personal understandings of gender (2010, 588). Rather than ascribing feminine or masculine traits to either party, Winter observes that 'ideas about the parties are linked cognitively with ideas about gender'; people unconsciously draw from their own concepts of femininity when thinking about the Democrat Party and from concepts of masculinity when considering the Republican Party (2010, 589).

Outside the US, European and other scholars of the gendered political spectrum provide a more in-depth, generalisable analysis focused on broader political attitudes rather than parties. Australian political scientist Marian Sawer (2003) has explored historical and current associations of the welfare state/minimal state binary with femininity/masculinity and female/male:

Minimal State	Welfare State
Masculine	Feminine
Male	Female
Independent	Dependent
Self-reliant	Communal
Market	Socialist
Competitive	Passive
Rational	Emotional
Austerity	Indulgence

Table based on Sawer (2003)

Such identifications have inspired popular conceptions of the welfare state as a feminised 'nanny state' in countries including Australia and the UK, a depiction that is incompatible with 'self-reliant masculinity' and is therefore regarded as an 'emasculating' object of disdain.

Other research (Blee and Creasap 2010; Meret 2015; Spierings and Zaslove 2015) further extends this notion, examining the gendered construct that ties masculinity to the 'minimal state' in greater detail. These scholars explain that gender norms link masculinity with objectivity, rationality, selfishness, virility, determination, even authoritarian traits, and femininity with social empathy, subjectivity, emotions, impulsiveness, vulnerability, modesty and family (Meret 2015, 87). Parties that support some form of welfare state usually lean toward the centre-left (such as the Labour/Labor parties in the UK, New Zealand and Australia), while those in support of a minimal state tend to be conservative (such as the UK's Conservative Party, Australia's Liberal Party and New Zealand's National Party). This observation is supported by a plethora of studies examining those on the fringes of these binary categories. Research into right-wing populism and extremism[6] has identified that the far-right is associated with men and certain masculinities, evident in a relative dearth of women leaders[7] and a dominant white masculine culture that excludes women (Anahita 2006; Blee and Creasap 2010; Ferber 2000; Ferber & Kimmel 2004; Vertigans 2007). More progressive parties, on the other hand, such as the environmentalist Greens, are aligned with femininity and women (Spierings and Zaslove 2015, 142).

However, women politicians and political leaders experience this alignment differently in comparison to their male counterparts. Women candidates, like progressive parties, are identified with 'compassion' issues, such as education, environment, healthcare, etc. (Kittilson and Fridkin

---

[6] For a comprehensive example, see: Köttig, Bitzan, Petö 2016, *Gender and far right politics in Europe.*

[7] However, despite the hypermasculine characteristics of right wing populist leaders, there has been a recent rise in the number of women leaders of prominent far-right populist parties in Europe, such as: Pia Kjærsgaard (Dansk Folkeparti [Danish Peoples' Party, DF]); Siv Jensen (Norwegian Fremskrittparti [Progress Party, FrP]); Marine le Pen (Front National [FN]); and Frauke Petry (Alternative für Deutschland [AfD]) (Meret and Siim 2017).

From Tightrope to Gendered Trope

2008, 381). Conversely, issues of the economy, foreign affairs and defence are largely associated with men and masculinity (2008, 381). Koch (2000) argues that this is a result of gender stereotypes associated with certain behaviours and attributes that align 'feminine' traits such as warmth and honesty with compassionate issues. Murray observes that women candidates therefore run the risk of being pigeonholed, caught in a double-bind between attempted adherence to masculine political traits without being *too* masculine, and mediation of gendered labels associated with their party (2010, 16, 19).

Women politicians also experience this phenomenon differently according to their position on the political spectrum. Koch (2000) and Messner (2007) theorise that women on the left experience more gendered ideological stereotyping, whereas women on the right are less susceptible to such pigeonholing (Koch 2000, 414). Furthermore, in line with the gendered associations examined above, women on the left are viewed as more progressive personally than their projected political standpoint, while women on the right are seen as less conservative than their political persona (Alexander and Andersen 1993; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993; King and Matland 2003; Kittilson and Fridkin 2008; Koch 2000, 423–24; McDermott 1997). Consequently, progressive women politicians are disadvantaged by such misconceptions (Koch 2000, 426; Messner 2007, 473) and are expected to moderate their feminine traits when handling issues of care and compassion, in order to be considered a credible candidate (Messner 2007, 473).

Further extending this analysis, Murray (2010) argues that progressive women politicians experience a double stereotype 'on gender and party lines' whereby they are portrayed as weaker on issues of importance to 'executive office', thereby creating an extra burden for the women candidates. She states that 'the mommies from the Mommy Party aren't man enough for the job', and says this hinders their likelihood of winning executive office (2010, 19). Broadening her discussion to include non-US parties and politicians, she raises the examples of Thatcher, Kim

Campbell and Angela Merkel to argue that conservative women politicians have a greater chance of winning executive elections, as they are better able to balance the stereotypes associated with women and progressive candidates (Murray 2010, 20). However, Huddy and Terkildsen (1993, 143) suggest that the gender stereotypes associated with women and progressive parties actually enable progressive women candidates to more effectively communicate to voters but create problems for conservative women, as voters can misperceive their platform due to assumptions that women are more liberal.

In contrast to both views, I speculate that, while it is easier for progressive women to enter politics and, in some countries, leadership roles, this is more related to a party focus on gender equality through initiatives such as gender quotas. Following Murray's argument, I theorise that conservative women, once they achieve a leadership position, are more able to balance so-called masculine policy with traditional conservative iterations of femininity while progressive women are 'doubly stereotyped' as women representing feminine parties with feminine policies. Additionally, the tendency for progressive women to adopt less traditionally feminine styles of gender performance does not negate this double stereotype, instead exposing them to the risk of accusations of lesbianism or 'improper' womanhood.

While most scholars in both the US and Europe use either experimental research designs or surveys of voters to explore gendered stereotyping along the political spectrum, very few have examined how mainstream media respond to such stereotypes. Most current research traces the impact of gendered political stereotyping on voter perceptions of candidates, rather than the influence of mainstream media coverage of politicians on the left and right. Incorporating Butler's theory of gender performativity, I will analyse women political leaders' specific iterations of gender performance, in addition to their already gendered ('doubly stereotyped') political affiliations and perceived positions on the political spectrum, to determine whether these do

indeed result in different treatments in mainstream print media. I will examine the differences in portrayals of conservative and progressive women political leaders, focusing on whether the results conform with the US-centric theories elaborated above, or whether women politicians from the UK, Australia and New Zealand are seen differently.

2.2.5 Gender Stereotypes

Alongside the gendering of parliament, political parties and the political spectrum, many scholars have also shown that individual politicians are expected to conform to gender norms and stereotypes. The coding of politics as masculine and the presentation of men and masculinity as the norm determines which stereotypes are associated with acceptable political behaviour and traits, yet politicians are also bound to broader societal gender stereotypes. This section will explore the impact of these gendered stereotypes for male and especially women politicians, moving through psychological and organisational studies as these find application in political science, to show that these stereotypes force women politicians, particularly political leaders, into a double bind.

A significant body of research (see Koenig et al's 2011 meta-analysis) has been conducted from psychological and organisational disciplinary perspectives on gendered stereotypes and expectations in the workplace and leadership positions. Gender stereotypes define and regulate appropriate behaviours, traits and roles for women and men, and are usually presented as oppositional (Rudman and Phelan 2008, 63). They operate on both descriptive and prescriptive levels (Fiske and Stevens 1993), not only indicating how women and men are *perceived* but also how they *should be* and, crucially, how they *should not be* (Burgess and Borgida 1999; Eagly and Karau 2002; Fiske and Stevens 1993; Gill 2004; Prentice and Carranza 2002). While descriptive stereotypes can change to reflect shifting roles and norms, prescriptive stereotypes are more static (Diekman and Eagly 2000; Prentice and Carranza 2002; Spence and Buckner 2000).

This descriptive/prescriptive distinction can impact women in the workforce, particularly those in senior positions. While descriptive stereotypes can impede women's access to leadership roles, prescriptive stereotyping 'produce[s] conflicting expectations concerning how female leaders should behave' (Koenig et al. 2011, 637). The traits required for leadership (Table 2.1) are viewed as culturally masculine (Koenig et al. 2011, 637) and studies have shown that these traits are viewed as less typical and desirable for women (Rudman and Phelan 2008, 63). Echoing Butler's concept of gender subversion, organisational studies have shown that those who breach gendered stereotypes are likely to face a backlash (Bartol and Butterfield 1976; Cherry and Deaux 1978; Derlega and Chaiken 1976). One particularly influential study in this field is Rosabeth Moss Kanter's 1977 analysis of discrimination faced by senior women working in male-dominated corporate organisations, in which she argues that these women are tokenised and thus forced into gendered subject positions, or what she calls 'role traps', that are based on historical archetypes of women in power. These archetypes are: the girlish, cute and amusing Pet; the hyper-sexual and threatening Seductress; the authoritative but sympathetic Mother; and the unnaturally virile, aggressive, even masculine Iron Maiden (1977, 235). These roles have been cited by many subsequent scholars, including in several studies on women political actors (notably, Baxter 2018), yet Kanter's framework has also been criticised as anachronistic for casting women as passive victims and reducing stereotyping to 'essentialist', 'monolithic', and 'unchanging categorisations'; and for failing to identify any positive roles (Baxter 2012, 87–88). While some parallels could be identified between Kanter's framework and the gendered tropes analysed in this thesis, the framework proposed here is less deterministic, following a performative rather than an essentialist view of gender, and is more committed to a recognition of women's agency and the potential for positive change in media discourse.

Many political scientists have cited and further extended the findings of psychological and organisational studies to examine the effects of gender stereotypes for politicians. A substantial body of research has established that women politicians experience stereotypical evaluation of their actions based on gender (Alexander and Anderson 1993; Bligh et al. 2012; Deber 1982), that voters prefer stereotypically male traits in political leaders (Dolan 1996; 1997; 2004; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993), that women in political leadership roles are more likely to display stereotypically masculine characteristics (Bligh et al. 2012), and that women leaders are devalued in comparison to male counterparts when seen to display such stereotypically masculine leadership traits (Eagly et al. 1992).

Schneider and Bos (2014), however, have questioned the assumption that the stereotyping of women politicians is identical with that of women in general. They differentiate political women from 'everyday' women, arguing that feminine stereotypes in politics differ from those associated with civic life. They also challenge other scholars for failing to adapt to changes over time, such as the increasing likelihood for women to adopt stereotypically masculine traits and for men to adopt feminine characteristics (2014, 248), a shift that has likely influenced the range of stereotypes associated with political leaders. Although this critique should be acknowledged—gender norms and stereotypes are constantly evolving and adapting depending on societal and cultural contexts—parliament undeniably remains a masculine domain in which men and masculine traits continue to be regarded as the norm.

When politicians fail to correctly adhere to stereotypical gendered traits, they risk inspiring a backlash. A substantial body of research (Bartol and Butterfield 1976; Cherry and Deaux 1978; Derlega and Chaiken 1976; Harmer et al. 2017; O'Neill et al. 2016) has shown that the coding of expected leadership traits as masculine has ensnared women in a balancing act—what Kathleen Jamieson (1995) has termed 'the double bind'—between displaying leadership traits on the one

63

hand, and satisfying expectations of feminine traits on the other. This is especially problematic for women expected to adhere to (masculine) traits that contradict their socially perceived gender/femininity (Table 2.1), and who therefore risk violating accepted norms (Rudman and Phelan 2008, 64). Such women are simultaneously regarded as competent and skilled leaders but unsociable and unlikable by both men and women (Rudman and Phelan 2008, 64).

A metaphor pertinent to this field of study and to my research is that of 'walking the tight-rope' between masculine- and feminine-gendered traits (Baird 2004; Gleeson and Johnson 2012; Johnson 2013; 2015). This metaphor succinctly captures the extent to which women politicians must perform a balancing act, striving to appear neither 'too feminine' nor 'too masculine'—that is, 'too weak on the one hand, or too aggressive on the other' (Baird 2004, 5). As Summers (2013), Baird (2004) and van Acker (1999) have observed, women who do not adhere to this balancing act will inevitably 'stumble or fall' and face judgment from their peers, the public and mainstream media (van Acker 1999, 148). Lauren Hall and Ngaire Donaghue (2013) have further argued that the tight-rope is nearly impossible for women politicians to navigate successfully: they cannot escape the double bind caused by simultaneous expectation of masculine characteristics—seen as crucial for success in parliament—and the potential harm that their performance of these 'successful' traits might cause as a subversion of their femininity (2013, 633). For example, my previous research (Williams 2017) has shown how Julia Gillard experienced this double bind when challenging a sitting prime minister to ascend to the prime ministerial role. As such acts are regarded as masculine and combative, Gillard failed to successfully walk the tight-rope between acceptable levels of femininity and masculinity, and was accused of being a 'backstabbing' 'murderer' who could not be trusted. She was seen to be subverting gender norms and, as a result, was denigrated by the media, who delegitimised her through an undue focus on her gender.

Table 2.1 Feminine and masculine trait stereotype measures as applied to politicians

	Feminine Traits	Masculine Traits
Rosenwasser and Dean (1989)	Affectionate Cheerful Compassionate Sensitive to the needs of others Warm	Assertive Defends own beliefs Forceful Self-sufficient Strong personality
Alexander and Anderson (1993)	Ability to compromise Compassion Compassionate Gets things done Handles family responsibilities while serving in office Hardworking Honesty Liberal Moral Speaks out honestly Stands up for what they believe Struggled to get ahead Works out compromises	Ability to handle a crisis Conservative Decisiveness Emotional stability Tough
Huddy and Terkildsen (1993)	Cautious Compassionate Emotional Family oriented Gentle People skills Sensitive Talkative Trustworthy Warm	Active Administrator Skills Aggressive Articulate Ambitious Assertive Coarse Rational Self-confident Stern Tough

Kahn (1994)	Integrity	Knowledge
	Honesty	Leadership
	Compassion	
Huddy and Capelos (2002)	Caring	Competent
	Honest	Dynamic
	Kind	Effective
	Moral	Inspiring
	Trustworthy	Qualitative
	Warm	Strong leader
Lawless (2004)	Compassionate	Aggressive
	Compromising	Assertive
	Emotional	Self-confident
	Sensitive	Tough
Dolan (2004)	Compassionate Consensus-building	Assertive
		Ambitious

Source: Schneider and Bos 2014

2.3 Part Two: Women Prime Ministers

The stereotypes and issues experienced by women politicians are especially acute in the case of the few women who have risen to the office of prime minister in the countries analysed in this dissertation: Thatcher, May, Gillard, Shipley and Clark.

2.3.1 Margaret Thatcher

Thatcher was elected nearly 40 years ago in 1979 and left politics in 1990. Considering her status as the longest-serving British prime minister of the 20th century, her distinction as the first woman to fulfil this role, and the notoriety surrounding her policies and philosophy, there has been more written about Thatcher than any other UK politician except Winston Churchill, much of it with a focus on the economic policies of 'Thatcherism' (Ponton 2010, 197). Many biographers have recorded the details of Thatcher's life in politics (Aitken 2013; Moore 2013; Thatcher 1993), although John Campbell is alone in his application of a gendered perspective to these events in *The*

Iron Lady: Margaret Thatcher, from grocer's daughter to Iron Lady (2011). Moreover, while useful for their documentation of Thatcher's life, such biographies are intended for a general rather than academic readership, and so lack scholarly rigour.

Considering her historic and controversial status, relatively few scholars have examined Thatcher through a gendered lens, and most of those were writing in the 1980s and 1990s. Their research sheds light on Thatcher's thoughts on women and feminism, but they rarely consider her gendered media coverage, an oversight that this thesis will address. The most notable studies of Thatcher through a gendered lens are those by Beatrix Campbell (1987; 2015), Wendy Webster (1990) and Heather Nunn (2002), each of whom has devoted considerable attention to the analysis of Thatcher's gender identity, and especially her renowned performances of stereotypical femininity. Campbell has written extensively on this in her influential text *Iron ladies* (1987), which seeks to answer why so many women voted for the Conservative (Tory) party. Wendy Webster's (1990) *Not a man to match her* similarly explores Thatcher's contradictory gendered performances and the centrality of gender to her success and notoriety. Despite their influence for subsequent scholars, however, both texts were written while Thatcher was still in office and reflect many of the inhibitions and emotions of the time. They were also published before the development of theories of gender performativity by Butler and other scholars. Nevertheless, they remain useful for their analysis of Thatcher's performance as a woman, as a conservative woman politician/political leader, and as the UK's first woman prime minister.

Nunn's (2002) book extends the pioneering work of Campbell and Webster by drawing from psychoanalysis to explore the 'imaginary power' and 'fantasy' that surrounded Thatcher, and the ways these played out in the public domain. Although written after Butler's *Gender trouble* (1990), and despite Nunn's use of the performative concept of 'masquerade', she does not cite Butler but opts instead for Joan Riviere's (1929) much earlier theoretical framework. A Butlerian

analysis of this idea would have greatly enriched Nunn's exploration of Thatcher's gender performances and particularly her use of the idea of masquerade, offering at least a partial explanation for her desire to appear feminine: to maintain and reinforce the heteronormative status quo.

Campbell, Webster and Nunn all focus above all on Thatcher's performance of traditional and stereotypical femininity. Thatcher was known to exaggerate her role as a 'housewife' and to publicly embrace traditional femininity (Campbell 1987; Pilcher 1995; Ponton 2010; Ribberink 2012; Webster 1990). As an ideology, Thatcherism extolled the breadwinner/housewife model in which the family is centralised and the private sphere is regarded as the focal point of women's lives. To reflect this, Thatcher wanted to be seen as a woman exuding traditional femininity in line with Tory values and ideals, but she also wanted more than this: to be a woman 'who does what men do' (Campbell 1987, 241). Walsh (2015), Webster (1990), Campbell (1987) and Fairclough (1989) all note that Thatcher simultaneously espoused stereotypical femininity and masculinity, balancing one against the other. However, Ribberink (2005, 171–72) argues that, on occasion, her feminine performances were derided as artificial and contrary to the Thatcherite ideal of full-time motherhood. Others maintain that it was her femininity that ensured her success (Atkinson 1984; Nunn 2002; Ponton 2013; Purvis 2013). These arguments about Thatcher's iterations of femininity, like Nunn's analysis, can be clarified by association with Butler's concept of gender as a continuous, repetitive stylisation of the body made to appear as a natural essence. Thatcher's performances demonstrate that 'femininity is what she wears, masculinity is what she admires' (Campbell 1987, 241); although Thatcher desires power afforded to men, she must conform to notions of stereotypical femininity to continue her intelligibility as a woman so as not to be considered wholly subversive, which would further threaten her political ambitions.

Thatcher's death in 2013 prompted a small surge in studies of her prime ministerial term that offer a more critical analysis of her legacy for women and feminism. Campbell (2015), writing nearly 30 years after her 1987 book, reflected on Thatcher's prime ministerial gender performances and her alienation from women. As in her earlier book, Campbell maintains that Thatcher played up her traditional femininity by adopting roles such as those of the housewife and the domestic goddess. However, moving beyond her previous analysis, Campbell presents this as a political mobilisation intended to counter women's mobilisation and the feminist movement, an attempt to balance the contradictions attendant on a conservative woman in power: a woman who rejected domesticity for the political realm but simultaneously relegated other women to the private sphere (Campbell 2015, 46).

June Purvis' (2013) has further explored Thatcher's legacy for women, providing a sense of context in her struggle, as an 'outsider' in terms of gender and class, against sexism and the male-dominated parliamentary system. Purvis, like Campbell, acknowledges the prejudice with which Thatcher had to contend, and examines how Thatcher was not a self-avowed feminist, often proclaiming her detestation of feminism. Once she had climbed the treacherous ladder to success, Thatcher immediately pulled it up after her rather than attempting to help other women gain the same opportunities (Purvis 2013, 1014). She preferred to be the only woman in a room of power, arguing that other women belonged in the home. As a result, she did little to progress women's political opportunities and may have even exerted a negative influence (Campbell 2015, 41; Pilcher 1995, 494–96).

Very few scholars have explored media coverage of Thatcher or her prime ministerial term. Nunn (2002) is a rare exception in her focus on Thatcher's relationship with the media. Rather than conducting a gendered mediation analysis, however, she explores how Thatcher and the media furthered each other's aims, observing that Thatcher was aware of the potential political

advancement that could come through cementing her image and political discourse along lines of femininity and leadership familiar to mainstream media (Nunn 2002, 16). Thatcher and the media fed off one another; her public gender identity was discursively produced by both herself and the press (Nunn 2002, 16). Several more recent scholars have compared Thatcher's coverage with that of other politicians and leaders (Johnson 2015; Ribberink 2005; 2012; Walsh 1998; 2015). Karen Ross has identified that the media often explicitly gendered Thatcher by celebrating her as, among other things, the 'ultimate dominatrix' (2017, 83). However, Ross' analysis is brief and divided among several other women political leaders. The same is true of Walsh (2015), who has applied a feminist critical discourse analysis to media coverage of Thatcher and Hillary Clinton to expose negativity and gendering. Similarly, Carol Johnson, in her examination of the misogyny that Gillard experienced (2015), mentions Thatcher's media coverage to illustrate how she also was described in highly gendered terms, such as 'witch' and 'bitch'. These studies therefore lack an in-depth analysis of the discursive elements of Thatcher's mainstream media coverage.

Even those scholars who have acknowledged discursive and visual elements in Thatcher's gendered mediation follow the trend of comparison with other women politicians (Flicker 2013; Ponton 2010; Romaine 2005). Douglas Ponton (2010) uses discourse analysis to expose the discursive production of Thatcher's public gender identity by both the press *and* Thatcher herself. He shows that Thatcher's traditional femininity and her image as a housewife and mother were the result of a 'skilful image creation' on her part and a careful positioning of her within 'preconceived journalistic frames' of femininity and leadership on the part of the press (Ponton 2010, 214). Romaine (2005, 184) also uses discourse analysis to cite Thatcher as an example when analysing the discursive expectations placed on women politicians, noting that she was pressured to adopt a 'more masculine' speaking style, as her natural voice was considered a 'liability to the public image of her the media wanted to project'.

Eva Flicker's (2013) research is particularly relevant for this thesis, as it departs from the conventional emphasis on textual analyses of women politicians for a visual discourse analysis—or 'viscourse analysis' as the author puts it—of the gendered power relations inherent in the clothing in which women politicians are represented by the media. By examining and comparing women political leader's suits, Flicker identifies how these delineate 'the fields of masculinity and power', leaving women as the 'other' (Flicker 2013, 183). Thatcher is cited as an example of a woman political leader who demonstrated a contradiction between established male images of power and female leadership, while displaying a conservative feminine style that balanced her masculine approach to leadership (2013, 196).

Considering Thatcher's historic record as the UK's first woman prime minister, her controversial status and her carefully constructed public image, it is surprising that more research has not focused on her gendered media coverage. While many scholars have examined her image as a stereotypically feminine—traditional housewife and mother—and the contrast between this and her masculine leadership philosophy, few have attempted to address media coverage of this contrast or to identify the roles played by both the media and Thatcher in constructing her public image.

2.3.2 Theresa May

Like Thatcher, May also enjoyed a long political career in politics, from her election to the House of Commons in 1997, where she became the longest-serving home secretary in over 60 years, to her prime ministerial ascension in 2016. However, relatively little has been written about either her time as prime minister, as home secretary, or as an MP. The lack of focus on her prime ministerial term is not surprising considering she only ascended to the role in 2016. The few studies that have been published concentrate on the Brexit referendum and May's responsibility as prime minister to navigate the UK through this turbulent time (Adler-Nissen, Galpin and Rosamond 2017; Allen 2017; Hobolt 2018; Worthy 2016; etc.).

There is a small but growing body of scholarship that analyses May's career through a gendered lens. One notable text is feminist sociolinguist Judith Baxter's (2017) *Women leaders and gender stereotyping in the UK press*, in which she discusses the negative representation of women leaders in the press at length, dedicating several chapters to May. Baxter adopts a broadly poststructuralist approach, but significantly creates her own methodology to examine press coverage of May and other UK women politicians, calling that methodology 'Feminist Poststructuralist Discourse Analysis' (FPDA), not to be confused with the Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA) used in this thesis, which is more indebted to critical theory than poststructuralism. Baxter's FPDA focuses on the interconnection of language, gender, gendered discourses and women's leadership to identify how women are stereotyped in the mainstream print media while offering alternative, and more empowered, readings of texts that are gendered and even misogynistic. Baxter concludes that May experienced a significant media focus on her appearance and feminine qualities and was largely portrayed in line with Kanter's stereotype of the 'iron maiden' and 'battle-axe'. This representation created a monstrous version of May as prime minister, but not necessarily a version antithetical to the prime ministerial role (Baxter 2017, 47).

Michela Insenga, in a study conducted prior to May's prime ministerial ascension, has also examined her gendered media coverage alongside that of other UK women politicians, adopting a content and framing analysis to identify recurring stereotypes and patterns (Insenga 2014). In line with previous gendered mediation literature, she found that women were framed by their appearance, family status, emotions and adherence to 'compassion-issues'. In comparison to the other women studied, Insenga showed that May's coverage was influenced by her 'exceptional' status and that she was portrayed as serious, reliable, knowledgeable and a potential leadership candidate, although she still experienced some gendering (2014, 188). One explanation for this outcome could be that May's 'masculine' leadership style prompted journalists to tie her image to

fashion to emphasise her femininity (Insenga 2014, 188). Although Insenga's research provides a sound analysis of May's media coverage during her time as home secretary, it was published prior to her election to the 'top job', and so cannot account for the changes following her ascension.

Political communication scholars Emily Harmer and Rosalynd Southern (2019), on the other hand, were able to examine media coverage of May as prime minister, conducting a content analysis of the 2017 UK general election as reported in online news fora. Their study focuses on media presentations of May, opposition leader Jeremy Corbyn and other politicians, and includes a limited gendered analysis. They find that May and other women examined were marginalised and stereotyped (Harmer and Southern 2019, 106). Additionally, they also observe that, although the coverage of May was personally critical of her leadership style, constructing her as robotic and weak, she experienced covert rather than overtly gendered or sexist coverage during the 2017 election (Harmer and Southern 2019, 110). However, Harmer's and Southern's research lacks a discursive analysis, and, like previous gendered mediation studies focusing on May, overlooks the importance of the images, headlines and political cartoons through which gendering and implicit gender norms and stereotypes are often revealed and expressed most clearly.

A combination of visual and textual analysis is needed for comprehensive examination of media reliance on gender in coverage of women political leaders and politicians. Sharon Mavin et al. (2018) adopted this approach for their focused study of an especially sexist headline on *The Daily Mail*'s front page: 'Never mind Brexit, who won Legs-it!' accompanied by a full-length photograph of May and Scottish leader Nicola Sturgeon sitting together, with their legs as the central point of focus. Mavin et al. compared this case study with coverage in other newspapers as well as on Twitter, radio, television broadcasts and day-time television. Unlike other studies of gendered mediation, they emphasise economies of visibility—where an 'individual's visibility has become the new form of currency' (Mavin et al. 2018, 2) and identified how May's coverage closely adhered

to her body, her father and her appearance—the latter particularly including her choice of shoes (2018, 15). They found that such commodification weakens women's perceived power as leaders and hinders the potential for feminism while in elite positions (Mavin et al. 2018, 16). Although their approach differs to that undertaken in this thesis, findings by Mavin et al. support the idea that women, even those who hold the highest positions of power, must conform to confining gender norms and stereotypes or risk reprimand (Mavin et al. 2018, 16).

2.3.3 Julia Gillard

Gillard rose to the prime ministerial role in 2010 by challenging her predecessor Rudd, essentially 'sacking' a prime minister during his first term in an election year, a move that was seen as unusual, especially for a woman, and that garnered widespread attention. Considering her relatively short three-year term, a significant body of research on Gillard's time as Australia's first woman prime minister has been published, paralleling the large amount written about Thatcher as another first woman prime minister, but also reflecting the unusual circumstances of her rise.

Since Gillard's 2013 departure from politics, the number of studies analysing her prime ministerial term has greatly increased. Numerous books (Delahunty 2014; Goldsworthy 2013; Kelly 2014; Kent 2013; Rodgers-Healey 2013; Summers 2013; Walsh 2013) have been written about her time as leader and the intersections of gender with political leadership revealed by it. However, these are largely aimed at a general audience, and do not engage with academic or political science frameworks. Key themes include an assessment of her government and policies, a measure of the vilification and sexism she endured, the reception of her famous 'Misogyny Speech', the circumstances surrounding her exit from parliament, and the media's use of gender in coverage of her prime ministerial term.

Most scholars have examined how and why Gillard experienced sexism and misogyny from fellow politicians, the media and the public. Some have concentrated entirely on gendered

elements of her term, including double standards (Crawford and Simms 2010; Johnson 2013a), the masculinity of politics (Galea and Gaweda 2018), her influence on women's political ambitions (Denemark et al. 2012; Hunt et al. 2014; Williams 2013), and changes in the feminist movement provoked by the renewed focus on sexism that her media treatment inspired (McLean and Maalsen 2017).

Many political scientists, media communication scholars and sociologists have contributed to these debates. Most notable are Trimble (2014; 2016; 2017), Katherine A.M. Wright and Jack Holland (2014; 2017), Johnson (2013a; 2013b; 2015), and Ngaire Donaghue (2015; with Lauren J. Hall 2012), as well as social-psychologists Jasmin Sorrentino and Martha Augoustinos (2016; 2019). These scholars often use discursive or content analyses; few have taken up a gendered mediation framework (Ross 2017; Trimble 2014; 2016; 2017; Williams 2017; Williamson 2019).

Trimble (2014; 2016; 2017) has written prolifically on the gendered media coverage of Gillard's ascension. Her influential *Ms. Prime Minister* (2017) explores the gendered mediation of four women prime ministers in Westminster democracies, including Gillard as well as Shipley, Clark and Canada's first woman prime minister, Kim Campbell. Through a longitudinal quantitative content analysis and qualitative feminist critical discourse analysis of newspapers, Trimble examined the gendered media coverage that Gillard experienced during her ascension to the leadership role and the 2010 federal election, and following her Misogyny Speech and fall from power. Trimble identified that Gillard, of the four women studied, experienced the most intense and frequent gendering, focusing on her childlessness, appearance and relationship status (2017, 218).

Most scholars agree that Gillard's gender was central to coverage of her ascension (Hall and Donahue 2013; Johnson 2013a; 2015; Trimble 2014; 2016; 2017; Williams 2017). Writing for the general public, Summers (2013, 109) observed that Gillard's ascension was simultaneously greeted

with enthusiasm, albeit briefly, and a media backlash that highlighted her gendered difference in the prime ministerial role. Johnson (2015) has revealed that Gillard's ascension was underscored by accusations of murder, with opposition and media alike portraying her as 'unusually bloodthirsty' and a 'devious and untrustworthy female' (2015, 303). Trimble's earlier research, examining televised news reportage of the event, explains how the word 'coup' was rarely used and was instead replaced with a vocabulary of violence:

> Rudd was toppled, brought down, dumped, overthrown, and vanquished. The manoeuvre was deemed a challenge, plot, crisis, overthrow, spill, political mugging, and swift and ruthless dispatch. (2014, 672–73)

In my own research (Williams 2017), however, I found that the term 'coup', which implies a rapid and aggressive seizure of power, was frequently used, in conjunction with violent metaphors and imagery.

These violent metaphors, moreover, are explicitly gendered. Previous Australian politicians and political leaders, such as Paul Keating and, more recently, Rudd, Malcom Turnbull and Scott Morrison have similarly challenged sitting prime ministers, yet none has experienced the same level of vitriol as Gillard (Johnson 2013a; 2013b; 2015; Williams 2017). In previous research (Williams 2017) comparing Gillard's ascension with Turnbull's successful challenge of his predecessor Abbott in 2015, and also drawing on a Butlerian analysis of gender performativity, I found that Turnbull was regarded as 'taking back the reins' and reclaiming what 'was his', while Gillard was reprimanded as a 'backstabbing' Lady Macbeth figure and was 'punished' for her transgression of gender norms.

Studies by Trimble (2014; 2017), Gleeson and Johnson (2012) and myself (2017), employing similar methodologies, have all shown that Gillard was simultaneously portrayed as a vindictive murderer plotting revenge and an agentless 'puppet' used by the (male) factional bosses of the

ALP. Trimble notes the specifically gendered element of this motif, as 'puppets do not rule on their own authority; rather they dutifully submit to the exercise of power by men' (Trimble 2014, 12). As the few studies to directly analyse Gillard's prime ministerial ascension, in contrast to the bulk of the literature focusing on her Misogyny Speech or the general sexism she experienced, these works are central to the current research. However, although I and Trimble both incorporated a gendered mediation, Butlerian and content and discursive analyses, we did not in those studies attempt a visual analysis of Gillard's media coverage.

Most scholars of Gillard's gendered media coverage have focused on the reception of her renowned Misogyny Speech. Although this event lies outside the scope of this thesis, these studies can provide useful insights into Gillard's experience of gender stereotyping. During Parliamentary Question Time on 9 October 2012, Gillard responded to a question posed by Abbott, then serving as opposition leader, with a 15-minute speech against the sexism she had been forced to endure while in parliament. A vast number of studies have been written about this event (for example, Donaghue 2015; McLean and Maalson 2013; Sawer 2013; Sorrentino and Augoustinos 2016; Sorrentino et al. 2019; Trimble 2016; Wright and Holland 2014; 2017; etc.). Within this literature there is a consensus, however, that, despite the international popularity enjoyed by footage of the speech, which rapidly 'went viral' on social media and was praised by several world leaders (Wright and Holland 2014, 455), the Canberra press gallery were dismissive (Curtin 2015, 193). Some authors (McLean and Maalsen 2013; McLaren and Sawer 2015; Morrisey and Yell 2016) have examined this disparity in detail, noting that the speech was framed as a political tactic in newspapers but as part of an ongoing discussion of sexism and politics online. Gillard's words undoubtedly encouraged an upsurge in feminist debate in Australia, although she also faced a backlash from anti-feminist online 'trolls' (Morrisey and Yell 2016).

Three texts warrant specific mention for their analysis of gendered dynamics in the media reaction to Gillard's Misogyny Speech. These are: Wright's and Holland's (2014) 'Leadership and the Media'; Trimble's (2016) 'Julia Gillard and the Gender Wars'; and Donahue's (2015) 'Who Gets Played By "The Gender Card"?' Wright and Holland observe that the speech transformed Gillard into a 'global feminist icon' (2014, 455), but was reported by the Australian print media in a very different, gendered light, according to three overarching frames of reference: as a strategic attack; as a controlled emotional outburst; and as hypocrisy (2014, 456). They argue that the media thereby held her to account for subverting gender norms (2014, 466). It should be noted that Wright and Holland draw here on sociologists Candace West and Don H. Zimmerman in their (1987) conception of 'doing gender' rather than Butler's, focusing specifically on the *discursive* regulatory role of the media in enacting and reproducing gender norms and stereotypes.

Following Wright and Holland, Trimble (2016) notes how the Misogyny Speech was cited as part of a larger 'gender war'. Employing a gendered mediation framework rather than a gender performative one, she argues that it 'resonated' with women, both nationally and internationally, but 'aggravated' the media, particularly *The Australian*, in which the association with a 'gender war'[8] first appeared in the press coverage of Gillard (Trimble 2016, 307). Through content and critical discourse analysis, Trimble observed that this metaphor, rarely used in politics, appeared 97 times in 59 Australian newspaper articles in the month before and seven months after the speech, with *The Australian* accounting for 75 per cent of these accusations (2016, 301). Donahue (2015, 165), also through content and critical discourse analysis, finds that 48 articles mentioned the terms Julia, Gillard, sexism and misogyny in the four days following her speech. Unlike Donahue, however, and unlike most other scholars of this topic, Trimble identifies the frequency

---

[8] However, the Australian 'gender wars' existed prior to Gillard's speech and concurrently with Australia's 'culture wars'. For further information, see Sawer's (1999) 'EMILY's List and Angry White Men: Gender Wars in the Nineties'.

From Tightrope to Gendered Trope

and intensity of gendered reportage in particular newspapers rather than referring to them as a homogenous category, and thereby significantly exposes differences in their perceptions and treatments of women in power. Following Trimble's example, one of the aims of this thesis is not only to compare different newspapers but also to identify how their various political affiliations impact their use of gendered tropes in both textual and visual representations. In contrast to Wright and Holland (2014; 2016), who argue that such coverage merely reflects the role of the media as an enforcer of gender norms reinforcing the idea that women do not belong in the leadership 'boxing ring', both Trimble (2016) and Donahue (2015) note that such treatment goes beyond this, arguing that it indicates the function of the media as a channel for the backlash that women in power experience when they dare to identify sexism.

2.3.4 Jenny Shipley and Helen Clark

Shipley, like Gillard in Australia, became New Zealand's first woman prime minister after challenging her predecessor, John Bolger, in 1997. Despite this historic feat, there is currently very little written about her prime ministerial term through a gender lens. In comparison, there has been far more written about Clark, New Zealand's first elected woman leader. This is in part due to her much longer prime ministerial career, spanning 1999–2008, her three electoral successes, and her general popularity in the polls. The relatively few scholars who have examined Shipley's term or media coverage have almost unanimously positioned her in relation to Clark, so a conflation of the two in a literature review is almost unavoidable.

One scholar who has examined media coverage of Shipley's and Clark's prime ministerial terms individually as well as comparatively is Trimble (2014; 2017). Although Shipley was usually portrayed as strong, tough and determined, Trimble found that she was also tied to stereotypical notions of femininity raising questions about whether she was able to successfully embrace such power (2014, 675). In her analyses of Shipley's 'coup' in comparison with Clark's and Gillard's challenges in 1993 and 2010 respectively, she observed that Shipley was spared the accusations of

'bloodthirsty' and murderous behaviour directed at these leaders and was instead depicted as commanding but nurturing and calm, helping to ease the leadership transition (2014, 671; 2017, 216).

Nevertheless, gendered bias remained apparent in the focus on Shipley's relationships, family and traditional life while questioning her leadership capabilities (2014, 672). Throughout her term, Shipley was predominantly portrayed as a wife and mother and politically framed as the 'mother of the nation' (Comrie 2008; 2008, 10; Devere and Graham 2006; Fountaine 2002; Fountaine and Comrie 2016; Trimble and Treiberg 2010; van Acker 2003). She embraced this identity, although it was a persistent label that proved both an advantage and a disadvantage to her career (Trimble 2017, 217). On one hand, it reinforced her adherence to traditional gender norms, protecting her from the sexualisation and sexism experienced by childless women such as Clark or Gillard (Trimble 2017, 217). However, it also situated her within the traditional and patriarchal family unit (2017, 216), and typecast her as 'the wife'.

This typecasting was further emphasised during the historic 1999 New Zealand election between Shipley and Clark, the latter of whom was then serving as opposition leader. This election has been a primary focus for gendered mediation studies of Shipley's political career. Susan Fountaine (2002), van Acker (2003), and Fountaine and Margie Comrie (2002; 2016) have all extensively analysed the 1999 election as a case-study for media gendering of both women. Fountaine's (2002) comprehensive (but unpublished) account makes it clear that the media's 'blurring' of public/private spheres through its increasingly personalised coverage of politics affects both women and male politicians but has specific gender impacts. In her work with communications scholar Comrie (2016), Fountaine observed that both Clark and Shipley were often referred to as 'Xena princesses' and 'Boadiceas', recalling McGregor's (1996, 183) critique of the media's obsessive search for a gendered ideal to project on women political leaders: 'a Beehive

From Tightrope to Gendered Trope

bimbo-Boadicea who combines political energy and power with a stereotypical femininity expressed in conventional prettiness'.

During the election, the framing of Shipley as a 'mother' and Clark as 'childless' was partly a result of Shipley's self-portrayal and embrace of her identity as mother and wife. Fountaine and Comrie (2002) and van Acker (2003) have each elaborated the idea that women leaders can exercise some control over their representation and can use it to their benefit or to competitors' detriment. They argue that Shipley's use of the 'motherhood theme' was motivated by 'short term gain and political survival', and that this particular case was unique, as she used parental status as a criterion for leadership and as a point of contention between herself and Clark (Fountaine and Comrie 2002, 5). Shipley used the trope of 'motherhood' to demonstrate her identification with and empathy for the public, particularly 'ordinary families', and to brand Clark as 'remote' and unrelatable (Fountaine and Comrie 2002, 5; van Acker 2003, 121). Most gendered mediation scholars of the 1999 election focus on this strategic deployment of motherhood and the constructed 'cat-fight' between Clark and Shipley, neglecting other gendered frames, the latter of which I intend to address.

In contrast to the relatively underdeveloped analysis of Shipley's political career, there is a significant body of scholarship dedicated to Clark's extensive time as prime minister, especially her policies and pragmatic leadership style (see: Hucker 2010; Nichols 2004; Volkerling 2010; etc.). Numerous biographies of her time as leader and journey to leadership have been published, often asserting her status as one of the most 'powerful women' in the world (see: Wishart's [2008] *Absolute power: The Helen Clark years* or Eyley's and Salmon's (2016) *Helen Clark: Inside stories*). There are also many studies that examine Clark's prime ministerial term through a gendered lens. Key areas of interest include: her electoral success (Curtin 2008a; Simms 2008); influence on substantive representation (Curtin 2008b, 2011; Grey 2006); and gendered mediation of her prime ministerial

term. Clark's electoral success and extensive time as prime minister provide an ideal opportunity for such analyses, and notable studies have been published by leading scholars including Ross and Comrie (2012), Trimble (2014; 2017) Judy McGregor (1996) and Fountaine (2002; 2005).

Trimble's (2017) book *Ms. Prime Minister* is again of great significance, analysing gendered media coverage of Clark over five elections (1996–2008), during her prime ministerial term, and after her departure from leadership. Trimble shows that Clark was simultaneously portrayed as an 'agent of political success' whose strength, intelligence, decisiveness and persistence were regularly highlighted, as well as an overtly gendered subject. The mainstream media sexualised her using metaphors of love, drew attention to her body and appearance in mentions of her hair, fashion and makeup, and presented her family life as 'unusual' by insinuating that a childless woman would not be able to sufficiently relate to the public (2017, 220). Trimble argues that such gendered coverage became less frequent over the course of her time in office, but the quantitative data does not capture the ways in which gender regulation infused political discourses about Clark in delegitimising ways (2017, 220). Qualitative analysis is important to further understand how such media coverage trivialised Clark and impacted public perceptions of her as an appropriate and competent candidate for the prime ministerial role.

Trimble's (2014) study of the gendered mediation of leadership challenges by women identified similar themes, but shifted analysis from print to television reportage. Drawing again on feminist critical discourse analysis, she showed that Clark's leadership challenge was presented on television as a 'violent coup', and that war metaphors were used to portray the event in a sensationalised and polarising manner by 'invoking the threat of the feminine' (2014, 674). Such coverage reveals the influence of 'deeply held gender norms, especially the fear of women who exercise power in the public realm', taking roles usually occupied by and constructed for men

82

(2014, 669). Gendered stereotypes and clichés are used in this context to reinforce and reproduce 'patriarchal norms of political leadership' (2014, 663).

Like Trimble (2017), Heather Devere and Sharyn Graham Davies (2006) have adopted the idea of framing—a concept used in mass communication theory to analyse how the media present news and decide what is newsworthy—to examine the 'gendering' of Clark in coverage of the 2005 election in comparison to her male opponent, Don Brash. While Brash was presented as a 'courteous, chivalrous, slightly old-fashioned, but polite, gentleman', Clark was 'the strident, unladylike, aggressive 'rottweiler', feminist' (Devere and Graham Davies 2006, 75). Ross and Comrie (2012) have also drawn on the concept of framing, alongside content and discursive analysis, to show the infrequency of *overt* sexism in coverage of Clark during the 2008 election. During this time, media gendering was more covert, found in the subtle undermining of Clark through a focus on her relationships, private life, appearance and personal attributes (2012, 980; Devere and Graham Davies 2006, 75; Trimble and Treiberg 2010, 130). This identification of overt and covert gendered dynamics in the coverage of a woman political leader, particularly when competing against a male opposition leader during an election, is significant for studies of gendered mediation in general.

Building on these analyses of gendered coverage of Clark's electoral victories, Comrie (2008) explored print and television reportage of her third term in the lead-up to the 2008 election. Despite Clark's dismissal at the time of the idea that her gender influenced the coverage she received, Comrie argued that it was *because* of her gender that her treatment was different and marked by an 'often subtle gender bias' (Comrie 2008, 3). Contradicting the assertion that a woman political leader's gender becomes less remarkable as journalists and the public become accustomed to it, the media continued to portray Clark in a gendered way despite her long-term prime ministerial reign (Comrie 2008, 11). Comrie raises an important point when discussing the

83

relatively subtle gendering of Clark in the New Zealand press, noting that it is often a case of the 'exception rather than the rule', particularly in comparison to gendered coverage in the UK press (Comrie 2008, 11–12). Comrie's analysis is also valuable for her sole focus on Clark rather than comparing her with other women politicians and political leaders, although it lacks an explicit methodology and does not adequately define the type of textual analysis used.

Clark's supposedly masculine leadership style, particularly her approach to debating and political campaigning, has received widespread attention due to the media reaction it provoked. Fountaine (2005, 11), Trimble and Treiberg (2010, 126) and Ross (2017, 107) have all observed that Clark's style was criticised as too 'aggressive', an attribute stereotypically associated with men. In their analysis of the five elections Clark contested as leader, Trimble and Treiberg find that she was as likely or more likely than her male opponents to be described using masculine stereotypes (2010, 126). However, despite the exaggeration of such behaviours, this media coverage did not harm her electoral strength (Fountain 2005, 11).

Other scholars (Comrie 2008; Edwards 2001; Fountaine and Comrie 2016; Johnson 2015; Ross 2017; Trimble 2017; van Acker 2003) have shown that Clark's perceived masculine style also led to accusations of lesbianism. Comrie (2008, 4) notes that these rumours have circulated since her early political years, and it was even speculated that her marriage to Peter Davis in 1981 was intended to confirm her heterosexuality. Johnson, citing Gillard, notes that media portrayals of Clark as 'bossy' when her male counterparts would be regarded as 'authoritative', casting her as 'the head of lesbians, husbandless women and feminist extremists', demonstrate how gender could be used against her (Gillard 2005 cited in Johnson 2015, 300). Clark's biographer, Brian Edwards, has remarked that:

> Her 'marriage of convenience' and self-imposed childlessness were advanced as evidence of a lack of womanly feeling and a willingness to sacrifice everything and everyone to

political ambition. Her sexuality was called into question, her looks disparaged, her manner of speaking ridiculed. (2001, 274)

Van Acker (2003, 121) also notes that gender can be used against women political leaders, arguing that accusations of lesbianism are provoked by a subversion of traditional feminine roles. These scholars also observe that Clark was simultaneously sexualised by front-page images that showed her unflatteringly 'open-mouth' kissing her partner (Comrie 2008, 4) and cartoons that depicted her as a pole-dancer or 'sexual swinger' (Comrie 2008, 10; Fountaine and Comrie 2016, 332). She was frequently 'pornified' through metaphoric association with love (Trimble 2017, 170), her sex-life was considered 'fair game' (Trimble 2017, 140) and the labels of 'dominatrix' and 'black widow' were recurring motifs (Comrie 2008, 7; Fountaine and Comrie 2016, 332; Trimble 2014, 663; Trimble 2017, 144).

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has critically examined several frameworks used to analyse how women politicians and political leaders experience gendered media coverage. Despite the rise of women in parliament and their increasing visibility at senior levels of politics, the media still resort to personalised gender stereotypes—focusing on appearance, family, romance, sexuality and age—that are rarely, if ever, associated with their male counterparts. Politicians are expected to conform with stereotypical attributes and traits dependent on gender, *and* to adhere to traits normalised in politics, where masculinity is regarded as the norm. This forces women politicians to choose between following the stereotypical feminine traits expected of women or the more masculine traits demanded of politicians, often attempting to balance the two. The bind that this creates is compounded by their location on a gendered political spectrum on which conservatives are perceived as aligning with men and masculinity, and progressives with women and femininity.

Part Two of this chapter demonstrates the similarities and differences in media coverage and gendered expectations of all five leaders, as well as the lack of research in this area with a focus on Thatcher, May and Shipley. Each of these leaders attempted to 'walk the tight-rope' between acceptable levels of femininity by adhering to gender norms while also displaying the masculine traits expected of political leaders, to varying degrees with differing rates of success. Similarly, confirming the ideas put forth by gendered mediation literature examined in section 2.2.2, Thatcher and Shipley were cast as—and embraced in—the role of 'wife', thus adhering to their version of conservative ideology; Gillard and Clark, on the other hand, were framed by their supposed 'lack' of children and their subversion of feminine gender norms, while May's and Gillard's sartorial choices were most prevalent in the media spotlight. A review of the literature examined in Part One and Part Two raises multiple expectations. First, that all five leaders will experience some degree of gendered media coverage that focuses on their appearance and personal lives, particularly their romantic relationships and whether they have children. Second, after reviewing the literature in section 2.2.4, I expect that progressive leaders—Clark and Gillard—will be shown to have experienced more coverage that focuses on their supposed subversions of gender norms, particularly accusations of lesbianism or 'improper' womanhood, than conservative leaders Thatcher, May and Shipley. Third, the conclusions made from research examined in section 2.3.3 lead me to expect that press coverage of Gillard will be more gendered and intense than that of the other leaders.

Overall, through reviewing this literature, I identified five main gaps or oversights which will be addressed within this dissertation. First, there are very few comparative studies that compare the similarities and differences between women leaders rather than comparing them with men. I intend to solely focus on and analyse the media portrayals of women prime ministers to understand whether such portrayals differ depending on political affiliation, time and country;

From Tightrope to Gendered Trope

and also to examine how gendered mediation of these women shares similarities despite such differences. Second, there is little literature discussing whether women prime ministers, or even politicians from the left, are treated more negatively in the media than their conservative counterparts. A primary concern of this dissertation is to examine the differences between conservative and progressive media and how each approach impacts on women prime ministers depending on their political affiliation. This encompasses the different gender performances of women from the left versus the right and the impact political affiliation has on their media coverage. Third, there is an overabundance of content analyses in gendered mediation research and relatively little critical discourse analysis. Despite similarly using a content analysis, I supplement this with a feminist textual and visual discursive analysis that goes beyond simply quantifying occurrences of sexism or gendering and that deconstructs the overt and covert gendered messages that are discursively communicated.

Fourth, scarce attention is paid to visual texts, and this is an integral site of analysis because women's appearance and image are already a heightened area of focus for the media, and more so for visual texts, particularly political cartoons. Additionally, gendered stereotypes and norms are used in political cartoons that would be unacceptable if they were found in newspaper articles, further adding to the importance of such analysis. I therefore incorporate a visual analysis into the main body of this thesis to expose how these gendered, and often misogynistic, political cartoons emphasise less overt gendered messages within the main body of the text, and I dedicate a chapter to the analysis of political cartoons to examine how they both destabilise and simultaneously reinforce gendered norms. Lastly, there is little literature that incorporates a Butlerian performative framework.

From Tightrope to Gendered Trope

Chapter Three: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

Having established some theoretical foundations, the core research aims and questions for this thesis can now be properly discussed. Above all, I aim to compare and analyse the ways in which mainstream print media rely on and reproduce gender norms and stereotypes in their coverage of women prime ministers, addressing five lines of enquiry:

I.   How do the media construct gendered representations?

II. Do these gendered representations change for different women prime ministers in similar countries, with similar media environments?

III. Do these gendered representations change over time?

IV. How do gendered representations in conservative media differ from those in progressive media?

V.   How do gendered representations differ for women prime ministers who are conservative in comparison to those who are progressive?

3.2 Feminist Approach

It would be misleading to suggest that there is only one 'feminist approach' to research—there are many approaches that could be described as feminist, associated with different schools of feminism and feminist theory. Yet these do share some commonalities, such as a focus on power and its role in the exclusion and oppression of marginalised groups (Weldon 2006, 72). Feminist scholars also generally seek to reveal the inherently political nature of research and examine the 'absence, silence, difference, oppression and the power of epistemology' (Ackerly and True 2008, 694). They identify how 'scientific' knowledge production has mirrored and privileged the values and ideas of dominant groups and rendered them universal (see: Eichler 1979, 1988; Harding 1987; Hesse-Biber 2007; Riger 1992; Weskott 1990).

Social psychologist Professor Marcia Millman and Professor of Business Administration Rosabeth Kanter, both second-wave feminists, uncovered these traits in their early examination of social science from a feminist perspective. They argued that a privileging of variables over people in conventional research 'may be associated with an unpleasantly exaggerated masculine style of control and manipulation' (1975, xv). Generalising, positivist, quantitative epistemologies and methodological processes are frequently claimed to generate 'objective knowledge' through reason, 'uncontaminated by emotions or particular interests' (Code 2014, 151). Feminist research threatens these privileged methodological claims of objectivity by challenging the very idea of a single, universal truth and instead conceiving of multiple truths (Hemmings 2012, 148). Therefore, while some feminists may use positivist quantitative epistemologies, 'feminist objectivity asserts that *knowledge and truth are partial, situated, subjective, power imbued and relational*' (Hesse-Biber 2007, 9; emphasis theirs), and these scholars largely rely on such epistemology to build a case for change (see: Catherine E. Hundleby 2012). These positivist-critical tenets are a philosophical touchstone for my own conceptions of knowledge, research and 'truth', shaping the research process adopted in this thesis and my experiences in an academic discipline that remains largely androcentric.

My research, while situated in a 'feminist research' framework, is also underpinned by a critical feminist poststructuralist approach. Following the methodological tenets outlined above, this approach centres power and discourse in a critique of objectivist research and challenges the idea that 'there is some form of innocent knowledge to be had' (Flax 1992, 447). Poststructural and critical feminist theory, as independent epistemologies, share a commitment to the reconsideration of objectivity and truth, though there are variances between them. Poststructuralism is starkly opposed to positivist and objectivist philosophies of knowledge or knowledge production in its revelation of the impossibility of objectivity, positing that assertions of objective truth simply mask their own subjectivity. Poststructuralists view norms and power structures as constituted through

social and especially linguistic interaction in everyday life, rather than relegating them to a far-off hypothetical place 'out there' (Mease 2016, 6).

Feminist poststructuralists focus on the gendered discursive fields and the communication of patriarchal and androcentric values through discourse (Leavy 2007). In this school of thought, science and scientific inquiry are considered profoundly sexed, gendered and sexualised despite their self-portrayal as disembodied and neutral. For Sneja Gunew, no 'theorists, not even feminist ones, are neutral, apolitical, ahistorical or classless' (1990, 26). Such research may itself appear to be objective, as 'man', 'white' and 'middle-cass' are allegedly neutral and unmarked positions and as such are afforded objectivity and rationality, while those marked 'other', such as women, People of Colour (PoC), the working class, etc., are aligned with subjectivity and emotion. However, objectivity does not and cannot exist, as research is always touched by the researcher; 'knowers are always somewhere, and both constrained and enabled by their situation' (Code 2014, 151).

Feminist poststructuralist ideas of agency and change diverge from more general poststructuralism, as they extend the foundational poststructuralist project of analysing 'language, subjectivity, social processes and institutions to understand existing power relations and to identify areas and strategies for change' (Gannon and Davis 2007, 73; Weedon 1987, 40–41). Scholars in this field aim to not only to develop theoretical constructs that are socially, culturally and historically contextualised, but also transform oppressive gender norms and relations (Gavey 1989, 463). Like their general poststructuralist peers, they understand that subjectivity and meaning are constituted through language/discourse and are not fixed or innate, arising instead from difference and distinctions, and that language itself is never innocent or neutral but is constructed and contextualised by dominant social, historical and cultural norms (Coward and Ellis 1977, 123; Gavey 1989, 463). As Foucault suggests, language is always located in discourse, which is a product of 'social factors, of powers and practices, rather than an individual's set of ideas' (Hollway

90

1983, 231). Feminist poststructuralists seek to examine the constitution of gender oppression and hegemonic gender norms through such discourse. However, the idea of liberation is problematised, as they argue that it is impossible for one to stand outside of discourse—of *power*— as agency is fundamentally conditioned by and constituted through what is made available; we are inherently shaped and comprised by discourse (Gannon and Davis 2007, 78). Thus, discourse is the primary site of analysis for poststructuralists.

Michel Foucault's foundational framework for understanding the connections between power, knowledge and discourse has greatly influenced my understanding of these concepts. His work is central to the poststructuralist school of thought, leading away from the analysis of actors who use power as an instrument of coercion, and even away from the discrete structures in which actors operate, toward the idea that 'power is everywhere', diffused and embodied in discourse, knowledge and 'regimes of truth' (Foucault 1975; Foucault and Rabinow 1991). Foucault asserted that power and knowledge are not independent entities but are inextricably related—knowledge is always an exercise of power, which is always a function of knowledge. A key aspect of this conceptualisation is that it transcends politics and casts power as an everyday, socialised and embodied phenomenon. In other words, it reveals the presence of power in the beliefs of those who simultaneously uphold and reinforce it, and in the punishment of those who refuse to conform. Foucault further argued that power and knowledge are joined in discourse, through which they mutually constitute each other (Foucault 1978, 27). To quote Foucault, 'discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it' (1978, 100–01). This idea underlines my decision to focus on, and to illustrate the importance of, the discursive role of gendered media coverage.

Critical theorists, like poststructuralists, understand knowledge as being constructed, and as fundamentally influenced by society, history and constituted *power relations*. However, critical

theorists have a more rigid and hierarchical understanding of power and its mechanisms—as well

as the central concern for emancipation and change—than poststructuralists. They posit that:

> facts can never be isolated from the domain of values or removed from ideological
> inscription, [that the] relationship between concept and object and between signifier and
> signified is never stable or fixed and is often mediated by social relations of capitalist
> production/consumption; that language is central to the formation of subjectivity; … that
> certain groups in society are privileged over others. (Kincheloe and McLaren 2003, 453)

The central aim of feminist critical theorists is liberation from oppression. To achieve this aim, they

rely on discursive analyses of various oppressions in everyday life and institutional practices, such

as sexism, homophobia, transphobia, racism, and cultural and ethnic oppressions (Gannon and

Davis 2007, 77). Going beyond poststructuralist tendencies to deconstruct dominant discourse,

feminist critical theorists seek to expose the relationship between power and knowledge, especially

hegemonic[9] knowledge and how this creates dominance and subordination, in their effort toward

emancipation (Hesse-Biber 2007, 11). Their goal is to create an environment in which oppressed

groups 'gain the power to control their own lives in solidarity with a justice-oriented community'

(Kincheloe and McLaren 2000, 282). Following this aim, I seek in this thesis to disentangle the

mutual discursive production of power and oppression in mainstream media texts for the benefit

of gender empowerment.

While critical theory and poststructuralism share similarities in approach and philosophy,

there are also multiple points of difference between them, and especially in the divergent concepts

of power and subjectivity that they endorse. Critical theorists view power as oppressive, unilinear

---

[9] Hegemony is a key concept by Marxist philosopher Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937) who theorised that the ruling
classes create and maintain cultural dominance to impose their particular worldview so that the political, economic
and social status quo is not only justified but perceived as natural, inevitable and advantageous to all social classes.
Gramsci theorises that the ruling classes maintain dominance and control through gaining the approval and
consent of members of society, such consent being not achieved by force, but through coercively persuading the
population to accept ruling class moral and political values conveyed within societal values, norms, tastes, social
relations and political practices.

From Tightrope to Gendered Trope

and hierarchical, as something wielded by dominant over subordinate groups (Gannon and Davis 2007, 78). Poststructuralists, on the other hand, seek to move beyond such a hierarchical view by problematising the concept of 'liberation'; they argue that power is transmitted through discursive practices, and, as subjectivity is also discursively constituted, it is impossible for one to exist outside the other (Gannon and Davis 2007, 78).

My approach combines concepts from both schools of thought, emphasising their shared identification of the importance of discourse and discursive analyses. I align with poststructuralist ideas of gender, power and knowledge, and adopt a deconstructive approach to discourse in the hope of gaining a more nuanced understanding of multiple meanings within language and text. I draw on poststructuralist theories of discourse and power alongside the notion of discursive subjectivity to examine how gendered power and oppressions are constituted and communicated. While I accept, however, that there is no single meaning or purpose of a text/discourse, and that the author's intended meaning can be secondary to that perceived by a reader, I reject the poststructuralist use of multiple perspectives to interpret texts and maintain that overtly gendered or misogynistic meanings possess a singular force in a social context oppressive to women.

Additionally, the central aim of this thesis—to analyse how and why newspaper discourse is gendered in its coverage of women political leaders—is better served by the concern with social justice intrinsic to a critical theoretical approach. While I support the poststructuralist notion that power is inescapable, this emphasis on transformative emancipation aligns with a feminist project to critique dominant gender norms and advance gender equality. Consequently, while the feminist critical discourse analysis conducted here draws from poststructuralist ideas, it can be associated more closely with the critical theoretical desire to reveal how the constitution and manifestation of power in discourse reinforces social oppression. By combining these schools of thought, I can not only reveal the extent to which the media rely, explicitly and implicitly, on gender in their coverage

of women political leaders, but also how this habit reinforces and reproduces hegemonic gender norms and stereotypes.

3.3 Reflexivity

A key component of feminist knowledge production is the awareness that a researcher's subjectivity, life experiences and worldview influence their research. Scholars cannot transcend their political, social and cultural context or take a point of view that is impartial, objective and value-free, despite the claims of positivist inquiry. For feminist political scientists Brooke Ackerly and Jacqui True, it is impossible to study the 'real world' consequences of power without analysing our own part in these consequences, as researchers who 'participate in the projection of power through knowledge claims' (2008, 693). It is crucial, therefore, that researchers are *reflexive*, aware of their privileges, life experiences, and subjectivity, and the extent to which these are reflected in their research. Additionally, we must also identify how different ways of knowing (epistemology) can marginalise or silence certain voices. Reflexivity implies a rejection of the ideas that subjectivity contaminates findings and that it must be avoided to ensure a competent and rigorous methodological procedure, or that the identity of those who are not white, male, middle-class, heterosexual, etc., necessarily results in biased research. As such, it enables researchers to further understand and acknowledge how their values, knowledge and feelings affect their research, from the formulation of research questions to the choice of methodologies to the presentation of findings (Attia and Edge 2017, 35). Additionally, a reflexive approach also ensures that research does not perpetuate the inequalities it seeks to change or subvert (Baker 2011, 203; Lazar 2005, 15).

Reflexivity is an effective approach not only because it deconstructs the role of power in the research process, however, but because it can produce less hierarchical, more ethical and socially significant research (Hesse-Biber and Piatelli 2007, 495). Reflexive research more accurately reflects the social world and the multiple truths and diverse knowledges that it contains (Hesse-

94

Biber and Piatelli 2007, 497–98), rather than following the positivist methodological line of inquiry that distorts research by excluding the voices and knowledge of those without power (Hesse-Biber and Piatelli 2007, 496).

With reflexivity in mind, I acknowledge that this thesis is a result of my own subjectivity and context. The questions I have chosen to address, the subject matter I have chosen to include, the methodologies used, the direction of the analysis and the conclusions drawn are all products of my subject position as a young, white, middle-class, queer Australian woman. As someone who is thereby marked as 'other' in opposition to the invisible yet universal 'white heterosexual male', I fundamentally disagree with the notion that research is a 'view from nowhere' (Hesse-Biber 2007, 16) and that truly great research necessitates a separation of values and attitudes. This inevitably privileges the already privileged.

The reflexive concept of 'multiple truths' follows poststructuralist notions of the plurality of language, the constant flux of discourse as an often-contradictory source of multiple meanings that reflect social and historical factors, and a shift in the focus of meaning from author to readers (Gannon and Davis 2007, 82; Weedon 1987, 85). In line with the emancipatory aim of critical theory, however, my values and knowledge as a feminist activist with an educational background in gender studies, political science, English literature and media studies privileges a feminist reading concerned with gendered empowerment. At the same time, I have conducted the research with integrity throughout, adhering to feminist ethics and the methodological standards of Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis, Feminist Content Analysis and Feminist Visual Analysis. Reflexivity and a recognition of researcher subjectivity do not bring bias to the analysis (Hesse-Biber and Piatelli 2007, 497) but rather serve to acknowledge the relationship, at the level of lived experiences and values, between the researcher and the researched.

3.4 Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis

3.4.1 What is FCDA?

In line with my critical feminist poststructuralist approach, I am primarily concerned with discursive elements of the mainstream press and their reproduction of power and oppression as they uphold patriarchal norms and values. To reflect the merging of critical theory, poststructuralism and feminism discussed above, however, I have chosen to use Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA), a method defined by linguist Michelle Lazar (2005; 2007) as a combination of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) with feminist studies that is intended to expose the nuances of gendered power and ideology in discourse. Other scholars of gendered mediation have employed a similar combination of content analysis and discourse analysis, yet my decision to use a *feminist critical* discourse analysis was based on my philosophical conception of knowledge, as a feminist. The effectiveness of this method has also been amply demonstrated by Trimble, in her numerous gender mediation studies (2014; 2016; 2017).

CDA is a useful methodological tool to examine discourse in line with the emphasis that critical theory places on dismantling discursive power toward an emancipatory goal (Lazar 2005, 5). It is primarily concerned with the relationships between power and discourse and how they impact social processes (Fairclough 1995, 8), and cultivates an 'overtly political stance' by focusing on issues of social injustice and inequality (Lazar 2005, 2). It can therefore be used to expose not only the explicit and superficial characteristics of discourse, but also the implicit ways in which power, dominance and control are discursively constituted (Wodak and Meyer 2009, 10). CDA allows for an emphasis on the political and social contexts in and for which texts are situated, while enabling researchers to take an invested stance that exposes and resists societal inequalities (van Dijk 2001, 352). For renowned CDA scholar, Tuen A. van Dijk (1991), it is a form of 'analytical resistance' that can create tangible change.

As CDA is directed toward the analysis of power relations and dismantling of oppressive structures, the need for a feminist variation of this method could be questioned. Lazar, in her influential text *Feminist critical discourse analysis* (2005), identifies three principal responses to this challenge. Firstly, it is beneficial to distinguish studies that combine CDA with a gender focus to 'make explicit' the collective shared perspective of 'distinctly feminist concerns' (2005, 3). Secondly, it is essential to create a manifestly 'feminist politics of articulation' (Wetherell 1995, 141) within CDA to highlight the importance of a gender-based and unequivocally feminist analysis (Lazar 2005, 3). Thirdly, an explicit label creates a group identity for feminist CDA research and increases the visibility of this methodology, shifting it from the margins to the mainstream.

FCDA and CDA share several similarities, including above all their social emancipatory goals and recognition of the discursive constitution of power. FCDA draws from CDA but adopts a heightened focus on gender, gender-based oppression and patriarchy. It follows poststructuralist notions of 'discourse as a site of struggle, where focus of social (re)production and contestation are played out' and applies this to feminist issues, such as exposing the 'interrelationship of gender, power and ideology in discourse' (Lazar 2005, 5). While CDA traces the reproduction of relations of power, dominance and inequality through discourse in general, the central concern of FCDA is the more specific relations of power that maintain a 'patriarchal social order' in which men are systematically privileged while women are excluded, disempowered and oppressed (Baker 2011, 202; Lazar 2005, 5). It also incorporates an intersectional view of gender as one among other categories of identity such as ethnicity, sexuality, geography, religion, etc. (2005, 1). While CDA analyses the constitution and reflection of social practices in discourse (Fairclough 1992), FCDA further demonstrates that these practices are actively gendered (Lazar 2007, 145). As such, it is an ideal complement to the feminist project at the heart of this thesis: a critique of the reproduction and reinforcement of gender norms and stereotypes by the mainstream media.

Additionally, FCDA also adheres to a critical feminist poststructuralist epistemology in which objectivist or positivist lines of inquiry are critiqued in favour of praxis-oriented research. FCDA and CDA have both been criticised for their lack of objectivity and scientificity (see, for example, Widdowson's 1995 criticism of CDA), yet feminist methodologist Patti Lather (1986, 259) rejects the assertion of researcher neutrality and argues that praxis-oriented research includes its biases as a part of its argument. This reflexivity is especially clear in the Foucauldian recognition by FCDA scholars that power is everywhere but affects gendered subjects differently, particularly those on intersecting margins; that it is pervasive yet subtle and often unnoticed or assumed to be normal and natural. FCDA is therefore an indispensable methodological tool for an analysis of the extent to which media texts reproduce power and norms through language that reinforces gender inequality.

3.4.2 What does FCDA involve?

There are various ways of *doing* CDA and FCDA. For Norman Fairclough, a founding CDA researcher, the general method is a dual textual analysis which firstly involves *interdiscursive* analysis, examining which styles, genres and discourses are articulated in a text, and secondly a *linguistic* or *multimodal* analysis of semiotic 'modes' (language, images, body language, music, sound effects, etc.) and their articulation (2013, 7). His (1995) model for CDA research comprises three interrelated methods connected to three discursive dimensions: the object of analysis, i.e. the 'text'; the ways in which the 'text' is produced and received through discourse (speaking/writing and listening/reading, etc.); and the social and historical contexts that constitute these processes (Janks 2006, 329). The methods associated with these dimensions are: description, or textual analysis; interpretation, or processing analysis; and explanation, or social analysis (1995). Lazar notes that FCDA draws from Fairclough's framework but focuses above all on the constitution and reproduction of gendered relations, gendered ideology and power in discursive representations of social norms, social relationships and in people's various identities (2007, 150).

Multiple FCDA techniques can be adopted to reveal the covert reproduction of power and inequality in newspaper coverage. The analysis of linguistic structures with ideological influence, such as lexical choices, syntax and semantic structure, is particularly significant (Fowler 2013, 67), as is the consideration of *intertextuality*—or the relationship between texts that shapes meaning— and the style and structure of articles. van Dijk (1998, 31–39) argues that a critical discursive approach to the analysis of newspapers involves the examination of discursive dimensions including: lexical items, or why certain words are chosen and what this expresses; propositions, and how this frames lexical items; implications, or the opinions implied in propositions; presuppositions; descriptions and their implicit and explicit meanings; and semantic moves involving effective persuasive strategies that present the self in a positive light while aiming to manipulate and monitor the inferences of the hearer (van Dijk 1984, 157), for example, the phrase 'I'm not sexist but…'

Anabela Carvalho (2008) has created a foundational framework for CDA of written media texts (see below). The process begins with a systemic analysis of the text to examine its discursive construction of meaning. This involves analysis of layout and accompanying visuals, the object or 'theme' of the text, the actors mentioned and how they are defined and constructed, vocabulary and writing style (formal/informal, technical, conversational as well as lexical styles and rhetoric), discursive strategies or manipulations of reality (such as framing), and ideological standpoint, whether implicit or explicit (Carvalho 2008, 167–71). The second stage of the process consists of a two-fold contextual analysis of the wider social setting in which the text was written, and by which it was influenced. Firstly, comparative-synchronic analysis is applied to position the text alongside other representations of the same issue that can 'help identify the specific discursive traits of a given news outlet' (Carvalho 2008, 172). In the current research, this approach has been particularly useful for the comparison of gendered coverage in conservative and progressive news outlets. The

99

second aspect of Carvalho's consideration of context is a historical-diachronic analysis, applied to examine how the mediated discourses have temporarily evolved in order to produce a historic account of how the media has constructed certain social issues (2008, 172). Although her two-part CDA framework lacks an explicitly gendered or feminist focus, it provides a valuable methodological tool for the discursive analysis of newspaper texts, and has been incorporated in this thesis with an FCDA perspective on the gendered dynamics and aspects of discourse.

Framework for Analysis of Media Discourse (Carvalho 2008)

    I.   Textual analysis

        1.   Layout and structural organisation

        2.   Objects

        3.   Actors

        4.   Language, grammar and rhetoric

        5.   Discursive strategies

        6.   Ideological standpoints

    II.   Contextual analysis

        1.   Comparative-synchronic analysis

        2.   Historical-diachronic analysis

In each of the CDA and FCDA frameworks analysed above, the lexical consideration is of particular importance as the clearest illustration of the non-neutrality of texts. For van Dijk, the choice between one word over another is regulated by dominant social attitudes and ideologies and signifies underlying opinions and meanings (van Dijk 1991, 210). It is therefore crucial to analyse lexical styles to demonstrate how group identities, and even individual subjectivities, are constructed in relation to dominant hegemonic norms (Augoustinos and Every 2007, 125). The consideration of lexical choices identifies:

[W]ho is speaking? Who, among the totality of speaking individuals, is accorded the right to use this sort of language (langage)? Who is qualified to do so? Who derives from it his own special quality, his prestige, and from whom, in return, does he receive if not the assurance, at least the presumption that what he says is true? What is the status of the individuals who—alone—have the right…to proffer such a discourse? (Foucault 1989, 55)

van Dijk (1998, 31) argues that a discursive analysis should go beyond lexical styles to examine more complex expressions of meanings in the composition of front pages, headlines, structure, arguments, images, semantic structures of coherence, etc. Scholars involved in FCDA generally share this point of view, centring their analysis on the lexical styles that reproduce and reinforce gendered power hierarchies and gender inequality. By applying a critical analysis of lexical styles to newspaper coverage of women political leaders, I will therefore be able to identify the covert, and often overt ways in which the mainstream press discursively reproduces gender norms and stereotypes.

The application of FCDA methods to the study of texts and semiotic modalities (images, layouts, gestures, etc.) enables new and critical insights into the discursive constitution of gender (Lazar 2005, 5). While these methods adopt some CDA techniques, they are more attentive to the 'the less obvious, nuanced and implicit meanings for the subtle and complex renderings of ideological assumptions and power relations in contemporary societies' (2005, 13). FCDA research is therefore able to challenge language that maintains gender inequality and move toward the goal of transformative emancipation (Baker 2011, 202).

3.4.3 How Was FCDA Utilised?

FCDA methods have been applied in this thesis to deconstruct and understand how and why the mainstream media rely on gender norms and stereotypes in their coverage of women prime ministers. According to poststructuralist lines of inquiry, discourse is always dependent on the perspective of the discourse analyst, as it is a 'dynamic semiotic entity' that has the potential

for reinterpretation and continuation (Reisigl and Wodak 2009, 89). Analysis of discourse is shaped by the researcher's interpretation, and therefore varies depending on background and life experiences. This reinforces the need for critical reflexivity to make clear the values and knowledge that the researcher brings to their analysis and to acknowledge that multiple readings of a text are possible, with no singular reading more 'true' than any other.

Alongside critical reflexivity, there are other ways to ensure that research is conducted with integrity and is not biased to support certain beliefs and values. For this thesis, a coding system was created to reveal the complex differences and similarities in the sample of articles analysed. This system was thematically based and emerged both deductively and inductively (Robson 2011, 476, 482). That is, it involved the creation of initial (inductive) thematic codes subsequent to a review of the literature and prior to familiarisation with the newspaper text, while also allowing for new (deductive) themes to emerge in the process of analysis. Deductive themes included the undue focus on appearance and emphasis of femininity. Inductive themes, present across the coverage of all five leaders, included family, the use of first names, comparisons with Thatcher, and an often disingenuous critique of misogyny. These themes are the primary 'Gendered tropes' around which this thesis is structured (Hodgetts & Chamberlain 2013, 389). The trope not included in my analysis was the 'Murder Trope' present solely in the coverage of Gillard's ascension and thereby indicate of the media's disapproval of the way in which she rose to the top role. Following the analysis of articles, I thematically coded the discourse using the above major themes, and coded again within each theme to identify any emergent and similar sub-themes that could indicate discursive resonances[10]. I then conducted a textual analysis of lexical choices, the angle or point of view adopted, the relationship between headlines and stories, use of figurative language, and

---

[10] I included all sub-themes for each main chapter except for Chapter Five, where I condensed the analysis of the following—general appearance, outfits, notable sartorial/physical feature and comparisons to other women's fashion—into the more comprehensive sections 'Metaphor and Metonymy' and 'Celebritised Beauty Ideals'.

ideological standpoint. FCDA goes beyond simply analysing what was written to focus on 'the styles and strategies of the language users—how they say things' (Robson 2011, 372) and how their versions of events are constituted through language that can reinforce the status quo. Lexical choice was of particular interest during this multi-layered analysis, as the choice of some words over others often indicates the opinions of the 'speaker about a person, a group or their actions' (van Dijk 2000, 39–40); the use of explicitly and implicitly gendered words, for example, indicates a certain attitude toward women. The analysis of style was also essential, not only in relation to the main body of a text, but also in relation to headlines due to their ability to succinctly summarise, define and evaluate events, with ideological implications (van Dijk 1991, 53). By combining a coding system with FCDA methods, moving from a broader thematic analysis to a more in-depth and detailed linguistic focus, I discovered both the overt and covert ways in which the media rely on gender in their coverage of women prime ministers, and the messages about gender norms, stereotypes and power that these imply.

3.5 Feminist Content Analysis

3.5.1 What Is FCA?

Departing from the emphasis on qualitative aspects of research in poststructuralist and critical theoretical frameworks, and in line with other gendered mediation research, I have chosen to combine FCDA with a Feminist Content Analysis (FCA). Content Analysis (CA) can be defined as 'a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication', focusing above all on signs (texts/images) (Berelson quoted in van Zoonen 1994, 69; Leavy 2007; Krippendorff 1980). Its aim is to condense and categorise a large amount of data to make empirically valid and replicable inferences that aid understanding of the phenomenon under study (Elo and Kyngas 2008, 108). It is therefore descriptive rather than explanatory (Leavy 2000, 2), and focuses on quantification rather than critical analysis (Neuman

1997, 31). As CA involves the systematic study of texts as 'nonliving data forms', scholars who use this approach tend to view data 'independently of the research process' (Leavy 2007), as a pre-existing, 'naturalistic' and noninteractive source (Reinharz and Davidman 1992, 147). This leads to an assumption of data authenticity that the researcher must strive not to 'contaminate' to maintain validity and generalisability (Leavy 2007).

Following a critical poststructuralist methodology, I challenge the idea that any method can be truly objective and replicable due to the inherent biases of all researchers. CA is perceived to be a quantitative, rational and descriptive method rather than qualitative, emotional and interpretive one. However, as it centres on the analysis of texts or discourse, it cannot disentangle the interpretive biases inherent to researchers' choice of certain topics, coding schemes, understanding of certain words, phrases and themes during the coding procedure. It adheres to a false pretence of objectivity and can therefore slip into pure categorisation, lacking in-depth understanding (van Zoonen 1994, 71). According to van Zoonen, however, CA can 'yield valuable results' and can elucidate 'social and cultural matters of representation' (1994, 71), especially when combined with other, qualitative methods. I agree that CA can provide useful results, especially when analysing a large amount of newspaper texts, and so I have chosen to use FCA methods to identify the frequency with which gendered words, phrases and tropes are used in the articles selected. This will set the scene for a discursive analysis which will provide an in-depth, detailed understanding.

In contrast to CA, in which a broad dataset is condensed to examine patterns within texts such as frequency of words, phrases and themes, FCA focuses on analysis of gender issues from a distinctly feminist perspective. FCA methods acknowledge that both researcher and research are constituted by cultural, social and historical contexts, influencing the 'production and systems of interpretation' (Reinharz and Kulick 2007, 260). Following this recognition that 'content is not

neutral', these methods examine how gender and other intersecting categorisations are entrenched in mainstream discourse, particularly the 'subtle (and not so subtle) political aspects of content in the form of text, images, film, magazines, newspapers, academic journals and websites [that] are a primary vehicle of power' (Reinharz and Kulich 2007, 271). Like CA, FCA reveals patterns in texts, particularly those related to gender, and quantifies the repetitive practices of representation that influences our beliefs and values and have a wide-ranging impact on public opinion (Hesmondhalgh 2006, 121). Yet FCA can be qualitative or quantitative, and many scholars combine it with postmodern and poststructuralist theories to further explore the constitution of gender norms and inequality in and by text/discourse (Leavy 2007).

In this thesis, FCA is one of several critical poststructuralist methods used to analyse data, supplemented by a qualitative analysis of discourse. The combination of a quantitative FCA and qualitative FCDA enables a more comprehensive analysis and greater comparative understanding of texts, while also revealing their latent meanings and constitution of gendered power, norms and stereotypes.

3.5.2 What Does FCA Involve?

There are multiple ways to conduct CA and FCA depending on the epistemology of the researcher, the phenomenon under study, and the quantitative or qualitative character of analysis. This thesis deploys quantitative CA and FCA methods that can be divided into four main stages: firstly, the formulation of a problem/question; secondly, the definition of sample size and range; thirdly, the coding of data; and fourthly, the interpretation and compilation of data (Hesmondhalgh 2006, 142). Coding involves the formulation of relevant code categories that are either preconceived (i.e. inductive) or drawn from the data (i.e. deductive), to which data can be assigned (Hesmondhalgh 2006, 144; Leavy 2007). As FCA focuses on feminist analyses of gender, the codes formulated by FCA scholars are usually linguistic, including words and themes that are oppressive and reinforce gender inequality (Leavy 2007). Positivist and objectivist scholars could

argue that this process of coding raises concerns about the empirical reliability of the analysis or 'the degree of consistency with which instances are assigned to the same category by different observers or by the same observer on different occasions' (Hammersley 1992, 67). This criticism, however, could be directed at all forms of research, including that which allegedly produces reliable and replicable results, as researchers are inevitably influenced by their social and historical contexts, and research is in turn unavoidably shaped by the researcher.

To further counter such criticisms, I have adhered to principles of *credibility*, *dependability* and *transferability* as trustworthiness criteria to ensure the rigour of my research (White 2011). To maintain transferability, I have described my research methods at length and in detail, particularly the selection and coding of data. To ensure dependability, I have used a code-recode strategy that involved a second, confirmatory analysis of data six months after its initial coding to confirm the consistent relevance of the codes used. Credibility has been established by placing importance on researcher reflexivity (Anney 2014, 276). To further ensure research integrity, the scope of the data sample analysed was defined by a range of dates significant to the research, rather than by criteria that might tacitly support my own beliefs, and therefore provided a fair representation of the newspaper articles published during this time (Leavy 2000, 6).

3.5.3 How was FCA utilised?

Although I carried out a systematic, analytic content analysis of discourse, it is not my aim to produce overtly structured, objective and positivist results, but rather to identify themes and to measure the frequency with which certain words are used that are distinctively gendered. Prior to the commencement of an FCA of the texts, I recognised and reflected on my own position in this research project and how it can influence every stage of the research process. The initial stage of analysis required 'break[ing] down the components of a text into units' (McKee 2003, 27)—words, phrases and themes—that were then collated according to a coding scheme of ten categories that were formulated for their relevance to the research aims. These categories could then be used to

identify the prevalence of gendering, and to quantitatively establish differences and similarities in coverage of Thatcher, May, Gillard, Shipley and Clark, as well as between different newspapers. This allowed for an initial examination of how events, issues and people are depicted in media messages (Weerakkody 2009, 9), revealing linguistic and thematic commonalities at a micro-level.

Table 3.1. Coding Framework

Coding Categories	Coding Notes
Newspaper	Name of Newspaper
Date of Publication	dd/mm/yyyy
Gender of Author	Male/female/unknown. Based on the author's name – if not definitive, then search online for an author profile. If still unknown, then choose 'unknown'.
Tone of Article	Positive/Negative/Neutral Is the overall tone of the article and assessment or description of the leader positive, negative or neutral?
Gender/Sex	Is the leader's gender identity or sex mentioned? Must be clearly marked with words such as: woman, female, lady, girl, mother, sister, daughter, aunt, wife, queen, or empress (Trimble 2017).
Appearance	Is the leader's appearance mentioned? This includes any aspect of their physical appearance, such as their looks, clothes, body language, physique, posture.
Femininity	Is their femininity emphasised (over and above gender/sex)? This includes references to stereotypically feminine attributes: e.g. emotional, compromising, warm, demure, motherly (see Table 2.1 for more examples). Also includes the use of gendered metaphors: e.g. girls, schoolgirls, headmistresses, housewives, ballerinas, Lady Macbeth, sexual dominatrices, housekeepers.
Husbands	Is the leader's husband or current partner mentioned? This includes any reference to their spouse.
First Names	Is the leader referred to by their first name? This includes any reference to the leader using solely their first name, including any nicknames that are based on their first name.
Thatcher	Is Margaret Thatcher mentioned in the article? This includes any reference to Thatcher that implies a comparison between the two leaders. Does not have to directly mention Thatcher's

	name, but can include imagery that implies a comparison, such as 'Iron Lady', or her well known quotes and phrases, such as 'the lady is not for turning'.

The first three coding categories were derived from existing CA studies of gendered mediation and are concerned with the basic details of the article: the newspaper in which it was published; the date of publication; and the gender of the author. When an author's gender could not be definitively identified by their name alone, I searched for a profile of the author online. A fourth coding category recorded the tone of the article as positive, negative or neutral in its portrayal of Thatcher, May, Gillard, Shipley or Clark (Bystrom, Robertson and Banwart 2001, 2003). Articles coded as positive include those in which the subject was positively noted or favourably regarded, where such categorisation was founded on the idea that a typical reader would recognise that the individual would be positively regarded (Hobbs and Owen 2016, 142). Articles coded as negative, on the other hand, include those in which the subject was regarded negatively or which demonstrate an overall negative or dismissive tone and outlook, identified by the

> use of emotive pejorative terms by a newsreader or journalist which were not attributed to any source (for example, connected with deceit, untrustworthiness, pandering to interest groups or 'buying' votes), particularly if the accusation was also being made by opponents. (Ross and Comrie 2012, 973)

Articles coded as neutral are those where it was unclear whether there was an evaluative judgement or where the subject was mentioned only in passing (Carson and McNair 2018; Hobbs and Owen 2016, 142).

The fifth, sixth and seventh categories, also derived from existing studies of gendered mediation, each measured various aspects of gender bias. The fifth recorded whether an article mentioned gender or sex, as determined by the author's reference to the subject as 'women/woman', 'lady', 'girl', 'wife', 'daughter', 'sister', 'aunt', etc. The sixth recorded whether an

article mentioned the subject's appearance, including their sartorial style, body or even posture. The seventh coding category noted whether the author emphasised femininity (over and above gender/sex), including references to stereotypically feminine attributes such as being 'warm', 'compromising', or 'nice', as well as the use of gendered metaphors, for example a comparison of the subject to a ballerina or to Lady Macbeth. The final three categories were used to measure the frequency with which subjects' husbands were mentioned, the use of their first names, and, for Gillard, Shipley, Clark and May, frequency of comparisons to Thatcher.

3.6 Visual Analysis

3.6.1 What Is Visual Analysis?

Visual elements of newspapers have as much capacity as text to communicate complex concepts, issues and attitudes (Machin 2013, 348; Rose 2001, 6). Their ability to capture a particular view of the world and convey it to a wide audience renders images a significant area of study, particularly because such depictions are never innocent and often privilege the status quo (Rose 2001, 6). There are several approaches to the interpretation of visual texts, including semiotics, iconography, and frame and content analysis (Danjoux 2014, 354). These can be collectively defined, however, by their shared adherence to several key tenets: serious consideration and critical examination of images as an important subject of inquiry (Rose 2001, 15); awareness of the social conditions and effects of visual texts and their reproduction and dependence on social inclusion and exclusion (Rose 2001, 15–16); and a reflexive awareness of the extent to which readings of images are historically, geographically, culturally and socially specific/contextualised (Haraway 1991, 190; Rose 2001, 16).

Political cartoons are a particularly rich subject for visual analysis due to their impact and symbolic obscurity. They are also influential because the simple graphic messages are easily and immediately communicated to the reader—who can simply skim the newspaper and comprehend

at a glance—and they are more accessible than accompanying editorial columns (Gilmartin 2001, 53). For cartoon analyst Ilan Danjoux (2014, 353), the 'polysemous imagery and sarcastic tone [of cartoons] provide a safe haven for latent fears, unfound beliefs and opinions too extreme, or socially unacceptable, to be openly expressed'. A cartoon's meaning transcends lines drawn on a page and is shaped by cultural, historical and intertextual references, raising questions about *who* the cartoonist is, *when* was it drawn, *where* was it published, and *who* is the intended audience (Danjoux 2014, 355). The context of creation is especially influential, as

> the meanings of political cartoons are often informed by the perceived intent of their creators. The political orientation and/or religious affiliation attributed to cartoonists can help distinguish self-deprecating humour from hate and sarcasm from rhetoric. (Danjoux 2014, 359)

In that light, it is important to consider the shared or divergent ideologies of the cartoonist and the newspaper in which their work was published. It is important to note that newspaper ideology can change the meaning intended by the cartoonist, so a cartoon can assume multiple connotations when published in newspapers associated with different ideologies (Danjoux 2014, 363). It is also crucial to consider the ideological perspective of different readers (Danjoux 2014, 359).

The political cartoons analysed in this thesis encompass both implicit and explicit cultural ideas of gender norms and stereotypes. They express opinions and values in ways that would be regarded as unacceptable if written in the text of the article, especially in relation to issues of appearance and acceptable femininity, reactions to which are assuaged through the rhetorical device of humour (Gilmartin and Brunn 1998, 536). Due to the role of cartoons, particularly editorial cartoons, to primarily be critical and exaggerated, such satirical and humorous devices can be taken to extremes, and that extremism can have particular ramifications for women and other minorities. Additionally, the specific ways in which visual texts have a gendered dynamic—where women's appearance and femininity are focused on and at risk of ridicule—also renders this

a significant area of study. While women's absence, or 'symbolic annihilation', has been of primary concern for studies analysing gendered political cartoons (Gilmartin and Brunn 1998; Hoff 1976; Meyer et al. 1989; Morris 1989) or cartoons ridiculing the women's suffrage movement (Franzen and Ethiel 1988; Perry 1994; Sheppard 1994; Tickner 1988), little work has examined gendered cartoons of women politicians despite its potential political and social importance.

3.6.2 Semiotics

In line with the emancipatory aim of this research, semiotics offers the most appropriate visual analytical methodology. Semiotic analysis is widely favoured in studies of prejudice due to its emphasis on symbols and the meaning, especially ideological meaning, that such symbols communicate (Rose 2001, 70). Scholars of semiotics aim to expose unequal social power relations by examining how these are constituted through and by visual texts (Rose 2001, 71). A semiotic approach to visual culture is used to provoke the interrogation of deep-seated and previously taken-for-granted assumptions and beliefs (Howells and Negreiros 2012, 112). For linguist and social semiologist Theo van Leeuwen:

> Semiotics…asks … two fundamental questions: the question of representation (what do images represent and how?) and the question of the 'hidden meanings' of images (what ideas and values do the people, places and things represented in images stand for?). (2001, 92)

Ferdinand de Saussure, the 'godfather' of semiotics, understood language as a three-part system for the communication and creation of meaning in which the 'signifier' is 'something that stands for something else', the 'signified' is 'the idea of the thing it stands for', and the 'sign' is the connection between the two (Howells and Negreiros 2012, 113). The sign is therefore a central focus for semiologists, yet it is recognised to be completely arbitrary and without inherent meaning, the latter of which is instead inscribed by historical, social and cultural contexts. However, Saussure applied semiotics only to written and spoken language, leaving Roland Barthes to extend his

analysis by applying it to visual and popular culture. Barthes argued that 'everything could be a sign' and 'any material can arbitrarily be endowed with meaning' (Howells and Negreiros 2012, 118).

I largely draw from Barthesian semiotic theory in my analysis of photographic images and political cartoons. One of Barthes' primary innovations was his identification of layers of meaning and, in particular, two key layers (Barthes 1964). The first is *denotation*, or who/what is depicted, and the second is *connotation*, or the ideas and values expressed through this representation (van Leeuwen 2001, 94). Denotation is the literal meaning of the signifier; connotation is its secondary meaning. A study of denotative meaning therefore involves an analysis of what is depicted, which as van Leeuwen (2001) explains can be accomplished in four stages. Firstly, the *categorisation* of an image should be identified, noting any visual stereotyping of cultural (dress, hairstyle, objects) or physiognomic attributes (2001, 95). Next, the researcher should identify whether the subject(s) of the image are depicted in groups or as individuals, and how this affects its meaning. Third, the researcher should consider the distance at which the subject is portrayed and how this functions to enhance or negate their individuality. The final task is to concentrate on the surrounding text, captions, or adjacent pictures. Studies of connotative meaning, on the other hand, involve analysis of the wider ideas, values and concepts that places, people and things represent, 'stand for' and are 'signs of', or the subjective meanings and interpretations of the sign (van Leeuwen 2001, 96). I consider both denotative and connotative meanings in my analysis, so that literal meanings and implied messages are given equal attention.

As the visual texts examined in this thesis depict women prime ministers, I have also drawn from a specific stream of semiotics that focuses on the representation of human subjects. In her influential text, *Advertising as communication*, Gillian Dyer (1982) outlined an effective and practical checklist for the semiotic analysis of visual texts, comprising four categories of which the first three

are most relevant to this project: representations of bodies; of manner; of activity; and props and settings. The first category is of particular relevance here for its gendered implications, and involves analysis of the following: age and its connotations; the use of masculine/feminine stereotypes; race, which can also depend on stereotype or can normalise whiteness by making it invisible; hair; body, specifically whether women's bodies are only shown in part or as a whole; size, which can indicate importance; and looks (Dyer 96–98). In combination with a Barthesian semiotic analysis, Dyer's framework has enabled me to examine the gendered meanings communicated through newspaper visual texts to produce a more rounded and detailed analysis of the gendered mediation of women in power as a social, cultural and political phenomenon.

3.6.3 What Does This Involve?

I adopted a multi-step process in my semiotic analysis of visual texts. The first step was the collection of images published within the relevant timeframe that either denoted or connoted gendered norms, values or stereotypes. Rather than selecting all relevant images, however, I chose only those that related to the coding categories, to ensure coherence. The second step involved a more detailed denotative and connotative reading of these texts to organise them by theme. The final step was individual analysis, examining the techniques used and messages communicated by each image.

When examining the connotative meanings of political cartoons, I focused on three main devices used to construct meaning: juxtaposition; synecdoche; and metonymy (Danjoux 2014, 356). Analysing the use of juxtaposition was beneficial for examining the portrayal of 'power, influence and importance' in juxtapositions of size, colour and symbols—anything that encourages readers to identify similarities or differences (Danjoux 2014, 356). Synecdoche communicates meaning by representing a concept or object through a single part used to 'stand for the whole' (Willerton 2005, 11). Metonymy, on the other hand, replaces the concept or object with 'metaphoric alternatives to imbue associated attributes' (Danjoux 2014, 356) and involves the substitution of a

113

word or attribute for its intended meaning as a way to demonstrate the connections between the word and its referent, such as the crown for royalty, the pen for writers and Westminster for the UK government (Willerton 2005, 11). While synecdoche and metonymy are similar, the former can be described as a representation and the latter a reduction (Lanham 1991, 102). All three devices depend on the reader's ability to recognise connotations.

This returns the discussion to reflexivity, both of the researcher and reader of visual texts, as the last step in my semiotic analysis. As polysemic signifiers, visual texts can communicate multiple meanings depending on the knowledge and life experiences of the reader (Danjoux 2014, 355; Rose 2001, 98). It is therefore necessary to recognise how the meanings that I identify are shaped by my reading of the text, and are grounded in my various subject-positions. Echoing Danjoux's (2014, 366) admission that his personal beliefs make it impossible for him to read a 'satirical' piece that is racist or xenophobic as humorous, I too acknowledge that my beliefs and feminist politics render it unfeasible that I would find a cartoon to be humorous if it contained misogynistic or otherwise prejudicial connotations. Additionally, meanings can be affected by historical, cultural and social contexts at the time of reading; reading a cartoon retrospectively and at the time of creation would produce different meanings (Danjoux 2014, 366). Following the FCDA and FCA emphasis on the reflexivity of the researcher, visual and semiotic analysis should also recognise the importance of an identification and declaration of the role that scholars play in the production of meaning and knowledge. Such reflexive awareness can both enhance the trustworthiness of the research results and prompt readers to question their own interests and potential prejudices.

3.7 Feminist Elite Interviews

In the final months of writing this thesis, I had the opportunity to interview the Hon. Julia Gillard and the Hon. Helen Clark about their experiences with the mainstream media and sexism

in politics. I first met Gillard in London in April 2018, at an event hosted by her Global Institute for Women's Leadership, King's College London, initiating a conversation about my PhD research that prompted Gillard in September of that year to cite my findings in a public lecture given at the University of Adelaide. Following this, I arranged a formal interview in February 2019, speaking with the former prime minister for an hour and a half in an informal and relaxed setting. Gillard's advisors then referred me to Clark's office, who arranged a Skype interview for April, again in a relaxed and open setting. In August 2019, I emailed both Gillard and Clark to ask some follow-up questions about specific examples or events, and received a written response from Gillard but not (as yet) from Clark. I asked both women a range of questions about gendered mediation, hoping to gain some insight into the personal impacts of such coverage for them and other women politicians, their impressions of the media landscape in Australia and New Zealand, and their views on what the future might hold for women political leaders.

While the thoughts and experiences expressed in these interviews are not representative of all five prime ministers analysed, they have significantly enriched my gendered analysis of the media, bringing the *personal* into the political. Alongside the more analytic elements of the thesis, they offer a perspective rarely seen in gendered mediation literature: that of the women politicians and political leaders who have experienced gendered coverage. There are currently no published studies that draw on direct conversation with Gillard, with most scholars relying instead on public and mediated interviews or her autobiography. By conducting and citing these interviews, then, I have been able to nuance existing analysis by combining it with evidence drawn from Gillard's and Clark's self-reflection and personal perceptions of events.

When speaking with both former leaders, I adhered to a feminist interviewing approach, particularly that of feminist elite interviews. Feminist interview techniques foreground concerns for social justice and while they aim to bring social change (Hesse-Biber 2007, 113). They are

115

concerned with and seek to challenge potential imbalances of power between interviewer and interviewee (Reinharz et al. 1983). Hesse-Biber states that feminist interviewing approaches require reflexivity to temper such imbalances (2007, 131), and emphasise the importance of encouraging body language, such as head-nodding and eye-contact, as well as attentiveness to implicit messages communicated between interviewer and interviewee (DeVault 2004, 233–35; Hesse-Biber 2006, 132).

Feminist elite interviewing techniques further extend this framework and imbue it with a more critical intent. While theorists of the feminist interview typically perceive the interviewee to hold less power and require interviewers to protect and empower vulnerable subjects (Burgess-Proctor 2015; Cotterill 1992; DeVault and Gross 2007; Hesse-Biber 2007, 132), those who study the field of elite interviews typically argue that the interviewee is the one with power to potentially impact the interviewer (Boucher 2017, 99). Drawing from both schools of thought, theorists of the feminist elite interview such as sociologist Ann Oakley assert that the interview process must not be one of data collection but of empowerment for both the interviewer and interviewee (1981, 31; 41–49), encouraging a distinctly activist perspective (Kezar 2003, 400–02).

With this in mind, I followed Anderson's and Jack's (1991, 24) guide for interviewer conduct to generate a conversational rather than question-and-answer interview style, ensuring as much as possible that power imbalances were balanced in open discussion of key ideas. This involved:

I. Interviewer skills:

    i. Open-ended interview style to enable the interviewee's expression of their attitudes, feelings and opinions.

    ii. Probing for feelings rather than solely for facts.

    iii. Asking what meaning they inscribed to the highlighted events.

116

    iv. Examining what is unsaid.

  II. Interview conduct checklist:

     i. Staying mindful of my own agenda.

     ii. Following my 'hunches, feelings, responses that arise through listening to others' (24).

     iii. Following up an issue or concern if I am confused about something.

     iv. Examining how my own discomfort or emotions could affect the interview situation.

I also formulated key questions based on the findings of existing gendered mediation literature, interspersed with those that emerged during conversation. For the first half of each interview, I refrained from contributing too much to the discussion so that the interviewee could speak freely, and I strove to maintain open body language and encouraging probing methods (eye-contact, verbal cues, and echoing) (Hesse-Biber 2007, 127). Conversation progressed naturally, creating a space of comfort for both me and the interviewee that allowed ideas to develop. Through this, I could conduct interviews reflexively of my own position, mindful of power imbalances between myself and the interviewees, and with enough openness for them to freely discuss their opinions, feelings and experiences. Finally, I transcribed each interview in full and applied FCDA methods to draw out key ideas related to the five gendered tropes analysed in this thesis.

3.8 Why Newspapers?

Newspapers have been described as 'powerful cultural forms' that highlight and illustrate the hegemonic and stereotypical ideas of gender and socio-cultural norms that prevent women from achieving their political potential and aspirations (Trimble et al. 2013, 463). Despite shifts in preferred channels for news access, with social media and the internet rapidly becoming a main source, newspapers remain an important news medium in the UK, Australia and New Zealand (Nielson 2017) and their stories often 'set the news agenda for other media' (Carson and McNair

2018). It is therefore imperative that they be analysed to further understand and explain how they aid in maintaining the dominance of men in society (Byerly and Ross 2004, 3).

3.9 Data Selection and Collection

I restricted my analysis to three or four mainstream metropolitan newspapers in each country analysed. To examine the correlation between the political leaning of a newspaper and its media representation of women prime ministers, I focused on both left-leaning and conservative case-studies, as well as both broadsheets and tabloids. While I examined four UK newspapers, the smaller populations and therefore narrower range of national newspapers in Australia and New Zealand reduced this number to three in those countries. In the UK, I examined: *The Daily Telegraph* (conservative-leaning broadsheet); *The Guardian* (left-leaning broadsheet); *The Sun* (conservative-leaning tabloid); and *The Mirror* (left-leaning tabloid). In Australia, I looked at: *The Australian* (conservative-leaning broadsheet); *The Sydney Morning Herald* (centre-left broadsheet); and *The Daily Telegraph* (conservative leaning tabloid)[11]. In New Zealand, the papers studied were: *The New Zealand Herald*[12] (centre-right broadsheet); *The Press* (centrist broadsheet); and *The Dominion* (centrist broadsheet).

Table 3.2. Selected UK newspapers

Newspapers	Broadsheet	Tabloid
Conservative	The Daily Telegraph	The Sun
Progressive	The Guardian	The Mirror

---

[11] It would appear strange for many Australians to label *The Sydney Morning Herald* as centre-left, particularly in comparison to say, The Guardian Australia (an online news site). However, in comparison to the overwhelming Murdoch dominance, which tends to be on the political right, *Fairfax* tends to be to 'the left' (Hobbs 2007; Rowe 2011, 464).

[12] *The New Zealand Herald* has been coded as 'conservative' for the purposes of this study due to the social conservative values that it often represents and the number of articles reprinted from the UK *Daily Telegraph* and *Daily Mail*, although it leans more to the centre than conservative papers in Australia and the UK. The other two New Zealand newspapers selected are neither progressive nor conservative, falling within the category of 'centrist'.

Table 3.3. Selected Australian newspapers

Newspapers	*Broadsheet*	*Tabloid*
Conservative	*The Australian*	*The Daily Telegraph*
Progressive	*The Sydney Morning Herald*	

Table 3.4. Selected New Zealand newspapers

Newspapers	*Broadsheet*	
Conservative	*The NZ Herald*	
Centrist	*The Press*	*The Dominion*

Rather than rely on digital archives, such as *LexisNexis* or *Factiva*, I gathered data using microfilm/microfiche. Although more time-consuming and incompatible with analysis software, this method allowed me to analyse the exact way in which each article was published, including images, headlines and subheadings. This revealed a wealth of information about framing devices used to construct privileged interpretations of events, and to 'fix' preferred meanings for readers. It also gave access to accompanying images and political cartoons unavailable in online archives.

I focused on the first three weeks of each prime ministerial term to better examine direct media responses to their ascension, which tends to dominate the media discourse for roughly this amount of time. This also allowed for a direct comparison of a similar point in each woman's prime ministerial career. For Gillard, I focused on coverage published between 24 June to 15 July 2010; for Thatcher, 4–25 May 1979; for May, 13 July to 3 August 2016; for Shipley, 8–29 December 1997; and for Clark, 28 November to 19 December 1999. I included every article that mentioned Gillard, Thatcher, May, Shipley or Clark within these timeframes, giving a total of 1039 articles that illustrated a combination of news, features, editorials, opinion pieces and columns. As can be seen in Table 3.5, there were many more articles about Gillard in comparison with the other women. There are two key explanations for such disparity. First, the nature of her ascent, which was represented as a bloody coup and hence had enormous news value due to the sensationalism and

spectacle associated with the event combined with the novelty value of being the 'first woman' (Trimble 2014; 2017). Second, the influence of a Murdoch and tabloid dominated Australian press which can negatively affect women political actors who threaten the status quo.

Table 3.5. Number of articles per leader

Leader	Number of Articles
Thatcher	173
May	188
Gillard	499
Shipley	72
Clark	107
Total:	1039

3.10 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the epistemological and methodological approaches taken in the research and explained the rationales for their use. As a feminist and activist, I have found critical theoretical and post-structuralist approaches to be useful not only for analysing data but also for their identification of discourse as a regulatory framework that produces and reinforces—but can also expose—otherwise-hidden power relations. With the benefit of this perspective, I have been able to analyse newspaper coverage of women political leaders in a manner that shows how their depiction is itself an exercise in power, often serving to reinforce the status quo.

Alongside the development of this epistemological perspective, I have applied FCA and FCDA methods to the study of gendered mediation, using the former to measure the frequency of this phenomenon and the latter to expose deeper meanings and assumptions. Visual dimensions of meaning have also been explored through semiotic analysis of cartoons and other images. This combination of methods has provided a strong framework for a nuanced, in-depth analysis of a large number of newspaper articles, identifying the general trends while also examining how meaning is communicated through specific discursive and visual techniques such as headlines,

images and political cartoons. Interviews conducted with the Hon. Julia Gillard and the Hon. Helen Clark at a later stage in my research added a personalised element to the thesis, enriching my analysis of discursive elements in mainstream newspaper articles with the reflections and informed opinions of two leaders who have experienced such coverage first-hand.

Chapter Four marks the start of the main chapters that are structured around each of the gendered tropes I have identified. Chapter Four will specifically examine the gendered trope I have labelled 'femininity', although it explores and compares the ways in which the print media emphasise both gender identity and the iterations, or lack of iteration, of femininity. I will identify and further deconstruct the various gendered metaphors and themes used to portray these leaders in a feminine manner, during which, I will argue, can draw attention to the gender subversions involved in being women in roles that have always been occupied by men.

Chapter Four: The Gender and Femininity Trope

4.1 Introduction

One small step for Mrs Thatcher, one giant stride for woman-kind (Aitken 1979a)

The little girl who would become Britain's second woman PM (Harvey 2016)

Oh Lord, the prime minister is a woman (Wilson 2010)

A 'firm motherly hand' will steer the nation's course as New Zealand gets its first woman Prime Minister (Laxon 1997)

Much has been made of her being the first elected woman Prime Minister (Armstrong 1999)

The above newspaper quotations, each of which prefaces a woman leader's role with her gender, illustrate how the mainstream print media emphasise this aspect of their identity. In the previous chapter, I identified five principal gendered tropes in newspaper coverage of Thatcher, May, Gillard, Shipley and Clark, the first and most central of which is this foregrounding of their femininity. In patriarchal Western societies, white men are regarded as the universal, genderless norm while women are marked as a gendered other, meaning that everyone is assumed to be male unless otherwise signified (Romaine 1998, 132). Male doctors or lawyers, for example, are referred to simply by their occupation, while women in the same roles are always *female* doctors or *female* lawyers. This disparity is particularly visible in social positions historically and normatively occupied by men, such as that of a political leader. Women in this role are therefore regarded as an inherently different, deviant presence (Puwar 2004, 78) and, while the gender of a male politician is rarely mentioned, women in politics are always described by their gender, and indeed it is presented as their primary descriptor (Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross 1996, 109). Due to the normalisation of men and masculinity in parliament, 'a woman's competence is not assumed; her deviation from the supposed masculine "norm" is more likely to be noticed and, once noticed, penalised' (Jamieson 1995, 125). There is a delegitimising implication that women in this role are

122

'not the "real" thing' (Romaine 1998, 130). They are taking up a role that was only *for* men and requires certain masculine leadership traits, and this, in turn, raises questions about their adherence to stereotypical notions of femininity.

Neither femininity, nor its emphasis in media coverage of women leaders, is necessarily a negative characteristic or phenomenon. It only *becomes* negative when masculinity is perceived to be superior and femininity inferior is used to ridicule or delegitimise women in positions of power (Jamieson 1995, 121). Other scholars of gendered mediation, notably including Ross (2002a; 2010; 2017) and Trimble (2013; 2017), have explored media emphasis on the femininity of women politicians, yet these analyses focus only on the overarching trope of gender and femininity, and do not identify the various sub-tropes, metaphors and images contained therein. The following discussion will address this oversight while also comparing: the varying quantity of femininity-emphasising articles written about each leader; distinctions between conservative and progressive print media; and changes across time or between countries. I have identified six sub-tropes within the broader category of femininity: emphasis on womanhood in addition to girlhood; mention of schoolgirl days or comparison of political performances to those of a schoolgirl or head girl; portrayal as headmistress; use of housekeeping metaphors; use of sexually based or relationship metaphors; and description of the relationship between women political opponents as a cat-fight or a battle between warrior queens.

4.2 Content Analysis

To determine how often newspaper writers relied on the trope of femininity, I coded the articles analysed according to mentions of gender in general as well as femininity, with the former taking account of the use of terms such as 'woman' or 'female' and the latter examining the extent to which feminine performances are emphasised. The latter includes discussion of relationships, sexuality, gendered interests, appearance or even simply the description of an action or statement

using feminine-coded language (e.g. 'warmly', 'nurturing', 'blushing' etc. See: Table 3.1). Prior to data collection, I expected this phenomenon to be more prominent for prime ministers who were their country's first woman leader (Thatcher, Shipley and Gillard). However, as can be seen in the following graphs, there is no such pattern. In fact, it was May—the most recent and only current prime minister analysed—who experienced the highest percentage of coverage emphasising gender, at 50 per cent, while New Zealand's Shipley and Clark experienced the highest proportion of texts emphasising femininity, at 54.2 per cent and 59.8 per cent respectively, while Thatcher endured the least at 34.1 per cent (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1. Percentage and number of newspaper articles that mentioned gender or emphasised femininity

	Gender		*Femininity*	
	Percentage	*Number*	*Percentage*	*Number*
Thatcher	44.5%	77	34.1%	59
May	50%	94	51.6%	97
Gillard	36.5%	182	50.9%	254
Shipley	40.3%	29	54.2%	40
Clark	18.7%	20	59.8%	64

It is important to note, however, that Clark also inspired the lowest percentage of articles foregrounding gender, indicating a possible anomaly in the categorisation of femininity. When analysing the data, I identified instances of this category based on the accentuation of feminine traits such as being 'calm', 'conciliatory', 'warm', feminine roles such as those of 'housewife', 'mother' or 'daughter', and portrayal of the subject in a sexualised manner. However, one noteworthy trend in press coverage of Clark that escaped this categorisation was the consistent use of the title 'Miss' in references to Clark published in *The Dominion*, a title that wasn't used in any other newspaper, whether for Clark or the other leaders. Clark had been married for eighteen years by the time she ascended to the prime ministerial role, yet her marriage was often rumoured by

the press and public to be fake undertaken to make her more acceptable as a politician. It is therefore possible that *The Dominion*'s use of 'Miss' reflected (and reinforced) such rumours, serving as a gendered tool to highlight Clark's femininity by reducing her to the status of an unmarried, usually young and therefore inexperienced but sexually available, woman.

Table 4.2. Percentage of newspaper articles that mentioned Clark's and Shipley's gender or emphasised their femininity

	Gender		Femininity	
Newspaper:	**Shipley**	**Clark**	**Shipley**	**Clark**
NZ Herald	57.7%	20%	61.5%	47.2%
Dominion	28.6%	12.5%	53.6%	95.8%
Press	33.3%	21.4%	44.4%	53.6%
Average	40.3%	18.7%	54.2%	59.8%

This and other comparable anomalies show clearly that CA and the quantifying of codes into percentiles, while a vital part of my analysis, do not tell the whole story. For example, although it appears that a plethora of articles mention Shipley's gender and emphasise her femininity, this was often only in passing and was not as incessant as for May or Gillard. Additionally, Shipley received much less press coverage than these leaders. While only 29 and 40 articles (out of a total of 72), respectively, mention Shipley's gender and emphasise her femininity, 182 and 254 respectively mention Gillard's gender and emphasise her femininity (Table 4.1). FCDA is therefore imperative to add nuance and complexity to these results.

Table 4.3. Percentage of newspaper articles that mentioned Thatcher's and May's gender or emphasised their femininity

	Gender		Femininity	
Newspaper:	**Thatcher**	**May**	**Thatcher**	**May**
Guardian	51.8%	46.5%	42.9%	37.2%
Telegraph	36.2%	67.9%	29.3%	66.1%
Mirror	40%	36.7%	36%	33.3%
Sun	50%	42.4%	26.5%	57.6%
Average	44.5%	50%	34.1%	51.6%

In the case of the two UK woman prime ministers, Thatcher and May, whether due to the different contexts of their ascension, the rise of personalisation, or social media's influence on print journalism, there is a distinct contrast in the frequency and degree of emphasis on femininity and gender. Thatcher was the first woman prime minister of the UK, so it might be predicted that the media would focus on her gender and femininity to a much greater extent than May's. However, this is not the case. On average, Thatcher's gender was mentioned in 44.5 per cent of the articles analysed, compared to 50 per cent for May. Thatcher's femininity was emphasised on average in 34.1 per cent of the articles, yet May's femininity was emphasised in 51.6 per cent, including a startling 66.1 per cent of *Daily Telegraph* articles and 57.6 per cent of *Sun* articles (Table 4.3). There is also a clear difference between the progressive and conservative media: left-leaning newspapers such as *The Guardian* and even *The Mirror*, a tabloid, slightly decreased the frequency and intensity of gendered representation from coverage of Thatcher to May, while the conservative *Daily Telegraph* and *Sun* have dramatically increased in both respects.

Table 4.4. Percentage of articles that mentioned Gillard's gender and emphasised her femininity

Newspaper:	Gender		Femininity	
	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number
Australian	31.4%	77	57.6%	141
Sydney Morning Herald	40%	48	41.7%	50
Daily Telegraph	42.5%	57	47.1%	63
Average	36.5%	60.6	50.9%	84.6

A comparable trend can be observed in progressive and conservative coverage of Gillard, though the difference in this case is marginal. On average, 36.5 per cent of articles mentioned Gillard's gender (Table 4.4). *The Australian* mentioned her gender the least at 31.4 per cent, but emphasised her femininity the most, at 57.6 per cent (Table 4.4). Numerically, this paper also published the greatest number of articles that mentioned both Gillard's gender and femininity, in comparison to progressive publications: 77 articles mentioned her gender in comparison to *The Daily Telegraph* (57 articles) and *The Sydney Morning Herald* (48 articles); and 141 mentioned her femininity in comparison to, respectively, 63 and 50 (Table 4.4). These trends in coverage of Gillard, Thatcher and May indicate two things; firstly, that gendered reportage is more likely to occur covertly, through a focus on feminine attributes or appearance, than in explicit reference to gender; and secondly, that the conservative press are more likely to use gendered tropes in representation of women political leaders.

Contrary to my expectations, Gillard received a lower percentage proportion of gendered and feminised coverage in comparison to the other leaders analysed. However, when the *number* rather than the *percentage* of articles is considered, it becomes apparent just how frequently the Australian press used gendered tropes (Table 4.4). Taking this into account, it can be shown that, although Shipley, Clark and May were subjected to a higher percentage of newspaper coverage focusing on gender and femininity, Gillard's tenure in office was marked by a far more frequent

use of gendered tropes, and so it is arguable that readers were more frequently exposed at this time to ambient sexism.

Table 4.5. Thatcher's top ten most frequently used descriptive words

Thatcher's Top 10 words	*Number of times*
Woman	**109**
Maggie	45
First	33
Husband	16
Historic	13
Dennis Thatcher	13
Victory	8
Feminist	7
Triumph	6
Female	**5**

Table 4.6. May's top ten most frequently used descriptive words

May's Top 10 words	*Number of times*
Woman	**128**
Thatcher	102
Female	**59**
Theresa	44
Kitten heels	39
Fashion	27
Ruthless	23
Husband	26
Shoe	18
Philip	15

Table 4.7. Shipley's top ten most frequently used descriptive words

Shipley's Top 10 words	*Number of times*

Woman	**89**
First	59
Burton	31
Jenny	22
Family	22
Children	16
Female	**15**
Mother	14
Husband	13
Right-wing	9

Table 4.8. Clark's top ten most frequently used descriptive words

Clark's Top 10 words	Number of times
Miss	**84**
Woman	**24**
Negotiate	16
Helen	13
Relationship	11
First	10
Family	8
Partner	7
Tough	7
Left-wing	6

Table 4.9. Gillard's top ten most frequently used descriptive words

Gillard's Top 10 words	Number of times
Woman	**434**
Faction	229
Female	**224**
First	200
Julia	175
Negotiate	103

History	74
Hair	60
Tim Mathieson	58
Loyalty	53

The frequency with which gendered terms appear in newspaper coverage of Thatcher, May, Gillard, Shipley and Clark can be clearly shown by tallying common descriptive words used in this reportage. The most-used descriptive words for all leaders were 'woman' and 'female' (Table 4.5, Table 4.6, Table 4.7, Table 4.8, Table 4.9). The term 'woman' appeared most often—434 times—in the coverage of Gillard (Table 4.9) and May—128 times (Table 4.6). A list of the ten highest-use words for four of the five leaders included 'female', although again this term was more frequent in Gillard's coverage—224 times—followed by May—59 times. Interestingly, while the number of gendered descriptive words used in coverage of Clark was the least of all five leaders, the term 'Miss' was used the most (84 times), for reasons discussed above.

Lending further support to the disparity between coverage of Thatcher, May and Gillard published in conservative and progressive newspapers, the former also mentioned or emphasised gender and femininity more than the latter in the case of all five leaders. On the other hand, the progressive newspapers that covered Thatcher and Gillard mentioned the terms 'woman' and 'female' more often than the conservative press. In stark contrast to their coverage of May, *The Guardian* used the term 'woman' three times more than the conservative *Daily Telegraph* in their coverage of Thatcher. This could be attributed to *The Guardian*'s political opposition to Thatcher, indicating an attempt to operationalise her gender to trivialise her prime ministerial position. In *The Guardian's* coverage of May, however, they were less likely to employ such gendered tropes in comparison to both their earlier coverage of Thatcher as well as to the other newspapers analysed. This could indicate that *The Guardian* altered their reportage of conservative women politicians, choosing to focus less on gender and critiquing their policies instead.

A comparable anomaly can be identified in the progressive press in Australia, where the centre-left *Sydney Morning Herald* used the word 'woman' 190 times to refer to Gillard, in contrast to 145 uses in *The Australian* and 99 in *The Daily Telegraph*, both conservative-leaning newspapers. However, it should be noted that *The Sydney Morning Herald* usually only mentioned her gender briefly, while *The Australian* and *The Daily Telegraph* published more articles that discussed her gender and femininity in great detail. Furthermore, the conservative papers were less likely to emphasise Gillard's gender with the overt terms 'woman' or 'female', preferring a more covert emphasis through gendered tropes and satirical political cartoons. These covert ways of communicating gender stereotypes are not as obvious to detect and involve more effort to critically analyse how these messages are gendered and, at times, how they are sexist, while an argument can also be put forth dismissing such accusations on the basis that covert stereotyping is not as blatant as overt forms of gendered coverage and is therefore not a problem. Speaking in interview, Gillard elaborated on this trend by noting that Australian conservative newspapers are more likely to be biased against women's issues and progressive women politicians:

> In [the Australian] media market, which is so concentrated and *so* conservative, I think there is a bias towards the conservative side of politics in the News Corporation newspapers … And, part of that conservative layer is to dismiss a lot of what we've been talking about [issues of gendered media coverage] as just 'fluffy silly political correctness' rather than 'seriously getting to grips with the issues'. (Interview, 13 February 2019)

4.3 Womanhood/Girlhood

The most overt use of femininity as a gendered trope in mainstream coverage of Thatcher, May, Gillard, Shipley and Clark can be identified as repeated allusions to their womanhood or girlhood. Although an increasing number of leadership roles have been secured by women in the last half-century, the relative proportion of women in power compared to men remains fairly low.

131

As of June 2019, there were only 11 elected women heads of state and 12 women heads of government (UN Women 2019). Considering this, it is not surprising that much coverage of women political leaders focuses on their femininity. While it is predictable, however, this trend also encourages a detrimental emphasis on women's difference while implying that gendered distinctions are politically significant and valuable in judging their legitimacy and authenticity (Trimble 2017, 63). Women leaders are therefore not properly represented as 'performing leadership' but rather 'performing leadership *as women*' (Romaine 1998, 132; Trimble 2017, 63), defying gender stereotypes and transgressing gender norms that are expected of them as women but that are antithetical to those expected of political leaders (Rudman and Phelan 2008, 64). This emphasis on the femininity of women in leadership roles previously only occupied by men can therefore lead, on one hand, to a destabilisation of gender norms, yet it can also simultaneously weaponise gender[13] to punish such subversions.

It would be expected that women leaders identified as 'firsts' would experience a greater proportion of coverage in which their gender is emphasised compared to those who followed. In the UK, although Thatcher received less gendered coverage than May and therefore could be seen to cast the validity of this assumption into question, many articles published in the first three weeks of her tenure as prime minister used gendered markers. John O'Sullivan's *Daily Telegraph* sketch, 'Lady Fair takes to jousting', for example, which reported on Thatcher's distinction as 'the first woman to take Prime Minister's Question Time' (1979a), exaggerated her gender *and* femininity in both the title and text. O'Sullivan's use of the word Lady is evocative of the obedient and demure behaviour associated with women, who are expected to be courteous and to remain within the

---

[13] Gender can be used as a 'political weapon' against both women and male politicians to delegitimise and undermine their political skills, position and authority (Williams 2017), and can be used by the media as well as other political actors. For example, then-opposition leader of Australia, Tony Abbott, weaponised gender against then-prime minister Kevin Rudd to emasculate him by implying he is ineffectual and not 'manly enough' to deliver the necessary policy changes (Johnson 2012).

private sphere, focusing on domestic tasks, not participating in political debate (Trimble 2017, 81).

Moreover, his choice of the adjective Fair implies a certain kind of femininity: white and upper-class. Femininity as a category has long been associated with the habitus of the upper classes, such as composure, restraint, affluence and the affinity for lavish decoration (Skeggs 2001, 297). This dominant kind of femininity is encapsulated by the idea of the Lady, 'a category of pure, white, heterosexuality, later translated into the ideal for the middleclass women' (Skeggs 2001, 297). The idealised womanhood that such qualities connote is celebrated in the Tory Party, and is a stereotype that Thatcher ascribed to and endeavoured to display, yet O'Sullivan's image of her jousting casts her as a lady playing a knight's game, a woman entering a man's domain. While his sketch troubles the idea that the prime ministerial role is solely a masculine domain, it therefore also emphasises feminine stereotypes and uses these to denigrate and belittle Thatcher as a woman political leader.

Comparable tendencies can be seen in Australian press coverage of Gillard's status as this country's first woman prime minister. Reports of her rise were often positive, and many journalists appeared heartened that a woman had finally broken through the ultimate glass ceiling to gain the top job. Others were less encouraging, either arguing that Gillard's gender was irrelevant in a 'post-gender' society (Overington 2010a) or that she would have to 'take it like a man' (Savva 2010a). Clare Harvey's negatively toned article, for example, disapproving of the manner in which Gillard had ascended, opened with the remark: '"she", "her", "hers"—those pronouns shout it out. There is a woman in charge' (2010a). Harvey's re-emphasis of Gillard's womanhood exaggerates her difference in comparison to those who had previously occupied this role, and reveals 'the unspoken cultural understanding that politicians, senators and candidates must be men' (Falk 2010, 93), a bias that is even more visible in relation to the prime ministerial role. By listing Gillard's

pronouns, Harvey made visible the previously implicit assumption that 'politics is a male preserve' (Trimble 2017, 66).

Other journalists and cartoonists published more satirical accounts of the fascination with Gillard's gender. Cathy Wilcox's political cartoon (Figure 4.1) differs from other such caricatures: rather than heralding Gillard for breaking the glass ceiling or proclaiming a new era now that a woman was in charge, Wilcox turned the lens back onto the media itself and scrutinised their
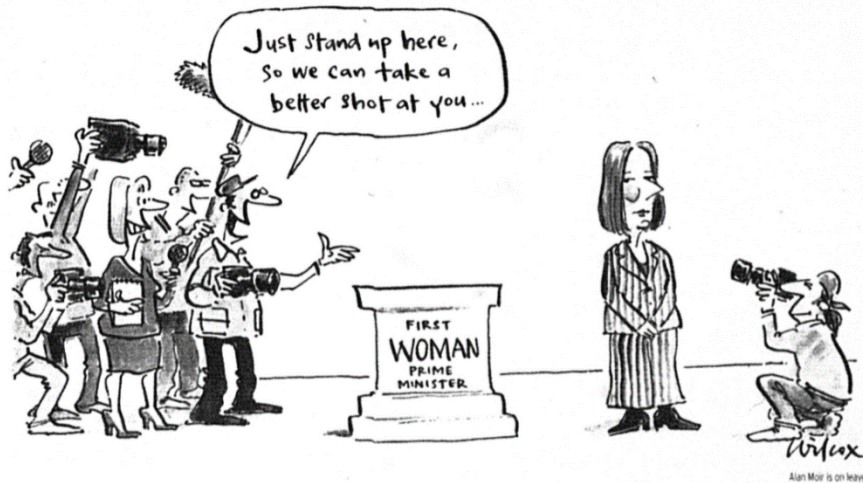
Figure 4.1. Wilcox, Cathy. [Untitled]. *The Sydney Morning Herald*. **26–27 June. 10.**

coverage of Gillard. The term 'woman' dominates the title of 'Prime Minister' on the journalistic podium, perfectly illustrating Ross's idea that the media's use of gendered language in their coverage of women politicians 'positions them as women first, their sex rather than their profession being their primary signifier (commodification)' (Ross 2017, 8). This cartoon implies that the media are not only putting Gillard on a pedestal, imposing high expectations and therefore setting her up to fall, but are trivialising her in her role as prime minister.

As these examples clearly illustrate, gendered reportage is not necessarily negative in tone—on the contrary, it is very common to find gendering in positively toned coverage. The following excerpts further demonstrate this trend:

Like it or not, the elevation of a smart, strong woman to the highest office has the potential to change the mood of a nation... (Le Marquand 2010)

134

This is a woman's Government, and will be all the more effective for it... (Kirkup 2016)

One small step for Mrs Thatcher, one giant stride for woman-kind... (Aitken 1979a)

Cause for New Zealand women to celebrate, or business as usual at the Beehive? (*NZ Herald* 1997)

The first elected woman Prime Minister … the 'elected' is more important than the 'woman'... (Armstrong 1999)

Such reportage can have varying effects depending on how it's read. On the one hand, despite the positive tone, emphasising notions of stereotypical femininity can deter women from politics; on the other, it can unsettle rigid stereotypes by showing that it is possible for women to enter highly masculine spaces, such as parliament, and even to gain the highest political role. Nevertheless, it cannot fail to re-emphasise and re-enforce gender norms, performing a regulatory social role.

This exaggeration of womanhood in press coverage of Thatcher and Gillard in the UK and Australia is further reiterated by a framing of their actions as indicative of a 'woman's touch'. Variations of this photograph (Figure 4.2) accompanied articles in each of the four UK newspapers that reported Thatcher's new government and the Queen's speech, appearing on the front-page of *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Guardian*. The image frames Thatcher as attentive, both in the sense of feminine 'motherly' care as well as her famed attention to detail and desire for control. The version reproduced here, from *The Guardian*, was paired with the following caption: 'Woman's touch: Mrs Thatcher brushes a speck from the collar of Mr Norman St John-Stevas as they

WOMAN'S TOUCH : Mrs Thatcher brushes a speck from the collar of Mr Norman St John-Stevas as they waited to enter the House of Lords

Figure 4.2. 'Woman's Touch'. *The Guardian*. **16 May 1979.**

waited to enter the House of Lords' (Aitken 1979b). This gendered caption also appeared, with

some differences in wording, in the other three newspapers, thereby illuminating how she differed

from the expected (masculine) norm.

While Thatcher's 'woman's touch' was allegedly manifested by her attentiveness to a male

colleague, Australian political commentators identified the same quality in Gillard's decoration of her new prime ministerial office and assembly of a collection of personal mementos. It should be noted, however, that these events were only considered worthy of note by *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Sydney Morning Herald*. The former dedicated a full-page article to ridiculing Gillard's mementos, remarking that she put her 'stamp on the room, which for more than 20 years,

Figure 4.3. Wilcox, Cathy. [Untited]. *The Sydney Morning Herald*. **2 July. 2.**

has been a male domain' (Rehn 2010),[14] and this remark was accompanied by a photograph with

a caption that read, 'A woman's touch: Julia Gillard in her new office yesterday' (Rehn 2010).

Rather than the media's more genuine use of the term 'woman's touch' to describe Thatcher's

action, it was used ironically for Gillard. *The Sydney Morning Herald* condensed their commentary

within a cartoon in the Opinion/Letters to the Editor section (Figure 4.3). The juxtaposition of the

phrase 'woman's touch' with the overtly masculine mementos on display suggests four

implications: firstly, that Gillard's status as 'first woman' does not necessarily mean she will

bring anything different or stereotypically feminine to the role; secondly, that she has

stereotypically male interests; thirdly, it expands the traditional range of 'women's interests';

---

[14] The prime ministerial role has been a male domain since its inception in Australia, however new Parliament House opened in 1988.

and, fourthly, it diffuses and ridicules the media frenzy over Gillard's gender by moving away from the idea of Gillard as *a woman* toward that of Gillard *as an individual*.

In contrast to the more straightforward use of the phrase 'woman's touch' to describe Thatcher's actions, in Gillard's case the use was more ironic. As Australia's first woman prime minister, Gillard was expected to add a 'woman's touch' to the office, but she transgressed commonly perceived ideas of what *should* hold women's interest. Her collection comprises objects stereotypically coded as masculine and emblematic, above all, of working-class masculinity, such as a football, 'footy scarf', football boots and an Akubra hat. The satirical nature of the *Telegraph* article and *Sydney Morning Herald* cartoon expose the paradoxical bind in which women leaders are placed, forced to iterate acceptable masculine traits to demonstrate competency, while still 'retaining an authentic performance of their femininity' (Ross 2017, 83) to avoid the risk of appearing inappropriate or too transgressive.

Another common variation on the womanhood theme is an undue focus on childhood or the comparison of a woman leader to a girl. Referring to women prime ministers as girls, or discussing their girlhood, highlights their gendered difference while delegitimising their power and authority as political leaders (Trimble 2017, 81); rarely, if ever, are male political leaders referred to as 'boys', nor are they infantilised and patronised as routinely as women. This trend perpetuates the unhealthy obsession with youth in women, leading to a double bind of aging/invisibility where women, whose worth is associated with

Figure 4.4. Tremain, Garrick. 'Cartoon Comment'. *The Press*. 2 December. 4.

youth/beauty, lose their value as they age and become invisible, while older men instead acquire power and wisdom (Jamieson 1995, 147). In particular, calling women 'girls' in professional or formal contexts demeans and undermines their credibility as it infantilises and patronises them and, as there is no male equivalent, it prevents equal treatment. For example, in a caricatured representation of Clark (Figure 4.4) published in *The Press*, she is shown as a toddler in a high-chair, disobediently refusing the 'peas and cauliflower' offered by an authoritative adult hand. The cartoonist deploys this image to critique Clark's decision to (successfully) pursue election without forming a coalition with the Greens. Although her rise to 'the highest seat' is celebrated, her credibility is undermined by her characterisation as a toddler, simultaneously infantilising her and emphasising her femininity.

The same emphasis on infantile femininity is apparent in articles that draw attention to a woman leader's girlhood in stories of her prime ministerial ascension. A *Sun* article of 2016, for example, cited one of May's childhood neighbours, who 'remembers the little girl who would become Britain's second woman PM as reserved and well-mannered' (Harvey 2016), while an Australian *Daily Telegraph* article framed Gillard as 'the little girl who dreamed of becoming a schoolteacher' (M. Harvey 2010a). Such gendered markers serve as '*delegitimising* references', demeaning both the leader in question and the role of prime minister (Trimble 2017, 81, 87). When we refer to women, especially politicians and political leaders, as 'girls', we deny their adulthood, maturity and power and are using the strength of language to make them seem smaller. The use of this trope for all five leaders illustrates that nothing, neither social status nor education, prevents women from being called girls (Romaine 1998, 135).

4.4 Schoolgirl/Head Girl

Another frequent strategy deployed by the media to emphasise the femininity of women political leaders is their comparison with either schoolgirls or head girls, a more specific variation

of the girlhood theme. This form of gendered coverage was most often directed at Thatcher, May and Gillard, the latter of whom endured a persistent fascination with her schoolgirl days. Thatcher, above all, was consistently likened to a schoolgirl in her behaviour and temperament. A writer for the UK *Daily Telegraph*, for example, exclaimed, 'I rejoice to see Mrs Thatcher beaming … [and] I have on occasion been moved to tears of pride and other pleasurable emotions by her charming head-girl oratory' (*The Daily Telegraph* 1979). Although allegedly 'moved to tears' by the power of Thatcher's speech, this writer's reference to Thatcher as a 'head-girl', describing her speech as 'charming', is infantilising and condescending, belittling her skill as a politician and prime minister while drawing attention to her femininity.

Similar themes can be identified in media coverage of May during her first three prime ministerial weeks. Although more frequently referred to as a 'headmistress' (discussed at greater length later in this chapter), May's grammar school days were a point of focus for the mainstream press. The conservative print media especially instrumentalised this time in her life to emphasise her supposedly serious and 'do-gooder' attributes as prime minister. One *Daily Telegraph* article, for example, claimed that she referred to herself as 'Terri' and was 'a bit of a swot' (Pearson 2016), swot being a mildly derogatory term that implies an ardent dedication to scholarship, academic intelligence and achievement at the expense of relationships and enjoyment, thereby insinuating that the subject cares more about schoolwork than social life. The same image recurs in other articles that, while lacking a focus on May's schooldays, similarly portrayed her as prim, hard-working, no-nonsense and serious in her roles as home secretary and then prime minister.

May's grammar school attendance received even more attention when she ascended to the leadership position. This was often framed in class terms, with many writers asserting that May would bring change, not only as a woman but also as an alumnus of a publicly-funded school, in stark contrast to the previous government of old Etonians. However, the naming of May as a

139

'grammar school girl'[15] and the discussion of her character and behaviour at school also illustrates the rise of personalisation and its attendant gendered dynamics and emphasis of the feminine. Use of the phrase 'grammar school *girl*', for example—rather than the more gender-neutral 'grammar school student'—emphasises her non-normative gender as well as her class, thereby risking condescension, whether intentional or not.

Neither May nor Thatcher, however, received as much coverage of their schoolgirl days as Gillard. Alongside her status as Australia's first woman prime minister, the print media in this country were captivated by Gillard's attendance of a state school in her hometown, Adelaide. As with May, great attention was devoted to the class implications of this state education in contrast to the trend of private-school attendance set by the majority of Australian prime ministers in the 20th century. Both the progressive and conservative presses used this theme, but the style of their reportage was quite dissimilar: the progressive press usually adopted a marginally more positive tone, while the conservative press were decidedly more negative. An article in *The Sydney Morning Herald*, coded as neutral for this research, observed that Gillard was 'a straight A student' in high school and implied that she was already a feminist who 'had the ability to stand up to the blokes', citing as anecdotal evidence her defiance of a physics teacher who consistently used male-oriented examples. The article concludes, 'the teacher was not the last to learn this was a woman to be reckoned with' (Davis 2010), thereby drawing a direct comparison between her schoolgirl days and her performance as prime minister. As with the coverage of May cited above, while this anecdote may cast Gillard as a strong prime minister, it emphasises her transgression and also limits the behaviour expected of women in this role.

---

[15] 'Grammar schools' in the UK are selective but publicly-funded schools that are more academically oriented than other publicly-funded academic institutions.

4.5 Headmistress

While comparing women leaders to schoolgirls or discussing their girlhood to emphasise their femininity, the press also simultaneously cast these leaders, somewhat paradoxically, in the role of headmistress. Although isolated mentions of Thatcher as a headmistress can be found in her first three weeks, the comparison was more frequently used throughout her tenure. Her dominance was incorporated into a feminine image as a matron or headmistress, where it had sexual undertones alluding to her power over her male cabinet; that is, over 'men [who] played child to Mrs. Thatcher's nanny, schoolboy to her headmistress, masochist to her sadist, conjuring up a picture of a particular upper-class male sexuality with resonances of punitive nannies, public school floggings, homosexuality, and overwhelming guilt and taste for punishment' (Webster 1990, 118). However, this comparison was most frequently deployed in coverage of May and Gillard, and principally in the UK and Australian versions of the conservative *Daily Telegraph*. For May, the term headmistress was used most often, whereas Gillard was generally referred to as a teacher. Both terms suggest class connotations: the former refers to a role in private or independent schools and is strongly associated with the middle- and upper-middle classes, while the latter is a less prestigious role in both private and publicly-funded schools.

The term headmistress was used in May's coverage because of the context in which she ascended into the role. After her predecessor David Cameron, who was known for his youth, liberalism and public schoolboy image, resigned following the 2016 Brexit Referendum, May was elected unopposed as conservative leader, and in comparison appeared a more mature and stable leader. Pearson's *Daily Telegraph* article, 'Headmistress May has got us all sitting up straighter', alludes to this change by calling May the 'new girl' who:

> told the boys who made a mess during the referendum to go and jolly well tidy it up. She's
> expelled a few, after ticking them off for being disloyal and promising more than they could
> deliver (let's hope that gifted Michael Gove writes out his 100 lines, 'I must not stab people

141

in the front', and is back in the Cabinet soon) … She's instructed three senior prefects that they mustn't be spoilt brats and will have to share. (2016)

Pearson also asserts that May wielded 'formidable powers', as 'since Theresa took over, Boris has combed his hair … if *the woman* can get Boris to comb his hair, just think what she can do to Putin' (2016, emphasis added). This not only frames her as a headmistress reprimanding schoolboys, but also portrays Tory male cabinet ministers as rowdy children. The image of power and control over infantile adversaries that this conveys, however, is undermined by the reliance on 'traditional, pejorative [and] mythical conceptions of womanhood' that mark May as different—she is not the prime minister, a job reserved for men, but a headmistress, the feminine Other (Adcock 2010, 150). Furthermore, Pearson highlights her middle-class femininity, the shared privilege of her cabinet, and the denigrated reputation of the Tories as a party for the rich. In much the same manner, an Australian *Daily Telegraph* article stated that Gillard's prime ministerial style was 'firm, almost like a schoolteacher's', exemplified by her confident commands at press conferences (Kearney 2010). Even in the more progressive *Sydney Morning Herald*, one writer comparably asserted that Gillard was a 'good boss, consensus politician, school ma'am' (Farrelly 2010).

The 'headmistress' or 'teacher' analogy removes May and Gillard from the prime ministerial role and returns them instead to the only positions of leadership that women are expected to occupy in a patriarchal society, reinforcing the traditional notion that women are mothers and housewives who keep men in line while nurturing and disciplining their children. At the same time, it also draws attention to their childlessness by implicitly denying the role of 'mother' assigned to other women political leaders who have borne children. The headmistress and 'school ma'am', as strict and relatively antiquated roles, are usually relegated to older, barren women. These portrayals of May and Gillard were not necessarily intended to be negative, usually taking a neutral or even positive tone. However, the authors' use of gendered and infantilising language marks both leaders as women, placing importance on their sex over their professional

role, and frames them in a stereotypical feminine kind of leadership, therefore casting doubt on their capability as serious political actors.

4.6 Housekeeping

The image of women politicians as housekeepers of parliament has long been deployed in media coverage and is evident in the reportage of all five women leaders analysed in this thesis. This leitmotif stereotypically portrays the women in question as cleaning up a mess created by their male colleagues, transposing the private to the public sphere and reinstating traditional femininity. Julia Baird has shown that this transposition is central to the image's appeal, as, 'ever since they began to be elected to parliament, [women] have been asked by photographers to hop back over their garden fences and pose in contrived displays of domestic competence' (2004, 47). There is a clear desire to push women back to the private sphere, into which they have traditionally been relegated, and thereby to restore the 'natural' gender order (Puwar 2004, 78). As such, two main types of this image can be noted: the portrayal of women leaders as (actual) housekeepers in the private sphere; and the portrayal of women leaders as (figurative) housekeepers in the public sphere, most often through the image of them cleaning up a mess created by 'the boys'.

A longstanding male fear provoked by women's hard-won suffrage and right to stand in parliament was that their participation in public life would infringe on their private duties and so cause domestic chores to be neglected. Marian Sawer has observed that a key question posed by the opponents of women's suffrage was: if women achieved political equality, 'who would do the housework and who would mind the babies?' (Sawer 1992, 10). Many suffragists did indeed aim to escape the shackles of domesticity and to proudly declare, with Australia's first woman political candidate and suffragist Catherine Helen Spence, that they are 'no one's wife and no one's mother' (Spence quoted in Sawer 1992, 9). However, to assuage their opponents' fears, they pragmatically reassured the public that political equality would not spell the end of domestic labour or rigid

143

gender roles, but would 'merely be an extension of the maternal role' (Sawer 1992, 10). Considering this strategic use of the housekeeping analogy by first-wave women politicians, it is perhaps not surprising that those women who entered politics were portrayed as housewives who would bring the 'feminine' attributes needed to run a home to the public domain of parliament.

However, in the decades since the suffragist era and the first wave of women entering parliament, many other feminist writers and thinkers have argued against this line of thought and resisted the imposition of ties to housework and the private sphere. The 1970s and 1980s, especially, heralded the rise of women politicians who actively fought against such stereotypes. Echoing the suffragists of the nineteenth century, many reporters reverted to housekeeping analogies to 'reassure male readers' by depicting these women as 'scrubbing, polishing and tidying up after male members' (Sawer 1992, 17). However, a persistence on the part of the media in portraying these women as domestic goddesses constitutes an attempt to normalise and domesticate their potential subversion, not a lingering trace of early suffragist rhetoric.

A relatively subtle indication of this theme can be noted in the frequent use of terms such as 'cleaning' and 'sweeping' to describe political actions taken by Shipley, Clark and May, yet it appears most overtly in coverage of Thatcher and Gillard. UK newspapers often cast Thatcher in the traditionally feminine role of housewife. One *Sun* article covering her ascension, for example, led with the headline: 'And she knew, and we knew, and the whole world knew that the Housewife had become the Superstar' (Dunne 1979), reassuring male readers that her ascension would not compromise her domestic duties while glamorising her as a 'superstar'. Unlike many other women politicians, however, Thatcher embraced this image. In a speech of 1975, she opened, 'as every housewife knows…' and argued that 'perhaps it takes a housewife to see that Britain's national housekeeping is appalling…' (Thatcher quoted in Campbell 1987, 234). Throughout her political career, Thatcher frequently consented to be photographed wearing an apron, preparing a meal,

washing dishes or making tea, lending further support to the attitudes indicated by such statements (Campbell 2015, 45). Sara Mills has explained that Thatcher deliberately cultivated this image to balance the fragile duality of her position as a woman *and* a prime minister, maintaining a hyper-feminine persona as a mother and wife to counter her masculine displays of power and strength as a Tory leader. Paradoxically, the latter role even rendered the former an essential prerequisite for success, as her performance of a stereotypical Tory conception of womanhood ensured her popularity with the party. To a certain extent, then, it is to be expected that the media would follow Thatcher's lead and embrace this theme in their coverage of her political ascension.

In Australia, Gillard was similarly positioned in the domestic realm and said to be cleaning up after her male predecessors. A *Sydney Morning Herald* article firmly planted Gillard in the home, proclaiming that she would solve the problems left by Rudd: 'Kevin left the seat up. Julia sorted him out' (Farrelly 2010). This statement not only relegates Gillard to the private sphere, but also colours her professional relationship with Rudd with the stereotypical frustrations of marriage: in this case, the hackneyed debate about whether the toilet seat should be left up or down, in which women are usually depicted as fussy and domineering. Although the author implies that Gillard will clean up Rudd's mess, so the intent of the statement is likely positive, the use of a personalised analogy unavoidably portrays her as not only a wife but a nag. It appears that 'at the moment women are elected to positions of prominence in the public sphere, the press firmly push them back into the private to both explain their deviance and assure readers of their normality' (Baird 2004, 47–48). Additionally, by positioning Gillard in a commonly ridiculed marital routine, the author also highlights her transgression of heteronormative expectations by remaining unmarried.

While media references to 'cleaning' or 'sweeping' in coverage of women political leaders may seem less insidious than these overt identifications of Thatcher and Gillard as housewives, they point to a potent image of femininity that has long been used to catapult these women from

145

the public back into the domestic sphere. As early as 1943, Enid Lyons, the first woman to be elected to the Australian House of Representatives and the first to serve in federal cabinet, portrayed herself as a 'new broom' in her parliamentary maiden speech:

> I hold very sound views on brooms, and sweeping. Although I quite realise that a new broom is a very useful adjunct to the work of the housewife, I also know that it undoubtedly is very unpopular in the broom cupboard; and this particular new broom knows that she has a very great deal to learn from the occupants of I dare not say this particular cupboard. (House of Representatives 1943)

Lyons used the metaphor of the broom to imply that, although her status as first woman federal MP was beneficial for the House of Representatives and for Australia, it made her unpopular with her male colleagues, from whom she strategically conceded she had much to learn. While Lyons used the metaphor in her favour, however, this extension of the housewife theme from the home to parliament meant that women politicians were often 'portrayed as housewives coming in to sweep up the crumbs of corruption, bad language and rowdy behaviour; as moral guardians; or, quite literally, to decorate the place' (Baird 2004, 49). Such coverage was more prominent when women politicians first entered the public sphere, yet the theme was also deployed against Thatcher, May, Gillard, Shipley and Clark.

The 'sweeping' motif is used most frequently in times of political instability during which women political leaders are assigned the traditionally feminine task of cleaning up after their male counterparts. This division of labour reflects a persistent assumption that women are less power-hungry and more honest than men, although it also derives from their status as outsiders in contrast to the dominant male elite (Campus 2013, 47). Once again, however, while these are positive attributes, they can have negative ramifications. By elevating women to 'precarious pedestals' and 'characterising and stereotyping leadership traits as gendered, we ultimately exclude, misrepresent, mould and polarise the sexes, and leadership in general' (Pittinsky et al.

2007, 98). Paradoxically, by asserting that women are more trustworthy than their male counterparts, media commentators render them more susceptible to critique and, when the woman in question inevitably fails to live up to such high expectations, they are forced to endure higher levels of outrage. Furthermore, if that woman then withdraws from politics, her departure is particularly noteworthy and reinforces the idea that political women are less capable and committed (Rhode and Kellerman 2007).

Thatcher was frequently portrayed as a housewife who cleans up parliament in her role as the UK's first woman prime minister. For example, the adjacent editorial cartoon (Figure 4.5) presents Thatcher engaging in a 'spring clean', sweeping up Labour MPs who lost their seats in the election. This cartoon presents a binary associated with cleanliness, where these dust-covered

Figure 4.5. Franklin, Stanley. 'Maggie's Spring Clean'. The Sun. 5 May. 6.

male MPs are as old and untouched as the cobwebs being swept up alongside them, while Thatcher, illustrated as clean and orderly, is portrayed as a much-needed change from the Labour government of the previous five years. However, it communicates this idea through drawing on the tired gendered trope of her 'cleaning' up parliament and thus fulfilling her womanly duties, reassuring the reader of the continuation of her traditional femininity.

Australian and New Zealand media coverage of Gillard and Shipley similarly demonstrates this sub-trope, while also showing how it can be used to critique or punish women political leaders. Conservative columnists in *The Australian* insisted that Gillard was 'sweeping' away (Pearson 2010) or 'cleaning' up (Milne 2010) her predecessor's mess, that she was 'taking out the policy trash' and had 'been scrubbing the landscape clear of old-growth Kevin' (2010). In a variation of the usual tone of this motif, however, it was used to portray Gillard as self-interested, cleaning up the mistakes of her former leader to save her own government rather than assisting parliament. A comparably critical tone can be noted in *The Dominion*'s portrayal of Shipley, who, like Gillard, was likened to a 'broom' who 'swept clean' her predecessor's mistakes to give a 'tired looking National [party] a new and dynamic image' (*The Dominion* 1997). It seems highly likely that Gillard and Shipley were treated to this negative spin on a familiar theme because they transgressed political norms in a way that Thatcher did not: they ousted a sitting (male) prime minister. Whether this theme is used negatively or positively, however, it positions a woman leader as a housewife and relegates their actions and achievements to the private, domestic sphere.

Conversely, the theme also appears in relation to Gillard in two articles that counter such stereotypical notions, both published in the centre-left newspaper *The Sydney Morning Herald*. In a positive opinion piece, Australian feminist and journalist Anne Summers advised that Gillard had to be careful in embracing her role as Australia's first woman prime minister to avoid tokenistic and reductionist appeals to her gender (Summers 2010). Summers cautioned that an emphasis on her femininity could cast Gillard as 'a political housewife [installed] to clean up the mess created by men' (Summers 2010), and in doing so undermined the power of this motif by exposing the extent to which it could threaten Gillard's career. The authors of a second article in the *Herald* also mentioned the dangers of the trope, citing Australian feminist Eva Cox: 'When everybody thinks (the male politicians) have made a mess they get the women in to do the cleaning and they never

get back in again' (Jinman and Harvey 2010). This statement speaks to the notion of the 'glass cliff', the bind whereby women are more likely to achieve leadership roles during times of crisis, giving them a precarious hold on power and often precipitating their return to the private sphere. Like Summers, the authors of this article therefore show an uncharacteristic awareness of the devastating impact of such media tropes.

4.7 Sexualised

Another common strategy by which the perceived femininity of women political leaders is highlighted is by their sexualisation or association with 'love metaphors'. The latter refers to a type of discourse that deploys romantic language in the coverage of politics and political relationships (Trimble 2017, 32). It can be sexualising, pornifying, or simply trivialising, emphasising not only the dominance of heteronormative, monogamous and marital-relationship codes, but also the significance of emotion and passion in politics. Love metaphors are common, love being regarded as irrational and largely feminised, 'antithetical to rationality and reason, [where the latter is] commonly understood as the domain of politics' (Trimble 2017, 152, 182). The mainstream media have also used love metaphors in coverage of male politicians and political leaders, though not as frequently as other more masculine metaphors, such as warfare or violence (Trimble 2017, 168).

Love metaphors offer a convenient tool to convey certain ideas or describe political events in terms that can be readily understood by a majority of readers. However, these metaphors are not only inherently gendered, but also re-enforce existing heteronormative and gendered power structures. One study, examining the use of marriage metaphors in the depiction of Serbian coalition party building, for example, found that journalists often portrayed smaller or politically weaker parties as feminine while larger and more influential parties were illustrated as masculine (Đurović and Silaški 2010). The connection between femininity and weakness, masculinity and strength, lends support to oppressive gender stereotypes and 'gendered hierarchies of power'

149

(Trimble 2017, 169). Such metaphors are especially damaging when used to describe women political leaders, who are either portrayed as the object of (men's) sexual aggression, ridiculed for their sexuality or, on the other hand, presented as a dominatrix, inverting the roles of conqueror and conquered and emasculating their male counterparts while emphasising their own non-normative gender roles. This metaphor was deployed most often against Gillard, closely followed by Clark, May and Thatcher, though it was not used at all against Shipley.

In the articles selected for analysis, love metaphors were most often used in coverage with a sexual, or at least sexually suggestive, tone. One recurring image was that of other political actors being 'in bed with' the prime minister or waking up to them 'the morning after'. An article in *The Mirror*, for example, deployed this metaphor to describe Thatcher's relationship with the unions, quoting a union officer who stated, 'whether we like it or not we are in bed with the Iron Maiden. Now I can't ever see us becoming lovers, but we should at least be on speaking terms' (Goodman 1979). In Australia, a *Sydney Morning Herald* article included the following words from an anonymous radio caller: 'Julie baby, I've met a lot of ladies like you but when I wake up the next morning I see them without the make-up on—not a pretty sight' (*The Sydney Morning Herald* 2010). In addition to their reduction of Thatcher and Gillard to little more than objects for the sexual gaze, both articles also use sex as a means to ridicule and humiliate the woman in question, as they are presented as licentious but undesirable. Their worth is attached to their sexual attraction rather than to their political prowess and leadership ability.

Gillard was also often sexualised in political cartoons. A Bill Leak creation published in *The Australian* (Figure 4.6), for example, shows a naked John Brumby, then Victorian Labor premier

and a vocal supporter of Gillard, climbing into the 'Honeymoon Suite' with Gillard and her partner Tim Mathieson. Gillard had earlier served as Brumby's chief-of-staff from 1996–98 while he was the Victorian opposition

Figure 4.6. Nicholson, Peter. [Untitled]. The Australian. 1 July. 15.

leader. Although Mathieson is fully clothed, and is somewhat infantilised by his named pyjamas, Leak has drawn Gillard and Brumby entirely naked, thereby implying that their relationship is less than professional, and overtly sexualising the prime minister. Once again, however, his caricature of Gillard is distinctly unattractive to the male gaze.

Another prominent example of this romanticising of relationships between Gillard and her male colleagues is the excessive coverage dedicated to her allegedly flirtatious interactions with then opposition leader Abbott throughout her time as deputy prime minister. This claim, again, although present in all three newspapers, appeared more frequently in the conservative press. The central theme of such coverage was that Gillard and Abbott had 'persistently and publicly flirted with each other' (Salusinszky 2010), exchanging 'plenty of smiles' on morning television (Lewis 2010), with the implication that this complicated their relationship after Gillard's ascension. Niki Savva, for example, writing for *The Australian*, described Abbott as a red-blooded 'alpha male' and Gillard as an 'alpha female' 'fighting for their very survival' (2010b). Explicitly using the flirtation metaphor, Savva wrote, 'Gillard is a more difficult opponent [than Rudd], and there is the added

frisson of sexual politics … she will use her sex … [as she] flirts and charms to deflect criticism' (2010b). While Savva emphasised Gillard's sexuality, she also portrayed her in a position of power. As Koller (2002, 194) has explained, love metaphors often depicts the 'suitor as a man who pursues, and ultimately possesses, the [feminine] object of his affections'. Here, however, Abbott is shown as the object/pursued while Gillard is the suitor/pursuer, inverting the usual balance of power.

In contrast to these examples from the UK and Australia, the use of love metaphors in New Zealand is less overtly sexist and demeaning, though it still sexualises the women leaders portrayed. A *New Zealand Herald* article published the day after Clark's electoral victory, for example, carried the headline, 'Taking tea with new PM the morning-after' (Calder 1999). While the overall tone of the article is positive and the title relatively innocuous, the author's tongue-in-cheek use of the phrase 'the morning after' nevertheless positions Clark in a sexual context, which is further reinforced by a significant focus on her private life.[16] In comparison to the hypersexualised portrayals of Thatcher and Gillard in UK and Australian newspapers, such coverage shows a tendency toward relative restraint in the New Zealand press, and a more subtle highlighting of femininity.

In both Australia and New Zealand, a further variation on the theme of romantic or sexual relationships between women political leaders and their male colleagues can be found in the use of marriage as another highly gendered metaphor for alliance. This metaphor occurs most often in descriptions of coalition or of the power dynamics between leaders and their deputies. In each case, it reinforces traditional heteronormative and patriarchal romantic relationships and, like the sexualised metaphors, conveys 'an unequal power balance where women are portrayed as the powerless object of affection while men are assumed to hold the power' (Trimble 2017, 175). It is

---

[16] Later in Clark's political career, however, she became increasingly sexualised and was often described as a 'dominatrix' (see Chapter Two).

important to note, however, that this metaphor was only deployed against Gillard and Clark—an apparently unlikely pairing given that Clark had been married since 1981 while Gillard held the distinction of being Australia's first unmarried prime minister, although she had maintained a consistent relationship with Mathieson since 2006. The one attribute that these women shared, then, was a long-term union with a heterosexual partner, whether sanctified by marriage or not, yet their relationships were often regarded by the press and public as insincere, and the sexuality of all involved was regularly questioned. Aside from their demonstrated fidelity, Gillard and Clark are also distinguished by their left-leaning politics and subversion of traditional feminine stereotypes—perhaps Thatcher and Shipley avoided the same accusations because they embraced their traditional roles as wives and mothers. May also was not described in these terms, though this was likely because the media relegated her to a different, equally hyper-feminised role as a fashion-obsessed headmistress or schoolgirl who worked alone.

The marriage metaphor was usually deployed against both Gillard and Clark in relation to their closest male colleagues or supporters. For Prime Minister Gillard, these were deputy prime minister Wayne Swan, former prime minister Kevin Rudd, and her loyal voters (assumed to be male). For Clark, this role was played by Jim Anderton, who was the deputy prime minister and leader of the coalition-forming Alliance Party. Gillard and Rudd were most often portrayed as partners in an unhealthy marriage. For example, a *Daily Telegraph* article of 2010, discussing Gillard's deposition of Rudd in marital terms, accused Gillard of infidelity through her relationship with Swan, stating that when the two 'walked side by side into the caucus room to destroy Kevin Rudd's prime ministership, they looked like a happy bride and groom being carried along on a hydrofoil of love to the altar', and describing Rudd as 'the man whose heart she has broken' (Toohey 2010a). At the same time, the author also falls back on the innuendo of (failed) consummation to question whether 'the marriage [will] last?' (Toohey 2010a). This reduction of

153

Gillard's ascension to the realm of marriage and failed relationships relegates her firmly to within the private sphere, where women are seen to hold less power than their stereotypical male partners. Additionally, the author's accusations of infidelity further frame Gillard as duplicitous and dishonourable.

The type of gendered coverage that Gillard experienced changed dramatically after she became prime minister, reflecting the marriage metaphor and the shift from supportive 'wife' to disloyal cheater. Gillard noted in our interview that:

> Things that have been given a relatively benign pass when I was deputy PM, when I was reported then as a sort of a feisty character, a humorous character, and not necessarily conforming with the stereotypes of politics in terms of family life or appearance... [a]ll of those things became the subject of quite intense criticism and scrutiny—I often think through a gendered lens—when I became prime minister. (Interview, 13 February 2019)

When she challenged Rudd, public perceptions of Gillard as a loyal deputy in a supportive role—a more acceptable position for a woman—shifted to a vision of her as self-interested, disloyal and immoral. Gillard notes a parallel here between her experience and that of former US presidential candidate Hillary Clinton:

> She was at the height of her popularity when she was seen to be supporting President Obama as Secretary of State, having done the incredible thing of reconciling with a former opponent and then supporting him so strongly. And all of that shattered and fell away when she stepped into the Presidential contest. (Interview, 13 February 2019)

Both Gillard's and Clinton's transgressions of gender norms, challenging rather than supporting a sitting (male) prime minister, created 'a fertile ground for … gendered insults … to be a sort of go-to weapon' (Interview, 13 February 2019).

In New Zealand, while Shipley also ascended to the prime ministerial role by challenging a sitting male prime minister, she did not receive the same gendered coverage; Clark, on the other hand,

was often associated with the metaphor of marriage. Yet, rather than tying her to male colleagues, this metaphor was used to refer to Clark's formation of a coalition with Anderton and his Alliance Party, which was dramatised as a transition from a previously tense and 'rocky' relationship to a functional, happy marriage. Prior to forming the progressive Alliance Party in 1991, Anderton had served as a Labour MP before resigning in 1989 over his open disdain for its conservative economic policies, or 'Rogernomics'.[17] Anderton and Clark were once close allies and friends—Clark even chose to hold her wedding at Anderton's home—but his resignation and open critique of Labour's economic policies led to a supposed love-hate relationship. During the 1999 election and after the formation of the Labour-Alliance coalition, media actors made frenzied use of marriage metaphors to describe this relationship. A writer for *The Press*, for example, predicted that their 'marriage bodes well' but the 'honeymoon might have its tense moments' (*The Press* 1999). Another wrote extensively of Clark and Anderton's 'love-hate' and 'rocky' relationship (Rudman 1999). The same author cited the implicitly gendered words of a former Labour cabinet minister: 'One thinks of marriage vows—for better or for worse, for richer or poorer—and I think that probably if anyone can handle Jim, she can' (Rudman 1999). Other authors portrayed Clark and Anderton's 'marriage' in a more equitable manner, or even reversed the stereotypical roles of husband and wife by casting Clark as the masculine figure of authority and thereby emasculating the feminised Anderton (see Chapter Nine).

---

[17] 'Rogernomics', a portmanteau of 'Roger' and 'economics', referred to the neoliberal economic policies that New Zealand finance minister, Roger Douglas, introduced in the 1980s.
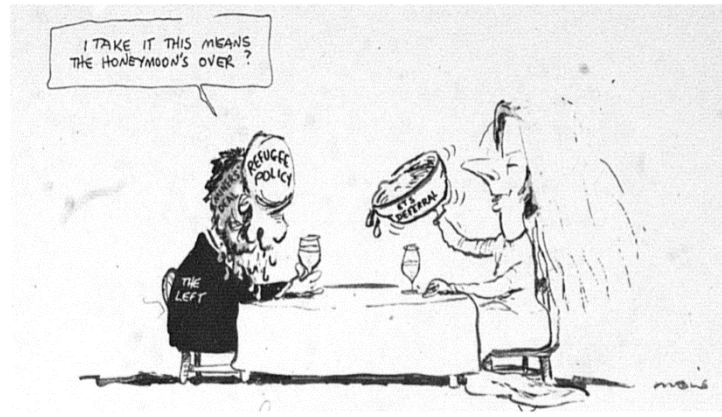
Clockwise:

Figure 4.7. Tremain, Garrick. 'Cartoon Comment'. *The Press*. 7 December. 4.

Figure 4.8. Moir, Alan. [Untitled]. *The Sydney Morning Herald*. 7 July. 10.

Figure 4.9. Evans, Malcolm. [Untitled]. *The New Zealand Herald*. 7 December. A12.

Figure 4.10. Brown, Warren. [Untitled]. *The Daily Telegraph*. 2 July. 109.

Political cartoons were extensively employed to elaborate on the marriage metaphor in coverage of Gillard and Clark, and especially to describe specific political events. Each of the four cartoons above depicts Gillard or Clark taking a man's hand in marriage to confirm a coalition or alliance. All four unions, however are tarnished by the implication that they are rushed or forced, or that, once married, husband and wife will be unhappy and unstable. Such images likely appeal to a public with high divorce rates and familiar with the heteronormative stereotype that marriage is often fraught with disappointment and compromise. When applied to a woman political leader, however, this metaphor acts to drag Gillard and Clark back to the private sphere and back to expectations of traditional femininity, positioning them in more acceptable gender roles as objects for their male colleagues' affections and ridiculing their political competency and legitimacy.

156

Because they hold power, Gillard, Clark and the other women political leaders considered in this thesis are seen to be transgressing gender norms and emasculating men. To regulate such transgressions, they are forced to conform to a system of compulsory heterosexuality that draws attention to their femininity as a marker of difference. For Butler, 'the institution of a compulsory and naturalised heterosexuality requires and regulates gender as a binary relation in which the masculine term is differentiated from a feminine term, and this differentiation is accomplished through the practices of heterosexual desire' (1990, 31). Male colleagues' relationships with each other are frequently seen as strategic transactions or manoeuvres, referred to metaphorically in terms of business and war. Even when marriage or love metaphors are occasionally used, these are usually intended to portray the man in question in a feminine role, purposefully subverting or parodying compulsory heterosexuality to highlight his supposed weakness and emasculation. This therefore reaffirms the heteronormative gender binary, even if it may momentarily blur the strict definition of gender roles. For women politicians, on the other hand, marriage metaphors compel a precipitous descent back into the private sphere of personal romantic relationships, where they are either an object to be pursued or a subversive, emasculating pursuer. In both cases, patriarchal and heteronormative ideals of leadership and power are reinforced, highlighting the transgressive deviation of women leaders from normative gendered expectations.

4.8 Shipley vs Clark

Throughout Shipley's first three weeks as prime minister, there was a significant media focus on the most visible characteristic that she and then opposition leader Clark shared: their femininity. Many newspapers observed with pride that it was a historic first for New Zealand to have women leading both major parties, yet this enthusiasm was matched by a parallel emphasis on their alleged rivalry. Clark had been Labour leader since 1993, and it was assumed that she would be New Zealand's first woman prime minister, before Shipley contested and successfully

claimed leadership. Their 'contest' was frequently described by the media in gendered and demeaning terms as a 'battle of the Boadiceas' or a contest between 'Xena'-like warrior-princesses.

On the one hand, there is an element of strength to these characterisations. Boadicea was a historical queen of the British Celtic Iceni who inspired an uprising against the (patriarchal) Roman Empire. She is often regarded as a strong feminist icon, a warrior who fought for her people while maintaining an archetypal femininity. A popular UK suffragette poster, for example, heroised the historical figure as a 'woman, mother and ruler' who represented a 'type of the "eternal feminine"—a guardian of the hearth, the avenger of its wrongs upon the defacer and despoiler' (Tickner 1988, 254). At the same time, the idea of Boadicea can also be used to challenge traditional notions of femininity by 'facilitating articulation of woman's embodiment of traditional masculine qualities and mediating between conventional constructs of womanhood and its redefinitions' (Johnson 2014, 2). Comparison with Xena, too, could be viewed as empowering. This now-iconic character is the protagonist of the 1990s television series *Xena: warrior princess*, filmed in New Zealand and starring New Zealander Lucy Lawless in the title role. It was one of the first series to portray a woman as an archetypal hero and could even be termed feminist, although in many ways the characterisation of Xena was conceived through a patriarchal lens. Like Boadicea, she was a ferocious and strong woman warrior with both feminine and masculine traits, though she was also portrayed as 'stereotypically, even excessively feminine' (Morreale 1998, 80) and hyper-sexualised by her emblematic leather miniskirt and cleavage-emphasising bronze breastplate. While she was shown to be a strong warrior who did not depend on men, Xena was therefore inexorably dragged back to the corporeal realm and constructed for the pleasure of the male gaze.

Both Boadicea and Xena figure in coverage of Shipley's ascension to the prime ministerial role. One front page of *The New Zealand Herald*, for example, introduced an account of Shipley's first day in the House of Representatives with the headline: 'Battle of the Boadiceas: leaders skirt

158

round expected tussle in the House'. In the article, the author lamented that the predicted 'confrontation' between Shipley and Clark had been a 'damp squib', that 'the Battle of the Boadiceas, the Clash of the Xenas, the House's version of female *Gladiators*—pick your cliché—turned out to be Girl Power without the spice' (Armstrong 1997b). While this and similar descriptions of Shipley and Clark as warrior queens or 'female' gladiators conjure visions of strength and power, they also mark their femininity in leadership roles historically occupied by men. Additionally, their association with frequently caricatured historical and fictional women acts to 'trivialise their political goals and question their seriousness of purpose' (Trimble 2017, 161). Rather than portraying their political and electoral competition in a serious manner, media actors instead framed Shipley and Clark as cartoon-like contenders in a spectacle of hyper-feminine women battling for the amusement and pleasure of men.

4.9 Conclusion

The mainstream print media rely on gender norms and stereotypes in their coverage of women leaders, often trivialising them for failing to adhere to the heteronormative gender binary and gendered expectations. Media actors reinforce these expectations by highlighting the disparity between women political leaders and their historically male predecessors. Both a leader's gender identity and her femininity can be exposed to judgment, interrogation, exaggeration or ridicule. Even those leaders who do not appear visibly feminine can be made to appear as such through the strategic deployment of gender-based metaphors, for instance being imagined as the housekeepers of parliament, in a marriage with their coalition partners, as a head girl or even as a dominatrix. Denigrating and humiliating a woman political leader before the eyes of the nation sends a message to other women in that society implying that if they, too, stand against stereotype, their gender can be weaponised against them. Even coverage that positively portrays femininity can undermine a woman in the prime ministerial role by marking her difference.

Of the five women analysed in this thesis, some were more frequently tied to femininity than others. Gillard was subject to the most intense and frequent coverage, in contrast to my initial hypothesis that Thatcher would claim this dubious distinction as the first woman leader of the Western world. Gillard, along with Clark, was also more frequently alleged to have entered into a 'marriage' with her political allies, while both leaders' personal relationships were undermined. Considering their progressive political outlook, in contrast to the more conservative values upheld by Thatcher and May, this might suggest that this metaphor was deployed to punish Gillard and Clark for their doubly gendered subversion in that they were transgressing the masculine role of prime minister while also subverting traditional gender roles.

Another disparity emerged between the UK and Australian presses on the one hand, and the New Zealand press on the other, in the frequency and tone of femininity-emphasising metaphors. While gendered tropes did appear in coverage of Shipley and Clark, they were much less overt and aggressive in tone, and less frequent, than in the UK and Australia. A comparable contrast is apparent in all three countries between progressive and conservative newspapers. Although the progressive press in the UK emphasised Thatcher's gender more than did the conservative press, the opposite was true for May and Gillard, reflecting a contemporary context in which conservative media actors emphasise femininity with far greater frequency and intensity. Nevertheless, despite such differences, gender based and often misogynistic coverage of all five leaders, occurring across three countries and forty years, demonstrates that this trope is a widespread phenomenon.

160

Chapter Five: The Appearance Trope

5.1 Introduction

Another major theme in the gendered mediation of women prime ministers is an increased focus on their appearance. With the rise of personalisation in politics, it has become increasingly necessary and expected that political leaders must manage their public image to conform to party policies and branding (Campus 2013, 73). However, rather than depicting leaders with impartial objectivity, the media emphasise, minimise or diminish certain aspects of politicians in a way that subsequently shapes how they are perceived by voters and how their identity is publicly defined (Kotler and Kotler 1999, 5). The depiction of the appearance of women political leaders in the print media is especially consequential in this regard, as it can underline their physical difference from those traditionally expected to fill public office. Butler (1990, 33) has shown that the body is a site for the visible re-production of gender norms on which difference can easily be noticed, although also potentially resisted or subverted. To maintain the normative gender binary, women and men are expected to adhere to certain sartorial expectations that align with femininity and masculinity, and they risk ridicule if they transgress these norms. Within a context as male-dominated as politics, the masculine body is regarded as the norm and the political uniform is the male suit. As a result, women political actors are defined by their female body and feminine characteristics, which becomes an indication of their lack of the characteristics expected of political leaders (Holland 2006, 30).

A substantial body of research has exposed the extent to which the mainstream media draw attention to the appearance of women politicians using overtly gendered and often sexist textual strategies (Jenkins 1999, 78; Ross 2002a, 89; Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross 1996, 108; Walsh 2015, 1029). While male political leaders are regarded as physically 'personifying leadership', women are often deconstructed and segmented into parts—hair, skin, clothes, figure, etc.—used by the

media to emphasise their difference from the normative white, male, heterosexual form (Trimble 2017, 120). For linguist Robin Lakoff:

> It's true that men in the public eye can be criticised for their looks … But these barbs are both less frequent and less prominent directed at men than at women. Further, comments about looks are much more dangerous to a woman's already fragile grasp of power than to a man's: they reduce a woman to her traditional role of *object*, one who is seen rather than one who sees and acts. Because this is a conventional view of women, but not of men, comments about looks work much more effectively to disempower women than men, and are more hurtful to women, who have always been encouraged to view looks as a primary attribute—as men usually have not. Being the passive object of the gaze is presupposed for women, never for heterosexual men. (2003, 173)

While men are regarded as neutral and universal, women are trivialised and explicitly gendered; they are tied to the body while men are associated with the higher power of the mind (Butler 1990, 17). By this logic, a woman's personality, competency and worth are closely associated with physical attractiveness, while the worth of a man is measured by his actions and achievements.

Such disparity has multiple ramifications. Above all, objectifying women political leaders through focusing on their appearance in stories that should focus on policy platforms makes them seem less effective and competent. Previous studies have found that this further encourages voters to base their evaluation of a woman politician's intelligence, leadership capability and competency on her appearance (Carlin and Winfrey 2009; Falk 2010; Maarek 2011; Sanghvi and Hodges 2015). Other studies note that such objectification can even increase a perception that women are 'less than human' (Heflick and Goldenberg 2008, 598). On a personal level, this tendency affects how women politicians navigate the political arena. In their sartorial choices, for example, women must balance between an avoidance of overtly masculine clothes that may cause them to be regarded as not sufficiently feminine, and a parallel avoidance of overtly feminine clothes that may provoke accusations of incompetence and weakness. The suit is considered the 'globalised dress code and

162

symbol for politics and masculinity' (Flicker 2013, 210), yet there is no corresponding 'uniform' for women politicians. Nevertheless, despite this lack of a universal standard, their choice of clothing is often portrayed as unusual or a novelty (Bystrom et al. 2004; Campus 2013; Flicker 2013; Harmer et al. 2017).

Parliaments of the UK, Australia and, to a lesser extent, New Zealand are predominantly white domains, and so the dominant notions of femininity and feminine beauty ideals in politics are indelibly associated with whiteness. When we talk about femininity in this context, we need to acknowledge that this is a fundamentally middle-class and Eurocentric vision of the feminine that excludes Women of Colour (WoC) and the working class. White, middle-class women must tailor their clothing style to a formal standard, balancing femininity and masculinity, to earn the respect of their colleagues (Celis and Wauters 2010, 385). They are also expected to 'refrain from a frivolous or revealing dress styles because female sexuality and seriousness are irreconcilable' (Celis and Wauters 2010, 386). Meanwhile, those who are not white or middle class face an additional set of expectations, and are often perceived to be less competent or regarded with suspicion (Celis and Wauters 2010, 386). The leaders examined in this thesis are white, and their race is portrayed as neutral and universal in most media accounts, so it is not possible for this study to accurately measure the extent to which WoC are defined according to gendered tropes. Additionally, as there has never been a non-white woman prime minister in any of the three countries examined, these white women leaders have effectively defined the current norms of political femininity.

The first section of this chapter draws on a content analysis of relevant articles to show the different forms of media treatment endured by Thatcher, May, Gillard, Shipley and Clark and to assess whether appearance-related coverage differs depending on the political affiliation of the leader and/or the newspaper, and also whether it changes over time. Following this, I explore the strategies adopted by the media to operationalise this gendered trope through discourse and visual

163

analysis. I separate my discursive analysis into three main sections. The first examines how the mainstream press used appearance-related metonymic devices that draw from gender stereotypes to reinforce femininity. The second analyses how the media reported appearance in a celebritised manner, subjecting women politicians to celebrity beauty ideals and focusing on their physical appearance and fashion tastes rather than policy and political substance. The last section differentiates the New Zealand coverage of Shipley and Clark from UK and Australian reportage.

5.2 Content Analysis

At the outset of this research, I had anticipated that chronological succession would be an important factor in determining the volume of gendered mediation experienced by women prime ministers, following the assumption that the first elected would face the most gendered coverage. However, the first elected leaders in my sample—Thatcher (1979), Shipley (1997) and Clark (1999)—experienced *less* media focus on their appearance than the more recent Gillard (2010) and May (2016). One possible explanation for this is the increasing personalisation of political leaders in the media. May, for example, the most recent prime minister analysed here, faced scrutiny more often and more intensely than any other leader, followed closely by Gillard and then Clark.

Table 5.1. Percentage and number of newspaper articles that mentioned appearance

	Percentage of Articles	*Number of Articles*
Thatcher	15.6%	27
May	28.7%	54
Gillard	23.2%	116
Shipley	13.9%	10
Clark	19.6%	21

While Thatcher's appearance was only mentioned in 15 per cent of the articles surveyed, this figure almost doubled for May to 28.7 per cent. While all UK newspapers analysed showed a

slight increase in the frequency of articles that mentioned appearance from Thatcher to May, those published by the conservative press, and especially *The Daily Telegraph*, doubled in frequency (Table 5.2).

Table 5.2. Percentage of articles that mentioned Thatcher's and May's appearance

Newspapers	Thatcher	May
Guardian	14.3%	18.6%
Telegraph	19%	42.9%
Mirror	16%	26.7%
Sun	11.8%	23.7%
Average	15.6%	28.7%

The Australian press also repeatedly mentioned Gillard's appearance. On average, almost a quarter of all articles surveyed (23.2 per cent) discussed her appearance or sartorial style. Although there is no relation between the UK *Daily Telegraph* and Australian *Daily Telegraph*, aside from their adherence to a conservative platform, the latter also mentioned Gillard's appearance the most, while the centre-left *Sydney Morning Herald* mentioned it the least (Table 5.3). This is consistent with my finding that the conservative press use gendered tropes more often in their coverage of women prime ministers, although, again, these results change when the number rather than percentage of articles is measured. One-third of *Daily Telegraph* articles surveyed used this gendered trope in comparison to only one-fifth of articles in *The Australian*, yet the volume of articles published in the latter in comparison to both *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Sydney Morning Herald* is far greater (Table 5.3). Taking this into account, although May was subjected to a higher percentage of articles focused on appearance, Gillard's appearance was mentioned more frequently.

Table 5.3. Percentage and number of newspaper articles that mentioned Gillard's appearance

Newspapers	Percentage of Articles	Number of Articles
Australian	20%	49
Sydney Morning Herald	19.2%	23
Daily Telegraph	32.8%	44
Average	23.2%	38.7

The New Zealand press used this trope the least. Approximately 20 per cent of the articles analysed mentioned Clark's appearance, while only 13.9 per cent did the same for Shipley (Table 5.4), the least of all five leaders analysed in this thesis. It is uncertain why *The Press* made no reference to her appearance, yet my previous findings suggest that writers in this newspaper were less likely in general to use gendered tropes in their coverage of Shipley in comparison with those employed by the other two newspapers surveyed. At the same time, *The Press* mentioned Clark's appearance the most, in 21.4 per cent of articles—a dramatic increase compared to their coverage of Shipley. These results are also consistent with my previous findings.

Table 5.4. Percentage of articles that mentioned Shipley's and Clark's appearance

Newspapers	Shipley	Clark
NZ Herald	19.2%	16.4%
Dominion	17.9%	20.8%
Press	0%	25%
Average	13.9%	19.6%

Considering the top ten most frequently used appearance-related terms in print media coverage of all five leaders, it is evident that some leaders were subject to more gendered description than others. In addition to the highest percentage of articles mentioning appearance, May inspired the most frequent use of appearance-related terms. The words 'kitten heels' (39 times), 'fashion' (27 times) and 'shoe' (18 times) were repeatedly used to describe May's

appearance (Table 5.5). This starkly contrasts with media descriptions of Thatcher. Although notorious for her handbags, pussy-bow blouses and carefully coiffed hairstyle, all frequently discussed throughout her prime ministerial reign (Campbell 1987; 2015), these aspects of Thatcher's appearance were seldom mentioned in print articles during the initial few weeks of her first term. Whether due to the rise of personalisation or to an increase in gender bias in the media, May experienced more comments and critique of her appearance than Thatcher. Similarly, Gillard also endured frequent discussion of her appearance in media coverage of her first three weeks. Most of this focused on her hair (mentioned 60 times), particularly the colour of it, with numerous references to her many 'bad hair days'. Although other aspects of her appearance were frequently discussed, these did not make the top ten due to the large number of gendered descriptive terms used in the media portrayal of Gillard's leadership.

Table 5.5. May's top ten most frequently used descriptive words

May's Top 10 words	*Number of times*
Woman	128
Thatcher	102
Female	59
Theresa	44
Kitten heels	**39**
Fashion	**27**
Ruthless	23
Husband	26
Shoe	**18**
Philip	15

Media representations of May's and Gillard's appearance were relatively similar in the conservative press. The use of appearance-related terms by the latter in their portrayal of each leader comprises the greatest quantity of such terms analysed. In coverage of May, use of the term 'kitten heels' in *The Daily Telegraph* comprised over half the number of mentions in all four papers.

Furthermore, *The Daily Telegraph* also monopolised 'fashion' (26 times), while *The Sun* made the most use of 'shoe' (13 times). Similarly, the conservative press were most likely to use 'hair' when discussing Gillard's first few weeks. There are no mentions of appearance, however, in the list of top ten terms used to describe either New Zealand prime minister. Clark's appearance was mentioned more than Shipley's in the conservative press, although the frequency is still extremely low in comparison to coverage of May and Gillard.

5.3 Metaphor and Metonymy: 'Give ol' kitten heels the benefit of the doubt'

Metaphoric discursive devices, such as metonyms, are often used in political reportage as very effective discursive tools to influence and persuade readers (Meadows 2005, 14). Political cartoonists, above all, frequently use metonyms, substituting an object or concept for an especially representative aspect or partial component to convey certain meanings (Eubanks 2005; Partington and Taylor 2017; Schumacher 2019). A crown, for example, can be used in place of a royal, suits in place of businesspeople, and the White House to refer to the US president and government. Metonyms are foundational cognitive and pragmatic linguistic devices that have the power to define reality through highlighting or minimising certain features (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 55). They do not provide a neutral description of events but rather an evaluative opinion, with hidden meanings for certain audiences (Partington and Taylor 2017, 146).

Ideological content, including gender stereotypes, can therefore be communicated easily through this metaphorical device, and metonyms can deploy stereotypes to covertly communicate sexist interpretations of women's appearance and behaviour (Velasco-Sacristán 2010, 69). Women political actors, for example, are often discursively reduced to sartorial metonyms, 'suggesting they add a superficial splash of colour to the generally grey-suited Westminster scene' (Walsh 2001, 45; Walsh 2015, 1032), or, as exemplified by media coverage of May and Gillard, to notable physical features. While metonyms also frequently appear in coverage of male leaders, they do not

168

emphasise gender. Former Australian Liberal cabinet ministers Joe Hockey and Mathias Cormann have been metonymically associated with cigars, which can be read as phallic, as a result of an infamous leaked photograph of them smoking cigars outside Parliament House ahead of the upcoming notorious 2014 Budget. Alternatively metonymy can be associated with class, for instance where the former Australian prime minister, Malcolm Turnbull—previously the richest Australian parliamentarian—was frequently associated with a top hat, while the former Australian deputy prime minister, Barnaby Joyce, was consistently identified with his Akubra, referencing his image as a stereotypical Australian and his role as leader of the National Party of Australia, which represents regional areas. Conversely, May's identity has been tied to her preference for kitten heels, while Gillard was often reduced to her red hair.

5.3.1 May's Kitten Heels

Figure 5.1. Moran, Bob. 'Last Minute Change'. *The Daily Telegraph*. 30 July. 20.

May's kitten heels provoked comment in several journalistic reports and critiques of her political style, and were frequently used by political cartoonists either in her stead or as a symbol to ensure that readers correctly identified the subject of caricature. The above cartoon, for example, is intended to be read as a critique of May's support for an upgrading of the Trident nuclear programme, likening her supposed 'last minute change' of opinion to the changing of an outfit. The identification of the faceless figure as May, however, is implied solely by her leopard-print kitten heels worn with a hazmat suit (accessorised with a handbag) that, she admits in a speech balloon, 'might be a bit much'. This metonymic use of kitten heels as part of an overall feminisation of the figure's attire reinforces May's femininity even though clothing has little relation to the very serious political topic at hand, thereby illustrating the extent to which the media rely on such gendered tropes.

Figure 5.2. Front Page of The Sun. 12 July. 1.

Just one day after May's victory in the leadership contest, following the withdrawal of her sole rival, Andrea Leadsom, her kitten heels were prominently featured on the front page of *The Sun* as a metonym for May herself. They were also metaphorically associated with the assertion that May plans to 'step on' male Tory cabinet ministers, a message that is further accentuated by the punning headline, 'HEEL, BOYS' (Hawkes 2016). These multiple layers of textual and visual meaning vividly illustrate several gendered tropes. Above all, the combination of the headline and the image of May's kitten-heeled feet trampling six male colleagues and opponents positions her ascension to the prime ministerial role as a dominatrix-like act. For the men pictured, it is implied that the humiliation of being forced to submit to a woman is an affront to their masculinity,

171

although with an underlying element of deviant sexuality that reflects a public perception of conservative men as attracted to headmistress-like women (Jamieson 1995, 151). Similar accusations were directed at Thatcher during her term as prime minister, indicating the persistence of a stereotype of Tory woman leadership (Ross 2017, 83).

This comparison with Thatcher is reinforced by the tagline 'Maggie May in at No. 10', above the main headline. While the two leaders do undoubtedly share many similarities, such as their gender, politics, and education at grammar schools and Oxford University, this comparison also reflects a tendency to compare women political leaders. May is cast as the new Thatcher, another strong Tory woman leader who will supposedly dominate weaker Tory men. It appears that the media have an inability to imagine a woman political leader on her own terms without comparing her to other women. Male political leaders are also often compared, but they often deliberately cultivate such comparison as a form of homage or lineage, whereas women are compared solely because of their shared gender identity.

Although framed as a Thatcher-like dominatrix, May is also visually objectified here by her 'dismembering', a common and problematic strategy used in advertising to focus attention on one aspect of a woman's body for the sole purpose of selling a product (Goffman 1979; Kang 1997; Sanghvi and Hodges 2015). The separation of May's feet from the rest of her body reduces her to little more than the sum of her body parts, once again implying sexual connotations.

Finally, the focus on May's shoes in this front-page image emphasises her gendered transgression of the masculinised prime ministerial role. While men's outfits and bodies rarely receive media attention unless they are unusual, the physical appearance of women receives a disproportionately significant amount of coverage (Trimble 2017, 130). The constant reference to May's shoes in media discussions of her ascension to the prime ministerial role, the cabinet shuffle and Brexit proceedings illustrates this desire to highlight her femininity. Images such as this

172

juxtapose the stereotypical visions of a prime minister and prime ministerial appearance—assumed to be white, heterosexual and masculine—alongside a transgressive femininity (Trimble 2017, 32). The latter is then trivialised and rendered an object for the male gaze, in order to defuse its transgressive threat.

5.3.2 Gillard's Red Hair

Like May's kitten heels, Gillard's red hair was frequently used metonymically in media coverage throughout her political career, and especially once she had ascended to the prime ministerial role. In addition to referring to Gillard and her new government, however, her hair also offered media actors a metonymic point of reference for her partner Tim Mathieson, a hairdresser. Gendered aspects of such media representation of a prime ministerial partner will be examined in greater detail in Chapter Six, although in many articles that meet this criterion the primary subject is Gillard's hair, not Mathieson, as well as her alleged failure to fulfil feminine beauty standards. This association of Gillard's hair with her prime ministerial role and competency once again indicates the gendering of media coverage for women political leaders: such superficial matters of appearance are rarely considered important for male political leaders (Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross 1996, 108).
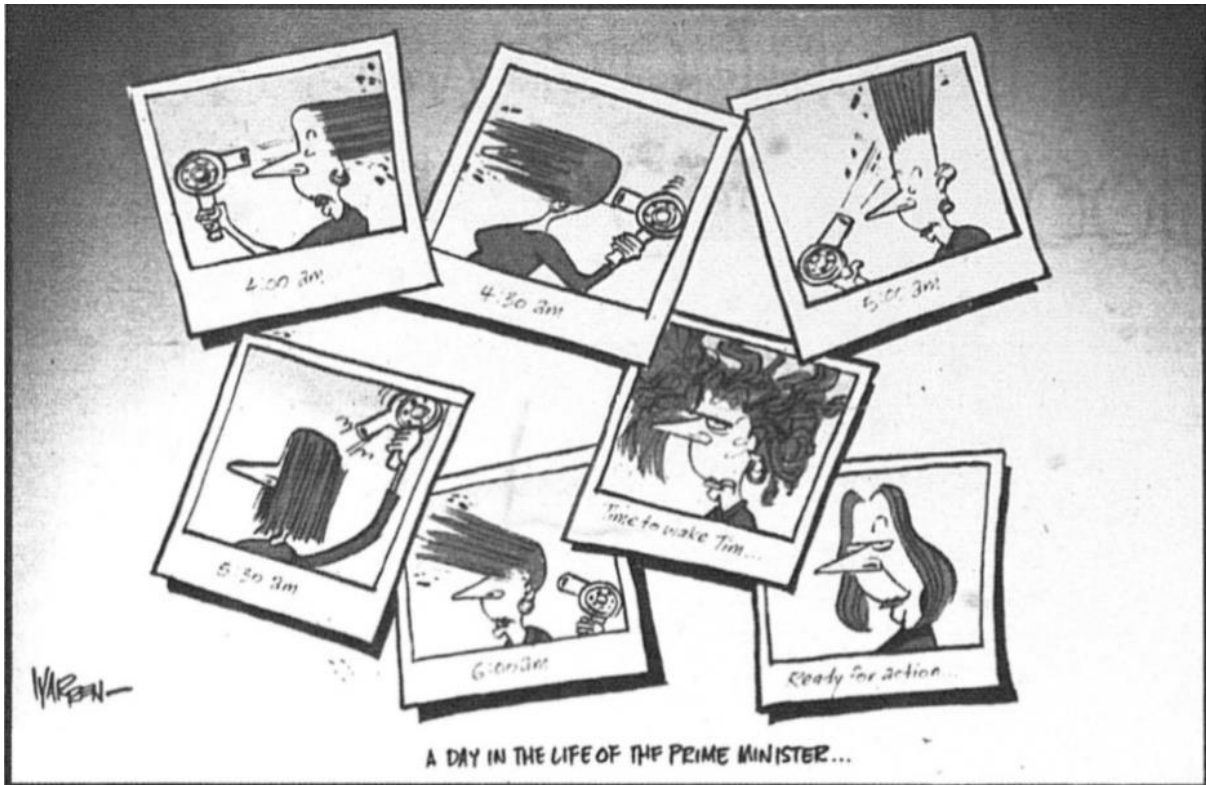
Figure 5.3. Brown, Warren. 'A Day in the Life of the Prime Minister...'. The Daily Telegraph. 3 July. 35.

The above cartoon (Figure 5.3) published in *The Daily Telegraph*, for example, imagines 'A Day in the Life of the Prime Minister', using Gillard's hair as a metaphor for her political success. Through the conceit of annotated polaroids, the cartoonist creates a narrative in which it is implied that Gillard repeatedly tried and failed to style her hair before seeking help from Mathieson. On the one hand, this portrayal of Gillard as a woman engaging in the feminised act of 'doing her hair'—a diaristic 'day in her life' recounted through polaroids—could be read as a subversive expansion of the gendered expectations of leadership (Trimble 2017, 150). However, the implication that Gillard has failed to adhere to feminine beauty standards and grooming practices exposes her to ridicule, and reaffirms gendered norms. This is a double othering of a woman political leader, both for her presence in the political realm and for her inability to conform to expectations of femininity.

In addition to this objectification of Gillard's hair in its presentation of the prime minister as a subject for the male gaze, it was also emphasised as a novelty and a means to interrogate her relationship with Mathieson (Trimble 2017, 127). This implies three things: firstly, it ties Gillard to her role as a partner while highlighting the supposed illegitimacy of her de facto relationship; secondly, it queers her relationship by emphasising the subversion of gender norms implied by her and Mathieson's career choices; and, thirdly, it draws attention to Gillard's appearance as a topic of allegedly greater importance, or at least greater media interest, than her politics. Gillard has explained the latter as an inevitable consequence of her unprecedented ascension:

> … if there's a first female leader or a couple of very prominent women, then it's got to be *appearance appearance appearance* and then when it gets more routine it falls away, because it's not as intriguing anymore. (Gillard quoted in Goldsworthy 2013, 22)

More recently, however, Gillard has conceded that even future women prime ministers will face a political and media environment that

> will still be gendered, and there will still be commentary on appearance, there will still be commentary on family structures, there will still be gendered insults and gendered stereotypes. I do think there will be less of the really highly gendered, highly critical reporting. (Interview, 13 February 2019)

It could be argued that this media focus on a woman prime minister's appearance will never fall away. Even though two women prime ministers have been elected in the UK and New Zealand (with a third for the latter elected during the writing of this thesis), attention to their appearance has not decreased, and in the case of May it has actually increased. Although there are now more women in parliament, they continue to be scrutinised for their appearance, reinforcing the idea that they must prioritise their physical attractiveness (Goldsworthy 2013, 22).
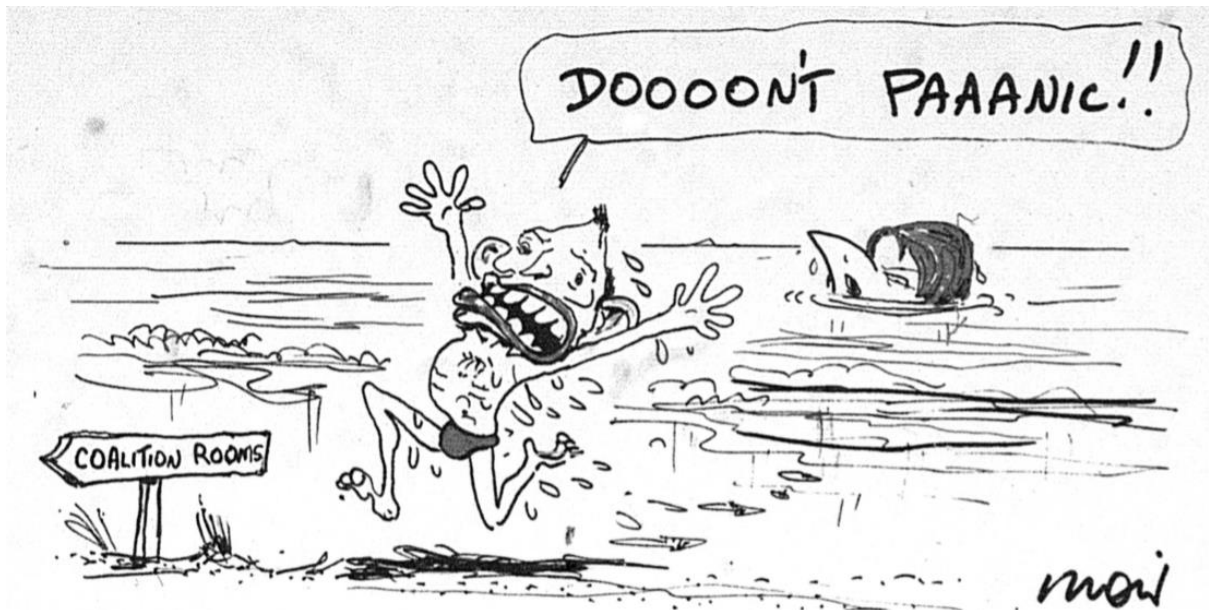
Figure 5.4. Moir, Alan. [untitled]. The Sydney Morning Herald. 28 June. 14.

In the cartoon analysed above, this priority is reinforced by the implication that Gillard has failed to meet appropriate standards of beauty; in other cartoons, however, it is even more vehemently underlined by the association of her alleged unattractiveness with menace and threat. *The Sydney Morning Herald* (Figure 5.4), for example, in a cartoon published four days after Gillard's ascension, illustrates then opposition leader Abbott running in terror from a shark-like caricature of the prime minister. Abbott is portrayed in 'budgie-smugglers', a symbolic device, regularly used by cartoonists after he was photographed in this costume while surf lifesaving on a Sydney beach in 2009, that is intended to cast him in a comical light, but that also serves to reinforce his hegemonic performance of Australian masculinity.[18] Gillard, on the other hand, is reduced to red hair and a

---

[18] In the last century, there have been two important images representative of the ideal Australian male. The first is the Anzac tradition of the tough, laconic but also larrikinesque Australian soldier, and the second is the ideal of the surf lifesaver (Moore and Saunders 1998, 12). The surf lifesaver came to prominence in the middle of the twentieth century and quickly became the 'unchallenged apotheosis of Australian manhood' (Moore and Saunders 1998, 96). Surf lifesavers did not only demonstrate new ideals of 'masculine bodily perfection' but simultaneously symbolised the 'long-standing code of civic duty' (Moore and Saunders 1998, 98). Abbott exemplified the beloved Australian image of masculinity—heroic sacrifice, super fit able-bodiedness, racial purity and muscularity (Moore and Saunders 1998, 98). Abbott personified this image of the surf lifesaver when he was photographed wearing a pair of speedos, colloquially known as 'budgie smugglers', and a surf-lifesaver cap. Like Abbott, or at least like the idealised male he apparently aspired to become, the surf lifesaver is regarded as 'the regulator and preserver of all … Ironically, [where] danger lurked….the lifesaver was the guardian of this native hedonism by his own military

large, pointy nose, and is implied to be as murderous and cold-blooded as a shark, a common theme in *The Sydney Morning Herald* throughout her first three weeks. The cartoonist implies that, after toppling Rudd, she had her sights set on destroying Abbott as well, portraying him as fearful of this new threat in a possible allusion to his notorious 'woman problem'.

Abbott's fear of Gillard and the threat she posed as a woman in the prime ministerial role, a role historically reserved for men, points to a broader masculine horror of the Other encapsulated by the Gillard's caricatured metamorphosis. Abbott is notoriously conservative, and once stated:

> I think it would be folly to expect that women will ever dominate or even approach equal representation in a large number of areas simply because their aptitudes, abilities and interests are different for physiological reasons. (Abbott quoted in Price 2013)

His conservative social values and religious beliefs have been critiqued by the media throughout his career, earning him notoriety as the 'Mad Monk' of Australian politics. Abbott's emotional state following Gillard's ascension is not certain, and the two seemed affable in televised media appearances during the preceding months and years. This cartoon, however, portrays a general fear of the 'other', in this case of women obtaining power reserved for men, using Gillard's hair and nose to caricature her as a cold-blooded killer of powerful men.

5.3.3 Two Pairs of Shoes Making History

The use of May's kitten heels and Gillard's hair by the mainstream press as metonymic short-hand for each leader also extended to their comparison with other women political leaders, who were thereby incorporated into the same symbolic space. Gillard, for example, was often portrayed as 'unfashionable' in comparison to then Governor General Quentin Bryce, and an article in the *Sydney Morning Herald* explicitly framed her swearing-in in terms of each woman's choice of footwear: 'two pairs of black stilettos pointed towards each other under the desk where history

---

discipline, self-denial and sacrifice' (Moore and Saunders 1998, 98). The image of the surf lifesaver plays into Abbott's iterations of an aggressive yet authoritatively protective masculinity, both in and out of parliament.

From Tightrope to Gendered Trope

was made' (Narushima 2010). While this image, within the context of a largely positive account, could be read as a celebration of the historic moment when, for the first and only time in Australia, a woman Governor General swore in a woman prime minister, the author's reduction of the two most powerful women in Australia to 'black stilettos' provokes multiple readings.

On the one hand, it could be read as emphasising the power held by Gillard and Bryce, albeit in a highly sexualised and gendered manner. The stiletto heel, from an Italian term that can be translated as 'dagger', signifies both sexualised violence against women and a certain feminine strength, and it could be argued that the former implication of subservience is here reclaimed as an emblem of the latter. However, it becomes problematic when the media use such items of clothing as a metonym for a woman prime minister and not for her male predecessors. The same journalist would likely not have found it noteworthy to remark on two pairs of brown brogues at the swearing-in of a male prime minister. Male leaders are usually associated with metonyms— like the examples of the cigar, top hat and Akubra mentioned above—that invoke masculine bonding or that draw from stereotypes based on their actions and political identities. The metonymic device of shoes, on the other hand, connects Gillard and Bryce not to their minds but to their bodies, echoing canonical gender binaries (Butler 1990, 17).

A comparable metonymic reduction can be seen in media focus on May and Scottish first minister Nicola Sturgeon's shoes in coverage of their meeting concerning the Scottish and British union and EU exit process. A photograph published in *The Daily Telegraph* (Figure 5.5) shows these

women facing one another, yet is framed to include only their shoes and lower legs, and is captioned: 'The Prime Minister's red kitten heels and the First Minister's blue high heels added a splash of colour to a grey Edinburgh day' (Dominiczak and Cramb 2016).

Figure 5.5. 'The Prime Minister's red kitten heels and the First Minister's blue high heels added a splash of colour to a grey Edinburgh day'. The Daily Telegraph. 16 July. 4.

Like Gillard and Bryce in Australia, May and Sturgeon were arguably two of the most powerful people in the UK at this time, yet only their shared gender and clothing choices were considered worthy of attention. This undue focus on footwear is trivialising and 'effectively a form of silencing, since it deflects attention from what they are actually saying' (Lakoff 1995, 45), while also belittling the severity of the situation that prompted their meeting.

It is important to note that neither May nor Sturgeon lack agency in the construction and presentation of their public personas. They decide what to wear and when to wear it, knowing that the media will make judgements based on their sartorial choices. Many women politicians use their clothing to their advantage to send subtle signals of authority or certain political messages (O'Neill et al. 2016, 297). In an interview for *The Financial Times*, May professed not to worry about the media focus on her sartorial style, recalling a chance encounter before she became prime minister, in an elevator in the House of Commons,

> with a young woman who happened to be wearing a nice pair of shoes and I said: 'Oh, nice shoes'. And she said she liked my shoes as well. And then she looked at me and said: 'Your shoes got me into politics'. (Parker and Barber 2016)

179

In the same interview, May argued that her choice of shoes made her more approachable, an important characteristic for a successful politician to cultivate. In another interview, this time with *Good morning Britain* presenter Piers Morgan, May similarly remarked, 'Do I regret the fact that people look at my shoes? Hey—it gives me an excuse to go and buy new shoes' (Dathan 2016). At a conference in Birmingham, on the other hand, she admitted the sexist double standard involved in this focus on women's clothing: '[I]t is interesting that people focus on my shoes—I don't think they focus on Philip Hammond's or Boris Johnson's in quite the same way' (Dathan 2016).

In addition to signalling approachability, clothing can also be used as a symbol of power. Classics Professor Mary Beard, speaking at a Bazaar At Work Summit, for example, remarked of Thatcher that 'one thing she did with the handbag was that she managed to take a symbol of women's subservience and she turned it into a symbol of her own power', saying that May appeared to be aiming for a similar effect with her shoes (Saul 2017). Building on these observations in the same speech, Beard argued that we should change how power is conceived and our expectation of its manifestation:

> If actually, we find our mental impression of a powerful person doesn't almost ever turn out to be a woman, then maybe what we have to do is change the definition of power, not change women in order to fit in with something that for thousands of years we haven't fit.

Beard makes the important point that women in leadership positions should not feel forced to reject their femininity; instead, they should feel able to choose what they wear without fear of it becoming front-page news or a derogatory metonym. However, the problem of gendered media representation remains, with women in leadership positions routinely reduced to their gender by an undue focus on those aspects of their public persona that make them seem 'other' to their political role.

5.4 Celebritised Beauty Ideals

Due to the increasing personalisation and tabloidisation of the media, political leaders are now often personalised and celebritised to such an extent that their representation can detract from their reputation as serious political actors (Muir 2005, 54).[19] This risk is heightened for women political leaders, who are already represented as an anomaly, by amplifying their difference and contributing to a tendency to disregard their policies in favour of their personal lives and visual spectacle (Muir 2005; Ross 2002a). While all political leaders are expected to cultivate celebrity appeal, women are thereby doubly forced to endure media attention on their appearance and fashion, and are even more closely associated with their bodies and emotions rather than their minds and rationality (Muir 2005, 67). Women political leaders, for example, are expected to adhere to the same high level of grooming and style required of women celebrities, confirming van Zoonen's observation that the celebritised media coverage of politics combines the 'hyper femininity of current celebrity culture and post-feminism, with fashion, sexuality, glamour and consumption as core ingredients' (van Zoonen 2006, 298).

Thatcher, May, Gillard, Shipley and Clark have each endured an extensive media focus on their appearance, although a celebritised style of reporting is most apparent in the coverage of May, Gillard and Thatcher, all of whom were expected to dress in a feminine—but not too feminine— manner. Gillard and Clark, therefore, were often critiqued as 'too masculine', unfashionable or austere (although Gillard had a prime ministerial makeover), while Thatcher and May were considered too hyper-feminine. Shipley's fashion choices and appearance, on the other hand, were rarely considered worthy of mention in print news reportage.

---

[19] The term 'celebritisation' is used here in the sense defined by Muir (2005) to refer to the portrayal of politicians as 'celebrities [to] help sell media products, news and gossip [seen as] essential to the sale of newspapers, magazines [and] television programs' (Muir 2005, 58).

5.4.1 Sartorial Assessments: Fashionable or Unfashionable?

Although male political leaders do not escape media scrutiny in terms of their appearance and style (Langer 2010, 65; Trimble 2017, 122; van Zoonen 2006, 297), women are meticulously critiqued for their sartorial choices. It could be argued that this is partly due to the more varied clothing options available to women, while male politicians are expected to adhere to the *costume bourgeois*: the suit, that most hegemonic of political uniforms (Campus 2013, 84). Nevertheless, even when a male politician does attract media attention for straying from the conventional dress code—as in the case of Abbott and his 'budgie-smuggler' bathers, or Howard's tracksuits worn on his morning walks—media commentary on the clothing of women political leaders is far more gendered and deemed more worthy of comment (Braden 1996; Bystrom et al. 2001, 2004; Ross and Sreberny-Mohammadi 1997). While the discussion of men's clothing is routinely descriptive, writing about women is evaluative and celebritised, closely associating fashion choices with leadership legitimacy and power (Trimble 2017, 128).

In England and Australia, entire articles were dedicated to the fashion sense allegedly demonstrated (or not) by May and Gillard, with May largely labelled as 'fashionable' and Gillard as 'unfashionable'. Fashion designers and hairstylists were often called on to pass judgement as they would for a Hollywood celebrity. This tendency is exemplified by Amanda Venning's article, 'Inside Theresa's Top shop', advertised on the front page of *The Daily Telegraph* and accompanied by three photographs of May with the sub-heading, 'where does the new PM get her outfits?' (2016). After finding the boutique store where May supposedly shops, Venning reported that she took some of the dresses available for sale into the fitting room and remarked that a 'racy' knee-length black shift dress 'wouldn't want to be [worn when] sitting near Boris Johnson', while a floor-length navy dress would 'wow even truculent EU President Junker into submission' (2016). This seamless fusion of May's taste in fashion with her political responsibilities may make her appear less intimidating and more approachable to some readers, but also evokes a demeaning image of

the prime minister resorting to feminine wiles and sexuality, rather than political competency, to negotiate with or control her male colleagues.

This association of fashion choices with the cultivation of approachability raises another stark contrast with male politicians, who would usually not be regarded as more approachable for their patronage of a designer label. Women politicians, on the other hand, are frequently regarded as 'ambassadors' for designers and stylists, much like a Hollywood celebrity (Freedman 1997, 110). This aligns with the cultural perception that men dress themselves while women are little more than models for a (usually male) designer. The celebritisation of women political leaders' appearance relates them back to this cultural perception rather than considering them on their own merits. Although perhaps intended to foster a more 'approachable' public image, such coverage further trivialises them as impostors in the prime ministerial role.

In contrast to May, the Australian print media largely cast Gillard as 'unfashionable', relating her alleged poor taste to her competency as leader. *The Daily Telegraph* dedicated an entire page 3 article to one of Gillard's coats, citing a fashion expert who compared it to a 'cheap motel bedspread' (Toohey 2010b). Other 'experts' were also interviewed to gather advice for the prime minister, including tips based on her body type, the colours that match her skin-tone and the type of clothing most appropriate for a woman of her age. This emphasis on Gillard's sartorial choices in relation to her figure, appearance and age all served to diminish her in the role of prime minister.

Other articles described Gillard's choices in a more positive light, and even labelled her as 'fashionable'. The evolution of her sartorial style throughout her career, above all, received praise as a reflection of her adopting a more 'leader-like' persona:

> Over the past two-years, she has morphed from the leader least likely—the female, red-haired, Strine-speaking party warrior—to the brilliant stateswoman who wears sharp black stilettos to swear her oath of office at Government House. (C. Harvey 2010b)

Power Dressing: Operating in a man's world, Julia has taken the corporate road to date. Favouring safe grey and pinstriped suit combinations. But now she's moved into the hot seat, our new PM appears to be trying to embrace a little more femininity and bolder colour choices … We can only hope the journey will eventually take in an edgy heel and an It-bag. (Cunneen 2010)

Gillard is here being commended for transforming her appearance, but although she was seen as more leader-like, her grip on the role felt tenuous. Would she slip if she reverted to the red-headed 'Strine-speaking female'; could she adhere to this stiletto-wearing stereotype of political femininity?

While seemingly less skilful than May in manipulating the codes of high fashion, Gillard was nevertheless portrayed by the media in a manner usually reserved for celebrities. Noting a change in her makeup after her prime ministerial ascension, for example, political journalist Niki Savva praised Gillard's new look:

'[she] looked like a movie star the other day. With her beautifully fluffed, newly tinted hair, freshly blow-waved by her partner, Tim (lucky girl), and her freshly and professionally applied make-up, her star quality was immediately obvious'. (2010a)

Savva's article was accompanied by a caricature (Figure 5.6) of Gillard as a red-carpet celebrity that perfectly encapsulates the phenomenon of celebritised politics, fusing popular culture,

Figure 5.6. 'Sorry, Julia, but you'll have to take it like a man'. The Australian. 2 July. 12.

184

entertainment and politics (van Zoonen 2006, 289). Gillard is presented here as a figure for the male gaze, a starlet who becomes 'a focus of visual pleasure for an apparently masculine spectator, the epitome of the male fetish' (van Zoonen 2006, 291). In our interview, Gillard mentioned how this celebritised coverage of her appearance was 'time consuming to deal with', and, while 'male leaders get the efficiency which comes from having an accepted uniform, a suit and tie … women leaders have to make choices, which will be critiqued' (Interview, 28 August 2019). In this case, Gillard's appearance is praised, yet it still means that she 'ended up having to spend more time on these [appearance related] questions than male PMs had' (Interview, 28 August 2019).

Such media treatment of Gillard and other women political leaders serves to restrict women in parliament, encouraging them to engage in self-surveillance to ensure that they will not be degraded or trivialised (Crawford and Pini 2010, 95). It forces them to waste time ensuring they meet acceptable standards of political femininity, under the threat of constant scrutiny. In conversation with the author, Gillard remarked that this scrutiny is inevitably time consuming, both mentally and physically, and can affect self-perception:

> I think for [women politicians] … it's not necessarily the media coverage [itself] but the *fear* of such coverage, and because women are aware of these gendered stereotypes, there's some self-limiting behaviours that women leaders tend to adopt. So you end up walking quite a narrow pathway. (Interview, 13 February 2019)

More broadly, celebritised coverage sends a message to readers, especially women and girls, that even professional success is no guarantee against the intrusion of the male gaze, and that, above all, matters of appearance will always be of the utmost importance and public interest:

> The media focus more on women's appearance … it's a deep-seated thing in our culture that men are judged on what they do, women tend to be judged on how they look … That plays into politics and the frustration of it is … that, ultimately in politics you're being judged day-by-day by electors, and you would hope that those judgements aren't being made on the basis of appearance. Some of them are, I suspect. But it goes beyond that, it

185

just takes so much of the oxygen, so much of the airtime which is a disservice to those outside of politics. (Interview, 13 February 2019)

Throughout our conversation, Gillard stressed that the more the media focus on the appearance of women politicians, the less significance they attach to more pressing issues, such as their policy platform—a disservice to both the leader and the electorate.

5.4.2 Appearance First, Politics Second

Celebritised coverage of women political leaders positions their appearances and sartorial style as central, while their policies and professional roles are relegated to a position of secondary importance. Women's bodies, appearance, hairstyle and clothes 'are routinely incorporated into what should be straightforward stories on policy but where subjects are routinely framed as women first, and then, maybe, as politicians' (Ross 2017, 3). Moreover, the sartorial codes to which women are expected to adhere are not intended to represent power and are distinct from the codes associated with leadership:

> [T]here is a tension at the centre of women politicians' difficulties: a tension between projecting images of femininity and images of power. For men, the task is easy: projecting images of masculinity and projecting images of power are the same thing. For women, there is always a contradiction: how to assume the appearance of power and, at the same time, to preserve their femininity? (Freedman 1997, 99)

Such undue attention to the appearance of women leaders therefore highlights their struggle to balance an acceptable feminine appearance against masculine norms of power.

Thatcher presents a possible exception to this rule; although notorious for her handbags, hats and pussy-bow blouses, media discussion of her sartorial style was brief in comparison to that of May, Gillard, Shipley and Clark. Nevertheless, these passing mentions of Thatcher's style all occurred in stories covering her ascension, policies or political events, thereby fusing her public

and private roles. Writing for *The Daily Telegraph*, for example, Ann Morrow created a celebrity-like image of Thatcher's style when describing her listening to the election results the night before:

> In the distinctive blue silk dress which she has worn in election photographs, Mrs Thatcher was composed, betraying only slight nervousness when the returning officer, Mr Norman Stepsford read the results at Hendon Town Hall. (Morrow 1979a)

Morrow lingers over Thatcher's appearance, describing the material and colour of her dress, and even noting a previous occasion when Thatcher had worn it. Such portrayals feminise Thatcher by detaching her from the more masculine and intimidating image with which her public persona is usually associated and emphasising a celebritised version of her feminine fragility, as if to assure readers that she is not as scary as she seems—she is just a woman.

In New Zealand, on the other hand, the press appeared dismayed that Clark did not adhere to stereotypically feminine beauty standards in her public appearances, frustrating any attempt to portray her in a celebritised manner. Many authors turned instead to an emphasis on her 'sensible' style as a reflection of her new government. In a *Dominion* article, for example, Helen Bain wrote that Clark's government, attired 'in Roman sandals', cultivated a 'super-sensible' approach perfectly suited to Clark's 'sensible' 'brown jackets' and 'flat shoes' (1999a). Although this could be interpreted as praise, the choice of terms such as 'sensible', 'brown' and 'flat shoes' also implies that Clark and her government are *too* serious and dull. It also implies that she fails to meet feminine beauty standards and that she, in the same vein as Gillard, is 'unfashionable'. When asked by the author why she felt the media focused on her appearance, Clark observed:

> [T]hey have an image of what they might consider as the *ideal* woman who will always have straight teeth and she will be smiling and she will be pretty and she won't be serious. (Interview, 24 April 2019)

Like Gillard, Clark draws attention here to the broader implications of a media focus on the appearance of women political leaders over their policies or governance, and the extent to

which this can harm not only women in politics, but in general. These implications can be usefully considered with reference to the 'bystander effect' as defined by media scholars (Bradley-Geist et al. 2015; Haraldsson and Wängnerud 2018) to refer to the indirect exposure of women consumers to the sexism endured by women politicians. This has the effect of reinforcing traditional gender roles and discouraging those women who may aspire to enter politics from doing so. The act of portraying women political actors in a sexist light suppresses agency, credibility and space, signalling to women that they must overcome these powerful yet implicit norms if they want a career in politics.

5.4.3 Age

Age was another characteristic that the mainstream press commented on when portraying these leaders in a celebritised manner. It is common for women's age to be commented on, particularly the age of women in the public eye, as women's worth is largely attached to their attractiveness, and young women are perceived as more attractive (Jamieson 1995, 147). While women's attractiveness levels fall as they age, older men are seen to be more attractive than older women, as 'powerful men are seen as sexy … [therefore, if] middle age can confer power and increase sex appeal on men, in women the reverse is held to be the case' (Jamieson 1995, 147). Leadership is defined by age as much as it is defined by gender, and often the two go hand-in-hand. A good leader is expected to have a wealth of experience and be energetic enough to endure the stressful role, which rules out 'those who are too young or too old' (Campus 2013, 81). What is considered the 'right' age for leadership is different between men and women, with a shorter timespan for women than for their male counterparts.

Thatcher's, May's and Gillard's ages were all highlighted in several articles when discussing their sartorial choices while in the prime ministerial role:

> The Queen and Margaret Thatcher may be smug, middle-aged, coiffured, Tory representatives of the species. (*The Guardian* 1979)

188

> And finally, aged 59, the field has been cleared … Tall, slender and well-groomed, we can expect British designers to queue up to dress May. (Woods 2016)

> Expert's tips for Julia's wardrobe: avoid bright white, as it is too stark; never weak black, because it is very harsh and is 'very ageing' as a colour. (Toohey 2010b)

This follows Kathleen Jamieson's fifth double bind: when 'men age they acquire wisdom and power, while women gain wrinkles and hot flushes' (1995, 18). Clark has herself raised the intersection of sexism and ageism and noted that it was more prevalent in her later terms in office:

> And I think of the [label] 'older woman' as kind of stereotyping. I mean, older men are experienced and have gravitas, but somehow a woman in her 50s reminds some of their mother-in-law and being nagged at. It becomes a double stereotype. (Interview, 24 April 2019)

While this 'double stereotype' is evident throughout the varying gendered tropes identified (see Headmistress Section in Chapter Four), it is closely related to the appearance trope because of the heavy amount of worth placed on women's attractiveness and embodied youth.

However, women politicians are at risk no matter what their age. If they fail to measure up to the idea of 'young, slim stylish femininity, they are advised to lose weight, cut their hair and buy new clothes' (Baird 2004, 130). On the other hand, younger women are perceived as too naïve or not combative enough for politics and leadership. Gillard was often stuck in the middle, regarded as 'youngish' (Wilson 2010) but also as a middle-aged woman who should be wary of not looking even older (Toohey 2010b). Thatcher and Shipley were of similar ages when they ascended to the prime ministerial role, yet they were portrayed as 'middle-aged' and their relative youth was never mentioned. While Thatcher and Shipley were married and had adult children, thus firmly planting them in the middle-aged category, Gillard's age was either mentioned in relation to her child-free and unmarried status or through discussing her relatively youthful appearance.

The celebritised style of positioning Thatcher's, May's and Gillard's ages in relation to their appearance again frames them as old and thus unappealing to the male gaze. However, Gillard was also seen as reasonably youthful—and relatively appealing to the male gaze—but as constantly having to ensure she wore the 'right' clothes to prevent her from looking older. The double stereotypes put onto women political leaders demonstrate how impossible these expectations are:

> [W]omen are never the right age. We're too young, we're too old. We're too thin, we're too fat. We wear too much make-up, we don't wear enough. We're too flashy in our dress, we don't take enough care. There isn't a thing we can do that's right. (Dawn Primarolo UK MP, quoted in Ross 2002a, 90)

Although older male political leaders are normalised, with the average prime minister in all three countries being white, male and 49–53 years old, the age of women leaders is frequently noted and, in the increasingly celebritised mainstream media that privileges youth and beauty, they are made to seem older, less attractive and incompetent.

5.5 More Neutral New Zealand

In comparison to the Australian and British media coverage, the New Zealand media focused less on leaders' appearances and were more neutral in their reportage. Notably, New Zealand's first woman prime minister, Jenny Shipley, received the least amount of media attention focusing on her appearance or sartorial style. As has been discussed previously in this chapter, this is partly due to the relative impartiality of the New Zealand press, in comparison to presses of the UK and Australia, in addition to the small number of articles that covered Shipley in the first three weeks of her prime ministerial term (only 72). However, like all other women prime ministers selected for this thesis, Shipley still received media attention that focused on her appearance, though it was less overtly gendered and her appearance was largely mentioned in passing. For example, Helen Bain's *Dominion* article mentions Shipley's sartorial style, stating that for her

190

swearing-in ceremony she was 'dressed in a new purple silk Peter Homan-designed outfit' before mentioning how often she was seen to be smiling (1997). In comparison with the undue press focus on May's and Gillard's appearance, this example is relatively tame. Rather than elaborately discussing what shoes she is wearing or scrutinising her hairstyle, the article instead briefly mentions the outfit she wore as she was being sworn-in. This kind of representation appears to be more in line with the ways in which the media would mention male prime ministers' sartorial style.

In a similar vein, New Zealand's second woman prime minister also received relatively little amount of sartorially focused media coverage during her first three weeks. In a similar way to the coverage of Shipley two years prior to Clark's ascension, the New Zealand press were somewhat impartial in their portrayals of Clark in comparison to the Australian and UK presses. However, while the press coverage of Shipley rarely acknowledged her appearance—and when it did the focus was fairly neutral—Clark's appearance was discussed in slightly more detail and more critically. Echoing her brief mention of Shipley's outfit for her swearing-in ceremony, Helen Bain, this time writing the same piece for both *The Press* and *The Dominion*, assessed the outfit that Clark wore for the first photograph of her new cabinet, remarking that it was 'frugal' and 'austere' and criticising that there was 'no splurging on a new frock for the occasion' (1999b; 1999c). Such associations draw on the stereotype that associates the Labour party with post-communist austerity: Clark was often referred to as Helengrad.[20]

Reflecting on how the mainstream media covered her during her time as opposition leader and prime minister, Clark noted that:

> [The media] is confronted with someone who is serious, and decided that she's going to have a very good shot at being prime minister. But, really, that's not what they're interested in. They're interested in, well, her as this *woman* and why does she dress like that and why

---

[20] Clark's was nicknamed 'Helengrad' by the National Party stalwart, which combined 'anti-left bias, totalitarian imagery and a trivialising personal element' (Comrie 2008, 4).

is her hair like that and what about this, that and the other. So they just really didn't know how to handle [having a woman prime minister]. (Interview, 24 April 2019)

Overall, despite the New Zealand press not being as preoccupied with Clark's style in comparison to what we have seen for May or Gillard, they still frequently commented on the difference in her appearance from the expected (male) norm and feminine beauty standards. Assessing her appearance and linking it to her competency as leader implies a 'spurious link made between outward appearance and ability to do the job' (Ross 2002a, 89). Clark was positioned in a double bind, where women who are *too* feminine and stereotypically attractive are seen as being incompetent and incapable, while women who fail to comply with these beauty norms are portrayed as *too* serious and not 'proper' women.

Although the focus on Clark's appearance contained an element of judgement, it appeared to be quite subdued in comparison to the overtly sexist coverage that May and Gillard experienced. Could this perhaps be because Clark ascended the prime ministerial role prior to the intensification of the personalisation and celebritisation of the media? Or is it due to the media having already previously discussed her appearance in detail during the 1999 election? One factor, by way of answer, could be the differences between the New Zealand and other countries' presses that have been examined in Chapter One. Another could be the relative lack of media personalisation and celebritisation in the 90s in comparison to latter decades, which may have resulted in Clark (and Shipley and Thatcher) receiving less media coverage on their appearance. The kind of intense personalisation and gendered coverage seen in the coverage of Gillard and May became normalised in the 1990s. For Baird, such intensification of media personalisation and celebritisation from the 1990s meant that 'the scrutiny of public figures has [also] intensified … where politicians are encouraged to groom themselves … [and to] cultivate a profile' (Baird 2004, 132).

The relative absence of press attention focusing on Clark's appearance throughout the first three weeks of her prime ministerial term was rectified throughout the rest of her three terms. In her 2017 study examining the gendered media coverage of women and male prime ministers, Trimble identified that there were dramatic changes to the media perceptions of Clark throughout her prime ministerial terms. This change in perceptions was, in part, due to her reported makeover, which was often 'interpreted positively' (Trimble 2017, 135). Clark had always had an 'image problem' and was often portrayed as 'ruthless' and 'relentlessly ambitious, even unlikeable' (Trimble 2017, 135). As Clark's appearance changed under the guidance of experts, each makeover was considered a success and simultaneously approved of by the press (Trimble 2017, 135). Such changes were thought to 'soften' her public persona in an attempt to diminish any associations of being perceived as 'cold' or 'hard'. In our interview, Clark mentioned that she defied expectations of what a leader was *supposed* to look like while also subverting dominant feminine beauty standards. As a result, the media were confused:

> [During my terms as opposition leader and prime minister] there was undue attention to appearance, in all aspects. And that covered clothes, level of voice, haircut, how my teeth were crooked. Things that I have never seen commented on for men, at all. So, one of the issues you're faced with was how to really try and neutralise that because it was very distracting—you couldn't get a message through when there was this kind of distracting coverage going on. (Interview, 24 April 2019)

Although the amount and level of media reportage examining Clark's appearance was not as excessive as it was for May or Gillard, it is still significant because this kind of coverage was atypical for a relatively neutralised New Zealand press landscape. Clark's comments demonstrate that any attention spent on a political leader's appearance can be personally impactful but also electorally damaging.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has illustrated the various ways in which the mainstream press focus on appearance in their coverage of women prime ministers. Furthermore, this analysis has shown that the press often use appearance-related metonyms to draw further attention to women leaders' transgressive gender performances, trivialising them in their roles as prime minister by focusing on their feminine image, or lack thereof, which physically marks them as 'other'. Additionally, the mainstream press portrayed some of these leaders in a celebritised manner, subjecting them to celebritised beauty ideals and subsequent scrutiny when they failed to conform to these unrealistic expectations. As has been discovered, those leaders who appeared in a more masculine manner, such as Clark and Gillard, were often seen to be defying the feminine expectations put upon them and their sartorial style was negatively assessed and marked as 'unfashionable'. When they tried to balance this through becoming more feminine through makeovers and more 'fashionable' attire, the media both welcome the change but, through celebritised coverage, portray them as being different, or in juxtaposition, from the prime ministerial masculine norm.

Through this examination, it is evident that the reportage of some leaders relied on the appearance trope more than others. In both the UK and New Zealand, the media coverage of the second woman prime minister relied more on this gendered trope than they had for the first. This is important to note, as it would be expected that the first woman prime minister would receive more gender-based coverage that subsequent women, as she would be breaking the male norm through becoming the first woman in a highly masculine space. It would therefore be thought that those who are 'firsts' would experience more appearance related coverage due to there still being a novelty factor. However, this does not appear to have been the case. Although Gillard is an exemplary case showing how the media can go into a frenzy over first women leaders, I would argue that there would be similar treatment, if not more intense, depending on the politician and

194

the context, for Australia's second woman prime minister. The coverage of the most recent prime ministers, May and Gillard, which was more appearance-related than that of the other three leaders combined, demonstrates the effects of increasing levels of personalisation and celebritisation in media coverage of political leaders.

This chapter has examined how the mainstream press focuses on women political leaders' appearance, which in turn trivialises them in their prime ministerial roles. Such gendered press coverage of the leaders from all three countries demonstrates that it is nearly impossible for women to escape the objectifying male gaze that reduces women to novelties while men are regarded as the norm. The next chapter will explore the third gendered trope the press frequently used in their coverage of these leaders: relating them back to their families. In that chapter, I will argue that mentioning a woman's family status and relegating them back to the private sphere reinforces their gendered 'difference' and, similarly to the gendered trope examined in this chapter, it acts as a means of othering them from the prime ministerial role.

Chapter Six: The Family Trope

6.1 Introduction

A third recurring gendered trope in media portrayals of Thatcher, May, Gillard, Shipley and Clark is their association with family life. Such repetitive emphasis on the heteronormative nuclear family is central to the naturalisation of gender roles described by Butler, manifested most clearly in the case of women by the performance of motherhood. Femininity is sometimes so inextricably linked to motherhood and family that women are not regarded as individuals, only as daughters, wives, mothers, sisters or aunts. Conflict between images of the 'good wife' or 'good mother' and that of the 'good politician' are a particular concern for women politicians, who are expected to adhere to normative expectations of heterosexuality and dedication to a husband and children while also showing complete devotion to work. Due to the rise in personalisation, however, the mainstream media increasingly draw public attention to politicians' private lives, including their families, and in doing so they further inflame this conflict (Campus 2013, 94). This tendency is referred to as the 'intimisation' of politics, whereby it becomes acceptable to focus on personal, familial and romantic relationships (Stanyer 2013, 11; Stanyer and Wring 2004, 1; Trimble 2017, 91).

Intimisation affects men and women politicians differently. Coverage of a male politician's family may result in opportunities for image-making and proof of credentials as a 'good family man'. Women politicians, on the other hand, and especially leaders, are thoroughly scrutinised as wives and mothers (Campus 2013, 94). Childbirth and marriage are often central to their media coverage, reassuring readers that they are *both* competent and qualified politicians *and* traditional, 'normal' women (Braden 1996, 65). While male politicians' families and their roles as husbands and fathers are merely seen as an extension of identity, women are defined by their marital and parental status, demonstrating that 'maternity remains more relevant than paternity' (Jamieson 1995, 168).

Such gendered emphasis on women politicians' family lives is problematic because it implicitly portrays their choice of professional over domestic fulfillment as an abnormal aberration (van Zoonen 2006, 299), thereby aiding the mainstream media's regulation of gender norms and support for the status quo.

Other scholars, including Ross (2017), Trimble (2017), Stalsburg (2010) and Thomas and Bittner (2017), have analysed the media framing of women politicians' families and the impact of this on electoral success. This chapter will add further nuance to this small but growing field of study by examining whether such coverage varies from progressive to more conservative media outlets. I have also identified three overarching themes used by the media to associate leaders with their families: portraying them as wives or spinsters; as mothers or childfree; and as daughters. The first theme positions married women as either doting or emasculating and those who are not married or who are in a non-traditional partnership as a 'sham'. The second theme reinforces the supposed division between women with children and those without. The third theme ties leaders back to their parents, and especially to their fathers.

6.2 Wives

Political leaders' partners are especially relevant for the study of personalised media treatment. Male politicians can deploy their partners (usually their wives) to demonstrate their credentials as both politically competent and personally relatable (Ross 2017, 139). Their partners are often expected to sacrifice their own careers to further this aim (Ross 2017, 117), while the role of doting spouse is conventionally feminised to reflect the strong association of supporting roles and the private sphere with femininity (Schneider and Bos 2014). Women politicians, on the other hand, are given less opportunity to use their partners in a similar manner, as 'both the presence and the absence of a conventional family life are regarded as problematic [for a woman]' (Trimble

197

2017, 92; Wagner 2019, 67). If they do use their partners in this way, they risk being framed as 'emasculating'.

Women political leaders are therefore left in a double bind. If they have a husband, they are, at best, regarded as selfish for expecting him to change his life for their political aspirations or, at worst, as emasculating him (Ross 2017, 138). If they do not have a husband, they are similarly regarded as having deviated from an expected heteronormative role (Butler 1990), leading their femininity, and often their sexuality, to be questioned. If they have a partner but are not married, then their relationship is construed as inauthentic, sometimes leading the media and public to question their sexuality. Despite women politicians regularly attempting to divert attention away from their private lives, the media drag them back to the private sphere, where women's aspirations are expected to revolve around the roles of wife and mother, not political leader.

6.2.1 Content Analysis

All five women leaders analysed in this dissertation were associated by the media with gendered tropes that tie them to familial roles. A content analysis of selected articles shows that this was most used in reportage of Clark and May, while Gillard experienced it least (Table 6.1). However, when considered in terms of number rather than percentage of articles in which there is some mention of a woman's partner, it becomes clear that Gillard experienced this trope most numerously and Shipley least (Table 6.1). As in previous chapters, this demonstrates why it is important to examine data not only in terms of percentage but also quantity.

Table 6.1. Percentage and number of newspaper articles that mentioned their partners

	Percentage of Articles	*Number of Articles*
Thatcher	8.1%	14
May	12.2%	23
Gillard	6.8%	34
Shipley	11.1%	8
Clark	12.1%	13

Comparing media use of this trope for Thatcher and May yields some unexpected results. Although Thatcher and her husband Denis are more eminent and identifiable than May and her husband Philip, it is surprising to note that more articles mentioned the latter (Table 6.2). While the percentage of mentions in *The Guardian* remained the same, *The Mirror* and *The Daily Telegraph* mentioned Philip more frequently, while the two conservative newspapers, *The Sun* and *The Daily Telegraph*, deployed this trope most often in their coverage of both leaders. This aligns with the finding in previous chapters that the UK conservative press is more likely to use gendered tropes.

Table 6.2. Percentage of articles that mentioned Thatcher's and May's partners

Newspapers	*Thatcher*	*May*
Guardian	8.9%	9.3%
Telegraph	6.9%	16.1%
Mirror	4%	13.3%
Sun	11.8%	10.2%
Average	8.1%	12.2%

Australia's mainstream conservative press also used gendered tropes to a greater extent than the progressive press in their coverage of Gillard, although the difference was only marginal. On average, 6.8 per cent of selected articles mentioned Gillard's partner Tim, yet this increases for the conservative newspaper *The Daily Telegraph* to 9 per cent (Table 6.3). The conservative national broadsheet *The Australian* mentioned Tim least (5.7 per cent). On closer analysis, however, when

number rather than percentage of articles is considered, it is revealed that both conservative newspapers mention Tim with more frequency than do their progressive counterparts. *The Australian* published the most articles using this trope, closely followed by the conservative tabloid *The Daily Telegraph*. This is again consistent with my finding that the conservative press in general, not just in the UK, uses gendered tropes more often in coverage of women prime ministers.

Table 6.3. Percentage and number of newspaper articles that mentioned Gillard's partner

Newspapers	Percentage of Articles	Number of Articles
Australian	5.7%	14
Sydney Morning Herald	6.7%	8
Daily Telegraph	9%	12
Average	6.8%	11.3

This theory is also supported by the New Zealand cases, where Shipley and Clark were tied to family life in the highest percentage of articles but, in real terms, the lowest number (Table 6.4). Clark's partner, Peter, received more mention than Shipley's partner, Burton. While use of this trope by the centrist broadsheet *The Dominion* and centre-right broadsheet *The New Zealand Herald* is approximately equivalent for both leaders, centrist broadsheet *The Press* referred to Peter almost three times as often as Burton. This is consistent with the findings presented in the previous chapter, comparing general media use of gendered tropes in coverage of Shipley and Clark.

Table 6.4. Percentage of articles that mentioned Shipley's and Clark's partners

Newspapers	Shipley	Clark
NZ Herald	11.5%	10.9%
Dominion	14.3%	12.5%
Press	5.6%	14.3%
Average	11.1%	12.1%

The ten adjectives used most frequently to describe all five leaders show that ties to family life are consistently secured through use of the words 'husband', 'partner', and equivalent terms, and by reference to a woman leader's husband by name (Table 6.5, Table 6.6, Table 6.7, Table 6.8, Table 6.9). This aligns with the conclusion drawn by Ross, after speaking with women candidates in the 2001 British elections about their experience of this trope and its double bind during campaign coverage, that their 'identit[ies were] always associated with [their] husband[s]' (2002a, 153). It appears that very little changed in the UK in this regard in the intervening fifteen years. While there is an appearance of uniformity, however, it is important to examine the specific terms chosen in each case. Gillard's (de facto) partner, Tim, for example, like those of the other four women leaders analysed in this thesis, was most frequently referred to by name, and, unsurprisingly, the word 'husband', which consistently appears in coverage of Thatcher, May and Shipley, was never used. He was instead referred to as her 'partner', or even, in some cases, her 'boyfriend', an invalidating term that implies a casual and even childlike relationship. The ten words used most frequently to refer to Clark's spouse also did not include 'husband', with most writers opting instead for 'partner', yet Clark and Davis had been married for eighteen years. As in Gillard's case, then, and much like *The Dominion*'s repeated reference to her as 'Miss Clark', this constitutes an act of delegitimisation.

Table 6.5. Thatcher's top ten most frequently used descriptive words

Thatcher's Top 10 words	Number of times
Woman	109
Maggie	45
First	33
Husband	**16**
Historic	13
Dennis Thatcher	**13**
Victory	8

Feminist	7
Triumph	6
Female	5

Table 6.6. May's top ten most frequently used descriptive words

May's Top 10 words	*Number of times*
Woman	128
Thatcher	102
Female	59
Theresa	44
Kitten heels	39
Fashion	27
Ruthless	23
Husband	**26**
Shoe	18
Philip	**15**

Table 6.7. Shipley's top ten most frequently used descriptive words

Shipley's Top 10 words	*Number of times*
Woman	89
First	59
Burton	**31**
Jenny	22
Family	**22**
Children	**16**
Female	15
Mother	**14**
Husband	**13**
Right-wing	9

Table 6.8. Clark's top ten most frequently used descriptive words

Clark's Top 10 words	*Number of times*

Miss	84
Woman	24
Negotiate	16
Helen	13
Relationship	**11**
First	10
Family	**8**
Partner	**7**
Tough	7
Left-wing	6

Table 6.9. Gillard's top ten most frequently used descriptive words

Gillard's Top 10 words	*Number of times*
Woman	434
Faction	229
Female	224
First	200
Julia	175
Negotiate	103
History	74
Hair	60
Tim Mathieson	**58**
Loyalty	53

In the case of all five women leaders, then, the most common method by which the media tied them to their familial roles was by emphasising their status as wives/de facto spouses through frequent mention of their partners. This tendency reflects an ingrained assumption that women must be doting wives, and that they must choose between public and private life, between family and career, or risk criticism for pursuing one of these supposedly separate spheres at the expense of the other (Jamieson 1995, 63). On the other hand, unmarried women, even when, like Gillard, they can maintain a secure de facto relationship, are often regarded as less relatable to the public

or isolated from 'the average family' at best, and, at worst, as 'deviant and perhaps cynical workaholics' (Campus 2013, 97). Both forms of critique appear in media coverage of Thatcher, May, Gillard, Clark and Shipley, who are variously portrayed as doting wives, the partners of 'first men' or 'first blokes', emasculating and ostentatiously unmarried, or engaged in a 'sham' relationship.

6.2.2 Doting Wife

The image of the doting wife is a common theme in mainstream media representations of conservative prime ministers. Supporters of conservative ideas usually view gender as innate and biological, and often subscribe to traditional heteronormative family roles that cast the man as the breadwinner and the woman as the primary caregiver (Campbell 1987, 241). Women have historically been tied to men, and their identity has been defined by that of their husbands. Men, on the other hand, have rarely been defined by their relationships with women. This discrepancy is most clearly illustrated by the final line of the customary wedding ceremony: 'I now pronounce you man *and wife*' (Jamieson 1995, 61, emphasis added). Further compounding this, women politicians face yet another double bind: they are expected to be good wives or risk transgressing gender norms. This is especially true for conservative women. However, if they adhere too closely to this stereotype, they risk being reduced to the role of wife and, in the process, their competency in any other domain is questioned (Jamieson 1995, 54). While Clark and Gillard only occasionally endured this, it was deployed with great frequency against Thatcher and May.

Thatcher was often depicted as a doting wife to her husband Denis. In an article for the *Daily Telegraph* article (Morrow 1979b), for example, Ann Morrow wrote that, after Thatcher learned the election results, 'Mr Denis Thatcher protectively took his wife's arm and guided her out of the room'. The use of the word 'protective' coupled with 'guided' reaffirms traditional gender norms. If infers that women are weak and need protecting and guiding by their husbands. This description normalises Thatcher by situating her as a wife, and therefore making her seem

more approachable and appealing in conventional terms, though Morrow also highlights her difference: her gender.

Conversely, although May also experienced this trope, articles that solely focused on her husband, Philip, were less frequent and the authors took a different approach. The majority of these, however, were published in the conservative tabloid *The Sun*. For example, one article stated that it was 'time for Mr and Mrs May to head to their new home at Downing Street' (Philips 2016), implying that her ascension to the prime ministerial role was akin to a new marriage. The phrase 'Mr and Mrs May', it should be added, normalises a patriarchal family structure that ties a woman's identity to her husband and even denies her a name. Instead of an individual in her own right, or a member of her profession as prime minister of the UK, May was dragged back into her familial and private role as Philip's wife.

It is important to acknowledge that Thatcher and May did exercise some agency in their public and media representation. Thatcher used her association with the domestic to advantage at a time when it was difficult for Tory women to ascend and succeed in the party. Beatrix Campbell (2015, 46) describes her 'political mobilisation of domesticity' and emphasises how she escaped relegation to the private sphere while simultaneously masquerading as a housewife and consigning other women to that role. However, Thatcher may have been compelled to resort to this domestic performance while ascending the ranks of a traditionally masculine space (Webster 1990). Had she not hidden behind a housewifely exterior, she may have risked the accusations of lesbianism, feminism and 'man-hating' that were common at the time in the Tory party (Campbell 2015, 46). Nevertheless, whether or not Thatcher and May exaggerated their domestic and stereotypically feminine roles, the trope of family life reinforced their difference and othered them from the prime ministerial role, implying that their status as wives was as, if not more than, important and deserving of reportage as their political leadership.

205

Although Gillard and Clark, both from centre-left parties, were sometimes represented as traditional doting wives/partners, such portrayals were infrequent in comparison to Thatcher, May and Shipley. On the other hand, their relationships were also seen as less legitimate, and Gillard's unmarried status above all was often emphasised. When Gillard and Clark first ascended to the prime ministerial role, the mainstream press drew attention to the physical affection that they expressed toward their partners. One *Sydney Morning Herald* article, for example, compared Gillard's swearing-in ceremony with the Governor General to a marriage ceremony, and described Tim Mathieson, waiting for her to enter, as 'a nervous groom' (Narushima 2010). This comparison draws attention to her unmarried status, a first for an Australian prime minister. Similarly, a *New Zealand Herald* article covering Clark's ascension noted that 'holding hands with husband Peter Davis was a nice touch' (Gamble 1999) after giving her election victory speech. Aside from this, however, neither Clark nor Gillard were frequently portrayed as doting wives, demonstrating that this trope is more often used for married conservative women prime ministers, who conform more closely to traditional gender norms, than married or unmarried progressive women in the same role.

6.2.3 The 'First Man'

The rise in personalised reportage of politics has stimulated a growing interest in prime ministers' spouses. The US tradition of highlighting the role of the 'first lady' was previously not applicable in the UK, Australia or New Zealand, though this is slowly changing. The governmental system of these countries is organised along Westminster rather than presidential lines, so the definition of 'first spouse' should refer to partners of the head of state. In the UK, that would be the king or queen, and in Australia and New Zealand it would be the partner of the governor general. However, due to increased media focus on prime ministers, it is instead their partners who receive the title of first spouse (Stanyer 2013, 14). Recent male prime ministers in the UK, Australia and New Zealand have turned this trend to their advantage by parading their spouses to

demonstrate their normality and relatability, while the press have found multiple justifications for their focus on first wives, from their involvement in humanitarian projects to their latest outfits (Campus 2013, 102). Some political spouses have successfully evaded this media frenzy by deliberately avoiding the spotlight, yet this has never been possible for partners of women prime ministers. It is to be expected that the spouse of a country's first woman prime minister would receive media attention due to their novelty status as the first 'first man'. However, in the UK, it appears that this novelty retained its attraction for the country's second first man as well.

While Thatcher's, May's, Gillard's, Shipley's and Clark's respective partners all received media attention, Tim Mathieson undoubtedly received the most. As Gillard was Australia's first woman prime minister, the media seemed unsure exactly how to label him: as 'first man', 'first husband' or, staying true to 'Aussie' slang, 'first bloke' (Dunleavy 2010a; Farourque and Butterfly 2010; M. Harvey 2010b; Overington 2010b; Trinca 2010). Directing attention to Gillard's unmarried status, several articles insisted on 'first boyfriend' (Overington 2010b; Trinca 2010), placing the spotlight on Gillard's deviance from both political norms and heteronormative expectations.

Aside from media confusion about labels, Tim and other partners of women leaders are also expected to adhere to certain standards of behaviour set by the press and reinforced by the public. Coverage of these 'first men' enforced implicit norms: they were required to demonstrate their dedication and support for their spouses, their likability and relatability, and their conformity to traditional hegemonic masculinity (Trimble 2017, 97). The primary example of an acceptable and hegemonically masculine first man is Shipley's husband, Burton. Although Burton was New Zealand's first man, he maintained an element of hegemonic masculinity by, as Trimble puts it, behaving as 'a man doing manly things' (2017, 98). Shipley, on the other hand, retained a guise of traditional femininity by taking the role of doting wife to complement Burton. This normalised the idea of a first man, and therefore a woman leader, and so their marriage was central to Shipley's

207

political brand (Trimble 2017, 97). Unlike other male partners of political leaders, Burton retained a supportive role as preserver of the family home without detracting from his masculinity. He was described in hypermasculine terms as a 'big bear of a man' and 'fifth-generation farmer' (Aldridge 1997). One article questioned Burton's domestic capabilities by asking the age-old question: who cleaned the household toilet? He responded that he and Shipley employed a housekeeper, though he suspected that 'Jenny cleaned it more than I did' (Aldridge 1997). While supportive of Shipley, he was not seen to be sacrificing his masculinity for her career.

Conversely, Tim Mathieson and Philip May, while portrayed as supportive and attentive, were not regarded as masculine men. Philip was framed as a loving husband, regularly implied to be May's 'closest adviser' and trusted 'rock', providing much-needed assistance for her stressful parliamentary roles (Cole 2016). However, his masculinity was often ridiculed, and May in turn was accused of emasculating him. Similarly, Tim was depicted as unceasingly devoted to Gillard and praised for his ability to 'make sure Julia is cared for at home' (Buchanan and Molitorisz 2010), but his masculinity was derided due to his profession as a hairdresser and his failure to insist that Gillard agree to confirm their union through marriage. Both men were therefore expected to perform in heteronormative, patriarchal and traditional ways. Their masculinity was seen to depend on their ability to be '"man" enough to insist on a traditional legal marriage' and to maintain a conventional masculine career prior to their partner's political rise (Trimble 2017, 100). Tim failed on all counts: he did not insist on marrying Gillard, and his profession is stereotypically considered suitable only for women or homosexual men.

6.2.4 Emasculator

Another common sub-trope in media coverage of women political leaders and their partners is the implication that the latter subvert stereotypical gender roles. Just as women politicians are expected to perform stereotypically masculine attributes while maintaining appropriate levels of femininity, their partners are held to similar standards. If first men do not

display traditionally hegemonic masculine traits to balance the stereotypical femininity of their supporting role, they risk ridicule and accusations of effeminate weakness (Trimble 2017, 100), while their partners are also blamed for *emasculating* them. If they appear *too masculine* then they are regarded as not supportive enough, while their partners' leadership suitability is questioned, particularly as to whether they are 'independent enough' from their domineering male partners.

This bind is clear even in coverage of Thatcher's partner Denis, who was often portrayed as stereotypically masculine. In a 1979 article for *The Guardian* on the man 'behind the Prime Minister', Michael White, referring to a gossip magazine comment, argued that Denis had been relegated to inclusion among the wives. Denis was 'treading new ground', he alleged, as 'Prince Phillip … knew what he was marrying into. Mrs Meir and Mrs Gandhi were widows … Poor Mr Thatcher is the first *elected* consort' (1979). Aside from the comparison between Denis and the wives of other political leaders, which in itself is an attack on his masculinity, the term 'consort' is very loaded—usually only monarchs and emperors have consorts—thus casting Thatcher as an absolute ruler. White continues his ridicule, albeit in a tongue-in-cheek and often affectionate tone, with quips about Denis's preference for gin in contrast to Thatcher as 'the family's scotch drinker'. This again subverts gender roles, as gin is stereotypically viewed as a woman's drink (as per the adage of 'mother's ruin'), whereas scotch is stereotypically masculine. Metaphoric reversals such as this further reinforced Thatcher's public image as a 'gender-bender', simultaneously a doting housewife and the 'pants-wearer' in both her marriage and her cabinet (Ross 2017, 83). Thatcher was often accused of emasculating the men around her in parliament, and it is implied in this and other articles that her husband had met the same fate, lending support to the baseless yet frequently repeated complaint that women's ascension to leadership roles humiliates and disempowers men.

Almost four decades later, Philip May also faced ridicule for what many perceived to be submissive behaviour. Allison Pearson, for example, in a 2016 article for *The Daily Telegraph*, wrote

in a direct inversion of stereotypical gender roles that 'perhaps the PM has been practicing her "resolute work leader" look in the bathroom mirror at No. 10 while Philip's still in his jimjams wrestling with [the] Teasmade,[21] but, goodness, it worked'. Pearson thereby draws attention to the apparent deviancy of the prime ministerial couple's gender roles, inferring humorously that May has been working on mastering the outward appearance of a leader and hence inferring that her leadership ability was only an act, a masquerade, while her husband dutifully makes tea in his pyjamas. Both Denis Thatcher and Philip May, in parallel with the media ridicule of Margaret Thatcher and Theresa May, were therefore portrayed as subversive in their performances of gender identity, losing their masculinity in inverse proportion to their partner's shedding of stereotypically feminine traits. Such coverage shows, on the one hand, that gender can be deployed not only against women politicians but even against their husbands if they are seen to have transgressed gender norms, and, on the other, that women are still inextricably tied to their partners and to the private sphere, no matter how public their profession.

6.2.5 Unmarried

In a heteronormative society, there is an expectation that citizens will marry and conceive children. Those who do not adhere to this norm, either because they have chosen not to marry or not to bear children or because they are not heterosexual, are perceived to be deviant. Following the historical association of femininity with the domestic sphere, this expectation is even more rigorously enforced for women than men. As not only the first woman to lead the Australian government but also that country's first unmarried prime minister, Gillard was regarded as doubly abnormal, and her decision not to marry was a regular topic of discussion in the press.

In the days following Gillard's ascension to the prime ministerial role, she was frequently referred to in media coverage as Australia's 'first unmarried Prime Minister' (Albrechtsen 2010;

---

[21] A machine for making tea automatically.

Coorey 2010; Dunleavy 2010b; Farr 2010; Ferguson 2010). *The Australian* even sought comments from a Christian organisation that would openly disapprove of her de facto relationship. Stephen Lunn, for example, interviewed pro-family lobby groups, but found that her relationship status 'was of no concern' for them in relation to the implementation of family-oriented policies in comparison to the greater threat of her 'left-wing radical history' (2010). A spokesperson for the Australian Family Association, from whom Lunn also sought comment, similarly expressed neither surprise nor concern, remarking that 'the left aren't the natural champions of the traditional family unit' (2010). Even a representative of the traditionalist Family First Party dismissed Gillard's marital status as 'irrelevant' (Lunn 2010). Two weeks after Lunn's article was published, however, *The Australian* at last received the answer they desired from religious extremist Pastor Daniel Nalliah, who denounced Gillard as unfit to be prime minister because of her professed atheism and decision to 'live out of wed-lock' (Pastor Daniel Nalliah quoted in Franklin 2010). This deference to the opinions of an acknowledged religious extremist demonstrates the depths to which *The Australian* were willing to stoop in their desire to reprimand Gillard for subverting the heteronormative gender binary, or at least to draw attention to her subversion.

However, rather than reverting to religious principle, most other articles that highlighted Gillard's marital status simply sought to compel her to marry. For example, one *Australian* article interviewed Helen McCabe, then-editor of women's magazine *The Australian Women's Weekly*, about Gillard's relationship. McCabe stated that she would 'love a wedding … High profile weddings are just gold because everyone wants to see the dress. The Prime Minister getting married in office—can you imagine?' (Jackson 2010). Male politicians rarely encounter similar treatment, reflecting a general lack of scrutiny of their private lives in comparison to women who, in other instances of the double bind, are punished if married and punished even more harshly if unmarried. Married women are expected to play the role of the doting wife—though not so doting

211

that they are distracted from the top job—while unmarried women face criticism when they cannot 'certify' their femininity in traditionally acceptable ways (Devere and Graham Davis 2006, 68).

6.2.6 Sham Relationship

A final gendered strategy used by the media to tie women leaders to the domestic sphere and thereby to undermine their political authority, especially evident in coverage of Gillard and Clark, was the dismissal of their relationships as a sham. Considering the great extent to which the media focused on Gillard's unmarried status, it is unsurprising that her relationship was portrayed as illegitimate. Clark, however, had been married since 1981 at the time of her ascension. Despite such adherence to expected gender norms, she faced accusations throughout her career that she had chosen to marry only to boost her political and electoral appeal—i.e., that her relationship was a sham. The press also cast doubt on both Gillard's and Clark's relationships by drawing attention to previous partners, or, in Clark's case, depicting her professional relationship with a coalition colleague as romantic. In contrast to such coverage, male prime ministers' past relationships are rarely, if ever, subjected to similar level of scrutiny unless considered atypical or scandalous.

Alongside articles that critiqued Gillard's decision not to marry, many others questioned the legitimacy of her relationship by drawing attention to her relationships with other men. In an article for *The Australian*, for example, comparing Gillard's entry into her first press conference with those of previous prime ministers who 'walk[ed] in with their partners and children', the author observed that Gillard 'did not walk in holding [Mathieson's] hand', but instead 'walked in with Wayne Swan, the new Deputy Minister' (Karvelas 2010). The article not only emphasises Gillard's choice not to marry or have children, thereby differentiating her from the married family men who had preceded her in the prime ministerial role, but also suggests infidelity, as instead of her partner she walked in with another man, thus casting her relationship as illegitimate.

It was not only Gillard's relationships with other men at the time of writing that attracted attention, however, but also her past romantic relationships. This theme was especially evident in the conservative press, in which frequent mention was made of her relationship with fellow Labor MP Craig Emerson. Paul Toohey, for example, writing for the *Daily Telegraph*, found it 'curious' that Gillard's 'official biography list[ed] her personal status as single, even though she had a partner named Tim Mathieson, a hairdresser.' Toohey then went on to mention her relationship with Emerson, 'and, before that, with Australian Workers Union official Bruce Wilson' (Toohey 2010a). Toohey thereby ridicules Gillard's relationship with Mathieson as being so illegitimate that she could be mistaken as 'single', while at the same time he implies a certain promiscuity by listing her past relationships, and also implies an inability to clearly separate her personal and political life, as illustrated by her romantic involvement with former colleagues. In another *Daily Telegraph* article, Emerson is described as 'the then-married federal minister who left his wife and children for her', and who, 'until last week … sat seven seats along' from Gillard on the front bench (C. Harvey 2010). Once again, Gillard is portrayed as a promiscuous, unmarried woman who steals men from their wives and openly mixes her personal desires and professional goals, inferring that she is fundamentally unstable and morally illegitimate.

In our interview, Gillard mentioned that she was not surprised that the media had focused on her de facto relationship at the start of her prime ministership. She noted that 'it would be viewed as interesting and unusual', as she was not only Australia's first woman prime minister but also the first who was 'childless and in a de-facto relationship' (Interview, 28 August 2019). However, she was shocked that this kind of coverage continued throughout her term:

> I was surprised by that and particularly taken aback that anyone in the media would stoop so low as to characterise my relationship as inauthentic … in terms of personal impact, obviously this brought stresses and strains but we weathered through them. (Interview, 28 August 2019)

Despite the personal impact that this coverage had on Gillard, she believes that her de facto relationship did not have much political impact, as 'I do not believe Australians are very judgemental on these personal life matters' (Interview, 28 August 2019). The undue focus on her personal relationship and the framing of it as a 'sham' might not reflect most Australians' views, but such persistent coverage reinforces gendered leadership norms and implies that Gillard subverts these.

In contrast to the heavy media focus in Australia on Gillard's relationship, not only with Tim Mathieson, but also with past partners, in New Zealand, Clark's marriage was rarely discussed in detail, and Davis was rarely referred to as her husband (as can be seen in Table 6.7). Clark herself, when asked to comment, suggested that the media were unsure how to 'handle' her defiance of usual leadership expectations:

> There had been a stereotype around leadership which was that it was a man, most usually a man, with a wife and a family...and that...wasn't me (laughs). It had never been me! I had defied stereotypes to become a member of parliament and then, you know, everything else. (Interview, 24 April 2019)

Although Shipley broke many gender barriers before Clark's ascension, Clark was *childless* and her marriage was therefore speculated to be a 'sham': a political strategy to appease gendered and heteronormative expectations in pursuit of her career (Devere and Graham Davies 2006, 80).

However, the media focused heavily on Clark's relationship with coalition partner Jim Anderton, which was regularly portrayed as a political 'marriage'. In a front-page article for the *New Zealand Herald*, for example, discussing Clark's electoral win and the coalition, the author elaborates the metaphor of marriage, stating that 'the whirlwind union had something old—the venue; something new—Helen Clark's Julie Andrews-style haircut; something borrowed—a pen when Jim Anderton's failed … but nothing blue as his seemingly permanent grin stayed firmly in place' (Small 1999). Many other articles described them as a 'couple' (Bain 1999d), while cartoons

portrayed them in wedding attire, either at the altar or outside a church. This representation of Clark's professional relationship with Anderton firmly situated her in the feminine role of 'wife', while at the same time implicitly casting her relationship with her husband as illegitimate by suggesting the need for a political substitute for this role.

6.3 The Motherhood/Child*less* Bind

In addition to regular mainstream coverage of political leaders' spouses, their children (or childlessness) also attracted widespread media attention. While this may seem innocuous in many cases, it has particular gendered ramifications for those who do not adhere to the heteronormative expectation that a leader should be a straight, married man. Those who are not heterosexual or who are divorced, separated, single or childless are therefore scrutinised because of their divergence from the patriarchal heteronormative family structure (Trimble 2017, 92). Despite the wide range of possible deviations from this norm, women political leaders are generally defined by the media according to one of two categories: as a mother; or as childless.

Women political leaders face criticism no matter which choices they make. If they do not have children, their ability to understand family struggles is questioned and they risk accusations that they are not 'real' women, i.e. doting wives and loving mothers. However, if women do have children, they are seen to be forcing their families to make an unnecessary sacrifice and to become:

> the collateral damage of the mother/wife's burning ambition so that the bad mother/wife trope is persistently rehearsed, providing a very clear message that women can't have it all, no matter how good they are, no matter how much they love their children or their husbands. (Ross 2017, 138)

Women in positions of political leadership therefore often choose to be childfree, or, if they do have children, they typically wait to pursue their ambitions until these children are older and more independent (van Zoonen 2006, 293).

215

6.3.1 Mother

Two of the five women analysed in this thesis have children: Thatcher and Shipley. Both women, it should be noted, were conservative party leaders. In each case, when they ascended to the role of leader, their children were either adults or older teenagers and were therefore fairly independent. As already discussed, Thatcher accentuated her roles as mother and housewife to play to traditional Tory ideals of womanhood. Rather than staying home with her children when they were young, however, she firstly employed a nanny and then enrolled them in boarding school. Although the media were known to comment on her children throughout Thatcher's political career, such comments were generally brief during her prime ministerial ascension, and usually portrayed them as supportive proponents of their mother.

Shipley, on the other hand, was frequently defined by her children. Again, this was in part a conscious self-identification: she mentioned her children throughout her political career, and in the weeks after her prime ministerial ascension argued that her parenting skills had given her a unique ability to 'mother' the country. Although outside the scope of data analysed for this thesis, it should be noted that, during the 1999 election campaign between Shipley and Clark, she often used her children to make herself seem more affable and appealing to the public, playing on societal perceptions of the characteristics that a woman 'should' cultivate (Fountaine and Comrie 2002, 5; van Acker 2003, 121). Following these cues from Shipley herself, she was described in the media as 'more balanced' because she has 'dealt with the mother thing', while her husband and children were labelled the 'First Family of Politics' (*New Zealand Herald* 1997; Young 1997). A front-page article in the *New Zealand Herald*, reporting on Shipley's ascension, proclaimed that 'NZ [was] in for some tough love', while the sub-heading praised her 'firm motherly hand' and ability to 'steer the nation's course as New Zealand gets its first woman Prime Minister' (Laxton 1997). Shipley is described in the article text as a '45-year-old mother-of-two' who 'believes loving families—not Government handouts—are the answer to the country's social problems'. To further

emphasise her firm, but strict, mothering of the country, the article includes a photo of her with a caption that reads 'Mother of the Nation: Jenny Shipley puts family values at the top of her priority list' (Laxton 1997).

Nevertheless, while a media focus on the children of male political leaders has been shown to increase public perceptions of their affability, relatability and normality (Langer 2010; Stalsburg 2010), public motherhood is a more problematic experience for women political leaders. Thatcher and Shipley both readily accepted the mother label, but how much choice did they have as leaders of conservative political parties tied to certain ideals of womanhood? They were unable to perform the traits of 'charming leadership' on which male politicians rely, due to the 'sexual connotations' and flirtatiousness with which these are associated when performed by a woman, and so the only template of celebrity accessible to them was a caring and nurturing motherhood (Schwartzenberg 1977). The focus on women leaders' family lives can aid in forming an intimate link with the electorate, turning their image as a wife and mother to political advantage (Campus 2013, 95), yet the difference in media coverage of family life for male and women leaders is stark. Many details highlighted in the case of the latter, for example the judgements made about their personal relationships, decisions to have/not have children and linking their parenting style to their political skills, would never be considered in the case of the former (van Zoonen 2006, 299).

As indicated by the lack of media focus on Thatcher's children, this disparity does appear to lessen when a woman leader's children are independent adults (Loke, Harp and Bachmann 2011; van Zoonen 1998; 2006). Following this logic, although Shipley was portrayed as a doting wife and loving mother, the situation might have been very different had her children been young and dependent (Loke, Harp and Bachmann 2011). Had Shipley had young children, she would have received a plethora of questions, based on social assumptions that mothers are the primary carers, asking how she would manage being the prime minister *and* a mother, how her children would be

affected by her choice, or how she balances both a career and motherhood—questions that male political leaders rarely receive. Whether positive or negative in tone, however, the act of highlighting Shipley's role as a mother exposes a media focus on women's duties in the private sphere instead of examining her policies, politics and ability (van Acker 1999, 148).

6.3.2 *Child*less

While Shipley and Thatcher successfully navigated the role of public motherhood, women political leaders without children, like Shipley's opponent Helen Clark, have faced a different set of challenges. Such women are frequently portrayed as actively *childless* (Devere and Graham Davis 2006, 68), a term that highlights an alleged lack, and that therefore casts them as lesser relative to those women who have borne children. Although I use the term 'childless' in the headings of this section and sub-section, I favour 'childfree' as a more respectful label that avoids the connotation of lack or inferiority. However, it is important to note that there is a distinction between those women who *choose* to not have children and those who are physically *unable* to have children, either because of age or other factors. Despite this, many women without children have the 'child*less*' label, and all its connotations, pushed onto them.

One primary ramification for women politicians who are unable or who choose not to have children is a public perception of them as unrelatable representatives, especially if they are married (Campus 2013, 97; Thomas and Bittner 2017, 4). A woman in this position is 'presumed to be so power-driven and selfish that she deliberately sacrificed her childbearing role for her profession' (Jamieson 1995, 69). Her apparent decision to pursue a political career at the expense of a family is perceived to be subversive, raising 'indiscreet speculation' about her marriage as a 'calculated career move' (Campus 2013, 97; Stalsburg 2010, 382; Wagner 2019, 66). Several recent studies have found that childfree women are not preferred by the political elite or by voters (Campbell and Cowley 2018; Stalsburg 2010; Teele, Kalla and Rosenbluth 2018). On the contrary, they are frequently rated more negatively not only in comparison to women (and men) who have children,

218

but also to childfree men. In a study of the political consequences of parenthood for women and male political candidates, Stalsburg found that childfree women are not only ranked less favourably than their counterparts, but that voters perceive them as less compassionate as well (2010, 377). A similar study conducted by the Barbara Lee Family Foundation found that childfree women cause voters to feel uncomfortable because, among other expectations, they view the extent to which a woman candidate demonstrates closeness to her family as a measure of her understanding of domestic issues (Barbara Lee Family Foundation 2004, 34).

If women politicians are childfree *and* unmarried, on the other hand, voters often question their sexuality as 'women who [are] not like most other women' (Stalsburg 2010, 395–99). By contrast, childfree men suffer no negative impact in voter terms and indeed appear more masculine than their male counterparts with children and therefore better candidates for political office (Carroll 1994; Jamieson 1995; Stalsburg 2010, 395). A woman in the same situation, however, is inevitably seen as *too* masculine and so, paradoxically, unsuited for office (Stalsburg 2010, 396). This disparity is especially evident among conservative voters, who might respond more negatively to childfree women candidates because of their conservative ideology around gender norms and family values, which stress the importance of the heteronormative nuclear family. However, little research has examined this phenomenon outside the US.

Gillard, Clark and May were all childfree during their tenures as prime minister, although the level of media attention devoted to this aspect of their private lives varied for each leader, and also between the conservative and progressive presses in their respective countries. Neither Clark nor May, for example, were significantly criticised in the first three weeks of their prime ministerial terms for their inability or decision not to have children, yet Gillard's childfree status was a subject of critique throughout her ascension. In the case of all three leaders, on the other hand, the words 'child/children' and 'childless' appeared most frequently in conservative newspapers, once again

demonstrating the traditional views about women, femininity and, in this case, motherhood that are upheld and reinforced by the conservative press.

Throughout her first three weeks as prime minister, Gillard was often labelled 'unmarried and without children' (Albrechtsen 2010; Arndt 2010; Coorey 2010; Dunleavy 2010b; Guest and Don 2010; Toohey 2010a). All three newspapers, but particularly *The Daily Telegraph*, featured photographs of Gillard awkwardly holding babies at various points throughout her career. In line with political stereotypes—politicians are frequently photographed holding or kissing babies, particularly at election time, to further their image as relatable to the general public—these images of Gillard reinforce her personal life, childlessness and unrelatability. Three articles published in the conservative *The Daily Telegraph*, above all, focused on a notorious incident in 2007 when Liberal Senator Bill Heffernan labelled Gillard as 'deliberately barren' and therefore unqualified to be a politician because she could not relate to the concerns of ordinary families (M. Harvey 2010a; Penberthy 2010; van Onselen 2010). Drawing attention to Heffernan's use of the term 'barren', which is never used to describe a man, Summers has condemned his comments and labelled them as clearly sexually discriminative (2013, 121). Susanne Gannon also draws a comparison between Gillard and past male leaders, explaining that it was her

> unapologetic childlessness, atheism, feminism, her relative youth in political terms and her de facto relationship [that] made her an unusual female figure of power following so soon after the conservative family friendly government of John Howard. (2010, 1)

With such precedents, Summers admits that it was perhaps unsurprising that the Australian media and public could not accept this 'new reality', as 'for all of history' the Australian prime minister had been 'a man in a suit who has been married (to a woman) and who has children' (2013, 131).

Many articles could be cited here for their negative portrayals of Gillard's childfree status. Their general tone is best encapsulated, however, in a piece written by conservative 'sex therapist'

Bettina Arndt, who argued that Gillard's de facto partnership and childlessness, combined with her potential status as a public role model, would 'influence other women into making big mistakes about their lives' (2010). Arndt here embodies the media's regulatory role, reprimanding Gillard for her non-normative gender iterations and proclaiming that women who follow her example will be unhappy as they will fail to fulfil their natural obligation to settle down, get married and have children.

Some reporters were critical of such gendered double standards. In an article in *The Daily Telegraph*, for example, Penberthy held then opposition leader Abbott accountable for his 'loaded' remark that Gillard was one-dimensional and could not relate to 'ordinary mums and dads', and parodied Heffernan's comments by suggesting, tongue-in-cheek, that Gillard's lack of the 'Martha Stewart homemaker gene rendered her unfit for public office' (Penberthy 2010). Penberthy went on to speculate that 'a lot of blokes' were intimidated by the idea of a self-sufficient woman prime minister who derived satisfaction from her career rather than staying home and raising a family (2010). While such comments continue to draw attention to Gillard's childlessness and subversive gender choices, they provided a refreshing counterpoint to coverage that reinforced and upheld, rather than critiqued, the heteronormative gender binary.

Gillard's childlessness was in the public eye prior to her leadership ascension, and it was therefore unsurprising that it would be focused on when she became prime minister. In interview Gillard agreed, pointing out Senator Heffernan's 'deliberately barren' comments in particular and 'the silly carry on over me allegedly having an empty fruit bowl' (Interview, 28 August 2019). She also discussed the double bind put onto women politicians regarding reproduction:

> I knew that for a woman leader there was no way to 'win' this. That if I had been a mother, then there would have been commentary about how my children were being cared for. That not having children meant I would be characterised as out of touch. I see this in some ways as part of the double standards that apply to women leaders. A man with children is

221

not going to be questioned about who is looking after the children. I think a man without children would also be at risk of commentary of being out of touch. (Interview, 28 August 2019)

6.4 Daughters

While women leaders are defined, on the one hand, by their normative roles as wives and/or mothers, each of the five leaders analysed in this thesis were also portrayed in media coverage of their ascension to the prime ministerial role as daughters—usually in relation to their father and rarely, if ever, to their mother. The fathers of male politicians seldom receive similar attention unless they are noteworthy in their own right, as is the case with the father of Canadian prime minister Justin Trudeau, who served as a prime minister in the 1970s. Women political leaders, however, are often defined by their father's profession or tied to patriarchal narratives of family, insinuating that their own career as a politician or political leader is seen as less worthy of attention, and thus further emphasising their gendered subversion of the prime ministerial role.

Such coverage was most frequent for Thatcher and May. Thatcher was known to idealise her father and openly reminisced about her childhood as a 'grocer's daughter from Grantham' (Hoggart 1979), a biographical summary that the media repeatedly deployed. Colin Dunne, for example, writing for *The Sun* in 1979, found cause for comment when 'the grocer's daughter from Grantham became the most important woman in the world'. Almost four decades later, May was also consistently linked to her father. A *Daily Telegraph* article referenced an interview conducted with May in 2012, in which she confided that 'there are certain responsibilities that come with being the vicar's daughter'. For the author of the article, this provided a convenient explanation of her adult persona as a hardworking 'goody-two-shoes' (Pearson 2016). Gillard endured similar treatment in Australia, although to a far lesser extent and predominantly occurring after her

222

father's death in 2012,[22] as her identity was more tied to her 'immigrant' parents who had 'slender means' (Toohey 2010a) than solely to her father's occupation.

While the authors cited above confined their discussion of Thatcher's and May's fathers to a pithy tagline, others were far more in-depth in their coverage. Some focused on the pride that the fathers of these and other women leaders presumably felt for their daughters, sometimes even citing interviews with one or both parents, while other articles were dedicated to an elaborate account of a leader's childhood as a formative influence on their politics. In *The Guardian*, for example, Aitken (1979a) speculated that, before taking that 'historic step over the threshold' of Number 10 Downing street, Thatcher might have paused 'to deliver … a few thoughts on her debt to her shopkeeper father'. Thatcher made it well-known throughout her career that she admired her father, and often mentioned him during interviews. According to Beatrix Campbell (1987, 240), Thatcher felt it was her father who had taught her about the world, books and, more specifically, politics. When one interviewer asked about her other parent, however, she answered that her mother had not taken any role in her political education, swiftly returning to her father (Campbell 1987, 240). To a certain extent, then, the media focus on her father was encouraged and fostered by Thatcher herself, much as with her strategic image as the epitome of conservative womanhood.

Media coverage of May's prime ministerial ascension cultivated a comparable focus on the pride that her late father may have taken in her political career and prime ministerial ascension. A *Sun* feature article explored May's 'devotion' to her father, likening her to Thatcher in this respect, and described her in infantilising terms as a 'daddy's girl' (Harvey 2016). The senior May was said

---

[22] The death of Gillard's father, John Gillard, attracted a vast amount of media attention after radio station 2GB's host Alan Jones claimed, during his speech to the Sydney University Liberal Club annual president's dinner, that Gillard's father 'died of shame'. He stated: 'Every person in the caucus of the Labor Party knows that Julia Gillard is a liar, everybody. I will come to that in a moment. The old man recently died a few weeks ago of shame. To think that he has a daughter who told lies every time she stood for Parliament.' (Aston 2012) This commentary sparked a widespread controversy that led to a widespread boycott of the radio station and demands that the station dismiss Jones.

to have inspired his daughter's 'desire to enter politics', according to a family friend (Harvey 2016). Gillard's parents were also described as 'proud' of her achievement. Two articles in particular (Farourque and Butterfly 2010; Wills 2010) cited her father's claim that politics was built into her genetic code, using this as an occasion to seek his opinion of her childlessness: 'if she wants to remain single and build a professional life, that's wonderful' (Farourque and Butterfly 2010). Although this response was undoubtedly supportive, the media's deference to his view of Gillard's personal and political life over and above both her own view and that of her mother further reinforces the patriarchal association of unmarried women with their fathers (Campus 2013; Jamieson 1995), while drawing attention as well to her difference as a childless *and* unmarried woman.

These tropes of parental pride and inspiration also appeared in coverage of Shipley and Clark. Significantly, Shipley was more often associated with her mother, said to have been 'very proud' of her daughter (Young 1997), however this was a result of her father's early death when she was just 18 years old. A similar note of ambiguity is apparent in references to Clark's father, who was reported to have praised her prime ministerial suitability as a strong woman (Wellwood 1999). The New Zealand media coverage of these leaders again provides some nuance to this phenomenon, in focusing on the achievements of the prime minister and the pride that this elicits from their close family rather than tying them to their parent's occupation or emphasising their roles as daughters.

Both Gillard and Clark raised the media coverage of their families during my interviews. Gillard remarked that this 'family frame' significantly affects women politicians and is a primary aspect of gendered mediation. Clark similarly observed that the media's fascination with political leaders' families can harm women who do not conform to expected norms, particularly in relation

to motherhood or childlessness, although she did note that her parents had been integral to her success as a politician and leader precisely because they eschewed traditionally gendered roles:

> I think every family bringing up children can ensure that there isn't gender stereotyping from day one. You know, I'm often asked: 'how did I become who I became', and I say, 'the luckiest break I've ever had—and I mean no disrespect to men—but I never had any brothers'. I grew up on a farm in the 1950s and, you know, looking around if you had boys in the family, boys did something and girls did others. And, my dad had girls. So girls did everything. It never occurred to me that girls couldn't do everything. So that was, you know, a lucky break as it were … How we assign the most basic tasks in the family, what children see mum and dad doing, it's very, very influential and the attitudes we take into life about what's appropriate for women and men to do. (Interview, 24 April 2019)

If the media must publish personalised and intimised articles, perhaps they could instead focus on how these leaders' parents potentially provided opportunities for their daughters to combat gender norms and stereotypes, rather than reinforcing them.

6.5 Conclusion

The personalisation of politics has exercised a distinct impact on women, emphasising their difference—i.e. their gender—and forcefully returning them to the realms of the personal and domestic. This is often manifested through the gendered trope of family life. Although deployed against male politicians as well, the latter generally avoid any gendered disadvantage, as references to their family can make them appear more appealing and affable. In the case of women, however, references to marriage can reduce them to the role of wife, while if they are unmarried, like Gillard and Clark, their personal and political skills, relatability and sexuality can be called into question. Similarly, if a woman politician has children, she may be considered selfish for pursuing a career, while those who are childfree are viewed as unrelatable and unable to understand the concerns of family life. On top of media fixations with their roles as wife or mother, women political leaders are also dragged back into the familial realm via the definition of their

225

identity according to that of their father, thereby casting them in the role of daughter, a form of coverage that is generally not deployed against their male counterparts.

As in previous chapters, my research and analysis have shown that the conservative press uses this gendered trope more often, and often more intensely, than the progressive press does. I have also discovered that conservative leaders Thatcher and May were generally positioned as doting wives, while progressive leaders Gillard and Clark were either isolated by their unmarried status in the case of the former, or regarded as a 'sham' in the case of Clark. At the same time, however, Shipley's marriage was portrayed in a positive light, and her spouse alone was depicted in a wholly positive manner as fulfilling expectations of what a first man *should* be.

All five leaders were cast by the media as either a mother or childless. While motherhood can impede women's political careers, it is far more acceptable, and often desirable in the eyes of the media and general public, for women politicians to have adult children. Shipley and Thatcher were the only leaders analysed who had children, and the latter were either relatively independent or adults at the time of each woman's ascension. Both women readily accepted and even based their political identities on motherhood, generally to great effect. Although Clark, May and Gillard were all childfree at the time of their ascension to the prime ministerial role, only Gillard faced substantial media criticism. In addition to their role as mothers (or not), each of these leaders simultaneously experienced frequent media association with their parents, and especially their fathers, whereas their mothers, somewhat paradoxically, were largely ignored. Numerous articles described the alleged influence that each woman's father had exerted on her political perspective, deferring to the older man's opinion of his daughter's ascension, and often noting his sense of pride.

Chapter Seven: What's in a Name? First Names and Comparisons to Thatcher Tropes

7.1 Introduction

The fourth and fifth recurring gendered tropes in the coverage of Thatcher, May, Gillard, Shipley and Clark are: the use of first names; and comparison with the United Kingdom's first woman leader, Margaret Thatcher. Both tropes not only mark these leaders as women, but they also infer that their gender deviates from those who usually fill prime ministerial roles. Although male political leaders can be referred to by their first names in media coverage, use of first names has particularly gendered ramifications when it is applied to women political leaders. As will be further explored below, referring to women leaders' first names can be disrespectful and can affect how they are regarded and treated. Similarly, comparisons to Thatcher emphasise a leader's gender and subversive choices while also generalising women political leaders. Comparing them to other women leaders emphasises their gender while inferring that women cannot be political leaders in their own right—they must be equated to other women, as if they were a homogenous group.

This chapter departs from previous chapters, which each looked at one gendered trope, instead focusing on two. This is in part because these two gendered tropes occur less frequently than the previous three tropes; however the important distinction is that both of the gendered tropes discussed in this chapter rely on names. While the first trope emphasises the leader's own first name, the second trope associates Thatcher's name with all four women leaders, often through her nickname, 'Maggie'.

Throughout this chapter, I will analyse the various ways in which the mainstream print media used these gendered tropes. This analysis will contribute to an overall understanding of how gendered tropes are used against women political leaders by the mainstream press. The first

227

half of this chapter will explore the gendered trope of referring to leaders by their first names; drawing on my content analysis I will examine how frequent this phenomenon is and if there are any differences between leaders, newspapers and across time. To further understand this phenomenon, I will also explore *how* the mainstream press use first names in the headings and main text of the articles, and how the use is particularly gendered. Following this, I will examine how the print media used the gendered trope of comparing women leaders to Thatcher, and how this has inextricably gendered ramifications.

7.2 First Names

Naming is part of a social practice that is subject to certain rules. These rules are largely status-reliant and differ depending on the situation and who is the subject, who is speaking and who is observing (Uscinski and Goren 2011). The particular names used can indicate the speakers' and subjects' positions and relations with one another, often in accordance with status, whereby subjects who have a higher status are given a more formal title while those with a lesser status are referred to more informally (Ervin-Tripp 1972; Slobin et al. 1968). This dynamic is observable throughout contemporary society, such as in any classroom or doctor's surgery, for example, where both students and patients are referred to by their first names and the teacher or the physician are referred to by their prefixes and surnames. Likewise, politicians and political leaders are usually referred to in the media by their surnames, and this is indicative of their status (Rendle-Short 2007). Naming is an important part of social interactions, and naming is discursively constituted, producing and reproducing social norms and power (Foucault 1989). However, such discursive productions of power also generate gendered power, and re-enforce patriarchal norms.

There is a gendered dynamic at play when it comes to the ways in which women and male politicians are referred to by name. The media tend to refer to women politicians by their first names, rather than full names, last names or titles, more often than they do with male politicians

(Falk 2010; Romaine 1998; Uscinski and Goren 2011). In Falk's (2010, 63) study, which examined the media's gender bias in their coverage of women's US presidential campaigns from 1872–2008, she notes that referring to women candidates' first names was extremely common and was referenced, on average, in 5 per cent of their print media coverage. In comparison, their male counterparts were referred to by their first names in only 1 per cent of their coverage (2010, 63). More recently, Uscinski's and Goren's (2011) study found that 2008 presidential candidate Hillary Clinton experienced this trope more often than her main Democratic counterpart, Barack Obama, at 8 per cent and 2 per cent respectively. These studies demonstrate how common this is in the US, but little research has examined how frequently it is applied to women political leaders from other countries.

Conversely, occasional use of first names can work to advantage for politicians, strengthening their relationship with the electorate. Male politicians, in particular, often refer to themselves by their first names in order to appear more affable and approachable. One example is Australian Labor leader Kevin Rudd, with his 2007 election campaign slogan, 'Kevin07'. However, social-psychological literature notes that use of a first name to endear someone to their audience does not supersede prevailing etiquette nor give everyone permission to refer to them by their first names (Ervin-Tripp 1972). In fact, despite male candidates marking themselves by their first names, the media are unlikely to refer to them as such (Uscinski and Goren 2011). Women politicians, on the other hand, experience a gendered double standard and are referred to by their first names even when they do not use it to market themselves. Although Clinton similarly based her 2008 and 2016 campaigns around her first name to make her more relatable to the public and to soften her image, she did not exclusively market herself under the name 'Hillary'. Uscinski and Goren suggest this demonstrates that the media's use of her first name was because of her gender, not her marketing strategy (2011, 890).

This gendered double standard can be harmful for women political actors. If men are referred to by their surnames, in accordance with the social practices and rules outlined above, and women counterparts are not, it conveys certain messages. It can have insidious effects, suggesting lower status, particularly for women in male-dominated fields. It can also be detrimental as an indication of gender. For example, all five leaders in this study have names that are stereotypically 'women's names', so referring to them by their first names inevitably marks them out as other in masculine political domains.

7.2.1 Content Analysis

Table 7.1. Percentage and number of newspaper articles that referred to the leader by their first name

	Percentage of Articles	*Number of Articles*
Thatcher	22%	38
May	16.5%	31
Gillard	16%	80
Shipley	8.3%	6
Clark	5.6%	6

The print media coverage of all five leaders drew upon the gendered trope of using first names. The above results far surpass the results found in Falk's (2010) study, which found this gendered trope on average in 5 per cent of articles. Falk's US-focus and timeframe, ranging from 1872–2008, suggests that the discrepancy in results may be due to the difference between studying media coverage of a woman's presidential campaign reportage versus during her first three weeks as leader, or could illustrate a difference in media practices in the UK, Australia and New Zealand, or else could signify a change in practices over time with the rise in personalisation. Through undertaking a content analysis of all print articles, it is apparent that some women experience this more frequently than others. It is unsurprising that Margaret Thatcher was referred to by her first name the most out of all five leaders, as her colloquial nickname, Maggie, was well-known

throughout her political career (Table 7.1). It was anticipated that Gillard's first name would be regularly used by the media for similar reasons. However, when examining the data in terms of the number of articles that mention first names rather than percentage of mentions, it becomes apparent that Gillard experienced this phenomenon in more than twice as many articles as Thatcher (Table 7.1). Use of this gendered trope was so common that all five leaders' first names were included in their top ten most frequently used descriptive words (Table 6.5, Table 6.6, Table 6.9). Gillard's first name was mentioned the most (175 times), followed by Thatcher (45 times) then May (44 times). Comparing the number of articles and the number of times their first names were mentioned demonstrates that Thatcher was mostly referred to by her first name in the headlines, while it was used in both the headlines *and* the body for Gillard and May, indicating an increase in personalised coverage.

Table 7.2. Percentage of articles that mentioned Thatcher's and May's first names

Newspapers	Thatcher	May
Guardian	1.8%	14%
Telegraph	3.4%	7.1%
Mirror	44%	3.3%
Sun	70.6%	33.9%
Average	22%	16.5%

Unsurprisingly, the press coverage used this gendered trope in more articles about Thatcher than May. Interestingly, this trope was mostly limited to tabloid newspapers, particularly in the coverage of Thatcher. Although *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph* occasionally referred to Thatcher by her first name, this tendency was quite minimal, whereas it was used by the conservative tabloid *The Sun* in the vast majority of article headlines (Table 7.2). In comparison, May's first name was used, on average, in 16.5 per cent of overall articles, and, as with the coverage of Thatcher, *The Sun* used this gendered trope the most (Table 7.2). However, the overall rate at

which the tabloids used referred to their first names decreased in their coverage of Thatcher to May, while the broadsheets increased their use of it (Table 7.2).

Table 7.3. Percentage and number of articles that referred to Gillard by her first name

Newspapers	Percentage of Articles	Number of Articles
Australian	15.9%	39
Sydney Morning Herald	10%	12
Daily Telegraph	21.6%	29
Average	16%	26.7

Table 7.4. Percentage of articles that mentioned Shipley's and Clark's first names

Newspapers	Shipley	Clark
NZ Herald	3.8%	3.6%
Dominion	10.7%	0%
Press	11.1%	14.3%
Average	8.3%	5.6%

Does the conservative press in Australia and New Zealand utilise this gendered trope more than their progressive counterparts? This phenomenon is apparent in the Australian press coverage of Gillard, with both the conservative broadsheet, *The Australian*, and the conservative tabloid *The Daily Telegraph* using this gendered trope more commonly than their progressive counterpart, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (Table 7.3). Similarly to the coverage of Thatcher and May, the sole Australian tabloid paper in my sample, *The Daily Telegraph*, referred to Gillard by her first name in a larger percentage of articles than did the broadsheet press. This phenomenon was not as applicable for New Zealand press coverage of either Shipley or Clark, although both centrist broadsheets, *The Press* and *The Dominion*, were more likely to refer to Shipley by her first name than their centre-right counterpart, *The New Zealand Herald* (Table 7.4). However, *The Dominion* dramatically decreased the use of this trope in its coverage of Clark compared with coverage of

Shipley, while the other two newspapers roughly stayed the same between the two leaders (Table 7.4) As has been explored in Chapter One, this could be due to the different media culture within the New Zealand press, in part because they have no Murdoch influence, as well as a lack of influential tabloids.

7.2.2 Discourse Analysis

Through a discourse analysis of the newspaper texts, it is apparent that one way in which the media used this gendered trope was through referencing first names in newspaper headlines. This was more so the case for Thatcher and Gillard than for the other three leaders. In fact, *The Sun*'s high percentage of articles that used this trope in coverage of Thatcher is partly due to the number of articles that featured her nickname, Maggie, in the headlines. As explored above, referring to Thatcher by not only her first name but her nickname resonates with the colloquial and informal style of tabloid broadsheets such as *The Sun*, which tends to publish stories that are emotive and based on outrage and the personal (Sparks 2000). For example, a news story about a hospital demanding an increase in funding was titled: 'Give us the medicine now, Maggie!' (*The Sun* 1979), while another, which focused on Thatcher's electoral success, used the title 'Blue skies for victor Maggie' (Dunne 1979). However—ever the one to sculpt her own image—Thatcher embraced her nickname and 'made herself into "Maggie", the leader who is remembered' (Ribberink 2005, 169). She even incorporated it in her 1983 election campaign song:

> Who do we want, who do we need?
> It is a leader who is bound to succeed:
> Maggie Thatcher—just Maggie for me.
> These British Isles have found a fighter
> With the coolest of styles,
> No other politician comes within miles,
> Two, three, four, Thatcher, Thatcher, Thatcher,
> Not a man around to match her. (Nunn 2002, 136)

233

Perhaps this was a more affable and endearing choice of nicknames than ones previously given to her by the mainstream media, like the 'Milk Snatcher', 'Ice Maiden', 'Cave Woman' or 'Open Refrigerator' (Nunn 2002, 97). Although using her nickname can discursively emphasise her gender and run the risk of delegitimisation, Thatcher largely evaded this outcome and instead used the trope to her advantage, perhaps by trying to erase her previously unpopular image in a bid to be more relatable and endearing to the public.

Similarly, the Australian media used Gillard's first name in many article headlines, and its use was also more prevalent in the conservative press. However, Gillard, like Thatcher, was not completely agentless in this, as, like some of her male predecessors, she often used her first name as part of her rebranding strategy post-ascension. Prior to the August 2010 election, Gillard tried to explain her alleged unease and disjointed performances by admitting that her political style as prime minister and her election campaign had been heavily influenced by her strategy team. Gillard insisted that she was trying to counteract this by showing the Australian public the 'Real Julia', by taking personal charge of Labor's election campaign (Williams 2017, 557; Williamson 2019, 1523–24). Although Gillard used her first name to try to seem more affable and appealing to the community, this was after her first three prime ministerial weeks, and therefore out of my study's timeframe. The media used this gendered trope prior to her reclaiming it, and, as noted above, the media rarely refer to male politicians by their first names even when a male leader uses his first name to market himself (Uscinski and Goren 2011). Consistently using Gillard's first name in newspaper headlines not only marks her gender, and her gender subversion, but also suggests that she is regarded as less serious and legitimate than her male colleagues (Summers 2013, 111).

Many other articles, especially for May, Gillard and, to a lesser extent, Shipley, used this gendered trope in the body of the article, often as a descriptive device to discuss the leaders' political performances or their personal lives. For example, while Shipley's first name was used

when discussing her personal family life, often in relation to her husband, i.e. 'Jenny's man' (see Chapter Six), the media did not use this gendered trope to describe her political life. In contrast, the media coverage of Gillard regularly used her first name to describe her political performances or her political affiliation. One negatively toned article labelled Gillard's prime ministerial ascension as 'The Julia Ascension' (Farrelly 2010), while another positively referred to her as 'Queen Julia' before discussing how fond of her the public was (Maiden 2010).

Although few articles used May's first name in their story headlines, they instead opted to use it to add to their comedic ridicule of her political performances in the main bodies of articles. In John Crace's (2016) *Guardian* article, he writes that 'for her first prime minister's questions, Theresa May could have been anyone. She could have been Sensitive Theresa, Caring Theresa, Funny Theresa'. Using her first name in this way, and in such a repetitive manner, conveys mockery and ridicule in addition to the article's author expecting her to convey stereotypically feminine performances of leadership such as being 'sensitive' and 'caring'. A *Daily Telegraph* article drew on May's first name, and again linked her with fashion (which was explored in greater detail in Chapter Five), with the headline 'Inside Theresa's top shop' (Venning 2016). It is hard to imagine a male prime minister being treated by the media in the same manner—'Inside David's wardrobe' or 'Tony's fashion plan'. The overuse of a woman's name emphasises her gender, and her gender subversion, while undermining her political role as leader of the country.

Likewise, the print coverage of Gillard also used her first name in articles that ridiculed her for the ways in which she had ascended to the prime ministerial role. Despite Gillard 'inheriting' the leadership from a prime minister who stood down, and despite some positive coverage about breaking the prime ministerial glass ceiling, she also experienced widespread media criticism that was unprecedented in its misogynistic tone (Williams 2017, 550–51). Many male politicians have successfully engaged in the same political machinations, but none has faced the same amount of

gendered scrutiny and vilification (Johnson 2013b, 140, 2015, 294). For example, two articles in *The Australian* framed Gillard's supposed 'betrayal' of then-sitting prime minister Kevin Rudd through Shakespearean and Roman allegories that comically utilised her first name. One article, titled 'Et tu Julia? An alternative narrative of political treachery' compared Gillard to both Brutus and Caesar, stating that 'Caesar is dead, and well may they say long live Julia Caesar' (Buttrose 2010). Similarly, another article referred to Gillard as 'Julia Seizer', a play on words that substitutes Gillard's first name for Julius, inferring that she seized the prime ministerial role out of her lust for power (Austin 2010). These articles do two things: firstly, the negative connotations of comparing Gillard both to Brutus—the treacherous man who stabbed Julius Caesar—and to Caesar himself— the Roman political leader whose ambition led to the demise of the Roman Republic—imply that Gillard is both traitorous and power hungry; and, secondly, use of Gillard's first name, as the feminine version of Caesar's, highlights her gendered difference from those who usually fill leadership positions, whether in ancient Rome or now.

Using first names to refer to all five women serves to highlight their gender, and gender deviance, and can delegitimise them in their prime ministerial roles in ways that men rarely, if ever, experience. Referring to male political leaders' first names marks them out as men, but this does not have negative gendered ramifications, as it just continues the gendered status quo (Crawford and Pini 2010a; 2010b). It is also rare to read news stories about male politicians that use their first names, such as 'what David told…' or 'what Tony said…'. Using first names can make a politician seem friendlier, but dropping last names or titles for women and not for men can strip women of 'recognition and respect' (Young and Ricketson 2014, 294). It can also induce a false sense of familiarity (Falk 2010; Uscinski and Goren 2011).

7.3 Comparisons to Thatcher

Another common trope the media used in their coverage of all four leaders was to compare them to Margaret Thatcher. It appears to be quite common for women politicians to be compared to other women politicians, and many women political leaders are compared to Thatcher. Even politicians on the left, like Julia Gillard or, to a lesser extent, Helen Clark, were compared to Thatcher. This illustrates that political similarities do not matter when comparing women political leaders. Rather, what is important is their status as political leaders *and* women, which has been regarded as an abnormality in the masculine parliamentary institution (Crawford and Pini 2010a; 2010b; Galea and Gaweda 2018; Lovenduski 2005), and it for this reason that they are compared. As this was found in the coverage of all four leaders, it demonstrates that the media have an inability to imagine a woman political leader on her own terms. Male political leaders get compared to other male political leaders, but they often choose their comparisons through paying homage to their favourite (male) politician, whereas the only thing women need to have in common is their gender identity, after which comparisons to Thatcher[23] will be made. On the odd occasion that women are compared to men, their sex is often attached to the comparison—'the female Bob Hawke' or 'the female Churchill'. Nevertheless, through either of these comparisons, their gender is still emphasised.

---

[23] The woman leader used as the standard of comparison could change depending on the region. For example, leaders from South America might instead be compared to a renowned and formative South American woman leader, and likewise for other geographical and cultural areas. Cross-cultural comparisons also exist with leaders like Liberian's first woman president, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, being compared to Thatcher (Jalazai 2013).

7.3.1 Content Analysis

Table 7.5. Percentage and number of newspaper articles that mentioned Thatcher

	Percentage of Articles	*Number of Articles*
May	25%	47
Gillard	3.4%	17
Shipley	1.4%	1
Clark	0.9%	1

All four leaders were, at some time, compared to Thatcher in the media coverage of their prime ministerial ascensions. Unsurprisingly, May experienced this far more than did the other three leaders, followed by Gillard (Table 7.5). Even when accounting for the number of articles rather than the percentage, there were still more articles that used this comparison in the coverage of May than there were for Gillard. However, this gendered trope was quite rarely used in the New Zealand context, even in the portrayal of conservative leader Shipley.

Table 7.6. Percentage and number of articles covering May that mentioned Thatcher

Newspapers	*Percentage of Articles*	*Number of Articles*
Guardian	27.9%	12
Telegraph	32.1%	18
Mirror	16.7%	5
Sun	20.3%	12
Average	25%	11.8

As Theresa May was the UK's second woman prime minister, it is not unusual that she was compared to Thatcher far more frequently than the other three leaders. On average, May was likened to Thatcher in a quarter of all newspaper articles (Table 7.6). Similarly to results in previous chapters, the conservative broadsheet *The Daily Telegraph* used this trope more frequently than the progressive press. Interestingly, however, both broadsheets more frequently mentioned Thatcher

in their coverage of May than did the tabloids (Table 7.6). This contrasts with findings in previous chapters that discovered that tabloid newspapers tend to use gendered tropes more in their coverage.

Table 7.7. May's top ten most frequently used descriptive words

May's Top 10 words	*Number of times*
Woman	128
Thatcher	**102**
Female	59
Theresa	44
Kitten heels	39
Fashion	27
Ruthless	23
Husband	26
Shoe	18
Philip	15

Furthermore, May was the only leader to have Thatcher's name appear in her 'top ten most frequently used descriptive words' list. In fact, 'Thatcher' (102 times) was the second most used word to describe May, after the word 'woman' (128 times) (Table 7.7). Next to her gender, then, the most discussed points about May were her similarities to Thatcher. May and Thatcher do have a lot of basic similarities—they are both Tory women, they were both prime ministers of the UK, they both went to Oxford and they both came from middle-class backgrounds. However, these traits are not uncommon in UK politicians, and there are many things that are dissimilar about them, most notably 'divergent political and economic priorities and social attitudes (Goodlad 2018, 14). Thatcher was a 'dry' Tory who abhorred social movements such as feminism, whereas May was a 'wet' Tory who actively endorsed liberal feminism (Campbell and Cowley 2018; Goodlad

2018). This highlights the reason they are compared—they have both been *women* leaders of the UK. The media chose to compare May to Thatcher rather than to other political leaders.

Table 7.8. Percentage and number of articles covering Gillard that mentioned Thatcher

Newspapers	Percentage of Articles	Number of Articles
Australian	4.9%	12
Sydney Morning Herald	1.6%	2
Daily Telegraph	2.2%	3
Average	3.4%	5.7

Although May and Thatcher might have some similarities, as discussed above, Julia Gillard is politically opposite to Thatcher, yet she still endured such comparisons. On average, Thatcher was mentioned in 3.4 per cent of articles that covered Gillard's first three prime ministerial weeks. However, when looking at the number of articles, there were 17 articles that mentioned Thatcher in Gillard's media coverage (Table 7.5). The majority of articles that used this trope in their portrayal of Gillard came from the conservative broadsheet *The Australian*, followed by *The Daily Telegraph*, while it was rare in *The Sydney Morning Herald*. In fact, only two *Sydney Morning Herald* articles mentioned Thatcher in their coverage of Gillard. Perhaps Thatcher is the conservative press go-to woman leader to compare other women to because of her historic role and her overtly conservative politics. In these articles, she was portrayed as admirable and strong, and is positioned as someone for Gillard to *aim* towards, rather than an insult. However, there are numerous strong leaders, both male and female, that Gillard could be compared to, especially as she is from the left.

Table 7.9. Percentage of articles covering Shipley's and Clark's ascensions that mentioned Thatcher

Newspapers	Shipley	Clark
NZ Herald	0%	0%
Dominion	3.6%	0%
Press	0%	3.6%
Average	1.4%	0.9%

This gendered trope was far less common in the New Zealand media's coverage of either Shipley or Clark. In fact, there was only one article that mentioned Thatcher in the coverage of Shipley and one that did so in relation to Clark (Table 7.9). While the centrist leaning paper, *The Dominion*, compared Shipley to Thatcher, the more conservative paper, *The Press*, used this trope in an article covering Clark (Table 7.9). It is perhaps to be expected that a centrist paper might conceive Shipley as being similar to Thatcher, as they are both conservative women politicians. Similarly, the conservative paper might more negatively compare Clark with Thatcher due to *The Press*'s more negative coverage of Clark as a progressive leader.

7.3.2 Discourse Analysis

A discourse analysis reveals the various ways the mainstream press used this gendered trope, particularly in the coverage of May and Gillard. In particular, such comparisons were widespread in the reportage of May, where her political style, fashion and even her supposed dominance over her male colleagues were framed as mirroring Thatcher. Numerous articles used this comparison, often calling May 'Maggie May' (Hawkes 2016), or comparing the political climate of 2016 with its supposed similarities to 1979 where a 'no-nonsense woman' was chosen to sort it out (*The Daily Telegraph* 2016). For Gillard, such comparisons were lined with positive intentions, as the journalists associated Gillard's strength and durability with Thatcher's long reign, as evidenced by one *Australian* headline, 'Red Maggie's rise raises great expectations' (Savva 2010b).

May was also compared to Thatcher through their shared stereotypically feminine interest—fashion. Emma Spedding wrote for *The Daily Telegraph* that May's kitten heels 'now look set to become to Mrs May what pussy bow blouses were to Margaret Thatcher' (2016), while another writer described May as 'rummaging around in the dressing-up box of the political past, [where] she had evidently found the wig and the handbag and thought: "Why not?"' (D'Ancona 2016). As explored in Chapter Five, both May's and Thatcher's styles garnered much media attention and scrutiny. In the above example, the media compared May's renowned interest in fashion with notable items from Thatcher's wardrobe. Comparisons did not stop at the sartorial level. There was hope, particularly from the conservative press, that she would *be* a new Thatcher in a contemporary turbulent political climate: a strong woman leader who would control her rowdy cabinet, sort out the political crisis that her predecessor created, and guide the UK into a more stable era of long-term governance. These expectations were steep and, in part, set her up to fall short or fail.

May's first day of sitting as prime minister was widely covered by the press, and her speech and rebuttals were largely compared to Thatcher's prime ministerial performances. Although all four newspapers used this gendered trope, some were more negatively toned than others. One particularly shocking article was John Crace's *Guardian* piece, titled 'Iron Lady 2.0 welcomes back nasty party', where he stated that 'the Thatch is back … Why be your own woman when you can be the one whom large sections of the Tory party have never fallen out of love with?' (2016). Crace's article crudely compares May to Thatcher, remarking that if you 'close your eyes … it could have been the early 80s. An uncompromisable, graceless and brittle figure at the despatch box and a horde of semi-priapic, braying backbenchers', where, sighting this supposed 'Iron Lady 2.0', the Tory backbenchers 'had their first premature ejaculation … [and,] thrilled to have negotiated her first sticky patch, Theresa went for 100% Maggie' (2016).

As has been discussed in previous chapters, *The Guardian* is generally less likely to use gendered tropes than the UK's conservative press or tabloid newspapers. Crace's article is a vulgar exception, but is part of his sexist rhetoric against May; in a later sketch, he coined the derogatory but popular nickname, 'Maybot'. The above example, however, breaks away from standard covert discursive reproductions of misogyny into an overt form, funnelling outrage at a conservative prime minister through the sexualised use of her gender.

Such comparisons not only draw attention onto what is similar between them—their gender—but is also used as a tool for Crace to sexually humiliate both. This is demonstrated by his portraying them as a sort of dominatrix headmistress supported by sexually frustrated and drooling boys rather than two women prime ministers who command respect from their party. During Thatcher's career, her dominance was sometimes depicted through the image of headmistress or head girl (see Chapter Four), but it was frequently framed in a more sexualised manner:

> There were a number of variations on this theme, as men played child to Mrs. Thatcher's nanny, schoolboy to her headmistress, masochist to her sadist, conjuring up a picture of a particular upper-class male sexuality with resonances of punitive nannies, public school floggings, homosexuality, and overwhelming guilt and taste for punishment. (Jamieson 1995, 160)

The dominatrix image was incorporated into the popular understanding of Thatcher, as she was seen as dominating her (male) cabinet, colleagues, Conservative party and national life (Jamieson 1995, 160). Such images suggest Tory women leaders must dominate their (male) colleagues, either through the role of a strict headmistress or as a dominatrix who sexually controls and humiliates them. Either role suggests that it is as though it is impossible to think of women possessing power without seeing men as being degraded.

243

Other articles critiqued the comparison of May to Thatcher as sexist and described how May differed from Thatcher. These articles were largely from the progressive broadsheet *The Guardian*, with just a few from elsewhere. One neutrally written opinion piece explored how the novelty of women leaders had led to the small number of women at the top being compared to each other, particularly with Thatcher (Dudman 2016). Jane Dudman, *Guardian* journalist and feminist, continues that, aside from both May and Thatcher having had to clean up the boys' messes (explored in Chapter Four), they did not have much in common, and comparing them would be as absurd as describing David Cameron as a 'second John Major just because they both have balls' (Dudman 2016). Rather than continuing the tendency of the UK print media to link May with Thatcher, Dudman's article identifies the gendered double standards inherently associated with such assumptions. Feminist journalist and writer Joan Smith similarly states in *The Guardian* that May's ascension to the prime ministerial role had 'revived memories of an old trope of Margaret Thatcher as the Conservative party's dominatrix', confirming that 'some people cannot see a woman assuming power without thinking of men being humiliated' (2016).

As noted above, there are many areas of differentiation between Thatcher and May, both politically and personally. May is a self-identified feminist who famously wore a 'This Is What A Feminist Looks Like' t-shirt, co-founded a conservative party group 'Women2Win' in 2005 that supported David Cameron's commitment to select more women in winnable election seats, and, as minister for women and equality after the 2010 general election, supported implementation of most of the new *Equality Act*, despite having voted against it as a shadow minister (Gottlieb and Campbell 2018, 11). Unlike Thatcher, she positioned herself as among instead of *above* other Tory women (Gottlieb and Campbell 2018, 2). In contrast, Thatcher was not a feminist, nor did she approve of the movement. Thatcher even famously stated that she owed nothing to women's lib and perceived feminism as poison (Purvis 2013, 1016).

Thatcher was not a feminist; she was an ardent anti-feminist who used the gains of the women's movement to propel herself while leaving all other women behind. Unlike self-proclaimed feminist May, Thatcher classically matches the 'Queen Bee' category of anti-feminists identified by Rowland (1984). Queen Bees are driven by their individualistic philosophy and perceive their own success as due to hard work and effort while other less successful women are at fault for their own failures (Pilcher 1995, 496). Both Thatcher's and May's philosophies were demonstrated through their cabinet. While Thatcher only ever had one woman in her cabinet for the entire 11 years she was prime minister, May ensured that there would be far greater representation (35% women in her cabinet in 2016), and elected Amber Rudd as her replacement in the historically male-occupied role of home secretary.

The media coverage of Julia Gillard also regularly compared her to Thatcher. Several articles about Gillard drew upon the metaphor of 'iron', which was largely associated with Thatcher. As explored in Chapter Two, Thatcher was referred to as the Iron Lady after a Soviet journalist nicknamed her as such in the late 1970s due to her uncompromising politics and strong leadership style. For example, drawing on Iron Lady imagery and relentless comparisons to Thatcher, former Liberal Party ministerial staffer and columnist Niki Savva, writing for *The Australian*, compared Gillard to Thatcher (2010b). Savva argued that Gillard would hate the comparison, but she could end up as Australia's version of Thatcher. Reflecting the point made at the start of this section that such comparisons might be considered positive by conservative commentators, Savva apologised and stated that 'it is certainly not intended as an insult'. She continued the comparison, arguing that Gillard, like Thatcher, is 'tough, charismatic, articulate, ruthless, razor sharp in tongue and mind and undoubtedly effective. And to top it all off, an immaculate hairdo, Red Maggie' (Savva 2010b). Although this statement drew upon numerous

gendered tropes, such as the appearance trope, the comparison made between the two leaders implied that Gillard had the potential for a long prime ministerial reign.

This article was accompanied by a political cartoon (Figure 7.1) where Gillard was illustrated as a literal Iron Lady. Although made out of iron, and showing only her face, the exaggerated facial features like the long, pointy noise, small chin and hairstyle indicate that the caricaturised subject is indeed Gillard. Such symbolism invokes an analogy that Gillard, like Thatcher, is a strong-willed Iron Lady. The Iron Lady epithet perfectly encapsulates the gendered hybridity of both Thatcher and Gillard, as it conjures the image of a tough warrior leader who is also irrefutably female; they are both iron and soft (Leung 1997, 35; Webster 1990, 84). Her stern facial expressions, particularly her downturned mouth, severe eyes and furrowed eyebrows, imply that she is as hard as the iron she is made out of, and just as cold and unfeeling, like *The Wizard of Oz*'s Tin Man. While this cartoon infers that she is a strong Iron Lady, it also presents her as hollow, emotionless and robotic—traits that are antithetical to how women *should* be, i.e.

Figure 7.1. Unknown. 'Red Maggie's Rise Raises Great Expectations'. *The Australian***. 25 June. 16.**

From Tightrope to Gendered Trope

warm, nurturing and soft (as described in Chapter Two). This not only illustrates Savva's argument and emphasises the comparisons made between Thatcher and Gillard, but also suggests Gillard lacks feminine traits and attributes. In this cartoon, Gillard is the embodied Iron Lady, strong but cold.

7.4 Conclusion

Through exploring and analysing the print media, it is apparent that the mainstream press used these two gendered tropes in the coverage of all five leaders throughout the first three weeks of their prime ministerial terms. The first trope explored in this chapter was the use of leaders' first names, which is disrespectful and delegitimising. While male political leaders refer to themselves by their first names to emphasise their approachability, women political leaders run the risk of being regarded as less serious and less respected. It also inevitably marks them out as women, as their first names often mark their gender. The second trope explored the fact that, if the leader is a woman and is not Margaret Thatcher, she is often compared to Thatcher. Comparing women to other women in their field emphasises their gender and, in the cases explored above, infers that they cannot be political leaders in their own right—they must incessantly be equated to other women. Due to the significant differences between all four leaders and Thatcher, such comparisons imply that the most noteworthy thing about them is their gender.

Chapter Eight will turn to a rather different theme—newspaper critiques of the gendered and misogynistic media representation of these leaders. I will compare and contrast the discursive ways the different newspapers do this and explore whether it differs between conservative or progressive newspapers or tabloid versus broadsheets. Often, the same newspapers that frequently use gendered tropes, such as those discussed in this chapter, also have token articles that call out such misogyny.

Chapter Eight: The 'Anti-' Trope of Contesting Gender Stereotypes

8.1 Introduction

As we have seen throughout previous chapters, the print media coverage of women leaders has frequently used gendered tropes and stereotypes. At the same time, however, the same newspapers have included rare critiques of such coverage. Such critique does not further highlight gender, nor does it emphasise or ridicule feminine performances. It completely differs from the tropes discussed in previous chapters: rather than reinforcing gender norms and stereotypes, it critiques gender-based scrutiny and misogynistic representations and expectations of women leaders from both the public and the press.

This chapter will explore how some articles in the mainstream print media critique the gendered expectations and double standards to which women political leaders are subjected, which could be termed an 'anti-' trope. This trope can be found in articles that critique gender-based scrutiny, double standards, and misogynistic representations and expectations of women leaders, including both explicitly feminist and more general standards of critique. While previous literature has explored how the media use gender against women politicians and leaders (Braden 1996; Bystrom et al. 2001; 2004; Falk 2010; Gidengil and Everitt 2003, 2010; Ross and Sreberny-Mohammadi 2000; Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross 1996), little has been written on how some print media are critical of this and how it demonstrates that change is possible. The first half of this chapter will explore the differences in how this critique is used depending on the political affiliation of both the newspaper and political leader. The second half will explore *how* the media critique the gendered treatment that these political leaders experience and will discursively analyse how the political affiliation of both the newspaper and the leader are influential factors.

8.2 Content Analysis

This phenomenon was found in the mainstream press coverage of all five leaders. However, some leaders experienced this more than others, and the ways in which the articles criticised this gendered treatment was largely contingent on the political alignment of the newspaper itself. Two conclusions can be drawn from the results of the content analysis (Table 8.1). Firstly, this phenomenon is far less frequent in the media representations of all leaders than the gendered tropes explored in Chapters Four to Eight. Second, there were more articles that critiqued the gendered and misogynistic treatment experienced by Gillard than critiqued the treatment of other leaders. This is despite (or because of?) the Australian mainstream press being more likely to use gendered tropes in their coverage of Gillard. On the other hand, the media coverage of Thatcher and Clark rarely contained articles that critiqued the gendered stereotyping experienced by either leader. It is important to note that the media coverage of Clark was relatively neutral in comparison to that of all other leaders, and the media did not portray her through gendered tropes to the same extent. It is therefore unsurprising that fewer critiques appeared in the New Zealand press.

Table 8.1. Percentage and number of newspaper articles that critiqued misogyny, organised by political affiliation and by type

	Thatcher		*May*		*Gillard*		*Shipley*		*Clark*	
	Cons	*Prog*	*Cons*	*Prog*	*Cons*	*Prog*	*Cons*	*Cent*	*Cons*	*Cent*
Broadsheet	3.4% (2)	3.6% (1)	5.2% (3)	4.7% (2)	3.3% (9)	6.7% (8)	3.8% (1)	4.3% (2)	1.8% (1)	0% (0)
Tabloid	0% (0)	0% (0)	1.7% (1)	6.7% (2)	6.7% (9)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Total	1.7% (3)		4.3% (8)		5.2% (26)		4.2% (3)		0.9% (1)	

Note: New Zealand did not have any tabloids and Australia did not have a progressive tabloid. Additionally, New Zealand has no progressive press but rather a 'centrist' press (see Chapter One), which I have labelled accordingly.

8.2.1 Newspaper Political Affiliation

It is evident that the political leaning of a newspaper impacts the way in which its writers critiqued gendered representations of all five leaders. These 'anti-' trope articles were more likely to appear in the Australian conservative tabloid *The Daily Telegraph* and the more progressive broadsheet *The Sydney Morning Herald*, although they took vastly different approaches, which will be explored further below. Similarly, when examining the UK press, it is apparent that the conservative-leaning broadsheet, *The Daily Telegraph*, was more supportive of Thatcher in its 'anti-' trope articles, while left-leaning newspapers such as *The Guardian* and *The Mirror* were far more critical of her and her position on feminism and women. Additionally, such critiques were only found in broadsheets. For May, on the other hand, these critiques were also found in the tabloid press. The differences between conservative and progressive usages of this were similar to those seen in the coverage of Gillard, which will be further explored below. While the conservative press might have included a slightly higher number of articles that critiqued gender-based scrutiny, the progressive press were more likely to include articles that did so from a feminist epistemology and with the aim of women's empowerment.

On the whole, articles that critiqued gendered and misogynistic treatment were infrequent. A discourse analysis, however, reveals that the few that have been published are in-depth, often dedicating the entire article to criticising the misogynistic treatment of these leaders. It is therefore necessary to deconstruct these articles to understand how they condemn misogyny, the different ways that the conservative and progressive presses did this, and how these approaches reflect the relationship between the political affiliation of the newspaper and that of the leader.

8.2.2 Changes Across Time

The frequency and depth in which the mainstream press used this kind of criticism in their coverage of all five leaders have varied across time. While some print articles criticised the misogynistic treatment that Thatcher experienced, such critiques seem to have increased for the

more recent leaders, Gillard and May (Table 8.1). The feminist movement has experienced many peaks and troughs in its activity and broader social influence. The 1970s saw the rise of second wave feminism, where women's rights and liberation entered the mainstream once again. Despite this increase in support for feminist ideology, the ways in which newspapers operated and the slants of their stories were still highly patriarchal (see: Ross 2017). As has been examined in previous chapters, the majority of newspaper articles operationalised all five leaders' gender in ways that emphasised their otherness to the prime ministerial role. In line with the rise in the normality of the feminist movement, and to perhaps appeal to a wider audience, these newspapers balanced these sexist articles with ones that were critical of the misogyny that had been dished out.

Although the feminist movement saw a rise in mainstream appeal and an increase in strength in the 1960s and 1970s, it has made a far more dramatic resurgence in the 2010s. Popular culture has partially embraced the feminist label, with celebrities such as Beyoncé Knowles, Emma Watson and even men such as Patrick Stewart, the Dalai Lama and former US president Barack Obama embracing the label (Banet-Weiser and Portwood-Stacer 2017; Tennent and Jackson 2019). Sawer (2013, 13) notes that a highpoint of the reclamation of feminism in the US was *Ms. Magazine*'s January 2009 front cover featuring then-president Obama in a suit and tie, exposing a 'This is what a feminist looks like' t-shirt underneath. Often, celebrities and even politicians now feel pressured to be feminists or risk being regarded as, at best, apathetic, and at worst misogynistic. For example, in 2016 it was discovered that UK Tory MP Philip Davis told a conference held by an anti-feminist group that 'feminist zealots really do want women to have their cake and eat it' (Grierson 2016). This attracted widespread criticism, with both the Labour leader, other MPs and women's rights campaigners pressuring May to suspend him for this statement. Similarly, the 2016 Australian federal election saw both party leaders—the prime minister, Malcolm Turnbull, and opposition leader Bill Shorten—declaring themselves as feminists (Williams and Sawer 2018, 642).

This phenomenon can also be seen in the rise of the #MeToo movement. This movement drew attention to the prevalence of sexual violence in workplaces and personal lives and was taken up internationally in late 2017 (Mendes et al. 2018; Rodino-Colocino 2018). The #MeToo movement has had a global impact on how we perceive consent, sexual assault and harassment, and inspired many survivors of sexual violence to come forward with their stories (Mendes et al. 2018, 237). This was a largely feminist movement that expanded from beyond its initial aims of calling out sexual harassment and assault in the workplace, and sought to empower all women and survivors of sexual violence, while highlighting and criticising social norms that allow men in positions of power to assault and harass others. Although this movement mostly began after the timeframes set by my study, it is illustrative of how feminist ideology and the feminist movement are active in the public consciousness.

The recent rise in popularity of the feminist movement has shaped the mainstream media landscape, though it has not yet revolutionised it. Gillard raised several of these points when I asked her whether things had changed since her prime ministerial term. She noted:

> I think we're on a sort of change. Even though my time in politics is not dim and dark history, I think a lot has changed in the years since. I think my experiences have been a factor in the change—not the predominant factor or the only factor—but a factor … When I was Prime Minister, the fashionable view among the Canberra press gallery was not one thing about my treatment—in the parliament, by the media, in the electorate—not one thing about my treatment was attributable to gender … I think the fact that the gender conversation is everywhere now, people are far more thoughtful and knowing about the [gender] stereotypes, far more likely to question why we are coming to conclusions about women. (Interview, 13 February 2019)

In particular, she mentioned multiple issues that have increased public discussions about sexism within the mainstream media and politics and the impacts it has on women:

The underlying terrain is now fertile for that debate because the gender conversation is everywhere. I think it's everywhere because of #MeToo. It's everywhere because of the social media diversification and the bringing to the fore of 'women's issues', in inverted commas. It's everywhere because of 'lean in', Malala, Boko Haram. There's a greater focus on the frustration of Hillary not being elected. There's a far greater focus on these questions, a far greater acceptance of them. So when you get [an instance of sexist treatment of women politicians], then it's far more likely to lead to a debate about sexism and a recognition of sexism, than a straight denial of it. (Interview, 13 February 2019)

Such change was evident in the media coverage of Gillard and May, but was drowned out by the substantial number of articles that instead reinforced and reproduced such sexist and gendered treatment. However, recent developments do suggest that change is possible.

The feminist movement's resurgence and mainstream appeal has spread to the media. Although these institutions are still highly patriarchal (see Ross 2017), they are becoming far more inclusive of feminist stories and ideas. Like the expectations put on celebrities and political actors to label themselves as feminist, or, at the very least, to appear to be 'pro-women', the media is subjected to the same pressures. Nevertheless, as there remain some politicians and celebrities who are outright misogynistic, so, too, there are newspapers in which anti-feminist sentiments are expected, though still derided. It would also be expected that progressive newspapers would include more feminist-leaning stories than their conservative counterparts. Some newspapers, such as *The Guardian*, regularly feature stories on feminism or report on news stories through a feminist lens (Dean 2010, 396). Additionally, due to the feminist 'renaissance', or rise in 'popular feminism' (Banet-Weiser and Portwood-Stacer 2017), it would be expected that there would be more feminist and anti-misogynistic articles during Gillard's and May's respective prime ministerial ascensions than during Thatcher's, Shipley's or Clark's.

8.3 Satire

This woman seemed to think that, just because she had won the election, she had some kind of right to govern the country (O'Sullivan 1979b)

One way in which numerous print media articles criticised gendered treatment was through satire. Satire is a literary device that uses comedic tools, like irony and exaggeration, as constructive criticism to raise awareness of critical issues and to ridicule and criticise societal problems. It is a light-hearted way of criticising social norms, or the status quo, and is a vastly popular, highly persuasive and influential mode of political discourse (Crittenden et al. 2011, 175). There are two main types of satire: egalitarian satire and elitist satire (Hamukwaya 2016). Egalitarian satire criticises the status quo, inequalities and injustices, particularly those with economic, political and cultural power. Such ridicule is usually 'directed at the establishment and it is supposed to join the powerless by offering laughter as their weapon' (Bruun 2012, 161). The elitist mode, on the other hand, aims at those 'who criticise the establishment and/or the system and set-up as they are; the target group are everyday citizens, and sometimes minorities and weak social groups in society' (Bruun 2012, 162). While political cartoonists usually follow the latter mode of satire (see Chapters Four, Five and Nine), and reproduce rather than ridicule gender norms, the majority of articles that criticised the sexist treatment of women political leaders typically adhered to the egalitarian style of satire.

Egalitarian modes of satirical discourse that were critical of sexism were largely isolated to the coverage of conservative prime ministers Margaret Thatcher and Jenny Shipley. In Thatcher's case, the conservative press used satire to critique the gendered and misogynistic treatment she received, while in Shipley's case it was found in the centrist press. Numerous *Daily Telegraph* articles employed humour, satire and sarcasm to critique misogynistic portrayals of Thatcher. Honor Tracy, to quote the sub-heading, 'peers at Downing Street through the misogynistic gloom'

in her sarcastically titled article 'No job for a woman indeed!' (1979). Tracy condemns the sexist opinions about Thatcher's competency and skill as a prime minister expressed by both the public and other politicians, recounting how one reaction to Thatcher's prime ministerial ascension was, 'Would you trust yourself to a woman?' and noting that, '"A Woman" was all the description he required' (Tracy 1979). After discussing and rebutting multiple misogynistic arguments put forth about Thatcher's status as a woman *and* a prime minister, she concludes:

> So the plea which I humbly make to all our rattled misogynists is: pray hold your peace. Let there be no more about her clothes, her style, her voice, her shopping bag. Let the photographers spare her calves and other inanities which they would never propose to a man. (1979)

However, even Tracy is not immune to gendering remarks, and her final sentence states: 'She will have a nice job of it, clearing away the brilliant mess that our brilliant men have left behind' (1979). As explored in Chapter Four, the notion of cleaning men's mess is a common theme used in the coverage of women prime ministers who ascend at a time of political strife.

Satire was also used to highlight and critique the gendered and misogynistic ideas about New Zealand's first woman prime minister, Jenny Shipley. A *Dominion* article written by journalist Rosemary McLeod paints a satirical story of how the ascension of a woman into the prime ministerial role would have devastating effects on New Zealand men and their masculinity, or, as she calls it, their 'blokiness' (1997). McLeod writes that having a woman prime minister was an 'ominous omen' felt in the 'deep heart of the national psyche. At Lion Breweries … It was bad for the breweries', as less beer was being drunk in the 'land of the Kiwi male, he who'd always been red-blooded, dinkum and bloke; he who could storm Gallipoli, juggle fenceposts, dock a sheep, and tickle the old sheila on a Saturday night if she got lucky' (1997). In this, McLeod plays on stereotypes of men and masculinity to deride and critique stereotypes of women and femininity. The notion that men and masculinity were under threat was captured in her satirical statement

255

that the old 'blokey' Kiwi men were being turned into 'New Kiwi Men', who iterated 'modern' ideas of masculinity, such as being more involved with their wives and children, having women friends and drinking wine rather than beer, all thanks to 'The Shipley Woman'. Rather than contributing to the general discourse that Shipley's ascension to the prime ministerial role would threaten men, McLeod inverted this, demonstrating how preposterous such notions were through satirical hyperbole. McLeod's article does not emphasise Shipley's gender, nor her supposedly subversive choice to enter a highly masculine role, but instead turns a mirror onto irrational fears within society that the practice of women entering masculine spaces is catastrophic for men, traditional masculinity and the patriarchy.

8.4 Contradictions

A common trend in media coverage of all five leaders was the contradictory nature of articles that, often on the same page, criticised misogyny while drawing on gendered tropes. There were several 'anti-' trope articles that frequently—sometimes severely—pushed feminine stereotypes onto these leaders and emphasised their subversive gender choices as women entering a role previously regarded as being for men. Although the publishing of articles that critique gendered media coverage and misogynistic treatment is generally a positive step, the frequency and number of articles that re-enforce gender stereotypes in comparison to the relatively few that critique them causes the latter to seem artificial and insincere. This does not reflect negatively on those authors whose pieces criticise such sexist treatment, however, but is rather an evaluation of the newspapers for which they write and their reasons for including their articles.

In UK coverage of both May and Thatcher, it is evident that, while *The Guardian* was more critical of Thatcher for her anti-feminist ideology (Lakeman 1979; *The Guardian* 1979), it was also more critical of the sexist double standards that May experienced. In contrast, *The Daily Telegraph* critiqued such gendered treatment while still framing the story through a gendered lens. For

example, Emma Spedding's (2016) article mentioned the notion that May's affinity for fashion should not detract from her skills as a political leader, stating that she was 'defiant: 'I know I have a brain and I'm serious so I can wear pretty shoes'. However, Spedding's article is titled 'A sober speech to the nation, but of course she wore *those* kitten heels' (emphasis theirs, 2016). Although the author seems to attempt to defend May against sexist critiques of her fashion choices, the article in turn uses these same tropes against her. Similarly, another *Daily Telegraph* article titled 'Dear Theresa, here's a six-point Brexit fashion plan', which uses Brexit as a metaphor to ask May to support the UK fashion industry, is even aware of its own contribution to stereotyping women political leaders. The author states that 'some folk are already snarling at us for having the temerity to suggest that what anyone wears, particularly a female PM, might be of interest. Don't we know it's 2016?' (Armstrong 2016). *The Daily Telegraph* relied on gendered tropes the most in their representations of May. In a social context in which more negative consequences are likely to follow the use of gendered tropes, it is evident that *The Daily Telegraph* has attempted to mitigate these risks through the occasional utilisation of more critical anti-sexist statements. Whether they rely on this to appeal to a broader audience, where feminist ideas are becoming more normalised, or to mediate perceptions that they are anti-feminist is uncertain. What is clear is the different uses of the anti-sexist trope between conservative and progressive newspapers.

Inclusion of a few critical articles amid greater sexism appears to be a trend among the conservative press for all leaders, and was frequently seen in conservative coverage of Gillard. Although the conservative broadsheet *The Daily Telegraph* published the most articles that were critical of her gendered and misogynistic treatment, the vast majority of these simultaneously reinforced gender stereotypes through reference to the gendered norms and tropes discussed in previous chapters. For example, one *Daily Telegraph* article that critiqued media attention on Gillard's appearance and sartorial style, stating that fashion for women politicians was a 'damned-

if-you-do-damned-if-you-don't factor', concluded by quoting a fashion blogger's style advice for Gillard and therefore reinforcing such gendered sartorial expectations (Harris 2010). This phenomenon continued across the Tasman Sea in the conservative New Zealand coverage of Clark. Although there were relatively few articles openly critical of gendered double standards, one *New Zealand Herald* article assessed Clark's sartorial style as a prelude to the observation that this is a standard to which men do not have to adhere (*New Zealand Herald* 1999). These examples demonstrate how such contradictory arguments are made within the same article, where the authors assess the leaders' appearance while simultaneously criticising the undue amount of attention directed to their appearance.

These articles may be critical of the gendered and misogynistic treatment that May, Gillard and Clark experienced, yet they further re-enforce these notions by eliciting one or more of the gendered tropes identified in previous chapters. Furthermore, the same authors have often written several other articles that solely emphasised gender norms and stereotypes, thus reinforcing the media's regulatory role over gender norms. As a result, such criticisms are devalued and appear to be performances rather than sincere.

8.5 Feminist Articles

Many articles that criticised sexist double standards in the treatment of women leaders were explicitly feminist. These pieces were written through a feminist lens, drawing on feminist frameworks to critique barriers to women's political leadership and engagement, such as the glass ceiling or the glass cliff. Such articles were predominantly found in the progressive press.

The most progressive and feminist-friendly newspaper out of the entire sample, *The Guardian*, published a range of feminist authors who critiqued the ideology that lay behind the gendered misrepresentation and misogyny expressed toward May. Although feminism has entered the mainstream in recent years, backlash is also prevalent. Critiquing the rise of misogyny

and gendered backlash that May has experienced, feminist columnist and human rights activist Joan Smith published a 2016 *Guardian* article titled 'Woman-hating has come roaring back—now we must confront it', in which she argued, 'misogyny is like a virus. It can be fatal … and it is infectious, which is why public life is so toxic for women at present' (2016). Critiquing the front page of *The Sun* that portrayed May walking on the heads of her male colleagues (see Chapter 5), Smith argued that this kind of 'jokey misogyny' was becoming more frequent in the mainstream media (2016). After witnessing misogyny not just in the media but in campaign speeches and overall public sentiment, Smith observed that she had 'never known a time when woman-hating has been so seething or so widespread' (2016). Smith argues that this widespread misogynistic backlash is partly a result of increasing political instability, polarisation, extremism and economic uncertainties. Certainly, May did ascend into the prime ministerial role at a time when there was a spread of racist and misogynistic far-right politics such as the alt-right movement, male rights activists and the US presidential election of Donald Trump, all of which significantly impact how women, particularly those who wield power, are perceived (Roth 2018).

Similarly, several Australian articles adopted a feminist lens to critique the gendered double standards and expectations around Gillard. Again, these were solely found in more progressive newspapers like *The Sydney Morning Herald*, which published articles that featured quotes and opinions from prominent Australian feminists and academics (e.g. Jinman and Harvey 2010; O'Malley 2010) or were written by renowned feminists. Leading feminist and journalist Anne Summers wrote an article that appreciated the 'historic moment' of Australia having its first woman prime minister before discussing the many barriers that remain for Australian women (2010). Summers critiqued the trend of installing women into leadership positions at times of crisis, stating that Gillard was trying to avoid being tokenised as a 'political housewife to clean up the mess created by men' (2010). Although Summers referenced the gendered sub-trope of framing

259

women political leaders as housekeepers who clean up parliament, she did so to ridicule how overused this is in media reportage. Feminist journalist and academic Julia Baird, whose book *Media Tarts* (2004) is referenced extensively through this thesis, wrote an article for *The Sydney Morning Herald* that echoed sentiments expressed above, critiquing the media for being both fascinated by women politicians but also 'scornful of those who behaved differently from men' (Baird 2010). Women are expected to bring their supposed feminine ways into parliament, to feminise and soften politics, yet, as has been shown in previous chapters, they are also expected to emulate the behaviour of men. However, if they act *too* masculine, they are regarded as being cold, aggressive and unladylike, while if they act *too* feminine, they are seen to be ineffective and not strong enough to handle the adversarial nature of parliament.

8.6 Conclusion

Through examining print media coverage of women political leaders, it is evident that not all gendered coverage reinforced gender norms and stereotypes. In fact, some actively critiqued the double standards applied to women political leaders. Although these articles are quite rare in comparison to the gendered tropes examined in previous chapters, it was valuable to deconstruct why and *how* these select few depart from the mainstream representations of women leaders. It is also important to note that, although these articles are critical of gendered expectations and double standards, the newspapers in which they appeared also published many others that reinforced gendered treatment. This may be indicative of an overall lack of desire to change the ways the press covers women political actors. Despite this, the critical articles play a potential role in changing the norms of gendered media discourse through offering alternative ways in which the press *could* report these leaders.

Both May and Gillard simultaneously experienced gendered media treatment and critiques of such treatment more frequently than the other leaders. This illustrates the impact of the rise in

personalisation of the prime minister, whereby the media not only increases its focus on personal lives, appearance and gender, but are also more likely to comment on the amount of gendered treatment that leaders receive. This could also be due to the rise of feminist-based movements, such as the #MeToo movement, that have influenced some media practices.

The ways in which the mainstream press included articles that critiqued these leaders' gendered media treatment was also dependent on political affiliation. In line with results from previous chapters, the conservative and progressive presses used this critique differently. The conservative press often included anti-misogynistic statements in articles that drew upon the same gendered tropes under critique, or were written by authors who had previously written articles that emphasised the leader's gender. In contrast, the progressive press were more likely to have articles that drew on feminist knowledge. These were either written by journalists who quoted prominent feminist thinkers or by the prominent feminists themselves.

Through exploring, deconstructing and comparing the mainstream print media, this chapter has identified that the mainstream press occasionally published articles that actively called out gendered and misogynistic treatment experienced by women political leaders. I have explored how this can have positive results. However, I have also examined how these articles were published in newspapers that otherwise re-enforced gender roles, norms and stereotypes through their coverage of women political leaders. Chapter Nine will explore and contrast certain political images of these five prime ministers to identify the covert ways in which the media gendered these women. This chapter will specifically focus on political cartoons and how the media use these as tools/weapons of misogyny.

Chapter Nine: Unsettling Gendered Cartoons

9.1 Introduction

As this thesis has explored, women political leaders have experienced gendered and often sexist portrayals within the mainstream media. Their gender has been marked as 'other' to the masculine norm of politics, and the media has depicted them as housewives, cleaners and sexualised dominatrices. Political cartoons appearing in the mainstream press regularly reinforce these gender stereotypes and emphasise the heteronormative gender binary. However, while many articles and cartoons support normative notions of gender and police the gender performance of women political leaders, there are some that unsettle or disrupt these notions by parodying them through political cartoons. Such cartoons, while they may blur stereotypical gender norms and stereotypes, take this caricature to an extreme, and thus oftentimes they re-emphasise binary gender roles. Previous chapters have explored how Thatcher, May, Gillard, Shipley and Clark experienced gendered media coverage using gendered tropes such as their appearance, femininity and family relations to highlight their subversive gender performances in the role of prime minister. I now aim, however, to explore how the media both unsettle and simultaneously re-enforce gender norms through visual imagery, often as a form of ridicule or parody.

The study of political cartoons is an important area to examine, as 'in a political environment dominated by the spectacle, political symbols that have a particularly visual orientation should be first-order objects of study' (Edwards and Ware 2005, 467). They are notable and easily consumable media texts that both simply and complexly convey certain messages to the reader/viewer. The simplicity of a cartoon lies in its being able to be understood by a wide audience, though there are many complexities in *how* the cartoonist conveys the message. While many of the messages may be blunt, the cartoonist often covertly implies certain meanings through

coded metaphors or tropes only understood by those who have the required knowledge and comprehension. For Edwards and McDonald (2010), it is imperative to study political cartoons, as 'they are texts that sharply illuminate gendered aspects of political representation' (313). For Michael Hogan, political cartoons offer little information, but instead are more about values, and present the cartoonists' judgement on an issue (2008, 94). Because of this, political cartoons are often able to escape the confines of 'political correctness', and frequently provide images that are considered to be racist, sexist, classist, etc. (Walker 2003, 20). The political cartoon coverage of women political leaders, therefore, can provide useful insights into the gendered messages being communicated between newspaper cartoonists and their audiences.

As with media coverage more generally, it is likely that political cartoon portrayals of women politicians will be sexist or will draw on gendered stereotypes. These stereotypes include those already identified, in addition to the political cartoon trope where women violently use political guile to selfishly further their careers (Manning 2008, 129). These stereotypes were found in the cartoon portrayals of Hillary Clinton during the 2008 US presidential nominations, which were particularly emphasising and ridiculing her appearance, husband and emotions (Conners 2010, 309). Other research has found that there are four main clusters of metaphors used in visual imagery of women politicians: the pioneer; the puppet; the hostess-beauty queen; and the unruly woman (Anderson and Sheeler 2005; Edwards and McDonald 2010). For example, these metaphors were found in editorial cartoons caricaturising 2008 US vice presidential Republican nominee, Sarah Palin, who was portrayed as a strong hostess-beauty queen (Edwards and McDonald 2010, 321). Little research, however, has examined how political cartoons use *masculine* tropes or metaphors in their depictions of women politicians or leaders; nor has there been much examination of the political cartoon depictions of Thatcher, May, Shipley, Clark or Gillard, the subjects of this chapter.

It is important to note that, while I analysed the newspaper coverage of May, there were far fewer political cartoons about her than about the other prime ministers. One reason for this disparity could be that May's ascension coincided with ongoing significant news events, such as Brexit and the 2016 US Presidential Election, that shifted cartoonists' focus. Overall, there were 11 cartoons that clearly depicted May: three covered May winning the Conservative leadership race; two that portrayed her as 'coronated' by the Queen; two that focused on women leaders in the European Union; and four that covered various issues, such as Trident, Brexit or trade negotiations. These cartoons did not unsettle gendered stereotypes, but rather emphasised May's femininity by highlighting her choice of shoes (as observed in Chapter Five) and her appearance more generally. For this reason, I do not include any cartoons of May in this chapter.

Although there were many cartoons from the coverage of the remaining four prime ministers, I selected cartoons that ridiculed these women leaders through unsettling notions of gender roles and stereotypes by portraying them through masculine images, metaphors or inferences. I am not arguing that these are representative of all cartoons in this time period—the majority of cartoons adhered to the five gendered tropes identified in previous chapters—but instead aim to deconstruct *how* cartoonists unsettle constructions of these women prime ministers' gender through portraying them as masculine rather than feminine. This chapter is therefore divided into three sections based on the three overarching themes I have identified. The first examines how political cartoonists portray all four leaders using phallocentric imagery, which emphasises their subversive gender performances through highlighting their physical difference from the prime ministerial role. Subsequently, I will examine how some political cartoons portray these leaders in an exaggerated, hegemonically hyper-masculine, violent and aggressive manner. Finally, the last theme that was observed in these political cartoons was their depiction of

relationships as a masquerade, unsettling notions of heterosexuality through portraying the leaders as emasculating their (male) partners or colleagues.

9.2 Phallocentrism

Previous chapters have identified that gendered mediation includes an undue focus on appearance, family, relationships, femininity and first names. However, it can also unsettle or subvert notions of gender to ridicule or penalise women politicians for their supposed transgressions of gender norms. One way in which the media does this is through phallocentrism, a psychoanalytic term initially used to criticise Sigmund Freud's child developmental theory of the phallic stage, where women are defined by what they lack—the phallus. For Grosz (1989) and Irigaray (1985), phallocentrism does not only refer to the 'primacy of the phallus', or privileging the penis, but can also be seen as a 'more general process of cultural and representational *assimilation* [sic]' (Grosz 1989, 105). Women are often defined by what they are not—men—and femininity is seen as a lack/absence of qualities that are regarded as masculine, and is 'not recognised as possessing any characteristics or value on its own' (Grosz 1989, 105). Phallocentric ideas deduce that women's *bodies* are also lacking, and they are dependent on or oriented toward the phallus.

Parliament, too, is a phallocentric institution, the domain of an 'elite group of white men', where the Other 'causes confusion and disturbance' only mitigated by the enduring majority of white male parliamentary members (Crawford and Pini 2010a, 94). The masculinisation of parliament can be identified not only in its membership, but in masculine norms of representation, including those of politicians' personality and behaviour. As explored in Chapter Two, while male politicians are not only allowed but expected to be seen as 'uncompromising, combative and strong', women politicians must be passive but not too passive; nurturing but not too nurturing (Crawford and Pini 2010a, 96). If women politicians do not walk this tight-rope successfully, and

265

are either too masculine or too feminine, then they are seen to be transgressing gender norms (Baird 2004, 5; Hall and Donaghue 2013, 633; van Acker 1999, 148). As argued throughout this thesis, however, women political leaders are often seen as inherently transgressing such norms and stereotypes by simply being a woman in a space that has previously been designated as being *for* men. The media therefore police this through operationalising gender against them, either emphasising their feminine qualities or re-imagining them in more masculine positions, thus pointing ridicule at what they supposedly lack.

Figure 9.1. Pickering, Larry. [Untitled]. *The Pickering.*

This notorious political cartoon of Gillard 'wielding' a dildo, drawn by Larry Pickering, is not a part of my data set (it was published after my study's timeframe), but it is emblematic of the phallocentric representations of women political leaders that are often seen in political cartoons. In this cartoon, the only colour used is the red of her heels, lips, hair and pubic hair. While Gillard has red hair, which was another point of focus for the media, the use of red is a stereotypical sign of promiscuity and sexual assertiveness, as in the trope of the 'fiery redhead'. Furthermore, to add

266

to this sexualised and phallocentric image of Gillard, Pickering exaggerated her sexual features to the point of being grotesque, as her breasts, bottom and the dildo she is holding are all enlarged. Despite such sexual connotations, she is also shown as overweight, which is regarded as stereotypically unattractive and a sign of bodily degradation and neglect, meaning that Pickering has portrayed her as being purely sexualised but not sexy. She is not a sexual object for the male gaze to consume, but is instead a sexualised caricature, a point of ridicule. When examining the phallus, it appears that it is pointing down toward the ground rather than erect. Additionally, she is shown in the act of 'masturbating' it, which could imply that she has erectile dysfunction or potential impotence. This therefore signifies that, while she is excessively sexual, there are no foreseeable results, just empty gestures.

Gillard's subversive sexuality is also used to not only ridicule her iterations of gender but to mock and question (then) Greens leader Bob Brown's (subversive) homosexuality. Through this cartoon, Pickering emasculates Brown while weaponising Gillard's sexuality. As this image appears in a series of Pickering cartoons that illustrate Gillard wielding dildos, it becomes evident that, ultimately, to quote Anne Summers from her famous 'Her Rights at Work' speech, 'it seems that Pickering cannot envisage a prime minister without a penis—so he had to give Gillard a strap-on' (Summers 2012). Simply put, she is 'lacking' in her prime ministerial role because she, as a woman, is the 'castrated' Other (Grosz 1989, 108).

Figure 9.2. Evans, Malcolm. [Untitled]. *The New Zealand Herald.* **10 December. A16.**

Similarly, while not as overtly as through Pickering's dildo-wielding cartoon of Gillard, other women prime ministers have also experienced phallocentric representation. Like Gillard, Shipley is portrayed in this cartoon published in *The New Zealand Herald* as overweight and wielding a phallic axe, yet she appears much more sensibly clothed and is therefore simply sexualised rather than being portrayed as 'sexy'. Examining the phallic object, it appears that her axe handle is pointing up this time rather than down, and is therefore more threatening and 'fertile'. While the positioning of the phallus denotes fertility, the fact that the axe needs sharpening could again imply dysfunction and an inability to perform or produce results. Like Pickering's cartoon, which implied Gillard's violent use of a strap-on, Shipley's phallus is now literally a weapon, with the implication being that one or more of the turkeys is about to be beheaded. While this cartoon is not as overtly sexual or phallocentric as the previous one, it still emphasises what Shipley apparently lacks in her role as prime minister. There are some obvious discursive contradictions—such as Shipley's stereotypically feminine outfit of a floral sundress and her

268

stereotypically masculine brandishing of the phallic axe—that appear to juxtapose each other.

Additionally, as she was often known for her matriarchal characteristics, portraying her in a hyper-masculine and murderous way contradicts this image. However, this could either work for or against her, depending on the situation. It could imply that she is successfully walking the tight-rope, displaying the correct amount of masculine and feminine attributes, or it could be used to imply that she is the monstrous feminine (Creed 1993).

Figure 9.3. Evans, Malcolm. [Untitled]. *The New Zealand Herald*. 12 December. A16.

Figure 9.4. Tremain, Garrick. 'Cartoon Comment'. *The Press*. 13 December. 4.

The above two cartoons similarly employ phallic objects in their representations of Helen Clark. Echoing Gillard's and Shipley's use of violent phallic objects, Clark is seen in both these cartoons to be wielding a chainsaw. While this is a reference to the overcutting of public native forests by a state-owned company, the Timberlands, the ways in which the cartoon portrays Clark is phallocentric and emphasises her transgressive masculine qualities. In both cartoons, Clark's phallus appears to be smaller than that held by the men next to her—yet another implication of impotence and erectile dysfunction that appears to be associated with women political leaders and their artificial phalli. The first chainsaw, like Gillard's dildo, is pointing down, again inferring impotence, however the second chainsaw is pointed directly upward, like Shipley's axe. It is implied that if Clark successfully cuts through the platform that the lumberjack is standing on, he

269

will fall on top of her and she will therefore cause herself just as much, if not more, harm. This infers that, although she has the violent virility that is often associated with the naturalised phallus, it comes at cost to both herself and others.

In both cartoons she is portrayed to have very masculinised expressions and facial features, which are in contrast to stereotypical beauty standards, implying that Clark is unattractive. Despite this, she is still depicted as wearing a dress and high heels, thus insinuating that she is a woman or at least someone in drag. However, what is the 'imitation' and who is the 'original' (Butler 1990, 187)? Is Clark portrayed to be performing feminine iterations through the dress and heels, or a masculine performance through her actions? Does the imitation of gender seen in this cartoon, to quote Butler, 'implicitly reveal the imitative structure of gender itself' (1990, 175)? Or does it simply use drag to ridicule Clark for her gender subversions?

If we compare Clark with the lumberjack men she is illustrated next to, we come to understand that the cartoonist is using Clark 'in drag' to ridicule her. In the first depiction, the man appears to be expressing wide-eyed disgust and surprise. Perhaps this represents his disgust with Clark's transgression of gender norms, or perhaps it's because his role as a lumberjack, being an icon of rugged masculinity (Cole 2000, 128), is potentially threatened by a woman whose clothes show her to be out of place in this context. She is portrayed as the intruder in a 'man's world', inferring that she is also an intruder in the prime ministerial role. Similarly, the lumberjack in the second cartoon is also portrayed as being threatened by Clark's presence where her pseudo-phallus endangers the lumberjack. In comparison to the first cartoon, the lumberjack in the second cartoon is less personalised and is implied to be more iconic—the everyman—insinuating that Clark is threatening or intimidating to men in general. While both cartoons focus on the Timberland issue, the second cartoon is more abstracted and allegorical than the first one. It is made clear that this is

not a real-life situation, due to the absurd way that both Clark and the lumberjack are portrayed. Rather, it is a contrived image intended to convey a particular point.

Ultimately, both cartoons portray Clark as transgressing gender norms through emphasising stereotypical masculine qualities. Simone de Beauvoir asserted that women in contemporary Western society 'are designated as the Other, … the negative of men, the lack against which masculine identity differentiates itself' (de Beauvoir quoted in Butler 1990, 10). The masculine therefore often becomes conflated with universality while distancing itself from the feminine, which is 'embodied' and 'condemned to immanence' (Butler 1990, 10–11). In this light, re-imagining Clark with a phallus not only ridicules her for her supposed subversive iterations of gender during her ascension to the prime ministerial role, but, as a parody of the masculine, it also highlights her embodied femininity and the supposed danger that this poses to heteronormative gender structures. Through her ascension and transgression, she is seen as a threat.
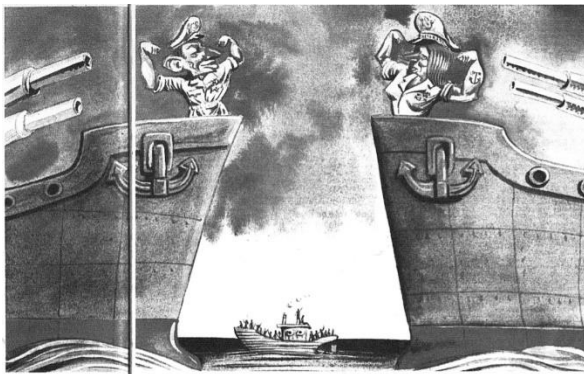
Figure 9.5. Unknown. [Untitled]. *The Australian.* **14 July. 15.**
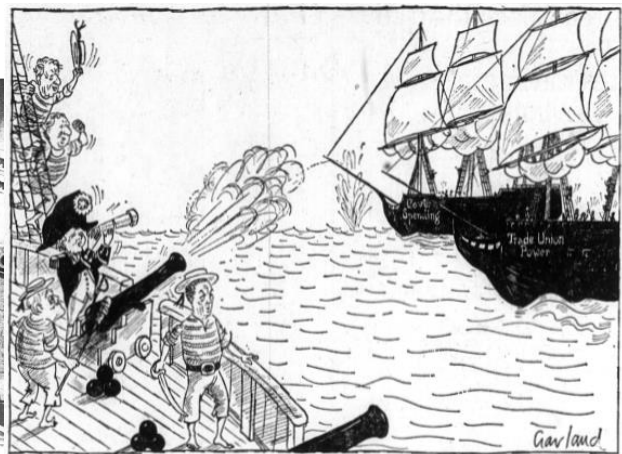
Figure 9.6. Garland, Nicholas. [Untitled]. *The Daily Telegraph.* **16 May. 11.**

The above cartoons also feature violent objects in replacement of the phallus. The first shows Gillard and (then) opposition leader Tony Abbott sizing each other up over refugee securitisation policy. The second cartoon features Thatcher as the captain of a ship trying to destroy two ships, one labelled as 'government spending' and the other 'trade unions'. Both cartoons use

271

the imagery of naval warfare, where the women leaders are the captains and their phalli are imagined as either a cannon or anti-aircraft gun. In the first cartoon, Gillard's macho posturing rivals notoriously hyper-masculine Abbott's. However, while Abbott's guns are slightly larger than hers, Gillard's musculature appears to be more developed, which could imply that he may appear weaker in comparison to Gillard but has more 'firepower' to back himself up. In contrast, Gillard simply puts on a tougher display but cannot compete in terms of real strength. Again, this could relate to the metaphor of an excessive but inevitably impotent sexuality.

Similarly, while the sexual analogies are far subtler in the second picture, the metaphor of impotence is still implied. While the phallic cannons and telescope signify stereotypical masculine virility, it is clear that the canons are missing their target, and only one cannon is shown to be firing. Furthermore, given how close the ships are, the telescope is unnecessary and excessive. This once again relates to an ultimate impotence and to artificial display of power, or perhaps implies that Thatcher herself is detached from reality, unable to see the threat that clearly stands in front of her eyes. While the cartoon is suggesting that Thatcher is trying to take a hard-line on reducing government spending and destabilising the unions—core features of her Thatcherite philosophy—the cartoon implies that she is weak and ineffective.

All six cartoons share two things in common: firstly, each phallic object is inherently violent or can be used in a violent manner; and, secondly, all four women are portrayed as impotent, suggesting that they are weak and ineffectual in their prime ministerial roles. Through the phallocentric cartoons, it is implied that these women are lacking something that has previously been seen as inextricable from the prime ministerial role—a penis. Due to their lack of such appendage, they are seen as Others to the role and are 'lacking'. They are highlighted as 'not-men' (Grosz 1989, 105). Rather than seeing these women as having inherent merit, they are 'deprived of the very attribute that grants [men] a position as an active, desiring, analytic subject', and therefore

272

they are 'relegated to the position of castrated, passive object, who seeks, not (actively) to desire, but (passively) to be desired' (Irigaray paraphrased in Grosz 1989, 108). However, when these 'castrated' women enter a male-dominated space, such as the prime ministerial role, it appears that, in order to highlight their supposed 'lacking', the mainstream print media portray them with a phallus. To paraphrase Summers (2012) again, it is as if they cannot imagine a prime minister without a penis.

9.3 Hegemonic Masculinity

Politics is a gendered institution that privileges masculinity and an associated masculine political style epitomised by aggressive, strong, and 'blokey' tactics (Acker 1992; van Acker 1999, 84;). Stephen Tomsen and Mike Donaldson, in their text *Male trouble* (2003, 119), states that 'women who wish to be part of a male-dominated group typically must accept patterns of male bonding and must be able to decode male behaviour patterns'. In other words, they must become 'one of the boys' (Tomsen and Donaldson 2003, 119–20). However, while 'being one of the boys' might include acting aggressively and is often associated with violence, when women politicians are seen to have these attributes, they are regarded as *too* masculine—*too* mean, *too* bitchy or not 'nice' enough (see Chapter Two). Elizabeth van Acker theorises that such male dominance tends to 'generate a "masculine" style and atmosphere: it seems necessary to be adversarial, aggressive and a "head-kicker" in Parliament' (van Acker 1999, 84).

This same construction of masculinity is also made to appear dominant in certain sections of society, where it is enshrined as a 'hegemonic discourse' (Alsop, Fitzsimons and Lennon 2002, 140). Australian sociologist Raewyn Connell coined the term 'hegemonic masculinity' to refer to the dominant forms of masculinity that are held up and celebrated in society. It relates to cultural dominance and authority as well as 'specific gender relations of dominance and subordination between groups of men', and asserts itself over all types of femininity, leaving women

273

subordinated and subservient (1995, 78). It is important to note, as there are multiple celebrated forms of masculinity, there is also not one singular model of successful hegemonic masculinity. This 'hegemonic masculinity' is an ideal and a type rather than a reality; it is only embodied by certain types of men, usually the 'popular heroes, fantasy figures and role models' (Alsop, Fitzsimons and Lennon 2002, 140). This makes it extremely difficult for women politicians to be seen as legitimate in parliament, as masculine traits are heralded at the same time as it is inappropriate and 'bloodthirsty' for women to display these too overtly. On the other hand, men do not experience punishment for displaying similar levels of hegemonic masculinity—it is encouraged.

The Westminster system in particular encourages displays of hegemonic masculinity. This mode of politics is intrinsically adversarial and confrontational (Sawer 2002, 14). Question Time is a 'key site for gendered interactions … when aggressive and adversarial individualism is on display' as politicians use colourful language and (Crawford 2008, 19). Gillard noted that:

> With the Westminster system—with our political culture—you've got to be able to stand up in that environment … I don't think we should be putting the message that women can't or shouldn't be skilled combatants in the way that politics is played out now. Particularly at that leadership level, where at the end of the day you know you've got to be on the balls of your feet with the adrenaline coursing and be able to absolutely hold your own. It's not gender neutral, in the evaluation. Part of the domination of question time, though, is a large part of it is about your backbench looking at you and seeing, in what is the sort of ritualised theatre of our political system, whether or not you're hacking it. And even though for people watching through the tv screen, they might be making very gendered analyses, for you as leader in the moment you've got to give that faith to the backbench that you can be in amongst it. (Interview, 13 February 2019)

However, according to Crawford's research interviewing male politicians about the gendered nature of parliament, some thought that it would be 'unbecoming' for a woman to adopt this masculine style (2008, 93). Women politicians and leaders are therefore simultaneously expected

to adhere to the 'head kicker' style of Westminster politics, yet when they do, they risk being regarded as aggressive and violent by those within and outside of parliament.

Reflecting the concept of hegemonic masculinity, another common theme found through examining political cartoons of these leaders was the portrayal of stereotypically masculine anger and violence. While male politicians are allowed to perform some degree of aggressive masculinity, when women display such attributes they are regarded as violent, and their supposed aggression is often used against them. For example, although many Australian male politicians have successfully deposed a sitting leader, as can be seen with male prime ministers such as Paul Keating and Malcom Turnbull, none faced the same amount of gendered scrutiny and vilification as Gillard (Johnson 2015; Williams 2017). Gillard herself has mentioned that a majority of Australian political leaders have risen by successfully challenging another leader, 'yet the word "backstabber" or the dramatic image of having knifed a colleague have not been as routinely employed against them' (Gillard 2014, 107). It is thus clear that violent and aggressive imagery is subversive for women, as they are not supposed to iterate such apparently adversarial attributes. If they do, they risk falling off the tight-rope and are regarded as subversive and illegitimate. Despite the precarity for women political leaders who, as women in traditionally male spaces, are already regarded as subversive and risk falling off the tight-rope, portraying them through such violent and aggressive imagery heightens this risk.

Figure 9.7. Hubbard, Jim. [Untitled]. *The Dominion*. **10 December. 8.**

While four of the prime ministers experienced this theme, the cartoon trope of hegemonic masculine violence was most often used against those from the left of politics, such as Helen Clark and Julia Gillard. The above cartoon was published soon after Clark's ascension to the prime ministerial role, when it became clear that she would enter a coalition with the left-wing Alliance party (Figure 9.7). Furthermore, the image illustrates Clark's supposed annoyance that the left-wing Greens re-entered parliament while conservative politician Winston Peters managed to survive the 1999 election and hold onto his seat. In this cartoon, Clark is illustrated almost as a caricature wherein she appears to have a very masculine appearance. Her squinting eyes, forced grimace with oversized teeth, and her prominent hollowed cheekbones add to this caricature-esque impression, emphasising qualities we usually associate with not only men but aggressive and destructive masculinity. Furthermore, the disparity between the words in the speech bubble and her depicted behaviour indicates a disconnect between words and actions, image and reality. The cartoon implies that she says one thing and does another, and that her diplomacy cannot be trusted,

276

as she shows an inability to work with her political rivals. Such a display of stereotypical masculine aggression implies that she has a lack of control and discipline. Using such masculine attributes to unsettle Clark's performances of gender instead parodies Clark, while making the misogynistic suggestion that she can also be overly-emotional and hysterical.

Figure 9.8. Shakespeare, John. [Untitled]. The Sydney Morning Herald. 25 June. 11.

Figure 9.9. Leak, Bill. 'The Feminine Touch-Up'. The Australian. 3–4 July. 15.

Julia Gillard was portrayed as violent and aggressive in many political cartoons due to her deposition of then prime minister Kevin Rudd, however I have chosen not to focus on these in this chapter. While those cartoons unsettle or destabilise Gillard's femininity, it is done in a way that portrays her as murderous and vindictive, which can still be regarded as stereotypically feminine. The above cartoons, however, portray Gillard in more of an adversarial, aggressive and even in a bullying manner, rather than as being purely murderous. In both cartoons there is a difference in size, as Gillard is portrayed as larger than both Rudd and treasurer Wayne Swan. In a similar way to the preceding cartoon of Clark, Gillard's facial expressions and left arm in the first cartoon indicate a barely-contained tension or anger, which is reinforced through her squinting eyes,

277

clenched lips, the lines around her nose and eyes and her clenched fist. Furthermore, the few errant hairs in her otherwise immaculate bob suggest that there is a disparity between a pristine surface and a hidden inner rage, which is implied to have potentially contributed to the downfall of Rudd. The second cartoon portrays Gillard in a more aggressive manner, as the depiction of Gillard itself is inherently violent. In this cartoon she is made up of points and dramatic angles, while her hair is a vibrant red and ends in hooked points.

Both pictures also depict Gillard to be a bully who threatens her male counterparts. In the first cartoon, Rudd's broken lenses, the proportion of his body with Gillard's and the presentation of him in a headlock brings to mind images of a stereotypical school bully who is picking on the 'nerd'. This both reinforces Gillard's supposed 'bully' status while emphasising Rudd's notorious nerdy and effeminate image, which in turn implies that Gillard can use her masculinity to emasculate those around her. In comparison, the second picture similarly illustrates the theme of substituting brute force for diplomacy, showing Gillard as emasculating Swan. However, during her term as deputy prime minister as well as throughout her prime ministerial term, she was well known for her negotiation skills and for being able to compromise. Despite this, the implication of both cartoons is that, rather than using diplomacy or compromising, Gillard instead resorts to brute force and intimidation to get what she wants. The inclusion of the rolling pin in Gillard's emasculation and terrorising of Swan is noteworthy as a gendered weapon which, combined with her pearl necklace and earrings, evident makeup, and the fact that Gillard is literally looking down her nose at Swan, conjures an image of the stereotypical nagging and belittling wife or 'shrew' (the nose and exposed teeth even make Gillard appear mole-like) talking down to her husband, emasculating him and undermining his authority through acts of violence. While the depiction of wives with rolling pins is an old trope used in satirical cartoons, depicting Gillard with a rolling pin is comical, as she was both unmarried and not known for her baking or skills in the kitchen, a

fact she often readily admitted. Five years prior to her prime ministerial ascension, she was publicly ridiculed after a photoshoot in her kitchen where she sat on the dining table next to an empty fruit bowl,[24] which was regarded to be symbolic of her lack of children and also largely interpreted to mean that she lacked housekeeping skills. The inclusion of the rolling pin in a cartoon that portrays her as violent and uncompromising therefore further reinforces her supposed failure to conform to stereotypical notions of femininity as an unmarried woman prime minister who cannot cook!

Interestingly, as both Clark and Gillard are from centre-left parties (Labour/Labor), it appears that hyper-masculinised cartoon coverage is more likely to be directed at women political leaders from the centre-left. Furthermore, there were no cartoons within the timeframe of my study that portrayed Theresa May using such tropes. Rather, they chose to emphasise her more traditional iterations of femininity through focusing on her sartorial style. While conservative women experience other gendered expectations, often in relation to performances of traditional femininity, women from the left are at risk of accusations of lesbianism and overt masculinity. Both Gillard's and Clark's sexuality have been questioned throughout their prime ministerial terms. and they have experienced allegations or hints from both the media and the public that their relationships with their partners were false or a cover-up for their or their partner's sexuality (see Chapter Six). The imagery used above emphasises the idea that women political leaders from the left are more stereotypically masculine, adversarial and even 'butch'.[25] While such imagery can be seen to disrupt notions of heteronormativity and the gender binary, it also operationalises both Clark's and Gillard's gender against them. Rather than freeing up the gendered possibilities for them to perform, it instead reprimands them for daring to display the characteristics needed in politics, such as being adversarial, strong and even aggressive.

---

[24] Gillard noted that this was a decorative piece rather than a fruit bowl (Gillard 2014, 102).

[25] However, it is not uncommon for conservative women leaders to adopt a similar style, such as Scotland's Conservative leader Ruth Davidson or Germany's Chancellor Angela Merkel.

9.4 Masquerading As Men

Historically, political cartoons have often portrayed feminists and women who transgress the boundaries between the private and public sphere in quite a hostile manner (Klein 1993; Pedersen 2018). Oftentimes, cartoonists suggest that such transgressions are a threat to the heteronormative gender binary—or, in other words—'our way of life'. Male cartoonists have often depicted women who fought for equality as 'vinegary' and 'unattractive' and, as their existence was seen to be a threat, they were often armed with violent objects such as umbrellas to attack men (Sawer 2008, 102). Marian Sawer (2008) has identified multiple tropes that cartoonists used in their depictions of feminists and the women's movement in the late 19th century, often depicting these women masquerading as men through wearing men's clothes and undertaking men's roles. Portraying women as 'mannish' might destabilise the notion of strict gender roles, but it is instead used to ridicule these women. Rather than picturing women as successfully transgressing gender stereotypes and gender roles, they instead depict them as being in masquerade—a sight for derision. One trope that I will focus on in this article is the idea of 'the man in the apron', which Sawer argues 'depict[s] the risible consequences of women's equality' (2008, 101). For Sawer, it illustrates how women are emasculating men through their fight for women's equality, and, through the depiction of men doing housework, men are supposedly relegated to doing 'women's work' (2008, 103). Political cartoonists created a binary for women, contrasting unfeminine suffragists with the buxom 'womanly woman' who does not want to disrupt the heteronormative gender binary (Sawer 2008, 103). More recently, this binary includes those women who enter highly masculine spaces that have been seen to be *for* men—including the prime ministerial role.

Figure 9.10. Tremain, Garrick. 'Cartoon Comment'. The Press. 29 November. 4.

The above cartoon of Helen Clark and her husband Peter Davis encapsulates a modern-day 'man in the apron' cartoon. This cartoon was published two days after the 1999 general election, from which Clark emerged the victor. For Sawer, the man in the apron in this cartoon is Clark's husband, a professor, 'who is relegated to the vacuuming by the fact that a woman can now be elected as prime minister' (Sawer 2008, 108). Sawer draws attention to the contrast between Davis's supposed emasculation and implication of unemployment, and Clark's new role as the figurehead or patriarch of New Zealand. However, similarly to previous cartoons analysed above, this cartoon shows an incomplete reversal of roles. Although the behaviour is reversed, their clothes are not (with the exception of the apron being worn by Davis), implying that this is only a temporary or artificial switch. In comparison to older anti-suffrage cartoons, Clark is not portrayed

281

as wearing men's clothes or trousers; rather she is illustrated as being in a dress and heels. The signs of stereotypical gender identity still remain because of the way they are both dressed, and Davis is even wearing a tie while his face is almost entirely made up of beard and moustache. The only concession to femininity is the apron tied around his waist, decorated with an abstracted flower pattern. The disparity in size between Clark and Davis illustrates the power difference between the two and adds to the masculinisation of Clark and therefore the supposed emasculation of her husband. However, the overall impression of this cartoon is one of absurdity and unnaturalness, as the husband/man appears to be ill at ease and confused by his actions.

Figure 9.11. Unknown. 'Coalition Deal Ready to Sign'. The Press. 3 December. 3.

Similarly, Clark is again depicted in the above political cartoon as unsettling gender roles and relationships. Political cartoons often use the trope of marriage to discuss political coalitions or relationships, even if both parties are men (as we saw in Chapters Four and Six). In this cartoon, Helen Clark is depicted as marrying her coalition partner, Jim Anderton. However, this cartoon

282

shows a clear reversal of gender roles. Rather than the bride being carried by the groom, which is a stereotypical performance of heteronormative marriage, the bride is *carrying* the groom. This disruption of gender norms is, again, incomplete, as Clark still wears the dress while Anderton wears a suit. Similarly to the previous cartoon, this could imply that the gender role reversal is only temporary, or little more than a performance/masquerade, rather than a sign of real change. Furthermore, the cartoon destabilises gender norms to imply that a 'happy marriage'—or coalition—for Clark and Anderton is an unattainable ideal. This is reinforced by Clark's strained facial expression, emphasising exertion in carrying the groom, and the narrowness of the path ahead. Anderton's features are a point of interest, as he is portrayed as rigid, doll-like, his face frozen in a rictus of benign happiness while his legs and arms are held out stiffly. The size of Anderton in comparison to Clark suggests that he is a doll for Clark to play with, further emphasising Clark's power and Anderton's emasculation.

It is important to note that both these cartoons portray Clark in a relationship that destabilises expected heteronormative stereotypes while her role as prime minister emasculates the men around her. Although Gillard was portrayed in a similar manner, as threatening or emasculating the men around her, it was in a far more violent way. However, none of the three conservative women prime ministers, Thatcher, May or Shipley, was portrayed as emasculating men through a 'queered' relationship or as disrupting heteronormative relationship ideals. Perhaps this is because women from the left are more likely to transgress gender norms and stereotypes in numerous ways. Conservative women politicians are more likely to iterate more traditional aspects of femininity, thus stabilising their walk on the tight-rope between normative iterations of femininity and masculinity. Although they also risk stumbling and falling, and gender can always be operationalised against them, they can be seen to be more aligned to gender norms. Progressive women, on the other hand, are seen to be more masculine and less traditionally

feminine. This could possibly be because of their having had to rise through the ranks of hyper-masculine unions and negotiate working-class ideals of masculinity and politics in order to achieve political success. As a result, they are transgressing gender norms in two ways: entering spaces that were previously delineated as being occupied by men; and presenting more stereotypically masculine attributes. In turn, the media, especially the conservative press, are more likely to operationalise such overtly, and parodied, masculine tropes against them to ridicule and penalise them for such gender transgressions.

9.5 Conclusion

Evidence suggests that women politicians, especially political leaders, experience widespread gendered and misogynistic media portrayals. The media often focus on women political leaders' femininity, appearance and family lives. This chapter partially deviated from this kind of analysis and instead focused on how the media's operationalisation of gender against women leaders can also unintentionally unsettle the notions of sex/gender and woman/man. This is particularly apparent in political cartoons. Analysing political cartoons of Thatcher, Shipley, Clark and Gillard, it is evident that political cartoonists often portray them in ways that can seemingly subvert gendered norms, expectations and even rigid ideas of the gender binary. However, it is important to note that, although this can commonly be the case, those same cartoons that expand ideas of how women can perform femininity also ridicule them for subverting gender norms.

Through my analysis, however, I have identified three gendered themes political cartoonists use to ridicule these prime ministers. The first is in constructing phallocentric cartoons which depict women as having bodies that are lacking and are therefore dependent on and oriented toward the phallus. In this, it is implied that these prime ministers are lacking something once seen as inextricable from their role—a penis. Without such an appendage, they are suggested

284

to be the inferior Other who does not belong. The media, emphasising their non-normative bodies, inevitably polices such transgressions through further highlighting their gender subversions, inviting ridicule by re-imagining them in far more masculine positions wielding the phallic objects they seem to be lacking. They are presented as not competent in themselves as women; rather, they are defined by what they are not.

Another trope the media use to unsettle or subvert notions of gender, thereby ridiculing or penalising women leaders for their supposed transgressions of gender norms, is to emphasise their supposed hegemonic hyper-masculine violence and aggression. It is necessary for politicians to display certain attributes, such as being adversarial, combative and strong, yet due to the gendered double bind it is less acceptable for women to display these traits. Despite this, the media emphasised these qualities in some of the prime ministers examined here, and, rather than freeing up gendered possibilities for them to perform, they instead effectively reprimanded them for their supposed gender transgressions. Unsurprisingly, this is a phenomenon that was more often used against Helen Clark and Julia Gillard, who are both from left-leaning political parties.

The third trope the media used was to use masquerade to 'queer' the relationships, which similarly seemed only to apply to Helen Clark and Julia Gillard. This trope characterises the women's ascension to the prime ministerial role as having an inevitable effect on the masculinity and prowess of their partners, whether personal or political, implying that their ascension directly emasculates the men around them. While conservative women experience other gendered expectations, often in relation to iterations of traditional femininity, women from the left are more at risk of accusations of lesbianism and overt masculinity. The complete absence of cartoons portraying May in this manner, in combination with the disproportionate number of examples portraying Clark and Gillard, indicates that progressive women are more likely to experience these masculine tropes than their conservative counterparts. I suggest that this is because women from

285

the left are seen to have doubly transgressed in both subverting the notion that the prime ministerial role is for men, and in defying feminine stereotypes.

This chapter explored ways in which the majority of newspaper cartoons do not disrupt or unsettle notions of the gender binary or gender stereotypes, but rather resolutely enforce and police them. Despite this, their operationalisation of gender against these prime ministers can in turn blur such rigidity. It is also critical to mention that their unsettling of such notions is not necessarily a positive thing. In fact, it can create more rigidity, as they are ridiculing these women while depicting them masquerading as men. Rather than freeing gender norms and expectations, women leaders are portrayed as artificial, and their performances as false imitations of what they aspire to be, in an effort to fulfil what they are inherently 'lacking'. In turn, the media simply cannot imagine a prime minister without a penis. Chapter Ten will summarise the chapters of this thesis, review the findings, make suggestions for future research and provide some concluding remarks.

Chapter Ten: Conclusion

10.1 Introduction

Examining the print media discourse on Margaret Thatcher, Theresa May, Julia Gillard, Jenny Shipley and Helen Clark, it is evident that they all experienced gendered media coverage to some degree. The media's reliance on gender in their portrayals of these leaders meant that their appearance, relationships and families were the focus rather than their policies. They were depicted as housewives who kept their male colleagues in line and as housekeepers who cleaned up parliament; as doting wives and loving mothers; or as barren emasculators of the men around them. These stories celebrated them for their status as first or second women prime ministers of their countries while portraying them through rigid gendered constructs, and were ever-critical if they did not live up to expectations.

Relying on gender stereotypes portrayed these leaders as inherently different to those who usually fill the prime ministerial role. While this was not true of all newspaper coverage of these leaders, it was overwhelming in its frequency and intensity. The overall purpose of this research was to examine *how* the media used gendered discourse to respond to the ascension of women prime ministers. Identifying the methods used is a first step in being able to tackle this phenomenon. Through analysis of print media discourse, I was able to observe the similarities and differences in the gendered media coverage of the five leaders and contribute to both the gendered mediation and personalisation literature as well as the fields of gender politics, gender studies and media communications.

10.2 Gendered Tropes

One of the primary findings of this thesis was that the print media use gender to portray women political leaders in recurrent ways that are identifiable through what I have called 'gendered tropes'. I have acknowledged that neither journalists nor newspapers are necessarily

From Tightrope to Gendered Trope

conscious of their use of these gendered tropes. Rather, these tropes reflect prevailing gender stereotypes and gender norms—stereotypes available to journalists when covering women political leaders. Gendered tropes therefore reflect social norms and expectations that, through their presence in the mainstream media, are re-enforced. This observation addresses my central research question of understanding *how* the mainstream print media construct gendered representations of women prime ministers. While some of these themes have been explored in previous literature, such as by Linda Trimble (2017) and Karen Ross (2017), my contribution is to identify them not only as recurrent and repetitive themes, but also as gendered tropes that recur in the media coverage of five prime ministers in three different countries across nearly 40 years.

The identification of these tropes provides a framework that can be used by future researchers to more easily identify the nature of gendered mediation of women politicians and political leaders. This framework will also make it easier for women and women politicians to be able to identify sexism and call it out. It provides a clear categorisation of what constitutes gendered coverage, and clearly shows the mainstream media what not to do in their coverage of women politicians and political leaders.

For example, during the editing stages of this thesis, the New South Wales' Liberal Premier, Gladys Berejiklian, won the 2019 state election. Predictably, she experienced gendered media coverage that echoed my thesis findings—an indication that the media is still far from abandoning the use of gender stereotypes in political coverage (Williams and Chappell 2019). Using the gendered tropes framework identified in this thesis, I was able to discursively analyse the media coverage of Berejiklian in an efficient, thorough and timely manner:

She could never charm the electorate like her slightly roguish predecessor, Mike Baird, who would boast to reporters his wife was "out of my league".

Family Trope   Appearance Trope

She lacks a spouse and children. She's not photogenic. She had no impressive professional or personal achievements before entering politics. She shows little interest in intellectual pursuits, sport or culture. She's Armenian.

Relentless pleasantness

Family Trope

The immigrants' daughter did understand her political strengths though. While mocked for being a control freak – stories spread of her dictating responses to school children's letters – Berejiklian created a government in her own image. Family Trope

Under Berejiklian and her predecessors, the NSW Coalition did not engage in messy internal power struggles. Instead it built roads, trains, trams, schools and hospitals in a capital city that felt too full to many, and a countryside resentful at being bypassed by Sydney's wealth.

Like anyone, the Premier is capable of bearing a grudge, according to people who know her. In public, though, she defined relentless pleasantness.

Femininity Trope
Femininity/Appearance Trope

She never travelled without a friendly smile. Criticism bounced off her simple patterned dresses and low-heeled shoes.
Appearance Trope

Figure 10.1. An example applying the gendered tropes to a news article.

I hope that this framework will enable others, inside and outside academia, to easily analyse the media for potential gendered coverage of women political actors and to hold the media to account.

I structured each of my thesis chapters around one (or two in the case of Chapter Seven) of these gendered tropes to further analyse and explore how the media portrayed these leaders. The first gendered trope (Chapter Four) is 'femininity', as this is the crux of the multiple and varying gendered tropes used in the portrayals of these leaders. As explored in this chapter, 'gender' and 'femininity' referred to two different but interrelated things. The media coverage of these leaders' 'gender' was observed in numerous ways, but at its core it involved repetitions of gendered labels such as 'female', 'woman', 'lady', 'girl', 'wife', 'mother'. 'Femininity' referred to learned and

repetitive performances of stereotypical 'gendered behaviour' or expected behaviour that adhered to gendered norms and stereotypes, and was regarded as stereotypically appropriate of women.

Within this overarching gendered trope, I identified many different themes in the media coverage of these political leaders, including: an emphasis on womanhood and/or girlhood; speculation on the leaders' schoolgirl days or a comparison of their political performances with that of a schoolgirl or head girl; imagining them in power as a headmistress; analogies of housekeeping; sexual- or relationship-based metaphors; and describing a contest between women political leaders as a 'cat-fight' or a 'battle' between warrior queens. The sub-themes drew attention to these leaders' gender identity in a role regarded as belonging to men, and to their performance or non-performance of stereotypical femininity. This chapter found that some leaders experienced application of this trope and its sub-themes more than others. In particular, Julia Gillard and Theresa May experienced it far more than the other prime ministers, suggesting that media personalisation of prime ministers has increased over time. Furthermore, the UK and Australian conservative presses utilised this main trope and gendered sub-themes more than the progressive presses, something observed throughout the main chapters.

Chapter Five explored the trope of 'appearance' and examined how the mainstream print media not only focused on the appearance of all five leaders, but often did so in news stories that were otherwise focused on their ascension and policy positions. The depiction of women politicians' bodies and sartorial styles in print media is consequential because it underlines their difference from those expected to fill public office. When situated within a male-dominated context such as politics, 'the female body is often defined almost exclusively by its "feminine" characteristics, and becomes a sign of their lack of characteristics expected of political leaders' (Holland 2006, 30). Additionally, women's bodies are often delegitimised or deconstructed into their component parts, such as hair, skin, clothes, figure, etc., which are used by the media to

emphasise their difference from the normative masculine form. Women political leaders are often made to appear trivial and their bodies are regarded as gendered, while their male counterparts are portrayed as neutral and genderless. Men remain the norm and women are treated as novelties.

This trope was observed in the coverage of all five leaders, but again particularly with respect to Gillard and May. I found that the print media largely concentrated on leaders' clothes, bodies and hairstyles in news stories that should instead have focused on their policies and leadership ascensions. UK print media coverage of May dedicated entire stories to her supposed affinity for fashion, her suits and dresses, and had a fixation on her choice of shoes. Her kitten heels were a common metonym, often used in caricatures and cartoons. Similarly, Gillard's hair was a fixation for the Australian press. I observed that the UK and Australian conservative presses used this gendered trope more in their coverage of women prime ministers than the progressive presses. However, this focus on appearance was not as frequent in the New Zealand press.

Chapter Six examined the third gendered trope—the family trope—observed in the print media coverage of all five leaders. In this, I identified that the media portrayal of these leaders frequently referenced their families, both in news stories where the material wasn't relevant and in opinion pieces focusing on their personal lives. This chapter examined how the media coverage used this trope to pull these leaders back to the familial realm, and often tied them to male relations through positioning them as wives or daughters, focusing on their fathers but rarely their mothers. I examined how the increase in personalised focus on women political leaders' lives, such as the focus on their families, left them in a gendered double bind. Having a husband reduced them to simply being a wife rather than independent. However, if they were unmarried, as was the case with Gillard, their personal and political skills, relatability as well as their sexualities come into question. Similarly, if they had children they were considered as selfish for having a career instead of caring for their family, but if they were childfree they were regarded as unrelatable to the general

public. As with my previous chapters, I found that the UK and Australian presses, though not the New Zealand press, was more likely to mention the leaders' family than the progressive presses, though this phenomenon was not as stark as previous chapters.

Chapter Seven departed from previous chapters, which had each looked at one gendered trope, and focused instead on two gendered tropes relating to names: either their own first name; or being compared to Margaret Thatcher. In line with the results from previous chapters, Gillard and May experienced these tropes more than the other leaders, and Thatcher's first name, specifically her nickname 'Maggie', was indelibly associated with Thatcher. Unsurprisingly May was compared to Thatcher the most, as she was the second UK woman prime minister and, like Thatcher, was also a leader of the Conservative Party. Overall, this chapter illuminated how the constant referral to women leaders by their first names marked them as gendered 'others' and treated them in a less serious manner than their male counterparts. Similarly, the frequent comparisons between these leaders and Thatcher drew attention to their gender.

While the first four main chapters of this thesis explored how the mainstream print media rely on gendered tropes in their coverage of the five women political leaders, Chapter Eight examined how some articles actively critiqued and ridiculed the gendered expectations placed on women political leaders, arguing that an unfair double standard was at work. These articles critically engaged with these expectations, whether they came from within parliament, society at large or the mainstream press. However, these articles were in the minority, and were often published in the same newspaper that simultaneously published articles re-enforcing gender norms and expectations through covering these women political leaders in a gendered manner. While I concluded that the inclusion of some articles critical of gender-based scrutiny, but does not counteract the plethora of articles that use gendered tropes to emphasise political leaders' gender and highlight their subversive femininity, these articles nevertheless play an important role in

292

changing the norms of gendered media discourse. These 'anti-' trope newspaper articles demonstrate that the way in which women, and women in power, are viewed is changing, for example through the #MeToo movement, and therefore so should the ways in which they are portrayed within the mainstream media.

Previous chapters have indicated that the more progressive mainstream press is changing, as evidenced from comparisons between Thatcher's era and May's, and is now less reliant on gendered tropes than their conservative counterparts. Anti-misogynistic articles published in the progressive press criticised gendered expectations and gender norms, often through a feminist lens and by well-known feminist activists and academics. In contrast, although the conservative press also included anti-misogynistic rhetoric, they were usually isolated statements that often drew on the same gendered tropes they were critiquing, or else were written by journalists who had written other articles emphasising the leader's gender. The conservative press's inclusion of a few anti-misogynistic articles is not sufficient to counteract the plethora of articles that use gendered tropes to emphasise political leaders' gender and highlight their subversive femininity.

The final main chapter, Chapter Nine, similarly deviated from previous chapters through solely analysing political cartoons. While I aimed to analyse cartoons for all five leaders, there was a lack of political cartoons in the coverage of May. Rather than only examining how political cartoons reinforced gender norms, I focused on how their operationalisation of the leaders' gender can simultaneously unsettle notions of sex/gender and woman/man and subvert such gendered expectations. Through a semiotic analysis of political cartoons covering four of the five leaders, I identified three gendered themes used by political cartoonists that potentially destabilised the gender binary but at the same time ridiculed these leaders for their supposed subversive gender choices.

The first was depicting women through a phallocentric ideal, emphasising what they 'lack', i.e. a phallus, thus both portraying them as 'othered' and as dependent on the absence of something that is usually wielded by those in power. The second theme was ridiculing and penalising women leaders for their supposed transgressions of gender norms, identifying them with hyper-masculine violence and aggression. This both expands the expectations of the emotions women will display in the prime ministerial role and simultaneously reprimands them for their supposed gender transgressions. I observed this phenomenon more often in the coverage of Clark and Gillard, both from left-leaning political parties. Similarly, the third theme that cartoonists used in their coverage of these leaders—the depiction of their relationships as being a masquerade—seemed to solely apply to Clark and Gillard.

These cartoons unsettled notions of heterosexuality by portraying Clark and Gillard as emasculating their (male) partners or colleagues, implying that their ascension directly emasculates the men around them. While these three themes observed in the political cartoons can expand ideas of how women can iterate femininity, they can also create more rigidity, as they are ridiculing these women and situating them as imitating masculine performances. Rather than being freed and freeing up gender norms and expectations, these leaders are instead portrayed as inauthentic and their performances are implied to be an imitation of what they aspire to be.

However, Clark and Gillard were portrayed differently to conservative prime ministers Thatcher and Shipley. The complete lack of cartoons unsettling May's gender and the relative lack of cartoons portraying Shipley and Thatcher using these three themes, in combination with the disproportionate examples that 'queer' Clark and Gillard, indicates that progressive women are more likely to experience these queered gendered tropes than their conservative counterparts. I suggested that this is because women from the left are seen to have doubly transgressed— subverting both the notion that the prime ministerial role is for men as well as defying feminine

stereotypes—whereas conservative women iterate more of a traditional style of femininity, which saves them from the treatment that left-leaning women face, but exposes them to other kinds of gendered expectations.

10.3 Conservative vs Progressive Press

Following this, another primary finding was the observable difference in how the conservative and progressive presses cover women prime ministers. The content analysis in the first five main chapters revealed that the conservative press relied on gendered tropes in their coverage of women leaders more frequently and intensely than did their progressive counterparts. Notably, the UK conservative press markedly increased the frequency of gendered tropes from Thatcher to May, indicating that this phenomenon is increasing over time. However, a discourse analysis of the texts, and particularly of political cartoons and photographs, revealed that this phenomenon was more far-reaching than the content analysis showed. While the content analysis identified how often the conservative and progressive press relied on gendered tropes, the discourse analysis explored the different ways in which the conservative and progressive presses constructed these leaders as gendered 'others'.

The media's perception of women, especially women in power, differed along political lines. The conservative press generally viewed these leaders through a more rigid and stereotypically traditional lens of femininity, whereas the progressive press presented an array of potential iterations of femininity, though still re-enforcing gender norms, binaries and expectations. It is important to note that the conservative or progressive newspapers were not homogenous and often included varying opinions; however, there was an overall difference between the two types of newspapers. It is also incorrect to state that the progressive press was a bastion of emancipation, since it, too, included many articles that relied on gendered tropes, as evidenced by both the content and discourse analysis. Its perception of femininity, as mentioned

above, was, however, not as rigid and traditional as that found in the conservative press. Additionally, as explored in Chapter Eight, the progressive press published more articles that critiqued such gendered expectations and double standards, usually from a feminist perspective, than did the conservative press.

This phenomenon was more observable in the UK and Australian presses than the New Zealand press. This relates back to my argument, in Chapter One, that the ways in which the New Zealand press covered Shipley and Clark was in stark contrast to the UK's and Australia's coverage of their respective prime ministers. The New Zealand press appeared to be more formal in their news reporting and relied less on sensationalism and infotainment. This is not to say that these styles of reporting did not exist at all in the New Zealand press—there were articles that fell under the infotainment category—but they were infrequent. Those that did portray Shipley and Clark through such a lens were often not as in-depth and intense as in UK and Australian articles.

Moreover, while the left-right and broadsheet-tabloid divide was more noticeable in the UK and Australian presses, it was unnoticeable in the New Zealand press. In fact, most New Zealand cities only had one major paper and perhaps a smaller weekend paper. This meant that New Zealand newspapers had to appeal to a wider range of people with varying views and political opinions, rather than being directed to base readers with a more homogenous viewpoint. The lack of tabloid papers would also influence the style of reporting in the New Zealand newspapers, as 'tabloid journalists emphasise personalisation and sensationalist news values more and relevance news values less than other journalists' (Skovsgaard 2014, 200). As has been argued throughout this thesis, but particularly discussed in Chapter Two, the rise in such personalised media coverage generates more informal styles of reporting and can have particular ramifications for women politicians and political leaders. The lack of tabloid media in New Zealand impacted on how news was presented and, in particular, on how both Shipley and Clark were received.

296

Similarly, the lack of Murdoch press in the New Zealand print media landscape had an impact on the kinds of news presented.

As examined through the main body of this thesis and re-examined above, it appears that the conservative press relies on gendered tropes more frequently and more intensely than does the progressive press. Again, this is not to deny there is a problem in the progressive press, but to stress that it is more widespread in the conservative press. These findings fill a gap in the literature, as there is little research that looks at how the gendered mediation of women politicians and political leaders differs based on the political affiliations of the media. It is important to examine this in order to broaden understanding of *how* the media use gendered portrayals in their coverage of women. Furthermore, it is imperative to recognise such differences so as to identify possible changes that could be made to newspaper discourse on women politicians. Conservative reliance on gendered tropes in coverage of women political leaders can have a greater impact on women politicians, women's political aspirations and society in general because of the market dominance of conservative papers. For example, Australia's major national broadsheet newspaper, *The Australian*, is both conservative and Murdoch-owned, and its large readership means that conservative messages about women in power and gender norms and expectations are widely distributed, demonstrating the need to understand this phenomenon in order to try to change it. Future research needs to be undertaken to examine *how* we can change gendered coverage of women political leaders in the print media, especially in conservative media.

10.4 Conservative vs Progressive Leaders

I was similarly interested in how the political affiliation of the prime minister could impact on how they were covered in mainstream print media. I found that both conservative and progressive political leaders experienced gendered media coverage, although the ways in which they experienced such coverage differed. While Thatcher, May and Shipley were portrayed in a

more stereotypically traditional feminine manner, Clark and Gillard were perceived to be more masculine. However, there were many instances where Clark and especially Gillard were also portrayed as hyperfeminine, with their hair and outfits being a particular focus. They were also subjected to ridicule for their supposed transgressions in failing to adhere to traditional ideas of femininity. While Thatcher's, May's and Shipley's relationships were seen as more genuine, Clark's and Gillard's were often delegitimised. Clark's and Gillard's sexualities were also questioned, and Gillard's partner was implied to be gay, while Thatcher, Shipley and May were more firmly embedded in their traditional feminine roles as wives and, aside from May, as mothers. This was illustrated in Chapter Nine, where political cartoonists portrayed Clark and Gillard as emasculating either their male partners or their male colleagues, whereas Thatcher, Shipley and May largely evaded this kind of visual coverage during their first three weeks.

Perhaps Clark and Gillard experienced such coverage because of the way in which they had risen through parliament. They were both women from the left of politics, rising up through union-heavy and Labor/Labour parties.[26] As a result, they were expected to adhere to more a masculine and working-class identity to appear as 'one of the boys' who can hack it (Tomsen and Donaldson 2003, 119–20), whereas conservative women were expected to follow more traditional notions of femininity, tied to hyper-feminised appearances and their roles as good mothers, wives and housewives. Women from the left, particularly from union and working-class based parties, are therefore considered to be doubly subversive to gender norms, roles and expectations, as they transgress the masculine norm of prime minister while also subverting performances of traditional femininity.

---

[26] The ALP, for example, struggled to attract women voters for most of the 20th century, as it was founded to represent the labour union movement in the political space at a time when few women were union members, and the unions did not encourage women's membership or their fight for equal pay and work (Curtin 1997). Their culture was also 'blokey', appealing to the idea of 'mateship', thus further excluding women.

10.5 Personalisation: Changes Over Time

While the political affiliations of leaders impacted on the kinds of gendered media coverage they received, in answer to the question of whether these gendered representations differed over time, I observed that those leaders who became prime minister in the last decade experienced more personalised and gendered coverage than earlier leaders. In line with personalisation literature, my results suggest that there has been an increase in personalised media coverage. A higher number of articles discussed the personal lives of Gillard and May in great detail, particularly focusing on their fashion, their relationships and their childhood.

While gendered media coverage is commonplace for women political leaders, as can be seen throughout this thesis, this rise of more personal, celebritised and gendered media coverage is evident when examining leaders over almost 40 years. As the print media coverage of political leadership has become more personalised, women political leaders experience a rise in *gendered* personalised media. And it is this gendered personalisation that risks further othering women political leaders, as it accentuates their private personae and family lives. This finding further strengthens the link between personalisation and gendered mediation identified by scholars such as Linda Trimble (2017) and Liesbet van Zoonen (2006).

10.6 Contribution

Through analysing how the print media use discourse in their portrayals of women political leaders as gendered subjects, this thesis provides several contributions. The foundational dimension of my analytic framework is power and how it is exercised and maintained through discourse. Drawing on Butler's notion that incorrect gender identities initiate a set of punishments, I have argued that women political leaders who fail to uphold the illusion of 'natural' gender roles are 'corrected' through gendered and sexist coverage. In other words, the media act as regulators of societal gender norms and criticise those who deviate from these norms and stereotypes to

further the continuation of such hegemony—particularly that relating to political power. They use discourse, predominantly drawing from the five gendered tropes I have identified, to produce, reinforce and transmit power (Foucault 1978, 100–01) and to maintain the status quo, but they do so in a manner that transcends the media, so that these beliefs are present and reinforced by the public as an everyday and socialised phenomenon; ordinary people have the power to discursively reproduce these ideas by 'punishing' those who subvert them. However, it is imperative to note that this is not to say that the mainstream media are a homogenous group; as identified above, it appears that there are differences, both within each newspaper and between newspapers, along political lines. However, the mainstream media has power in deciding what is news as well as how it is portrayed, and in doing so it influences cultural norms and therefore people's beliefs. As discussed throughout this thesis, whether or not it is the intention of the journalists, when they rely on gendered tropes they reinforce gender norms and stereotypes that ensure that men remain in power and women are trivialised and 'othered'.

Additionally, Butler's theory of gender performativity, in combination with gendered mediation and personalisation theory, has assisted me in exploring *why* the media portray women as gendered subjects. Although there is a small, but growing, body of gendered media literature that either references or uses Butler's notion of gender performativity, this thesis makes a further contribution. From this theoretical base, I have suggested that when women politicians do not successfully balance on the tight-rope by displaying the right amount of femininity and masculinity, they risk being regarded as other or deviant. The media then portray them as gendered others in a way that re-enforces gender norms and expectations. Those who subvert gender norms are seen as illegitimate and a threat to the so-called stability of traditional gender identities.

From Tightrope to Gendered Trope

In exploring specifically *how* the media used gender in their portrayals of women prime ministers, I identified five gendered tropes that the media relied and continue to rely on, as explored above. This adds to the existing gendered mediation literature by providing a new framework for analysing the gendered mediation of women politicians. The categorising of the gendered mediation of women politicians into five distinguishable tropes will make it easier for future research to identify when and how the media rely on gender in their portrayals of women politicians. Furthermore, this framework can also aid in cross-national studies of women politicians and the media.

There is currently little literature that examines the political affiliations of the mainstream media and how these impact on coverage of gender issues. Through observing that the gendered mediation of women political leaders is more widespread in the conservative press, I have revealed a noticeable difference. Hopefully this can further direct attention to the importance of analysing the political affiliations of the newspapers, not just in the examination of gendered media coverage, but in the examination of other issues concerning disadvantaged groups. Similarly, my thesis addresses a gap in the gendered mediation literature whereby the impact of the political affiliation of the leader has often been overlooked, as well as the relationship between this and the political affiliation of the newspaper.

As explored in Chapter Two, there is a substantial lack of gendered analysis in the field of personalisation theory. While van Zoonen (2006) and Trimble (2014; 2017) have addressed this oversight, arguing that personalisation has distinct gendered ramifications, my thesis builds on the existing work. Through examining five leaders over a period of nearly 40 years, all from English-speaking Westminster democracies with similar media, I have observed how the print media have changed the ways they cover women prime ministers. In line with personalisation theory, my findings indicate that the gendered mediation and personalisation of women political leaders is

From Tightrope to Gendered Trope

becoming more frequent and intense. Moreover, through combining gendered mediation and personalisation literature and through focusing solely on women political leaders, I have contributed an original analysis that compares similarities and differences in the gendered media coverage of women prime ministers, rather than comparing this mediation to that experienced by their male counterparts. Focusing solely on women is important in further unpacking and understanding how the media rely on gender in their coverage.

10.7 Impact

This research is also invaluable in our current social context. More women politicians are entering leadership positions, but the media are not only continuing but increasing publication of personalised gendered coverage. As has been explored in this thesis, the gendered media coverage of women politicians and political leaders has many ramifications for these women as well as greater society. Gillard noted that:

> It creates some *disruptive* factors in the relationship between the woman leader and the electorate. It becomes very easy for people to believe the stereotypes rather than see the real woman … So I think it disrupts that relationship that you need with the electorate … And I think for women politicians, it's almost the fear of the coverage. Because we are aware of the stereotypes, there's some self-limiting behaviours that women leaders tend to adopt. You hold yourself back from getting too angry, too animated, too passionate because you're fearful of being labelled as hysterical or shrill. You hold yourself back from being too emotional … because you're too worried about being criticised as soft. So you end up walking quite a narrow behavioural pathway and I think it's no mystery that women leaders are often therefore described as 'aloof', 'robotic', 'cold'. (Interview, 13 February 2019)

Through its deconstruction of how and why the media present women political leaders in a gendered and misogynistic manner, this thesis further increases our understanding of the wider social problem that not only affects women politicians and political leaders, but has an impact on

302

all women. While there is an increased focus on women politicians' experiences of gendered double standards and sexism, both within parliament and from the media, this thesis aids in opening up further avenues of discussion.

10.8 Limitations and Future Research

Through the contributions outlined above, this thesis has opened up multiple avenues for future research. This does not mean to suggest that there is no relevant work already being conducted in these areas, but the results of my research give rise to further questions. Due to the scope of my thesis, I was unable to include Jacinda Ardern, New Zealand's third woman prime minister, in my analysis. Future research could examine the media coverage of her ascension as well as how media portrayed her many 'firsts', such as being the youngest New Zealand prime minister and the first New Zealand prime minister (and second leader globally) to have a baby while in office, or the media coverage of her response to the Christchurch terrorist attacks in March 2019, which was highly praised nationally and internationally. Additionally, due to the high popularity of Jacinda Ardern,[27] it would be interesting to examine how the media respond to her and whether she also experiences celebritised coverage.

These results are limited in generalisability, as I chose women prime ministers from English-speaking Westminster democracies to minimise issues of translation and cultural misunderstandings. To garner more generalisable results, it would be important to compare women from other language groups in different political systems, preferably with a team of researchers who speak the relevant languages. This would allow for a comprehensive comparison examining the similarities and differences between women political leaders and their experiences of gendered mediation. It is also essential to examine countries where whiteness is not the norm in

---

[27] Ardern was ranked second in *Fortune Magazine*'s list of world's greatest leaders (*New Zealand Herald* 2019a) and, according to an Australian poll prior to the 2019 May federal election, was considered to be Australia's most trusted politician, outranking 11 Australian politicians and political leaders (*New Zealand Herald* 2019b).

order to see how women political leaders from these countries experience gendered mediation. In particular, as all five women leaders analysed in this thesis are white, heterosexual, able-bodied and middle class, it is important that future research examines women politicians and political leaders who not only transgress norms of masculinity but also other hegemonic norms and expectations. If the most privileged women in our society are portrayed through a delegitimising and gendered lens, then how are those less privileged treated? How does this impact on the political and leadership aspirations of those who have intersecting oppressions?

Additionally, women political leaders are subjected to more frequent and persistent media coverage due to their leadership status, which is why I have chosen to focus on them in this particular research project. However, it is important to also understand how other women politicians and party leaders experience gendered mediation. A current research project by Linda Trimble et al. examines the differences and similarities in the experiences of women premiers and male premiers in Australia and Canada. However, it would also be valuable to study women leaders of minor parties, such as Australia's Pauline Hanson or Cheryl Kernot, and the differences in the gendered mediation between and among them.

Furthermore, there are several new lines of inquiry that have been opened up in terms of further examining and understanding the conservative-progressive press divide in the use of gendered tropes and gendered mediation in general. As mentioned above, I established that there is an observable difference between the ways in which the conservative press use gender in their coverage of women political leaders compared to the progressive press: the conservative press has more traditional views of gender roles, norms and stereotypes.

This thesis analysed only a handful of newspapers from each country; one possible avenue for further research would be to analyse more, or all, major mainstream metropolitan newspapers to observe whether this phenomenon is identifiable in all newspapers. It would also be important

to examine how other forms of media use gendered mediation and the five gendered tropes in their coverage of women political leaders and politicians. Would this coverage be different in more stereotypically 'young' forms of media, such as online news websites and blogs? Is there a generational divide when it comes to how the media represent women politicians? Such scholarship would further aid in understanding how the media construct women political leaders as gendered subjects.

10.9 Last Word: The Future?

What, then, will the future look like for women political leaders? Will media coverage continue to treat them as novelties? Reflecting on my question about whether Australia's next woman prime minister would have similar experiences to Gillard's, the latter noted:

> I think it will still be gendered, and there will still be commentary on appearance, there will still be commentary on family structures, there will still be gendered insults and gendered stereotypes. But I do think there will be less of the really highly gendered, highly critical reporting. (Interview, 13 February 2019)

Similarly, Clark pointed out that, despite the occasional gendered comment, it is more normalised for women to be in the upper echelons of politics in New Zealand, arguing that:

> I think it's absolutely critical to get to the point where women's leadership is just something that is going to happen in the normal course of events. In New Zealand, we've had women PMs for more than half the last 21 years. So it's kind of normal … it becomes more normal. In New Zealand we currently have a couple of generations of young women who just know that women can be and will be prime minister. So that's very, very important … to make it easier for future generations. (Interview, 24 April 2019)

While having more women in the prime ministerial role can potentially change the gendered norms governing politics and expectations put on political leaders, this is less possible in a print media landscape that continues to rely on gendered stereotypes in their coverage of women

leaders. Theresa May was the UK's second woman leader, yet she experienced more gendered coverage and informal personalised reporting than Margaret Thatcher.

In our interview, Gillard identified that, most importantly, it was necessary for the mainstream media to reflect on the ways in which they portray all women to ensure that their portrayals do not reinforce gender stereotypes. She argued that this would be achievable through:

> The old 'Heidi/Howard' thing where, when journalists are writing their coverage piece, they do a word search and replace 'Heidi' with 'Howard' and re-read it to see if it jars. If you've made a gendered comment, it will. I don't think it's rocket science. [Laughs.] I think it's having the discipline every time to ask yourselves the question: 'is any part of this coverage through the prism of gender?' 'Have I reported their clothing whereas I wouldn't have for a man?' 'Have I said something about family structures and wouldn't have for a man?' 'Have I used an adjective to describe behaviour that I wouldn't have for a man?' 'Have I fallen for a stereotype, like 'women leaders are unlikable' whereas I wouldn't have used that stereotype if it was a man'? And just be very forensic and question. (Interview, 13 February 2019)

While Gillard's treatment has held a mirror up to the Australian society, it has also held a magnifying glass up to the Australian press landscape. However, whether change is truly possible depends on whether the media reflect on the ways they portray women and women in politics to ensure that no other woman politician or leader is treated in this manner.

Reference List

A

Abjorensen, Norman. 2009. 'The Culture Wars Down Under'. In *The Culture Wars: Australian and American Politics in the 21st Century*, edited by Jim George and Kim Huynh, 59–74. South Yarra: Palgrave Macmillan.

Acker, Joan. 1990. 'Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations'. *Gender and Society* 4: 139–58.

——. 1992. 'From Sex Roles to Gendered Institutions'. *Contemporary Sociology* 21(5): 565–69.

Ackerly, Brooke and Jacqui True. 2008. 'Reflexivity in Practice: Power and Ethics in Feminist Research on International Relations'. *International Studies Review* 10(4): 693–707.

Adcock, Charlotte. 2010. 'The Politician, The Wife, The Citizen, and her Newspaper'. *Feminist Media Studies* 10(2): 135–59.

Adler-Nissen, Rebecca, Charlotte Galpin and Ben Rosamond. 2017. 'Performing Brexit: How a Post-Brexit World is Imagined Outside the United Kingdom'. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 19(3): 573–91.

Aitken, Ian. 1979a. 'Carrington or Pym may frustrate Heath's hopes of FO'. *The Guardian* 5 May: 1.

——. 1979b. 'No Compromise vows defiant Mrs Thatcher'. *The Guardian* 16 May: 1.

Aitken, Jonathan. 2013. *Margaret Thatcher: Power and Personality*. London: Bloomsbury.

Albrechtsen, Janet. 2010. 'Ok, let's take a reality check'. *The Australian* 25 June: 16.

Aldridge, Val. 1997. 'Burton's up to the job'. *The Dominion* 13 December: 20.

Alexander, Deborah and Kristi Andersen. 1993. 'Gender as a Factor in the Attribution of Leadership Traits'. *Political Research Quarterly* 46(3): 527–45.

Allen, Nichola. 2017. 'Brexit, Butchery and Boris: Theresa May and Her First Cabinet'. *Parliamentary Affairs* 70(3): 633–44.

Alsop, Rachel, Annette Fitzsimons and Kathleen Lennon. 2002. *Theorizing Gender: An Introduction*. Oxford: Wiley.

Alvesson, Mats and Yvonne Due Billing. 1997. *Understanding Gender and Organizations*. London: Sage.

Anahita, Sine. 2006. 'Blogging the Borders: Virtual Skinheads, Hypermasculinity, and Heteronormativity'. *Journal of Political and Military Sociology* 34: 143–64.

Anderson, Karin V. and Kristina H. Sheeler. 2005. *Governing Codes: Gender, Metaphor, and Political Identity*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

Anderson, Kathryn and Dana C. Jack. 1991. 'Learning to Listen: Interview Techniques and Analyses'. In *Women's Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History*, edited by Sherna B. Gluck and Daphne Patai, 11–26. New York: Routledge.

Anney, Vicent N. 2014. 'Ensuring the Quality of the Findings of Qualitative Research: Looking at Trustworthiness Criteria'. *Journal of Emerging Trends in Educational Research and Policy Studies* 5(2): 272–81.

Armstrong, John. 1997a. 'Battle of the Boadiceas: leaders skirt round expected tussle in the House'. *The New Zealand Herald* 10 December: 1.

——. 1997b. 'Leaders' confrontation more a damp squib'. *The New Zealand Herald* 10 December: 3.

——. 1999. 'A Prime Minister of substance'. *The New Zealand Herald* 18–19 December: 16.

Armstrong, Lisa. 2016. 'Dear Theresa, he's a six point Brexit fashion plan'. *The Daily Telegraph* 16 July: 30.

From Tightrope to Gendered Trope

Arndt, Bettina. 2010. 'Shacking up is hard to do: why Gillard may be leery of the Lodge'. *The Sydney Morning Herald* 29 June: 11.

Arsenault, Amelia and Manuel Castells. 2008. 'Switching Power: Rupert Murdoch and the Global Business of Media Politics: A Sociological Analysis'. *International Sociology* 23(4): 488–513.

Aston, Heath. 2012. 'Gillard's father died of shame: Alan Jones'. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 September. https://www.smh.com.au/politics/federal/gillards-father-died-of-shame-alan-jones-20120929-26soa.html

Atkinson, Maxwell. 1984. *Our Masters' Voices: The Language and Body Language of Politics*. London: Methuen.

Attia Mariam and Julian Edge. 2017. 'Be(com)ing a Reflexive Researcher: A Developmental Approach to Research Methodology'. *Open Review of Educational Research* 4(1): 33–45.

Augoustinos, Martha and Danielle Every. 2007. 'The Language of "Race" and Prejudice: A Discourse of Denial, Reason, and Liberal-Practical Politics'. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 26(2): 123–41.

Austin, Steve. 2010. 'Disloyal Labor under a cloud in sunshine state'. *The Australian* 30 June: 14.

B

Bain, Helen. 1997. 'Shipley likes the job, not the desk'. *The Dominion* 9 December: 1–2.

———. 1999a. 'Coalition – and not a Dirty Dog in sight'. *The Dominion* 7 December: 1.

———. 1999b. 'Fresh faces front up for first photo call'. *The Press* 11 December: 8.

———. 1999c. 'New guard shows a new style'. *The Dominion* 11 December: 2.

———. 1999d. 'Odd couples about the House'. *The Dominion* 21 December: 1.

Baird, Julia. 2004. *Media Tarts, How the Australian Press Frames Female Politicians*. Melbourne: Scribe.

—. 2010. 'Lessons from sisters who fell on the way'. *The Sydney Morning Herald* 25 June: 2.

Baker, Paul. 2011. 'Discourse and Gender'. In *The Bloomsbury Companion to Discourse Analysis*, edited by Ken Hyland and Brian Paltridge, 199–212. London: Bloomsbury.

Banet-Weiser, Sarah and Laura Portwood-Stacer. 2017. 'The Traffic in Feminism: An Introduction to the Commentary and Criticism on Popular Feminism'. *Feminist Media Studies* 17(5): 884–8.

Barbara Lee Family Foundation. 2004. *Cracking the Code: Political Intelligence for Women Running for Governor*. Brookline, MA: Barbara Lee Family Foundation.

Barthes, Roland. 1964. *Elements of Semiology*. New York: Hill and Wang.

Bartol, Kathryn M. and D. Anthony Butterfield. 1976. 'Sex Effects in Evaluating Leaders'. J*ournal of Applied Psychology* 61: 446–54.

Baumgartner, Frank R. and Bryan D. Jones. 2009. *Agendas and Instability in American Politics*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Baxter, Judith. 2012. 'Women of the Corporation: A Sociolinguistic Perspective of Senior Women's Leadership Language in the U.K.'. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 16(1): 81–107.

—. 2017. *Women Leaders and Gender Stereotyping in the UK Press: A Poststructuralist Approach*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Biressi, Anita and Heather Nunn. 2008. *The Tabloid Culture Reader*. Maidenhead: McGraw-Hill/Open University Press.

Blee, Kathleen M. and Kimberly A. Creasap. 2010. 'Conservative and Right-Wing Movements'. *Annual Review of Sociology* 36(1): 269–86.

From Tightrope to Gendered Trope

Bleich, Erik, Irene Bloemraad and Els de Graauw. 2015. 'Migrants, Minorities and the Media: Information, Representations and Participation in the Public Sphere'. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 41(6): 857–73.

Bligh, Michelle, Michèle Schlehofer, Bettina Casad and Amber M. Gaffney. 2012. 'Competent Enough, But Would You Vote for Her? Gender Stereotypes and Media Influences on Perceptions of Women Politicians'. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 42(3): 560–97.

Bordo, Susan. 1993. *Unbearable Weight: Feminism, Western Culture and the Body*. Berkley: University of California Press.

Boucher, Anna. 2017. 'Power in Elite Interviewing: Lessons from Feminist Studies for Political Science'. *Women's Studies International Forum* 62: 99–106.

Braden, Maria. 1996. *Women Politicians and the Media*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press.

Bradley-Geist, Jill C., Ivy Rivera and Susan D. Geringer. 2015. 'The Collateral Damage of Ambient Sexism: Observing Sexism Impacts Bystander Self-Esteem and Career Aspirations Sex Roles'. *Sex Roles* 73(1–2): 29–42.

Britton, Dana. 2000. 'The Epistemology of the Gendered Organization'. *Gender and Society* 14: 418–34.

Brooks, Kate. 2008. 'Loaded with Meaning: Men's Magazines and the Appropriation of Tabloid Talk'. In *The Tabloid Culture Reader*, edited by Anita Biressi and Heather Nunn, 197–204. Maidenhead: McGraw-Hill/Open University Press.

Bruun, Hanne. 2012. 'Political Satire in Danish Television: Reinventing a Tradition'. *Popular Communication* 10(1–2): 158–69.

Buchanan, Matt and Sacha Molitorisz. 2010. 'The Diary'. *The Sydney Morning Herald* 28 June: 24.

Burgess, Diana and Eugene Borgida. 1999. 'Who Women Are, Who Women Should Be: Descriptive and Prescriptive Gender Stereotyping in Sex Discrimination'. *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law* 5(3): 665–92.

Burgess-Proctor, Amanda. 2015. 'Methodological and Ethical Issues in Feminist Research with Abused Women: Reflections on Participants' Vulnerability and Empowerment'. *Women's Studies International Forum* 48: 124–34.

Burke, Cindy and Sharon R. Mazzarella. 2008. '"A Slightly New Shade of Lipstick": Gendered Mediation in Internet News Stories'. *Women's Studies in Communication* 31(3): 395–418.

Butler, Judith. 1988. 'Performative Acts and Gender Constitution, an Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory'. *Theatre Journal* 49(1): 519–31.

——. 1990. *Gender Trouble, Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. London: Routledge

——. 1993. *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex*. New York: Routledge.

——. 2003. 'Violence, Mourning, Politics'. *Studies in Gender and Sexuality* 4(1): 9–37.

——. 2009. 'Performativity, Precarity and Sexual Politics'. *AIBR Revista de Antropologia Iberoamericana* 4(3): i–xiii.

——. 2004. *Undoing Gender*. New York: Routledge.

——. 2014. 'Regulações de Gênero'. *Cadernos Pagu* 42: 250–74.

Buttrose, Larry. 2010. 'Et tu Julia? An alternative narrative of political treachery'. *The Australian* 29 June: 12.

Bystrom, Dianne G., Mary Christine Banwart, Lynda Lee Kaid and Terry A. Robertson. 2004. *Gender and Candidate Communication*. New York: Routledge.

Bystrom, Dianne G., Terry A. Robertson and Mary Christine Banwart. 2001. 'Framing the Fight: An Analysis of Media Coverage of Female and Male Candidates in Primary Races for Governor and U.S. Senate in 2000'. *American Behavioral Scientist* 44(12): 1999–2013.

——. 2003. 'From the Primary to the General Election: A Comparative Analysis of Candidate Media Coverage in Mixed-Gender 2000 Races for Governor and U.S. Senate'. *American Behavioral Scientist* 46(5): 658–76.

C

Calder, Peter. 1999. 'Taking tea with new PM the morning-after'. *The New Zealand Herald* 29 November: 3.

Campbell, Beatrix. 1987. *Iron Ladies: Why do Women Vote Tory?* London: Virago.

——. 2015. 'Margaret Thatcher: To Be or Not Be a Woman'. *British Politics* 10(1): 41–51.

Campbell, John. 2011. *The Iron Lady: Margaret Thatcher, from Grocer's Daughter to Iron Lady*. New York: Penguin.

Campbell, Rosie and Philip Cowley. 2018. 'The Impact of Parental Status on the Visibility and Evaluations of Politicians'. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 20(3): 753–69.

Campus, Donatella. 2013. *Women Political Leaders and the Media*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Carlin, Diana B. and Kelly L. Winfrey. 2009. 'Have You Come a Long Way, Baby? Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, and Sexism in the 2008 Campaign Coverage'. *Communication Studies* 60(4): 326–43.

Carroll, Susan J. 1994. *Women as Candidates in American Politics*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

From Tightrope to Gendered Trope

Carroll, Susan J. and Ronnee Schreiber. 1997. 'Media Coverage of Women in the 103rd Congress'. In *Women, Media, and Politics*, edited by Pippa Norris, 131–148. New York: Oxford University Press.

Carson, Andrea and Brian McNair. 2018. 'Still the Main Source: The Established Media'. In *Double Dissolution: The 2016 Australian Election*, edited by Anika Gauja et. al., 42–52. Canberra: ANU press.

Carvalho, Anabela. 2008. 'Media(ted) Discourse and Society'. *Journalism Studies* 9(2): 161–77.

Celis, Karen and Bram Wauters. 2010. 'Pinning the Butterfly: Women, Blue-Collar and Ethnic Minority MPs vis-à-vis Parliamentary Norms and the Parliamentary Role of the Group Representative'. *The Journal of Legislative Studies* 16(3): 380–93.

Cherry, Frances and Kay Deaux. 1978. 'Fear of Success Versus Fear of Gender-Inappropriate Behavior'. *Sex Roles* 4: 97–101.

Childs, Sarah. 2004. 'A Feminised Style of Politics? Women MPs in the House of Commons'. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 6(1): 3–19.

Christensen, Martin K.I. 2017. 'Worldwide Guide to Women in Leadership'. *Guide 2 Women Leaders*. www.guide2womenleaders.com

Cockburn, Cynthia. 1988. 'The Gendering of Jobs: Workplace Relations and the Reproduction of Sex Segregation'. In *Gender Segregation at Work*, edited by Sylvia Walby. Philadelphia: Open University Press.

Code, Lorraine. 2014. 'Ignorance, Injustice and the Politics of Knowledge'. *Australian Feminist Studies* 29(80): 148–60.

Cole, Harry. 2016. 'Hubby will be No.1 adviser'. *The Sun* 13 July: 6–7.

From Tightrope to Gendered Trope

Cole, Shaun. 2000. '"Macho Man": Clones and the Development of a Masculine Stereotype'. *Fashion Theory* 4(2): 125–40.

Comrie, Margie. 2008. 'Helengrad and Other Epithets: Aspects of Helen Clark's Third Term Media Coverage'. Australian & New Zealand Communication Association (ANZCA) Conference, Wellington, July 9–11.

Connell, R. W. 1995. *Masculinities*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Conners, Joan L. 2010. 'Barack Versus Hillary: Race, Gender, and Political Cartoon Imagery of the 2008 Presidential Primaries'. *American Behavioral Scientist* 54(3): 298–312.

Cooper, Frank. 2009. 'Our First Unisex President? Black Masculinity and Obama's Feminine Side'. *Denver University Law Review* 86: 634–61.

Coorey, Phillip. 2010. 'Gillard: I understand your family sacrifices'. *The Sydney Morning Herald* 13 July: 5.

Cotterill, Pamela. 1992. 'Interviewing Women: Issues of Friendship, Vulnerability and Power'. *Women's Studies International Forum* 15: 593–606.

Coward, Rosalind and John Ellis. 1977. *Language and Materialism: Developments in Semiology and the Theory of the Subject*. London: Routledge.

Crace, John. 2016. 'Iron Lady 2.0 welcomes back nasty party'. *The Guardian* 20 July: 4.

Crawford, Mary. 2008. 'Gender and the Australian Parliament'. PhD thesis, Queensland University of Technology.

Crawford, Mary and Barbara Pini. 2010a. 'The Australian Parliament: A Gendered Organisation'. *Parliamentary Affairs* 64(1): 82–105.

——. 2010b. 'Gender Equality in National Politics: The Views of Australian Male Politicians'. *Australian Journal of Political Science* 45(4): 605–21.

Crawford, Mary and Marian Simms. 2010. 'Gender and Political Leadership: Moving Beyond Stereotypes'. 4th Annual Public Leadership Workshop, Hobart, November 25–26.

Creed, Barbara. 1993. *The Monstrous-Feminine: Film, Feminism, Psychoanalysis*. New York: Routledge.

Crittenden, Victoria L., Lucas M. Hopkins and J. M. Simmons. 2011. 'Satirists as Opinion Leaders: Is Social Media Redefining Roles?' *Journal of Public Affairs* 11: 174–80.

Cross, Simon and John Henderson. 2004. 'Public Images and Private Lives: The Media and Politics in New Zealand'. *Parliamentary Affairs* 57(1): 142–56.

Cunneen, Erin. 2010. 'Style: How to wear'. *The Sydney Morning Herald* 1 July: 15.

Curtin, Jennifer. 1997. 'The Gender Gap in Australian Elections'. *Politics and Public Administration Group* 20 October. https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/RP9798/98rp03

——. 2008. 'Comparing Pathways to Power: Women and Political Leadership in New Zealand'. In *Public Leadership Perspectives and Practices*, edited by Paul 't Hart and John Uhr, 265–74. Canberra: ANU E Press.

——. 2008. 'Women, Political Leadership and Substantive Representation: The Case of New Zealand'. *Parliamentary Affairs* 61(3): 490–504.

——. 2011. '(Re)gendering Political Institutions: Westminster Women and Executive Leadership'. *Social Alternatives* 30(3): 20–5.

——. 2015. 'The Prime Ministership of Julia Gillard'. *Australian Journal of Political Science* 50(1): 190–204.

D

D'Ancona, Matthew. 2016. 'The PM is her own woman. Remind you of anyone?' *The Guardian* 25 July: 23.

Danjoux, Ilan. 2014. 'Don't Judge a Cartoon by Its Image: Interpretive Approaches to the Study of Political Cartoons'. In *Interpretation and Method: Empirical Research Methods and the Interpretive Turn*, edited by Dvora Yanow and Peregrine Schwartz-Shea, 353–67. New York: M.E Sharpe.

Dathan, Matt. 2016. 'Viewers brand Piers Morgan "sexist" and "patronising" after calling Theresa May a "little firecracker" - then quizzed her about shoes and scones'. *Daily Mail*, 4 October. http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3821021/It-excuse-buy-new-shoes-Theresa-says-doesn-t-mind-people-focus-distinctive-footwear.html

Davis, Junetta. 1982. 'Sexist Bias in Eight Newspapers'. *Journalism Quarterly* 59: 456–60.

Davis, Mark. 2010. 'Building ambition from the sandpit of politics'. *The Sydney Morning Herald* 25 June: 3.

Dean, Jonathan. 2010. 'Feminism in the Papers'. *Feminist Media Studies* 10(4): 391–407.

de Beauvoir, Simone. 1949. *The Second Sex*. Middlesex, UK: Penguin Books.

Deber, Raisa B. 1982. 'The Fault, Dear Brutus: Women as Congressional Candidates in Pennsylvania'. *Journal of Politics* 44: 463–79.

Delahunty, Mary. 2014. *Gravity: Inside the PM's Office During Her Last Year and Final Days*. Richmond: Hardie Grant Books.

Deliovsky, Kathy. 2008. 'Normative White Femininity: Race, Gender and the Politics of Beauty'. *Atlantis* (33)1: 49–59.

Denemark, David, Ian Ward and Clive Bean. 2012. 'Gender and Leader Effects in the 2010 Australian Election'. *Australian Journal of Political Science* 47(4): 563–78.

Derlega, Valerian J. and Allen L. Chaiken. 1976. 'Norms Affecting Self-Disclosure in Men and Women'. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 44: 376–80.

DeVault, Marjorie. 2004. 'Talking and Listening from Women's Standpoint: Feminist Strategies for Interviewing and Analysis'. In *Feminist Perspectives on Social Research*, edited by Sharlene Hesse-Biber and Michelle Yaiser, 227–50. New York: Oxford University Press.

DeVault, Marjorie and Glenda Gross. 2007. 'Feminist Interviewing: Experience, Talk, and Knowledge'. In *Handbook of Feminist Research: Theory and Praxis*, edited by Sharlene Nagy Hesse-Biber. Thousand Oaks: SAGE.

Devere, Heather and Sharyn Graham Davies. 2006. 'The Don and Helen New Zealand Election 2005: A Media A-gender?' *Pacific Journalism Review* 12(1): 65–86.

Devitt, James. 2002. 'Framing Gender on the Campaign Trail: Women's Executive Leadership and the Press'. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 79(2): 445–63.

Diekman, Amanda B. and Alice H. Eagly. 2000. 'Stereotypes as Dynamic Constructs: Women and Men of the Past, Present, And Future'. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 26: 1171–88.

Dolan, Kathleen. 1996. 'Support for Women Political Candidates: An Examination of the Role of Family'. *Women and Politics* 16(2): 45–60.

——. 1997. 'Gender Differences in Support for Women Candidates: Is There a Glass Ceiling in American Politics?' *Women and Politics* 17(2): 27–41.

——. 2004. *Voting for Women: How the Public Evaluates Women Candidates*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview.

Dominiczak, Peter and Austin Cramb. 2016. 'May puts Brexit on backburner by seeking support from Sturgeon'. *The Daily Telegraph* 16 July: 10.

Donaghue, Ngaire. 2015. 'Who Gets Played By 'The Gender Card'?' *Australian Feminist Studies* 30(84): 161–78.

Doyle, Gillian. 2002. *Media Ownership: The Economics and Politics of Convergence and Concentration in the UK and European Media*. London: SAGE.

Dudman, Jane. 2016. 'Too few women at the top – we all lose out'. *The Guardian* July 19: 36.

Dunleavy, Sue. 2010a. 'There's no sympathy for sex and the sitting MPs'. *The Daily Telegraph* 30 June: 33.

——. 2010b. 'Household shift has politicians perplexed'. *The Daily Telegraph* 14 July: 33.

Dunne, Colin. 1979. 'Blue skies for victor Maggie'. *The Sun* 5 May: 9.

Đurović, Tatjana and Nadežda Silaški. 2010. 'Metaphors We Vote By: The Case of "Marriage" in Contemporary Serbian Political Discourse'. *Journal of Language and Politics* 9(2): 237–59.

Dyer, Gillian. 1982. *Advertising as Communication*. London: Methuen.

E

Eagly, Alice H., Mona G. Makhijani and Bruce G. Klonsky. 1992. 'Gender and the Evaluation of Leaders: A Meta-Analysis'. *Psychological Bulletin* 111: 3–22.

Eagly, Alice H. and Steven J. Karau. 2002. 'Role Congruity Theory of Prejudice Toward Female Leaders'. *Psychological Review* 109(3): 573–98.

Edwards, Brian. 2001. *Helen: Portrait of a Prime Minister*. Auckland, New Zealand: Exisle Publishing.

Edwards, Janis L. and C. Austin McDonald. 2010. 'Reading Hillary and Sarah: Contradictions of Feminism and Representation in 2008 Campaign Political Cartoons'. *American Behavioral Scientist* 54(3): 313–29.

Edwards, Janis L. and Laura Ware. 2005. 'Representing the Public in Campaign Media: A Political Cartoon Perspective'. *American Behavioral Scientist* 49: 466–78.

Eichler, Margrit. 1979. *The Double Standard: A Feminist Critique of Feminist Social Science*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

——. 1988. *Nonsexist Research Methods: A Practical Guide*. Boston: Allen & Unwin.

Elo, Satu and Helvi Kyngäs. 2008. 'The Qualitative Content Analysis Process'. J*ournal of Advanced Nursing* 62: 107–15.

Erikson, Josefina and Cecilia Josefsson. 2019. 'The Legislature as a Gendered Workplace: Exploring Members of Parliament's Experiences of Working in the Swedish Parliament'. *International Political Science Review* 40(2): 197–214.

Ervin-Tripp, Susan. 1972. 'On Sociolinguistic Rules: Alternation of Co-Occurrence'. In *Directions in Sociolinguistics*, edited by John J. Gumperz and Dell Hymes, 213–50. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Eubanks, Philip. 2005. 'Globalization, "Corporate Rule", and Blended Worlds: A Conceptual-Rhetorical Analysis of Metaphor, Metonymy, and Conceptual Blending'. *Metaphor and Symbol* 20(3): 173–97.

Eyley, Claudia Pond and Dan Salmon. 2015. *Helen Clark: Inside Stories*. Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press.

F

Fairclough, Norman. 1989. *Language and Power*. London: Longman.

From Tightrope to Gendered Trope

⸺. 1992. *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

⸺. 1995. *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*. London: Longman.

Falk, Erica. 2010. *Women for President: Media Bias in Nine Campaigns*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Fallows, James. 2003. 'The Age of Murdoch'. *The Atlantic Monthly* 292(2): https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2003/09/the-age-of-murdoch/302777/

Farourque, Farah and Nick Butterfly. 2010. 'Politics built into her genetic code, says new leader's father'. *The Sydney Morning Herald* 25 June: 5.

Farr, Malcolm. 'Gillard's date with history'. *The Daily Telegraph* 25 June: 2–3.

Farrelly, Elizabeth. 2010. 'Catwoman rules, after making mincemeat of Kevin'. *The Sydney Morning Herald* 28 June: 13.

Ferber, Abby. 2000. 'Racial Warriors and Weekend Warriors: The Construction of Masculinity in Mythopoetic and White Supremacist Discourse'. *Men and Masculinities* 3(1): 30–56.

Ferber, Abby and Michael Kimmel. 2004. 'White Men are this Nation: Right-Wing Militias and the Restoration of Rural American Masculinity'. In *Home-Grown Hate: Gender and Organized Racism*, edited by Abby Ferber, 143–60. New York: Routledge.

Ferguson, John. 2010. 'Political warrior leads with her left'. *The Daily Telegraph* 24 June: 4.

Fiske, Susan T. and Laura E. Stevens. 1993. 'What's So Special About Sex? Gender Stereotyping and Discrimination'. In *Gender Issues in Contemporary Society*, edited by Stuart Oskamp and Mark Costanzo, 173–96. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Flax, Jane. 1992. 'The End of Innocence'. In *Feminists Theorize the Political*, edited by Judith Butler and Joan W. Scott, 445–63. New York: Routledge.

Flicker, Eva. 2013. 'Fashionable (Dis-)Order in Politics: Gender, Power and the Dilemma of the Suit'. *International Journal of Media & Cultural Politics* 9(2): 183–201.

Foucault, Michel. 1975. *Surveiller et Punir: Naissance de la Prison*. Paris: Gallimard.

——. 1978. *The History of Sexuality: The Will to Knowledge*. London: Penguin.

——. 1989. *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. Oxon: Routledge.

Foucault, Michel and Paul Rabinow. 1991. *The Foucault Reader*. London: Penguin Books.

Fountaine, Susan. 2005. 'Who's the Boss?: The Girl Power Frame in New Zealand Newspapers'. Occasional Paper. Belfast: Queen's University, Centre for Advancement of Women in Politics.

——. 2002. 'Women, Politics and the Media: The 1999 New Zealand General Election'. PhD Thesis, Massey University.

Fountaine, Susan and Margie Comrie. 2002. 'Reconstructing Gender for the 21st Century: News Media Framing of Political Women in New Zealand'. Australian New Zealand Communication Association Annual Conference, Brisbane, July 10–12.

——. 2016. 'New Zealand Media Coverage of Women and Women Politicians'. In *Politics and the Media*, edited by Geoff Kemp, Babak Bahador, Kate McMillan and Chris Rudd, 326–340. Auckland: Auckland University Press.

Fowler, Roger. 2013. *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press*. Oxon: Routledge.

Franklin, Matthew. 2010. 'Religious Right's attack on Gillard'. *The Australian* 13 July: 5.

Franzen, Monika and Nancy Ethiel. 1988. *Make Way! 200 Years of American Women in Cartoons*. Chicago: Chicago Review Press.

Freedman, Jane. 1997. *Femmes Politiques: Mythes et Symboles*. Paris: L'Harmattan.

G

Gaber, Ivor. 2012. 'Rupert and the "Three Card Trope" – What You See Ain't Necessarily What You Get'. *Media, Culture & Society* 34(5): 637–46.

Gains, Francesca and Vivien Lowndes. 2014. 'How Is Institutional Formation Gendered, and Does It Make a Difference? A New Conceptual Framework and a Case Study of Police and Crime Commissioners in England and Wales'. *Politics & Gender* 10(4): 524–48.

Galea, Natalie and Barbara Gaweda. 2018. '(De)constructing the Masculine Blueprint: The Institutional and Discursive Consequences of Male Political Dominance'. *Politics & Gender* 14(2): 276–82.

Gamble, Warren. 1999. 'Victory and loss taken in stride'. *The New Zealand Herald* 29 November: 6.

Gamson, William A. and Andre Modigliani. 1987. 'The Changing Culture of Affirmative Action'. *Research in Political Sociology* 3: 131–77.

——. 1989. 'Media Discourse and Public Opinion on Nuclear Power: A Constructionist Approach'. *American Journal of Sociology* 95 (1): 1–37.

Gannon, Susanne. 2010. 'Julia the Hottie and 'You Go, Girl': Role Models for Girls and Young Women?' *Outskirts: Feminisms Along The Edge*. http://www.outskirts.arts.uwa.edu.au/volumes/volume-23/gannon

Gannon, Susanne and Bronwyn Davis. 2007. 'Postmodern, Poststructural and Critical Theories'. In *Handbook of Feminist Research: Theory and Praxis*, edited by Sharlene Nagy Hesse-Biber. SAGE Publications.

Garcia-Blanco, Inaki and Kain Wahl-Jorgensen. 2011. 'The Discursive Construction of Women Politicians in the European Press'. *Feminist Media Studies* 12(3): 422–41.

Gavey, Nicola. 1989. 'Feminist Poststructuralism and Discourse Analysis: Contributions to Feminist Psychology'. *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 13: 459–75.

George, Jim. 2009. 'Introduction: Are the Culture Wars Over?' In *The Culture Wars: Australian and American Politics in the 21st Century*, edited by Jim George and Kim Huynh, 1–15. South Yarra: Palgrave Macmillan.

Gershon, Richard A. 1997. *The Transnational Media Corporation: Global Messages and Free Market Competition*. Routledge: New Jersey.

Gibbons, Matthew. 2014. 'Newspaper Quality, Content and Competition in New Zealand'. *Pacific Journalism Review* 20(1): 181–99.

Gidengil, Elisabeth and Joanna Everitt. 1999. 'Metaphors and Misrepresentation: Gendered Mediation in News Coverage of the 1993 Canadian Leaders' Debates'. *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 4(1): 48–65.

——. 2000. 'Filtering the Female: Television News Coverage of the 1993 Canadian Leaders' Debates'. *Women & Politics* 21(4): 105–31.

——. 2003. 'Conventional Coverage/Unconventional Politicians: Gender and Media Coverage of Canadian Leaders' Debates, 1993, 1997, 2000'. *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 36(3): 559–77.

——. 2010. 'Talking Tough: Gender and Reported Speech in Campaign News Coverage'. *Political Communication*. 20(3): 209–32.

Gill, Micheal J. 2004. 'When Information Does Not Deter Stereotyping: Prescriptive Stereotyping can Foster Bias Under Conditions that Deter Descriptive Stereotyping'. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 40: 619–632.

Gilmartin, Patricia. 2001. 'Still the Angel in the Household'. *Women & Politics* 22(4): 51–67.

Gilmartin, Patricia and Stanley Brunn. 1998. 'The Representation of Women in Political Cartoons of the 1995 World Conference on Women'. *Women's Studies International Forum* 21(5): 535–549.

Gleeson, Kate and Carol Johnson. 2012. 'Tony Abbott and the Politics of Gender'. *Australia Review of Public Affairs* April. http://www.australianreview.net/digest/2012/04/gleeson_johnson.html

Glover, Dennis. 2010. 'A woman of substance and a style all of her own'. *The Australian* 28 June: 14.

Goffman, Erving. 1956. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh.

——. 1977. 'The Arrangement between the Sexes'. *Theory and Society* 4(3): 301–31.

——. 1979. *Gender Advertisements*. New York: Harper Torchbooks.

Goldsworthy, Anna. 2013. 'Unfinished Business: Sex, Freedom and Misogyny'. *Quarterly Essay* 50: 1–80.

Goodlad, Graham. 2018. 'A Tale of Two Tories: Comparing Theresa May and Margaret Thatcher'. *Political Insight* 9(3): 12–14.

Goodman, Geoffrey. 1979. 'Maggie, the 'dictator''. *The Mirror* 24 May: 2.

Gottlieb, Julie V. and Beatrix Campbell. 2018. 'The Iron Ladies Revisited'. *Women's History Review* 28(2): 337–349

Grey, Sandra. 2006. 'Numbers and Beyond: The Relevance of Critical Mass in Gender Research'. *Politics & Gender* 2(4): 492–502.

Grierson, Jamie. 2016. 'Feminist zealots want women to have their cake and eat it, says Tory MP'. *The Guardian*. 12 August. https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/aug/12/tory-mp-philip-davies-claims-uk-legal-system-favours-women-at-mens-rights-event

From Tightrope to Gendered Trope

Grosz, Elizabeth A. 1989. *Sexual Subversions: Three French Feminists*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin.

Guest, Debbie and Sallie Don. 2010. 'Latham's views offside with soccer mums'. *The Australian* 26–27 June: 7.

Gunew, Sneja. 1990. *Feminist Knowledge: Critique and Construct*. New York: Routledge.

H

Hall, Lauren J. and Ngaire Donaghue. 2013. '"Nice Girls Don't Carry Knives", Constructions of Ambition in Media Coverage of Australia's First Female Prime Minister'. *British Journal of Social Psychology* 52: 631–47.

Hammersley, Martyn. 1992. 'On Feminist Methodology'. *Sociology* 26(2): 187–206.

Hansen, Anders, Simon Cottle, Ralph Negrine and Chris Newbold. 1988. *Mass Communication Research Methods*. New York: Palgrave.

Haraldsson, Amanda and Lena Wängnerud. 2019. 'The Effect of Media Sexism on Women's Political Ambition: Evidence from a Worldwide Study'. *Feminist Media Studies* 19(4): 525–41.

Haraway, Donna J. 1991. 'Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective'. In *Simians, Cyborgs and Women: The Reinvention of Nature*, edited by Donna J. Haraway, 183–202. London: Free Association.

Harding, Sandra. 1987. *Feminism and Methodology*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Harmer, Emily, Heather Savigny and Orlanda Ward. 2017. '"Are You Tough Enough?" Performing Gender in the UK Leadership Debates 2015'. *Media, Culture & Society* 39(7): 960–75.

Harmer, Emily and Rosalynd Southern. 2019. 'Alternative Agendas or More of the Same? Online News Coverage of the 2017 UK Election'. In *Political Communication in Britain*, edited by Dominic Wring, Roger Mortimore and Simon Atkinson. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Harris, Amy. 2010. 'Fashioning a modern leader'. *The Daily Telegraph* 26 June: 114.

Harvey, Clare. 2010a. 'Making Julia the life of the party'. *The Daily Telegraph* 4 July: 45.

——. 2010b. 'Julia's case of true bluey ambition'. *The Daily Telegraph* 27 June: 50–1.

Harvey, Michael. 2010a. 'Code Red'. *The Daily Telegraph* 26 June: 41.

——. 2010b. 'A proud day for our First Bloke'. *The Daily Telegraph* 25 June: 2.

Harvey, Oliver. 2016. 'How devotion of Vicar Dad inspired new PM'. *The Sun* 16 July: 36.

Hawkes, Steve. 2016. 'Heel, boys: New PM Theresa can reunite Tories & deliver Brexit'. *The Sun* 12 July: 1.

Heflick, Nathan A. and Jamie L. Goldenberg. 2009. 'Objectifying Sarah Palin: Evidence That Objectification Causes Women to be Perceived as Less Competent and Less Fully Human'. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 45: 598–601.

Heilman, Madeline E. 2001. 'Description and Prescription: How Gender Stereotypes Prevent Women's Ascent up the Organizational Ladder'. *Journal of Social Issues* 57(4): 657–74.

Heilman, Madeline E., Aaron S. Wallen, Daniella Fuchs and Melinda M. Tamkins. 2004. 'Penalties for Success: Reactions to Women who Succeed at Male Gender-Typed Tasks'. *Journal of Applied Psychology* 89(3): 416–27.

Hemmings, Clare. 2012. 'Affective Solidarity: Feminist Reflexivity and Political Transformation'. *Feminist Theory* 13(2): 147–61.

Hesmondhalgh, David. 2006. 'Discourse Analysis and Content Analysis'. In *Analysing Media Texts*, edited by Marie Gillespie and Jason Toynbee, 120–156. Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Hesse-Biber, Sharlene Nagy. 2007. 'Feminist Research: Exploring the Interconnections of Epistemology, Methodology and Method'. In *Handbook of Feminist Research: Theory and Praxis*, edited by Sharlene Nagy Hesse-Biber. SAGE Publications.

Hesse-Biber, Sharlene Nagy and Deborah Piatelli. 2007. 'Holistic Reflexivity: The Feminist Practice of Reflexivity'. In *Handbook of Feminist Research: Theory and Praxis*, edited by Sharlene Nagy Hesse-Biber. SAGE Publications.

Hobbs, Mitchell. 2007. '"More Paper than Physical": The Reincorporation of News Corp and its Representation in The Australian Press'. *Journal of Sociology* 43: 263–81.

——. 2010. 'Neo-Conned: The Murdoch Press and the Iraq War'. *International Journal of Media & Cultural Politics* 6: 187–207.

Hobbs, Mitchell and David McKnight. 2011. '"You're All a Bunch of Pinkos": Rupert Murdoch and the Politics of HarperCollins'. *Media, Culture & Society* 33(6): 835–50.

——. 2014. '"Kick this Mob Out": The Murdoch Media and the Australian Labor Government (2007 to 2013)'. *Global Media Journal: Australian Edition* 8(2): 1–13.

Hobbs, Mitchell and Stephen Owen. 2016. 'Stifling Dissent: the Murdoch Press and its Campaigns Against its "Critics"'. *Communication Research and Practice* 2(2): 137–58.

Hobolt, Sara B. 2018. 'Brexit and the 2017 UK General Election'. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 56: 39–50.

Hodgetts, Darrin and Kerry Chamberlain. 2013. 'Analysing News Media'. In *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis*, edited by Uwe Flick, 380–93. London: SAGE.

Hoff, Sydney. 1976. *Editorial and Political Cartooning: From the Earliest Times to the Present With Over 700 Examples from the Works of the World's Greatest Cartoonists*. New York: Stravon Educational Press.

Hogan, Michael. 2008. 'The Power of Cartoons'. In *Comic Commentators: Contemporary Political Cartooning in Australia*, edited by Robert Phiddian and Haydon Manning, 93–100. Perth: Network Books.

Hoggart, Simon. 1979. 'A cabinet team of which Dr Arnold would have been proud'. *The Guardian* 7 May: 11.

Holland, Shannon. 2006. 'The Dangers of Playing Dress-Up: Popular Representations of Jessica Lynch and the Controversy Regarding Women in Combat'. *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 92(1): 27–50.

Hollway, Wendy. 1983. 'Heterosexual Sex: Power and Desire for the Other'. In *Sex and Love: New Thoughts on Old Contradictions*, edited by Sue Cartledge and Joanna Ryan, 124–40. London: Women's Press.

House of Representatives. 1943. *Debates*, 29 September, column 1826. https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/Publications_Archive/archive/women/43Lyons

Howells, Richard and Joaquim Negreiros. 2012. *Visual Culture*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Hucker, Graham. 2010. 'A Determination to Remember: Helen Clark and New Zealand's Military Heritage'. *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society* 40(2): 105–18.

Huddy, Leonie and Nayda Terkildsen. 1993. 'Gender Stereotypes and the Perception of Male and Female Candidates'. *American Journal of Political Science* 37(1): 119–47.

Hundleby, Catherine. 2012. 'Feminist Empiricism'. In *Handbook of Feminist Research: Theory and Praxis*, edited by Sharlene Nagy Hesse-Biber, 28–45. SAGE Publications.

Hunt, Christopher John, Karen Gonsalkorale and Lisa Zadro. 2014. 'The Polarising Effect of Female Leaders: Interest in Politics and Perceived Leadership Capability After a Reminder of Australia's First Female Prime Minister'. *European Journal of Social Psychology* 44: 723–9.

From Tightrope to Gendered Trope

Inglehart, Ronald and Pippa Norris. 2000. 'The Developmental Theory of the Gender Gap: Women's and Men's Voting Behavior in Global Perspective'. *International Political Science Review* 21(4): 441–63.

Insenga, Michela. 2014. 'An Analysis of the Representation of Female Members of the United Kingdom Parliament in the British Press'. *European Scientific Journal* 2: 182–91.

Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU). 2019. 'Proportion of Seats Held by Women in National Parliaments – New Zealand'. *The World Bank*. https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SG.GEN.PARL.ZS?locations=NZ

Irigaray, Luce. 1985. *This Sex Which is Not One*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Iyengar, Shanto. 1991. *Is Anyone Responsible? How Television Frames Political Issues*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

J

Jackson, Sally. 2010. 'Julia becomes an instant cover girl star for top-selling mags'. *The Australian* 29 June: 32.

Jalazai, Farida. 2013. 'Ma Ellen—The Iron Lady of Liberia: Evaluating Ellen Johnson Sirleaf's Presidency'. In *Women as Political Leaders: Studies in Gender and Governing*, edited by Michael A. Genovese and Janie S. Steckenrider. Routledge: New York.

Jamieson, Kathleen Hall. 1995. *Beyond the Double Bind: Women and Leadership*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Janks, Hilary. 1997. 'Critical Discourse Analysis as a Research Tool'. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 18(3): 329–42.

Jenkins, Cathy. 1999. 'Media Treatment of Women in Politics in Australia'. In *Journalism Theory and Practice: Proceedings of the 1998 Journalism Education Association Conference*, edited by Jacqui Ewart.

Jenkins, Henry. 2006. *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide*. New York: New York University Press.

Jinman, Richard and Ellie Harvey. 2010. 'Reins get passed after horse has bolted'. *The Sydney Morning Herald* 25 June: 3.

Johnson, Carol. 2000. *Governing Change: Keating to Howard*. Queensland: University of Queensland Press.

——. 2012. 'Tony Abbott and Women: How Both Sides Have Played the Gender Card'. *The Conversation*. https://theconversation.com/tony-abbott-and-women-how-both-sides-have-played-the-gender-card-10019

——. 2013a. 'From Obama to Abbott, Gender Identity and the Politics of Emotion'. *Australian Feminist Studies* 28(75): 14–29.

——. 2013b. 'The Credit She Deserved, Gillard and the Labor Legacy'. In *Bewitched and Bedevilled, Women Write the Gillard Years*, edited by Samantha Trenowith, 139–51. Victoria: Hardie Grant.

——. 2015. 'Playing the Gender Card: The Uses and Abuses of Gender in Australian Politics'. *Politics & Gender* 11(2): 291–319.

Johnson, Marguerite. 2014. 'Boadicea and British Suffrage Feminists'. *Outskirts: Feminisms Along The Edge*. http://www.outskirts.arts.uwa.edu.au/volumes/volume-31/marguerite-johnson

K

Kahn, Kim Fridkin. 1996. *The Political Consequences of Being a Woman*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Kang, Mee-Eun. 1997. 'The Portrayal of Women's Images in Magazine Advertisements: Goffman's Gender Analysis Revisited'. *Sex Roles* 37(11–12): 979–96.

Kanter, Rosabeth Moss. 1977. *Men and Women of the Corporation*. New York: Basic Books.

Kantola, Johanna. 2008. '"Why Do All the Women Disappear?" Gendering Process in a Political Science Department'. *Gender, Work and Organization* 15: 202–25.

Karvelas, Patricia. 2010. 'A pragmatist's rise to the top'. *The Australian* 25 June: 15.

Kearney, Simon. 2010. 'Messy job that had to be done'. *The Daily Telegraph* 4 July: 47.

Kelly, Paul. 2014. *Triumph and Demise: The Broken Promise of a Labor Generation*. Carlton: Melbourne University Press.

Kelsey, Jane. 1999. *Reclaiming the Future: New Zealand and the Global Economy*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books.

Kenney, Sally J. 1996. 'New Research on Gendered Political Institutions'. *Political Research Quarterly* 49(2): 445–66.

Kent, Julia. 2013. *Take Your Best Shot: The Prime Ministership of Julia Gillard*. Melbourne: Penguin Books.

Kezar, Adrianna. 2003. 'Transformational Elite Interviews: Principles and Problems'. *Qualitative Inquiry* 9: 395–415.

Kincheloe, Joe and Peter McLaren. 2003. 'Rethinking Critical Theory and Qualitative Research'. In *Handbook of Qualitative Research: Theories and Issues*, edited by Norman Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln. 279–314. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

King, David C. and Richard E. Matland. 2003. 'Sex and the Grand Old Party: An Experimental Investigation of the Effect of Candidate Sex on Support for a Republican Candidate'. *American Politics Research* 31(6): 595–612.

Kingdon, John W. 1995. *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies*. New York: HarperCollins.

Kirkup, James. 2016. 'This is a woman's government, and will be all the more effective for it'. *The Daily Telegraph* 15 July: 16.

Kittilson, Miki Caul and Kim Fridkin. 2008. 'Gender, Candidate Portrayals and Election Campaigns: A Comparative Perspective'. *Politics & Gender* 4: 371–92.

Klein, Sheri. 1993. 'Breaking the Mold with Humor: Images of Women in the Visual Media'. *Art Education* 46(5): 60–5.

Koch, Jeffrey W. 2000. 'Do Citizens Apply Gender Stereotypes to Infer Candidates' Ideological Orientations?' *The Journal of Politics* 62(2): 414–29.

Koenig, Anne M., Alice H. Eagly, Abigail A. Mitchell and Tiina Ristikari. 2011. 'Are Leader Stereotypes Masculine? A Meta-Analysis of Three Research Paradigms'. P*sychological Bulletin* 137(4): 616–42.

Koller, Veronika. 2002. '"A Shotgun Wedding": Co-occurrence of War and Marriage Metaphors in Mergers and Acquisitions Discourse'. *Metaphor and Symbol* 17(3): 179–203.

Kotler, Philip and Neal Kotler. 1999. 'Political Marketing: Generating Effective Candidates, Campaign and Causes'. In *Handbook of Political Marketing*, edited by Bruce Newman. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Krippendorff, Klaus. 1980. 'Validity in Content Analysis'. In *Computerstrategien für die Kommunikationsanalyse*, edited by Ekkehard Mochmann, 69–112. Frankfurt, Germany: Campus.

Krook, Mona Lena and Fiona Mackay. 2011. 'Introduction: Gender, Politics and Institutions'. In *Gender, Politics and Institutions: Towards a Feminist Institutionalism*, edited by Mona Lena Krook and Fiona Mackay, 1–20. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

L

Lakeman, Enid. 1979. 'Wanted: a real people's Parliament'. *The Guardian* 7 May: 7.

Lakoff, George. 2004. *Don't Think of an Elephant!* Vermont: Chelsea Green.

Lakoff, George and Mark Johnson. 1980. *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Lakoff, Robin. 1995. 'Cries and Whispers: The Shattering of the Silence'. In *Gender Articulated*, edited by Kira Hall and Mary Bulcholtz, 25–50. London: Routledge.

——. 2003. 'Language, Gender and Politics: Putting "Women" and "Power" in the Same Sentence'. In *The Handbook of Language and Gender*, edited by Janet Holmes and Miriam Meyerhoff. Oxford: Blackwell.

Langer, Ana Ines. 2010. 'The Politicization of Private Persona: Exceptional Leaders or the New Rule?' *International Journal of Press/Politics* 15(1): 60–76.

Lanham, Richard A. 1991. *A Handlist of Rhetorical Terms*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Lather, Patti. 1986. 'Research as Praxis'. *Harvard Educational Review* 56(3): 257–278.

Laxon, Andrew. 1997. 'NZ in for some tough love'. *The New Zealand Herald* 8 December: 1.

Lazar, Michelle M. 2005. 'Politicising Gender in Discourse: Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis as Political Perspective and Praxis'. In Femi*nist Critical Discourse Analysis: Gender, Power and Ideology in Discourse*, edited by Michelle M. Lazer, 1–30. Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan.

——. 2007. 'Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis: Articulating a Feminist Discourse Praxis'. *Critical Discourse Studies* 4(2): 141–64.

Leavy, Patricia. 2000. 'Feminist Content Analysis and Representative Characters'. *The Qualitative Report* 5(1): 1–16.

——. 2007. 'Feminist Postmodernism and Poststructuralism'. In *Feminist Research Practice*, edited by Hesse-Biber, Sharlene Nagy and Leavy, Patricia. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.

Le Marquand, Sarrah. 2010. 'Changing the rules, from schoolyard to boardroom'. *The Daily Telegraph* 26 June: 37.

Lee Koo, Katrina and Maria Maley. 2017. 'The Iron Butterfly and the Political Warrior: Mobilising Models of Femininity in the Australian Liberal Party'. *Australian Journal of Political Science* 52(3): 317–34.

Leung, Linda. 1997. 'The Making of Matriarchy: A Comparison of Madonna and Margaret Thatcher'. *Journal of Gender Studies* 6(1): 33–42.

Lewis, Steve. 2010. 'Liberal dose of harsh reality for new leader'. *The Daily Telegraph* 25 June: 4.

Loke, Jaime, Dustin Harp and Ingrid Bachmann. 2011. 'Mothering and Governing: How News Articulated Gender Roles in the Cases of Governors Jane Swift and Sarah Palin'. *Journalism Studies* 12(2): 205–20.

Lovenduski, Joni. 2005. *Feminizing Politics*. Cambridge, UK: Polity.

Lovenduski, Joni and Pippa Norris. 2003. 'Westminster Women: The Politics of Presence'. *Political Studies* 51(1): 84–102.

Lundell, Åsa Kroon and Mats Ekström. 2008. 'The Complex Visual Gendering of Political Women in the Press'. *Journalism Studies* 9(6): 891–910

Lunn, Stephen. 2010. 'Let's wait and see on marriage, says her partner'. *The Australian* 25 June: 3.

M

Maarek, Philippe J. 2011. *Campaign Communication and Political Marketing*. West Sussex: Wiley & Sons.

Macdonald, Myra. 1998. 'Personalization in Current Affairs Journalism'. *JAVNOST – The Public* 5(3): 109–126

Machin, David. 2013. 'What is Multimodal Critical Discourse Studies?' *Critical Discourse Studies* 10(4): 347–355.

Mackay, Fiona, Surya Monro and Georgina Waylen. 2009. 'The Feminist Potential of Sociological Institutionalism'. *Politics & Gender* 5(2): 253–62.

Maiden, Samantha. 2010. 'Queen Julia's got the right touch'. *The Australian* 29 June: 5.

Manne, Kate. 2018. *Down Girl: The Logic of Misogyny*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Manning, Haydon. 2008. 'Australian Cartoonists' Caricatures of Women Politicians—From Kirner to Stott-Despoja'. In *Comic Commentators: Contemporary Political Cartooning in Australia*, edited by Robert Phiddian and Haydon Manning, 125–48. Perth: Network Books.

Martin, Conboy. 2006. *Tabloid Britain: Constructing a Community through Language*. New York: Routledge.

Matheson, Donald. 2007. 'In Search of Popular Journalism in New Zealand'. *Journalism Studies* 8(1): 28–41.

Mavin, Sharon, Carole Elliot, Valerie Stead and Janine Williams. 2018. 'Economies of Visibility as a Moderator of Feminism: 'Never Mind Brexit. Who Won Legs-It!'' *Gender Work Organisation*. https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/gwao.12291

Mazzoleni, Gianpietro and Winfried Schulz. 1999. '"Mediatisation" of Politics: A Challenge for Democracy?' *Political Communication* 16(3): 247–61.

McDermott, Monika L. 1997. 'Voting Cues in Low-Information Elections: Candidate Gender as a Social Information Variable in Contemporary United States Elections'. *American Journal of Political Science* 41(1): 270–83.

McGregor, Judy. 1996. *Dangerous Democracy: News Media Politics in New Zealand*. Palmerstone North, New Zealand: Dunmore Press.

McKee, Alan. 2003. *Textual Analysis: A Beginners Guide*. London: SAGE.

McKnight, David. 2003. '"A World Hungry for a New Philosophy": Rupert Murdoch and the Rise of Neo-Liberalism'. *Journalism Studies* 4(3): 347–58.

——. 2005. *Beyond Right and Left: New Politics and the Culture Wars*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin.

——. 2010a. 'A Change in the Climate? The Journalism of Opinion at News Corporation'. *Journalism* 11(6): 693–706.

——. 2010b. 'Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation: A Media Institution with a Mission'. *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 30(3): 303–16.

——. 2012. *Rupert Murdoch: An Investigation of Political Power*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin.

McLaren, Kirsty and Marian Sawer. 2015. 'Gender and the 2013 Election: The Abbott "Mandate"'. In *Abbott's Gambit: The 2013 Australian Federal Election*, edited by Carol Johnson, John Wanna and Hsu-Ann Lee, 375–90. ANU Press.

McLean, Jessica and Sophia Maalsen. 2013. 'Destroying the Joint and Dying of Shame? A Geography of Revitalised Feminism in Social Media and Beyond'. *Geographical Research* 51(3): 243–56.

——. 2017. 'We Don't Want it to be Like that for Her Again': Gendered Leadership and Online Feminism in Australian Politics and Planning'. *Australian Planner* 54(1): 24–32.

From Tightrope to Gendered Trope

McLeod, Rosemary. 1997. 'Shipley Woman tops New Kiwi Man'. *The Dominion* 11 December: 8.

McNair, Brian. 'Journalism in the 21st Century — Evolution, Not Extinction'. *Journalism* 10(3): 347–49.

McNay, Lois. 1999. 'Subject, Psyche and Agency: The Work of Judith Butler'. *Theory, Culture & Society* 16(2): 175–93.

Meadows, Bryan. 2005. 'Distancing and Showing Solidarity via Metaphor and Metonymy in Political Discourse: A Critical Study of American Statements on Iraq During the Years 2004-2005'. *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis Across Disciplines* 1(2): 1–17.

Mease, Jennifer J. 2016. 'Postmodern/Poststructural Approaches'. In *The International Encyclopedia of Organizational Communication*, edited by Craig R. Scott and Laurie Lewis. doi:10.1002/9781118955567.wbieoc167

Media Reform Coalition. 2015. 'Who Owns the UK Media?' *Media Reform Coalition*. http://www.mediareform.org.uk/resources/media-ownership-reports

Mendes, Kaitlynn, Jessica Ringrose and Jessalynn Keller. 2018. '#MeToo and the Promise and Pitfalls of Challenging Rape Culture Through Digital Feminist Activism'. *European Journal of Women's Studies* 25(2): 236–46.

Meret, Susi. 2015. 'Charismatic Female Leadership and Gender: Pia Kjærsgaard and the Danish People's Party'. *Patterns of Prejudice* 49(1–2): 81–102.

Meret, Susi and Birte Siim. 2017. 'A Janus-Faced Feminism: Gender in Women-Led Right-Wing Populist Parties'. European Conference on Gender & Politics, Lausanne, June 8–10.

Messner, Michael A. 2007. 'The Masculinity of the Governator: Muscle and Compassion in American Politics'. *Gender and Society* 21(4): 461–80.

From Tightrope to Gendered Trope

Meyer, Katherine, John Seidler, Timothy Curry and Adrian Aveni. 1980. 'Women in July Fourth Cartoons: A 100-Year Look'. *Journal of Communication* 30(1): 21–30.

Miller, Melissa A. 2017. 'Mothers and the Media on the Campaign Trail'. In *Mothers and Others: The Role of Parenthood in Politics*, edited by Melanee Thomas and Amanda Bitter, 155–77. Vancouver: UCB Press.

Millman, Marcia and Rosabeth Moss Kanter. 1975. *Another Voice: Feminist Perspectives on Social Life and Social Science*. New York: Anchor Books/Doubleday.

Milne, Glenn. 2010. 'Doubts remain about new management'. *The Australian* 5 July: 14.

Minita Sanghvi and Nancy Hodges. 2015. 'Marketing the Female Politician: An Exploration of Gender and Appearance'. *Journal of Marketing Management* 31(15–16): 1676–94.

Moore, Charles. 2013. *Margaret Thatcher, The Authorised Biography: From Grantham to the Falklands*. London: Alfred A. Knope.

Moore, Clive and Kay Saunders. 1998. *Australian Masculinities: Men and their Histories*. Queensland: University of Queensland Press.

Morreale, Joanne. 1998. 'Xena: Warrior Princess as Feminist Camp'. *Journal of Popular Culture* 32(2): 79–86.

Morris, Raymond N. 1989. *Behind the Jester's Mask: Canadian Editorial Cartoons about Dominant and Minority Groups, 1960-1979*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Morrisey, Belinda and Susan Yell. 2016. 'Performative Trolling: Szubanski, Gillard, Dawson and the Nature of the Utterance'. *Persona Studies* 2(1): 27–40.

Morrow, Ann. 1979a. 'Mrs Thatcher's majority up'. *The Daily Telegraph* 4 May: 1.

From Tightrope to Gendered Trope

Motion, Judy M. 1996. 'Women Politicians: Media Objects or Political Subjects'. *Media International Australia* 80: 110–7.

Muir, Kathie. 2005. 'Media Darlings and Falling Stars: Celebrity and the Reporting of Political Leaders'. *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture* 2(2): 54–71.

Murray, Rainbow. 2010a. 'Conclusion: A New Comparative Framework'. In *Cracking the Highest Glass Ceiling*, edited by Rainbow Murray, 223–47. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger.

——. 2010b. 'Introduction: Gender Stereotypes and Media Coverage of Women Candidates'. In *Cracking the Highest Glass Ceiling,* edited by Rainbow Murray, 3–27. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger.

N

Narushima, Yuko. 2010. 'With a nod and a hug, history was made'. *The Sydney Morning Herald* 25 June: 2.

Neil, Andrew. 1996. *Full Disclosure*. London: Macmillan.

Neuman, W. Laurence. 1997. *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Nichols, Jesse. 2004. 'Helen Clark: A Pragmatic-Strong Prime Minister'. *Political Science* 56(2): 99–109.

Noam, Eli. 2011. 'International Media Concentration'. September 24. https://ssrn.com/abstract=1979921

Norris, Pippa. 1996. '"Mobilising the 'Women's Vote": The Gender-Generation Gap in Voting Behaviour'. *Parliamentary Affairs* 49(2): 333–42.

——. 1997. *Women, Media and Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press

Nunn, Heather. 2002. *Thatcher, Politics and Fantasy: The Political Culture of Gender and Nation*. London: Lawrence and Wishart Limited.

Nussbaum, Martha. 1999. 'The Professor of Parody: The Hip Defeatism of Judith Butler'. *The New Republic* 22: 37–45.

O

Oakley, Ann. 1981. 'Interviewing Women: A Contradiction in Terms'. In *Doing Feminist Research*, edited by Helen Roberts. London: Routledge.

O'Brien, Anne. 2014. 'It's a Man's World: A Qualitative Study of the (Non) Mediation of Women and Politics on Prime Time During the 2011 General Election'. *Irish Political Studies* 29(4): 505–21.

O'Malley, Nick. 2010. 'Chief has more on her mind than gender'. *The Sydney Morning Herald* 26–27 June: 5.

O'Neill, Deirdre and Heather Savigny. 2014. 'Female Politicians in the British Press: The Exception to the 'Masculine' Norm?' *Journalism Education* 3(1): 6–27.

O'Neill, Deirdre, Heather Savigny and Victoria Cann. 2016. 'Women Politicians in the UK Press: Not Seen and Not Heard?' *Feminist Media Studies* 16(2): 293–307.

O'Sullivan, John. 1979a. 'Lady Fair takes to jousting'. *The Daily Telegraph* 22 May: 36.

——. 1979b. 'Unlucky Jim walks into custard pie'. *The Daily Telegraph* 16 May: 36.

Örnebring, Henrik and Anna Maria Jönsson. 2008. 'Tabloid Journalism and the Public Sphere: A Historical Perspective on Tabloid Journalism'. In *The Tabloid Culture Reader*, edited by Anita Biressi and Heather Nunn, 23–33. Maidenhead: McGraw-Hill/Open University Press.

Overington, Caroline. 2010a. 'Political murder, she wrote'. *The Australian* 26–27 June: P 1.

——. 2010b. 'Of course it matters, delighted sisters say'. *The Australian* 25 June: 4.

P

Parker, George and Lionel Barber. 2016. 'Theresa May on decision-making, Brexit and doing the job her way'. *Financial Times*, 8 December. https://www.ft.com/content/2616fda2-bc06-11e6-8b45-b8b81dd5d080

Partington, Alan and Charlotte Taylor. 2017. *The Language of Persuasion in Politics : An Introduction*. Oxon, NY: Routledge.

https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.virtual.anu.edu.au/lib/anu/detail.action?docID=5061313.

Pearson, Allison. 2016. 'Headmistress May has got us all sitting up straighter'. *The Daily Telegraph* 20 July: 23.

Pearson, Christopher. 2010. 'Cabinet found governing a puzzle'. *The Australian* 3–4 July: 4.

Pedersen, Sarah. 2018. 'Press Response to Women Politicians'. *Journalism Studies* 19(5): 709–25.

Penberthy, David. 2010. 'Gillard the bridesmaid no longer'. *The Daily Telegraph* 4 July: 45.

Perry, Elizabeth Israels. 1994. 'Introduction: Image, Rhetoric, and the Historical Memory of Women'. In *Cartooning for Suffrage*, edited by Alice Shepard. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Philips, Martin. 2016. 'May … Queen: First meeting of Britain's most powerful women'. *The Sun* 14 July: 31.

Pilcher, Jane. 1995. 'The Gender Significance of Women in Power: British Women Talking about Margaret Thatcher'. *The European Journal of Women's Studies* 2: 493–508.

Pittinsky, Todd L., Laura M. Bacon and Brian Welle. 2007. 'The Great Women Theory and Leadership? Perils and Positive Stereotypes and Precarious Pedestals'. In *Women and Leadership: The State of Play and Strategies for Change*, edited by Barbara Kellerman and Deborah Rhode, 93–125. San Francisco: Wiley and Sons.

From Tightrope to Gendered Trope

Planet Rulers. 2019. 'Female Leaders'. *PlanetRulers - Current Heads of State & Dictators* 16 March. https://planetrulers.com/category/female-leaders/

Ponton, Douglas M. 2010. 'The Female Political Leader: A Study of Gender-Identity in the Case of Margaret Thatcher'. *Journal of Language and Politics* 9(2): 195–218.

Prentice, Deborah A. and Erica Carranza. 2002. 'What Women and Men Should Be, Shouldn't Be, are Allowed to Be, and Don't Have to Be: The Contents of Prescriptive Gender Stereotypes'. *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 26: 269–81.

Price, Jenna. 2013. 'Tony Abbott, minister for women? No thanks'. *The Sydney Morning* Herald, 19 September. https://www.smh.com.au/opinion/tony-abbott-minister-for-women-no-thanks-20130919-2u179.html

Prosser, Jay. 1998. 'Judith Butler: Queer Feminism, Transgender, and the Transubstantiation of Sex'. In *Second Skins: Body Narratives of Transsexuality*, edited by Jay Prosser. New York: Columbia University Press.

Purvis, June. 2013, 'What was Margaret Thatcher's Legacy for Women?'. *Women's History Review* 22(6): 1014–8.

Puwar, Nirmal. 2004. *Space Invaders: Race, Gender and Bodies Out of Place*. New York: Berg.

R

Rahat, Gideon and Tamir Sheafer. 2007. 'The Personalization(s) of Politics: Israel, 1949–2003'. *Political Communication* 41(1): 65–80.

Rakow, Lana and Kimberlie Kranich. 1991. 'Women as a Sign in Television News'. *Journal of Communication* 41(1): 8–23.

Rehn, Alison. 2010. 'A few of Julia's favourite things for the top office'. *The Daily Telegraph* 1 July: 5.

Reinharz, Shulamit and Lynn Davidman. 1992. *Feminist Methods in Social Research*. New York : Oxford University Press.

Reinharz, Shulamit and Rachel Kulick. 2007. 'Reading Between the Lines: Feminist Content Analysis into the Second Millennium'. In *Handbook of Feminist Research: Theory and Praxis*, edited by Sharlene Nagy Hesse-Biber. SAGE Publications.

Reinharz, Shulamit, Marti Bombyk and Janet Wright. 1983. 'Methodological Issues in Feminist Research: A Bibliography of Literature in Women's Studies, Sociology and Psychology'. *Women's Studies International Forum* 6(4): 437–54.

Reisigl, Martin and Ruth Wodak. 2009. 'The Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA)'. In *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, edited by Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyers, 87–121. London: SAGE.

Rendle-Short, Johanna. 2007. 'Catherine, You're Wasting Your Time: Address Terms within the Australian Political Interview'. *Journal of Pragmatics* 39(9): 1503–25.

Rhode, Deborah and Barbara Kellerman. 2007. 'Women and Leadership the State of Play'. In *Women and Leadership: The State of Play and Strategies for Change*, edited by Barbara Kellerman and Deborah Rhode. San Francisco: Wiley and Sons.

Ribberink, Anneke. 2005. '"I Don't Think of Myself as the First Woman Prime Minister": Gender, Identity and Image in Margaret Thatcher's Career'. In *Making Reputations: Power, Persuasion and the Individual in Modern British Politics*, edited by Richard Toye and Julie Gottlieb, 166–79. London: Bloomsbury.

——. 2012. 'Margaret Thatcher and Gro Harlem Brundtland: Two Women Prime Ministers in the West from the Perspective of a Comparative Biography'. In *Life Writing Matters in Europe*,

edited by Marijke Huisman, Anneke Ribberink, Alfred Hornung and Monica Soeting. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter.

Richardson-Self, Louise. 2017. 'Woman-Hating: On Misogyny, Sexism, and Hate Speech'. *Hypatia* 33(2): 256–72.

——. 2019. 'Cis-Hetero-Misogyny Online'. *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice* 22: 573–87.

Riger, Stephanie. 1992. 'Epistemological Debates, Feminist Voices: Science, Social Values, and the Study of Women'. *American Psychologist* 47(6): 730–40.

Robson, Colin. 2011. *Real World Research*. West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.

Rodgers–Healey, Diann. 2013. *Considerations for Australia's Next Woman Prime Minister*. Minnamurra: Australian Centre for Leadership for Women.

Rodino-Colocino, Michelle. 2018. 'Me Too, #MeToo: Countering Cruelty with Empathy'. *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 15(1): 96–100.

Romaine, Suzanne. 1998. *Communicating Gender*. Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

——. 2005. 'Language and Gender'. In *Linguistic Anthropology*, edited by Anita Sujoldzic Oxford: EOLSS Publishers.

Rose, Gillian. 2001. *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials*. London: SAGE.

Rosenberg, Bill. 2008. 'News Media Ownership in New Zealand'. *Watchdog* 15 May. http://www.converge.org.nz/watchdog/15/05.htm

Ross, Karen. 1995. 'Gender and Party Politics: How the Press Reported the Labour Leadership Campaign, 1994'. *Media, Culture & Society* 17(3): 499–509.

——. 2002a. *Women, Politics, Media, Uneasy Relations in Comparative Perspective*. Cresskill: Hampton Press.

——. 2002b. 'Women's Place in "Male" Space: Gender and Effect in Parliamentary Contexts'. *Parliamentary Affairs* 55(1): 189–201.

——. 2010. *Gendered Media, Women, Men, and Identity Politics*. Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield.

——. 2017. *Gender, Politics, News: A Game of Three Sides*. Oxford: John Wiley & Sons.

Ross, Karen and Annabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi. 1997. 'Playing House – Gender, Politics and the News Media in Britain'. *Media Culture & Society* 19(1): 101–9.

——. 2000. 'Women in the House: Media Representations of British Politicians'. In *Gender, Politics and Communication*, edited by Annabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi and Liesbet van Zoonen, 79–100. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Ross, Karen and Margie Comrie. 2012. 'The Rules of the (Leadership) Game: Gender, Politics and News'. *Journalism* 13(8): 969–84.

Roth, Silke. 2018. 'Introduction: Contemporary Counter-Movements in the Age of Brexit and Trump'. *Sociological Research Online* 23(2): 496–506.

Rowe, David. 2011. 'Obituary for the Newspaper? Tracking the Tabloid'. *Journalism* 12(4): 449–66.

Rowland, Robyn. 1984. *Women Who Do and Women Who Don't Join the Women's Movement*. London: RKP.

Rudman, Brian. 1999. 'Woman of steely resolve in good times and bad'. *The New Zealand Herald* 29 November: 15.

Rudman, Laurie A. and Julie E. Phelan. 2008. 'Backlash Effects for Disconfirming Gender Stereotypes in Organizations'. *Research in Organizational Behavior* 28: 61–79.

346

S

Salih, Sara. 2002. *Judith Butler*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Salusinszky, Imre. 2010. '"Punch and Judy" go head-to-head again'. *The Australian* 25 June: 7.

Saul, Heather. 2017. 'Mary Beard: Theresa May has turned her shoes into a symbol of her own power'. *iNews*, 17 November. https://inews.co.uk/news/uk/mary-beard-theresa-may-turned-shoes-symbol-power/

Savva, Niki. 2010a. 'Sorry, Julia, but you'll have to take it like a man'. *The Australian* 2 July: 10.

——. 2010b. 'Red Maggie's rise raises great expectations'. *The Australian* 25 June: 16.

Sawer, Marian. 1992. 'Housekeeping the State: Women and Parliamentary Politics in Australia'. In *Trust the Women: Women in the Federal Parliament*, Papers on Parliament No. 17, September. Canberra: Department of the Senate.

——. 1999. 'EMILY's List and Angry White Men: Gender Wars in the Nineties'. *Journal of Australian Studies* 23(62): 1–9.

——. 2002. 'The Representation of Women in Australia: Meaning and Make-Believe.' *Parliamentary Affairs* 55: 5–18.

——. 2003. *The Ethical State?* Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.

——. 2008. 'Cartoons for the Cause: Cartooning for Equality in Australia'. In *Comic Commentators: Contemporary Political Cartooning in Australia*, edited by Robert Phiddian and Haydon Manning, 101–24. Perth: Network Books.

——. 2010. 'Managing Gender: The 2010 Federal Election'. *Australian Review of Public Affairs* October. http://www.australianreview.net/digest/2010/10/sawer.html

——. 2013. 'Misogyny and Misrepresentation: Women in Australian Parliaments'. *Political Science* 65(1): 105–17.

Scalmer, Sean and Murray Goot. 2004. 'Elites Constructing Elites: News Ltd Newspapers 1996–2002'. In *Us and Them: Anti-Elitism in Australia*, edited by Marian Sawer and Barry Hindess, 137–159. Perth, WA: API Network.

Schneider, Monica C. and Angela L. Bos. 2014. 'Measuring Stereotypes of Female Politicians'. *Political Psychology* 35(2): 245–66.

Schumacher, Petra B. 2019. 'Metonymy'. In *The Oxford Handbook of Experimental Semantics and Pragmatics*, edited by Chris Cummins and Napoleon Katsos. doi: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780198791768.013.25

Schwartzenberg, Roger-Gérard. 1977. *Politieke Superstars: Vedettencultus in de Politiek*. Antwerpen: Standaard Uitgeverij.

Shawcross, William. 1992. *Rupert Murdoch: Ringmaster of the Information Circus*. Milsons Point, NSW: Random House.

Sheppard, Alice. 1994. *Cartooning for Suffrage*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Simms, Marian. 2008. 'Are Women Leaders Different? Margaret Thatcher and Helen Clark'. In *Public Leadership Perspectives and Practices*, edited by Paul 't Hart and John Uhr, 275–83. Canberra: ANU E Press.

Skeggs, Beverley. 2001. 'The Toilet Paper: Femininity, Class and Mis-Recognition'. *Women's Studies International Forum* 24(3–4): 295–307.

Skovsgaard, Morten. 2014. 'A Tabloid Mind? Professional Values and Organizational Pressures as Explanations of Tabloid Journalism'. *Media, Culture & Society* 36(2): 200–18

Slobin, Dan, Stephen Miller and Lyman Porter. 1968. 'Forms of Address and Social Relations in a Business Organization'. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 8: 289–93.

Small, Vernon. 1999. 'Something for everyone … in a page and a half'. *The New Zealand Herald* 7 December: 1.

Smith, Joan. 2016. 'Woman-hating has come roaring back – now we must confront it'. *The Guardian* 28 July: 25.

Soroka, Stuart N. 2002. *Agenda-Setting Dynamics in Canada*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Sorrentino, Jasmin and Martha Augoustinos. 2016. '"I Don't View Myself as a Woman Politician, I View Myself as a Politician Who's a Woman": The Discursive Management of Gender Identity in Political Leadership'. *British Journal of Social Psychology* 55: 385–406.

Sorrentino, Jasmin, Martha Augoustinos and Amanda le Couteur. 2019. '"[It] Does Not Explain Everything…, Nor does it Explain Nothing…it Explains Some Things": Australia's First Female Prime Minister and the Dilemma of Gender'. *Feminism & Psychology* 29(1): 19–39.

Sparks, Colin. 2000. 'Introduction: The Panic over Tabloid News'. In *Tabloid Tales: Global Debates over Media Standards*, edited by Colin Sparks and John Tulloch, 1–40. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Spedding, Emma. 2016. 'A sober speech to the nation, but of course she wore those kitten heels'. *The Daily Telegraph* 14 July: 2.

Spence, Janet T. and Camille E. Buckner. 2000. 'Instrumental and Expressive Traits, Trait Stereotypes, and Sexist Attitudes'. *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 24: 44–62.

Spierings, Niels and Andrej Zaslove. 2015. 'Gendering the Vote for Populist Radical-Right Parties'. *Patterns of Prejudice* 49(1–2): 135–62.

Sreberny-Mohammadi, Annabelle and Karen Ross. 1996. 'Women MPs and the Media: Representing the Body Politic'. *Parliamentary Affairs* 49(1): 103–15.

Sreberny, Annabelle and Liesbet van Zoonen. 2000. *Gender, Politics and Communication*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Stalsburg, Brittany L. 2010. 'Voting For Mom: The Political Consequences of Being a Parent for Male and Female Candidates'. *Politics & Gender* 6: 373–404.

Stanyer, James. 2013. *Intimate Politics*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Stanyer, James and Dominic Wring. 2004. 'Public Images, Private Lives: An Introduction'. *Parliamentary Affairs* 57(1): 1–8.

Summers, Anne. 2010. 'Historic moment, but barriers remain for half the population'. *The Sydney Morning Herald* 25 June: 23.

——. 2012. 'Her Rights At Work: The Political Persecution Of Australia's First Female Prime Minister'. *2012 Human Rights and Social Justice Lecture*. University of Newcastle.

——. 2013. *The Misogyny Factor*. New South Wales: NewSouth.

T

Teele, Dawn Langan, Joshua Kalla and Frances Rosenbluth. 2018. 'The Ties That Double Bind: Social Roles and Women's Underrepresentation in Politics'. *American Political Science Review* 112(3): 525–41.

Tennent, Emma and Sue Jackson. 2019. '"Exciting" and "Borderline Offensive": Bloggers, Binaries, and Celebrity Feminism'. *Feminist Media Studies* 19(2): 225–38.

Thatcher, Margaret. 1993. *The Downing Street Years*. London: Harper Collins.

The Daily Telegraph. 1979. 'A question of degree'. 14 May: 14.

——. 2016. 'A great start on a challenging journey'. 14 July: 21.

The Dominion. 1997. 'A bit of a fizzer, really'. 8 December: 10.

The Guardian. 1979. 'Is Margaret Thatcher the women's candidate? Replies to Jill Tweedie are still rolling in, but the verdict is clear. Mrs Thatcher has lost by 242 to 17'. 3 May: 11.

The New Zealand Herald. 1997. 'How women view a woman PM'. 8 December: 11.

——. 1999. 'It's tough to find heart space for mother love'. 15 December: 2.

——. 2019a. 'Jacinda Ardern named world's second greatest leader by Fortune Magazine'. 19 April. https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=12223771

——. 2019b. Jacinda Ardern for Aussie PM? Kiwi leader ranked Australia's most trusted politician'. 10 May. https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=12229546

The Press. 1999. 'Helen and Jim's alliance'. 29 November: 4.

The Sun. 1979. 'Give us the medicine now, Maggie!'. 21 May: 2.

The Sydney Morning Herald. 2010. 'Gillard's mission improbable'. 10–11 July: 4.

Thomas, Melanee and Amanda Bittner. 2017. 'The "Mommy Problem"? Gender, Parental Status and Politics'. In *Mothers and Others: The Role of Parenthood in Politics*, edited by Melanee Thomas and Amanda Bittner, 3–24. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Tickner, Lisa. 1988. *The Spectacle of Women: Imagery of the Suffrage Campaign 1907-1914*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Tiffen, Rodney. 2015. 'From Punctuated Equilibrium to Threatened Species: The Evolution of Australian Newspaper Circulation and Ownership'. *Australian Journalism Review* 37(1): 63–80.

——. 2014. *Rupert Murdoch: A Reassessment*. Sydney: New South

Tomsen, Stephen and Mike Donaldson. 2003. *Male Trouble: Looking at Australian Masculinities*. Victoria: Pluto Press.

Toohey, Paul. 2010a. 'Julia: Behind the woman who became PM'. *The Daily Telegraph* 25 June: 5.

——. 2010b. 'Does a technicolour screamcoat prove our PM needs fashion cash?' *The Daily Telegraph*, 6 July: 3.

Tracy, Honor. 1979. 'No job for a woman indeed!'. *The Daily Telegraph* 12 May: 14.

Trimble, Linda. 2007. 'Gender, Political Leadership and Media Visibility: Globe and Mail Coverage of Conservative Party of Canada Leadership Contests'. *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 40(4): 969–93.

——. 2014. 'Melodrama and Gendered Mediation: Television Coverage of Women's Leadership "Coups" in New Zealand and Australia'. *Feminist Media Studies* 14(4): 663–78.

——. 2016. 'Julia Gillard and the Gender Wars'. *Politics & Gender* 12(2): 296–316.

——. 2017. *Ms. Prime Minister: Media, Gender, and Leadership*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Trimble, Linda and Joanna Everitt. 2010. 'Belinda Stronach and the Gender Politics of Celebrity'. In *Mediating Canadian Politics*, edited by Shannon Sampert and Linda Trimble, 50–74. Scarborough, ON: Pearson.

Trimble, Linda and Natasja Treiberg. 2010. '"Either Way, There's Going to Be a Man in Charge": Media Representations of New Zealand Prime Minister Helen Clark'. In *Cracking the Highest Glass Ceiling*, edited by Rainbow Murray, 115–36. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger.

Trimble, Linda, Angelia Wagner, Shannon Sampert, Daisy Raphael and Bailey Gerrits. 2013. 'Is It Personal? Gendered Mediation in Newspaper Coverage of Canadian National Party Leadership Contests, 1975–2012'. *International Journal of Press/Politics* 18(4): 462–81.

Trinca, Helen. 2010. 'Our sudden Prime Minister'. *The Australian* 26–27 June: 1.

Tuchman, Gaye. 1978. *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality*. New York: Free Press.

U

UN Women. 2019. 'Facts and Figures: Leadership and Political Participation'. *UN Women* 20 June. https://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/leadership-and-political-participation/facts-and-figures

Uscinski, Joseph E. and Lilly J. Goren. 2011. 'What's in a Name? Coverage of Senator Hillary Clinton during the 2008 Democratic Primary'. *Political Research Quarterly* 64(4): 884–96.

V

van Acker, Elizabeth. 1999. *Different Voices: Gender and Politics in Australia*. South Yarra : Macmillan Education Australia.

——. 2003. 'Media Representations of Women Politicians in Australia and New Zealand: High Expectations, Hostility or Stardom'. *Policy and Society* 22(1): 116–36.

Van Aelst, Peter, Tamir Sheafer and James Stanyer. 2012. 'The Personalisation of Mediated Political Communication: A Review of Concepts, Operationalisations and Key Findings'. *Journalism* 13(2): 203–20.

van Dijk, Teun A. 1984. *Prejudice in Discourse: An Analysis of Ethnic Prejudice in Cognition and Conversation*. Amsterdam: John Benjamin's Publishing Company.

——. 1991. *Racism and the Press*. London: Routledge.

——. 1998. 'Opinions and Ideologies in the Press'. In *Approaches to Media Discourse*, edited by Alan Bell and Peter Garret, 21–63. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

––––. 2000. 'News(s) Racism: A Discourse Analytical Approach'. In *Ethnic Minorities and the Media: Changing Cultural Boundaries*, edited by Simon Cottle, 33–49. Buckingham: Open University Press.

––––. 2001. 'Critical Discourse Analysis'. In *Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, edited by Deborah Tannen, Deborah Schiffrin and Heidi Hamilton, 352–71. Oxford: Blackwell.

van Leeuwen, Theo. 2001. 'Semiotics and Iconography'. In *Handbook of Visual Analysis*, edited by Theo van Leeuwen and Carey Jewitt, 92–118. London: Sage Publications.

van Onselen, Peter. 2010. 'Pragmatism hallmark of leader's rise'. *The Daily Telegraph* 27 June: 105.

van Zoonen, Liesbet. 1994. *Feminist Media Studies*. London: SAGE.

––––. 1998. 'Finally, I Have my Mother Back! Politicians and their Families in Popular Culture'. *Press/Politics* 3(1): 48–64.

––––. 2005. *Entertaining the Citizen: When Politics and Popular Culture Converge*. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield.

––––. 2006. 'The Personal, the Political and the Popular: A Woman's Guide to Celebrity Politics'. *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 9(3): 287–301.

Velasco-Sacristán, Marisol. 2010. 'Metonymic Grounding of Ideological Metaphors: Evidence from Advertising Gender Metaphors'. *Journal of Pragmatics* 42: 64–96.

Venning, Amanda. 2016. 'Inside Theresa's top shop'. *The Daily Telegraph* 3 August: 17.

Vertigans, Stephen. 2007. 'Beyond the Fringe: Radicalisation Within the American Far-Right'. *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions* 8(3–4): 641–59.

Vickers, Jill. 1997. *Reinventing Political Science: A Feminist Approach*. Halifax: Fernwood.

From Tightrope to Gendered Trope

—. 2015. 'Can We Change How Political Science Thinks? "Gender Mainstreaming" in a Resistant Discipline: Presidential Address delivered to the Canadian Political Science Association, Ottawa, June 2, 2015'. *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 48(4): 747–70.

Volkerling, Micheal. 2010. 'The Helen Clark Years: Cultural Policy in New Zealand 1999-2008'. *Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society* 40(2): 95–104.

W

Wagner, Angelia. 2019. 'Not a Taboo Topic? Talking about Family on the Campaign Trail'. In *Gendered Mediation: Identity and Image Making in Canadian Politics*, edited by Angelia Wagner and Joanna Everitt, 65–83. Toronto: UBC Press.

Walker, Rhonda. 2003. 'Political Cartoons: Now You See Them!' *Canadian Parliamentary Review*. 26(1): 16–21.

Walsh, Clare. 1998. 'Gender and Mediatized Political Discourse: A Case Study of Press Coverage of Margaret Beckett's Campaign for the Labour Leadership in 1994'. *Language and Literature* 7(3): 199–214.

—. 2001. *Gender and Discourse: Language and Power in Politics, the Church and Organisations*. Harlow: Longman.

—. 2015. 'Media Capital or Media Deficit?' *Feminist Media Studies* 15(6): 1025–34.

Walsh, Kerry-Anne. 2013. *The Stalking of Julia Gillard*. Crows Nest: Allen and Unwin.

Webster, Wendy. 1990. *Not a Man to Match Her: The Marketing of a Prime Minister*. London: The Women's Press.

Weedon, Chris. 1987. *Feminist Practise and Poststructuralist Theory*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Weerakkody, Niranjala. 2009. *Research Methods: For Media and Communication*. South Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

Weldon, Laurel S. 2006. 'Inclusion and Understanding: a Collective Methodology for Feminist International Relations'. In *Feminist Methodologies for International Relations*, edited by Brooke A. Ackerly, Maria Stern and Jacqui True, 62–88. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wellwood, Elinore. 1999. 'NZ's first elected woman PM "in no rush"'. *The Press* 29 November: 3.

Weskott, Marcia. 1990. 'Feminist Criticism of the Social Sciences'. In *Feminist Research Methods: Examplary Readings in the Social Sciences*, edited by Joyce McCarl Nielsen, 47–61. London: Westview Press.

West, Candice and Don H. Zimmerman. 1987. 'Doing Gender'. *Gender & Society* 1: 125–51.

——. 1991. 'Doing Gender'. In *The Social Construction of Gender*, edited by Judith Lorber and Susan A. Farrell, 13–37. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Wetherell, Margaret. 1995. 'Romantic Discourse and Feminist Analysis: Interrogating Investment, Power and Desire'. In *Feminism and Discourse: Psychological Perspectives*, edited by Sue Wilkinson and Celia Kitzinger, 128–44. London: Sage.

White, Barry. 2011. *Mapping Your Thesis: The Comprehensive Manual of Theory and Techniques for Masters and Doctoral Research*. Camberwell, Victoria: ACER Press.

White, Michael. 1979. 'Behind the Prime Minister – all the way'. *The Guardian* 15 May: 9.

Widdowson, Henry G. 1995. 'Discourse Analysis: A Critical View'. *Language and Literature* 4(3): 157–72.

Willerton, Russell. 2005. 'Visual Metonymy and Synecdoche'. *Journal of Technical Writing and Communication* 51(1): 3–31.

Williams, Blair. 2013. 'Julia Gillard, the Media and Young Women.' *YWCA of Adelaide*. http://ywca.com.au/wp/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/YWCA-Final-Report-Julia-Gillard-the-Media-and-Young-Women-2013.pdf

——. 2017. 'A Gendered Media Analysis of the Prime Ministerial Ascension of Gillard and Turnbull: He's "Taken Back the Reins" and she's "a Backstabbing Murderer"'. *Australian Journal of Political Science* 52(4): 550–64.

Williams, Blair and Louise Chappell. 2019. 'The "Unmarried Head Prefect" and Other Tired Tropes: How the Media Stereotyped Gladys Berejiklian'. *BroadAdenga Blog* 29 March. http://www.broadagenda.com.au/home/the-unmarried-head-prefect-and-other-tired-tropes-how-the-media-stereotyped-gladys-berejiklian/

Williams, Blair and Marian Sawer. 2018. 'Rainbow Labor and a Purple Policy Launch: Gender and Sexuality Issues'. In *Double Disillusion: The 2016 Australian Federal Election*, edited by Anika Gauja, et al. ANU press.

Williamson, Rosemary. 2019. 'Authenticity in Newspaper Coverage of Political Leaders' Responses to Disaster: A Historical Study'. *Journalism Studies* 20(11): 1511–27.

Wills, Dennis. 2010. 'Elation and tears of pride'. *The Daily Telegraph* 25 June: 9.

Wilson, Amanda. 2010. 'Oh Lord, the prime minister is a woman'. *The Sydney Morning Herald* 26–27 June: 5.

Winter, Nicholas J. G. 2010. 'Masculine Republicans and Feminine Democrats: Gender and Americans' Explicit and Implicit Images of the Political Parties'. *Political Behaviour* 32: 587–618.

Wishart, Ian. 2008. *Absolute Power: The Helen Clark Years*. North Shore, New Zealand: Howling at the Moon Pub.

Wodak, Ruth and Michael Meyer. 2009. *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: SAGE.

Woods, Judith. 2016. 'Elegant, serious and quietly self-possessed, this PM will stand tall on the world stage'. *The Daily Telegraph* 13 July: 3.

Worthy, Ben. 2016. 'Ending in Failure? The Performance of 'Takeover' Prime Ministers 1916–2016'. *The Political Quarterly* 87(4): 509–17.

Wright, Katharine A.M. and Jack Holland. 2014. 'Leadership and the Media: Gendered Framings of Julia Gillard's 'Sexism and Misogyny' Speech'. *Australian Journal of Political Science* 49(3): 455–68.

——. 2017. 'The Double Delegitimatisation of Julia Gillard: Gender, the Media, and Australian Political Culture'. *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 63(4): 588–602.

Wring, Dominic and Stephen Ward. 2010. 'The Media and the 2010 Campaign: The Television Election?' *Parliamentary Affairs* 63(4): 802–17.

Y

Young, Audrey. 1997, 'Relief as weeks of waiting end and leadership role begins'. *The New Zealand Herald* 9 December: 5.

Young, Sally. 2010. 'The Journalism "Crisis": Is Australia Immune or Just Ahead of its Time?'. *Journalism Studies* 11(4): 610–24.

——. 2017. 'News Corporation Tabloids and Press Photography during the 2013 Australian Federal Election'. *Journalism Studies* 18(7): 866–89.

Young, Sally and Matthew Ricketson. 2014. 'Gillard, Her Government and the Media'. In *The Gillard Governments*, edited by Chris Aulich, 283–302. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.

Appendix A: Interview Questions for Gillard

Experiences of gendered media coverage

- How would you describe 'gendered media coverage'?
- Did you notice a change in the gendered media coverage as prime minister in comparison to when you were a Deputy Prime Minister?
- Why do you think the mainstream media focus on yours, and other women politicians', appearances? How did this personally affect you and your leadership?

Australian political and media landscape for women (and where it sits globally)

- Does this gendered media coverage differ for women politicians depending on their political party affiliation?
- Do you think the gendered media coverage is particularly extreme in Australia? What do you think the role of the Murdoch press is in this? Are there any comparisons to be made with the mainstream media coverage in other countries?
- Looking at New Zealand, how do you think the Australian media coverage of your prime ministerial term compares with, say, the New Zealand coverage of Helen Clark or, more recently, Jacinda Ardern?

Effects of gendered media coverage of women politicians

- What effect does the gendered media coverage of women politicians and leaders have on women politicians, politics in general as well as broader society?

Social Media

- What are your views on the use of social media being part of the communications repertoire of politicians? What effects has this had on you and other women politicians and leaders?

The future

- Recently, more Australian women politicians have spoken up about the gendered double standards and bullying they've experienced in parliament. Does this resonate with your experiences during your time in parliament? Will this help create change in the future?
- Do you think much will change for the second woman prime minister of Australia? Has the media and political landscape changed in terms of how women political leaders are treated?
- What changes would you like to see so that women politicians and leaders do not encounter a gendered double standard? Do you think that parties could have a stronger role in helping to shift the double standard and prevent gendered media coverage?
- Ideally, how *should* the mainstream print media cover women politicians and leaders?

Appendix B: Interview Questions for Clark

Experiences of gendered media coverage

- How would you describe or define 'gendered media coverage'?
- Did you notice a change in the gendered media coverage as prime minister in comparison to when you were Leader of the Opposition?
- Why do you think the mainstream media focus on yours, and other women politicians', appearances? How did this personally affect you and your leadership?

Australian political and media landscape for women (and where it sits globally)

- Does this gendered media coverage differ for women politicians depending on their political party affiliation?
- Do you think the gendered media coverage is particularly severe in New Zealand? Are there any comparisons to be made with the mainstream media coverage in other countries?
- Looking at Australia, how do you think the New Zealand media coverage of your prime ministerial term compares with, say, the Australian coverage of Julia Gillard?

Effects of gendered media coverage of women politicians

- What effect do you think the gendered media coverage of women politicians and leaders have on women politicians, politics in general as well as broader society?

Social Media

- What are your views on the use of social media being part of the communications repertoire of politicians? What effects has this had on you and other women politicians and leaders?

The future

- What do you make of the media coverage of Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern? Has the media and political landscape changed in terms of how women political leaders are treated?
- What changes would you like to see so that women politicians and leaders do not encounter a gendered double standard? Do you think that parties could have a stronger role in helping to shift the double standard and prevent gendered media coverage?
- Ideally, how *should* the mainstream print media cover women politicians and leaders?

From Tightrope to Gendered Trope

Appendix C: Follow Up Questions for Gillard

Family

- How did the media coverage of your 'unmarried' status and, in particular, your de-facto relationship with Tim Mathieson have an impact on you, personally and politically? Were you surprised by the amount of attention devoted to your personal relationships?
- What did you make of the media focus on your childfree status, and the reservations they had about whether this would impact your ability to understand and relate to with general public, particularly women and families?
- Do you think there is a difference in the way the media treat women politicians who are also mothers versus those who have no children?

Appearance

- What was it like to have your appearance constantly judged and scrutinised by the media and public while in the demanding and stressful role of Prime Minister? What kind of impact did this have on your day-to-day life? How did you navigate this?
- Is this a topic that women politicians discussed or commiserated about behind closed doors?

Miscellaneous

- In the coverage of your ascension, the media often compared you with UK's first woman Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. What do you make of this comparison?

Appendix D: Follow Up Questions for Clark

Family/Relationships

- How did the media concentration on your marriage impact you, personally and politically? Were you surprised by the amount of attention devoted to your personal relationship?
- The media also depicted your professional relationship with coalition partner Jim Anderton as romantic and as a political 'marriage'. Why do you think they framed it in this manner? What impact, if any, did this have?
- What did you make of the media focus on your childfree status, particularly in relation to previous Prime Minister Jenny Shipley?
- Do you think there is a difference in the way the media treat women politicians who are also mothers versus those who have no children?

Appendix E: Participant Information Sheet

Researcher:

My name is Blair Williams; I am currently a PhD candidate in the School of Politics and International Relations, in the College of Arts & Social Sciences at the Australian National University.

Project Title: Treading the Tight-rope: A comparative study of the gendered print mediation of Westminster women Prime Ministers.

General Outline of the Project:

Description and Methodology: This project consists of the analysis of the gendered media portrayal of women Prime Ministers from Westminster democracies and their performances of gender. I am examining print media to deconstruct the ways in which they gender in their coverage of women leaders. I aim to further understand how they do this, in particular focusing on whether this kind of coverage varies based on the political affiliation of the leader and the newspaper. I will be using a content analysis, discourse analysis and semiotics to unpack the messages within the print media.

Participants: I will collect data for this project from the relevant actors, such as yourself, either via face-to-face conversation, if possible, or via phone or email.

Use of Data and Feedback: I will use the data as a primary source for my research, which I will then ultimately submit as a PhD thesis and related publications. I will provide you a summary of the research via email when it is completed.

Participant Involvement:

Voluntary Participation & Withdrawal: Participation in this project is voluntary and you are able to, without any negative consequences, decline to take part or withdraw from the research without providing an explanation at any time until the finished thesis is submitted for examination. During the interview, you can refuse to answer any of the prepared questions. If you choose to withdraw, I will get rid of the audio recording of our interview and any written notes or transcript and will not use the data for my research.
What does participation in the research entail? For the purpose of this research, I will ask you to undertake an interview about your time as Prime Minister and your experiences of and opinions on the mainstream media and the ways in which they portray women politicians and political leaders. This will be audio-recorded on two devices and then transcribed for analysis. Both of the recordings and the transcript will be provided to you prior to the completion of my analysis. I will use this data as a primary source for my own research and will not give access to them to anyone other than you and myself.
Location and Duration: Interviews will be conducted at a location that we have both agreed upon beforehand as the most convenient and not last longer than one hour. If required, follow-up questions or clarifications will be addressed to you via email or telephone.

From Tightrope to Gendered Trope

Risks: There might be associated risks surrounding some of the personal reflection questions that I will ask. I will ask questions about your time as Prime Minister and how you felt about your media representation and its portrayal of women politicians in general. You are not obliged to answer these questions. In the case of any unforeseen incidents or adverse events, contact details for the Chair of my ANU Supervisory Panel and for the ANU Human Research Ethics Committee Ethics Manager are provided below.

Benefits: This research may have some personal and public benefits for you and I hope that my thesis will help further our understandings of how and why the media rely on gender in their coverage of women political leaders.

Confidentiality:

Confidentiality: Only you and I will have access to the audio-recording and transcript of our interview, as well as any prior or subsequent email and telephone correspondence. The audio-recordings, transcripts and any other correspondence will not be published in full, though I will include citations from these in the final version of my thesis. These will be clearly attributed to you, with your name given in full. Any remarks which you do not want to be published will not be included.

Data Storage:

Where: The audio-recording and transcript of our interview will be stored on a password-protected computer in my office at ANU in addition to being stored on a password-protected computer in my home office.

- **How long:** It is a requirement that data must be stored for a period of at least five years from the date of any publication arising from research. Therefore, the data will be stored as outlined above until the submission of my completed thesis in 2019. After this, I will transfer it to the Chair of my ANU Supervisory Panel, who will likewise store it on her own password-protected office computer.
- **Handling of Data following the required storage period:** At the end of the required storage period, both the audio-recording and transcript of our interview will either be archived by the Chair of my ANU Supervisory Panel for use by future researchers or, if you prefer, it will be deleted.

Queries and Concerns:

Contact Details for More Information: If you have any queries about the project or you would like further information, please don't hesitate to contact me either via email on blair.williams@anu.edu.au or by phone on (+61) 0431 067 541. Questions or concerns can also be directed to the Chair of my ANU Supervisory Panel, Emeritus Professor Marian Sawer via email on marian.sawer@anu.edu.au or by phone on (+61) 02 6125 0130.

Ethics Committee Clearance:

The ethical aspects of this research have been approved by the ANU Human Research Ethics Committee (Protocol 2016/330). If you have any concerns or complaints about how this research has been conducted, please contact:

From Tightrope to Gendered Trope

Ethics Manager
The ANU Human Research Ethics Committee
The Australian National University
Telephone: +61 2 6125 3427
Email: Human.Ethics.Officer@anu.edu.au

Appendix F: Interview Consent Form

WRITTEN CONSENT for Participants

Treading the Tight-rope: A comparative study of the gendered print mediation of Westminster women Prime Ministers.

I have read and understood the Information Sheet you have given me about the research project, and I have had any questions and concerns about the project (listed here:

_____

_____

_____)

addressed to my satisfaction.

I agree to participate in the project   YES ☐ NO ☐

I agree to this interview being audio-recorded   YES ☐ NO ☐

Signature:………………………………………………