

**Media Representations of Gender in the Scottish
Public Sphere in the Context of the 2014
Independence Referendum**

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This thesis is the result of the author's original research. It has been composed by the author and has not been previously submitted for examination which has led to the award of a degree.

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Declaration of Interest

The author has worked as a paid journalist on a freelance basis for the Newsquest group at points during the undertaking of this thesis.

Abstract

This thesis explores the mediated representation of gender in the Scottish public sphere in the context of the Scottish independence referendum in 2014. In particular it focuses on media samples which centre on key political figures from the campaign. The study combines two corpora: articles from the Scottish press, and tweets from the social media platform Twitter. It uses a mixed methods approach combining content analysis and critical discourse analysis to explore the mediated representations of these politicians. It first looks to the patterns emerging from a large volume of data before moving on to a more detailed analysis of how language is used to construct discourses of gender. Findings show an overall conversationalisation of discourse but with more informal naming practices used for female politicians. There was also evidence of a personalisation of political figures, although in this case a higher amount of discussion focused on male leaders. Contrary to findings of comparable studies, both male and female politicians had similar proportions of mentions of their appearance overall, though this tended to focus on specific individuals. While appearance was used as a metonym for identity across both genders, this had gendered differences; in regard to men these discourses were used to criticise male dominance and “middle-aged men in suits”, while for women it was used to undermine their political competency, showing evidence of a double bind and media confusion around the terms by which women politicians should be assessed. The gender of the women was foregrounded in the media discourse more than men, which showed tensions around differentialist and egalitarian perceptions of their representation. Female politicians were presented as embodying a specific feminised style, with those that violated this represented in negatively gendered terms. Though there was evidence of contestation to male-dominated politics, discourses still reified traditional gender norms and situated women as outsiders to the political public sphere. Nonetheless, despite these resilient gendered narratives, the presence of contestation shows an expressed desire for a feminised Scottish public sphere.

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Table of Contents

ABSTRACT	III
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	IV
TABLE OF CONTENTS	VI
LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES	X
List of Tables	x
List of Figures	xi
INTRODUCTION	1
Structure of the thesis	3
1. THE MEDIA AND REPRESENTATION	6
1.1 Media and the Public Sphere	6
1.2 Media, Power and Discourse.....	11
1.3 Social Media and the Public Sphere.....	15
1.4 The Scottish Context	19
1.5 Conclusion	21
2. GENDERED REPRESENTATION	22
2.1 Sex and Gender	23
2.2 The Public/Private Divide	29
2.3 Gendered Political Representation	35
2.4 Gendered Media(ted) Representation.....	41
2.5 Women Online	45
2.6 Conclusion	48
3. GENDER, MEDIA, POLITICS.....	50
3.1 Marginalised.....	51
3.2 Trivialised	53
3.3 The Double Bind	56
3.4 Gendered Mediation	62
3.5 Shifting Relationships	65
3.6 Women and Scottish Politics.....	70
3.7 Conclusion	74

4. METHODOLOGY	76
4.1 Research Questions.....	77
4.2 Mixed Methods Approach.....	78
4.3 Content Analysis.....	80
4.4 Critical Discourse Analysis.....	84
4.5 Research Design – Content Analysis	91
4.6 Newspaper Sample.....	95
4.7 Twitter Sample	100
4.8 Newspaper Coding Procedure.....	103
4.9 Twitter Coding Procedure	108
4.10 Reliability	110
4.11 Research Design – Critical Discourse Analysis.....	112
4.12 Conclusion	113
5. PRESENCE.....	115
5.1 Visibility	118
5.2 Prominence	124
5.3 Speech	129
5.4 Presidentialisation.....	140
5.5 The Most Senior Women	143
5.6 Conclusion	145
6. GENDERED MEDIATION	147
6.1 Content Analysis.....	148
6.2 Gendered Naming Practices.....	149
6.3 Titles	151
6.4 Given names.....	156
6.5 Nicknames	165
6.6 Tone.....	177
6.7 Positive Tone	179
6.8 Negative Tone	185
6.9 Gender Labels.....	192
6.10 Critical discourse analysis.....	199
6.11 Leading Ladies: “All women”	200
6.12 Voice: “like dentists' drills on Dexedrine”	202
6.13 Domesticity: “a stairheid rammy”	208

6.14	“A less yah-boo kind of politics”	214
6.15	Postfeminism and “Borgenesque Scotland”	223
6.16	Conclusion	229
7.	GETTING PERSONAL	234
7.1	Content Analysis.....	235
7.2	Relationship status	236
7.3	Children and Parental status	243
7.4	Physical appearance.....	250
7.5	Sexualisation.....	260
7.6	Age.....	268
7.7	Sexual orientation	273
7.8	Online abuse.....	277
7.9	Critical discourse analysis.....	281
7.10	“Overdressed to the nines”	282
7.11	Grey Suits and the “grey man”	287
7.12	Hair, Eyebrows and Synecdoche	290
7.13	“Tired (of) middle-aged men”	293
7.14	Elaine C Smith: Celebrity Gran	298
7.15	Conclusion	305
8.	CONCLUSIONS.....	309
8.1	Summary Findings	310
8.2	Emerging Themes.....	313
8.3	Personalisation	314
8.4	Transgressing and Trading in Norms.....	316
8.5	Sameness/Difference	319
8.6	Towards a Feminised Scottish Public sphere?	321
8.7	Limitations.....	323
8.8	Recommendations for Future Research and Practice.....	324
9.	BIBLIOGRAPHY	328
	Primary Sources	328
	Secondary Sources.....	340
10.	APPENDICES.....	371
	Appendix 1	371
	Appendix 2	378

Appendix 3	380
Appendix 4	386
Appendix 5	388
Appendix 6	389
Appendix 7	390

List of Tables and Figures

List of Tables

Table 1. The public-private divide, as seen in Lister (1997 p. 69)	32
Table 2. Newspaper publication details and circulation figures	96
Table 3. Sampling Frames - Newspapers.....	98
Table 4. Sampling Frames – Twitter	103
Table 5. Proportion of politicians’ speech in own mentions, split by gender (newspapers)	135
Table 6. Proportion of politician's speech in own mentions split by gender (Twitter) .	139
Table 7. Proportion of politicians’ mentions with titles, split by gender (newspapers)	154

List of Figures

Figure 1. Three-dimensional conception of discourse, as in Fairclough (1992).....	86
Figure 2. Critical discourse analysis as in Richardson (2007)	87
Figure 3. Total mentions of politicians by name for each newsweek (Newspapers)....	120
Figure 4. Proportion of mentions in own sample newsweek (newspapers).....	121
Figure 5. Total mentions of politicians by name for each debate (Twitter).....	122
Figure 6. Proportion of mentions in own sample debate (Twitter)	123
Figure 7. Proportion of mentions with politicians as main, key or minor actors in each newsweek	125
Figure 8. Individual mentions of politicians' as main, key or minor actors (proportion in newsweek sample)	127
Figure 9. Proportion of mentions with politicians' speech in each newsweek.....	132
Figure 10. Individual mentions of politicians' speech (proportion in newsweek sample))	134
Figure 11. Proportion of mentions with politicians' speech in each debate (Twitter) .	136
Figure 12. Individual mentions of politicians' speech (proportion in Twitter sample) .	138
Figure 13. Proportion of titles per individual politician (newsweek samples).....	155
Figure 14. Proportion of mentions with politicians' given name (newsweek samples)	158
Figure 15. Proportion of given names per individual politician (newsweek samples)..	159
Figure 16. Proportion of mentions with politicians' given name (debate: Twitter samples).....	161
Figure 17. Proportion of given names per individual politician (debate: Twitter).....	162
Figure 18. Proportion of politicians' given names, split by gender.....	164
Figure 19. Proportion of mentions with politicians' nickname (newsweek samples) ..	171
Figure 20. Proportion of nicknames per individual politician (newsweek samples).....	171
Figure 21. Proportion of mentions with politicians' nickname (debate: Twitter samples)	174
Figure 22. Proportion of nicknames per individual politician (debate: Twitter).....	175
Figure 23. Proportion of politicians' nicknames, split by gender	176
Figure 24. Proportion of mentions with positive tone (newsweek samples)	179

Figure 25. Proportion of positive tone per individual politician (newsweek samples).	180
Figure 26. Proportion of mentions with positive tone (debate: Twitter samples)	182
Figure 27. Proportion of positive tone per individual politician (debate: Twitter)	183
Figure 28. Proportion of politicians' mentions with positive tone, split by gender.....	185
Figure 29 Proportion of mentions with negative tone (newsweek samples)	186
Figure 30. Proportion of negative tone per individual politician (newsweek samples)	187
Figure 31. Proportion of mentions with negative tone (debate: Twitter samples)	189
Figure 32. Proportion of negative tone per individual politician (debate: Twitter).....	189
Figure 33. Proportion of politicians' mentions with negative tone, split by gender	191
Figure 34. Proportion of mentions with explicit gender labels (newsweeks)	195
Figure 35. Proportion of gender labels per individual politician (newsweek samples)	196
Figure 36. Proportion of mentions with explicit gender labels (debate: Twitter samples)	197
Figure 37. Proportion of gender labels per individual politician (debate: Twitter)	197
Figure 38. Proportion of gender labels, split by gender	198
Figure 39. Proportion of mentions of relationship status (newsweeks)	239
Figure 40. Proportion of relationship status mentions per individual politician (newsweek samples)	240
Figure 41. Proportion of politicians' relationship status, split by gender	242
Figure 42. Proportion of mentions of children/parental status (newsweeks)	246
Figure 43. Proportion of children/parental status mentions per individual politician (newsweek samples)	247
Figure 44. Proportion of children/parental status, split by gender	248
Figure 45. Proportion of mentions of physical appearance (newsweeks)	252
Figure 46. Proportion of physical appearance mentions per individual politician (newsweek samples)	253
Figure 47. Proportion of mentions of physical appearance (debate: Twitter samples)	255
Figure 48. Proportion of physical appearance mentions per individual politician (debate: Twitter)	256
Figure 49. Proportion of politicians' appearance, split by gender	259
Figure 50. Proportion of sexualised mentions (newsweeks)	263

Figure 51. Proportion of sexualised mentions per individual politician (newsweek samples).....	264
Figure 52. Proportion of sexualised mentions (Twitter)	265
Figure 53. Proportion of sexualised mentions per individual politician (Twitter: debate samples).....	266
Figure 54. Proportion of sexualised comments, split by gender.....	267
Figure 55. Proportion of mentions of age (newsweeks)	270
Figure 56. Proportion of age mentions per individual politician (newsweek samples)	271
Figure 57. Proportion of politicians' age, split by gender	272
Figure 58. Proportion of politicians' sexual orientation, split by gender.....	276
Figure 59. Proportion of abusive language (Twitter)	279
Figure 60. Proportion of online abusive mentions per individual politician (Twitter samples).....	279
Figure 61. Proportion of online abuse, split by gender	281

Introduction

There is of course, no need for even the most timorous of electors to dread the coming of that 'monstrous regime of women' denounced so vehemently by John Knox, but for the first time in the history of the country, all parties of the State have able and capable women among their representatives in Parliament.

Aberdeen Press and Journal, December 8, 1923

In 1923, Katharine, Duchess of Atholl, was elected as Scotland's first female member of Parliament (MP). She was described as an "accidental trailblazer" in her contribution to politics; as the first Conservative female minister she pioneered a path for other women, yet at the same time she was ambivalent towards their wider political participation, and was at one point opposed women's suffrage (Burness, 1998; Ewan, 2006). Since the election of the Duchess of Atholl, the role of women in Scottish politics has been a complex and at times contradictory one. In the context of their historical exclusion, they have faced extensive intrinsic barriers to parity of representation since universal women's suffrage. Such barriers have proved to be long-lasting and difficult to overcome. The environment into which Scottish female politicians enter has been further complicated by an emergent political institution of Holyrood, with devolved powers bringing wider and unprecedented opportunities for gendered institutional innovation in political recruitment (Kenny, 2013). This is particularly apparent when set in the context of the wider UK political landscape. Since devolution, Holyrood figures of female representatives have often been favourably compared to those of Westminster, which has historically struggled to make strong gains to overcome its ingrained male dominance.

On 18 September 2014, the Scottish people voted in a referendum which asked: "Should Scotland be an independent country?" The nation was asked to consider a vote for independence, and accordingly home rule, or to remain part of the four united group of nations of the United Kingdom. Of particular prominence in this campaign was

the role women would play in the evolving political context of Scotland. Women on either side of this campaign were seen to take an active role in discussing and deliberating their position on this constitutional question, with the *Guardian* newspaper claiming that women, “far from identikit men” were at the forefront “in a way currently inconceivable in UK politics” (Brooks, 2014). Female politicians held many key positions within the official referendum sides – *Yes Scotland* and *Better Together* – and at the time two of the main parties in Scotland had women as leaders: Johann Lamont, leader of the Scottish Labour party; and Ruth Davidson, leader of the Scottish Conservatives and Unionists. The role of Deputy First Minister, the most senior political role behind the First Minister, was also held by a woman: Nicola Sturgeon, also deputy leader of the Scottish National Party (SNP), who is now First Minister of Scotland.

Historical analysis of women in the media, including female politicians, has observed a marginalisation and trivialisation in their representations compared to male counterparts (see for example: Sreberny and van Zoonen, 2000a; Harmer, 2012; O'Neill, Savigny and Cann, 2016; Ross *et al.*, 2016). Arguably, this can be related back to their systemic and discursive exclusion from the public sphere and wider public life, with women more readily associated with their familial and domestic roles. Contemporary analysis confirms that though this marginalisation and trivialisation remains evident in many cases, it may also be realised in far more nuanced ways in different political and cultural contexts: a form of “gendered mediation” embedded in social norms (Gidengil and Everitt, 2003). Indeed, more subtle discursive practices may be involved, where different patterns emerge in relation to constructed gender identities.

Underpinning this study is the premise that for the effective operation of a deliberative democracy, different groups should be sufficiently represented in the public sphere of political discussion. As will be discussed throughout, the media play a prominent role in the construction of identities, with gendered discourses emergent through the processes of mediation. This illustrates how women are viewed in society and whether they are welcome participants in the political process. A gender-sensitive approach to

the masculinist model of mediated politics shows how women who have been elected as public representatives may still be trivialised in different ways. This further demonstrates how the dynamics of gendered subordination can be perpetuated in discourse.

With this in mind, this thesis seeks to examine gendered discourse during an intense moment of political scrutiny in the Scottish context. This is a significant case study which features prominent female politicians who were frequently discussed in the mainstream media and online. Research has consistently demonstrated cultural differences in media representations of women in political positions, set in the context of the broader overall trend which emphasises gender differences between male and female politicians (see for example: Ibroscheva, 2007, Cantrell and Bachmann, 2008, Garcia-Blanco and Wahl-Jorgensen, 2012). Though the people of Scotland voted to remain as part of the United Kingdom, the findings of this study remain important, particularly in regard to a nation-state which claims some degree of political independence and has a complex, ongoing relationship with the remainder of the UK in regard to representation, gendered or otherwise. Given this unique political situation and the relative newness of the Scottish parliament, there has been little research conducted around the nexus of the media, gender and Scottish politics. This thesis therefore aims to develop an understanding of the media representations in this context, thus making a contribution to a growing body of literature which analyses the gendered discursive regimes surrounding women and politics.

Structure of the thesis

This thesis brings together a mixed methods approach which combines quantitative and qualitative analyses with the aim of utilising the strengths of each. Research questions developed from the literature guided the study, organizing chapters into an analysis of presence, forms of gendered mediation and forms of personalised coverage.

Chapter 1 seeks to situate the foundations of the study in regard to the normative democratic function of the media. This is done through a critical engagement with the Habermasian concept of the “public sphere”. It then considers the media as a process of mediation through which discourses of gender are constructed. The participatory opportunities offered by social media are then explored before concluding with a description of the Scottish public sphere context.

Chapter 2 explores how gender can be considered as constructed and is culturally and historically changeable. It discusses how historical accounts of sex and gender have established a discursive division through the conceptual framework of the public and private spheres. It argues that this has ideological underpinnings which have contributed to women’s exclusion from political and public life.

Chapter 3 builds on the theoretical grounding of the previous chapter by illustrating the ways this separate spheres framework has operated around female politicians in particular. Discussion focuses on their ongoing marginalisation, trivialisation and patterns of gendered mediation. The concept of the “double bind” is discussed before moving to the role of gender, media and politics in the Scottish context.

The methodology of this thesis is outlined in Chapter 4. This takes the form of a mixed methods approach which combines quantitative and qualitative methods by way of a content analysis and critical discourse analysis. The research design, including sampling frames, coding procedures and reliability tests are described in this chapter.

Chapter 5 looks to address the research question concerned with the marginalisation of the figures of the sample. This is done through looking at the politicians’ overall presence through measuring their visibility, speech, and prominence. Findings show a higher amount of discussion focuses on the men-only debate, suggesting evidence of a

presidentialisation of politics. Measurements of prominence and the speech suggest more equitable representation in routine coverage, despite the disparity in visibility.

Chapter 6 looks at the gendered mediation of the figures, discussing results from both the content analysis and critical discourse analysis. Findings suggest evidence of an overall conversationalisation of political discourse. There is also evidence of gendered mediation through more informal naming practices concerning female politicians. Women were referred to in explicitly gendered ways more than men and constructed in a number of gendered discourses which ultimately established them as political outsiders.

Chapter 7 provides an analysis of variables considered more personalised in focus. Findings suggest a limited degree of personalised coverage, though in favour of male leaders. Contrary to findings of similar studies, mentions of appearance were used for both male and female politicians, though were expressed in different ways. In reference to men, this was done as a way to contest the male dominance of politics and “middle-aged men in suits”, while the appearance of the women was used to undermine their political competency.

Chapter 8 forms the concluding chapter and provides a summary of the key findings. It then discusses main themes arising from the study, relating to personalisation, gender norms, the double bind of sameness/difference, and how this relates to our understanding of the Scottish public sphere. It concludes with discussion of the limitations of the research project and makes recommendations for future research and practice.

1. The Media and Representation

This first chapter seeks to situate the foundations of this study in regard to the function of the media. The conceptualisation of the “public sphere” is discussed, looking to how normative evaluations of its performance may act as a useful starting point in assessing how it may function in a representative democracy. Limitations to this model are discussed in particular regard to how it may be seen as gender-blind, showing women and other groups have been excluded from its original foundation. It then moves to a discussion of how the media may be implicated in regimes of power in the practices of news formation. It considers how the media may be understood as discursive, as a process of mediation, and how Foucauldian notions of discourse may aid in understanding relations of power in this process. The chapter then turns to the approach of “critical discourse analysis” in bringing together these concepts to analyse ideology in discourse with a view to investigating gendered constructions therewith. This chapter also provides a reflection on the role social media may play in new understandings of the public sphere before concluding with a description of the Scottish context of this study.

1.1 Media and the Public Sphere

Theories which look at the interplay of democracy and the media have often been influenced by the work of Habermas, whose central concept of the *Öffentlichkeit* (“public sphere”) (Habermas, 1989) is used to describe the abstract arena where public discussion and concerns are brought together to form public opinion. Habermas bases his model on the real-life situations emerging from the rise of the bourgeoisie and the free market in Europe in the eighteenth century. Through the growth of the “coffee houses, the salons, and the *Tischgesellschaften* (table societies)” (Habermas, 1989 p. 30) during this time, there emerged a space offered for “private people [to] come together as a public” (Habermas, 1989 p. 27) with a shared concern about public affairs and the common good. This arena was characterised by rational public discourse which

achieved agreement through discussion and argumentation. It also disregarded hierarchical formations due to status or rank as this sphere was distinct from both the individual – situated in the private and domestic – as well as state structures. This was also important in regard to politics in that it provided a space for productive political discussion (Higgins, 2006, Dekavalla, 2012). In this way, the democratic and deliberative functions of the public sphere were realised through the constitution of what was considered the “public opinion”. The growth of the free press also played a major role in this formation, acting a channel of communication between state power and participants in the public sphere, with Habermas deeming it the public sphere’s “preeminent institution” (Habermas, 1989 p. 181). The press provided the space by which public opinion could be formed and represented, becoming the main proponent of mediated political communication required of deliberative democracy.

Habermas, however, posits that the growth of market forces and mass communication contributed to the decline and disintegration of the public sphere, which was rendered unsustainable amid the pressures of mass consumption and commercialisation throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (ibid). Content in the mass media became depoliticised due to market influences, with the press becoming a conduit of the interests of private companies and the state. The original public sphere was no longer motivated by rationality and equality but was driven by consumption. By extension then, rather pessimistically, the media became something motivated not by the public interest but by market and bureaucratic forces, thus becoming the drivers of public opinion rather than the arena where it would be formed. Therefore, though seen to be degraded in its modern state, this model provides a compelling point of departure for evaluating how far the media may perform its democratic expectations as a public sphere. As Dahlgren (1991) asserts, Habermas’ model can be used as an “analytic category” to aid research into the performance of the media.

Gurevitch and Blumler (1990 p. 270) outline eight principles around the democratic expectations of the mass media which emphasise its capacity to hold officials to

account, its role in providing a platform for citizens to be involved in the political process and promoting dialogue through active discussion.¹ These are iterated by Habermas as principles or “*normative reactions*” (Habermas, 1996 p. 378 *italics in original*) in regard to a political public sphere. This is expressed together as one unifying aim:

The mass media ought to understand themselves as the mandatary of an enlightened public whose willingness to learn and capacity for criticism they at once presuppose, demand and reinforce; like the judiciary, they ought to preserve their independence from political social pressure; they ought to be receptive to the public’s concerns and proposals, take up these issues and contributions impartially, augment criticisms, and confront the political process with articulate demands for legitimation (ibid).

These criteria help establish terms of how the media may fulfill its prescribed role in providing a space for unconstrained and informed discussion with a view to opinion formation.

That being said, the use of these criteria as an analytical tool needs to be done so with attention to the tensions and issues arising from this conceptualisation. Habermas’ account has attracted criticism for a number of perceived limitations and contradictions, both in its idealised depiction of its development, and the over-stated, pessimistic nature in its decline (Dahlgren, 1991; Calhoun, 1992). One main criticism – which has implications in the context of this thesis – is a focus on it being unattainably utopic in its rendering of equality and inclusivity, offering a romanticised ideal which never existed, nor could. In reality, the coffee houses would have been populated by educated and landed men, showing that its premise, rather than being inclusive, was exclusionary by nature, specifically in regard to non-propertied and uneducated classes, minority cultures and women (Dahlgren, 1991; Calhoun, 1992; Eley, 1992; Fraser, 1992;

¹ Gurevitch and Blumler (1990), however, also say these are undermined by conflicts with current communication system and structures. They cite tensions occurring from the economic environment, such as media ownership, social systems which create hierarchies of status and deference, the blurring of institutional structures, professional values and reductive view of audiences, all of which can impact upon the ability to uphold the expectations outlined above.

Ryan, 1992). Therefore, both the conditions which were seen to produce the public sphere and the subsequent discussion generated would also be restricted to the concerns of the educated, male group which constituted it.

While there have been feminist analyses which have attempted to reorient Habermas' historical model, such as Ryan's (1992) depiction of nineteenth-century American women's role in civic, charitable and religious associations, the Habermasian public sphere shows how accounts of democracy and mediated political communication often assume a gender-blind position which masks a masculinist bias. As the following chapters will show, social attitudes to gender have developed throughout modern history to construct women in opposition to the characteristics associated with the public sphere. Fraser (1992) suggests the model of the public sphere also establishes a dichotomy which stratifies those issues deemed "private" and those "public" for public discussion, which also has gendered implications. The relegation of "private" concerns – regarding intimate or domestic life – as matters not of public concern therefore consolidates the power around these issues and the groups associated with them. Furthermore, inequalities may also exist *within* the public sphere itself, with the "bracketing" of wider social inequalities "in deliberation". This, as Fraser argues, does not foster participatory parity but instead "usually works to the advantage of dominant groups in society and to the disadvantage of their subordinates" (ibid p. 120). The interests of the groups associated with these private and public spheres -- women and men, respectively – can therefore be seen as being hierarchically positioned both between spheres, and *within* the public sphere, in regimes of power.

More recent conceptualisations of the public sphere have suggested the existence of multiple spheres shifting to a more pluralistic view to demonstrate the way different cultural, moral and political groups contribute to different forms of publics (Calhoun, 1992; Higgins, 2008). Habermas later readjusted his model by acknowledging the existence of a multiplicity of public spheres (Habermas, 1992) which in turn can also be seen as branching out to encompass different and overlapping media publics (Higgins,

2008). This is important in terms of gender in that the presence of multiple public spheres, according to Fraser (1992 p. 291), allows for the participation of competing, subordinate social groups, or “subaltern counterpublics”. This, Fraser argues, can better promote the ideals of democracy through giving voice to collective identities who may still be subject to hierarchical positions of power within the public sphere itself. As is discussed later in this chapter, different kinds of new media may offer the potential for more inclusive public spheres which may better represent marginalised groups.

Public sphere reconceptualisations also involve a repositioning of political discourse in regard to the privileging of the rational as the ideal form, as opposed to the emotive and subjective. This dichotomy is problematic for women in that as a group they are more readily associated with emotive forms of discourse while men are associated with the rational, establishing women at odds with the requirements of the public sphere. As Adcock (2010 p. 139) argues, too often historical understandings of political discourse “ignore the potential value of emotional, embodied, particularistic ways of knowing and communicating” which are established as aligned to women. Remedying this issue requires a conceptual shift in regard to transforming orthodox views and practices as to what is deemed the “political”; indeed, this has in one way been enacted through bringing areas associated with the private sphere, such as violence against women in to the public sphere (Kelly, 2015), as well through the overall feminisation of politics (Lovenduski, 2005). However, this is also assisted in the breaking down of dichotomous gendered associations in regard to men and women, which further benefits both women and marginalised men across all areas of public life.

In light of this evaluation, the performance of the public sphere can be used as a useful starting point to address social attitudes around different groups as part of a representative democracy. Though women’s exclusion from the public sphere is no longer legally grounded,² research discussed in the following chapters reveals the ways

² This includes marriage or property laws of coverture, voting rights, and a gendered division within education which is discussed in Chapter 2.

in which this exclusion is embedded in mediated discourse. As this thesis will argue, this is shown through specific discourses which emphasise women's alignment with the private sphere. Through this, women are established in opposition to an assumed political norm which is positioned as inherently masculine. A gender-sensitive approach to this masculinist model is pertinent in that it shows how women who have been elected as public representatives are mediated in political communication. This is also important in terms of deliberative democracy and citizenship in that it underscores the patriarchal power dynamics which exist around men and women, and how they contribute to women's subordination in discourse. This, in turn, feeds into our understanding of how women as a group participate in the public sphere overall and into social attitudes to equitable representation and democratic politics.³

1.2 Media, Power and Discourse

Tuchman (1978) uses the term "*reflection hypothesis*" to describe the way the mass media "reflect dominant societal values" (ibid p. 7), yet most modern accounts of the media, alongside the Habermasian account, suggest a more dynamic process in play. As discussed, the mass media act as the intermediary between private citizens and the state in a process by which public opinion is formed. The requirements of the media therefore establish that it should both represent the interests *of* the public but also represent these interests *to* the public. Silverstone (1999) describes the media itself as a process of "mediation" whereby the public and the media share in the collective representations made in the "circulation of meaning" which extends beyond texts and readers. Instead, it moves in and out of texts "as we, individually and collectively, directly and indirectly contribute to their production" (ibid p. 13).

Silverstone's account of mediation is as a continual process where meaning "is never complete, always transformative, and never, perhaps, entirely satisfactory" (ibid p. 14). The media is therefore positioned as "discursive" in that it can be described as the site

³ The categorisation of women in this way is not without its own tensions. This is discussed in the next chapter.

of representation in establishing and reproducing social meanings (Higgins, 2008). In this way, meaning-making is also established as more “vulnerable [...] to abuse” and distortion (Silverstone p. 15). As will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4, discourse is understood here in the critical theorists’ use of the term as “the organization of language above the sentence or above the clause” (Stubbs, 1983 p. 1) and concerns language as used in social contexts; as Stubbs also suggests: “language, action and knowledge are inseparable” (ibid). For the purposes of this study, discourse is therefore considered in the terms proposed by Fairclough and Wodak in the approach of “critical discourse analysis” as “socially *constitutive* as well as socially shaped” (1997 p. 258 *italics in original*). Discourse can be seen in a dialectical relationship with the situations and structures which frame it, therefore the same can be said of the media, which is seen as a form of “social practice” (ibid).

This understanding of discourse as suggested in the approach of critical discourse analysis (discussed more fully in Chapter 4), is informed by the Foucauldian tradition which is concerned with power in society. Foucault situates discourse as groups of statements and claims which are constituted as seemingly objective and neutral. Yet as this process is socially constructed, it is always relational and therefore subjective. Power is exerted when these discourses of seemingly neutral vocabularies come to be accepted as “true” knowledge (Foucault, 1972). A further dimension to Foucault’s account of discourse is that truth claims are often consolidated by a human tendency to organise and make sense of the world through categorisation and dichotomies, with power moving through grid-like, empirical establishments of order (Foucault, 2002). As will be shown in this thesis, the creation of binary oppositions often positions each unit in a situation of dominance and subordination. Through these structures of knowledge, power moves autonomously and consolidates these categories, further implicating them in a multitude of discursive formations. On this premise, certain discourses are established as normative, as “truth”. In Foucauldian terms, then, the media is seen as “exercising *discursive power*” (Street, 2011 p. 286 *italics in original*), with seemingly objective representations bound up in regimes of power.

Foucault's account of discourse is useful in regard to theories of gender in that it informs readings of how gendered identities are socially constitutive. As will be discussed in Chapter 2, this provides an account of how gender is constructed rather than innate. However, as will also be discussed, postmodern theories of identity also include anti-essentialist accounts of the sexed body, which are problematic in obfuscating the unifying lived experience of women. This in turn may stultify action regarding progressive social change and dismantling regimes of power relations which render some groups dominant and other subordinate.

Furthermore, the Foucauldian account of power, which is diffused and fragmented, works primarily through discipline and self-surveillance (Foucault, 1991), and though useful, does not offer distinctions between different types of power, such as particular institutions or sets of practices (Macdonald, 2003 p. 33). This account has also been problematised by not always being easily translatable to feminist concerns and is predominantly gender-blind (despite paradoxically being productive in feminist theory) (Mills, 2004). This has implications regarding how power – in the case of this thesis specifically patriarchal power – may operate. Therefore, while Foucault's theories of discourse are productive in informing those of gender relations, these also need to be brought together with accounts which can contest and challenge these gendered regimes of power. As Macdonald (2003 p. 27 *italics in original*) suggests, "Foucault's ideas about the relationship between power, knowledge and discourse provide valuable insights into the *operation* of power through symbolic forms, it also contends that an *evaluation* of this still depends on ideological investigation".

According to van Dijk (1997 p. 25) discourse "serves as the medium by which ideologies are persuasively communicated in society, and thereby helps reproduce power and domination of specific groups or classes". Critical discourse analysis, which is also informed by Western Marxism, allows for readings of ideology in discourse which, in

turn, can expose workings of more centralised patriarchal power through an investigation into gendered constructions. As Fairclough and Wodak (1997 p. 258) propose, discourse can consolidate power relations between different sections in society, including women and minority groups: “so discourse may, for example, be racist, or sexist, and try to pass off assumptions (often falsifying ones) about any aspect of social life as mere common sense”. Analysis of these power relations may therefore expose the ideological underpinnings which shape and structure discourse in different contexts.

Media professionals do not exist outside of discursive frameworks, and so in reporting news events, these can also be considered as discursive. Various studies have sought to uncover the subjective nature of seemingly unbiased and objective journalism. Tuchman (1972) establishes that journalistic objectivity is a construct, a series of “strategic rituals” used by reporters to protect them from accusations of bias, while other studies have shown how conventions of “objectivity” have changed over time or can vary across regions (Schudson, 1978; Donsbach and Klett, 1993; Schudson, 2001). Representations made in the media are also reflective of “news values” (Galtung and Ruge, 1965; Harcup and O’Neill, 2001; Harcup and O’Neill, 2016) which consist of specific criteria to construct aspects of the world more appealing or “newsworthy” to readers, such as events which are unexpected, large in magnitude or focus on celebrities or elite figures (among others).

Hall (1973 p. 180) asserts that as well as working on the level of “formal news values” which appear neutral in their production, news texts also become ideological in their (re)production, through the use of social codes familiar to the reader. Competing forces of economic pressures, media ownership and social attitudes can undermine and confine the news gathering process (Gurevitch and Blumler, 1990). News, therefore, is discursive in that it is constructed through a number of journalistic practices which may be in conflict with one another. As Fowler (1991 p. 120) suggests, reporting bias may be a conscious act or performed through processes found in “all discourse, the

structured mediation of the world". In either case, media discourse can be seen as ideological and in the particular context of this thesis, it can arguably sustain patriarchal structures in the representation of political actors.

1.3 Social Media and the Public Sphere

Technological advances and the growth of the internet have revolutionised the way we live, with research over the last three decades focusing on how new media and technologies have affected changes in our behaviour. Lister (2009 pp. 12- 13) describes "new media" as representative of a broad set of social, economic and cultural cumulative change which emphasise the "digital, interactive, hypertextual, virtual, networked and simulated" environment (ibid p. 13). Located within this encompassing framework is the role of social media and Web 2.0 which has been of particular interest to media and communication research. Web 2.0 has been described as the more sophisticated version of the earlier internet (or its retrospective designation Web 1.0) previously made up of static web pages of HTML code and representative of a change from a "one-to-many" form of communication to more dynamic, participatory and decentralised "many-to-many" form of communication (O'Reilly (2005) in Fuchs, 2014). Fuchs (2014 p. 37) argues that the term social media, though difficult to concretely define, can be seen as form of online sociality which includes "collective action, communication, communities, connecting/networking, co-operation/collaboration, the creative making of user-generated content, playing, sharing".

As discussed, the model of the public sphere proposes the media as offering an arena where citizens may come together to make informed decision toward reaching consensus in public opinion. More recent conceptualisations have suggested a more pluralistic model of public spheres which may meet the demands of different groups more fully in a deliberative democracy (Calhoun, 1992; Fraser, 1992). Set against an

overall, long-term decline in print media (McNair, 2009), and anxieties about a crisis in public communication (Blumler and Gurevitch, 1995) or at least one in a state of “flux” (Negrine and Stanyer, 2007), commentators have emphasised the revitalising properties and transformative potential that the internet, and social media in particular, may offer in regard to a new public sphere. Street (2011) notes five important areas in which this can take place: through the operation of government; the conduct of elections; campaigning and political activism; and journalism and the internet’s liberatory potential. In regard to the last area, the internet has been proposed as creating the potential of a more egalitarian space with a greater, global reach. This, in turn, would facilitate further communication and strengthen civil society and democracy (Sparks and Dahlgren, 1991; McNair, 2003) allowing for greater participation in a more fluid, hybridised, and globalised news system (Chadwick, 2010; McNair, 2017).

The growth of social media platforms, including the likes of Twitter, Facebook and online blogs, shows the dominance of online platforms of communication in the overall scope of new media. Over the past few years, these platforms have grown significantly, with an approximate two billion internet users using social networks in 2017 (Statista, 2017). Considering social media in particular, there have been specific stances in regard to the type of platforms which offer the most participatory opportunities. McCluskey and Hmielowshi (2011 p. 304), for example, argue that online reader posts “offer the potential for a range of opinions that more closely matches the ideals of the public sphere”. Facebook and Twitter, however, have been particularly dominant in the research agenda in regard to revitalising political engagement. Facebook remains the largest global network,⁴ while Twitter is characterised as the most popular microblogging site alongside China’s Sina Weibo (Fuchs, 2014). Case studies show the differences in the ways these platforms can be used for political purposes, with

⁴ According to Statista (2017) the most popular social media platform per monthly active users is Facebook, which has around 2 billion. Twitter is the eleventh, with 328 million. The top ten also includes YouTube (1.5 billion), private messaging services WhatsApp (1.3 billion) and Facebook Messenger (1.3 billion), Instagram (700 million) and Tumblr (368 million), as well as Chinese-language based sites Sina Weibo (361 million), WeChat (963 million), QQ (850 million) and Qzone (606 million).

research areas ranging from gauging sentiment and voter preferences (Groshek and Al-Rawi, 2013) to social network analysis (Golbeck, 2013). As emergent modes of communication these platforms form important datasets with which to analyse different attitudes, levels of engagement and various discursive strategies employed by its users.

Higgins and Smith (2014 p. 85) suggest the communicative styles of Twitter, such as the use of organisational hashtags, are “geared towards the formation of publics”. Perception of Twitter’s role in particular has therefore focused on its democratising potential to provide an emancipatory space, yet attitudes to this remain split: on the one hand, it can be seen to form an alternative deliberative space, different and dissenting to that of mainstream media; on the other, it is also often characterised as unwelcoming, filled with cyberbullying and abuse, which can often be of a gendered nature (as discussed in Chapter 2). Positive outlooks to Twitter often laud the communicative opportunities and links made between politicians and members of the public, paving new ways for political elites to communicate with the electorate (Evans, Cordova and Sipole, 2014; McNair, 2017). This may offer particular advantages to groups who may be disadvantaged in the political public sphere, like women (Chambers, 2004; Campus, 2013).

Wider analyses of the internet’s revitalising properties have for the most part argued that it has failed to live up to its potential. Limitations are considered to include the perpetuation of inequalities in access to technology, online information, and media literacy, all of which curtail it (Papacharissi, 2002). Furthermore, Papacharissi (2002) argues, rather than offering multiple spheres coming together, it instead frequently fragmentises political discourse. Similarly, Dahlgren (2005 p. 160) talks of the potential of counter public spheres on the internet engaging citizens in what could be considered a previously “destabilized political communication system” yet he suggests this has not been reached. Indeed, Davis (2009 p. 745), argues that the internet in fact weakens communicative links in the political process, where a kind of “centrifugal movement”

pushes those more politically engaged further to the centre, and those less engaged, outwards. It has also been described as incompatible with the Habermasian notion of the public sphere due to its “radical plurality of the blogosphere, its fragmentation into micro-publics, its semi-deterritorialised nature, its focus on the intimate and on authenticity rather than on the rational and the common good” (Cammaerts, 2008 p. 358).

Fuchs (2014) argues that political communication is only a minor concern on Twitter in particular, with its primary focus being that of entertainment. He argues it should not be viewed as a public sphere nor “the subject of hope for the renewal of democracy” (ibid p. 207). Furthermore, Ausserhofer and Mairedar (2013), find that while offering links between political representatives and the public, Twitter shows evidence of elites forming subnetworks which often exclude the wider participation of citizens, which again limits its participatory potential. As will be addressed in later sections, Twitter has also gained a reputation as a site of abusive behaviour, such as “trolling”, where someone is deliberately provocative to trigger conflict and disruption online (Hardaker, 2010; Binns, 2012). This can take on a specifically gendered dimension, at times with a particular focus on female politicians, which can be seen as a part of a regime of power which contribute to their subordination.

Yet, like the normative theory of the public sphere, the positioning of Twitter in offering a potential participatory space allows for the interrogation of how far it may go towards this conceptualisation. Considering it without any such potential is limiting in terms of looking at the extent it may measure up to specific normative ideals. This emphasises the greater need for it to be studied in analytical frameworks such as this, which may help expose wider social attitudes and power regimes. As McNair (2017 p. 229) suggests, constant shifts show how perceptions of Twitter and social media are continually changing, and as the game changes, “media commentators and citizens alike have become increasingly adept at playing”. As will be outlined in the next section, this social media platform in particular played a dominant role in the Scottish

independence referendum, though against the backdrop of considerable commentary about abusive behaviour online. This next section briefly summarise the Scottish context regarding the public sphere, before moving on to a gender-sensitive analysis in Chapter 2.

1.4 The Scottish Context

In 2012 the announcement was made that a referendum on Scottish independence was to take place in 2014. This was the first time a formal vote on independence would take place, however home rule had been a prominent topic and cleavage in Scottish politics for a number of decades, particularly following Scottish National Party (SNP) breakthroughs in the 1970s, devolution in the 1999 and SNP gains in 2007 and 2011 (Quinlan, Shephard and Paterson, 2015). On 18 September 2014, the Scottish people were asked to vote on the question: “Should Scotland be an independent country?” with 55% opting for Scotland to remain as part of the UK (Electoral Management Board, 2014). Voter turnout reached 84.6% and the global media praised the UK for its “exemplary democratic culture” and the referendum for its “peaceful democratic nature” (Bajekal, 2014). There were a multitude of celebrity endorsements for each campaign, while commentators variously described it as “energising” the Scottish electorate (for example Iannucci, 2014).

Moreover, during the official campaign period of the Scottish independence referendum, political engagement on social media was also seen to be profuse, particularly during the latter stages. According to data from the Applied Quantitative Methods Network (AQMeN) project, there was a significant increase in followers of both *Yes Scotland* and *Better Together* campaigns’ Facebook and Twitter accounts, particularly during the final weeks of the referendum period (Shephard and Quinlan, 2014). This was not balanced between two sides of the campaign though, as @YesScotland had 50,000 more followers than @UK_Together (the official accounts for

the campaign) with *Yes Scotland* appearing to hold the advantage on both Twitter and Facebook when it came to “generating enthusiasm online” (ibid). In the last 24 hours before polling day, more than 2 million tweets were published on Twitter (BBC Trending, 2014) and the use of hashtags (an organisational tool to group tweets which are referring to the same topic) was also prolific, with the #indyref hashtag the most commonly employed, referring to a wide range of subjects relating to the referendum.

There was, however, much discussion during the campaign on what was perceived as increasingly volatile behaviour both offline and online (BBC News, 2014). Terms such as “cybernats” and “unionist trolls” were used by parts of the media to describe antagonists on either side of the debate (Adams, 2014) terms which are still used by the Scottish media in current political public discourse (Whitaker, 2017). And, as will be highlighted in Chapter 3, this also took on a gendered dimension at certain points. And in regard to the deliberative characteristics of online discourse during the campaign, research in this area has found mixed results (Shephard *et al.*, 2014; Quinlan, Shephard and Paterson, 2015).

Research has suggested that the Scottish media form a component of a Scottish public sphere, distinct from its UK counterpart, with areas of political, cultural and economic autonomy and an important facet in (re)producing Scottish identity (Schlesinger, 2001; McNair, 2003; Higgins, 2006; Dekavalla, 2012). This is provided for by elements of broadcast, online and print journalism which are to varying degrees partly autonomous from the rest of the UK. The Scottish press, for example, consists of national “indigenous” Scottish titles as well as Scottish or “tartanised” versions of British papers,⁵ which co-exist alongside UK-wide titles (ibid). Though there have been concerns raised that the Scottish press has been suffering a long-term decline

⁵ Scottish editions of UK titles may at times consist of shared UK news copy which can be used across the different titles, or have independent news copy specific to that title, such as a Scottish-based story for the Scottish titles. A notable example of this occurred during the 2015 UK General Election is the photo-shopped image of Nicola Sturgeon on to a bikini-clad representation of US pop star Miley Cyrus astride a wrecking ball (Schofield, 2015) in the UK version of the Sun. This however was absent from the Scottish edition of the title.

(Hutchison, 2008), it still holds a significant role in providing dedicated coverage around significant political events (Higgins, 2006; McNair, 2008; Dekavalla, 2012).

Both Higgins (2006) and Dekavalla (2012) suggest that the Scottish press contain a greater proportion of advice, opinion and background information for the public to deliberate upon and make informed political decisions towards action. The referendum period of September 2014 therefore acts as a significant period within which to examine various elements of representation during an intense period of political discussion in a Scottish context. Furthermore, female leaders were prominent during the campaign, which also contained discourses about gender, women's participation and engagement. As discussed more fully in Chapter 3, considering women have arguably played a different, if not more prominent role in Scottish politics than that of UK politics as a whole (notwithstanding current and past UK leaders) this creates a unique situation to interrogate the way female politicians have been constructed in components of a distinct Scottish political public sphere. Furthermore, the ambiguous, yet prominent role played by social media in this context also calls for analysis in this area. This will offer insights as to how it may have been used during a period of intense political discussion.

1.5 Conclusion

This chapter provided an introduction to the usefulness of the public sphere model, illustrating that much of it now arises not so much from the conceptualisation of its democratic function, but more so from the interrogation of its contradictions and limitations. In this way, analysis shows that a gender-sensitive approach is helpful in evaluating how well women are represented in the public sphere to inform understandings of their democratic participation. This chapter also explored understandings of the media as a process of mediation, describing it as discursive and socially constitutive. It established that "critical discourse analysis" can be productive in

considering news discourse as ideological. Following this, social media was discussed in regard to its emancipatory possibilities in revitalising the public sphere, however research suggests it has failed to live up to this potential. The context of the Scottish independence referendum was discussed alongside the position of the Scottish media as distinct Scottish public sphere. It also discussed the role of online media in the referendum, pointing to its ambiguous role in regards to its deliberative potential. This chapter therefore lays forth the beginning of the theoretical grounding of this thesis toward exploring the gendered constructions of politicians in elements of the Scottish public sphere. To establish the theoretical framework further in regard to how gender can be considered in this context, the next chapter will discuss appropriate theories and contexts in regard to women's representation.

2. Gendered Representation

Having situated the role of the media in regard to its normative democratic function, this chapter now moves on to address the way women and gender relate to this process. This chapter will first look at conceptual shifts around sex and gender with

acknowledgment of some of the ontological discussion in this field of study. The chapter will then move to discuss how historical accounts of gender have established a material and discursive division through the conceptual framework of the public and private spheres. The implications of this will be considered before examining this further in the context of the Habermasian model of the public sphere, as highlighted in Chapter 1. Following this, an overview is given of how these divisions are manifest in women's representation, both politically and in the media. It is argued that the historical exclusion of women – both formal and discursive – has had widespread ramifications which are still evident in contemporary social and political structures. These strands will be brought together in the conclusion to allow for a specific focus on the gendered media(ted) representations of female politicians in Chapter 3.

2.1 Sex and Gender

In understanding any kind of analysis of gendered representation, it is first important to unpick the categories of sex and gender. Historically, late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries approaches constituted gender as something inherent to each sex, biologically linked to men and women as an essential feature located in the body. This was conceptualised in terms of the following binaries: male/female; man/woman; masculine/feminine (Richardson, 2015) and were seen to be synonymous. Accounts of behaviour therefore positioned gender as biologically rooted, with gendered traits understood as innate aspects of sexed bodies. This in turn accounts for the conflation or perceived interchangeability of perceptions of sex and gender.

In her influential work, *The Second Sex* (1988), de Beauvoir encapsulated the conceptual and cultural shift which challenged the ontological basis of male and female difference. Writing that “one is not born, but rather becomes, a woman” (ibid p. 295), de Beauvoir posits gender as resulting from a process, as something emergent from social settings and conditions. This shift was also echoed in a growing body of academic work stemming from the 1960s and 1970s which moved from naturalistic accounts

towards more social constructionist ones. In an anthropological study into differences between men and women, Oakley (1972 p. 158) argues that:

‘[s]ex’ is a biological term; ‘gender’ a psychological and cultural one. Common sense suggests that they are merely two ways of looking at the same division and that someone who belongs to, say, the female sex will automatically belong to the corresponding (feminine) gender. In reality this is not so. To be a man or a woman, a boy or a girl, is as much a function of dress, gesture, occupation, social network and personality, as it is of possessing a particular set of genitals.

The underlying assumption from Oakley is that while gender is socially constructed, it is still tied to a biologically sexed body. In this way, sex is seen as essentialised and dimorphic. Gender, however, is constituted by the social norms and attitudes expressed in terms of masculinity and femininity, seen as culturally and historically variable, therefore open to change (Richardson, 2015 p. 5). This allowed for new understandings of how a person could feel their gender misaligned with their biological sex (ibid p. 6).

De Beauvoir sees the processes attached to womanhood as instruments of subordination, with women only achieving freedom and autonomy when accessing the “modern conditions of production” derived from new technology and contraception (Bryson, 2003 p. 130). Though this position has since provoked criticism in some modern feminist interpretations,⁶ the interrogation of social constructions of gender norms in relation to inequality and subordination became a central concern of the women’s liberation movement in Europe and the US in the 1960s (known commonly as “second wave” feminism⁷) and contributed to gains in both feminist political science and wider social movements.

⁶ In particular, her negative account of women’s biology and the privileging of male values and assumptions. Further enduring criticisms are addressed below, which regard her privileging of a white, middle-class and heteronormative vantage point.

⁷ A number of theorists have criticised the use of the wave metaphor in regards to feminism as it often presents picture of unification which doesn’t fully take into account different understandings and frameworks based on race, ethnicity, class, sexuality and nationality. Molony & Nelson (2017), for example, contains critiques which re-periodise or modify the movement as a rejection of the “hegemonic” nature of feminism by marginalised feminist groups.

Divergent perspectives which have emerged out of the second wave have been growing and accentuated in modern-day debates. Radical feminists identify the biggest political struggle as the concept of “patriarchy” and patriarchal power, which positions women as subordinate to men through systemic male dominance. Women’s oppression is seen as grounded in the private sphere, with reproduction a key site of this struggle (Randall, 2010; Hines, 2015). Marxist feminists build on the premise of Marxism and argue that capitalism, economic inequality and division in the labour market are the key to women’s oppression. Dual system feminists or “socialist” feminists bring these two approaches together with both domestic and workplace divisions a focal point. Meanwhile liberal feminists, much like those seeking emancipation in the early twentieth century, focus less on the causes and more on the process of legal and social change (Hines, 2015) building on existing liberal thought with an emphasis on individual rationality and the reformability of institutions (Randall, 2010; Hines, 2015). While these approaches initially converged over a shared aim to enhance women’s power and status in the 1960s, growing ontological differences in regard to male-female difference and essential characteristics of women have contributed to a greater stratification of these accounts.

Some feminists turned to postmodern approaches critical of their exclusionary nature to expose a series of problematic power dynamics which exist *within* some of these perspectives. Stemming from poststructuralist and queer theories, these approaches challenged the white, middle-class, and heteronormative dominance of experience within the feminist community and called for a more intersectional approach. For example, hooks (1982) writes of the oppressed experience of black women and is critical of the absence of accounts of race and class in second wave feminist movements. Spivak (1994) too, in her postcolonial account argues that sexual differences are only observed as sites of struggle in the western, white arena.

Queer theorists problematise the notion of gender as a reductive binary division, and instead propose it as something more fluid which can produce multiple expressions of masculinity and femininity.⁸ Butler (1999) writes that gender is “performative” insofar as it produces identity, rather than acts as an expression of it, with neither pre-existing the other. This conceptualisation of gender establishes it as a continuous act of becoming; its meaning is constantly (re)negotiated and contested in relation to other constructions.⁹ What these poststructuralist accounts of identity formation do, in effect, is destabilise the universalizing notion of womanhood as claims to this are “invariably false and effectively normalise and privilege specific forms of femininity” (Stone, 2004 p. 135).¹⁰

Viewing gender as a construct is helpful in terms of minimizing threats (both abstract and physical) against those who transgress traditionally “masculine” or “feminine” associated gender norms. This also helps to break down the arbitrary gendered associations ascribed to certain practices, such as politics, nursing, or engineering, for example. However, though convincing in the abstract, as Bryson (2003 p. 245) asserts, “postmodernism’s stress on differences amongst women and the precarious nature of identity can make it difficult if not impossible to speak of women as a meaningful social group or ‘category of analysis’”. Debates within feminism in the last few decades have thus tended to focus upon who is deemed a “woman”, how to respond to differences between these debates, and how to contribute to a shared feminist project. This is reflective of intense contemporary debates at the nexus of feminist, queer and

⁸ Richardson and Wearing (2014) and Richardson (2015) both suggest that this in turn means that gender can be described in the multiple constructions of masculinities and femininities.

⁹ Butler troubles the notion of sex itself as socially constructed and constituted through gendered discursive practices whereby gender and sex are therefore both collapsed, and are both things which are “performed” and “done”, moving away from the binary accounts of both (Butler, 1999). This allows for the inclusion of those who identify as intersex, with sex considered a result of social interaction and therefore as something fluid.

¹⁰ This is also the case for men and universalizing conceptions of manhood.

transgender research, particularly in regard to transgender women and definitions of womanhood based on self-identification or biology.¹¹

As identified, an anti-essentialist stance – taken to its ultimate theoretical end point – rejects notions of dimorphic biological sex which, like gender, can be considered both fluid and socially constructed. However, this has been problematised with the denial of the universalising characteristics of the category of “woman” being seen as obfuscating or even erasing the lived experiences of women as a group. This, in turn, undercuts the distinctions of shared biological experiences, such as childbirth, lactation, menstruation, menopause, or sexual violence (Bradley, 2012). Anti-essentialist accounts have also been criticised for an individualised approach which stagnates in regard to collective, political action to challenge social hierarchies of power and structural oppression: only through the categorisation of “womanhood” can action be taken to change women’s unequal status in society (Randall, 2010; Richardson, 2015).

Bryson (2003 p. 242) argues that recently there has been a trend to mitigate these agendas with a combined approach, where “postmodern strategies can usefully contest the reification of gender [which] need not preclude the self-identification of women as a collective group”. Butler, responding to the above concerns, suggested it was at times politically necessary to speak of women as a group while acknowledging a totalising experience cannot be shared (quoted in Randall, 2010).¹² This stance is taken in this

¹¹ These debates have been discussed in great length and are ongoing. These tend to occur between those who believe the experiences of transgender women are not the same as those born female, as they are born with male privilege and have different gendered experiences, as well as point to issues in regards to male-bodied individuals encroaching female-only space. For example Jeffreys (1997, 2014) argues that the complete abolishment of “gender” would mean the removal for the rationale of transgenderism. On the other hand, areas of transgender studies aim to disrupt the materiality of anatomical sex and normative assumptions around biological specificity of sexually differentiated bodies (see for example Stryker and Whittle, 2006).

¹² Some scholars have attempted to use the term “strategic essentialism” as a way to facilitate collective action, though this has been debunked as a couched version of the previous essentialism which had gone before (Stone, 2004). Strategic essentialism is a phrase which has been associated with Spivak, who in her work *Subaltern Studies*, who talks about the “strategic use of positivist essentialism” (1996 p. 214) in reference to a Subaltern studies collective of historians as a way to

thesis, to the extent that the concept of biological sex is used as an organising category to interrogate gendered constructs, while also recognising that essentialist notions of womanhood are problematic. This stance, however, also demands constant reflection and, as Bryson points out, means “walking a precarious tightrope, as political practicalities run up against awareness of instabilities, complexities and differences” (2003 p. 247).

As gender is socially constructed, then, Harmer *et al.* (2017 p. 963) argue that it is performed in a mediated context. Meaning is therefore taken from a variety of representations of what masculinity and femininity “look like” (*ibid.*). Notions of what constitutes gender identity can therefore be redefined through negotiation, which in turn exposes the arbitrary links between biological sex and gender. This has implications for assumptions about which gender norms we consider to be associated with certain activities or domains, such as caregiving or politics. Moreover, the socially constructed nature of gender means it is formed in discourse and not located within the individual. It is therefore a process which is done *to* an individual and has ideological underpinnings. Individuals can be gendered, as can institutions and structures. Kenny (2013 p. 37) writes that gender operates in these structures, where “constructions of masculinity and femininity are intertwined in the daily culture or ‘logic’” of day-to-day workings. The same can be said of the mass media, which has been shaped by a masculinised culture and largely defined in male terms (Carter, Branston and Allan, 1998; Chambers, 2004). Gender relations can therefore be subject to contestation, but also limited and constrained by the surrounding context in the diffusion of power. Structures may privilege particular articulations of gender over others which are embedded in discourse to appear consensual, natural and as common sense.

describe the collective subaltern consciousness. She later disavowed the use of the phrase, saying it was taken as a “union ticket for essentialism” (Danius and Jonsson, 1993 p. 35) though claimed she had not given up on it as a project.

In regard to regimes of power which shape gender, Walsh (2001 p. 17) problematises the term patriarchy, suggesting it implies a “monolithic and totalizing system of oppression” which does not account for the diffuse way power operates. Instead, she employs the term “masculinist hegemony” to describe the complex and subtle ways women (and marginalised men) may be disadvantaged (ibid). This is useful in that it accounts for the different ways in which gender may also be constructed as it intersects with other facets in identity formation, such as age, race, ethnicity, sexual preference, and disability. As Hines (2015 p. 37 *italics in original*) asserts, this line of enquiry is valuable in terms of understanding gender as “socially relational *and* performatively constructed”. Yet the feminist theory of patriarchy remains important as a strategic concept, as Bryson (2003 p. 247) argues, demonstrating its non-random operation and reinforcement of male privilege, situating “men as the norm and women as optional extras”, as “other”. This therefore points to the need for ongoing inquiry into the deployment of gendered discourse to examine the way varied discourse may be implicated in patriarchal ideology and complex hegemonic constructions.

2.2 The Public/Private Divide

The decoupling of gender and sex has challenged the biological determinism of gender identity, which has arguably contributed to the exclusion and subordination of women in many different areas of life. Meanwhile, poststructuralist advancements have challenged the binarism of gender, allowing for interrogation into the assumptions about masculine and feminine characteristics which, in turn, are in constant (re)negotiation. As this section will show, however, the historical positioning of sex (man/woman) and gender (masculine/feminine)¹³ as connected dichotomies is still dialogically embedded in both material experience and discourse. This has created a number of gendered associations with what many feminist theorists deem the “public” and “private” spheres which are also established as oppositional in nature. This section

¹³ Masculine and feminine are used throughout this thesis as gender categories, while male and female are used as the adjectival form of the biological sex groups of men and women.

will discuss the origins of the concepts of the public and private spheres, as well as the implications and associations before discussing this in the context of the Habermasian model of the public sphere, as highlighted in Chapter 1.

This widespread use of the public and private has been a useful organising category in the development of Western political thought, which has established the oppositional spheres of public and private life. Various conceptualisations of these spheres have implicitly or explicitly established these as distinct from one other, each producing a different area of inquiry and observation. Stemming from the writing of John Locke, the public/private dichotomy is a central idea to liberal democratic theory; where the private is representative of the autonomous individual, free from intrusion or interferences from public or outside influence (Buckler, 2010). In this formation, both public life and politics are seen to be the arena of citizenship which is outside of, and transcends, the personal (Bryson, 2003 p. 155). As has been touched upon in the first chapter, this apparently gender-blind positioning has at its centre a gendered division which aligns men and women with the qualities associated with the public and private spheres. Feminist research has since sought to unpick this division by exposing the myriad ways these ideas contribute to an arguably false, arbitrary dichotomy (Siltanen and Stanworth, 1984).

Historically, women were excluded from public life through both legal acts and social attitudes including, but not isolated to: the marriage or property laws of coverture, voting rights, and a gendered division (and exclusion) within education. Okin (1991) traces this back to the growing division of labour between the men and women which stems from the beginnings of seventeenth-century liberalism. Through this

men are assumed to be chiefly preoccupied with and responsible for the occupations of the sphere of economic and political life, and women with those of the private sphere of domesticity and reproduction. Women have been regarded as 'by nature' both unsuited to the public realm and rightly dependent on men and subordinated within the family (ibid p. 70).

This is echoed by van Zoonen (1998 p. 114), who argues that the idea of the domestic and familial as paradigmatic of the private sphere is linked to a fairly recent gendered division of labour in modern western societies; “in particular to its bourgeois and middle-class milieu” which did not exist in premodern societies. Before then, private and public life were split between common people (and an undivided household) and nobility. The further stratification of the labour market through the rise of industrial capitalism consolidated this division, alongside the emerging Victorian characterisations of the workplace and the home as representative of the public and private. The resulting by-product was the oppositional “separate spheres” ideology which attaches different ideas around sexuality, sentimentality, purity and morality to men and women (Lovenduski, 2005 p. 34; see also Macdonald 1995).

Lister (1997) suggests that this exclusion accounts for the normative assumption of the gender-neutrality of the universal citizen and citizenship, which instead disguises an assumed maleness. This results from “the abstract, disembodied individual on whose shoulders the cloak of citizenship sits, and the public/private divide which has facilitated the relegation to the ‘private’ sphere of all the functions and qualities deemed incompatible with the exercise of citizenship in the ‘public’” (ibid p. 69). These concepts, henceforth interconnected and conflated, establish men and women in a series of dichotomous associations aligning the public and private, political and apolitical, and male and female, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. The public-private divide, as seen in Lister (1997 p. 69)

Public, male, citizen	Private, female, non-citizen
Abstract, disembodied, mind	Particular, embodied, rooted in nature
Rational, able to apply dispassionate reason and standards of justice	Emotional, irrational, subject to desire and passion; unable to apply standards of justice
Impartial, concerned with public interest	Partial, preoccupied with private, domestic concerns
Independent, active, heroic and strong	Dependent, passive, weak
Upholding the realm of freedom, of the human	Maintaining the realm of necessity, of the natural and repetitious

Women were historically banished physically and/or discursively to the private sphere because they did not hold the qualities deemed necessary to act as citizens, while the qualities associated with the private sphere were hierarchically positioned as lower and devalued (Lister, 1997 p. 70). This further stratified women's subordinate role, as they became the "the invisible supporters of public life through the provision of care, reproduction and other unpaid work" (Lovenduski, 2005 p. 25).

Jamieson (1995 p. 5) suggests that the human disposition is to create oppositions to make sense of the world, "[s]o we contrast good and bad, strong and weak, for and against, true and false, and in so doing assume distinctions are often useful". This follows from the Foucauldian tradition of creating groupings from categorisation and binary oppositions (Foucault, 2002), as previously discussed in Chapter 1, which shows the way power is exerted through the consolidation of seemingly objective and neutral vocabularies, assumed as true knowledge (Foucault, 1972). By this premise, certain discourses become dominant, and are established as normative at the expense of those of subservient social groups. The ideological associations between male and female,

public and private therefore came to be regarded as essentialist characteristics of men and women.

The legal emancipation of women and incorporation of them as voters later allowed for women's formal inclusion in the public sphere, while ideological shifts facilitated by the second wave feminist movement brought about a blurring of the distinctions between the public and private.¹⁴ Matters of concern which were initially considered that of the private sphere, such as childcare, domestic and sexual violence, were later established as that of public concern and policy (Mackay, 2001; Lovenduski, 2005; Kelly, 2015). Nonetheless, as further analyses seek to show, there is still a legacy of the gendered associations of the public/private. Scholarship in this area has exposed particular discursive regimes around women which position them in a framework of the public/private dichotomy, contributing to the privileging of men and the male voice.

Before moving on, certain tensions with this characterisation of the public and private sphere however do need to be addressed. Firstly, Sreberny and van Zoonen (2000b) suggest issues arising from the public/private framework as a tool for analysis through the potential reconfirmation of gender divisions. This thesis however takes the same stance as Harmer *et al.* (2017 p. 964) in that this also offers the opportunity to challenge and contest these categories, breaking down normative associations. Secondly, there is a tension in the use of the term "public sphere", used in a different understanding to that expressed by Habermas and discussed in Chapter 1. At various times "the public" can represent: the state administration in opposition to the market economy (as in state and society); the political community and citizenship distinct from the private citizen, but also the market and the state (which relates to the account made by Habermas); as well as the feminist understanding of the space which is distinct from the family and domestic unit (Weintraub, 1997 p. 7).¹⁵ As Weintraub (*ibid*)

¹⁴ This idea is behind the now-idiomatic phrase "the personal is political".

¹⁵ In attempted to create a typology Weintraub discusses four models, though acknowledges these are not exhaustive conceptualisations. These are: I. the liberal-economic model which outlines the public/private distinction as being that of the state administration and market economy; II. The

discusses, the different meanings often overlap and problematise each other, particularly when the alternative representations are not acknowledged. Yet he argues that the “fruitful cross-fertilization and reasoned contestation” of these categories over-rides any tensions arising from the different models, emphasising their usefulness as a conceptual framework (ibid p. 3).

Within this thesis, therefore, tensions arising from the Habermasian account of the public sphere and the feminist version discussed above can be used to inform one another. As discussed, one of the limitations of the public sphere model proposed by Habermas, similar to the reading of citizenship by Lister (1997), is that it is assumed to be gender-blind but instead conceals an assumed maleness, made distinct by the historic exclusion of women. In this reading, the private is figured as a delimiter of the public sphere, and feminist accounts problematise this by exposure of the hierarchical positioning both of what is featured of concern in the public over those considered “private” matters and excluded from public debate, as well as a privileging of rationality as the preferred discourse of democratic participation (Fraser, 1992). Furthermore, as is addressed in this thesis, these accounts also inform analyses of how women are visible in the public sphere and how they are mediated.

Yet the feminist understanding of the public sphere is not without its own tensions: as Fraser (1992 p. 110) notes, a reading which establishes the private sphere as the delimiter of the public conflates it to three disparate things: the state, the economy/paid employment, and that of public discourse. This can, in turn, create theoretical and practical issues in terms of which areas of the public to target in regard to women’s subordination. Fraser’s reading of the Habermasian public sphere acts as a way of circumventing some of this ambiguity by keeping in view the “distinctions among state apparatuses, economic markets, and democratic associations, distinctions

republican-virtue (classical) approach, which sets out the dichotomy as that between political community and citizenship, distinct from both the market and administrative state; III. The approach from the work of Aries which sets out the division between sociability and domesticity; IV. The distinction between the family and the larger political and economic order (1997 p. 7).

which are essential to democratic theory” (ibid p. 111). Though all of these areas are of feminist concern, the Habermasian stratification of the public sphere also allows for a targeted exploration into the terms of women’s democratic and mediated exclusion.

This thesis will make use of these theories together in a productive and pragmatic way. The usefulness of the theoretical readings of feminist literature is undeniable, particularly when interrogating the arbitrary gendered assumptions about the public sphere in its wider conception, though as Fraser (ibid) outlines, this requires clarification in regard to the kind of public the private is to be read against. On the other hand, Habermas’ model of the public sphere can also be used as a theoretical point of departure for analysing the media’s performance in the normative requirements of deliberative democracy, though original conceptions of this as being rational and inclusive are gendered and must be adapted. For the purposes of this study, then, the private sphere will be used to refer to the domestic and familial space, with the feminist consideration of its encompassing its opposition referred to as the “public realm”, while the Habermasian model will be referred to as the “public sphere” in the sense of being a political public sphere (though this is with the caveat that other aspects of the public realm are indeed also political).

2.3 Gendered Political Representation

As has been established, the process of gendering can be enacted and embedded through institutions and structures. This has been a core focus in the research agenda of gender and politics. It is significant in regard to representative democracies, as it sends signals about who is elected to make up the “public” and how far they go in sufficiently representing the interests of different groups of society. It therefore interplays with the concept of the public sphere regarding how well it provides a space of inclusive democratic deliberation. This is also important when considering the

mediated representation of elected officials, such as female politicians, and whether they are depicted as fully included in the democratic process.

Shifts in academic inquiry attributed to feminist movements have sought to interrogate the ways the past exclusion of women from the public realm still feature in areas of public life, where the “informal norms associating women with the private sphere and men with the public continue to exert an influence” (Krook and Childs, 2010 p. 4). One such area is the evident gendered division in political institutions. Dahlerup and Leyenaar (2013 p. 8) outline a model identifying six dimensions of male dominance in politics, as listed:

1. Women’s numerical under-representation in elected assemblies
2. Politics as a workplace: Male-coded norms and practices in elected assemblies
3. Vertical sex segregation: Unequal gender distribution of positions in political hierarchies
4. Horizontal sex segregation: Limited access of women to a range of portfolios and committees
5. Discourses and framing: Gendered perceptions of politicians
6. Public policy: Policies biased in favour of men. No concern for gender equality

Women’s low numbers in parliaments across the world highlight that, as a category, they are an underrepresented group, showing this to be a globally systemic issue. The Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) sets the percentage of female MPs worldwide as only 23.6%,¹⁶ less than 1% rise from the previous year (IPU, 2017a). Though some attach to this a positive slant in regard to its trajectory, in areas of feminist political science (and areas of wider social discussion) this slow tread onwards is seen as overwhelmingly unsatisfactory.

¹⁶ As of September 01, 2017

The World Economic Forum's *Global Gender Gap Report 2015* finds that of its four fundamental social categories or "subindexes",¹⁷ *Political Empowerment*¹⁸ is the category which had the largest gaps of inequality between men and women (World Economic Forum, 2016). Situating the role of UK within a global context, female politicians do not feature as one would expect in a relatively liberal and progressive Western country, ranking fairly poorly at 20th place in the overall rankings for gender equality out of 144 countries, and even lower when ranked in terms of political empowerment, in 24th place (ibid). The world-ranking of the UK is even more alarming in terms of female Parliamentary representation. According to the IPU, when looking at representation of lower of single Houses of Parliament, it ranks in 40th place out of 193 countries, at only 32.0% (IPU, 2017b).¹⁹²⁰

Normative attitudes around *how* groups should be represented in democratic structures often result in complicated arguments concerning descriptive and substantive representation. Descriptive representation (also described as proportionate representation) concerns groups being represented in proportion to their actual numbers in the population (as "standing for" others). This is often proposed in relation to women's representation (and those of other marginalised groups) as symbolic on the grounds of "equality, justice and fairness, and on the basis of the legitimacy of the democratic system" (Mackay, 2004 p. 100). On the other hand, substantive representation concerns whether individuals can "act for" the interests of groups (ibid). The complexity of these arguments can again be seen to stem from essentialist understandings of whether women can indeed automatically "act" for other women based on their descriptive characteristics or whether the interests of women can be met by others acting on their behalf, as well as whether women bring a particular feminised knowledge or skill to elected institutions (Mackay, 2001). This is particularly

¹⁷ These consist of: *Economic Participation and Opportunity, Educational Attainment, Health and Survival and Political Empowerment.*

¹⁸ The report states that Political Empowerment is worked out by figures of men and women in the highest level of political decision-making, minister level positions and parliamentary positions.

¹⁹ As of September 01, 2017

²⁰ At the 2016 election, the percentage of women elected as MSP was 34.8% (Scottish Parliament, 2016) which would make it 28th in the IPU league table.

pertinent in the context of intersectional debates around how far differences in gender, race, class, disability and sexual orientation (among other factors) can also be represented descriptively in political institutions (ibid).

Phillips (1995 p. 1) positions that some form of “politics of presence” is needed to inform the “politics of ideas”. Here the politics of presence is described as “the proportionate representation according to characteristics such as gender or ethnicity” while the politics of ideas is “where difference has been regarded primarily as a matter of ideas, and representation has been considered more or less adequate depending on how well it reflects voters’ opinions, preferences, or beliefs” (ibid). More recently, research in this area has taken a more “agnostic” stance, moving from asking “do women represent women” to “who claims to act for women”, looking to a holistic approach to who can substantively represent women (Celis *et al.*, 2008 p. 107). Nonetheless, as Celis and Childs (2008 p. 422 *italics in original*) argue, most feminist researchers “agree that women's political presence is a necessary end, in and of itself ... women's unequal presence *should* trouble democrats and it *must* trouble feminists”. Therefore, there is a degree of consensus in this area that descriptive representation will impact in some way on women’s substantive representation, whereas “a substantial presence is needed in order that a diversity of women’s perspectives can be inserted into political debate” (Mackay, 2004 p. 101).

In addressing the further points of Dahlerup and Leyenaar’s (2013) model, as mentioned above, issues in regard to male dominance in political institutions are also located in broader societal, political and discursive contexts. Randall (1987) suggests that women are often associated with areas of “soft” politics or portfolios, such as childcare, health and social issues. As Walsh (2001 p. 6 *italics in original*) argues, this can again be related back to their association with the domestic, private sphere which, in turn, also contributes to a “gendered split *within* the public sphere” and can be seen to relate to the vertical and horizontal sex segregation as outlined by Dahlerup and

Leyenaar (2013).²¹ This contributes to women's structural marginalisation in that it establishes what has been commonly referred to as a "glass ceiling" – a metaphorical description of the barriers which women face in reaching leadership positions in executive contexts (Jalalzai, 2008; Murray, 2010).

Women's political recruitment is further gendered through the recruitment process with Norris and Lovenduski (1995) suggesting systemic, party political and individual factors which can all act to constrain women. Their model splits these obstacles into issues related to the supply of women (issues with the amount of women who are willing to participate in politics) and demand of women (issues in their selection). These barriers - such economic pressures, education, (supply) or party ideology, "selectorates" (demand) - may all be subject to entrenched gendered or sexist attitudes that also hinder women's equality of participation. Mackay (2001) argues that the associated costs of care, by way of domestic and family duties, also impinge on women's recruitment as the burden of care predominantly rests on women, while the political system obscures the central importance of caregiving itself. These structures all highlight the way patriarchal power may discursively operate throughout these regimes in upholding the dominant social order.

The introduction of equality strategies, such as quotas, has been one possible route to remedy this situation (Lovenduski, 2005). These have become more mainstream in UK politics in recent years, with the introduction of informal and formal measures through prolific movements such as the Scottish cross-party 50/50 campaign. However these remain controversial and divisive in the realm of political science (and wider society), with some arguing their inclusion as undemocratic by undermining election by merit. This thesis however, takes a similar stance as Kenny (2015) in that the "merit" argument is based on a "level-playing field", whereas the evidence presented in this

²¹ This also may contribute to a gender bias in public policies in regards to Dahlerup and Leyenaar's sixth area of male dominance, which assumes that women will substantively represent other women in this instance.

thesis – and more broadly – suggests that women are disadvantaged on this “playing field” through structural and systemic gendered biases.

What is hoped to become clear at this point is that all these structures are dialogically linked and create barriers to women’s representation. Dahlerup and Leyenaar’s (2013) fifth point focuses on “discourses and framing: gendered perceptions of politicians” whereby the authors describe male dominance to be constructed through “general discourses on gender and how the presence of women in politics is framed by party leaders, by the general public, by potential women MPs, by feminist organizations, and by the voters” (ibid p. 8). This also suggests the hegemonic way these discursive regimes may operate and influence the other factors discussed above. Childs (2008 p. 141) cites media representations of female politicians as a form of their symbolic representation, where, in a normative sense “the presence of the formally excluded demonstrates that they are equals of those who were previously included” (ibid p. 99).

A number of studies have attempted to map the impact of the mediated presence of women in politics. Atkeson (2003) suggests that in certain circumstances women have a greater likelihood of political engagement when there is a higher visibility of competitive female candidates, while other studies have also observed positive role model effects of female politicians (Campbell and Wolbrecht, 2006; Bühlmann and Schädel, 2012). Female leaders are also seen to send strong messages of empowerment and positive reactions within, and across, nations (Cantrell and Bachmann, 2008; Karp and Banducci, 2008). Even the election of a divisive figure, Margaret Thatcher, was seen to send positive messages to women with her election (Pilcher, 1995).²² Though a direct correlation between the election of women, voting patterns and the standing of women, is difficult to prove, it is important to note the positive impact the mediated presence of women in politics creates. This is particularly important regarding attitudes of fairness, equality and empowerment.

²² Though many felt she let down women after unfulfilling certain expectations, a theme discussed in Chapter 3.

Recent comments by leading female politicians have made reference to the positive impact their visibility may have on young women. When Nicola Sturgeon tweeted about meeting newly elected Prime Minister Theresa May, she said that she “[hoped] girls everywhere look at this photograph and believe nothing should be off limits for them,” (@NicolaSturgeon, 2016) while Hillary Clinton’s 2016 presidential campaign continually emphasised the impact her election would have on younger women.²³ This, in turn, highlights the importance of vigilance in studying the mediated representation of women in politics. As Adcock (2010 p. 136) suggests, “improving women’s presence in media(ted) political discourse might be one means of strengthening women’s symbolic and substantive representation”. Yet, as this next section will show, the representations of women more generally are often established at odds with the masculine qualities associated with the public sphere.

2.4 Gendered Media(ted) Representation

As has become evident throughout this chapter thus far, various gendered assumptions have been attached to women through past material situations, such as the division of labour and care, and conceptual and social attitudes, which in turn have been, and remain, interlinked. This has contributed to what Macdonald (1995) calls the “myths” of femininity which are (re)produced through a “conceptual and ideological framework”, establishing the associated qualities with the public sphere as inherently ‘masculine’ while the private sphere is intrinsically linked to the ‘feminine’” (ibid p. 47). In the latter half of the twentieth century, there has been focus on how this division has been mediated in discourse in various formal and informal contexts, with the media’s key mediatory role an important site of inquiry.

²³ This contrasts to the messages given by Donald Trump that it was acceptable to grab women “by the pussy” (Jacobs, Siddiqui and Bixby, 2016).

A seminal work by Tuchman (1978) shows that women suffer a form of “symbolic annihilation” through their underrepresentation and trivialised representation, which is indicative of women’s subordination and lack of societal power. Large-scale studies show this is still a considerable problem. In 1995, a study called the Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) exposed an overall structural marginalisation of women in the media through their representation as journalists, news sources and subjects, with little variation across the 71 nations analysed (MediaWatch, 1995). Every five years since its formation, the group has continued to test and build on the same parameters, broadening its scope to become a decades-spanning longitudinal study now taking place across 114 countries. The most recent iteration in 2015 shows that women’s underrepresentation remains a widespread issue, with women making up only 24% of the news media, an increase of just 7% since the first study (Macharia, 2015). Researchers who have conducted analyses based on these results argue that the patterns mapped across the 20 years of the study’s existence still confirm women’s exclusion as something “structural and systemic which transcends nation and indeed time” (Ross *et al.*, 2016 p. 2). This is also indicative of underlying power structures as it represents a far more disproportionately male-dominated society than actually exists (Gill, 2007 p. 115).

Tuchman (1978) posited, at the time, that women’s symbolic annihilation was affected by the mass media’s tendency to focus on stereotypes of women as wives, mothers, and as anchored in the home. The construction of women as the paradigmatic caregiving figure can be seen to be linked to the essentialised belief in women’s biological disposition as natural “carers” (Macdonald, 1995 p. 132). Lovenduski (2005) suggests that an ideological shift during Victorian times contributed to the stereotypical associations of women as weaker, vulnerable, sexually and morally pure, and domestically-orientated. The emerging depiction of women as the “fairer sex” perpetuated the dichotomy; whereas respectable women who embodied these characteristics were seen to possess a passive, reluctant sexuality, while women who were seen as lustful, tempting and sexual were constructed as deviant and transgressive, rooted in Eve’s original sin. This can also be seen in discourses related to

the “Madonna/Whore” binary, which again range from women being seen as passive and pure to transgressive and overtly sexualised (Dunk-West and Brook, 2015).

As Macdonald (1995) suggests, these dichotomies are evidenced in a number of enduring myths or stereotypes which construct women as configurations of mothers, pure “dutiful daughters” or as sexual objects conforming to specific body ideals. In contemporary mediated representations, the resilience of these narratives has affected the development of media discourse about women, but also how women consume media – contributing to the demarcation of what is considered “women’s interests” sections in magazines or the news media (van Zoonen, 1998). Gill (2007) discusses certain media which are heavily gendered, such as talk shows, advertising, magazines, and contemporary screen and paperback romances. Yet enduring narratives are far more wide-reaching, embedded in many further mediated representations. As will be discussed in greater detail in later chapters, these reductive constructions are often at odds with the heterogeneous nature of women’s experience and can influence and shape their mediated representations in complex and differing ways. As this thesis will argue, these are also established at odds to masculine associations with the public sphere.

Feminist inquiry into the constructed images of women can also be seen to relate to the workings of patriarchal power and subordination. Lovenduski (2005) suggests that the passive role assigned to women formed part of an apparatus of control which functioned by policing and regulating women’s bodies, while Macdonald (1995 p. 48) argues that the public/private division was, and is, “profoundly ideological” in that women become an object of patriarchal concern, with the objectification and commodification of their bodies deployed as way to uphold the dominant social order. Dunk-West and Brook (2015) argue this can be traced to the policing of women’s sexuality and reproduction through reductive stereotyping in religious stricture, with ideals of “purity” channelled in the “lawful” ideological formations of marriage and womanhood. How women are viewed through the “dynamics of spectatorship”

(Richardson and Wearing, 2014 p. 33) also work alongside these stereotypical constructs.

Women's bodies have therefore been considered one of the main signifiers of their construction as different to the masculine norm. Woodward (2015 p. 100) argues that the bodies of women have therefore been one of the key reasons for the exclusion for women from public life, with the "visibility of gender [making] it the focus of much of the differentiation that has been based on bodies and their attributes". This in turn, helps explain the prolific objectification and commodification of women in the media. Mulvey (1975) writes of the privileging of the perspective of a heteronormative male viewer in regard to the "male gaze" which is used to construct mediated representations of women. Though Mulvey's initial stance is now considered somewhat "restrictive and outdated", both in terms of pleasures of female audiences, and work from lesbian filmmakers and visual artists (Holliday, 2015), its usefulness as a concept has been and is still a hugely influential position to help explain the power dynamics involved in current representations.

In contemporary discursive formations, Gill (2007) contends that power has been made hegemonic as it is enacted over women through acts of self-surveillance, building on the Foucauldian analysis of power which moves through surveillance and discipline (Foucault, 1991). Patriarchal hegemony is upheld by this policing of women's bodies in media content such as celebrity magazines and makeover TV programmes. In this way women are transformed from objects of the male gaze to subjects of an internalised male gaze (Bartky, 1990; Gill, 2007). Evidence of this can be seen in the evolution of the "Page Three" girl in the *Sun* newspaper which for a number of decades featured a topless model on its third page beginning from the 1970s. At the time that the Page Three girl was established, the newspaper's explanation was that the images were the "defiant liberation" of women in ownership of their sexuality, running in parallel to the developing second wave era of sexual liberation (Holland, 1998 p. 23). Yet as Holland (ibid) contends, this was symbolic of the divide between male and female readership,

where women's sexual role was emphasised and her participatory role negated through the emphasis on her embodied gender difference.

As established in this thesis, however, as gender relations are constructed, so too are they sites of struggle and contestation. Thus in recent decades a number of movements have been actively working to challenge dominant, stereotypical discourses which have continued to represent women. The *No More Page 3* campaign was established to petition the then-editor of the *Sun*, David Dinsmore, to remove the Page Three girl from the publication. Gaining traction since its inception in 2012, it gained more than 200,000 signatures ultimately leading to the abolishment of the feature.²⁴ Additionally, the *EverydaySexism* project (Bates, 2015) – which began as an online, grassroots campaign where women share their experiences of everyday sexism on online platforms such as websites and Twitter – shows individuals challenging problematic treatment of women can become prominent and occupy space in the UK news agenda (Burgess, 2012; Duffy, 2013). Movements such as these demonstrate the potential efficacy of counter-narratives and agency of women in enacting change through discursive contestation and negotiation. Furthermore, as these examples show, online communication has also been a space for mobilisation and activism, as discussed in the next section. Yet, as the exercise of hegemonic power is constantly shifting, power adapts and moves in different ways with the female body still remaining an “active battlefield” (Macdonald, 1995 p. 221) where gendered discourses are constantly renegotiated.

2.5 Women Online

As discussed in the previous chapter, the internet's potential as a participatory sphere has been posited as allowing for a further democratisation of the public sphere for

²⁴ Though this is still arguably a small victory in this case, as glamour models are still featured on page three, though this time in bikinis, while the *Sun* continues to run a Page Three website.

marginalised groups such as women (Chambers, 2004). Yet it has also been seen as problematic; a site for antagonism and abuse. Studies which examine gender in the context of online media have also shown varying trends. For example, in Yun *et al.*'s (2012 p. 943) multi-national study, women in online news magazines were still marginalised compared to men, yet they were described more positively and, when covered, they were received "as importantly as the stories on men". Armstrong and Gao (2011 p. 502), however, find that men are still mentioned more often than women in news organisations' tweets, and appeared more frequently in new stories that were tweeted, leading them to conclude that "the same stark gender disparities favouring men found in newspapers and television news stories are being simply transferred to Twitter".

Social media, including the likes of Twitter, Facebook and online discussion have at times opened up the communicative channels for female politicians, such as Ségolène Royal, who used social media as a key tool during their campaign strategy to mobilise grassroots participation (Campus, 2013 pp. 123-5). Further to this, the multiplicity of voices in this participatory sphere have arguably given rise to new and shifting formations on non-institutionally-aligned political publics (Higgins and Smith, 2014 p. 77). As addressed at the end of the last section, online spaces can also offer ways to contest and renegotiate discourses of gender which perpetuate women's subordination, such as *Everyday Sexism*, which has encouraged a greater scrutiny on the range of banal to extreme instances of sexualised and gendered abuse both off and online (Bates, 2015). This can also be seen in Twitter backlash against sexist newspaper coverage of female politicians, such as the *Daily Mail*'s "retro sexist" rendering of Esther McVey as on the "Downing Street catwalk" (Walsh, 2015).

Prominent on the research agenda in this area is at the other pole, which looks to the specific problem of gendered online abuse. An emerging vocabulary has been developed to describe some of these behaviours, such as "flaming", meaning behavior which is "hostile, aggressive, uninhibited, intimidating, insulting, and offensive"

(Turnage, 2007 p. 45) as well as “trolling”, “cyber-harassment”, “cyber-stalking”, “cyber-bullying”, “cyber-hate” and “cyber-violence” (Jane, 2016). Accounts of why this occurs usually involve a form of disinhibition, which can stem from anonymity, dissociation and lack of authority, amongst others (Suler, 2004).²⁵ “Flaming” behaviour, including aggression and bad language, arguably arises out of the lack of social cues found online, which would otherwise be seen from face-to-face interaction (Putnam, 2000 p. 175).

Hardaker (2010) and Binns (2012) both examine the phenomenon of “trolling” – where someone is deliberately provocative to trigger conflict and disruption online – showing evidence that this takes on a gendered dimension when relating to women. Higgins and Smith (2014) suggest that abuse is often characterised by imagery of sexualisation and redomestication when women are specifically targeted, while Jane (2014b, 2014a, 2016) uses the term “e-bile” to refer to the broad field of inquiry related to the hyperbolic, vitriolic and sexualised threats of violence and rape directed at women online. Megarry’s (2014 p. 53) study into online abuse aimed at women looks at the #mencallmethings hashtag and argues that abuse often arises from a destabilising of the public-private divide, with women’s experiences depoliticised through online harassment.

Specific events of this nature in the UK have been given wider media attention, depicting them as problematic elements of public discourse. This can be seen to manifest on occasions where women are seen to be vocal in public or indeed be perceived to push a feminist agenda, such as the reactions to campaigner Caroline Criado-Perez’s campaign for Jane Austen to appear on the Bank of England £10 note (BBC News, 2013a) and historian Mary Beard’s appearance on Question Time (Dowell, 2013). This has also focused on women in the political public sphere in particular

²⁵ Suler (2004 p. 321) actually lists six factors which create an “online disinhibition effect: dissociative anonymity, invisibility, asynchronicity, solipsistic introjection, dissociative imagination, and minimization of authority” with the personality of an individual influencing the extent of the force these will exert.

(Moore, 2017). Recent events include online abuse of BBC political editor, journalist Laura Kuenssberg (Asthana, 2017) as well as the prolific racial and gendered online abuse directed at Labour shadow home secretary Diane Abbott, who said she felt she was doubly targeted because she was a woman and black (Asthana and Stewart, 2017; Elgot, 2017).²⁶

As will also be discussed, abuse was also seen in the Scottish context (Pedersen *et al.*, 2014) which has at times also taken on a homophobic dimension (Davidson, 2014). Anecdotal evidence also shows this may even have a further effect of deterring women from taking on political roles (Ryall, 2017). The insights offered by these cases therefore highlight the ambivalent relationship of online interaction, which at once provides a greater potential for participation, but also shows an element of backlash to women through hostile and negative expression in the public domain. This again shows the ongoing need for continued analysis into the different configurations which arise in different contexts to show how discourse of an abusive nature can be challenged.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter provides an introduction to the ways that the concept of gender as socially constituted can inform how constructions of masculinity and femininity are seen as culturally and historically variable. Postmodern accounts have also informed how gender can be seen as “performance” which is in constant (re)negotiation and contestation. Discussion in this chapter then focused on how postmodern accounts destabilise the essentialised notion of woman and biological sex. This chapter argued that while this was convincing, it is necessary to retain the category of biological woman for the purposes of political activism and addressing the status of women’s

²⁶ Research by Amnesty International found she had been sent 45% of all abusive tweets sent to female MPs in the six weeks before election day (Elgot, 2017).

subordination. This however, is taken with the view that essentialised notions of what constitutes “womanhood” can be problematised.

On this basis, the chapter then moved to analyse how the framework of the “separate spheres” ideology (Macdonald, 1995; Lovenduski, 2005) and the gendering of the public and private realms has contributed to woman’s historical exclusion – both politically and discursively – and has had widespread ramifications in current social and political structures. This chapter also argued that though there are differences in the normative considerations around how women may be descriptively or substantively represented, the media as a form of symbolic representation has a dialogical relationship with other forms of representation. Also discussed were the ways women’s mediated representation has been influenced by the public/private framework, before lastly discussing how online communication has been ambiguous in regard to women’s participation and representation. To progress this theoretical framework to the specific context of this thesis, the following chapter now provides a focused discussion around the nexus of gender, media and politics.

3. Gender, Media, Politics

The preceding chapter has shown how the conceptualisation of the public and private realms can be used as a tool to unpick underlying ideological assumptions about men and women's roles in politics. According to Fraser (1995 p. 288), the public sphere (in terms of the Habermasian public sphere) should be reassessed through a more "postmodern, postliberal conception", whereby it should now be regarded as a place where "social meanings are generated, circulated, contested and reconstructed" (ibid p. 287). By understanding the media as the arena by which social reality is constructed, then, the mediation of figures can be seen as the site where identity formation takes place. This, in turn, can give certain cues about the nature and attitudes to facets of identity, such as gender.

As discussed in the previous section, women's association with the private sphere has contributed to an ongoing gendering, associating them with conventional expectations and (re)producing dominant patriarchal structures. As Garcia-Blanco and Wahl-Jorgensen (2012 p. 424) suggest, "the media play a key role in this hegemonic struggle, contributing to disseminating, constructing, normalising and legitimising accepted definitions of desirable gender attributes, roles and behaviours". This chapter details the ways in which female politicians have been mediated in the public sphere, identifying shared and divergent discourses across national contexts. It will first look to how women have been marginalised in the media, before moving on to discuss how they may be trivialised through discourse. Following this is an analysis of the more embedded ways gender may operate in mediation, before moving to looking at how some of the recent shifts in political communication may have influenced current dynamics. Lastly, there is a brief outline of the intersection of gender, media and politics in the Scottish context.

3.1 Marginalised

As discussed, women have faced a structural marginalisation – a “symbolic annihilation” (Tuchman, 1978) – in the mass media. This trend has also been traced in the mediated representations of female politicians. Figures over the 20 years of the GMMP show the biggest gender gap to be around women’s inclusion in political news reporting, fluctuating throughout the periods of study and even decreasing from 19% in 2010 to 16% in 2016. This data also reveals that the media coverage of women in political roles has been consistently lower than the proportion of women representatives globally. And while the recent GMMP reports have acknowledged that there have been some improvements over time for women in the news media overall, this is not mirrored in the category of Politics and Gender. This is also reflected in specific analysis of the UK’s performance in the context of the wider GMMP, with research commenting that the news media were “lagging behind” the pace of change of women occupying positions in governing structures (Ross *et al.*, 2016 pp. 5-6).

Studies of specific political contexts have presented a mixed picture concerning the visibility of female politicians, showing that often these can vary. For example, a study by Norris (1997b), looking at female leaders worldwide, showed women leaders were less visible in international news coverage than men. Kahn (1994 p. 171) also found that female political candidates received less coverage than their male in senate and gubernatorial contests in the US. However, in a decade-later replication of Kahn’s 1994 study mentioned above, Jalalzai (2006) finds dissimilar results to the original, with no statistically significant differences in the amount of coverage received by male and female candidates, which points towards more even-handed treatment.

Adding to the complexity of this picture, further studies have pointed to a greater focus on female politicians compared to their male counterparts in certain instances. Gidengil

and Everitt (2003), for example, finds that women received more coverage than men when they displayed atypical behaviour which disrupted conventional gender norms (when they were seen to be more aggressive) but were marginalised when this novelty wore off or they appeared more low-key. These studies point to the more complex arrangements which appear to exist in current configurations. Key figures may, at times, dominate but will do so while other women remain marginalised and neglected. This is evidenced in Luennenborg *et al.* (2011) who find that, in the German context, Angela Merkel generated large amounts of news coverage, while other female politicians were consistently marginalised. Similarly, in a study of the media coverage of Sarah Palin during the 2008 US presidential election, Palin was found to receive more coverage than her vice-presidential rival Joe Biden (Wasburn and Wasburn, 2011). The results of these studies show that visibility of certain figures may operate differently when it comes into contact with certain news values (Galtung and Ruge, 1965; Harcup and O'Neill, 2001). In regard to Palin, Wasburn and Wasburn (2011) outline that Palin's unexpectedness and a public familiarity with Biden may have affected the results. However that is not to say gender may not also play a marked role in this. As will be discussed more fully in the following sections, women may hold a certain kind of "novelty factor" in political positions, particular in leadership roles like Merkel, which can in turn impact upon their visibility.

Studies also show differences between women with varying public roles, with UK studies showing that figures like male politicians' wives may generate more media coverage than female politicians (Campbell and Childs, 2010; Harmer, 2012; 2015; 2016; Ross *et al.*, 2013). This may also be related to how these figures are constructed as embodying certain types of femininities. Moreover, individual cases where women appear to dominate coverage may be a form of false summit, giving an impression of parity of representation (both institutional and mediated), as was the case of Merkel (Luennenborg *et al.*, 2011). Coverage may be myopic, and only focused on those who meet various news values, such as those that suit newspapers ideological agenda but is set against a structural marginalisation overall. This was shown to be the case during the 1997 British General Election campaign, with titles sympathetic to Thatcherite

values frequently referring back to Margaret Thatcher, though only marginally referencing her contemporary counterparts (Adcock, 2010).

These case studies are therefore important as they continue to build a picture of the complex way women's visibility may be affected by different contextual circumstances and has critical ramifications for ongoing analysis in this area. Some scholars have outlined that explanations for female politician's marginalisation can stem from the "reflection of reality" thesis (or what some call the "numbers argument" (Ross *et al.*, 2013), similar to wider claims outlined by Gill (2007). This suggests the underrepresentation of female politicians is the reflection of the wider issue of women's marginalisation in institutional political roles. While this may be plausible in some cases, the danger here is to assume that women's mediated representation will automatically rise proportionately with greater women's political representation. As both Ross *et al.* (2013) and Gill (2007) both suggest, this assumption is overly simplistic, with situations often far more complex and context specific. Moreover, as has been detailed in these opening chapters, these structures do not operate in isolation: women's political representation and mediated representation are inextricably linked. It is therefore also important for ongoing analysis into the way constructed gender norms operate around the representations of female politicians when they do appear in the media, within the context of their overall structural marginalisation.

3.2 Trivialised

As Lister (1997) has suggested, the qualities associated with the private sphere have been historically devalued through the conceptual division of the public and private, with women reciprocally devalued through their conceptual link to the qualities of the latter. In a thesis which provides a historical analysis of elections since women's suffrage, Harmer (2012) finds that despite legal and social improvements, women are

still encumbered by associations with the private sphere and its responsibilities. She writes:

The domestication of women in electoral coverage shows that although women have made important gains in the public spheres of politics and the work place, women appear to be unable to shake their traditional roles which saw them confined to the private domain. Women's involvement with politics seems to be constructed as informed by their personal and private experiences in a way that would probably never be the case for their male counterparts. (ibid p. 244).

Harmer's research points to the "domestication" of women in political discourse as one facet of how women are constructed to be signifiers of the private sphere. It is something, she argues, which is consistent and entrenched. Strands of research, such as Sreberny and van Zoonen (2000), have focused on the ways in which this has resulted in the trivialisation of female politicians in the context of gendered stereotypes. This consists of them being seen as women first and foremost before being taken seriously as political actors, and are established as "other" to the male political norm (Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross, 1996; Ross and Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1997; Falk, 2010; Ross *et al.*, 2013).

This can take the form of a disproportionate focus on women as mothers and as paradigmatic caring figures (Falk, 2010; Murray, 2010; Ross, 2017), as well as speculation around children and marital relationships, which is discussed in the next section. This can also lead to further focus on a female politician's sexuality or sexual orientation, or alternatively construct women in deviant sexual depictions. Those who are seen to deviate from heteronormative ideals and familial roles are seen to be transgressive, and can be subject to insinuations around their sexuality. They can also be presented in sexually dominant positions in the form of a dominatrix, as was the case for both Helen Clark and Nicola Sturgeon (Ross and Comrie, 2012; Higgins and McKay, 2016).

Often female politicians are trivialised through the media's focus on their bodies and appearance (see for example: Falk, 2010; Murray, 2010; Garcia-Blanco and Wahl-Jorgensen, 2012; Campus, 2013; Ross, 2017). This, it is argued, can be seen as a way of enacting power to keeping women in their conventional "place" (Jamieson, 1995). The gendered female body can thus be seen as a marker of difference to the masculine norm but also reflects the broader tendency of the media to objectify and commodify women's bodies, as discussed in the previous sections. Female MPs in the UK have themselves reported to feel there is a disproportionate concentration on their appearance (Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross, 1996; Ross and Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1997). This theme is later echoed by O'Neill and Savigny (2014) who find that in three UK government contexts, media outlets disproportionately focused on female politician's appearance and clothes compared to their male counterparts. As discussed in this chapter already, however, cultural and contextual differences do occur: Norris (1997b), for example, does not find notable evidence of stereotypical coverage in her study of female global leaders, but a number of different gendered frames instead (as discussed in later sections). Yet, while specific cases may deviate from general trends for a range of reasons, comparative studies, such as Ross (2002) and Garcia-Blanco and Wahl-Jorgensen (2012), nevertheless show that disproportionate references to women's appearances constitutes a broad international trend.

Related to appearance is the propensity of the media to sexualise female politicians, with the female gendered body another marker of difference from the masculine norm associated with the public sphere. In the 1997 UK General Election, a record number of female MPs were elected through the Labour Party which were depicted in a, now infamous, picture surrounding elected Prime Minister Tony Blair and dubbed "Blair's Babes". The epithet carries with it an implied trivialisation through both sexualisation and infantilisation, serving to belittle and undermine their legitimacy as political actors (Adcock, 2010). Furthermore, their grouping together also indicates a tendency of the media to see women as a homogeneous group, marked first by their gender as their

principal distinguishing attribute.²⁷ Various other points in contemporary situations show how female politicians, including Nicola Sturgeon (Schofield, 2015), Esther McVey as outlined above (Walsh, 2015) have all had coverage which has depicted them in sexualised ways.

3.3 The Double Bind

An influential framework in analyses of the barriers female politicians face is that of the “double bind” (Jamieson, 1995), which involves different facets of the private and public opposition. Also known colloquially as a “no-win” “lose-lose” (Murray, 2010) or “Catch-22”²⁸ situation, these terms describe paradoxical scenarios where different – at times diametrically opposed – behaviours produce mutually negative results. Jamieson (1995 p. 14) writes that women face a number of double binds in contemporary culture, which are “constructions derived from theology, biology, and the law, and rhetoric’s fashioning of each”. Though Jamieson orientates this as relating to “women and leadership” positions, this framework demonstrably relates to the concepts addressed in Chapter 2 regarding wider assumptions about women and men, the private and public realms and the way essentialised biological accounts are socially constructed and discursive (ibid).

Jamieson (ibid) highlights five binds, alongside a discussion of their origins, which all correspond to different assumptions as to how women *should* be. These are listed as follows:

²⁷ This is not just limited to large groups, as Meeks (2013) observes. In her study of the US 2008 presidential election, she finds that the female candidates of Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin were cast in similar frames, despite their highly divergent political beliefs and personal attributes. In this case, the media attached certain stereotypical personal and political qualities they deem characteristic of female candidates.

²⁸ This is coined by novelist Joseph Heller, whose novel of the same name features a protagonist who, in an effort to return home from his post either could pretend to be crazy, but by extension fly more missions, or else refuse to fly more missions, therefore be declared sane and then still fly them (Heller, (1995) [1961]).

- Women can exercise their wombs or their brains, but not both.
- Women who speak out are immodest and will be shamed, while women who are silent will be ignored or dismissed.
- Women are subordinate whether they claim to be different from men or the same.
- Women who are considered feminine will be judged incompetent, and women who are competent, unfeminine.
- As men age, they gain wisdom and power; as women age, they wrinkle and become superfluous (ibid p. 16)

While these may seem hyperbolic, as Jamieson (ibid p. 15) argues, it is the “vestiges” of these which are still continuing to shape contemporary culture. Furthermore, she applies this to a modern bind in relation to women in politics and public life, who are scrutinised differently to men under these conditions. Though admittedly double binds also occur for men regarding constructions of masculinity, in the context of politics men do not experience the same issues as women insofar as they are already associated with the baseline masculine norm associated with politics and the public sphere.

The “womb/brain” double bind relates to women’s constructed role as caregivers, in marriage and as mothers. In its formulation in the political public sphere, the emphasis on women being mothers can often lead to judgement about their capacity to be both a mothers and political figures at the same time. Conflicting gendered expectations of these roles leads to a tension around a woman’s ability to perform either role sufficiently; she cannot be both a good wife and mother, and good politician (Brown and Gardetto, 2000; Falk, 2010; Murray, 2010; Loke, Harp and Bachmann, 2011)

This may be even more apparent if coupled with other variables such as age, appearance and childlessness. For example, mediated representations of former New Zealand Prime Minister Helen Clark questioned her sexual orientation because of her “suspiciously unfeminine” appearance, even though she was married to a man (Trimble and Treiberg, 2010 p. 121) and former Australian Prime Minister Julia Gillard was vilified for being unmarried and childless (Stevenson, 2013; Ross, 2017). Both are said

to have felt “compelled to marry their long-term partners as they developed their political careers” (ibid p. 8). This was also the case with Finnish president Tarja Halonen who is said to have married her long-term partner immediately after her 2000 election to “clarify her status abroad”; indeed, though the Finns did not appear to object to her relationship with her second partner, her marital status was seen to be a global issue that needed clarifying (van Zoonen, 2006 p. 292). Marriage for female politicians, then, is seen as way of signalling and cementing their traditional private sphere role and thus associated paradigms of womanhood.

Mediated discourses around the children of female leader have been shown to reify ideological standards for good motherhood (Paré and Dillaway, 2013) with discourses of children and family gendered in different ways for male politicians. In this case, children may be seen as “props” (Murray, 2010), a further extension of Ross’s (2017) “wife-as-electoral-asset” which tend to emphasise normative familial structures. This is perhaps more evident in presidential contexts, such as the US, where figures including Chelsea Clinton, the Bush and Obama daughters have drawn particular focus in recent decades,²⁹ however children have also been a focus more recently in UK election campaigns (Smith, 2008). Women without children, on the other hand, are often presented as unnatural or lacking in maternal feeling. This can result in scrutiny around the reasons they do not have children, which again could include speculation about their sexuality (Trimble and Treiberg, 2010; Ross, 2017).

The deviation from traditional gender roles in the marriage structure can at points contribute to an emasculation of male partners, as was the case of Julia Gillard, (Stevenson, 2013). Mediated representations along this vein can be seen in discussion

²⁹ This may also include the children of prominent political figures: Sarah Palin’s daughter Bristol, for instance, later became a contestant on US reality show *Dancing with the Stars*. However this may be also exacerbated by particular circumstances: her media prominence is related in part to her pregnancy at age 17 when her mother – already becoming an prominent figure in US and global media – was Senator John McCain’s vice-presidential running mate, with Bristol Palin later becoming the “‘poster child’ for teen pregnancy prevention” and abstinence-only sex education (Weiser & Miller, 2010).

which focus on “who wears the trousers” in the relationship (Jamieson, 1995) or indeed, a reaffirming of traditional gendered relations in the private sphere, with intimate depictions which confirm cultural expectations around home and appearance, such as a voyeuristic view into Nicola Sturgeon’s bedroom with then-“boyfriend” Peter Murrell (Higgins and McKay, 2016) or Theresa May’s assertion that she and her husband split the “boy jobs” and “girl jobs” in their home (Agerholm, 2017). Though reaction to May’s “sexist” stereotyping, including from other politicians such as Nicola Sturgeon and Kezia Dugdale (Agerholm, 2017; Osborne, 2017), also shows these are also being constantly renegotiated as cultural expectations shift around women and leadership.

Invoking past instances of ducking/cucking stools and gossip’s bridles,³⁰ the “silence/shame” double bind is related to women’s voice and the bind women face when they vocalise dissent. In this formulation, a woman is labelled transgressive, aggressive, a “nag” or a “bitch” if she speaks out, and as a result suffers some form of “public shaming” (Jamieson, 1995 p. 82). The alternative however, which is silence and submission, means allowing situations to continue unchallenged and thus accepting a level of complicity. Murray (2010 p. 19) describes this in the context of politics: “if [women] remain silent, gendered coverage goes unchallenged and negative stereotypes continue to undermine women’s campaigns. But if women complain about sexism in the media, they risk being portrayed as victims and sore losers”. This is of vital importance to the overarching concern of this thesis in regard to dismantling gendered binaries, showing difficulties women may face when challenging dominant gender norms.

The sameness/difference or “equality/difference” double bind echoes enduring feminist concerns as to whether women should be considered the same or differently

³⁰ These were traditional punishments from the middle ages where women were physically silenced for speaking out of turn, they were put in specially crafted chairs and submerged under water (ducking/cucking stools) or else fastened with masks which affected their ability to speak (gossip’s bridles).

to men. Jamieson argues that these questions stem from feminist movements, acknowledging that tensions are inherent in each position: for men and women to be treated the same obfuscates issues of subordination and dominance in structures where women or men may already be treated disproportionately (such as politics) as well as ignoring the lived experience of physical difference; while different treatment affords the possibility of subordination, which is already displayed in many social structures (as demonstrated in Chapter 2). Again, this relates to arguments around universalised behaviours: to be “different” assumes there are essential categories of women and men; to be the same absolves differences from lived experiences. Jamieson establishes that in either case, the accordant result is women’s subordination.

The double bind relating to “femininity/competency” is particularly significant in regard to the political public sphere, in that political competency, as has been illustrated, is most readily associated with masculine qualities. In this bind, women are required to both conform to the feminine expectations of their gender role whilst simultaneously adopting more masculine qualities associated with political leadership (or de-emphasising their feminine ones), which are established as dichotomous and incompatible (Jamieson, 1995; Murray, 2010; Campus, 2013). This may be construed in different ways in terms of women being seen as caring and emotional, but lacking abilities to be assertive and rational. This again, has an obvious link to the qualities required for full participation in the political public sphere in the Habermasian sense.

Lastly, the “ageing/invisibility” double bind may also affect women’s mediated representations. Whereas younger women may be seen as lacking in competency compared to their male peers, older women may be seen as aberrations (particularly if they are childless). There are notable exceptions, such as Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf and Margaret Thatcher, but these often play on different cultural expectations. Johnson-Sirleaf has been depicted in a more grandmaternal role (Thomas and Adams, 2010), while Thatcher was often depicted as a nanny or schoolmistress (Webster, 1990). Thatcher’s representation was also seen to veer into more negative representations of

her as a “witch” (O’Carroll, 2013; Walsh, 2015),³¹ the archetypal form of an aberrant older woman. The depiction of aging women as frail, tired or superfluous (Ross and Comrie, 2012) is also often at odds of the societal norm of seeing older men as learned and distinguished. When Hillary Clinton contracted pneumonia during her 2016 presidential campaign, there was speculation about her fitness for the job, establishing her age as a vulnerability, as opposed to the “self-professed ‘high testosterone’ levels” of Trump that celebrated his male potency, revealing “gendered attitudes to health and body” (Thompson and Yates, 2016 p. 55) which can also be linked to age.

As mentioned in the previous section, there can be a sexualised element to this double bind, with aging women, particularly those without children, being constructed as aberrations in contrast to sexualised, younger women, who may face further double binds around motherhood and relationships. Murray (2010 p. 17) writes that for female politicians, younger candidates are assumed to be “inexperienced, unviable, and are expected to be at home raising children” or again those without children have their sexual orientation questioned. Older candidates face news stereotypes of being “unattractive, menopausal weak and past their prime” (ibid pp. 17-18), and are ostracised for not fulfilling the sexualised function of their younger counterparts, as well as no longer fulfilling their obligations in bearing children. This also relates to the aging/invisibility double bind where older women are reluctant to reveal their age, thus erasing them from the political narrative (Jamieson, 1995; Murray, 2010).

What should be evident in these cases is that these double binds do not exist in and of themselves, but are dialogical; “their relationship is prismatic – one magnifies the other” (Jamieson, 1995 p. 17). The ways in which these binds may interact, overlap and intersect is discussed more fully in Chapter 7, but shows the difficulty in contesting these embedded discourses which are so intertwined. As the next section shows,

³¹ Indeed, propelled by a Facebook campaign on the event of Thatcher’s death, the song ‘Ding Dong the Witch is Dead’ from *The Wizard of Oz* reached number two in the UK music charts (BBC News, 2013b).

different kinds of gendered patterns may also be found in news discourse around female politicians which are insidious from their subtle and embedded nature.

3.4 Gendered Mediation

Childs (2008) writes that the study of the nexus of gender, politics and media can be broadly split into three areas. This first centres on the levels of visibility women receive in regard to proportion of media coverage compared to their male peers, which has been the focus of discussion in the first section of this chapter. The second area focuses on stereotypical representation, whereas conventional gender stereotypes are drawn on in the depiction of women politicians, such as a focus on their physical appearance, their familial roles or assumptions of women relating to the private sphere. These can be seen as the shorthand conclusions made about characteristics and qualities assigned to groups of men and women (Prentice and Carranza, 2002). Through this, these stereotypes may become broadly recognisable as they have been normalised and embedded in discourse over time (Fairclough, 1992). This has been addressed in the prior sections regarding the trivialisation of female politicians, as well as how this may contribute to a number of double binds in their representation.

Norris (1997a p. 8) argues that “sex stereotypes” (or rather now gender stereotypes³²) can be located under the broader category of “gender framing”, which corresponds to the third area which Childs (2008) discusses. This involves more subtle gendering which may not be stereotypical, but rather takes on multifarious forms to mark female politicians as different to their male counterparts (ibid p. 142), as is discussed in this section. In Chapter 1, representation was shown to be dynamic, constituted through a process of “mediation”, whereby meaning is (re)negotiated between texts and discourses (Silverstone, 1999 p. 13). Gidengil and Everitt (2003) further employ the

³² Norris (1997a) uses the term “sex stereotype” or “sex-role stereotype”, though makes the shift to “gender stereotype” in her foreword to Murray (2010).

term “gendered mediation” to describe the process of mediation whereby different discourses are inscribed on those of different genders. Through examination of forms of gendered mediation, there may emerge both gendered stereotypes and wider frames that expose underlying attitudes and power structures around gender. These, in turn, contribute to a series of complex discursive regimes around women in political roles that mark out their difference.

To Gidengil and Everitt (2003 p. 560), gendered mediation is problematic in that it represents a more “insidious” media bias which has become embedded in the news framing process and the “conventional language of political news”. In instances of this process, gendered discourses may not initially appear overt or negative: for example women may be mediated as bringing different attributes to the political process, which may be positively received. Yet, as Gidengil and Everitt (*ibid*) argue, this still functions as a way of perpetuating women’s difference in the public sphere, reinforcing their outsider status or indeed subordination. As Childs (2008 xxvii *italics in original*) suggests, such gendered representations “point to distinction between the *male-politician-norm* and the *female-politician-pretender* and a contrast between ‘good women’ and the ‘good representative’”.

Falk (2010) and Murray (2010) both find that one area where there is evidence of gendered mediation is differing naming practices in regard to female and male politicians. As will be discussed in Chapter 6, traditional formal naming regimes are gendered in that they can indicate marital status for a woman, as does a woman taking her husband’s surname. Additionally, the use of names for female politicians may be considered a form of gendered mediation through the patterns by which they used in the media. For example, research has shown a greater use of a female politician’s first or given name compared to her male opponents, which hints at an implied informality, a “familiarity and warmth rather than authority and gravitas”, or the use of their full name implying an unfamiliarity and attachment of “newness” (*ibid* p. 13). This contrasts

to the propensity to use of the surname only for male candidates, which implies a different, more respectful and professional kind of familiarity (ibid).

In her study of women leaders worldwide, Norris (1997a p. 155) outlines three main gendered news frames which are observed, and can be considered a form of gendered mediation. Each of these framing devices act as a “peg” which is used to structure stories of women leaders. These are described as “women leadership breakthroughs” or “first women” news stories, which emphasis women as winning against the odds (ibid p. 161); women leaders as “outsiders” (ibid p. 162), which emphasizes their lack of conventional qualifications and prior political experience; and lastly women leaders as “agents of change” (ibid p. 163), where women were seen to “clean-up” corrupted politics. While the frame of women being an “outsider” may be considered negative through the emphasis on their inexperience, the remaining two frames were seen to be positioned predominantly in a positive light.

This is echoed in other studies, such as Freidenvall and Sawer (2013) and Campus (2013), who find that these frames may at times bring positive exposure to female politicians. This may also lead to an increased visibility due to a perceived “novelty” factor, which can be interpreted as a news value of “unexpectedness” or “surprise” (Galtung and Ruge, 1965; Harcup and O’Neill 2001; Harcup and O’Neill, 2016).³³ This is something which has been distinguished in various other studies, where the “First Woman” frame attaches to the female politicians an expectation of transformation and change (Falk, 2010; Pullen and Taksa, 2016). Yet as all these studies argue, this position is somewhat precarious due to the expectations which are created around female politicians. Niemi (2015) suggests that due to this perception, women who are associated with cleaning-up politics are often drafted in to head already-failing parties, and are thus implicated in any subsequent failures as a result. Researchers have extended the metaphor of the glass ceiling to convey this as a kind of “glass cliff” (Ryan

³³ Galtung and Ruge use the term “unexpectedness” while Harcup and O’Neill use “surprise” to describe stories that are out of the ordinary and may be interpreted in the same way.

and Haslam, 2005), whereby women are drafted in to leadership positions where there is greater risk of failure. The main issues arising from these discourses are that, even though they may present women in positive frames, they still reify gendered differences and women's outsider status in relation to the political public sphere as well as consolidating these frames as normative.

As has been shown, there are a number of discourses and frames which have been used to represent female politicians which can inform future analyses. It is important to keep in mind, however, that these are specific case studies operating within specific cultural and national contexts. This highlights an ongoing challenge for research on the representation of female politicians, an area which suffers from a lack of studies, though this is slowly changing. This is undoubtedly, in no small part, related to the dearth of women political actors themselves, given the relative recentness of suffrage and slow rate of change in institutional politics. Some studies included in this analysis may also be somewhat dated in situations where discourses may have since evolved. Yet, as outlined in the large-scale studies such as the GMMP, the slow-pace of change may mean the discourses may still re-emerge in contemporary situations. So while the different patterns identified in the preceding section may not be generalisable to how women are represented in all cases – and indeed, as explained throughout this thesis, we may not know what form gendered mediation may take until we see it in action – they nonetheless offer the richest sources of data and act as important gauges to measure current political representations, particularly in emergent political contexts.

3.5 Shifting Relationships

What these sections should also highlight is the precariousness of the position women hold in the realm of politics, and the tensions they must negotiate in terms of traversing expectations of the public sphere; indeed, Campus (2013 p. 5) cites the media as a “powerful weapon” which can work alongside or against female leaders. An

illustration of this can be seen in the depiction of the aforementioned “Blair’s Babes” who were originally seen as symbolic of change, but later demonised in the press as a “signifier of Labour women’s supposed incompetence” (Adcock, 2010 p. 150). Through this chapter, then, it is hoped that the examples discussed show the different ways the construction of gender may be used to (re)produce the power dynamics which perpetuate women’s subordinate status.

At this point, it is also important to be clear that women are not always passive agents in regard to their own representations. Often women take an active role in the construction of their own political persona. Regarding constructions of femininity, Smith (1988 p. 39) argues that “[a]part from avoiding the treatment of women as passive victims, it is important, I believe, to recognise women’s active and creative part in its social organization.” From a historical perspective, Pedersen (2016) suggest that the Scottish suffragettes deliberately courted media coverage which accentuated their femininity. They dressed in particularly fashionable ways to demonstrate that their emancipation would not detract from but instead help them in their feminised duties. Much like Pederson’s thesis, Freidenvall and Sawyer (2013 p. 261) argue that in the post-suffrage period, female politicians presented themselves in “maternalist” frames which accentuated their roles as mothers and housewives to further emphasise their roles as caregivers and mothers, bringing it “in line with the hegemonic perception of women politicians”.

What these illustrations show is that at times women have accentuated their difference as a strategic way to show it as politically advantageous for women to be included in the political process. Perry (2005 p. 340 *italics in original*) writes that this occurs in a similar way in the French political context:

Women's difference was clearly a useful notion in the parity debate: it could explain their exclusion (as aliens in a male-dominated political culture) and, because *different* was equated with better, be used to justify positive discrimination on the grounds of the benefits which women's inclusion would bring to politics as a whole.

As Perry argues, this "differentialist" approach has been beneficial in helping "get parity onto the statute in the first place" (ibid p. 337) and helping women gain entry to the public sphere, yet it has been problematic in sustaining women's continual subordination and "serve as a pretext for the discrimination it is intended to overcome" (ibid p. 350) and contributes to double bind as identified above in regard to the "equality/difference" discourses that impact upon female politicians as discussed in earlier sections (Jamieson, 1995).

Accentuating female norms for greater political advancement, therefore, can be seen as a negotiation of women's position in the public sphere, offering potential advancement of women's representation (Walsh, 2001). It is, however, arguably a dangerous route to take and reifies respective gender norms (Cameron, 1992; Walsh, 2001; Perry, 2005). As discussed, this may further emphasise women's association with "soft" politics or portfolios (Randall, 1987; Walsh, 2001) and create further gendered division within the public sphere. Additionally, a focus on personal characteristics may then accentuate women's outsider status through linking them back again to the private sphere and the associated domestic attributes contained therein (van Zoonen, 2005).

Recent shifts in the developing relationship between the media and political realm have undoubtedly had an impact on how these dynamics (and those in the preceding section) operate. The evolving demands of the media and a change in reporting conventions can be seen to contribute to the overall informalisation of social

interactions in public life (Misztal, 2000; 2005).³⁴ Research has also shown a greater “personalisation” in politics (Stanyer, 2007; Langer, 2011) which posits a growing focus on the personal lives of political actors, at the expense of parties and groups (Langer, 2011). Political actors, particularly leaders, are subsequently adapting and evolving with news values which focus on the “celebrity politician” (Street, 2003; 2004; Wheeler, 2013; Cardo, 2014) or what Langer describes as the “politicisation of the private persona” (Langer, 2011 p. 9).

The merging of the public and private domains also represent a shift towards both a feminisation of the media (Carter, Branston and Allan, 1998; Chambers, 2004) and a feminisation of politics (Lovenduski, 2005) which may also indicate a cultural shift with further associations of political authenticity with emotionality and sincerity. However, van Zoonen (2006 p. 299) suggests that a convergence of personal and political life into a hybrid political persona tends to favour men more than women because of the “inbuilt and extreme polarization of femininity and politics”. Smith (2008) writes that these developments may work in favour of men who find it easier to take on feminised characteristics, such as the caring and family-orientated “new man”, seen in part from the shifts of the Tony Blair era and the legacy of the politicization of Blair’s private persona, as Langer (2010 p. 66) suggests, with the construction of an “ordinary ‘modern’ man” persona. Modern depictions of the “new man” have required male politicians to appear as more sympathetic characters through revealing more of their private lives and a shift towards more caring and feminised sensibilities (Macdonald, 1995). Though this role does shift the focus from women as the main paradigmatic caring figures (ibid), this however presents its own issues for women and leadership. As Murray (2010 p. 16) argues, for men, masculinity is more easily assumed and less contradictory: “men may find it easier and more desirable to combine masculine and feminine traits when facing a woman opponent”. Furthermore, an increased personal focus on male leaders, as evidenced by Langer (2011), may also contribute to an

³⁴ Though Misztal also notes there is also exists the tension of a growing formalisation in regards to trust, which is generated by familiarity by institutional structures and legal regulations.

increase in focus on political spouses, often at the expense of female politicians (see for example Harmer, 2012; 2016).

Elmelund-Præstekær *et al.* (2011) posit that politicians negotiate their image and performance to meet the competing demands of media and journalists, however the above shows that in regard to female politicians, this should be understood in regard to how gender may also inform these processes (Higgins and McKay, 2016). That women have had to adapt to the competing demands of politics and media is illustrative of the shifting cultural expectations placed on political leadership and how gendered expectations can be continually renegotiated. Campus (2013) argues that some women have learned to traverse these competing demands with a kind of “bi-lingualism”, a modal shift to a form of “middle way” in terms of leadership which negotiates between competing demands of feminine womanhood and masculine leadership and mitigates double binds they may encounter. Margaret Thatcher, as an important example, drew upon her gender as a way of legitimising her ability to govern, yet simultaneously pushed against the maternal discourse that implied a responsibility towards woman, instead stressing her own masculine traits (including taking vocal coaching) in order to fall more in line with the male model of leadership (Pilcher, 1995; Webster, 1990).

In a different scenario, observations of the political trajectory of Nicola Sturgeon have seen her image progressively “softened” to adhere to the increasingly personalised demands of the political media, though Sturgeon has acknowledged she had not made a conscious effort to do so.³⁵ Furthermore, as Higgins and McKay (2016) point out, she is still represented by a number of gendered descriptions in the media which undermine her political standing. What is suggested, therefore, is that women may

³⁵ In a documentary for BBC Panorama in 2015, Sturgeon makes a comment that she was more aware of her image throughout her career in politics, though she never had a deliberate image overhaul as some media outlets suggested (Higgins and McKay, 2016): “When you’re in public life, when you appear on television, you do become more conscious of wanting to not have to, kind of, avert your own gaze when you see yourself on televisions, so yes, you become naturally just more aware of these things. But did I ever sit down one day and say do I need to overhaul my image? No I never have” (Panorama, 2015).

accentuate certain feminine qualities to present a persona in accord with acceptable normative requirements of their gender, which may be done consciously or unconsciously to meet the competing demands of gender and political leadership. As shown, however, “differentialist” strategies may be problematic by embedding specific norms and behaviours which must be upheld, and further problematised if deviated from (Perry, 2005; Pedersen, 2016). Furthermore, what may work successfully for one woman may not for another, and is informed by individual contexts and discursive associations. Therefore in the constructions of female politicians presented here, this speaks to the hegemonic way patriarchal power operates in regard to sustaining the dominant male-oriented order of politics.

3.6 Women and Scottish Politics

Historically, Scotland has witnessed similar challenges as other Western societies regarding female representation. Pedersen (2016) suggests that the Scottish suffragettes and early politicians were the subject to the same focus on appearance, body and domestic lives which established them as outsiders in the public sphere. Similarly, Hughes (2010 p. 199) writes that due to women’s entry into the workplace and politics in Scotland in the First World War, the inter-war years were shaped by a kind of “gender antagonism” which problematised the established discourses of masculinity and femininity. This resulted in a backlash against women, who were seen as a threat to the natural order and contributed to a “masculine insecurity” (ibid p.3). The effect of this was played out in a discursive onslaught to reinforce them as docile, subservient and apolitical, and female opposition was depoliticised while presented as the result of a “temper” (ibid p. 199).³⁶ Recent research, though limited, has found

³⁶ In her research, Hughes also suggests a counter-narrative emergent in Scotland whereas groups of working-class women responded with their own “rough kind of feminism” (ibid p.6), with the echoes of this still seen in the discursive construction of the “strong, working” woman over time in Scottish popular discourse. The complex interplay of a woman who is both admired for her strength, but still seen as something alien to the public sphere gives an insight into this construction of femininity which still surrounds women in the public sphere in modern Scotland, particularly those associated with the working-class/Labour movement.

similar gendered discourses around female politicians, including links to domesticity and appearance (Higgins and McKay, 2016; Pedersen, 2016), while wider commentary has considered the sexism of Scottish female politicians in the UK and Scottish media (Yaqoob, 2016).

Discussions concerning Scottish identity have often been framed as a negotiation of cultural identity and national belonging in the context of wider British statehood (McCrone, 1992). Debates about this identity have often been framed as “inferiorist” or a reclamation of positive images, particularly of working class history (Howson, 1993), which has historically relegated women and gender of lesser prominence. As Howson (1993 p. 48) argues, women have been marginalised and femininity selectively deployed as a “symbolic category”. Of course, intersecting and complex discussions around identity, gender and Scottishness have certainly progressed since in the early 1990s, not least with prominent literary figures such as Liz Lochhead and Jackie Kay taking prominence in successive roles as Makar, Scotland’s national poet. Nonetheless, gender and Scottish identity have historically, at best, taken a secondary role.

This has also been the case with regard to gender and Scottish political identity, which have conventionally been discussed as a part of UK-wide analyses. Patterns of representation were, for the most part, considered in terms of UK-wide parliamentary figures, while the Scottish press has also remained historically disengaged in women’s issues (Hills, 2001). This, however, has changed in recent decades, somewhat catalysed by the creation of the Scottish Parliament in 1999 which was established with a strong commitment to enhancing the role of women (Brown, 1998; 1999) stemming, in large part, from the participation of women themselves (Breitenbach and Mackay, 2001). Various groups banded together under the banner of the “Scottish Women’s Co-ordination Group” and, alongside Scottish Labour’s 50/50 campaign for parliamentary parity, there was a prominence of women lobbying for the creation of a new political structure which would be more responsive to women’s needs and concerns (Mackay, Myers and Brown, 2003 p. 85) Though not 50%, as was desired, the first figures of

women's representation in Holyrood were strong, with women occupying 37.2% of MSPs elected.

The next election saw an even greater number of women elected in 2003 with 39.5% taking seats. A loss of momentum followed thereafter, with figures falling short of this high point over the next few parliamentary periods.³⁷ Scotland has remained consistently higher in terms of women's representations than its parliamentary counterpart at Westminster and has been considered to fare better than its UK counterpart when it comes to female representation (Mackay, 2003; 2004). This has offered insights into the opportunities and constraints for gendered institutional innovation (Kenny, 2013). However, in recent Scottish election cycles, this has been taken a slower turn and seen to have stalled (Kenny, Mackay and Murtagh, 2016).

Returning to the period which forms the basis for this study, commentators have argued that the initial stages of the referendum campaign did not match the level of women's involvement or visibility in the build-up towards Scottish devolution (Bell and MacKay, 2013; Kenny, 2014). Still, women's groups were formed to accommodate both sides of the debate (*Women for Independence* and *Women Together*), were active during the campaign and arguably had an increased visibility in the local community and in wider media towards polling day. Though some have argued the voices of women were marginalised within broader movements, such as radical left campaigns (Boyd and Morrison, 2014), as noted in the introduction, there were also emergent discourses about women's strong engagement, particularly during the referendum campaign's latter stages (Brooks, 2014).

³⁷ Women accounted for 33.3% of MSPs in the 2007 election, and then 34.8% in the 2011 election. At the time of the Scottish referendum in September 2014, there were 34.9% women MSPs. At the 2016 election, the percentage of women elected as MSP was 34.8%

A number of discourses relating to gender were also discussed throughout the campaign and played out in the media and. A widely-visible TV broadcast from the *Better Together* side, "The woman who made up her mind" (*Better Together UK*, 2014), featured a woman who was characterised as politically disengaged. By the end of the 2.40 minute long advert, she decided on a no vote to independence. This was much maligned for what many considered to be a sexist portrayal of women, with commentators branding it patronising, if not insulting (Cresci, 2014). Women on both sides of the debate voiced criticisms online, particularly on social media, with online backlash generating the #patronisingBTLady hashtag, Twitter account and various memes (online visual jokes). In this case, social media facilitated an oppositional discourse of gender, where women were seen to illustrate their own political engagement, using Twitter as a means of establishing their own positive counter-discourses.

As highlighted in the introduction of this thesis, female politicians also held many key positions within the official referendum sides of *Yes Scotland* and *Better Together*. However, the seniority of these women must also be considered within the UK and Westminster context. Though Ruth Davidson and Johann Lamont were party leaders, they could ultimately be considered sections of the UK-wide Labour and Conservative parties (though the referendum provoked discussion around the autonomy of these two parties, particularly that of the Scottish Labour party). On the other hand, while the SNP does have a small presence in Westminster, it understandably features much more prominently in Scottish politics where the bulk of its representation lies. Therefore, during the time period of this study, the three women considered in prominent leadership were also positioned alongside the all-male UK leadership at the time (then Prime Minister David Cameron and Deputy Prime Minister Nick Clegg in the Conservative/Liberal Democrat coalition, as well as Labour Party leader Ed Miliband).

Chapter 1 suggested the independence referendum was at times characterised as an innovative energising of the electorate, but also characterised by increasingly hostile

online engagement. Author JK Rowling was targeted with abuse for vocally and financially supporting the *Better Together* campaign. Reports in the media also stated that Sturgeon and Davidson received abuse on Twitter, with evidence that both were subject to commentary regarding their appearance and threatened with violent sexual assault, though this was still in a “small minority” of coverage (Pedersen *et al.*, 2014 p. 25). Nicola Sturgeon had previously revealed that in 2013 she had received death threats online, which were of a gendered nature (Borland, 2013) and speaking after the referendum, Ruth Davidson said she was the target of homophobic abuse on social media (Davidson, 2014).

Nonetheless, the apparently abusive nature of online political engagement did not deter these politicians from making consistent and extensive use of Twitter and social media during the campaign. Most senior politicians had some form of social media presence, and indeed each female leader held an active Twitter account, using it as a substantial tool in their campaigning throughout. What this illustrates, then, is that the online discourses of gender add further complexity to the mediation of female politicians in the Scottish context, which suggests a complex rendering of their representations at that time.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the theoretical framework for researching the mediated representations of gender in the Scottish public sphere in the context of the independence referendum of 2014. By bringing together theoretical perspectives and a review of current research, this framework identifies key concepts related to this thesis which show how discursive representations may contribute to women’s subordination in public life. From this position, this chapter has identified three main areas of study in regard to the media, gender and politics; that of marginalisation, trivialisation and gendered mediation. It is argued that distinctions between the public and private

gender dichotomy result in a “double bind” for women in politics, which positions them as outsiders to the public sphere, and creates a gendered division within in it.

So far, research has shown that findings may vary in different national and political contexts, yet are primarily unified through gendered distinctions being made between men and women in politics. It was suggested that patriarchal regimes of power may also be hegemonic, where both men and women may at times be actively involved in maintaining these gendered divisions in their self-interest. Gendered discourses, therefore, may be constantly shifting and negotiable, while still being contained within patriarchal ideology. This chapter also discussed the historical position of women and politics in Scotland, with the creation of the devolved parliament of Holyrood in 1999 allowing for the opportunity to study Scotland as a discrete case, though still anchored to the UK. As outlined in the preceding chapters, measuring and discussing pertinent categories derived from this initial review in the Scottish context is the main concern of this thesis. Chapter 4 will now describe the approach used in this thesis, utilising both quantitative and qualitative methods to answer the research questions contained therein.

4. Methodology

The aim of this thesis is to analyse the media representations of politicians in different components of the Scottish public sphere within the context of the independence referendum of 2014, considering any discourses which occur that may be considered gendered. As a way of fulfilling this, the research combines two corpora of data: articles from the Scottish press as a component of mainstream media, and tweets which have been published on the social media platform Twitter. As discussed in the preceding chapters, the case has been made that Scotland has a distinct public sphere with a greater proportion of informative and evaluative discourse in order allow for the public to deliberate toward making political decisions (Higgins, 2006). This means an independent study of this public sphere is particularly significant during a political event such as the Scottish referendum on independence. Furthermore, inquiry into the different media platforms of the press and social media gives an added dimension to the study. Interrogating these media in this way leads us to reveal whether or not they fulfil the normative expectations of the public sphere (Habermas, 1989; Higgins, 2008) in different or similar ways, which arguably includes parity of representation of men and women.

In order to account for varying content across different media platforms, this thesis brings together a mixed methods approach which is defined as an inquiry that combines or associates both quantitative and qualitative forms with the aim of utilising the strength of each approach (Creswell, 2009). In this way, this thesis looks at the patterns emerging from a large volume of data which informs a discourse analysis of how language is used to construct gender in mediated political communication. This chapter sets out the methodological procedures as well as a discussion which explains the methodological choices which would allow this study to be replicated in another context. First, the chapter will outline the key questions arising from the literature review in the first three chapters which contribute to the formulation of the research

questions of the study. Second, it will define the approach taken in the attempt to answer these questions through the remainder of the thesis. Lastly, it will describe the research method and design used, outlining the processes involved in gathering the dataset in order to conduct a content analysis and the steps taken in the subsequent critical discourse analysis. Through this process, the aim of the research is to make a contribution to the body of work which examines the way political actors are represented across varying media with a specific focus on gender.

4.1 Research Questions

As has been examined in the preceding chapters, historical analysis of women in the media, including female politicians, has observed a marginalisation and trivialisation in their representations compared to their male counterparts (see for example: Murray, 2010; O'Neill, Savigny and Cann, 2016; Ross *et al.*, 2016). This can arguably be related back to their wider systemic exclusion from the public sphere and wider public realm. Contemporary analysis confirms that though this marginalisation and trivialisation is often still the case, it may be realised in much more nuanced ways in different political and cultural contexts (see Gidengil and Everitt, 2003; Luenenborg *et al.*, 2011). Therefore, it is important to note that while the literature may guide this analysis, we may not know what form gendered media representations may take until we see it in action and in relation to other patterns of mediation.

The central concern of this study is how female politicians are represented in media platforms of the Scottish public sphere, therefore a form of qualitative analysis is required as part of this study. Research questions developed from the literature, rather than hypotheses, have been used to keep the scope of research as broad as possible to account for the different and possibly unknown forms of gendered mediation which may occur, though still has to be guided by informed categories to give the research design structure. Aligned to central research questions are a number of more focused

research questions and sub-questions which provide direction to the components of the quantitative and qualitative analysis. The first set of questions relate to the quantitative element of the study. These questions have been used to guide the research design of the content analysis:

- What are the levels of coverage/online discussion of the politicians and what, if any, gendered differences may occur?
- What is the amount of gendered mediation, if any, around the politicians analysed?
- What is the amount individualised/personalised coverage/discussion, if any, around the politicians analysed?

For each of these questions, differences between findings of the press corpus and Twitter corpus are analysed. Findings are also compared with the current literature. The results of the content analysis are then used to guide the qualitative analysis – namely a critical discourse analysis – in order to provide an in-depth look at how women (and men) are constructed in media texts with dominant themes identified and expanded upon for analysis. This is done through adapting the previous research question and sub-questions:

- What kind of gendered discourses (including what can be considered gendered mediation and gendered stereotypes), if any, are in play around the politicians analysed?

4.2 Mixed Methods Approach

This thesis uses a mixed methods approach which integrates two research strategies with the aim of providing a more comprehensive answer to the research questions posed. Often described as the “third paradigm” (Denscombe, 2008), mixed methods is a strategy “that crosses the boundaries of conventional paradigms of research by deliberately combining methods drawn from different traditions with different underlying assumptions” (Denscombe, 2007 p. 107). As Jensen (2002) describes, the

central concept of the two main paradigms informs the particular ontological, epistemological, and methodological assumptions about how to study reality. These are formed around interrelated conceptual dichotomies which generally establish the positivist paradigm, which is based on the epistemological stance that there is an observable and “knowable” reality, against the constructivist research paradigm (Jensen, 2002; Denscombe, 2007). These are also linked with quantitative methodologies and qualitative methodologies, respectively. Quantitative methods can measure observable events to allow for readings of discernible patterns of text or behaviours, though this is limited in regarding extrapolating deeper meanings without context. Qualitative methods, conversely, may produce richer data yet be perceived as too subjective from the positioning of the researcher in the process (ibid).

Though there have been much earlier attempts to combine the efforts of these two paradigms (Denscombe, 2007), mixed methods as a defined approach emerged more recently (Greene, Caracelli and Graham, 1989; Tashakkori, 1998; Plano Clark and Creswell, 2008; Creswell, 2009). The precise number of definitions of a mixed methods approach is multiple (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie and Turner, 2007), however Denscombe (2007 p. 108) outlines three distinguishing characteristics which separate it from other forms of social science research: a use of qualitative and quantitative approaches within a single research project; an explicit focus on the link between approaches (triangulation); and an emphasis on practical approaches to research problems (pragmatist). Yet, as Denscombe (ibid p. 113) elaborates, this does not mean an “anything goes” approach, but should be shown as having a clear and explicit rationale for the choices and steps taken in the application of the contrasting methods. The emphasis on mixed methods research is on using the strengths of each approach (Creswell, 2009).

As has been suggested in the opening chapters of this thesis, in both media and communication and gender research there are a number of tensions that arise if taking a resolute stance in regard to either paradigm. Some studies have demonstrated the

usefulness of using a mixed methods approach in media studies, such as Harmer (2012) and Koteyko *et al.* (2013), while other have argued that taking this methodological approach in further research will bring a better understanding of news phenomena (Ross *et al.*, 2016). A mixed methods approach, therefore, is taken to address issues arising from sole use of quantitative and qualitative elements and is formed of a qualitative content analysis and a critical discourse analysis. The next sections will discuss these two approaches in the context of their use in a mixed methods approach before moving on to describe the overall research design.

4.3 Content Analysis

Content analysis is a technique often employed in media studies as a way of quantifying components and features of mass communication (Riffe, Lacy and Fico, 2014). In broader terms, it can be described as a way for researchers to count instances of occurrence in media or communications texts.³⁸ This could be how many times a certain issue is mentioned on television, newspaper, or online over a fixed period of time, for example: Bretl and Cantor (1988), Higgins (2004b), or Quinlan, Shephard and Paterson (2015). Riffe, Lacy and Fico (2014 p. 19) say content analysis should involve the assignation of numeric values to the “symbols of communication”. This enables subsequent analyses using statistical methods of the relationships of those values which in turn can be used to “draw inferences about its meaning, or infer from the communication to its context, both of production and consumption” (ibid). It is a technique particularly suited to mass media and communication research as it allows researchers to work systematically with large amounts of data making it an approach which can make extensive use of archives, databases and online content over different periods of time (Neuendorf, 2002).

³⁸ Here texts is taken to mean the wider semiotic and linguistic designation to encompass visual, spoken and linguistic components of the media, such as words, images, and speech, as discussed in Fairclough (1997 p. 17). Though as in the case of this thesis, only linguistic elements are analysed.

In one of the first formal studies about content analysis, Berelson (1952 p. 18) defined it as “a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication”. Here, Berelson places content analysis within a positivist epistemological frame which allows for an objective, or “true” social reality to exist, as well as emphasising an observable meaning inherent in the text. The underlying assumption is that it is only the observable content and trends of these texts and not any latent or associated meanings which would allow, in theory, the researcher to draw value-free conclusions and inferences from the data (ibid).

Rigour is given to the use of content analysis through following a series of systematic steps to achieve reliability and validity which. If these steps are followed then the technique fulfils the methodological requirements to make it a sufficient “scientific tool” of research (Krippendorff, 2004 p. 18). Validity involves having the confidence that what is being recorded is meaningful and that it actually applies to what is being interrogated. As Riffe, Lacy and Fico (2014 p. 123) suggest, “we must address how a concept we have defined about some part of communication reality actually exists in that reality. And even if this is true, we must address how our category measurement of that communication concept is a good one”. In this way the protocol must show that it is robust and pursued with rigour in order to establish its validity empirically. One way of doing this is through the creation of a coding scheme which lays forth the terms and design of the research project, showing the reasoning behind it and allowing for other independent researchers to build from the project and for it to be corroborated by other analyses (ibid).

A further core principle of content analysis is that the procedures for measurement should be reliable, with the operationalisation of the coding to show consistency over time, place and among those undertaking the analysis. The research literature reaches consensus that the way to measure reliability is through the use of multiple coders, whereby there should be “agreement among coders about categorizing content” (ibid p. 94). Coding manuals and recording sheets are created to measure categories and

variables, with differences in results compared between each coder. Inter-coder and intra-coder reliability tests using reliability coefficients can then be carried out to test the integrity of these procedures and show how they can be replicated. While there may be differences in guidance and how these tests are carried out (the use of different coefficients for example), there is general consensus that following these guidelines will secure more convincing claims to reliability (Deacon *et al.*, 1999; Krippendorff, 2004, Riffe, Lacy and Fico, 2014). This is crucial for recognising content analysis as a scientific method, with reliability test established as an attempt to avoid human bias or “coder bias” of which may emerge through different interpretations of the same data (Riffe, Lacy and Fico, 2014 p. 95). As outlined by Neuendorf (2002 p. 12), without the acceptable levels of reliability met, the results extrapolated from content analysis measures are “meaningless”.

Chapters 2 and 3 referred to a number of studies which have used content analysis as an effective technique in feminist media research. This shows how content analysis can be used as a form of gender monitoring and advocacy (Gallagher, 2001). The GMMP 2015 (Macharia, 2015) for example, uses a form of content analysis to perform its large-scale, global study, showing tangible findings in relations to widespread disparities related to gender. Numerous studies have also been able to present findings showing disproportionate coverage of female politicians in different contexts (Kahn, 1994; Jalalzai, 2006; Adcock, 2010; Harmer, 2012; O'Neill and Savigny, 2014). Indeed, content analysis allows certain questions relating to gender to be addressed in various media texts ranging from newspapers, television programmes, advertising, and more recently, online media. It is also particularly useful in areas which call for “solid” results such as those that may not necessarily be extrapolated from qualitative research:

[C]ontent analysis is instrumental in providing a general impression of the representation of women and men. Also, as a resource for policy and programme development – arenas that notoriously prefer ‘hard data’ – content analysis is an invaluable means of convincing decision and programme makers of the necessity for a diverse portrayal of women and men (van Zoonen, 1994 p. 73).

Content analysis can be beneficial then when analysing patterns of representation and because of the perception of content analysis as adhering to the ideals of scientific objectivity, the nature of these studies may give a certain rigour to arguments about female politician's representation (or lack thereof) in the media.

Yet, while this aspect can be seen as a strength of this approach, the restriction solely to the "manifest" content of data means it falls within the positivist paradigm, which can also be seen as one of its major limitations. A constructivist view would argue against the assumption of being able to record an objective reality. Criticisms along this vein argue that the subjectivity of the researcher will always produce some sort of bias, as with all forms of social research. Deacon *et al.* (1999 p. 131) suggest that "essentially arbitrary decisions intrude at all stages of the research process: what you count, how much you sample, how you categorise etc.; and all of these decisions are ultimately produced by the researcher's subjective judgement of what is significant". In order to counter these objections, researchers should be fully open about the processes involved in content analyses, presenting findings as "constructs", not "facts" (*ibid*).

As this project is concerned with newspaper and social media texts, content analysis is a useful tool in addressing elements of the research questions which would be difficult to answer through a qualitative study alone, such as how often the political figures in this study occurred in their respective samples and the proportion by which specific variable occur. The content analysis was designed for this study for two reasons. Firstly, this was done in anticipation of differing proportions of incidence of mentions of the politicians, as this would allow for an impression of the broader discursive patterns operating around figures of different genders; and secondly, that these patterns would inform the direction of the later critical discourse analysis. It is for these reasons set out above that a content analysis is undertaken as part of this research project, alongside the method of critical discourse analysis which will now be discussed.

4.4 Critical Discourse Analysis

As outlined, one of the main limitations of content analysis is that it focuses on manifest content, therefore it does not necessarily look at latent meaning and the nuances related to this, such as differences in tone. This places a limitation on the critical understanding of how media texts may operate, so a further level of analysis is required to mitigate this. In this case of this thesis, the approach of critical discourse analysis is used to allow for a deeper reading of discourse situated in regard to its wider social context. As Walsh (2001) and Lazar (2005) suggest, these principles should also be further adapted towards a feminist critical discourse analysis as will be explained more fully below.

As Titscher *et al.* (2002 p. 25) point out, the concept of discourse has a multitude of different meanings and interpretations which can at times be seen contradictory or mutually exclusive. It can be considered as representing general speech or text, discussion or more wider and abstract conceptualisations which relate to it more as a process or behaviour (ibid pp. 25-6) which is in accord with its Latin etymology “discurrere” meaning “to run” (Maccabe, 1979). Cameron (2001) argues that generally it can be split into two broad categories the linguist’s sense of “language in use” or in the critical social theorist’s use of language “above the sentence” as discussed in Chapter 1 (Stubbs, 1983 p. 1). Fowler (1991 p. 247) describes discourse as being “‘about’ some other topic or proposition ‘underlying’ the surface” which would place this in the latter of Cameron’s schema. It is this interpretation of discourse which will be used in this thesis, whereby a form of discourse analysis will look to the meaning in texts which is embedded and implicit but still culturally recognizable (ibid p. 170).

The interdisciplinary approach of critical discourse analysis is influenced both by Foucault and Western Marxism which sees discourse formed of the complex relations that lead to meaning and meaning-making in social and cultural life (Fairclough, 2010,

Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). As discussed in Chapter 1, Fairclough and Wodak (1997) describe critical discourse analysis as socially constitutive of, as well as being shaped by, social structures. Richardson (2007 p. 37) argues, "CDA approaches discourse as a circular process in which social practices influence texts, via shaping the context and mode in which they are produced, and in turn texts help influence society via shaping the viewpoints of those who read or otherwise consume them." The approach involves interrogation into how ideology and power are implicated in discourse though involves a more focused analysis on how power operates linguistically in texts.

Critical discourse analysis therefore draws on the resources of linguistic practice in order to provide a micro analysis of texts which is situated in wider social analysis. Analysis of the text begins as a "description" which is further built on in an "interpretation" in the context of discourse practice and social practice (Fairclough, 1992 p. 73). Though still a form of textual approach, this broadening to interpretation of discourse practice and wider social and institutional relations expands the approach from a textual analysis to a critical one. It therefore brings together three analytical traditions of: "close textual and linguistic analysis within linguistics, the macrosociological tradition of analysing social practice in relation to social structures, and the interpretivist or microsocial tradition of seeing social practice as something which people actively produce and make sense of on the basis of shared commonsense procedures" (ibid p. 72). This is represented diagrammatically in Figure 1.

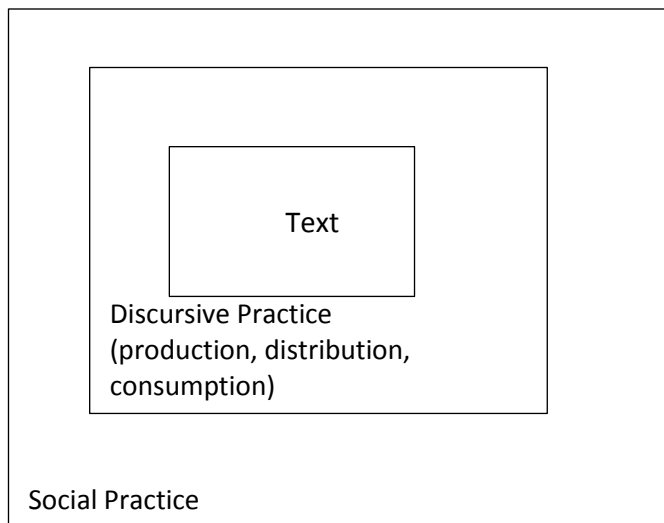


Figure 1. Three-dimensional conception of discourse, as in Fairclough (1992)

In regard to connecting language and representation to wider historical, political and social context, critical discourse analysis also looks at the interpretation of discourse as “ideological” meaning that discursive processes also inherently involve power-relations (Titscher *et al.*, 2002; Fairclough, 2010). As discussed in Chapter 1, rather than the diffuse notion of Foucauldian power, critical discourse analysis allows for the distinctions between state, institutional or cultural power which may in turn be top-down or centralised power structures or more hegemonic. Interpretation is taken from how dialectical power relations are (re)produced through discourse. A primary focus, then is on the “the effect of power relations and inequalities in producing social wrongs, and in particular on discursive aspects of power relations and inequalities” (Fairclough, 2010 p. 8).

Richardson (2007) further situates critical discourse analysis in the context of the media and news production to illustrate the dialectical nature of this process in regard to social practice. This can lead to questions about how the media are shaped by social structures and what this tells us about wider social attitudes as a result: how

recalcitrant social practices or attitudes may contribute to text production; how the media may resist or maintain the status quo; how inequality is challenged or reproduced, for example. Richardson (2007 p. 42) illustrates this in Figure 2.

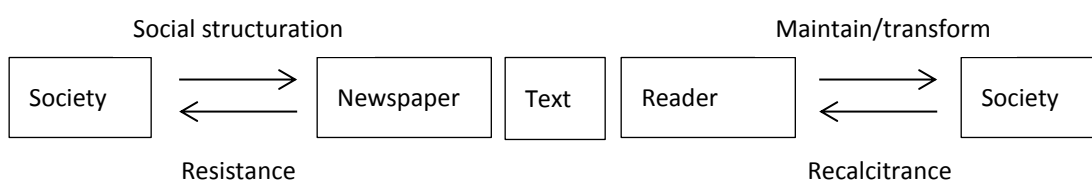


Figure 2. Critical discourse analysis as in Richardson (2007)

With a view of discourse as a site of struggle and contestation, critical discourse analysis can look to the linguistic means by which those in power can contribute to the (re)production of inequality (Smith and Higgins, 2013). The critical approach brings a normative aspect to the analysis about how behaviours can be “righted” (Fairclough, 2010 p. 7). This approach, therefore, is a useful tool for scholars to use as a way to interrogate how inequality and marginalisation may still occur in various contexts for different groups, looking at differences resulting from race, gender, sexuality, disability and so forth.

As power in discourse is enacted through struggle, specific techniques of analysis are drawn upon to interrogate where these struggles might take place though tensions in discourse. On a textual level, word choice may reveal specific ideological positions. For example, as discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6, collocations of words show a tendency to align or misalign concepts or groups, while hyperbolic metaphors may also point to underlying attitudes. Of a particular interest is the way texts may be intertextually linked to other texts. Based on the work of Bakhtin, this in regard to how

texts “speak” and refer to other texts, which in turn, show how meaning may be informed by references to other meanings outwith the original text. This can show how enduring discourses may be embedded, consolidating entrenched attitudes, or how new discourses may be hybridised as they adapt to new social attitudes or structures.

The critical discourse analysis approach of Fairclough in particular is taken in regard to this thesis as the overarching concern regarding the creative mixing of discourses and genres in texts in the context of socio-cultural and discursive change (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). In regard to the public sphere specifically, and drawing on both Habermas and Arendt, Fairclough suggests five analytical focuses by which to constitute the basis for an evaluation of discursive practices as public sphere dialogue. These entail assessing a discursive practice as: a regulative practice; a space of emergence; a principle of recontextualisations; as a constituent of action; as well as locating public sphere discursive practices within social orders of discourse (Fairclough, 2010 p. 398). In this way, Fairclough argues that critical discourse analysis can contribute “a linguistically and semiotically sophisticated but still socially framed understanding of the properties of practices of public dialogue” (ibid p. 394) by evaluating how far it goes in instantiating or creating a public sphere.

In the regard to this thesis, looking at discursive practices as a space of emergence, this is important in regard to how individual and collective identities are constituted in public space dialogue. As Fairclough (ibid p. 399) argues:

The suggestion is that in effective public sphere dialogue there is a process of becoming in which people’s individual identities, their collective identities as members of particular and diverse groups, and their universal identities-in-common as citizens and human beings are collectively constituted simultaneously through a complex weaving together of different facets of the self.

This can aid in a reading on how well women may be represented in a public sphere as to how far they may be collectively represented in public sphere dialogue as citizens, particularly in the context of their position as outsiders to the public sphere itself. The principles of “recontextualisation” as mentioned above, and “conversationalisation” are also useful in this instance (Fairclough, 2010) in that these concern shifts in the formality of interactions as a result of the blurring of public and private social life, which has implications in regard to political communication and gender. As discussed in the opening chapters, reference to the terms of the public and private spheres is often done so without or with a lesser emphasis on gender, therefore this also needs to be situated in regard to feminist understanding of gendering practices.

Walsh (2001 p. 27) argues the need for a distinctly *feminist* approach to critical discourse analysis due to the general position of critical discourse analysis for privileging class above other determinants of power, such as gender. Instead, Walsh argues that feminist critical discourse analysis should not seek to privilege gender as the main determinant of power, but instead shows it as a facet of more complex figurations. Critical discourse analysis can therefore be seen to be an approach which can look at the way language may contribute to power and dominance around gender which may intersect with other variables such as class, race and queer identities, thus acknowledging the heterogeneity of women’s experience. In this respect, gendered discourses may also appear differently in figurations alongside those of media and politics which may have dominant and overlapping orders of discourse (Fairclough, 1995; 2010; Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012). Based on Foucault, orders of discourse are the sum of discursive practices which are within an institution and their relationship with one another (i.e. some discourses may be more dominant than others, or they may be iterative and overlapping) (Fairclough, 1992). News, for example, will have its own conventions or “orders of discourse” which may intersect with that of gender or class differently, than say, the orders of discourse of the celebrity magazine or local council. These again may reveal certain codes and conventions in regard to power and inequality.

Lazar (2005 p. 5) argues that critical discourse analysis can provide “a political perspective on gender concerned with demystifying the interrelationships of gender, power and ideology in discourse”.³⁹ As outlined in Chapter 3, the socially constructed nature of gender means that these constructs are discursively formed, i.e. “that gender is accomplished *in* discourse” (West, Lazar and Kramarae, 1997 p. 119). According to Lazar (2005) the prevailing gender ideology is patriarchal but is also hegemonic (similar to the discussion outlined in Chapter 2), therefore mechanisms of power work discursively in placing women in a subordinate role to men. This however also means this is contestable: discursive analysis can be employed to recognise and interrogate the deployment of language, linguistic practices and themes in the (re)production of gender-based discourses.

Fairclough writes of the open-ended nature of critical discourse analysis, which could also be considered leading to the possibility of further adaptation of the original research and collaboration. The positioning of critical discourse analysis as praxis (Lazar, 2005; Fairclough, 2010) also coincides with one of the main concerns of feminism in transforming women’s role in society. Therefore, with the central concern of this thesis being the way female politicians are representation in various media in the Scottish context, there is the understanding that findings may influence future research, but also have wider societal impact regarding the role of female (and male) politicians in Scotland. For this reason, this approach has been taken to best answer the research questions posed taking a critical stance in the analysis.

Limitations of this approach tend to focus on the subjective nature of this kind of analysis, arguing that this can be deemed ideological itself (Titscher *et al.*, 2002). Such arguments can also be widened out to general criticism of qualitative analysis itself. Furthermore, there is no systematic guidance of how to draw samples for a critical discourse analysis. This is however ameliorated when used alongside content analysis in

³⁹ Lazar champions the use of the terms Feminist Discourse Analysis as way of making explicit a feminist perspective, as well as unifying those involved in the practice.

a mixed methods approach, as highlighted above. In the categorising of texts into groups of meaning, this can be used as an organising principle with which to draw the data for the critical discourse analysis where it can further “offer interpretations of the meanings of texts rather than just quantifying textual features and deriving meaning from this” (Richardson, 2007 p. 15). It is argued that by combining quantitative and qualitative approaches this will strengthen and enhance some of the perceived limitations. In this way, then, this approach seeks to offer a deeper, contextual study of specific categories alongside the empirical grounding offered by the content analysis. The methods and design of this research will now be discussed in more detail.

4.5 Research Design – Content Analysis

The overall design of the content analysis brings together two corpora of different data: newspaper articles and Twitter comments. As outlined Chapter 1, the public sphere of Scotland can be said to be distinct from a wider UK public sphere. This is in part provided for by the Scottish press (Higgins, 2006; McNair, 2008; Dekavalla, 2012) which is partly-autonomous from the rest of the UK. Though the Scottish press has been suffering a long-term decline (Hutchison, 2008) it still holds significant agenda-setting power, particularly with its dedicated coverage around significant political events (Higgins, 2006; Dekavalla, 2012).

There is also evidence that suggests the media are most active during political events, with the press contributing a large proportion of dedicated coverage around election periods (Negrine, 1994; Higgins, 2006). Newspapers also still appear to lead the news agenda in the Scottish public sphere, with articles often leading discussion on TV, radio and on social media. The press was also chosen for sample data in this analysis instead of online newspaper coverage because of its daily/weekly news cycle as opposed to the rolling nature of online news. Articles on news websites are often deleted, amended or replaced throughout the news day, making it difficult to pinpoint time-specific original

content. The tendency for newspapers to fill their websites with newspaper copy and vice versa to be later filled with copy from the news sites, illustrates the iterative nature of press and web coverage. It has therefore been assumed that the printed press will provide a sufficient dataset to conduct the analysis with which to analyse one aspect of political communication in this thesis.

Additionally, social media, and Twitter in particular, were used prolifically throughout the referendum period. During the official campaign period of the Scottish independence referendum, engagement on social media increased significantly and it became a prominent platform where campaigning and debate could take place, particularly during the latter stages. Though there has been debate around its participatory properties (Papacharissi, 2002; Dahlgren, 2005; Fuchs, 2014; McNair, 2017) as was earlier discussed in Chapter 1, the prominence the social media platform took in the referendum campaign made it an important facet of this study. Twitter and the printed press are arguably different genres of political communication; therefore there is opportunity to compare these platforms to show how they may vary in terms of how representations of political figures are constructed. Furthermore, as previously discussed, communication on Twitter can be particularly gendered (and abusive); therefore it is important to studying the representations of female politicians in the various platforms where they may be visible.

At the same time as providing a unique opportunity for the study of gender in a particular context, therefore, the referendum also involved two different ideologically opposing sides. This meant that the presence of figures of specific genders needed to be operationalised in a different way to other studies which measures differences between, say, an incumbent and challenger, or two opposing challengers, such as Kahn's (1994) US study on male and female candidates. In this case, there were no suitable opportunities for direct comparisons of running-mates between two figures of opposing genders. The political figures involved in the study occupy a variety of different political roles, but were instead split according to the two stances taken on

the referendum in the debate, with the debates themselves allowing for gendered comparisons through the formation of an all-female debate, an all-male debate and a debate of a mix of genders, though this was not a deliberate configuration on the part of the debate organisers but a coincidental configuration due to the gender of those in leadership positions at the time.

For both corpora, a stratified, multistage, cluster sampling technique was used to give the most meaningful sample appropriate to the research aim. As such, this could be considered “purposive” (Riffe, Lacy and Fico, 2014) in that it was targeted in order to give a rich dataset. Firstly, this involved choosing the different newspapers to make up the newspaper sample. The second stage concerned the cluster sample of both the newspaper and Twitter samples around specific political events (a televised debate). Each of the three debates which were chosen correspond to one newspaper sample and one Twitter sample and featured a number of political figures known in varying degrees to the Scottish electorate. Finally, in regard to the Twitter sample, a random sample was then drawn from this dataset⁴⁰ in order to facilitate manual coding as otherwise the samples would have been too large.

In the years prior to the Scottish referendum vote, a number of debates were screened by both BBC Scotland and STV, which delivered a large amount of referendum coverage to Scottish television audiences. For consistency, all the coverage analysed related to debates which were screened by STV. The debates were presented in similar formats and were selected for study in this thesis due to the different combinations of gender of the figures involved in each debate. These debates also appear at different times which give an opportunity to look at how discussion may have unfolded in the context of specific news agendas and stages of the referendum period.

⁴⁰ The newspaper dataset was of a size which meant it could be looked at in its entirety.

The first debate involved Nicola Sturgeon, then Deputy First Minister and deputy leader of the SNP and Johann Lamont, then leader of Scottish Labour. This was screened on STV's current affairs programme, *Scotland Tonight*, on Tuesday February 25, 2014, between 10.30pm and 11pm. Though this was before the official campaign period had started (which was 16 weeks prior to polling day) and a significantly shorter debate than the two others analysed, this debate was of special interest to this study because it featured two of the most senior political women as its sole participants and was the only one to do so. Though Nicola Sturgeon took part in a number of debates screened in the previous year by STV,⁴¹ Johann Lamont was to be her most senior opponent and the first woman to debate her in the referendum series. That being said, the leadership positions of Sturgeon, Lamont and Davidson (as well as past female leaders) means that seeing women together in political contexts would not be unexpected for the Scottish public.

The second debate was the first to occur between First Minister and SNP leader, Alex Salmond, and Labour MP and former Chancellor of the Exchequer, Alistair Darling. This was screened on Tuesday August 5, 2014, between the hours of 8pm and 10pm. BBC Scotland also screened a debate between Salmond and Darling following this, however this was screened in the rest of the UK on BBC2, so this was not included and instead the STV debate was used to keep the viewing audiences consistent across all three debates. Furthermore, the STV debate between Salmond and Darling was particularly newsworthy through its novelty as the first between these two figures, whereas the second BBC debate was seen as a follow-up which may have had some impact on the discussion around the debate.

⁴¹ In 2013 the very first debate in the STV referendum specials featured Sturgeon against Michael Moore, then Scottish Secretary. The second debate with Nicola Sturgeon was alongside Anas Sarwar, deputy leader of the Scottish Labour party. In the third STV debate of 2013, Sturgeon then faced Alastair Carmichael, with Carmichael drafted in as the new Scottish Secretary having replaced Michael Moore in a cabinet reshuffle.

The third and final debate was screened on STV on Tuesday September 9, 2014, between 8pm and 10pm. This featured the politicians Nicola Sturgeon, leader of the Scottish Green party Patrick Harvie, Labour MP Douglas Alexander UK Shadow Foreign Secretary, Ruth Davidson leader of the Scottish Conservative Party⁴² and Labour MSP Kezia Dugdale. The sixth participant in the debate was Elaine C Smith, an actress and comedy entertainer who was an active campaigner for Scottish independence.⁴³ These three debates were arguably some of the most important media events to take place during the referendum, so this indicates these figures were selected for their exposure to ensure viewing figures. The TV debates were also framed by STV as public events specifically designed to generate discussion which is why these were chosen to drive the Twitter samples (Coleman and Moss, 2016) as well as the newspaper samples. This kind of horizontal approach also has the benefit of looking at a broad spread of data, mitigating the problem of what might be considered atypical coverage if just one sample frame were considered.

4.6 Newspaper Sample

Eleven newspapers were chosen to give a representative sample of the press as a component of the Scottish public sphere. Four Scottish daily titles were chosen (the *Herald*, the *Scotsman*, the *Daily Record*, and the Aberdeen edition of the *Press and Journal*) as well as three Scottish versions of British papers (the *Scottish Sun*, the *Scottish Daily Mail* and the *Times (Scotland)*). Four Sunday titles were also included (the *Sunday Herald*, *Scotland on Sunday*, *Sunday Mail* and the *Scottish Sun on Sunday*). The papers are spread between different formats (broadsheets, tabloid and mid-market) and also include the titles with the highest circulations across Scotland (the *Scottish Sun* and the *Daily Record*) (see Table 2).

⁴² Officially, it is the Scottish Conservative and Unionist Party, though it is more commonly known as the Scottish Conservative Party, or as the Scottish Conservatives.

⁴³ Though she is not an elected politician, Elaine C Smith participated as a political voice in debate three, so was treated as the same in the samples. Throughout the thesis, when 'the politicians' is used as a reference, she is also included. There is, however, further discussion of the discourses around her relating to her non-political role in the later analysis.

Table 2. Newspaper publication details and circulation figures

Newspaper	Circulation	Format	Type	Area
<i>Scottish Sun</i>	246,066	Tabloid	Daily	National (Scottish version of UK title)
<i>Daily Record</i>	203,941	Tabloid	Daily	National (Scottish)
<i>Scottish Daily Mail</i>	93,321	Mid-market	Daily	National (Scottish version of UK title)
<i>Press and Journal (Aberdeen)</i>	62,177	Regional	Daily	Regional (Scottish)
<i>Herald</i>	37,728	Quality	Daily	National (Scottish)
<i>Scotsman</i>	27,208	Quality	Daily	National (Scottish)
<i>Times (Scotland)</i>	20,420	Quality	Daily	National (Scottish version of UK title)
<i>Sunday Mail</i>	231,821	Tabloid	Sunday	National (Scottish)
<i>Scotland on Sunday</i>	30,279	Quality	Sunday	National (Scottish)
<i>Sunday Herald</i>	25,125	Quality	Sunday	National (Scottish)
<i>Sun on Sunday</i>	175,525	Tabloid	Sunday	National (Scottish version of UK title)

Source: All Media Scotland (based on ABC figures for August/September 2014)

In order to achieve a representative view of discussion in the Scottish press, titles tied to different areas were included in the sample. In regard to the *Press and Journal (Aberdeen)* though it is designated as a regional title, its circulation figures and penetration surpass that of other indigenous Scottish titles which were considered national titles therefore arguably still has a national focus (Higgins, 2006). Furthermore, though the *Herald* and *Scotsman* (and sister Sunday papers *Sunday Herald* and *Scotland on Sunday*) are considered national titles, they are considered as tied to their central belt cities, Glasgow and Edinburgh respectively (Dekavalla, 2009). These now appear in the twice-yearly ABC regional newspapers report even though they designate themselves national titles.

With the full sample there is also a spread of political tone which could be considered representative of Scottish political attitudes, including both left- and right-leaning political support. Though some papers have swung in their allegiances, such as the *Scottish Sun* (McNair, 2008), the *Daily Record* and the *Herald* account for more left-leaning sentiment, the *Scotsman* more right of the centre with the *Times (Scotland)* and *Scottish Daily Mail* accounting for more right-leaning support. In regard to Scottish independence, five explicitly stated their support for the Union (*Scottish Daily Mail*, the *Times (Scotland)*, the *Herald*, *Scotland on Sunday* and the *Scotsman*). The remainders did not explicitly give a preference were considered as being impartial⁴⁴ with only one newspaper, the *Sunday Herald*, explicitly in favour of a Yes vote in the referendum.

The newspaper articles were gathered for each of the participating politicians via a keyword search of their names during the week that their debate was screened. As each debate fell on a Tuesday, this meant that articles were included from the Monday of that week until the Sunday of the same week. This was chosen in order to give a wide enough time frame to include preview articles of the debates and also of round-up articles from Sunday publications which could be considered to form part of the deliberations in regard to the politicians. For example, articles were gathered which referred to Nicola Sturgeon or Johann Lamont during the week of Monday February 24, 2014, to Sunday March 2, 2014. This was similarly done for the following three debates. Each article was coded with the same procedure with the expectation that comparisons could be made between each of these three debates in regard to how the figures were mediated. This was based on the assumption that the politicians concerned would be in similarly prominent positions in the media of their given weeks due to the newsworthiness of the debates and their political rank.

⁴⁴ There was, however, discussion around all these publications so-called partiality, for example even though the *Daily Record* did not explicitly state its support of the Union, many argued their championing of the 'vow' of Cameron, Miliband and Clegg on their front page, should Scotland vote to remain in the UK, was evidence enough of their support for a No vote in the referendum.

Henceforth, the newspaper sample for the week around the first debate between Johann Lamont and Nicola Sturgeon will be called *Newsweek 1*. The newspaper sample for the week around the second debate between Alistair Darling and Alex Salmond will be called *Newsweek 2*. The newspaper sample for the week around the third debate between Douglas Alexander, Ruth Davidson, Kezia Dugdale, Patrick Harvie, Elaine C Smith and Nicola Sturgeon will be called *Newsweek 3*. The sample frame for this corpus can be seen in Table 3.

Table 3. Sampling Frames - Newspapers

Sample name	Politicians	Gender	Media	Date/time
News week one	Johann Lamont Nicola Sturgeon	Female Female	Newspaper	24 Feb 2014 to 2 Mar 2014
News week two	Alistair Darling Alex Salmond	Male Male	Newspaper	4 Aug 2014 to 10 Aug 2014
News week three	Ruth Davidson Kezia Dugdale Elaine C Smith Nicola Sturgeon Douglas Alexander Patrick Harvie	Female Female Female Female Male Male	Newspaper	8 Sep 2014 to 14 Sep 2014

Newspaper samples - time frame seven days

Due to the scale of the study, textual data for the newspaper samples were retrieved using the database NLA Clipshare⁴⁵ rather than from hard copies of the newspapers. This was used instead of the widely-known Lexis-Nexis UK database. Though Lexis is a comprehensive database in regard to UK newspaper publications, there are weaknesses in its provision of Scottish editions. For example, articles from the *Scottish Daily Mail* are only available as of August 29, 2014, while Lexis-Nexis does not disaggregate some Scottish editions of publications, such as the *Scottish Sun*, from its UK counterpart. There were also noticeable issues in the underrepresentation of articles in the database

⁴⁵ NLA is a publisher owned rights licensing and database business.

for the *Scotsman* and *Scotland on Sunday*,⁴⁶ as well as the *Press and Journal (Aberdeen)*. In order to keep the noise of the sampling consistent, it was therefore considered best to use the same database for each newspaper throughout the sampling procedure.

Research by Deacon (2007) into the use of databases in media research does show that there are risks of omission in relation to using Lexis-Nexis, both through the use of keywords and by weaknesses in the databases themselves. These risks were also taken into consideration in the use of the NLA Clipshare database. Therefore in order to make the retrieval of articles robust, the surnames of the politicians rather than their full names were chosen as the searchable terms to alleviate the risk of omission as much as possible. A more general keyword search, with the terms “politics” or “indyref” for all political and independence coverage and searching for politicians manually through this was considered too cumbersome and time-consuming for the scale of this project, and would also eliminate articles which may mention the politicians in a non-political context. The retrieval method ultimately undertaken appeared to give the best data, based on the assumption that when politicians in Scotland are referred to in an article, most articles would at one point include their surname.

Once the data were collected, all articles were subsequently read through with non-relevant articles removed. This included other prominent figures with the same surname, such as John Lamont, another Scottish politician, and Sean Lamont, a Scottish international rugby player. Only articles from the main book of the newspapers were included; articles from supplements were excluded. Each article⁴⁷ was then coded

⁴⁶ Though I tried to rectify this by contacting LexisNexis customer support, they did not appear to be able to offer a solution. In regards to the Scottish versions of UK-titles, this is down to the titles themselves forwarding copy to the database, so LexisNexis were unable to rectify this issue.

⁴⁷ Initially, only articles from the first edition of each newspaper were included if the publication had two or more editions throughout the day. However, this seemed to limit the data in terms of including unique content, with many of the titles having multiple editions giving original articles. It was therefore decided to include articles which occurred in different editions, but only if the content was unique, not duplicate or had minor deviations. For example, two stories which occur in the first and second editions the *Scotsman* on the same day could be included if they were different articles

according to the categories given in the coding manual to be recorded as data. A total of $n = 473$ units of analysis were gathered, 49 for Debate 1, 350 for Debate 2 and 74 for the third. Individual articles as they appear on the database acted as the unit of analysis.⁴⁸ Letter pages presented a significant issue along a similar line, in that often smaller letters were contained in one article, while larger articles were presented as individual articles. As these form a different kind of coverage, to an extent departing from the editorial line, these were coded, but not included in the analysis.

4.7 Twitter Sample

Twitter operates differently to newspapers in that it moves in daily or weekly news cycles, while Twitter is discussion based and much more event driven. Different parameters therefore needed to be set to that of the newspaper sample. In regard to the televised debates, STV had encouraged public engagement and participation during the debates themselves by the use of designated hashtags. The sample for the social media element of the analysis, therefore, was taken from tweets which were published around the screening of the debates. STV facilitated discussion on Twitter by asking viewers to use a specifically tailored hashtag, #scotnight and #scotdecides. This appeared to be the best organisational tool with which to download the sample frame. Twitter users were advised to use STV's hashtag, #scotnight, when discussing Debate 1

altogether, but not if they only contained additions or amendments to the same core story. If this was the case, the first edition's article was included.

⁴⁸ An issue which arose in this process was apparent when some units contained two or more articles, which had been conflated by the database collection and the design of their presentation in the newspaper. When this occurred and was evident on reading, the articles were cross-checked against paper copies and split into separate articles. For example the *Sunday Herald*, which tends to be creative in its page design, had two separate interviews with Nicola Sturgeon and Johann Lamont under the same headline "In the hot seat" which was printed vertically down the centre of the page, but had two separate standfirsts and bylines. Rather than code this as one article, it was split and coded as two separate articles.

between Sturgeon and Lamont. The hashtag #scotdecides⁴⁹ was then positioned by STV as the one for use during the two later debates.

Hashtags, though useful in giving a unifying focus for discussion, do offer problems in terms of sampling. The same hashtags are often used on more than one occasion, so do not necessarily have defined start and end points. In this way, various decisions had to be made to stratify the sample from a potentially large population size. The high volume of tweets published during these debates made the option of coding the entire population unfeasible, as tweets often merged with other debates and discussions, making it difficult to disaggregate. Therefore to make sure the primary focus was on the politicians in what could be considered specific political discourse, tweets using the debate hashtags were downloaded from one hour prior to the start of each debate until one hour following the debate's finale. The software Brandwatch⁵⁰ was used to download the tweets.

Tweets which were gathered which used these hashtags were further stratified by filtering for the participating politicians in the debate by a keyword search of their names. The informal and social nature of the medium, however, potentially allows for a lot more informal naming practices.⁵¹ Accordingly, tweets were search by headwords of their names to attempt to account for any kind of contraction, variation or nickname that may be used.⁵² This created an overall sample of 77,898 tweets; 4222 for Debate 1,

⁴⁹ As of May 30, 2014, STV announced it had created a new website 'Scotland Decides' and accompanying Twitter profile. It then advised the use of the #scotdecides for subsequent debates.

⁵⁰ At the time tweets were gathered, Brandwatch, was a Twitter certified project and has access to the Twitter firehouse, giving full access to historical, public Twitter data. The affiliation of the company Brandwatch with Twitter gives access to a large number of tweets offering a larger universe from which to draw a sample.

⁵¹ This contrasts from the newspaper coverage, which is based on conventional newspaper style whereby even if referred to by nickname, the politicians actual name would at some point appear in an article referring to them. In a pilot search using the same parameters as the Twitter search in the newspaper database, there were too many articles given the short word stems.

⁵² Tweets from Debate 1 was filtered to include tweets 'Nic* OR Jo* OR Stur* OR Lam*'. Tweets from Debate 2, therefore, were filtered with the search terms 'Al* OR Sal* OR Dar*' and tweets from Debate 3 were filtered with the search terms 'Ru* OR David* OR Nic* OR Stur* OR Kez* OR Dug* OR Pat* OR Harv* OR Doug* OR Alex* OR El* OR Smit*'.

49,170 for the second and 24,506 for the third. Due to the size of this dataset, random samples of these were then selected for coding. This was performed through an online webpage designed for generating random samples called "Research Randomizer".⁵³ A 5% random sample of these was then taken to give the final sample to be coded, which consisted of 3895 tweets. Tweets which were not relevant (such as ones containing words "already" or "alright" which were caught from the keyword search and did not refer to a politician) were removed throughout the coding process, giving a total sample size of $n = 3,275$ tweets. This is above the amount needed for a 95% confidence level, with a 2% margin for error with a 50% response distribution (this sample size is 2330) (Riffe, Lacy and Fico, 2014).

Henceforth, the Twitter sample during the televised debate will be called *Debate 1*. The Twitter sample during the televised debate will be called *Debate 2* and the Twitter sample during the televised debate will be called *Debate 3*. This can be seen outlined in the sample frame as seen in Table 4.

⁵³ This was to ensure all equal units in the population had a chance of being selected.

Table 4. Sampling Frames – Twitter

Sample name	Politicians	Gender	Media	Date/time
Debate one	Johann Lamont Nicola Sturgeon	Female Female	Twitter	25 Feb 2014, 9.30pm to 26 Feb 2014, 12am
Debate two	Alistair Darling Alex Salmond	Male Male	Twitter	5 Aug 2014, 7pm to 11pm
Debate three	Ruth Davidson Kezia Dugdale Elaine C Smith Nicola Sturgeon Douglas Alexander Patrick Harvie	Female Female Female Female Male Male	Twitter	9 Sep 2014, 7pm to 11pm

Twitter samples time frame one hour prior and following televised debate

4.8 Newspaper Coding Procedure

A pre-existing coding framework was not used, with a frame developed in line with the research questions and in regard to the circumstances of the data. Studies which address similar research aims to those found in this thesis have also informed this project in regard to the structure and variables which were coded, as discussed in Chapter 3 (for example: Jamieson, 1995; Macdonald, 1995; Adcock, 2010; Murray, 2010; Harmer, 2015; Ross *et al.*, 2016; Harmer, Savigny and Ward, 2017). Procedures were refined through the testing of pilot data. Each newspaper article was given a unique number making it distinct from the other articles and each coder was also assigned a unique number. The publication title of the newspaper was recorded alongside other publication data, including the publication date of the article, the article's headline, page number and word count (as recorded by the database). Full copies of the coding manual and sheets can be found in Appendices 1 to 4. As discussed in the section below, inter- and intra-reliability tests were carried out on all the coding categories to ensure the integrity of the results of this part of the analysis.

The first variable recorded for the newspaper samples was the discursive form or type of the article, which was informed by Higgins (2006) and Dekavalla (2012). These consisted of the categories: news article, feature, opinion/comment, editorial/leader, as well as additional categories letters to the editor and other. Most of these are pre-set categories which are also self-identified by the publications themselves, and are often recorded in news databases. Higgins (2006) categorises “informative” articles (news article, feature articles) as those designed to give information in relatively “neutral” way, while “evaluative” articles (opinion articles and leaders) are designed to give evaluations and more subjective accounts of people or events. There is some dispute around such distinctions as news articles and features (ibid), therefore in order to ensure the categorisation was sound, coders were informed to code according to their own opinion of the category within which items should be placed and not necessarily led by the database’s allocation (though this could still be used as guidance). The further category of “other” was included to measure whether the politicians were allocated amounts of coverage in other kinds of articles aside from the above.

The name of the reporter (or reporters) was recorded if this was present. If not, the value was recorded as “no byline”. The gender of the reporter was then recorded with values the values male, female, both (in the case of two or more bylines and a gender split) or not known. Coders were allowed to make a determination of gender based on a number of guidelines.⁵⁴ This comes with the caveat that gender was recorded as pertaining to more traditional, outward facing gender cues (such as byline-pictures), which may or may not correspond to the gender the reporter self-identifies with. However, it was decided to include this variable in as far as it can still be considered to performance of gender in the public sphere (again, as pertaining to traditional cues).

⁵⁴ This was based on what could be considered socially construed gender-specific names, and were able to access a baby names website which gives a comprehensive list of names and corresponding gender where possible Bounty (2001). Coders were also able to access webpages to check if any personal information regarding the reporter(s) was available online (such as byline pictures and Twitter profiles).

The next step involved coding the individual politicians who were mentioned in each article. A list of politicians was given in the coding manual corresponding to those that featured in the three debates: Nicola Sturgeon, Johann Lamont, Alex Salmond, Alistair Darling, Douglas Alexander, Kezia Dugdale, Ruth Davidson, Patrick Harvie and Elaine C Smith. Each politician who took part in each debate was coded as whether he/she appeared in the article or not, alongside a number of other variables according to what was said about him/her in each instance. If a politician appeared once or more in an article, this was coded as a “mention”. Each politician was recorded on separate code sheets. This technique was employed to avoid overlap when two or more politicians were contained in the same article. Therefore while there may only be 49 articles in the first sample, this was made up of 73 mentions, 36 for Sturgeon and 37 for Lamont.

A number of discrete categories were compiled to form a list of variables. These were informed by the literature in Chapters 2 and 3, as well as pilot studies. These were coded as present if they occurred in reference to a mention of the politician in the article. Each variable was recorded as a binary variable regardless of the number of times it could have been referred to in an article or tweet. For example, a newspaper article which made one reference to Alex Salmond’s tie was coded in the same way an entire article which made frequent references to Johann Lamont’s weight loss. Therefore, in this coding process the results show whether the variables are present in the unit of analysis or not, but does not give the frequency or intensity within a given article. A full list of these is given here:

- Gender
- Prominence
- Voice
- Title
- Given name
- Nickname
- Tone
- Gender labels
- Personal/Spousal relationship
- Parental/familial relationships
- Physical appearance
- Sexualisation
- Age
- Sexual orientation

Two variables were designed to test the “presence” or visibility of any of the politicians and whether they were marginalised in different ways, as discussed in Chapter 5. The first is the prominence of the politician in the article. In their guide to conducting content analyses, Riffe, Lacy and Fico (2014 p. 96) discuss how abstract concepts are operationalised by different variables. Using the concept of “prominence” to illustrate their point, the authors cite a number of ways this concept could be measured, such as “how high up” a figure appears in a story, whether they appear in the headline, in pictures, if they are quoted or how much space they occupy in the story. In this study, a number of these measures were used to code the prominence of each politician, and was informed by (Adcock, 2010) in her study of press coverage during the 1997 British General Election campaign, which separated figures into three categories: main actors, key actors and minor actors (this is outlined further in Chapter 6 alongside the results). Voice was the second variable recorded to operationalise visibility, and was divided into three categories: whether the politician is quoted through direct speech, through indirect or reported speech, or whether they were referred to without any speech acts.⁵⁵

The use of the politician’s given name was coded as well as a use of title or a nickname. This was used to test the (in)formality of how the politicians were referred to and whether any gender-related differences may be identified. The next variable recorded whether gender was referred to in any explicit way, for example being called a “female politician” or “male speaker”, whether gendered nouns were used to describe them, such as “the mother of two said:” or whether the gender of the politician was the main focus of the article in question. This was undertaken in order to test whether the gender of a politician was more readily discussed for men or women politicians.

⁵⁵Initially, the number of paragraphs referring to each politician was also recorded in the coding process as a variable to operationalise the concept of visibility. On cross-checking some articles, however, it appeared that the formatting was not always the same on the database as on the hard copy, with paragraphs often fused together in the database text. As this method did not appear to be a reliable indicator of recording space allocated to the politician, and access to hard copies of the full corpus would be irregular, this was removed from the coding process.

Following this, the tone of the coverage of the politician was recorded. This is a nominal variable consisting of the following categories: positive tone, negative tone or neutral/don't know/mixed tone. This variable was included to test whether the politicians were discussed in a particular way, and how the relationship of the tone of the discussion interacted with the other variables, for example, if discussion of a politician's appearance (if present) tended to be discussed in positive or negative ways.⁵⁶

Lastly, a number of variables were then recorded which related aspects of the private lives of the politicians.⁵⁷ These were informed and developed from the literature as being categories that may manifest in different ways according to different genders. All these variables are binary, coded as either being present or not present in the coverage. The first measured whether the politician's physical appearance was mentioned in the article. This included commentary on what the politician was wearing, how they styled their hair, their stature or build (if they were thin, fat etc.) and how they physically appeared, such as their body language, reference to their face. The next variable was recording whether the politician's age was mentioned, whether they were described as old or young in any way. Following this, references to the politician's marital or relationship status were coded and also mentions of children (or lack thereof). The next variable was whether the sexual orientation of the politician was mentioned in terms of whether they were identified as LGBTQ⁵⁸ or straight.⁵⁹ A further

⁵⁶ Theorists such as Pêcheux (1988) Vavrus (2000) and Cammaerts (2012) recognise the use of rhetorical phrases like metaphor are used in political communication as a discursive practice, with political news coverage often containing sport, game and war metaphors in particular. The media, in discussing debates such as those analysed here, will often find agreement on the winners and losers based on a combination of political and public opinion commentary. With this in mind, assertions made in respect to winning or losing could still be considered discursively charged, and specific advice was given in the coding manual whereby when a politician was described as winning or losing the debate, to code as positive and negative in tone, respectively.

⁵⁷ Though arguably naming practices also reveal personal details of a woman's marital status. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

⁵⁸ LGBT is the widespread acronym which stands for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender, however there is a number of acronyms which are also in use with an I (Intersex), Q (Questioning or Queer) or + added to encompass a number of different identities. In this instance, the Q refers to queer as the umbrella term for those who may not identify with those designated in the LGBT acronym.

variable was also coded regarding references to sex or sexual language in regard to the politicians. This included if they were at any point referred to in a sexual way, such as references to sexual features, sexual acts in regard to them, or whether their sex life was commented upon.

4.9 Twitter Coding Procedure

The coding of the tweets followed a similar procedure to the newspaper sample, with changes made where appropriate to account for its form and content. Each tweet was given a unique number and each coder used the same coding number as with the newspaper sample. The individual tweet was the unit of analysis. The date the tweet was published was recorded, alongside the Twitter user's name, their Twitter handle (the user's profile name, which is always preceded by the @ sign). The gender of the user was also coded under the same guidance as the newspaper sample where apparent, and on the basis that the gender identity extended in a cultural rather than biological category. The tweet was coded if it was a retweet (duplicate of the original tweet, designated by "RT" being included at the start) and whether a picture or a weblink were included in the body of the tweet. The next step was to code the individual variables for each politician in a similar way as had been done for the newspaper sample which are listed below:

- Gender
- Voice
- Title
- Given name
- Nickname
- Tone
- Gender labels
- Personal/Spousal relationship
- Parental/familial relationships
- Physical appearance
- Sexualisation
- Age
- Sexual orientation
- Twitter handle
- Profanity

⁵⁹ Two of the politicians in the sample have openly talked about their sexuality (Ruth Davidson and Patrick Harvie), so was included to test whether this may occur in the coverage and bring any added gendered dimensions.

The coding manual listed the same politicians to be coded as in the previous section (Nicola Sturgeon, Johann Lamont, Alex Salmond, Alistair Darling, Douglas Alexander, Kezia Dugdale, Ruth Davidson, Patrick Harvie and Elaine C Smith) and each occurrence of a politician was recorded as a “mention” with their name and gender recorded in the same way. Due to the limited size of tweets, the prominence variable was not coded in the tweets. The voice variable was still coded in the same way as the newspaper sample, with the same categories of direct, indirect and no speech. A further piece of guidance was included for this variable, which was to code a retweet of one of the politician’s tweet as indirect speech.

The tone of the coverage of the politician was recorded, with the same categories as the newspaper coverage: positive tone, negative tone, neutral/don’t know/mixed tone. One of the limitations of content analysis is the lack of accounting for nuance when it comes to categories like tone, as it doesn’t take wider context into account. Therefore inter- and intra-reliability tests were carried out on all the coding categories to ensure the integrity of the results. Similar coding guidance was given as the newspaper procedures when considering this category, such as whether the mention was approving or disapproving, gave praise or criticism.

The next variables coded again related to the content and discussion of the private lives of the politician and were informed and developed from the literature as being categories that may manifest in different ways according to different genders. These were kept the same as the newspaper sample where appropriate, including: physical appearance, age, marital or relationship status, mentions of children (or lack thereof), sexuality, and references to sex or sexual language in regard to the politician, as well as whether gender was referred to in any explicit way, as outlined in the newspaper coding above.

Lastly, the use of profanity, abusive or offensive language was coded. This variable does not occur in the newspaper analysis, on the basis that newspapers are edited to censor offensive language. The unmoderated and open forum of Twitter, however, makes the use of profane or offensive language a more likely occurrence. Furthermore, a degree of media coverage during the referendum campaign which pointed to the abusive nature of Twitter discussion (Pedersen *et al.*, 2014; Quinlan, Shephard and Paterson, 2015) made its inclusion as a variable particularly pertinent.

4.10 Reliability

For this study, an additional coder was employed to conduct coding on a random subsample of coverage of both the newspaper and Twitter element of the analysis. First, a coding manual and sheet was created to measure and record the different categories and variables which required testing. As each unit of analysis was assigned a unique number, the subsamples were selected through an online webpage designed for generating random samples (Research Randomizer, 2015). In regard to the amount which needs to be included in the subsample, a number of key texts in the research literature define different amounts to be drawn. Riffe, Lacy and Fico (2014) list a number of these suggestions – with figures ranging from 5% to 25% of the original sample – however they acknowledge that there is no specific consensus of these in the research community. Neuendorf (2002 p. 159) asserts that the accumulation of a number views can be generalised so that the subsample “should probably never be smaller than 50 and should rarely need to be larger than about 300”. Going on this premise, a 10% subsample was selected from the newspapers and 300 items for the Twitter sample.

In regard to the newspaper subsample, this was initially taken from the sample prior to duplicates being removed during the coding process, giving a figure greater than 10% of the final sample size (75 articles). It should be noted that Riffe, Lacy and Fico (2014) also

set out a procedure which calculates the subsample size based on the desired standard error and confidence levels. When using this method to calculate the subsample sizes.⁶⁰ This puts the number at 86 and 99 for the newspaper and Twitter samples respectively. This appears to give around 15% of the newspaper sample, while significantly only giving around 3% of the Twitter sample, so the original figures as outlined were adhered to.

Due to the size of the samples, the Twitter element of the analysis was coded first. Around 100 tweets were initially coded before the reliability tests began to test the efficacy of the coding manual and sheets. An initial three-hour training session was the attended by the inter-coder, which included reading through and discussing the coding manuals and sheets, and discussing potential difficulties which may arise. A trial coding session was then completed on data not present in the sample and the results discussed, particularly where there was not agreement. Once this pre-test was completed, coding took place in a number of sessions over a period of months due to the availability of the coder, and to avoid coder fatigue which may occur during longer, back-to-back sessions.

The initial tweets which were coded before the reliability tests were also recoded to account for any changes to arise from the coding sessions. In the interim period between each session, results were recorded before the beginning of each next session, with any disagreements discussed at the start, with clarifications and suggestions updated in the coding manual. The coding was performed sequentially, which meant that first all the tweets were coded. The same procedure was then carried through with the newspaper segment of the analysis. Because of the large amount of data, the coding was anticipated to take a substantial period of time. In instances where the coding takes longer than one month, (Riffe, Lacy and Fico, 2014) recommend that intra-

⁶⁰ This is done using a one-tailed z score of 1.64 – the number of standard errors needed to include 95% of all possible sample means on agreement – and an assumed desired confidence level of .05 (i.e.95% confidence level) to calculate the standard error, alongside a population level of agreement of 90%.

coder reliability test (“within-coder” assessments to measure consistency in a single coder’s application of the coding procedures (ibid p. 108)) be performed, so this was also included in the analysis.

Cohen’s kappa (K) was used as the reliability coefficient, which takes into account agreement occurring by chance. In regard to a unified standard of acceptable levels of reliability coefficients, Neuendorf (2002 p. 143) again cites disparities between common standards in academic research. She aggregates various proposals to give the review that: “reliability coefficients of .90 or greater would be acceptable to all, .80 or greater would be acceptable in most situations and below that, there exists great disagreement”, though Cohen’s kappa is also “afforded a more liberal criterion”. On this basis, the results of the reliability show acceptable levels of agreement, with Cohen’s kappa reaching .812 or above for each of the reliability tests. The full results can be seen in Appendices 5 and 6.

4.11 Research Design – Critical Discourse Analysis

The results gathered from content analysis primarily concentrate on the proportion of a variable’s occurrence in the sample. As Riffe *et al.* (2014 p. 142) point out, this line of interpretation is illuminating because it “provides a context for discerning the meaning of findings” whereby the proportion reflects the degree to which a particular category dominates. While the use of cluster sampling means the results of the content analysis are not generalizable to common day-to-day news, in that they are anchored to a certain event, this presumes that there is a common news day when in fact the news agenda is always varied and unpredictable. Though this kind of analysis works with wider projects such as the GMMP (Macharia, 2015) which looks at the broad picture of women in the news on a random day, this may prove problematic when targeting specific individuals. The use of the cluster samples along the same parameters instead means that there can be comparison between the difference samples, which offers the

opportunity to compare similar circumstances with people of different genders and allow for a meaningful linguistically-based analysis.

As discussed earlier in the chapter the critical discourse analysis is informed by the results of the content analysis. As such, the results produced interesting data, however as these will show, some of that interest lies in the lack of data for a number of these variables meaning that patterns predicted by the existing literature were not in evidence. The following chapters have therefore been structured in light of these results. Firstly, the variables are split across three broad areas, presence, gendered mediation and variables which can be considered personalised. In each chapter, each variable will be analysed in terms of the results drawn from the content analysis. Chapter 5 on Presence will discuss the content analysis results related to this theme, which looks at way politicians may be marginalised, and is followed by a general discussion. Chapters 6 and 7 will include the results of the content analysis. Then a number of themes arising from these variables will be discussed, with the terms of critical discourse analysis employed were relevant.

4.12 Conclusion

This chapter has described and discussed the methods used for conducting this study. Firstly, the chapter outlined the research aims of the project and presented the research questions which have guided the research design. Following this, it then proposed a mixed methods approach bringing together quantitative and qualitative analyses as the best way to answer these questions. This is detailed to be a content analysis followed by a critical discourse analysis. A description of these approaches was first given, analysing the strengths and limitations of each, proposing these limitations are reduced through the use of both in the same study.

Content analysis was employed to provide a framework with which to draw the samples analysed in this study, combining two corpora of data: articles from the Scottish press as a component of mainstream media, and tweets which have been published on the social media platform Twitter. Details of the design of the content analysis were given, including the sampling methods employed, coding procedures and inter- and intra-reliability tests to ensure reliability and validity of the results. Following this, the terms of the critical discourse analysis were laid forth in preparation for the analysis of the findings in the forthcoming chapters. The next chapters will now therefore provide the outline these findings and the resultant discussions taken from these.

5. Presence

The introductory chapters have discussed both the media's relationship with the public sphere and representation, as well as a brief outline situating the role of the Scottish media and new kinds of media, such as Twitter, in regard to this. In particular, and in keeping with the concern of this thesis, the media was considered as a process of mediation in the forming of discursive representations and collective identities. It was also argued in Chapters 2 and 3 that constructions of gender have informed a "separate spheres" ideology which has aligned women with that of the private sphere and men with the public realm (Macdonald, 1995; Lovenduski, 2005). Furthermore, this dichotomy has been embedded and perpetuated in the media(ted) representations of women and men. In sum, the suggestion is that the equation of femininities with the private sphere and domesticity is established at odds with the requirements of a masculine political realm, which in turn has contributed to women's exclusion from both formal politics and the public sphere. It is therefore necessary to breakdown these arbitrary gendered associations which impact on women's full democratic participation.

In order to begin this analysis, this thesis has set out the ways women, and women in politics in particular, have been discursively represented as outsiders in the public sphere. This can be seen broadly across three areas: their marginalisation, trivialisation and through gendered mediation. As outlined in Chapter 4, this initial review has guided the terms of this study, with pertinent categories identified from this theoretical framework and incorporated into the research design. As outlined in Chapter 2, Dahlerup and Leyenaar (2013) posit women's numerical under-representation in elected assemblies as one facet of the six dimensions of male dominance in politics, while Phillips (1995 p. 1) establishes the "politics of presence" as a form descriptive or "proportionate representation according to characteristics such as gender or ethnicity" which is needed to inform the "politics of ideas" of the different interests and opinions of groups of public. The kind of presence female politicians hold in politics therefore

sends important signals about legitimacy, equality and democracy (Phillips, 1995; Childs, 2008; Charles, 2015).

Childs (2008) positions the media as playing an important role in the symbolic representation of women and women in politics, which has an impact on women's descriptive and substantive representation. Dahlerup and Leyenaar (2013) also recognise that the gendered perceptions of politicians contribute to the dominance of men in politics. This in turn feeds in to issues raised by Tuchman (1978) regarding the marginalisation of women through their "symbolic annihilation" and later concerns of the Global Media Monitoring Projects (GMMPs) (MediaWatch, 1995, WACC, 2010, Macharia, 2015) which map the visibility and portrayal of women in the world's news media. The media can therefore be seen to act as an important institution involved in this process (see for example: Childs, 2008; Murray, 2010; Ross and Comrie, 2012; Ross *et al.*, 2013; O'Neill, Savigny and Cann, 2016) and the interrogation of the processes involved can go some way to show how much it fulfils the normative requirements of political discussion. As Adcock (2010 p. 139) states, democratic arguments around the full inclusion of women in politics "can help point up the gendered nature of certain conceptions of 'quality' political communication, rational deliberation, and equitable representation". Presence, in this regard then, can be seen as a facet of media representations which operates around how visible or marginalised women may appear in the political public sphere.

The specific samples of this study were developed to allow for the identification of patterns of coverage and discussion in regard of the presence of individual male and female politicians. These parameters also allow for an analysis of possible differences in two potential components of the Scottish public sphere (the printed press and social media platform Twitter) and how discussion may have unfolded in the context of specific news agendas and stages of the referendum. This relates to the first research question identified in Chapter 4: "What are the levels of coverage/online discussion of the politicians and what, if any, gendered differences may occur?" The GMMP 2015

(Macharia, 2015 p. 31) argues that in regard to media representations, one definition of the “gender gap” can be interpreted as the “gulf in presence of women and that of men in news content, where presence is determined by visibility, voice and mention” (Macharia, 2015 p. 31). This has gone some way to informing the measure of presence in this section. These variables can be considered important facets of how politicians are (re)presented in media, grounded in the theory which has highlighted the importance of measuring how the women in political roles may be rendered “present”.

Firstly, the general distribution of news and Twitter mentions in the samples will be discussed to give an impression of the visibility of the politicians, as well as the patterns of difference between the types of media samples. This will be followed with an analysis of further variables which may also be interpreted as aspects of presence: a measure of the prominence of the figures in the newspaper samples; and their voices in the newspaper and Twitter samples. Following this is a discussion of the patterns which emerge from these findings. This chapter will show that there is a confirmation of the overall shift of the personalisation of politics, which includes a “presidentialisation” (Langer, 2011) effect that focuses on individuals rather than political groups. In terms of this study, therefore, women are marginalised compared to the men in leadership positions. However in certain circumstances, such as those of Newsweek 3 and Debate 3, conditions may also favour women. Furthermore, when facets of presence are operationalised vis-à-vis prominence and speech, the results point to more equitable coverage across gender, arguably suggesting routine coverage is more affected by prominence and political rank predominantly, though gender may intersect with this. As later chapters will show, however, this coincides with more gendered discussion in evaluative forms of coverage.

5.1 Visibility

The first step in the analysis will be to look at the immediate trends in the newspaper coverage and Twitter discussion, measuring the overall distribution of mentions of the politicians across the six samples: Newsweek 1, Debate 1, Newsweek 2, Debate 2, Newsweek 3, and Debate 3. The aim of this is to give an initial indication of the levels of visibility of the political figures analysed to show how much they appear in media coverage or Twitter discussion. As has been widely discussed in media scholarship, the press can be considered a component of the public sphere, offering a platform for debate over issues of public concern (Habermas, 1989; Higgins, 2006; Dekavalla, 2012). Social media has arguably been an emergent and additional component of this, initially being framed as having the potential to offer a more democratic public sphere, though more recently it is positioned as failing to live up to these expectations (Papacharissi, 2002; Fuchs, 2014). In the case of this study, these two platforms were chosen to compare different discussion of the same politicians, which may give some comparative insight to the deliberative democratic potential of these media platforms, allowing for the examination of the media (re)presentations of female politicians in a specific political, cultural, and national context.

In an accompanying study which draws on data from the GMMP 2015 (Macharia, 2015), Ross *et al.* (2016) focus on the four nations of the UK: England, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales.⁶¹ In the news category of “Women in politics and government” section, women’s overall presence (consisting of their depiction as both sources and subjects) is found to be only 20% as a composite figure for the four nations and even less for Scotland at 17%. As the study points out, this is even more surprising given the position of Nicola Sturgeon as First Minister of Scotland during the sampling period (during 2015). This is particularly pertinent in regard to this thesis as these findings traverse the realm of political communication and are, to an extent, Scottish-specific –

⁶¹ Each country contributing to the GMMP has an individual report. Ross *et al.* (2016) is an accompanying study which further looks at the results and provides both a quantitative and qualitative analysis.

something otherwise uncommon. Therefore this may already hint to what we may expect to find in this study, given the closeness in time to the samples in this thesis.

There are however points of difference which should be highlighted. In the case of Scottish findings from Ross *et al.* (2016) and the GMMP 2015 (Macharia, 2015) findings, these combine the total visibility of all female politicians in the news in a “one-day snapshot” study. In this thesis, however, the focus is on individuals and looks at potential gendered differences which may occur as partially fulfilling the requirements of a Scottish public sphere. Therefore this is not a visibility study in the same sense but looks at a more nuanced operationalisation of presence to analyse how this may be constituted across different figures. Nonetheless, the findings of Ross *et al.* (2016) can be read alongside this study as complimentary. Nicola Sturgeon appears in this study as a high profile politician – but one not yet elevated to the position of First Minister – so this also offers an important facet of representation in an evolving political landscape.

In the case of this thesis, visibility is interpreted as how much a figure appears in the linguistic elements of the media texts drawn for the sample. Visual elements such as standalone pictures or cartoons were not included in this. As discussed in Chapter 4, each of the nine politicians chosen for the study were coded if they were mentioned at any point in the articles. This was the same for both the news articles and the tweets. If a politician was mentioned at least once in the article or tweet, this was counted as a “mention” with the remaining variables recorded alongside this. This allowed the measurement a total amount of mentions of the politicians per newsweek without overlapping articles where two or more politicians were mentioned in the same article.

From the three weeks of newspaper coverage which were coded, Newsweek 2 featuring the two male politicians, Alistair Darling and Alex Salmond, had the highest number of mentions compared to the other sample groups. There were a total of 587 combined mentions of the male politicians in a total of 350 articles. Newsweek 3, which featured coverage concerning politicians of different genders – four women Ruth

Davidson, Kezia Dugdale, Elaine C Smith, and Nicola Sturgeon, and two men, Douglas Alexander and Patrick Harvie – consisted of 135 combined mentions of the politicians in a total of 74 articles. The newsweek which solely featured women – Newsweek 1 focusing on Johann Lamont and Nicola Sturgeon – had the lowest proportion of coverage with only 73 combined mentions in a total of 49 articles. This is shown in Figure 3.

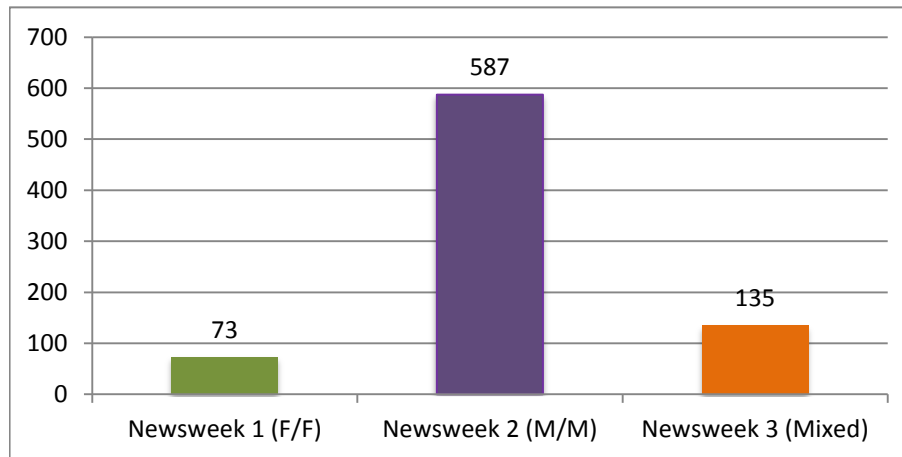


Figure 3. Total mentions of politicians by name for each newsweek (Newspapers)

Already, the distribution shows a clear disparity between the amounts of coverage allocated to these different groups.⁶² This initially suggests that female politicians receive a disproportionately smaller amount of news coverage than their male counterparts, with the sample featuring only men particularly dominant.

However, if the figures are examined on an individual basis for each sample, this gives a more nuanced picture to how visibility and gender may operate. With a particular focus on the Newsweek 3, we can see that a woman, Nicola Sturgeon, dominates the mentions, making up more than 50% of the total drawn for that sample. Ruth Davidson

⁶² For graphs showing differences across the three samples groups, the gender identity of the participants is indicated by: F/F = female and female; M/M = male and male; and Mixed = participants of different genders.

receives the second highest proportion of mentions at 18.51%, ahead of Douglas Alexander, who follows with 12.59% of the total mentions. These findings therefore suggest that women may not necessarily be marginalised when compared to men in similar circumstances, as shown in Figure 4.⁶³

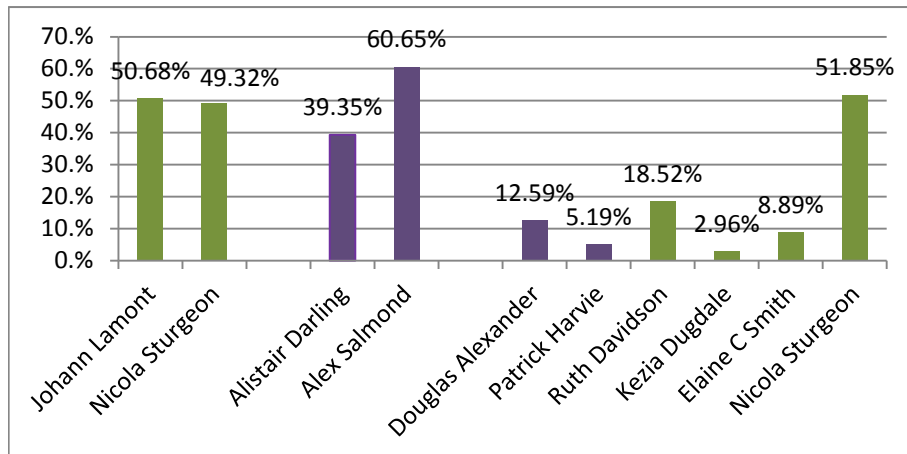


Figure 4. Proportion of mentions in own sample newsweek (newspapers)

Coming to the discussion on Twitter, there was a similar distribution across the samples of coded tweets as the newspaper articles. The sample featuring the two men, Alistair Darling and Alex Salmond, also dominated compared to the other two samples. A total of 2897 combined mentions of these politicians were coded in a total of 2172 tweets. Similar to the newspapers, Debate 3 had the next highest amount, though substantially smaller than Debate 2: it featuring 1230 combined mentions of the politicians in a total of 1103 tweets. Again, the sample which features only women – Debate 1 focusing on Johann Lamont and Nicola Sturgeon – consists of only 279 combined mentions of these politicians in a total of 217 tweets. Like the newspapers, the sample featuring two men shows a much higher proportion of discussion centred on them than the other two groups, as shown in Figure 5.

⁶³ On the horizontal axis the politicians are listed in regards to the newsweeks (Johann Lamont and Nicola Sturgeon for Newsweek 1, Alistair Darling and Alex Salmond for Newsweek 2, and the six politicians for Newsweek 3). The bars are then coloured according to gender, with green for female politicians and purple for male politicians.

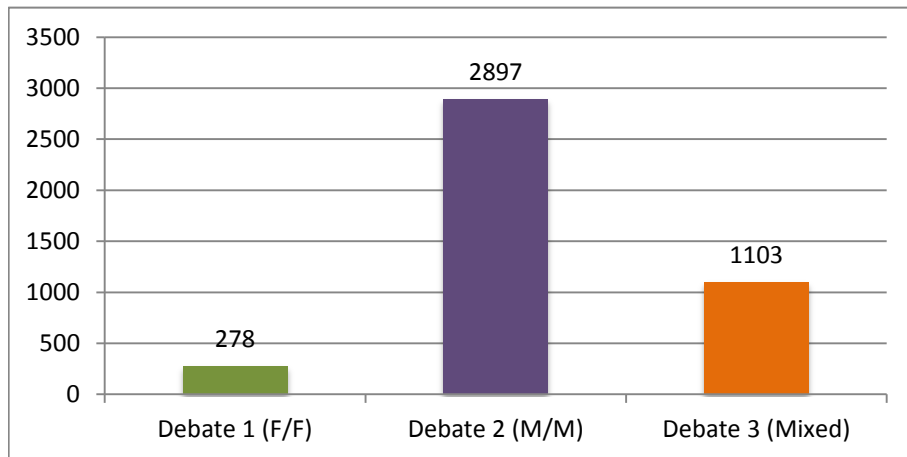


Figure 5. Total mentions of politicians by name for each debate (Twitter)

Looking to an individual breakdown, however, women are not necessarily marginalised when appearing in discussion when men also participate. In Debate 3, women again had the highest proportion of mentions, though this time it is the figures Ruth Davidson and Elaine C Smith at 22.68% and 22.36%, respectively. Again, the same can be said for online discussion as well as newspaper representations: though the findings may indicate a structural marginalisation of female politicians generally, this may not always be in specific cases, as shown in Figure 6.

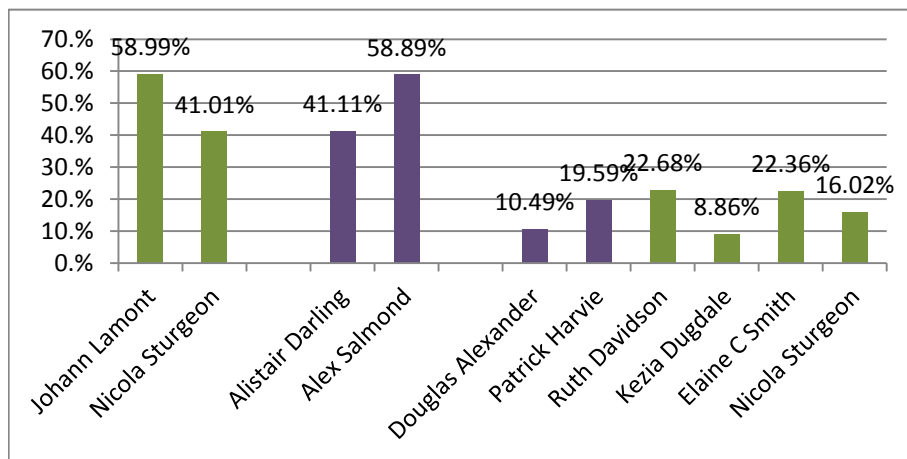


Figure 6. Proportion of mentions in own sample debate (Twitter)

In describing these initial findings, the visibility of these figures shows two emerging strands. Firstly, the disparate amount of mentions across the three different time segments appears to show an under-representation and lack of visibility of women particularly when it is just women who solely feature. This may in part be accounted for through the shorter time of Debate 1 in which they featured (this is particularly pertinent in regard to the Twitter samples). However this does not go all the way to account for such a large difference in the mentions for all the three newsweeks and debates; indeed, the samples featuring Alistair Darling and Alex Salmond dominate all the other samples indicating that other factors may be influencing this trend (discussed later in this chapter). Secondly, when women and men appear together in similar circumstances, there does not appear to be an under-representation of women, which again suggests other influencing factors. Though these give an initial impression of visibility, there are limitations as to how much this can tell us. The next sections will attempt to further address facets of presence through the operationalisation of the variables “prominence” and “speech”.

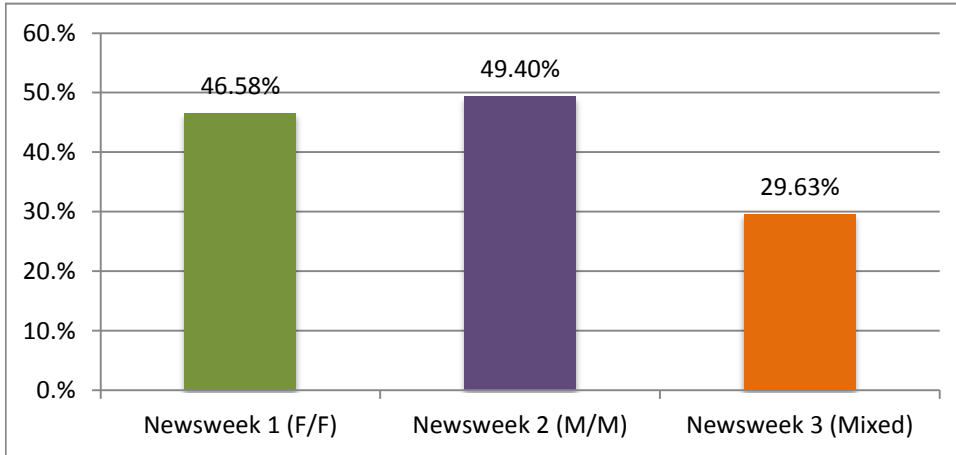
5.2 Prominence

Tracking the distribution of coverage is a useful tool in giving an impression of the visibility of the chosen figures of this study. While the interpretation of the results so far has shown that while there appears to be evidence of a marginalisation of female politicians, this may vary in different contexts. However, these analyses only work on a basic level and differences between the two types of media should also be considered: not just in terms of how and who uses and publishes the information, but also the specific forms of the media in question. The small writing space of Twitter means that there is little difference in the prominence of figures mentioned from one tweet to the other, which occur in a textual space of the same size at 140 characters.⁶⁴ Article size in newspapers, however, can vary from small news in brief pieces or “nibs” of around 100 words to much longer articles reaching around 1000 words. What has been analysed so far – the mention of a politician in an article – does not distinguish between whether they were mentioned in one sentence or the majority of the article, whatever its size.

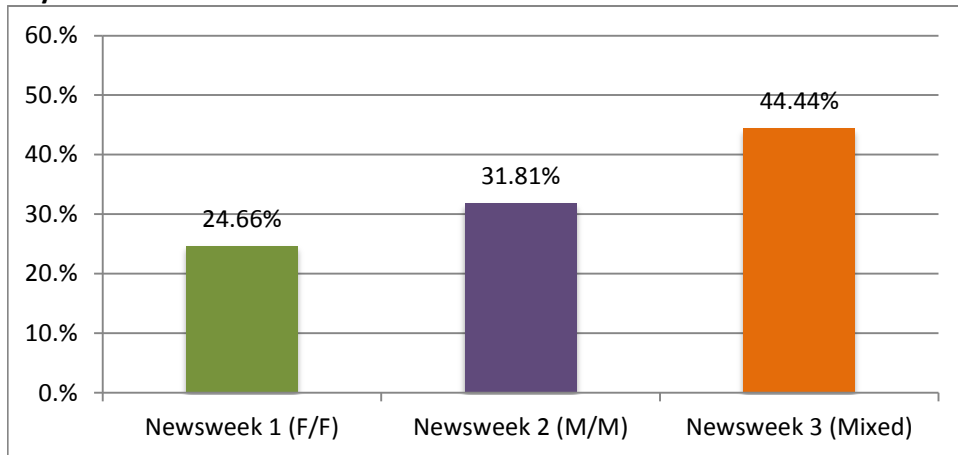
In this case, then, it is useful to draw upon another operationalisation to measure a politician’s presence by looking at how prominent he/she may appear in the articles of the newspaper samples at a story level rather than a basic numerical account. Adcock (2010 p. 153) makes use of a system of classification in regard to how prominent a political figure is constructed in a story by designating them as one of three actors: main (a centrally positioned figure in a story); key (if assigned an important narrative role); or minor (if positioned as relatively insignificant). Through this process, a much more nuanced measurement can show the degree the politicians may have been foregrounded in the news article which was not apparent in the preceding section.

⁶⁴ This has since been updated so that @names in replies and media attachments don’t take up character space (@tdd, 2016).

Main Actor



Key Actor



Minor Actor

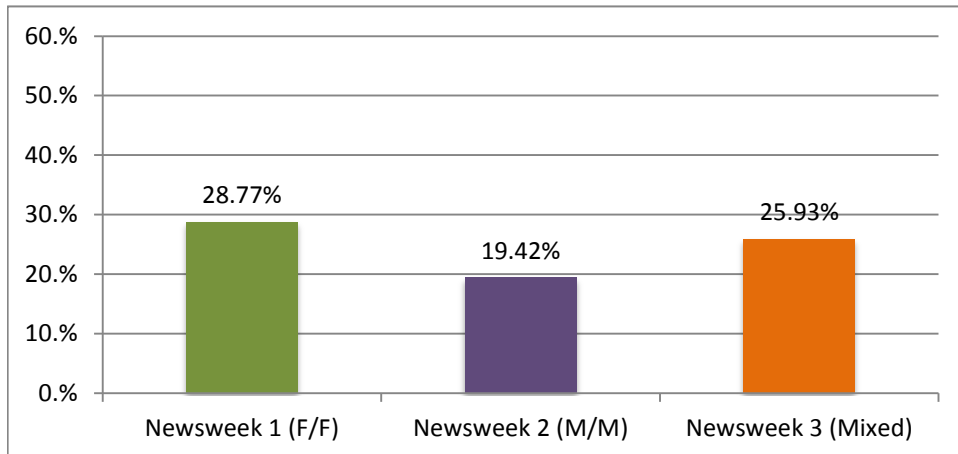
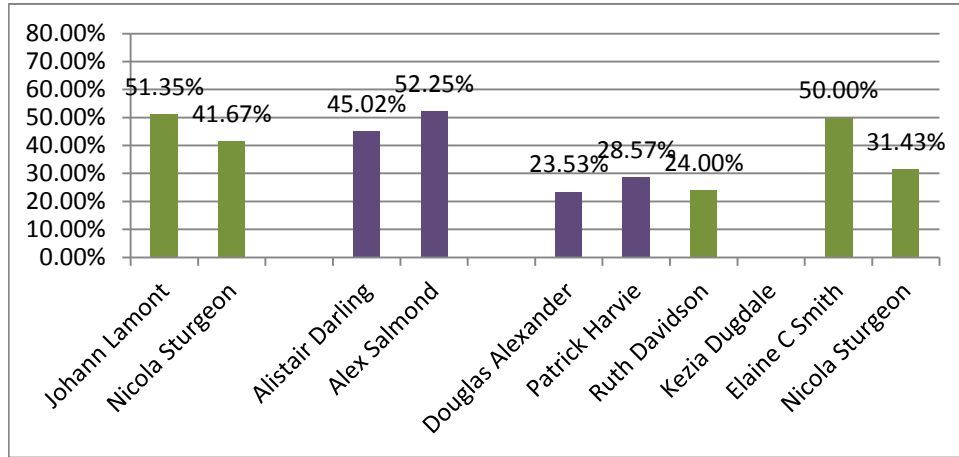


Figure 7. Proportion of mentions with politicians as main, key or minor actors in each newsweek

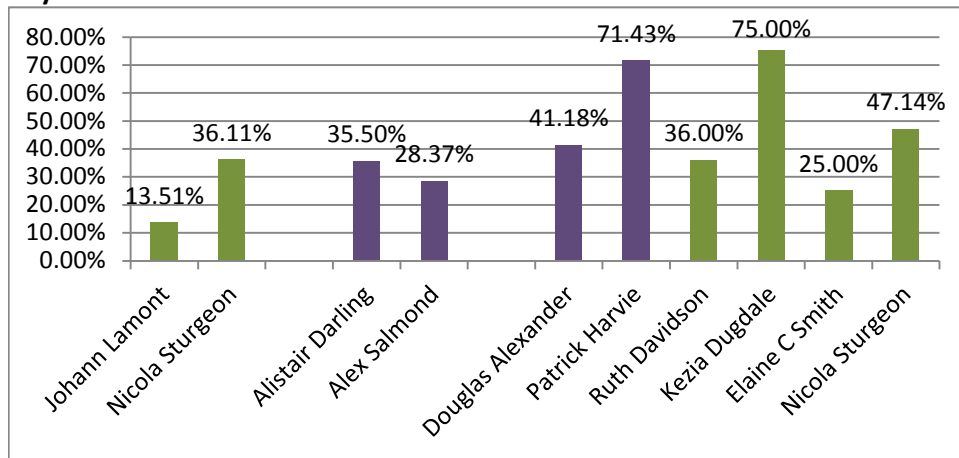
Figure 7 shows the proportion of each configuration of prominence as it appears in each newsweek, first as main actors, followed by key actors, then minor actors. It shows that the male politicians in Newsweek 2 were most likely to be featured as main actors in their sample (49.40%), while the female politicians in Newsweek 1 were just slightly less likely to be featured as main actors than the men (46.58%). Those in Newsweek 3, however, were much less likely to be featured as main actors (29.63%) and more likely to be featured as key actors (44.44%). On the other hand, the male politicians in Newsweek 2 were the least likely to be featured as minor actors (19.42%), while the female politicians in Newsweek 1 were the most likely to be featured as minor actors (28.77%). These figures therefore suggest that the men in Newsweek 2 were the most likely to be featured prominently in the articles which mentioned them, though only to a slight degree.

When the figures are split as a proportion of their own mentions in their specific newsweeks, this gives a further impression of how these figures were presented on an individual basis. It shows that when Alex Salmond was mentioned, he was the figure most likely to be featured as a main actor at 52.25% of his coverage. Johann Lamont was the next individual to have the highest proportion as a main actor at 51.35%, followed by Elaine C Smith at 50% of her own mentions. The figures are shown in Figure 8.

Main Actor



Key Actor



Minor Actor

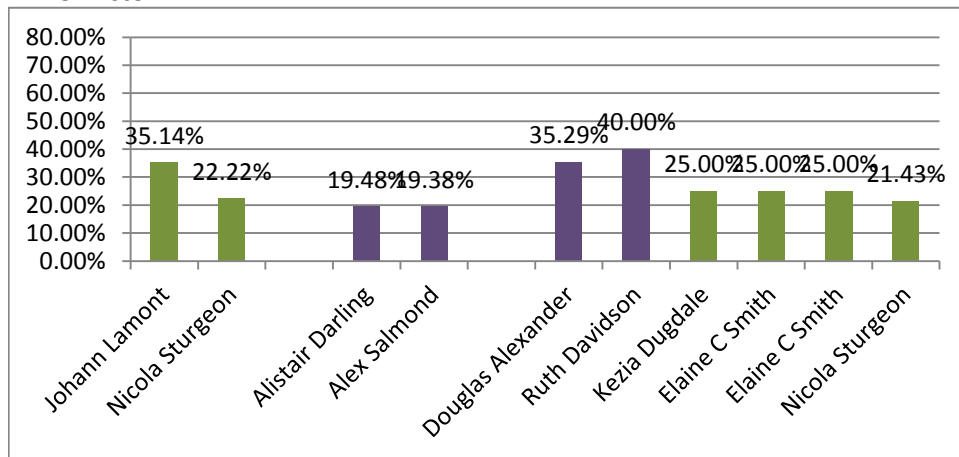


Figure 8. Individual mentions of politicians' as main, key or minor actors (proportion in newsweek sample)

It appears that newspapers favour the seniority of the politicians first and foremost in regard to how prominent a politician appears in a story. The higher proportion of coverage of Alex Salmond and Johann Lamont (who are the main party leaders) suggests this, as does the lower proportion for Kezia Dugdale who was the least likely to be a main actor. She was not featured prominently in the coverage at all though arguably this is because she was the most junior politician included in the sample at that point in time.⁶⁵ In the case of Elaine C Smith, her prominence is related to her role as a columnist for the *Daily Record*, as a number of her own columns were included in the sample.

Overall prominence in news stories may be affected by journalistic efforts toward impartiality and balance, which means that many media outlets will attempt to give similar kinds of coverage to opposing political figures. Of course, this may not be the case for outlets which can express a degree of partisanship, nor account for the newsworthiness of an individual's persona which may be particularly captivating or lacklustre, for different news values, such as "unexpectedness" (Galtung and Ruge, 1965; Harcup and O'Neill, 2001; Harcup and O'Neill, 2016) or who particular campaigns and parties use as a spokesperson. However, in the case of this sample, it appears that political rank is the biggest marker for who is prominent in a story with party leaders all dominating.

⁶⁵ Rank doesn't take in the nuance of the intersections of party prominence. However Dugdale was only elected an MSP three years prior, compared to Patrick Harvie as co-convenor of the Green party. Though his party is of less prominence than Scottish Labour, he has been an established elected figure since 2003. This also compares to the unelected position of Elaine C Smith, however has had decades of prominence in the Scottish cultural sphere.

5.3 Speech

Fairclough (2003 p. 48) outlines that reporting in texts is a form of intertextuality, through the reference of the speech, thought or writing of another reported in the text. Fairclough details the different forms this reporting can take, contrasting those “which are relatively “faithful” to what is reported, quoting it, claiming to reproduce what was actually said or written, and those which are not”, which he clarifies as being designated “direct” and “indirect” reporting (ibid p.49). This can be seen as a representation of specific statements and utterances through quotation (designated by quotation marks) or a generalised representation or summary of speech and thoughts, but not the actual words used (and without quotation marks). This in turn creates a form of tension between the reporting and reported texts. As Fairclough (2003) points out, in the genre of journalistic writing there is favouring of both these modes which alternates between attributed and authorial voices.

This form of intertextuality is routinely used by journalists through the referencing of sources as a way of legitimising the use of opinion and points of views in stories as a form of journalistic objectivity (Tuchman, 1972). Journalists use sources⁶⁶ as a way of providing and attributing authoritative information as well as legitimising the use of subjective comments in news stories. However, media research has shown that sources are not used indiscriminately by journalists, with the privileging of the voices of certain groups over others. Moreover, this can also have a gendered dimension whereby the kind of voices and the frequency of voices can be a way to gauge women’s structural marginalisation in the media and in political communication (Ross, 2007; Adcock, 2010; Macharia, 2015; O’Neill, Savigny and Cann, 2016). Even in places such as Finland, which is considered a “progressive and “female-friendly” Nordic country”, there is evidence of the under-representation of female sources in the media (Niemi and Pitkänen, 2017). Fairclough (1992 p. 105) further suggests that in forms of indirect or reported speech

⁶⁶ In this case sources are taken to mean individuals, however this can also refer to publications or other records of information.

the attribution to whose voice is present may be more “ambivalent” and has implications in regard to how much authorial intervention and control is taken in regard to lexical choice. This, in turn, has democratic implications if patterns emerge whereas different voices are reported in different ways.

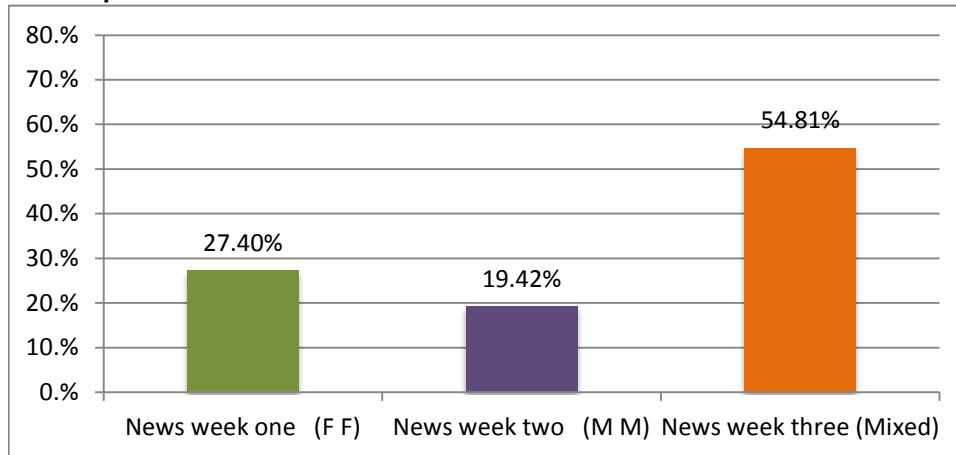
As outlined in the introduction of this chapter, Ross *et al.* (2016) find an under-representation of female sources in the news in the Scottish context, though do not give a breakdown of who may say what and how. This thesis may help to reveal the nuances in the forms of speech used for different political actors, the amount, and what other factors may be of influence in their use. Research therefore suggests that the inclusion of the measurement of voice is an important facet of presence to study in regard to the representation of female politicians; the amount a subject’s voice is featured shows how much her voice is heard in political discourse.⁶⁷ As O’Neill *et al.* (2016 p. 300) assert, hearing from women directly is important in regard to raising their profile, as well being linked to their overall visibility.

The results show that in both the Newsweek 1 and Newsweek 2, the politicians were much more likely to be mentioned without the use of any speech at all: 67.12% of the mentions in Newsweek 1 for Johann Lamont and Nicola Sturgeon had no speech and 70.36% for Newsweek 2 with Alistair Darling and Alex Salmond. It was Newsweek 3, which focused on the politicians with a mix of genders, which shows the highest proportion of direct speech per mentions overall at 54.81%. Following this it was Newsweek 1 with Johann Lamont and Nicola Sturgeon who were directly quoted in 27.40% of the sample, and then than the men in the Newsweek 2 at 19.42%.

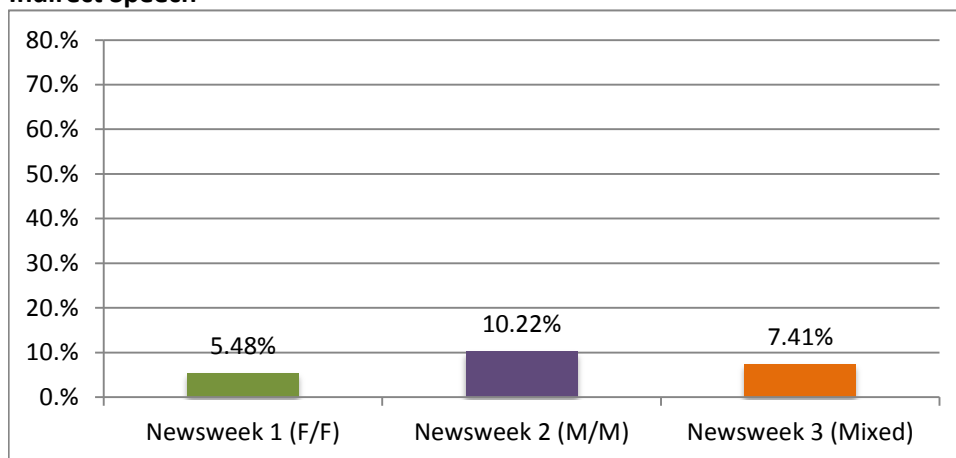
⁶⁷ This can be considered different to linguistic analysis of speech patterns of political figures, though there has been interesting studies done in regards to recent political events in the UK. Cameron and Shaw (2016), for example, provide an analysis of the influence of gender on speech patterns by looking at the performances of key figures, such as Nicola Sturgeon, during the 2015 UK General Election campaign, an interestingly did not find any gender-based difference. They did, however, also find a ‘different voice’ ideology deployed as prominent feature of media coverage of the events. This is interesting in regards to the “sameness/difference” argument (Jamieson, 1995) discussed throughout this thesis. However this study analyses differences in direct and indirect speech to analyse what patterns may emerge rather than the linguistic patterns of the speech of these figures.

The men in the Newsweek 2 were more likely to have their voices called upon through indirect speech (10.22% for Newsweek 2 compared to 5.48% for Newsweek 1 and 7.41% for Newsweek 3) suggesting that there was an inclination for men to be paraphrased more than women, though the differences between the samples are small, showing a tendency for the newspapers to predominantly avoid this. These trends indicate that there may be a more complex arrangement around whose voices are reported, and how, in news discourse. Newsweek 1 featuring women appears to be quoted in coverage proportionally more than the men in Newsweek 2, as seen in Figure 9.

Direct Speech



Indirect Speech



No Speech

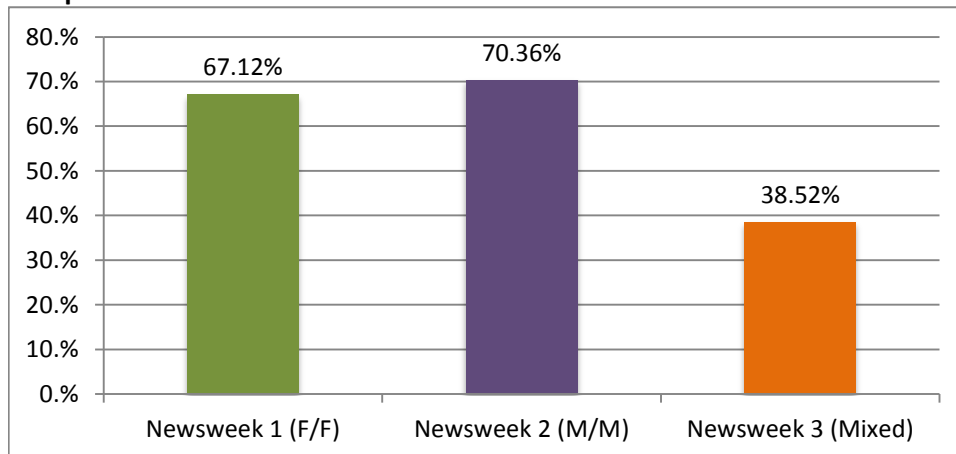
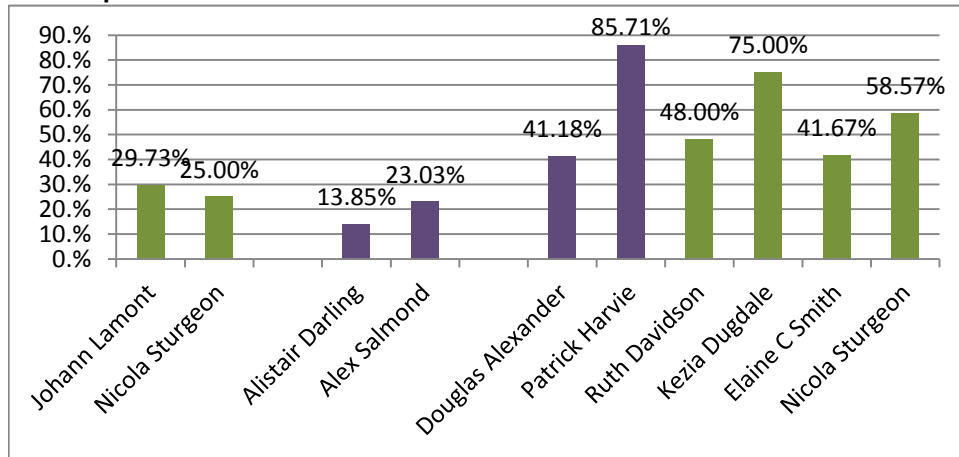


Figure 9. Proportion of mentions with politicians' speech in each newsweek

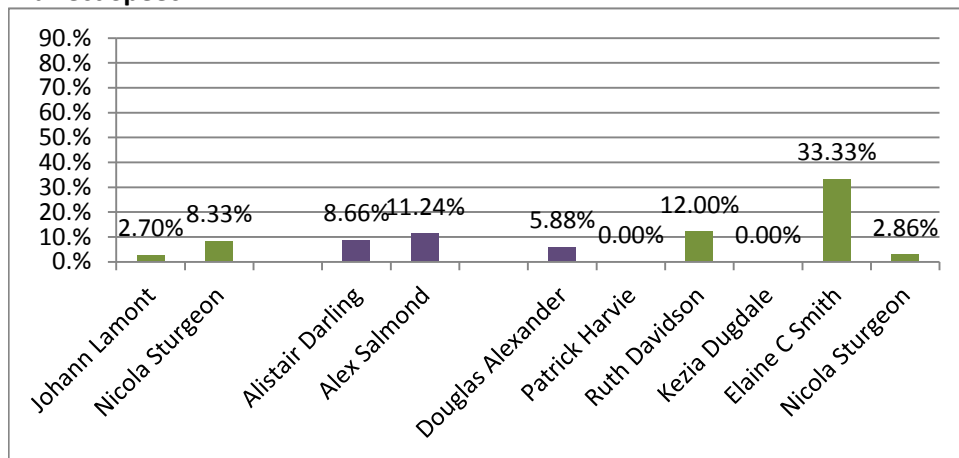
This is also borne out when looking to the proportions of speech as it occurs for the individual politicians. Here it appears that Johann Lamont, Nicola Sturgeon, Alistair Darling and Alex Salmond in Newsweek 1 and Newsweek 2 all have comparable proportions of speech (with the women slightly higher) across all the categories, suggesting a similarity in how their voice is presented. Interestingly the politicians in the last time segment have a higher degree of direct speech used as a proportion of their coverage, with the individuals arguably the least well known – Kezia Dugdale and Patrick Harvie – more likely to be quoted as a proportion of their own coverage (see Figure 10).

Nicola Sturgeon also shows a relatively high incidence of her speech being reported in Newsweek 3, which may be related to her being the figure of the highest rank in that configuration. With the exception of Sturgeon, however, it appears that political rank appears to influence how much their coverage also contains their voice. There is a suggestion that the higher the political rank and prominence, the more likely a politician will be talked *about* and less likely to be directly quoted. This may also be related in part to newspapers having less scope or space for discussion around politicians of a lower rank with reporters directly quoting them for brevity as well as the lower amount of coverage dedicated to these figures overall.

Direct Speech



Indirect Speech



No Speech

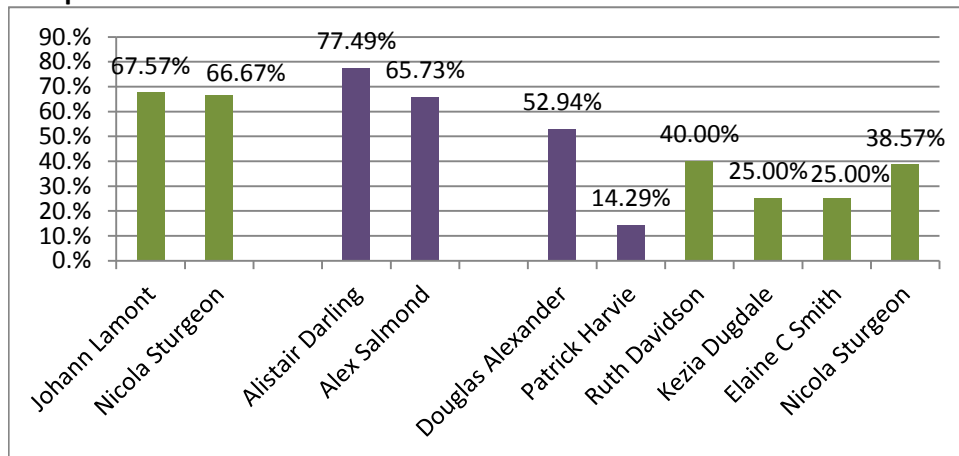


Figure 10. Individual mentions of politicians' speech (proportion in newsweek sample)

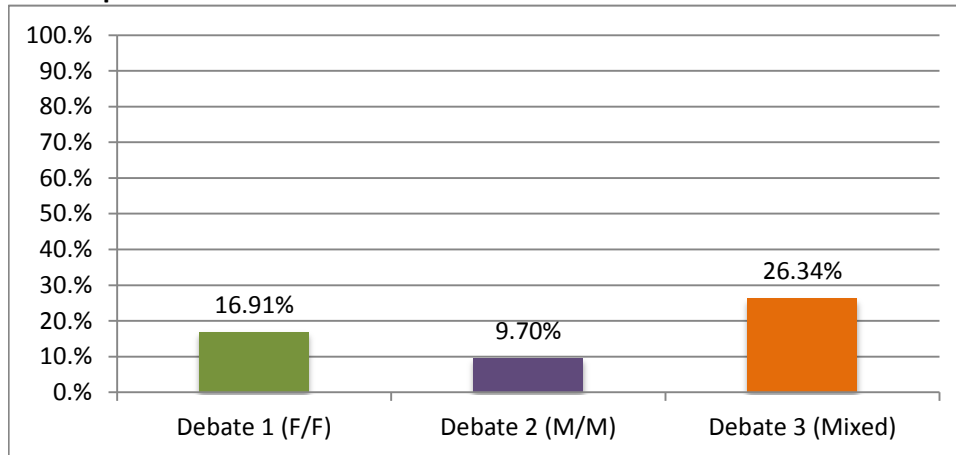
If these figures are aggregated according to gender, Table 5 shows that the women are more likely overall to be directly quoted when they are mentioned. They are less likely to be indirectly quoted or discussed without speech rather than the men. When taken into account with the individual findings, it may be that as politicians reach a higher rank, they are more likely to generate evaluative discussion. And as the highest ranking politicians are more likely to be male, this means the female politicians might have a higher proportion of speech in proportion to their visibility. The findings therefore indicate that both a combination of rank and gender are likely to influence the degree of speech reported for specific politicians, though suggests a form of parity in regard to this kind of routine coverage.

Table 5. Proportion of politicians’ speech in own mentions, split by gender (newspapers)

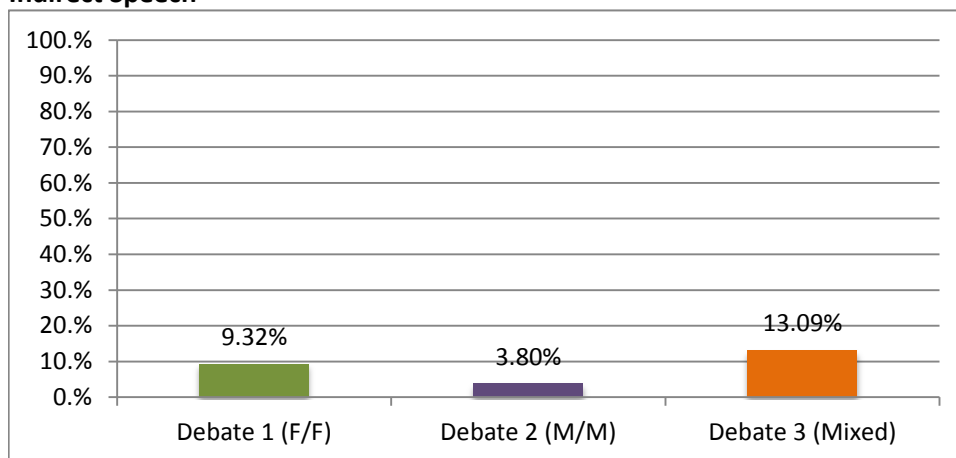
Gender	Direct Speech	Indirect Speech	No Speech
Female	44.02%	7.07%	48.9%
Male	20.79%	9.98%	69.23%

Moving to the use of speech on Twitter, the small limit of 140 characters carries with it the expectation that there is less space for direct speech in this element of the sample. Though alternatively, this may be mitigated by the propensity to report what has been said during a debate as it happens, to rapidly rehearse these comments in discussion. Figure 11, however, shows that the majority of the mentions for each debate did not contain any form of speech, directly or indirectly.

Direct Speech



Indirect Speech



No Speech

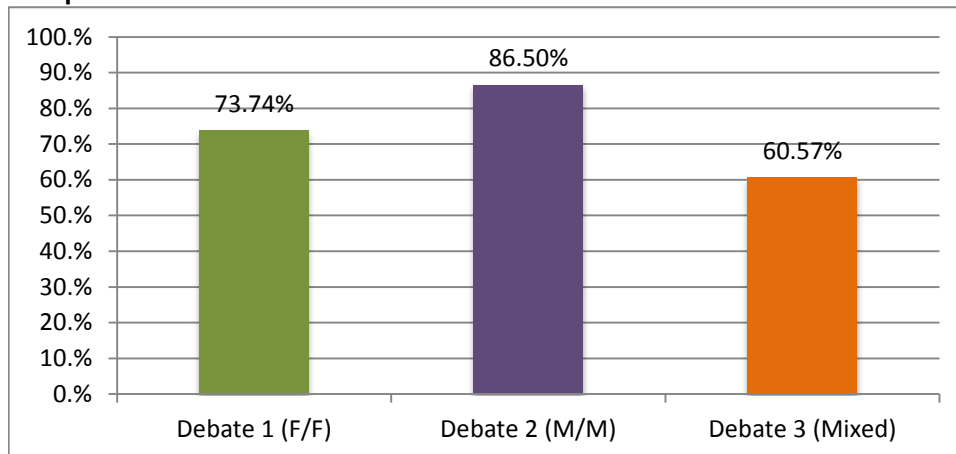
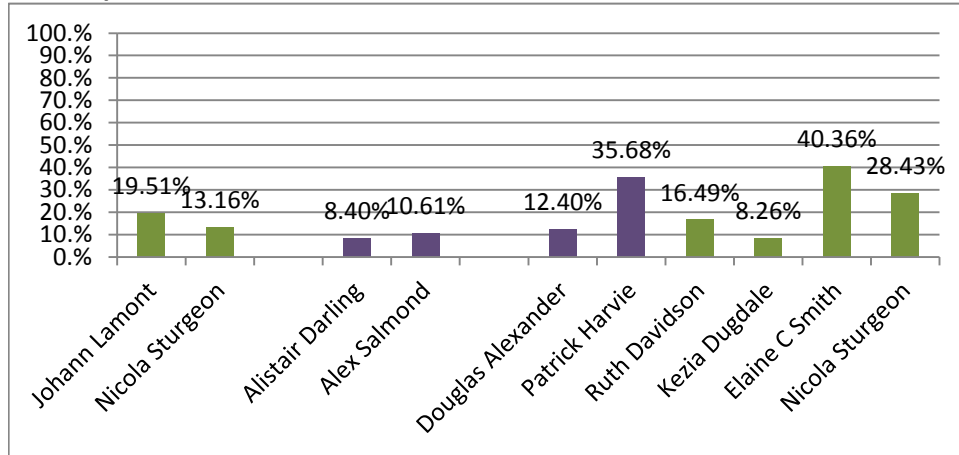


Figure 11. Proportion of mentions with politicians' speech in each debate (Twitter)

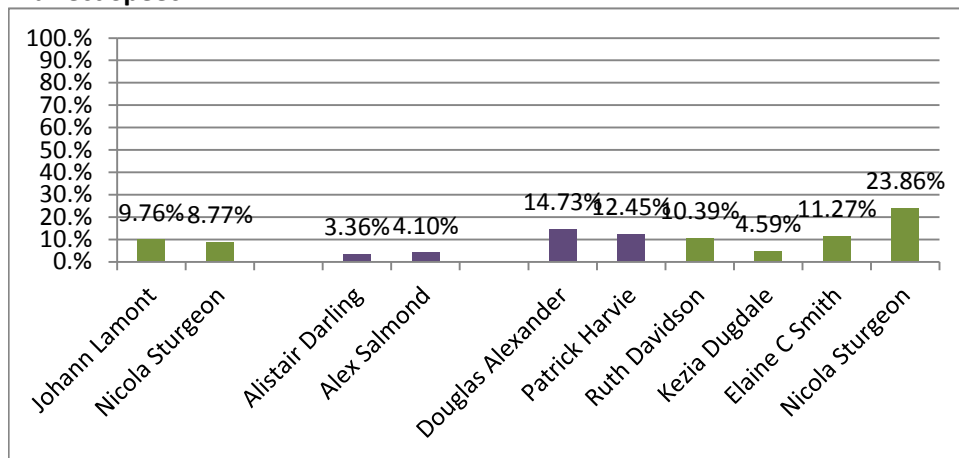
Similar to the newspaper samples though, it was Debate 3 featuring the politicians of a mix of genders which had the highest proportion of direct speech quoted in the tweets (26.34%). This suggests users were more likely to quote the six politicians (Douglas Alexander, Ruth Davidson, Kezia Dugdale, Patrick Harvie, Elaine C Smith, and Nicola Sturgeon) than they were to quote the women from Debate 1 with Johann Lamont and Nicola Sturgeon (16.91% of the mentions contained direct speech) and even less so for Debate 2 with Alistair Darling and Alex Salmond (9.70% contained direct speech). Again these trends indicate the same trajectory as the newspaper samples, suggesting that in the Scottish context, some women's voices may not necessarily be marginalised in public discussion compared to men in specific circumstances.

Interestingly, when it came to direct speech as a proportion of their own mentions in the Twitter samples, the discernible pattern was most obvious in Debate 3. In this case the politicians with the highest proportion of direct speech were Nicola Sturgeon, Elaine C Smith and Patrick Harvie, who all appeared as member of *Yes Scotland* in favour of Scotland voting for independence (see Figure 12).

Direct Speech



Indirect Speech



No Speech

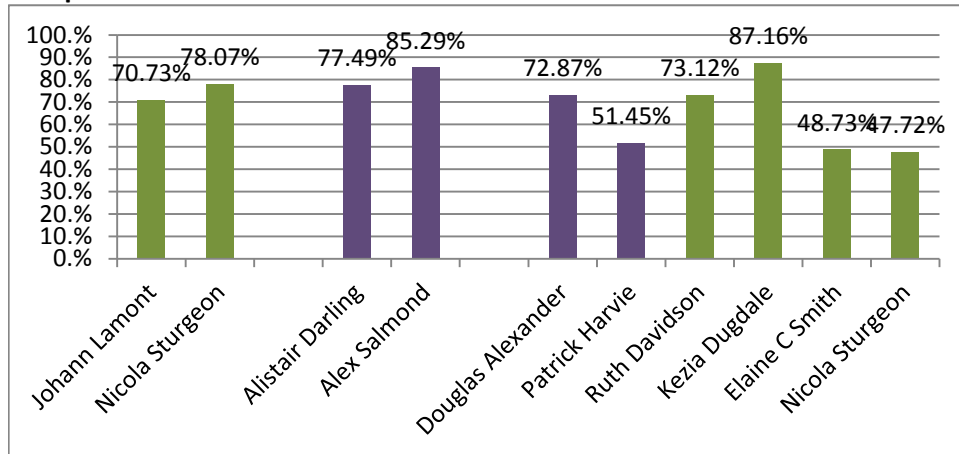


Figure 12. Individual mentions of politicians' speech (proportion in Twitter sample)

This is particularly interesting as it corresponds with reports of higher amounts of *Yes Scotland* supporters taking part in online discussion, as highlighted in Chapter 1 (Shephard and Quinlan, 2014) (though this assumes that the speech is being said by supporters, rather than those on the opposing side). In this context then, it appears that political affiliation is more of an influence in how much these figures were quoted in the tweets, as well as who may have been watching and discussing the debate on Twitter. Like the newspaper samples though, Table 6 shows that when the figures are aggregated according to gender, women are more likely to be quoted than the men, both directly and indirectly, indicating that in this instance they are not marginalised through a lack of voice.

Table 6. Proportion of politician's speech in own mentions split by gender (Twitter)

Gender	Direct Speech	Indirect Speech	No Speech
Female	23.64%	12.13%	64.32%
Male	11.72%	4.87%	83.38%

When presence was approached vis-à-vis voice, then, there is also no indication of a marginalisation of female politicians. In the case of the newspaper coverage, this also reveals a tendency for the newspapers to favour specific politicians, though this includes figures of different genders. This may also be affected by the communication strategies of the campaign sides, and their use of specific individuals as spokesmen or spokeswomen, as well as the persona of the politicians included in the samples. This chapter will now move on to a discussion of some of the factors influencing these patterns.

5.4 Presidentialisation

The analysis of samples of discourse from the 2014 Scottish independence referendum shows that there were certain figures who dominated both in the news agenda and public discussion on Twitter. As has been shown, the newspaper and Twitter samples which feature two men – Alistair Darling and Alex Salmond – show a much higher proportion of mentions indicating that they were much more visible than the individuals in the other samples. Arguably, the considerable visibility of these figures stems from their political history, seniority and the timing of the debate within the referendum. As Alex Salmond was First Minister of Scotland at the time, he held the highest seat in Scottish politics.⁶⁸ His long association with the Scottish independence movement, as well as his prominent political position, meant that he was frequently a figurehead associated with the campaign for independence preceding the mandate for a referendum. The *Yes Scotland* movement was presented as a cross-party campaign, featuring a number of people in formal roles,⁶⁹ yet Alex Salmond was still the most readily associated figure with the campaign beginning with his role in the signing of the Edinburgh Agreement as First Minister (Gardham, 2012), was described in the Scottish media as the campaign’s “key player” (Black and James, 2014) and was often a central focus in the media. In this case, then, there was some expectation that he would feature significantly in his given sample periods.

Alistair Darling did not occupy a place in the devolved Scottish Parliament, though he had strong political capital for his roles as a long-time MP and as Chancellor of the Exchequer for the UK government. Similar to the *Yes Scotland* campaign, *Better Together* had a campaign director, Blair McDougall, and many featured figureheads in the movement, including Ruth Davidson and Johann Lamont, who were often pictured

⁶⁸ Initially a Westminster MP, Salmond was elected leader of the SNP party in 2004, with Nicola Sturgeon effective leader of the Holyrood party until he resigned his UK seat to be elected as an MSP in 2007, which was the year he also took the mantle of First Minister.

⁶⁹ These include Blair Jenkins as Chief Executive as well as three further figures in this study – Nicola Sturgeon, Patrick Harvie and Elaine C Smith – sitting on its advisory board.

at events together, including the official launch of the campaign in Edinburgh in 2012 (BBC News, 2012). Darling, however, was again one of the most readily associated with the campaign through his drafting as director and chairman and was often presented as an oppositional figure to Salmond (*Daily Record*, 2014; Nicoll, 2014).

The Scottish media's framing of the debate between the two men was established as a key moment in the campaign, and was widely anticipated. The implication was that the media attention around both Darling and Salmond emphasised their political standing, rehearsing traditional political discourses associating maleness and leadership. This was the first time the men had appeared against each other in a formal capacity; a broadcast between the two figures had been on the agenda a year prior to the referendum in 2013, with repeated calls from Darling for Salmond to debate him on issues around the referendum. This was refused by Salmond on the grounds that he would only debate the head of the UK Parliament, then Prime Minister David Cameron, who himself had refused, saying that it was a matter for Scottish nationals to debate (Schofield, 2013). Inasmuch as the power struggle of this debate was much to do with the ideological positioning of figures representative of "Scotland versus Scotland" or "Scotland versus UK" (Carrell, 2013; Mason, 2014), it was also rooted in the expectations of the performance of each of these individuals, with Salmond holding the reputation of being a formidable debater (Roden, 2014; Aug 06, Musson and Nicoll, 2014, Aug 07). A debate pitting Salmond against either opponent was widely anticipated, and perhaps explains the high amount of coverage the two men received during the week this debate took place during what many considered a peak time of the campaign. Even the potential participation of David Cameron established the hierarchical positioning of these men in the traditionally associated realm of male leadership and authority.

In this case, the findings could be interpreted as evidence of what Langer (2011 p. 6) calls the "presidentialisation" of politics, whereby "individual political figures become more central in the decision-making process, displacing other political actors, especially

political parties and collegiate forms of government". A form of personalisation, this differs slightly from, if still interrelated with, that of "personality politics" which is more occupied with the personal lives and features of politicians (which is considered more in the following chapters) at the expense of political ideology. The difference in this case is that presidentialisation is indicated by a "greater mediated visibility" of leaders (ibid p.7), which is suggested in the results of this section. As Langer points out, however, presidentialisation does not necessarily mean a specific shift in power so that the concept of prime ministers and (US) presidents are indistinguishable (and with it a shift in the balance of power), yet broadly speaking it does point to a more central focus on specific figures in the campaign. Though the referendum was not focused on the election of political leaders, this theme was still somewhat on the media agenda, with discussion at points centring on the idea that Alex Salmond – as First Minister – could occupy a leadership role in Scotland, should there be a move towards independence.

The presidentialisation thesis, however, does not necessarily mean the focus of the discussion will always present figures in a positive light; indeed, it may also mean more negative coverage (an analysis of this will be included in Chapter 6). Therefore, even though Alex Salmond was discussed more readily in both the newspaper and Twitter discussion, this includes both positive and negative commentary. This was evident in the campaign itself when he was often depicted as a highly divisive figure. The greater focus of media coverage on a figure such as Salmond, considered a formal and figurative "leader" of the movement, may support the presidentialisation thesis in the sense that through the greater visibility of Salmond also contributes to the visibility of Darling as his main oppositional figure. Further to this, an increased focus may not mean an increase in agency; indeed, as the results show that even though these men were more likely to be featured as a main actor in their coverage, this was accompanied by lower proportions of direct speech. This indicates that while they were indeed talked about, newspapers and to an extent, the public, were less willing to let them speak.

5.5 The Most Senior Women

The results from the Newsweek 3 also suggest a tendency for discussion to centre on specific figures, rather than more equitable amounts of coverage, suggesting a further emphasis on the presidentialisation thesis. In regard to visibility, Nicola Sturgeon was by far the most prominent woman in the samples overall. At the time, Sturgeon was a well-known figure and was often referred to as the second in command to Salmond as deputy leader of the SNP and, as will be discussed, was later framed in the media as a better alternative in the Salmond-Sturgeon duo. This was at point put down to his too “aggressive” character and lack of appeal to women voters (Clegg, 2014 Aug 10; Clegg, 2014; Cowing, 2014, Aug 06). In this respect, this may account for Sturgeon’s increased focus in the third sample periods, and hints at her career trajectory to First Minister following the referendum and Salmond’s resignation.⁷⁰

Yet, as will be shown in the following chapters, Sturgeon was also constructed as deviating from traditional expectations of femininity when in opposition to Johann Lamont, which suggests gendered representations are often constructed relative to other relevant actors. As is borne out in the rest of this study, when women are constructed in comparison to other women solely, this is often in highly gendered ways (as well as men in comparison to men to a similar effect) which arguably impacts on their political credibility.

Sturgeon’s rank and profile may also account for her dominance in the newspaper coverage in Newsweek 3, which suggests a greater familiarity with her as compared to the first newsweek sample, Newsweek 1. Though Johann Lamont was more visible in Newsweek 1, overall the mentions of both women were low compared to the other

⁷⁰ This also compares to Ruth Davidson, the second most prominent figure in the newspaper coverage. As a party leader, she is relatively prominent, but less so than Sturgeon due to the Conservative party’s popularity in Scotland at the time.

samples. As was played out later in the campaign with Johann Lamont, her political performance was considered lacklustre (arguably contributing to her resignation from her role as Scottish Labour Party leader) which hints that her political persona may not have met the necessary news values to feature prominently throughout the campaign, as well as being seen to be eclipsed by other members of the Scottish Labour Party, such as her successor Jim Murphy (Hutcheon, 2014).

However the low proportion of coverage and discussion may be related to the time of the debate itself. Though Sturgeon had been in a number of debates throughout 2013 on *Scotland Tonight*, these referendum debate specials were seen to be a build-up to the bigger of the STV debates closer to polling day. The Lamont-Sturgeon debate was the fourth in this series, and first of 2014, and it had gathered some momentum due to the ones preceding and was billed as prominent for featuring “two most senior women in Scottish politics” (STV, 2014). However it was screened relatively early in the year in February compared to the referendum date itself in September. Furthermore, the debate itself was shorter than the debates of the other periods, which also may have affected the amount of the discussion, specifically in regard to the Twitter sample. Nonetheless, it was unexpected to see the comparative marginalisation of the politicians in the first and the third time segment (though this was still higher than the first time segment) or the two figures of Darling and Salmond would feature as prominently in both the samples.

Interestingly, the trends in the newspaper coverage do not correspond with the discussion on Twitter, which instead shows the proportion of mentions much more widely dispersed. There was significant discussion during the campaign period about the dominance of pro-independence supporters on Twitter (Quinlan, Shephard and Paterson, 2015), which may account for the higher proportion of mentions containing direct speech of the three figures on the pro-independence side. Particularly, when the combination of the persona of the figures and political rank are considered, it appears that these have a large influence of the kind of visibility politicians may have, which is in

accord with the overall trend towards the personalisation of politics thesis, discussed by Langer (2011).

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter sought to look at the kind of presence specific politicians held in the media during key points during the Scottish independence referendum. As discussed in Chapter 4, these debates were framed as significant political events and considering these figures were chosen to participate, they can each be considered to have a high enough profile for generating viewers and subsequent discussion in the newspapers. In this way then it can be assumed that they were prominent enough for comparison in the samples. As these findings indicate, however, their presence in the samples varied. These show a wide disparity between the number of mentions for the newsweek and debate featuring two men – Alistair Darling and Alex Salmond – each significantly higher than the mentions of the other two sample periods. This suggests a confirmation of the overall shift of the personalisation of politics through an increased focus, or “presidentialisation” of these figures (Langer, 2011). This shows how much personality dominated the referendum, at times it was as much about Salmond winning and Darling losing as well as the opposing sides, which hints to similar trends around the tendency to focus – albeit positive or negative in tone – on populist leaders such as Nigel Farage and Donald Trump in recent years

Existing literature points towards an overall structural marginalisation of female political figures in the news (Ross, 2007; Adcock, 2010; Macharia, 2015). One interpretation of this is that women are marginalised because of the overall trend of the “glass ceiling” as they don’t often achieve the highest positions in politics. However individual cases from previous research also show that this may oscillate depending on different mitigating factors, such as displaying atypically gendered behaviour (Gidengil and Everitt, 2003) or appearing as a novelty in a political situation which has historically

been male (Wasburn and Wasburn, 2011; Meeks, 2012). Certainly, a form of this appears to be the case in regard to the situations examined in this research. The samples featuring men show they dominated, but when it came to the sampling frames which featured both women and men – Newsweek 3 and Debate 3 – the results favoured Nicola Sturgeon, or Ruth Davidson and Elaine C Smith in the Twitter discussion. Therefore the findings are much more ambiguous, suggesting more complex representations that may include, but not be confined to, gender difference.

This indicates that influential elements such as rank, political affiliation, timing and ideological agenda, all may all play a role in how these political figures are represented. This may also rest on the overall mediated performance and “quotability” of the individual, but may also be influenced by the party communication strategies themselves, and who is positioned as a leading spokesperson. However, the gender of a political figure may still influence how these factors play out. It is therefore important to consider gender alongside different configurations of presence as addressed in the previous sections, in this case the measure of prominence and speech.

Given that there have been a number of women in political leadership positions following the debate, including Sturgeon’s promotion to First Minister, this does point to a promising move in regard to women in leadership positions in Scotland. Furthermore, the findings of the prominence and speech variables suggest a form of equality of coverage when the women and men are featured in routine stories. Though this may at first be encouraging, both the following content analysis results and critical discourse analysis in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 will show that these findings should be interpreted alongside analyses of what latent meanings occur in more focused media discussion. The following chapters will attempt to address the concerns of the remaining research questions in regard to the gendered mediation and trivialisation of female politicians. The chapters will discuss a number of discourses in evidence around the female politicians which construct them as outsiders and interlopers to the public sphere.

6. Gendered Mediation

The previous chapter examined the presence of the politicians as they appeared in the different samples of this study. This included a measure of their visibility which showed how often they were mentioned in their given news coverage or tweets. This was important to give an overall impression of how much the politicians appeared in comparison to one another, developing a further perspective to studies such as such as the *Global Media Monitoring Project* (2015) and Ross *et al.* (2016) which explore the structural marginalisation of female politicians in the news. It shows that there is a large difference between the samples which features men (Alistair Darling and Alex Salmond) compared to those that feature women or feature politicians of a mix of genders. However a measurement of prominence and quoted speech of the politicians in question, which were included as a way of building a more nuanced picture of their presence, suggests a form of equitable representation in routine coverage despite the disparity in visibility.

As discussed in Chapter 1, Silverstone (1999 p. 13) describes the media as a process of mediation whereby meaning is (re)negotiated through discourse. This, Fairclough (2010 p. 78) argues, also acts as a process of recontextualisation between the media and different social fields. In this way, mediation may also be ideological. As discussed in Chapter 3, Gidengil and Everitt (2003) employ the term “gendered mediation” to describe how the mediation of political actors may reveal different patterns around those of different genders. Chapters 2 and 3 established that the marginalisation and trivialisation of women in politics can be traced back to the tensions which play out in ideological beliefs anchored in the perceived differences between men and women. Looking at forms of gendered mediation, then, may lead to the exposure of underlying attitudes and power structures around gender which may play out differently – and unexpectedly – in a variety of different social, cultural and/or political interactions, as seen in Chapter 3.

While all categories in this thesis could be considered areas where we might potentially see a form of gendered mediation, this chapter is concerned with the discourses which may not appear stereotypically gendered *per se* but concern broader patterns which have at times been found to operate differently around male and female politicians. These have been informed by the research addressed in the opening chapters. The first section takes the form of the content analysis discussing the findings of the selected variables of this section of the study. The second section will then take the form of a critical discourse analysis looking to the dominant discourses arising from the results of the content analysis. It will show that female politicians are still proportionally represented in more gendered terms than their male counterparts, particularly in newspaper coverage. Furthermore a number of gendered frames can be seen to belittle and trivialise women's contributions, depoliticise their voice, and emphasise their status as outsiders in the public sphere.

6.1 Content Analysis

The first section in this chapter gives the results of the content analysis which focuses on the second research question: "what is the amount of gendered mediation, if any, around the politicians analysed?" This discusses a number of different variables grouped under this framework looking to the patterns which may emerge. These may or may not be immediately discernible in day-to-day media consumption and contrasts to more personalised or stereotypical discourses which are discussed in Chapter 8. The variables in this chapter include:

- Gendered naming practices, including the use of titles, given names and nicknames
- Tone of coverage, specifically positive and negative tone
- Gender labels and terms

This section will discuss why these variables have been chosen for the context of this study before moving to an outline and discussion of the findings. Throughout this section, graphs will be used for illustrative purposes, making comparisons between different sample groups. The scales are therefore varied between variables to better show the margins of difference between sample groups and individuals. Tweets and newspaper extracts, where quoted, are done so with original spelling throughout.

6.2 Gendered Naming Practices

Traditional naming practices in the UK (and indeed many western countries) are highly gendered. A person acquires a given name through the “official machinery of naming, and which in general he has little choice in deciding” (Morgan, O'Neill and Harré, 1979 p. 9)⁷¹ and these choices are often stratified by what are considered suitable “boys names” and “girls names”. Gender, for the most part, is associated with specific names and even those which are used by both genders are often made distinct by different spellings (i.e. Tony, and Toni, or Francis, and Frances etc).⁷² The very practice of naming children and the use of given names (also called first names or forenames) can be seen as negotiating male and female gendered discourses⁷³ though gendered associations with names can and do shift.⁷⁴ However, while given names are gendered, these are

⁷¹ As illustrated in this extract, pronominal choices can also be gendered. Though this source is somewhat dated, the lexical choice of “he” in this instance is an example of the use of a masculine pronoun as a generic non-gendered referent – a historical practice since the end of the eighteenth century – or as a specific gendered choice, which either way preserves a masculinised status quo (West *et al.* 1997).

⁷² There are deviations to this in regards to gender neutral names, however, often these can still be gendered in that they are more readily associated as a girl's name or a boy's names, such as Carol or Lee (Van Fleet and Atwater, 1997) Van Fleet and Atwater (1997) only discerned four gender neutral names, Chris, Lee, Pat, and Terry, though this may have shifted in the last decade. Furthermore, some names, such as Alex or Sam, for example, may still be traced as diminutions of longer names which are gendered i.e. Alexander and Alexandra or Samuel and Samantha.

⁷³ Morgan *et al.* (1979) discuss the determining feature of naming, the development of personality and the impression of names being attached to a sense of self. This has interesting implications in the context of gender and the potency of naming, as well as stereotypes relating to specific names.

⁷⁴ Barry and Harper (1993) find that attitudinal shifts in gender neutral names tend to be in regards to a feminisation: so shifting associations moving from traditionally masculine names, to gender neutral, to those considered feminine, such as Kelly and Morgan. This doesn't tend to happen in the

not usually subject to change or deviation through social practices (such as marriage). Moreover, generally the media will not misname a figure in order to keep them properly identifiable to their readership (though of course they can assign recognisable nicknames, which will be addressed below).

Further terms of address which have a gendered dimension can be seen through the assignation of titles and changing of surnames as a way to indicate social roles and public identity, as will be discussed below. The result of these naming practices still predominantly highlight women's "otherness" in regard to their role in the public realm by emphasising their attachment to the private sphere through their marital status. Research has found different patterns in regard to the use of given names which can be seen as a form of gendered mediation (Murray, 2010). This in turn may imply unfamiliarity, sense of novelty and foreignness which may further contribute to the stereotypical associations around women's lack of competency or political "strength". Nicknames too, can also gender female politicians in certain ways through the use of terms such as "Iron Lady" for Margaret Thatcher (and indeed a number of female politicians) or "Mutti" in the case of Angela Merkel, as discussed shortly.

Arguably, these practices may result from an overall shift which has been taking place in both political and media discourse involving what Fairclough describes as the "conversationalisation" of discourse (Fairclough, 1992; 1995) which entails a more "person-to-person quality" over more formal, institutional discourse (Fairclough, 2010 p. 135). This in turn could be seen as related to the merging of the public and private domains, an informalisation of social interactions in public life (Misztal, 2000; 2005) and a shift to a greater personalisation in politics (Langer, 2011), as discussed in Chapter 3. While this may be so, it is important to note that these shifts may play out differently for those of different genders (van Zoonen, 2006). And as this thesis will argue, more

opposite trajectory. Therefore, while using unexpected names can be seen as a renegotiation of gendered practices, these may be still gendered in a particular way.

informal definitional practices may also play out differently in differing media contexts leading to different patterns of gendered mediation.

In regard to the politicians in this study, at the time of writing six of the nine figures were married. Of these six, three women were married (Johann Lamont, Nicola Sturgeon and Elaine C Smith). These women were established figures in the Scottish media, with established preferences in regard to name usage: all three women go by their surnames at birth rather than their husband's surname.⁷⁵ In a pre-coding test run and subsequent survey of the samples before coding, there did not appear to be any use of the surnames of their spouses, so this category was not included in the coding process. The formal coding process also confirmed there was no evidence of misnaming of these figures with their husband's surnames. The next sections will therefore address the use of titles of the politicians in the samples, followed by the use of given names and then nicknames.

6.3 Titles

The assignation titles as a way to indicate social roles and public identity emerged historically through the bestowment of hereditary titles. Rooted in the principles of patrilineage, it indicated nobility and station in the Early Modern British period of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. From the eighteenth century onwards, and shift towards capitalism, this process continued through the use of honorific or professional titles related to social class (Burrage, 2008). The use of such modes of address, then, can be seen to correlate with the exercise of power in regard to the ruling classes (Nevalainen, 2002) and later as signals of respect and politeness (Wierzbicka, 1992). These forms of address were gendered in the different titles used for men and women

⁷⁵ Nicola Sturgeon is married to Peter Murrell, Chief Executive of the SNP, Johann Lamont is married to a Glasgow Councillor, Archie Graham, and Elaine C Smith's husband is called Bob Morton.

(Lord, Lady, Duke, Duchess etc.).⁷⁶ As is shown, a number of these indicate gender difference, which can also be seen in the honorific titles Mr and Mrs in modern day usage. However, the additional title of Miss (the title of Mrs is acquired upon a woman's marriage)⁷⁷ alongside the assignation of a male spouse's surname,⁷⁸ signals a woman's marital status and subsequent role within the private sphere; something largely absent in the naming practices for men.

During the "second wave" feminist period⁷⁹ the term "Ms" emerged as an attempt to replace the two terms of Miss and Mrs with a single-use title. This was done as a way of removing the synonymy of female marital status and title-designation.⁸⁰ While the use of Ms may have gained some traction in the West (particularly the US and Australia (Pauwels, 2003)) it has also met with some opposition in the UK being deemed by some as pointless, "political correctness gone mad", (Browning, 2009) or may still be used alongside the other three instead of replacing it (Pauwels, 2003). The use of Ms may also carry different connotations in different contexts: firstly, it has been seen as signifier of positions about gender politics, with its use at times being seen to be an identification with feminism and the choice of Miss and Mrs with that of more traditional discourses of femininity (Walsh, 2001 p. 41); secondly, it may include positive associations with achievement and dynamism (though a lack of interpersonal warmth) (Dion, 1987); or instead, it may be aligned with being divorced (Browning, 2009), or unmarried (Pauwels, 2003), which in turn may carry further negative connotations related to age (Warhurst, 2015) or sexuality (Mangan, 2005).

⁷⁶ Nevalainen (2002) gives a linguistic analysis of the use of terms of address in earlier English, with a particular focus on gender differences and how they relate to power, politeness and deference.

⁷⁷ This is also seen in some other languages, such as Señora and Señorita, or Madame and Mademoiselle (West *et al.* 1997).

⁷⁸ Or even at times, the husband's full name, i.e. Mr and Mrs John Smith. Further to this, there is also the distinction made between a women's surname at birth, the term maiden name, and then married name, which does not have a masculinised equivalent, and further emphasis the marriage contract.

⁷⁹ As discussed in Chapter 2, this is generally attributed to have begun in the early 1960s, though this has been contested as too myopic in regards to the overlapping movements which took place around this time, though still a useful term to employ.

⁸⁰ Though the term can be traced back to 1901 in the Oxford English Dictionary, its later use is attributed to civil-rights campaigner Sheila Michaels (Fox, 2017).

The use of such titles as a stylistic convention in media texts may also signal an ideological positioning around gender politics, as suggested in the previous paragraph, hinting at more conservative or liberal stances on the role of women in society. This has further implications when employed in political discourse. The use of any of these titles for women may lead citizens to affix certain gender assumptions or stereotypes relating to married or unmarried women which, as has been highlighted in Chapter 3, may reflect on the perceptions of their ability to perform political roles. And while it may be argued that there may also be assumptions around married or unmarried men, men do not usually have to contend with their marital status being immediately visible through the conventions of title-use.

Moreover, as Walsh (2001 p. 47) points out, “the media are under no obligation to accept the self-selected titles of women in the public eye, creating a rich resource for variable representation not available to them in the case of men.” This in turn, offers the opportunity to look at the media’s relationship to individual figures through specific discursive choices. Cherie Blair and Hillary Clinton, for example, previously showed a preference for maintaining a form of their maiden name on marriage (Cherie Booth and Hillary Rodham Clinton) however the media instead often referred to them by their married names (Page, 2003),⁸¹ thus highlighting their supportive role and relation to their husbands first and foremost. Walsh (2001 p. 41) sums this up as a “potential metadiscursive gap” between the intention of the figure and the evaluation and reception of the discursive choices made by the media. This has implications in regard to underlying power dynamics which may be in play: in the case of Blair and Clinton, though a causal link cannot be made, their transition to the continued use of their married names in public life, does hint at the definitional power the media can exert.

In regard to the figures of this study, titles were not used in reference to any of the politicians in the Twitter online discussion, which is not unexpected given the space

⁸¹ Though Cherie Blair was not a politician, she was a professional barrister but also the wife of Tony Blair who was Prime Minister at the time of Page’s publication.

restrictions and usually informal nature of the discourse contained therein. There were, however, differences in use of titles in the newspapers of the samples. While it may be argued that newspapers follow specific editorial guides in regard to stylistic conventions, including that of titles, Higgins (2004a) shows that these rubrics may only have limited purchase and deviations may occur. The use of such conventions therefore should be subject to scrutiny rather than relying on style guides as definitive practices (and in some cases these guides may also not be publicly available).

Most newspapers tended not use an honorific title, instead opting for a political title (such as “First Minister” “Leader of the Labour party” etc), then following with the politician’s full name or surname when referencing on multiple occasions. When titles were used, Ms was the predominant title of choice for women; Mrs was not used at any point despite some of the politicians’ marital status being known.⁸² These figures are shown in Table 7.

Table 7. Proportion of politicians’ mentions with titles, split by gender (newspapers)

Gender	Miss	Ms	Mrs	Mr
Female	5.98%	18.48%	--	--
Male	--	--	--	27.66%

As show above, there were also instances when the title “Miss” was used, which occurred solely in articles from the *Scottish Daily Mail* and referred to Ruth Davidson and (the married) Johann Lamont and Nicola Sturgeon (MacLeod, 2014, Feb 27; Sugden, 2014, Feb 26; Roden, 2014, Sep 06; Roden, 2014, Sep 04a; Roden, 2014, Sep

⁸² There was one instance of “Mrs” being used in regards to Nicola Sturgeon in an article from the *Press and Journal* (Dingwall, 2014, Sep 04) though she was referred to in the remaining five more instances in the article as Ms, so was assumed to be a typographical error.

04b; Rose, 2014, Sep 01).⁸³ The use of this title was not found in all articles from the *Scottish Daily Mail* though was used varying from a number of reporters. Arguably, its use may be considered akin to the use of the term “Miss” for female teachers – irrespective of marital status – which has historical roots based on the assumption that working women would be unmarried (Paton, 2014). As naming practices can signal “ideological distance or affinity with the individuals represented” (Walsh, 2001 p. 47), this may at once be interpreted as intending respect, albeit based on old-fashioned social mores and conventions, though could also be interpreted as infantilising and patronising towards the women, particularly those who are married. This in turn may signal broader unease with women’s participation in the public sphere characteristic of a more socially conservative paper such as the *Scottish Daily Mail*.

Figure 14 shows the proportion of titles used for each politician as a proportion of their own mentions. For the female politicians, this includes both “Miss” and “Ms” aggregated together.

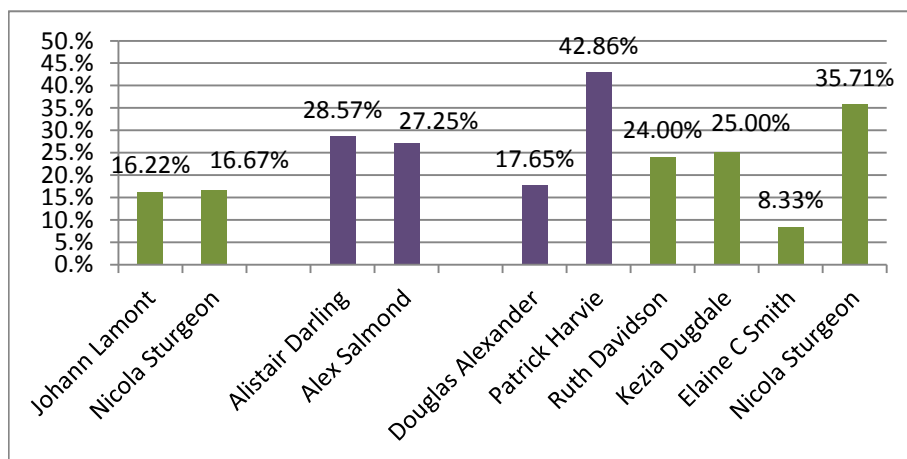


Figure 13. Proportion of titles per individual politician (newsweek samples)

⁸³ As a proportion of their own mentions, 8.33% of Sturgeon’s had Miss in Newsweek 1, with 5.41% for Johann Lamont. In Newsweek 3, this accounted for 7.41% of Sturgeon’s mentions and 4.00% for Davidson.

These results show a greater use of titles in regard to men, with the exception of Nicola Sturgeon in Newsweek 3. Green party leader, Patrick Harvie, has the highest proportion of his own mentions overall, but this is influenced by his small number of mentions (seven mentions throughout, three of which referred to him as Mr Harvie). As discussed later in this chapter and in Chapter 7, Elaine C Smith is distinct from the other figures by her non-elected role as a celebrity to the Scottish public. This is also related to familiarity with her name as a form of celebrity brand. Interestingly though, Nicola Sturgeon appears to have the highest proportion of the use of titles in Newsweek 3, but is also one of the lowest incidences when she appears in Newsweek 1 alongside Johann Lamont.

6.4 Given names

Falk (2010) and Murray (2010) highlight the use of given names as a further aspect of naming practices where asymmetrical patterns of gendered mediation may occur. One such instance of this is a tendency for a female politician's given name to be used more compared to that of her male counterparts, either alone or alongside her full name. This can, in turn, hint to an informality, implying a "familiarity and warmth rather than authority and gravitas", or alternatively with the use of her full name, imply an unfamiliarity, sense of novelty and foreignness, or affix to it a feeling of "newness" (ibid p. 13. See also Fowler, 1991; Walsh, 2001). Male politicians, conversely, tend to be referred to by just their surnames much more readily, which instead implies a different, more respectful kind of familiarity (ibid p. 13)⁸⁴ which also has connotations with the British public school system (Walsh, 2001 p. 48). As discussed in Chapter 3, the perception of warmth characteristics may not immediately be detrimental to female

⁸⁴ An interesting exception to this is the case of Boris Johnson in UK politics. Though his full name is Alexander Boris de Pfeffel Johnson he has come to be known as his given name Boris (or even by his nickname BoJo, which is discussed in the next section). However the prolific use of his given name has created considerable backlash in that some perceive it as perpetuating an affable, 'cuddly' persona that is not justified by his political actions (Jones, 2016). Interestingly, Jones (2016) also notes that "Cameron, Corbyn, Gove, May. Most politicians are referred to by the media and the public alike by either their full or last names".

politicians, and may even be accentuated by the women themselves; however, it may also further contribute to the stereotypical associations around women's lack of competency or political "strength".

The use of given names, therefore, was coded in both the newspaper articles and the tweets.⁸⁵ Here, there may be an expectation of differences occurring between the two media platforms, given the use of style guides of the newspapers and the informal nature of discourse which characterises Twitter. Further to this, as indicated by Murray (2010), we may also expect to see an increased use of given names in the newspaper sample for women, a gendered distinction which may or may not also be evident in the Twitter discourse. This variable was therefore included for both media in order to track patterns contained both within, and between them.

The findings show differences between the newspaper samples, even though the numbers were relatively low across the three groups. When looking at the proportion of given names for each newsweek, it shows that Newsweek 2 featuring two male politicians has the lowest proportion of use of given names at 3.75%, followed by Newsweek 1 at 4.11%. Newsweek 3, which has figures of a mix of genders, has the highest proportion of given name use at 6.67%, as shown in Figure 14.

⁸⁵ All of the politicians who had Twitter handles have their full names in this, so whether a person used their Twitter handle to tweet about the politicians was not a confounding factor.

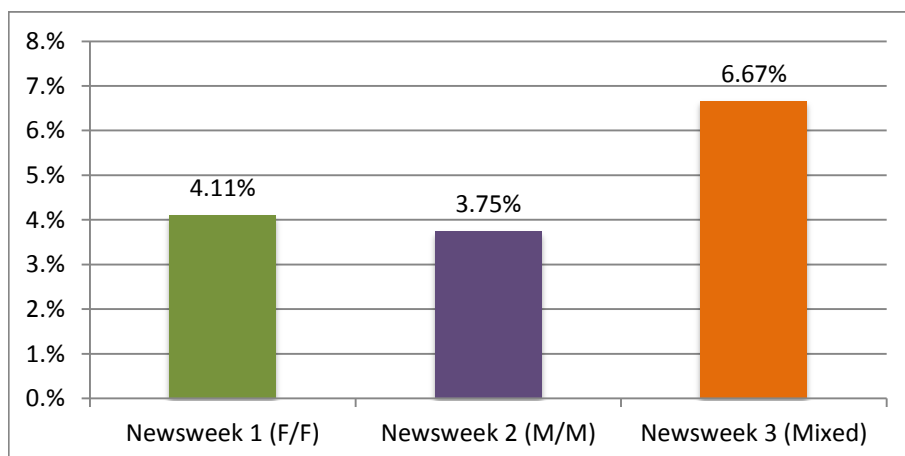


Figure 14. Proportion of mentions with politicians' given name (newsweek samples)

The indication is that both samples which feature women have higher incidences of the use of given names, though this involves the conflation of different genders in Newsweek 3. By looking at the distribution of the results for each politician, this can give a further indication of how this variable as it operates on an individual level, allowing for specific comparisons. In this case, there are only two instances when a woman does not have a lower proportion of her given name being used than men, as shown in Figure 15.

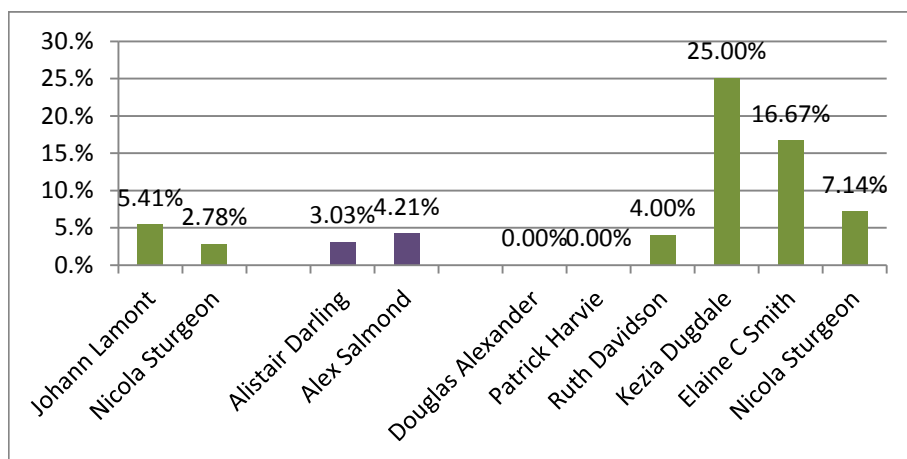


Figure 15. Proportion of given names per individual politician (newsweek samples)

In the Newsweek 1 only 2.78% of Nicola Sturgeon’s mentions used her given name, while in Newsweek 3 Ruth Davidson was referred to by only her given name in 4% of her mentions (just following Alex Salmond’s 4.21%). For the remainder of the other instances, the men had the lowest proportion of mentions of their given name in their coverage, with Douglas Alexander and Patrick Harvie having no occurrence of this at all. Interestingly, two women in the Newsweek 3 stand out, with a quarter (25%) of the mentions regarding Kezia Dugdale’s referring to her by her given name, and 16.67% for Elaine C Smith. In both these cases, both Dugdale and Smith had relatively low amount of mentions. This involved a commentary piece which congratulated the pair on their performance in the televised debate, deeming it an “encouraging consensus at the heart of the campaign” (Macwhirter, 2014, Sep 04), situating praise within a more “conversationalised” discourse (Fairclough, 1992) and informal referential mode for the two women. This is also interesting in that these two women are distinct from their counterparts in that Dugdale was the most junior of the politicians at that point, while Smith is distinct through her non-elected, celebrity role.

The other times when the newspapers employed the given names of these figures was mostly either through quotations of direct speech when other people were referring to

the politicians, or mostly in headlines in newspapers. For example, in the *Times (Scotland)*, Nicola Sturgeon is quoted as saying: “Alex won that debate among women voters” (McIntosh, 2014, Aug 08), while a “SNP advisor” is quoted in the *Scotland on Sunday* saying: “The thing is there are perfectly good arguments for the pound, but Alex didn't get them over” (Peterkin, 2014, Aug 10). In regard to the headlines, the use of given names in this context was confined to the tabloid newspapers. For example, the *Scottish Sun* writes: “The Scottish Sun says give us some answers, Alex” (*Scottish Sun*, 2014, Aug 07b), while the *Scottish Daily Mail* uses the headline: “Dry Alistair leaves his opponent in the dust” (*Scottish Daily Mail*, 2014, Aug 07b).⁸⁶ Similarly in one article which describes an online argument between Sturgeon and Johann Lamont around canvassing, the headline reads: “Twitter spat as Johann tries to woo Nicola's voters” (Clegg, 2014, Sep 06).

As Richardson (2007 p. 50) argues, “chosen referential strategies perform a function within the text”, projecting meaning and social values onto a subject. Politicians are still relatively formal when addressing one another in institutions like the UK Parliament (Ilie, 2010) therefore the use of given names in direct speech relates back to the modes of address used by other politicians to portray a sense of familiarity, ease and also authenticity. The use of names in the headlines, however, points to a different kind of referential strategy used by the tabloid newspapers implying a register of “informality and intimacy” (Fowler, 1991 p. 63) expected of this genre of news discourse, though also has connotations of irreverence and disrespect (ibid p. 99), acting as an implicit way of undercutting a politician's credibility. This may also point to a way of newspapers to align, or disalign with certain individuals, which is hinted at in the case of Alex Salmond (particularly in regard to the tone of his coverage which is discussed in the next section).

⁸⁶ In this first instance, this may be in part due to the size of Salmond's given name compared to his surname, where the headline writer may be motivated to use Alex to conserve space. Nonetheless, this doesn't apply to the use of Alistair in Darling's case where Darling would be the name to conserve space (by one character).

When the same variable is analysed in regard to the Twitter samples, this hints at a similar distribution to the newspapers with a few significant differences. Firstly, the sample debate featuring the male politicians Alistair Darling and Alex Salmond has a much smaller proportion of references to given names. Here though, the difference is much more pronounced than the newspapers with only 4.69%. Secondly, there is a switch to Debate 1 with Johann Lamont and Nicola Sturgeon having a higher proportion than the Debate 3, with 21.94% and 18.70% respectively, as shown in Figure 16.

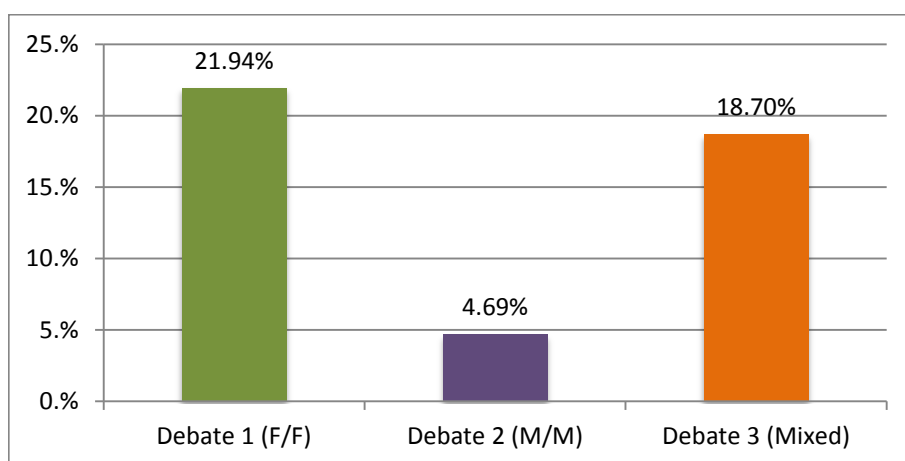


Figure 16. Proportion of mentions with politicians' given name (debate: Twitter samples)

There may have been an expectation that on a social media platform like Twitter – which is geared towards public discussion and would be more likely to feature conversational discourse (Fairclough, 1992) – there would be a greater incidence of the use of given names for each group *overall*. However, this is shown not to be the case. Instead it indicates that, like the newspapers, both samples which feature women have higher proportions of their given names being used.

This also appears to be the case when comparing the proportion of the use of given names on an individual level. This shows that for the most part the female politicians are more likely to be referred to by their given names, as shown in Figure 17.

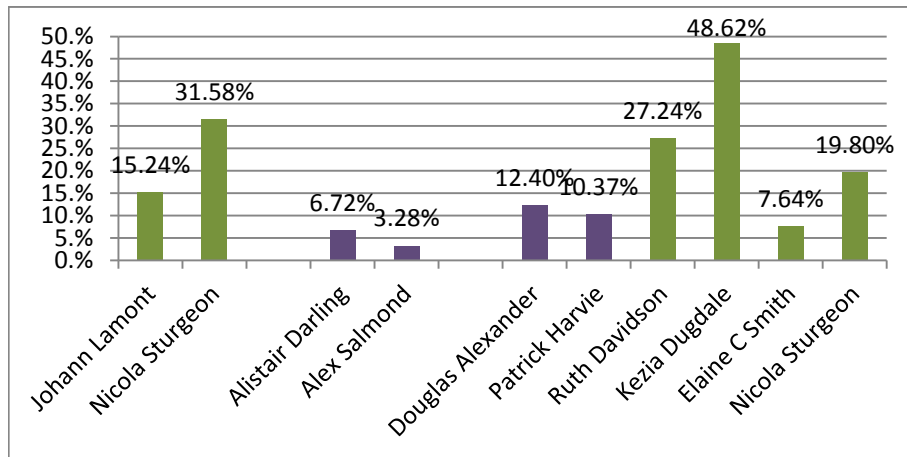


Figure 17. Proportion of given names per individual politician (debate: Twitter)

Again, Kezia Dugdale has the highest proportion, with people on Twitter referring to her by her given name 46.62% of the time, a figure much higher compared to the other politicians in all the samples. This suggests that gender and seniority may intersect in regard to this more informal referencing. Dissimilar to the newspaper samples though, is that other women also have much higher proportions: Nicola Sturgeon at 31.58% in both Debate 1 and 19.80% in the Debate 3; Ruth Davidson at 27.24% and Johann Lamont at 15.24%. Interestingly, Elaine C Smith has a very low proportion of people using her given name at 7.64%, suggesting a reticence for Twitter users to refer to her as just “Elaine” (this can be seen to relate to her being known as “Elaine C.” as a kind of branding of her persona).

The use of Nicola Sturgeon's given name was a mix of positive and negative in tone. For example:

- RT @MusicStoo: Goal from Nicola #scotdecides (@CaroleAnneBraze, 2014)
- Nicola regurgitating some old lines, 'too poor' guff! #ScotDecides (@darioiltoro, 2014)

However in the case of the two other figures with the highest proportion of given names per their own mentions, Ruth Davidson and Kezia Dugdale, these tended to be more negative. In regard to Davidson, for example:

- RT @KatieKhaleesi: "Before I was a politician I was a journalist". Didn't think I could hate you more than I already do, Ruth. #bravo #indyref #ScotDecides" (@whiskygirl2, 2014).
- Congrats on fucking up so much @Ruth uv done the yes campaign proud. Whose paying u? #scotdecides" (@mcculloch_0, 2014b)

Meanwhile, the following are examples in reference to Kezia Dugdale:

- RT @22carrots: That's low Kezia, you're a grubby little career politician don't pretend to take the moral high ground #ScotDecides" (@curexcomplex, 2014)
- "RT @mcculloch_0: Kezia speaks really fast who understands what she's saying? How many vodkas did she down before? Seriously I don't understand #scotdecides" (@AnneJoS, 2014)
- RT @bigbuachaille: Don't call us, Kezia, we'll call you. Your hatred of ESSENNPEE overwhelms everything else you say. Anything uplifting to say? #ScotDecides" (@GordonDunsmuir, 2014)

As is shown in the later section on tone, negative mentions on Twitter were also much more likely to be directed at those on the *Better Together* side in Debate 3 (which also included Ruth Davidson and Douglas Alexander).

Lastly, when the proportion of given name use is aggregated together according to gender, it shows that in both the newspapers and Twitter overall, there is a tendency for women to be referred to more by their given name only than men. This also appears

to be more likely again in discussion on Twitter, with a much larger disparity between this variable between the male and female figures. This shows that in the newspapers, women were more likely to have their given name used when they were referenced, occurring at 6.52% of their total mentions, compared to 3.60% for the men. Meanwhile on Twitter, women were much more likely to be called by their given name with 21.97% of their mentions overall showing this, compared to only 5.42% of the men, as indicated in Figure 18.

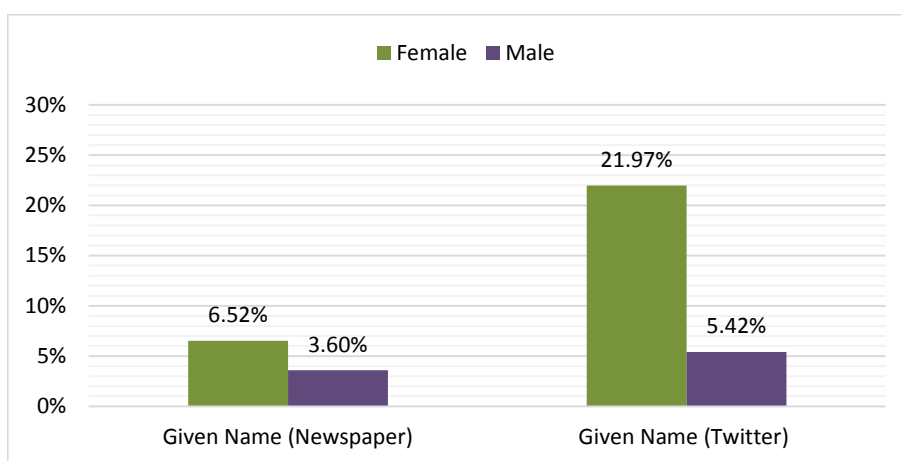


Figure 18. Proportion of politicians' given names, split by gender

The results therefore point to an overall “conversationlisation” (Fairclough, 1992) showing informal modes of address in political discourse overall. However it also indicates an agreement with Murray (2010) in regard to a higher use of only given names used for women overall. As Fowler (1991 p. 99) outlines, a multitude of factors can be of influence in the use of given names including “questions of power, distance, formality, solidarity, intimacy, casualness,” and in this case also hints that this phenomenon may intersect differently again with categories such as rank – as in the case of Kezia Dugdale – and celebrity– as in the case of Elaine C Smith. It does however suggest a more informal tone in regard to the women which, as is shown, can be used in positive and negatively charged ways.

The lower proportion in the newspaper discourse may be down to the formality of the type of discourse and the style of editorial guidelines which reporters follow, confining them to the politeness conventions of the newspapers. This also accounts for the instances where their use is more likely to be in play, such as reported speech and in headlines. Nonetheless, there are also instances where use of given names hints to more informal references when discussing women's political style, as is discussed more fully in the critical discourse analysis.

The higher proportion of the use of given names on Twitter indicates that it is more informal, which is not surprising given the nature of the social media platform. The big differences in the Twitter samples between the male-only and other debates, however, suggests to a greater gendered disparity which may not be as evident in the news discourse due to stylistic conventions. Alternately, this could also suggest public discourse may lag behind the more gender-neutral formal discourse of the newspapers, therefore, with Twitter accentuating the more familiar tone of addresses for female politicians, particularly those of a more junior position.

6.5 Nicknames

As is shown, given names can be seen to arise from systemic practices where children are formally registered shortly after birth and have little influence over this decision. Further naming practices in the UK (and beyond) involve the use of titles and names upon marriage which both signal a woman's marital-status and can signal one's ideological positioning towards this. Different configurations of these in media texts can therefore be seen as a form of gendered mediation, of which some evidence of this has emerged in the samples analysed in this thesis. This section now moves on to the use of nicknames, which can be seen as a different form of definitional practice to emerge from much more informal social interactions. As Morgan *et al.* (1979 pp. 5-6) note, "nicknames can serve not only as thumbnail character sketches, or illustrations of

quirks of personalities and physical appearance, but as capsule histories too, selecting and amplifying some moment in the life course that stands out as striking.” Nicknames can be a way for people to adapt their given name to one more suited to themselves (i.e. calling oneself Liz instead of Elizabeth) (Lieberson and Kenny, 2007), yet can act as a representation of how a person is seen by others, referring to “their implications, their biases, their limitations” (Morgan *et al.* p.106). It can often be pejorative and develop contrary to the wishes of an individual (ibid p. 9).

Studies regarding nicknames and gender have suggested that their use can display social attitudes towards specific gender categories (Pullen and Taksa, 2016). In a study into the use of nicknames by teenagers, Phillips (1990 p. 281), for example, finds that male teenagers receive more nicknames based on “strength, largeness, hardness and maturity” while female teenagers had nicknames more associated with physical attributes and connotations of “beauty, pleasantness, kindness, and goodness”. Similarly, de Klerk and Bosch (1996) find that nickname coinage and usage are gendered, with those regarding women being linked to caring and nurturing and nurturing qualities.

While the use of nicknames by the media in the first instance can be seen as a way to circumvent the limitations of copy space, it can also be seen as an extension of this practice, related to what Gill (1987 p. 24) deems the press’s “perennial needs for stereotyped characters”. Adams (2009 p. 81) writes of the underlying power dynamics around nickname use, with agreement being seen as a “political act” resulting from a social interaction between namer and named. Though this may be seen to be a negotiation between individuals within a social group and based on various structures of pragmatics and politeness, it can ultimately be seen as an exercise of power beneath a seemingly innocuous, playful interaction. This may be rendered more problematic on more institutional levels; for instance President George W. Bush’s nicknaming practice for various aides, political figures and reporters, is seen by Adams as dynamic. Adams (2008) further highlights that these systems of negotiation a way of collapsing state

power with executive power, where renegotiation by the named may be more difficult. Though areas of the mass media may (debatably) not have the same authority as an American president, there is a similar discursive power, particularly negatively definitional power, in the use of a nickname for a political figure who may not be in a such a position of power to contest its use.

Like the use of given names in media discourse, it can also be argued that nicknames can be seen as an additional effect of the aforementioned “conversationalisation” of discourse (Fairclough, 1992; 1995) and a shift towards informality. Similar to the use of given names, diminutives⁸⁷ and nicknames can be seen to “connote the informality and intimacy of face-to-face discourse” (Fowler, 1991 p. 63). As Morgan *et al.* (1979) suggest, these may at times be pejorative but they may also be affectionate, and are often unexpected. Nicknaming practices may not be something restricted to men or women, though they may be gendered differently (as well as intersecting with categories such as prominence and seniority). This may have an impact on the political persona or “brand” of a politician (Street, 2003), irrespective of their intent.

As an example raised earlier, British political figure Boris Johnson has garnered the nickname, BoJo, which is widely used by the UK’s media. This can be seen in certain instances as having positive connotations, lending itself to a familiar, “bumbling” and “cuddly” persona he is seen to project (Jones, 2016; McCafferty, 2016). Yet, when this dynamic is applied to women, it may not operate in the same way. Walsh (2001 p. 41), for example, writes of Mo Mowlam’s wavering between the use of Mo or Marjorie, with fears that the self-chosen diminutive “Mo” may have been perceived as a lack of authority, while Fowler (1991 p. 98) describes the use of Maggie for Margaret Thatcher as signalling friendly intimacy when used in the right-wing popular press, but interpreted as more disrespectful in the left-leaning equivalent media outlets.

⁸⁷ Though Fowler makes the distinction between diminutives (such as Liz, Al etc.) and nicknames, in this study, diminutives are treated as a form of nickname as per the descriptions of Morgan *et al.* (1979) which is outlined below.

Though the examples raised highlight the need for context when examining nickname use, when female politicians are examined on a case-by-case basis, some of the most well-known examples display characteristic nickname types which highlight their gender. This, in turn, can arguably be linked to the novelty of such female politicians and leaders occupying space in the political sphere. For example, Angela Merkel takes on a maternal role, being given the title of “Mutti” (Mum, mummy, mother) in Germany, while Margaret Thatcher’s (in)famous “Iron Lady” moniker was used to play on the tension between the masculine and feminine aspects of her persona, with the juxtaposition of leadership strength and soft femininity in the gendered collocation, revealing the tension and unease with which to regard her (Pilcher, 1995). This nickname has come to take on an “interdiscursive” or “constitutive intertextual” form (Fairclough, 1992) and is now “preconstructed” in the political lexicon, developing into a broadly applicable metaphor.⁸⁸ Indeed; it has acted as a shorthand for a number of female politicians in leadership roles such as Ellen Johnson Sirleaf as Liberia’s Iron Lady (Jalalzai, 2013), Golda Meir as Israel’s Iron Lady (Butt, 1998)⁸⁹ or new emerging Iron Ladies such as Theresa May (Hughes, 2017)⁹⁰ which asserts a certain “type” of politician through which female political leadership is defined in relation to men (Pullen and Taksa, 2016). These all rehearse and reproduce the same tensions and oppositions between femininity and masculinised leadership. A further example, the notorious Blair’s Babes carried with an implied trivialisation, sexualisation and infantilisation (Childs, 2008; Adcock, 2010), but has been remodelled at various points as “Cameron’s Cuties” or “Gordon’s Gals” (Mavin, Bryans and Cunningham, 2010). This, in turn, is reminiscent of the grouping together in the “all women” frame which has further implications, as discussed later in this chapter.

⁸⁸ Pullen and Taksa (2016) recognise this trend in 14 examples of “First” women in breakthrough roles.

⁸⁹ Golda Meir was actually referred to as the Iron Lady before the epithet gained traction with Margaret Thatcher, while Pullen and Taksa (2016) note it was also used in regard of Barbara Castle before Thatcher.

⁹⁰ As such, Theresa May’s subsequent deviation from this due to perceptions of a lack of forcefulness can be seen as a negation of the phrase which still presupposes its meaning (Fairclough, 1992).

Morgan *et al.* (1979 pp. 36-7) list formations of nicknames stemming from internal and external formations. Internal formations (relating to a feature of language), such as rhymes, alliterations, contractions, diminutions, verbal analogues and suffix additions are the commonest versions. Those of external formations (outside factors), relate to physical qualities, intellectual and character attributes or something related to a life event or situation. This framework has been used to inform the coding of this category in the content analysis as to what is considered a nickname or not.

As has been noted in previous research, Nicola Sturgeon has encountered resilient gendered discourses around the use of her nickname “Nippy Nicola” (or variations therewith) (Higgins and McKay, 2016). Her inclusion within the samples of this thesis further emphasised the need for this to be included as a category of analysis. In the case of this study, then, this variable was coded when the politicians in question were referred to by other names than their first/given or surname. Examples of the nicknames include Ruthie, Pat, Nic, Kez and Dougie as contractions/diminutions and similar variations of these for each of the politicians. Also included were Scottish nicknames, such as the use of Eck for Alex Salmond.⁹¹ There was also evidence of more external nicknames, such as a self-designated one, Granny Smith, for Elaine C Smith in a *Daily Record* column, as well as more contemporary “blend” formations such as JoLa or JoLo⁹² for Johann Lamont as well as more context-specific uses, such as puns on Alistair Darling’s surname (“It’s Good Night, Darling” (Crichton, 2014, Aug 06)), which will be

⁹¹ Alex wasn’t included as a nickname for Alex Salmond as this is his preferred name of use (for Alexander), and can be seen to operate as a given name in the press. The distinction was made between this use, and for treating the name ‘Kez’ as a nickname for Kezia Dugdale on the basis that even though Dugdale can at times refer to herself as Kez, her name on the Scottish Parliament’s website for session 4 (5 May 2011 - 23 March 2016) was listed as Kezia, while for Alex Salmond it was still officially listed as Alex and not Alexander.

⁹² Word blends, also known as portmanteau words, are neologism bringing two words together to combine the meaning and sounds of the old ones (Minkova and Stockwell, 2009) and in the past has also included surnames. More recently, this has evolved to include the blending of couple’s surnames, but is a phenomenon which has also spilled over to popular culture, which use blends as a shorthand for couples, such as Brangelina for Brad Pitt and Angelina Jolie (Clements, 2012), but also for one person, blending their given and surname, such as ScarJo for Scarlett Johansson (White, 2014). This has also evolved into UK media and politics, including names such as wife of former Prime Minister David Cameron’s wife Samantha Cameron being known as SamCam (Davies, 2014) and BoJo (Boris Johnson) as previously mentioned.

discussed in the analysis section. Elaine C Smith included her middle initial when her full name is referenced, Elaine was coded for her given name, and therefore Elaine C was used without her surname was coded as a nickname.

Though the sampling method involved the gathering of the data by a keyword search of names, in regard to the newspaper sample, this was not seen to be problematic based on the assumption that if a nickname was used, there would have been some reference to their full name or surname in the article at some point. This was slightly more problematic in regard to the tweets in that these samples were also gathered by a keyword search of names, and due to their size there was the possibility that there may have been references to politicians solely by nicknames. However, a pilot study in regard to the research found that most nicknames involved some sort of compound of their names (Nic, Jo etc) and searches performed on other known nicknames such as Nippy usually followed with some sort of reference to their name or their Twitter handle. There was one exception in the use of Eck for Alex Salmond which was at times used only to refer to him with no other tags, though there were only 185 instances of this in the initial debate sample of 49,170, so did not appear to be prolific enough to change the sampling procedure. This, however, illustrates one limitation to this variable in regard to the Twitter samples in that this method would not pick up any new nicknames used which did not make reference to any variable of their name in the keyword search.

Analysing the use of nicknames in the newspaper samples shows that the highest proportion of nicknames for each participant was in Newsweek 3, which focused on the six politicians Ruth Davidson, Kezia Dugdale, Elaine C Smith, Nicola Sturgeon, Douglas Alexander and Patrick Harvie. There were 6.67% of the total mentions which used a nickname for those figures. This compares to 2.39% in Newsweek 2 regarding Alistair Darling and Alex Salmond and then surprisingly no mention of nicknames at all in the Newsweek 1, as shown in Figure 19.

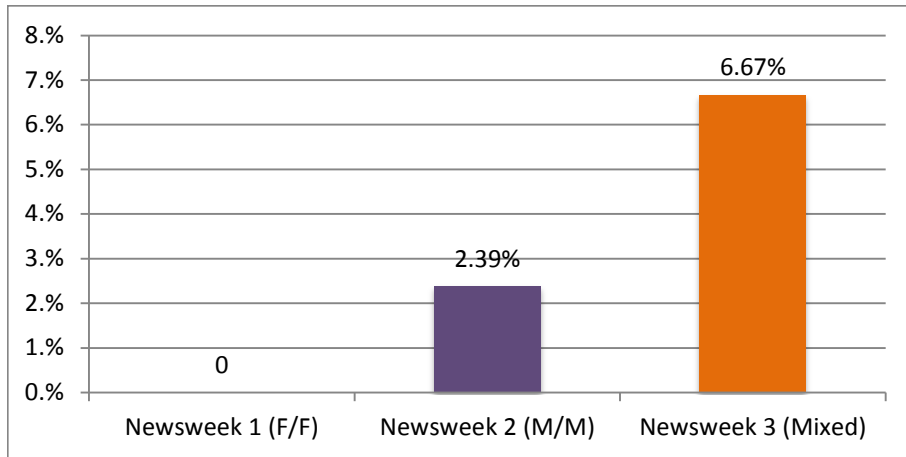


Figure 19. Proportion of mentions with politicians' nickname (newsweek samples)

However, when looking at a split of the mentions allocated to the individuals, it is apparent that in regard to Newsweek 3, the use of nicknames were only in reference to a specific number of the politicians, namely Nicola Sturgeon and Elaine C Smith, as shown in Figure 20.

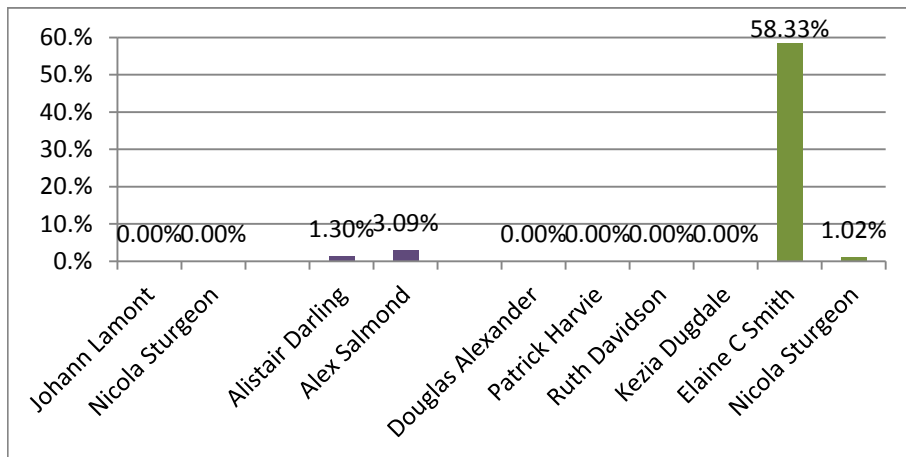


Figure 20. Proportion of nicknames per individual politician (newsweek samples)

Of particular note is the extremely high proportion used in Elaine C Smith's coverage at 58.33%, however, as will be discussed in later sections, this is related to her use of a self-designated nickname "Granny Smith" in a newspaper column for the *Daily Record*. This, coupled with her lower amount of mentions overall, accounts for this high figure, though again her status as a political outsider should also be highlighted.

The use of nicknames in Newsweek 2 was similar to the use of given names in that it these were mostly used in headlines. For Alex Salmond, the majority of these related to him being referred to as "Eck" or "Wee Eck" at points, alongside more imaginative puns such as the *Scottish Sun's* "Where's the Eckonomic Recovery?" (Nicoll, 2014, Aug 08) and "Hot Favoureck" (Musson, 2014, Aug 04). As before, the use of these names in the headlines points to a referential strategy used by the tabloid newspapers implying a register of "informality and intimacy" (Fowler, 1991 p. 63) which has connotations of irreverence and disrespect (ibid p. 99) and acts as an implicit way of undermining Salmond's credibility. In the case of Alistair Darling, there were occasions when the use of his surname was consciously used in a knowing way, such as the intertextual reference to the TV comedy *Blackadder*, with the *Daily Record's* headline "It's Good Night, Darling" (Crichton, 2014, Aug 06) or in the *Scottish Daily Mail's* editorial calling him "Darling of the UK" (*Scottish Daily Mail*, 2014, Aug 07a). Though praising his performance, Darling's authority is similarly undercut through the humorous and romantic intertextual connotations.

In Newsweek 3, there was very small usage of nicknames, with just one reference to Nicola as "Nic" (Nicoll, 2014, Sep 05). The remaining references were Elaine C Smith's own referencing of the name "Granny Smith" in her *Daily Record* columns as well as references to her as "Mary Doll" the character she played on television programme, *Rab C Nesbitt*, a role which contributed to her fame in Scotland (*Scottish Daily Mail*, 2014, Sep 04). Smith differs from the other five politicians in her sample in that she is not an elected politician, and throughout there is a much more familiar and informal tone, often in her own voice in her columns. This is perhaps not so much evident in the

use of just a given name; as an established actor, as she is most familiar through the use of her full name. This, however, also allows for a more personalised focus, which is done through markers of her familial roles as mother, grandmother and wife, consistent with her branding in the *Daily Record*.

The results were surprising in that there has been evidence of nicknames being used in the past to refer to Nicola Sturgeon (i.e. "Nippy Nicola" (Higgins and McKay, 2016)). It should be noted, however, that in two articles there were references to online commentary which makes a reference to the term Nippy Sweetie:⁹³ "One commentator uttered the immortal words "nippy sweetie" when giving his analysis on the showdown." (Shearer, 2014, Mar 03), "Radio Clyde political editor Colin Mackay described the politicians as 'nippy sweeties,' saying: 'They couldn't stop themselves from interrupting each other,'" (Sugden, 2014, Feb 26). These were not included in the coding process for a nickname, as they were not used in a definitely referential way, but more as a broader description. It does however point to the shared knowledge of past nicknames and references being rehearsed, as discussed in Higgins and McKay (2016). The lack of nicknames used for the politicians overall suggests this may be linked more to media presence, familiarity and rank, particularly in the more prominent case of Alex Salmond, with the newspapers' use of the Scottish diminution of his name. It suggests that this may be that nicknames are more volatile, and are triggered by certain individuals such as the case of Boris Johnson.

When the same variable was coded in regard to Twitter, nicknames were found to be sparse in all of the samples, with similar low proportions as the newspapers. This may be down to the prolific use of politicians' Twitter handles in the discussion. However, compared to the newspapers, there was a different trend in that Debate 2, featuring Alistair Darling and Alex Salmond, has the lowest proportion of nicknames. Similarly

⁹³ In Scottish vernacular, Nippy Sweetie is a sweet item which is also sour or tart, and is used to refer to a normally female individual who is thought to be sharp-tongued.

though, Debate 3 featuring the six politicians, has the most mentions of nicknames at 4.15%, followed by Debate 1 featuring Johann Lamont and Nicola Sturgeon with 3.24%, as shown in Figure 21.

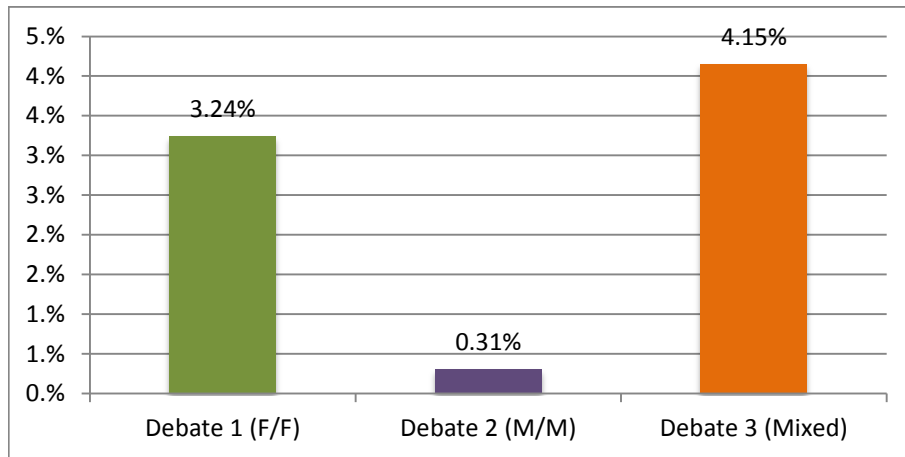


Figure 21. Proportion of mentions with politicians' nickname (debate: Twitter samples)

In the same individual breakdown, this time it was Labour politician Douglas Alexander who had the highest proportion as per his own mentions, with people on Twitter referring to him by a nickname 17.05% of the time, a figure much higher compared to the other politicians in all the samples. Kezia Dugdale also features relatively highly, with 7.34% of her mentions, compared to a lower level for the remaining figures, as shown in Figure 22.

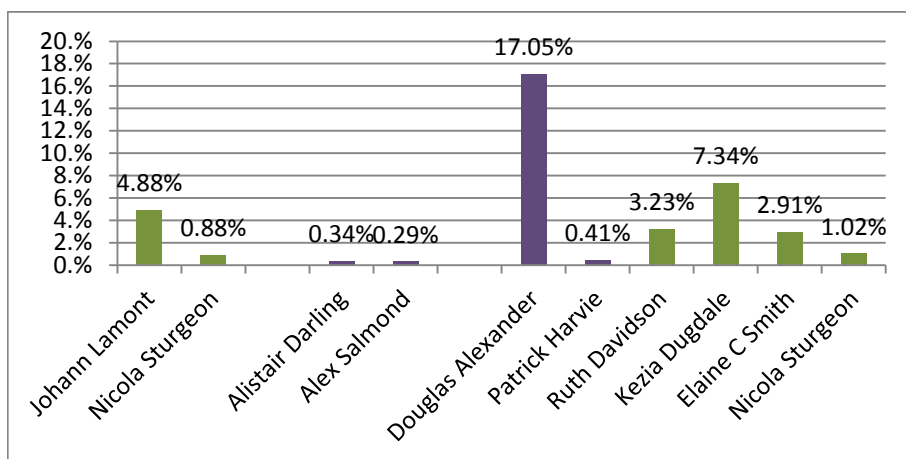


Figure 22. Proportion of nicknames per individual politician (debate: Twitter)

In the case of these samples, the use of nicknames was similar to that of Newsweek 2 sample, in that they are mostly used in a pejorative way, acting as a kind of diminution. The use of Kez for Kezia Dugdale was perhaps not surprising in that this is a nickname she refers to herself and is consistent with her own political branding.⁹⁴ The notable difference here, however, is that the highest proportion of usage was the use of Dougie or Duggie for Douglas Alexander, the majority of which were negative in tone. For example:

- RT @marissamcteague: Dougie Alexander responds by defending Thatcher. That's yer Labour Party, folks! #indyref #ScotDecides (@clickma, 2014)
- When do we get to introduce wee Dougie to his Wicker Man? Go up like an oily bomb! #indyref #Scotdecides (@cybermobile, 2014)
- RT @peterbrownbarra: In what way is currency union less powers than at present Dougie Alexander? Am I missing something? #ScotDecides (@GoldishCJ, Sep 09)

⁹⁴ Her Twitter handle is @Kezdugdale, and she often uses the name “Kez” on social media.

That there tended to be a focus on Douglas Alexander, and in a pejorative sense, may also suggest a dominance of supporters of independence in the social media discussion (Shephard and Quinlan, 2014), which is confirmed in the later sections on tone.

Even though Douglas Alexander has the highest individual proportion of nicknames used on Twitter, when aggregated together according to gender shows that though the differences are all quite slight, with a trend for nicknames to be used more for women overall as shown in Figure 23.

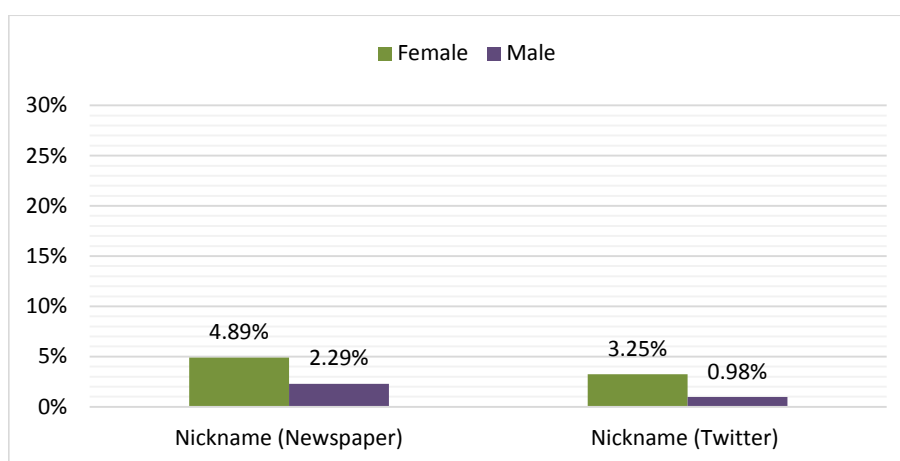


Figure 23. Proportion of politicians' nicknames, split by gender

Though the newspapers are more likely to use nicknames than users on Twitter, this can mostly be attributed to certain individuals. In regard to gender, Elaine C Smith's own use of Granny Smith in her columns for the *Daily Record* affected the findings, and Alex Salmond was the figure who was much more readily associated with a nickname – Eck – which can arguably be down to his role and seniority in Scottish politics. That he was often the focus of stories, making him more likely to appear in headlines may contribute to this. Phillips (1990 p. 281) says that since nicknames are “more susceptible to innovation and loss”, this means that they may be “more reliable

indicators of current social attitudes.” This may also account for the high proportion of use for Douglas Alexander in Debate 3, which may be characterised by much more partisan support and comments due to its close proximity to referendum day. This may also account for the lack of nicknames for Johann Lamont and Nicola Sturgeon during the first samples, which had the least focus overall of the samples.

6.6 Tone

As discussed in earlier chapters, an aspect of the public sphere is to provide advice, opinion and background information for the public to deliberate (Higgins, 2006). Newspaper regulation in the UK means that, unlike the broadcast media, the British press is not required to be politically neutral and indeed, it is enshrined in the independent press regulator IPSO’s Editor’s Code of Practice that the press is “free to editorialise and campaign” (IPSO, 2016), though the code requires its subjective comments to be clearly demarcated as such. As Temple (2008) suggests, the UK press are notoriously partisan, with the tone of coverage in certain circumstances linked to a newspaper’s political ideology. Differences in tone may also reveal certain other ideological positions, including those around women and the public sphere. This, in turn, may result in different patterns of coverage between male and female politicians. Ross (2002), for example, illustrates how female politicians have perceived differences in tone about themselves compared to their male counterparts, while O’Neill and Savigny (2014) find that in the UK, female politicians have received more negative press compared to men in a number of recent election cycles, which displays a worryingly increasing trend compared to previous decades.

As has been described earlier in the thesis, the tension between women’s association with the private and domestic realm has developed into a dichotomy which positions them at odds with the “masculine” public realm of politics. Linking political ability with gender in some way can be seen to be a continuation of the public-private gender

dichotomy, if more covert. For example, women have been established as interlopers when participating in politics, with Meeks (2013) suggesting that this often sets a more negative tone sending messages of women's outsider status. However this can result in discourses which can be construed as positive: such as being seen as novelties (Meeks, 2012; Meeks, 2013; Pullen and Taksa, 2016), "breakthroughs", "outsiders" or "agents of change" (Norris, 1997b) or "softening" politics (Randall, 1987). In itself, this may be advantageous to female candidates in certain scenarios, such as times of crisis, when they may be favoured over their male counterparts, and can be used as specific campaign strategies (Perry, 2005).

As Ross (2017 p. 58) says, the "repetitive and persistent nature of most of the media's frames of women politicians produces a normative expectation that this is how women are." Following from this premise, then, is what Fairclough (1992 p. 97) suggests leads to discourses becoming solidified so they are eventually considered natural, thus establishing new hegemonic regimes. So while positively-associated gendered discourses may be lauded for allowing space for female politicians to be visible, they also may be restrictive, particularly if women are seen to deviate from competing orders of discourse which may intersect or overlap. This may ultimately lead to disproportionate criticism if they fail to measure up to already high expectations about their performance, leading to being pushed off what many feminist theorists have deemed the "glass cliff" (as opposed to the "glass ceiling") (Ryan and Haslam, 2005). As this thesis has sought to show, and will be discussed more fully, the tone of gendered mediation around female politicians may not always be considered bad or negative at first, but may still be problematic in the context of other, overlapping discourses.

While the preceding paragraphs have outlined the different ways tone can be expressed in different frames, this variable is initially treated in the same way as O'Neill and Savigny (2014) in that mentions of the politicians were coded according to whether they were represented as being explicitly positive or negative in tone. In this case tone was considered in regard to any comment, judgement or sentiment in regard to the

politicians in question. This was done on the premise of finding manifest patterns, which would then also inform the critical discourse analysis when considered alongside emergent discourses to look into the latent meaning. In this study, positive tone was coded if there was an explicit tone of the mentioned politician as positive, supporting or approving (such as a politician's role, performance, something they said) while negative mentions took a disapproving or critical stance, for example, for a politician who behaved poorly, there is a negative comment or they are said to not be performing well.

6.7 Positive Tone

In the newspaper samples, Newsweek 3 had the most positive mentions about the politicians at 16.30%. Newsweek 2 featuring the male politicians had 12.10% positive mentions, while Newsweek 1 featuring Johann Lamont and Nicola Sturgeon, had the least positive mentions at 10.96%, as shown in Figure 24.

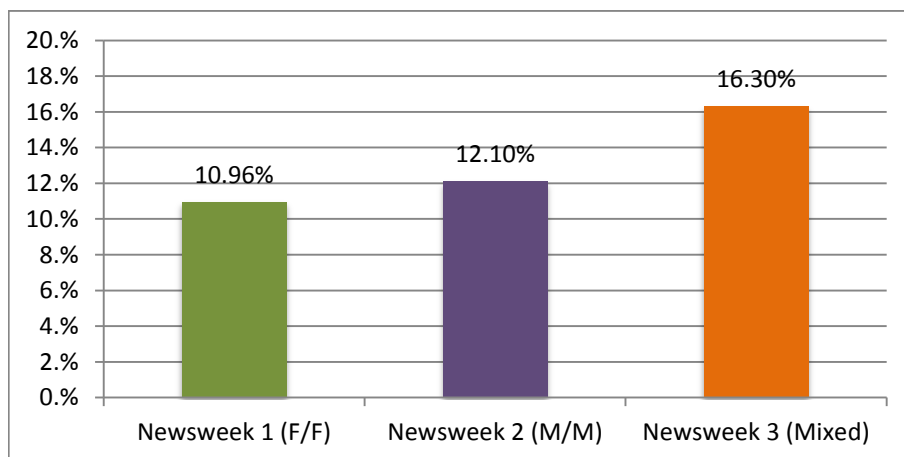


Figure 24. Proportion of mentions with positive tone (newsweek samples)

Looking to the individual figures, the data shows that Elaine C Smith had the highest proportion of positive mentions, while it was Alex Salmond who had the lowest at only 5.62% of his own mentions, followed by Nicola Sturgeon at 8.33%, as shown in Figure 25.

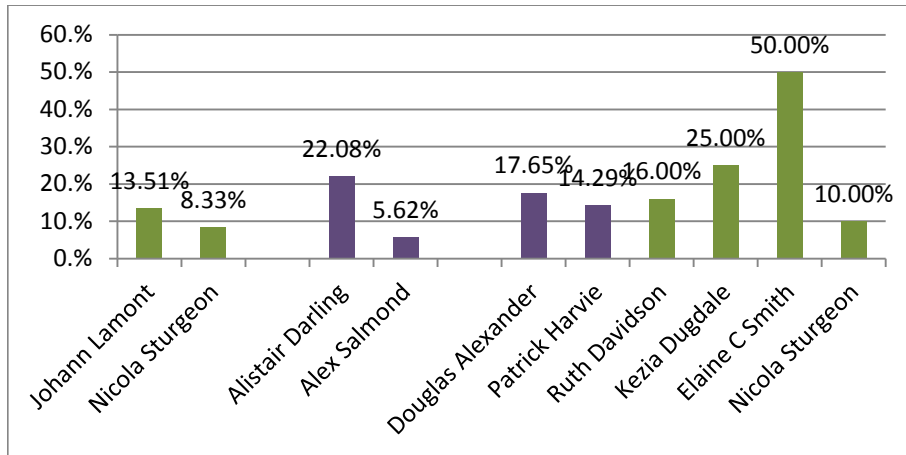


Figure 25. Proportion of positive tone per individual politician (newsweek samples)

The positive mentions regarding Newsweek 2 focusing on two men, Alistair Darling and Alex Salmond, mostly related to expectations about their performance in the debate, and then evaluations of their performance following this, notably who was declared the winner. For example, the *Herald* gave Darling a glowing report with its front page, saying that “Darling draws first blood” (Gardham, 2014, Aug 06), while the *Scottish Sun*, reporting on an online poll, declaring that “Alex wins Web vote” (*Scottish Sun*, 2014, Aug 07a). Most of the newspapers, however, represented Darling as the winner.

Johann Lamont positive’s mentions were focused on her receiving some coverage on her four stone weight loss and new exercise routine (*Sunday Mail*, 2014, Mar 02; McManus, 2014, Mar 01), which is pertinent given the tendency of the media to focus on the bodies of female politicians (this will be discussed in the next chapter). The remaining articles which were positive in regard to both Lamont and Sturgeon were in

reference to their possible inclusion in a competition to be “Outstanding Women of Scotland” by the Saltire Society (*Herald*, 2014, Feb 25; Ferguson, 2015, Feb 24), which, though celebratory, using gender as a “peg” (Childs, 2008) or hook for the story.

Mentions which were positive in regard to the Newsweek 3 regarding Elaine C Smith were different than those from the Lamont and Sturgeon in Newsweek 1, though were also gendered. For Smith, these referenced her informal and chatty in tone in the debate (Deanie, 2014, Sep 02) while another, as shown earlier, congratulated her and Kezia Dugdale on their friendly performance as an “encouraging consensus at the heart of the campaign” (Macwhirter, 2014, Sep 04). This was also established in opposition to her opponents, with one article highlighting that audiences found her to “outshine” Nicola Sturgeon and Ruth Davidson (not mentioning the other participants) which also make implicit reference to their rank as the ones to beat. Ruth Davidson also drew commentary for taking part in a charity football match (Tait, 2014, Sep 04).

On Twitter, it was Debate 3 again which had the highest proportion of positive mentions split across the six politicians at 26.34%. These results follow the same trend as the newspapers, though with a much larger gap between it and the other two samples. Debate 2 with two men consisted of 17.92% positive mentions and Debate 1 featuring two women had 17.27% positive mentions directed at them, however the differences between these two debates is marginal compared to their newspaper counterparts (See Figure 26).

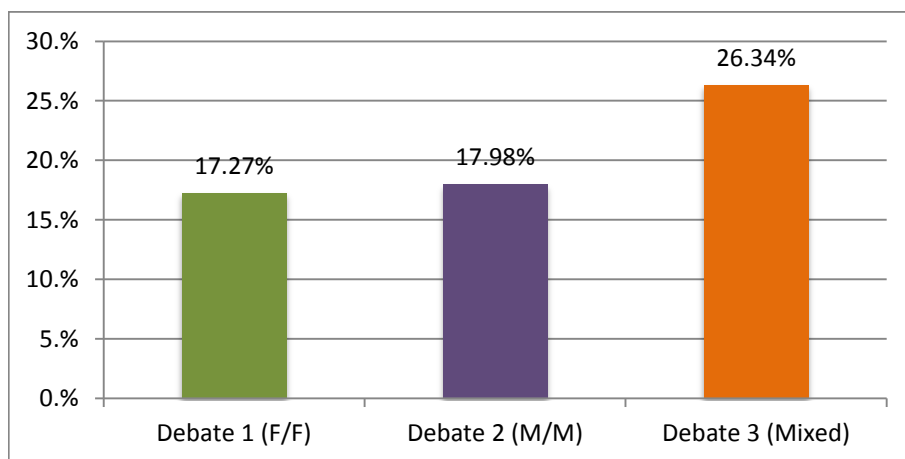


Figure 26. Proportion of mentions with positive tone (debate: Twitter samples)

On an individual level, interestingly Nicola Sturgeon received a much higher proportion of positive discussion in Debate 1 at 39.47% contrasting sharply with the very small 1.83% received by Johann Lamont. However, it was Elaine C Smith again who had the highest proportion at 40.73%, though this was also closely followed by Patrick Harvie of the Green Party at 39%. Nicola Sturgeon also had a relatively higher degree of positive mentions in Debate 3, making the three figures on the *Yes Scotland* side accounting for the highest proportion of positive mentions. Meanwhile, Alistair Darling received a higher proportion compared to Alex Salmond, as shown in Figure 27.

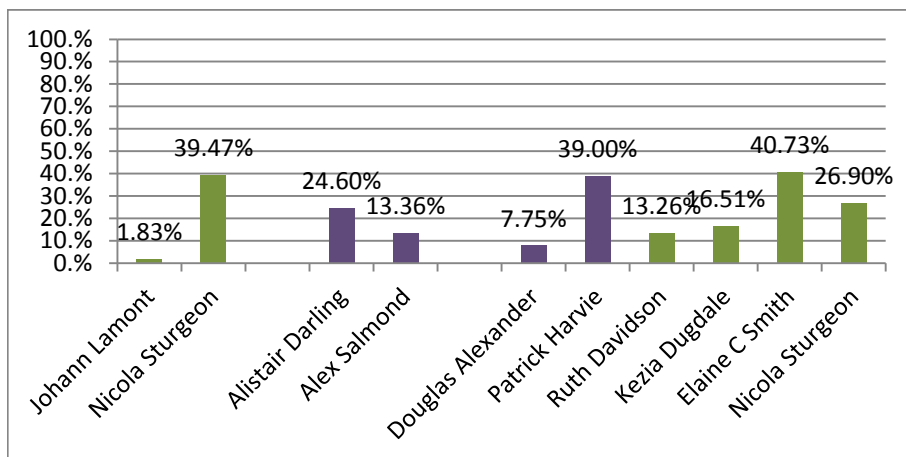


Figure 27. Proportion of positive tone per individual politician (debate: Twitter)

In regard to Debate 1, there was discussion on social media which referenced that it was “encouraging to see powerful female leaders going head to head” (@rattlecans, 2014). However, most of the discussion which made use of STV’s promoted hashtag was concerned with who was going to “win” or “lose” their performance as well as focusing on specific comments made by the women, with Nicola Sturgeon having a higher proportion of her comments as being positive, such as the following examples:

- Wowersers! @NicolaSturgeon has come out fighting on currency, no choice but still a bloody strong line #scotnight (@NUS_Robert, Feb 25)
- RT @18SEPT2014: So that's another win for @NicolaSturgeon !! Well done! @JohannLamont didn't answer *ONE* question!! #scotnight (@northscot1320, 2014a)

Positive mentions in Debate 2 with Alistair Darling and Alex Salmond were also mostly around who was winning or losing, and framed in much more combative terms, as shown below and is discussed more fully in the critical discourse analysis section:

- RT @UK_Together: Guardian front page: "Darling lands barrage of blows on Salmond in TV debate" #darlingwin #ScotDecides pic.twitter.com/WHcxijjkrn (@brimarcuswatson, 2014)
- RT @LearnTribe: Killer punch @AlexSalmond believes in social justice but has finite budget if Westminster continue to squeeze #ScotDecides (@ElaineMaySmith, 2014)
- RT @alexmassie: Darling won because most the debate was on currency, economics and pensions. His home turf. But he thumped Salmond on these. #ScotDecides (@GordonAikman, 2014)
- RT @johnprescott: Wow! Darling is DESTROYING Salmond in this debate. #ScotDecides #IndyRef (@tomandrews25, 2014)

The greater proportion of positive mentions directed at or discussing Harvie, Smith and Sturgeon in Debate 3 indicate evidence of a greater level of *Yes Scotland* support said to be active online and on social media (Shephard and Quinlan, 2014). When performance was discussed in regard to Elaine C Smith and Patrick Harvie, this was done in regard to the novelty of their performance. For example, one user tweeted: "Wow my first time hearing Patrick Harvie speak, impressed. Removal of WOMDs should be higher on the agenda of this referendum #ScotDecides" (@gman3107, 2014). In the case of Smith, as will be discussed more fully, this was in turn related to her authentic, "human" performance, which was also at times gendered. Comments referring to her as a "granny", "dame" which is again related to her persona and discussed more fully in later sections:

- RT @ScottSimpson_2: I love Elaine C Smith. So happy and friendly. Like a granny! #ScotDecides (@deanrwilliamson, 2014)
- RT @thoughtland: No surprise Elaine C Smith is storming #scotdecides. Very agile political mind, well read, & speaks punter like nobody else. What a dame! (@Tab22Tab, 2014)
- RT @valmcdermid: #ScotDecides Elaine C Smith is giving it laldy! Passionate laldy. (@Fantooshie, 2014)⁹⁵

⁹⁵ 'Laldy' or 'Laldie' is a Scottish term which means "a thrashing, punishment, a drubbing" or "any vigorous or energetic action" (Dictionary of Scots Language, 2017).

When the proportion of positive mentions were aggregated together according to gender, it shows that there is a slight trend in favour of women overall, as shown in Figure 28.

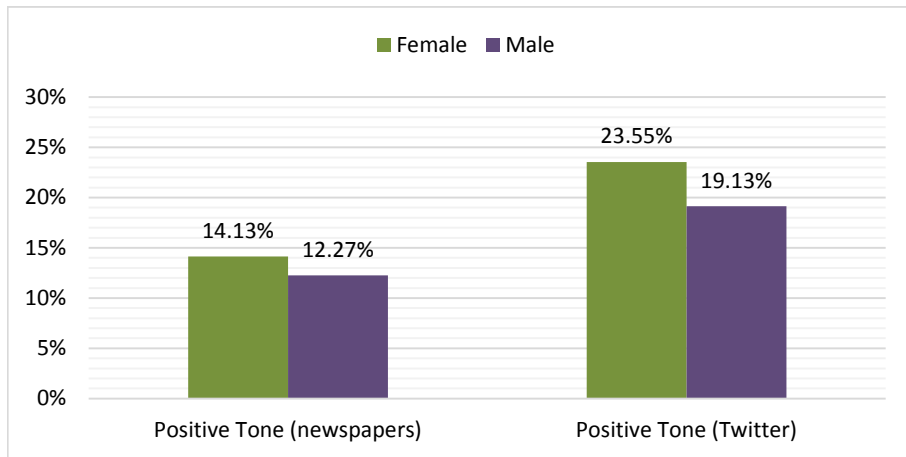


Figure 28. Proportion of politicians' mentions with positive tone, split by gender

However, as shown, this variable is heavily influenced by individual politicians. The figures here show the stratification of opinion given between opposing figures, particularly online, showing that political affiliation is a strong indicator of how positively a politician may be discussed in these contexts. Nonetheless, as some of these examples reveal, there may also be a gendered dimension, with emergent discourses discussed later in this chapter and Chapter 7.

6.8 Negative Tone

When it came to the newspaper mentions that were negative in tone, it was Newsweek 1 with Sturgeon and Lamont which had the highest proportion at 36.99%. This was followed by Newsweek 2 with Darling and Salmond at 29.13%. Newsweek 3 with the six politicians had a much smaller proportion than the two other samples, with only 4.44% negative mentions. Here, the trajectory is the inverse of the mentions which were

positive in tone, albeit with wider margins, showing that Newsweek 3, which had the most positive mentions, also has the least negative mentions and vice versa. See Figure 29.

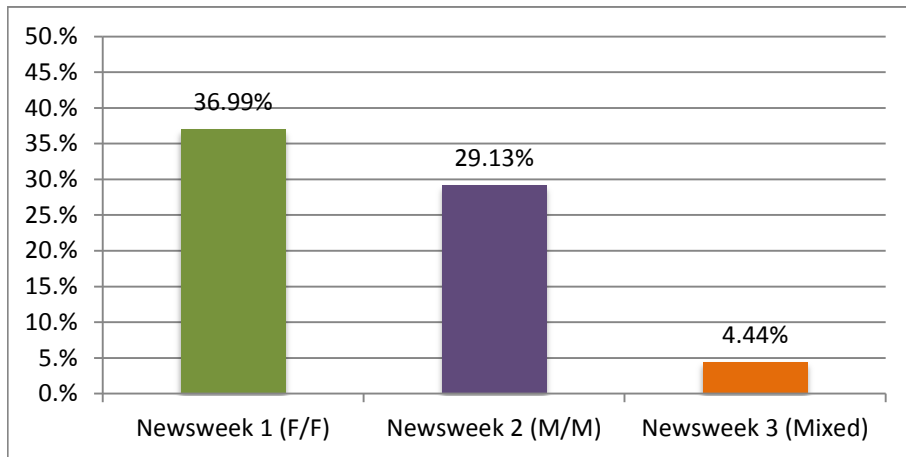


Figure 29 Proportion of mentions with negative tone (newsweek samples)

Individually, Lamont and Sturgeon appeared to have equitable amounts of negative coverage in Newsweek 1 at 38.89% for Sturgeon and 35.41% for Lamont. There was a larger variation of negative mentions between a number of the politicians in both Newsweek 2 (with Alistair Darling and Alex Salmond) and Newsweek 3 (with the six political figures). In Newsweek 2, Alex Salmond had much more negative mentions in the newspapers than Alistair Darling, at 38.48% compared to 14.72%. Newsweek 3's comparatively small proportion of negative mentions were solely regarding Nicola Sturgeon and Ruth Davidson, arguably the most prominent political figures out of the six in that sample, as show in Figure 30.

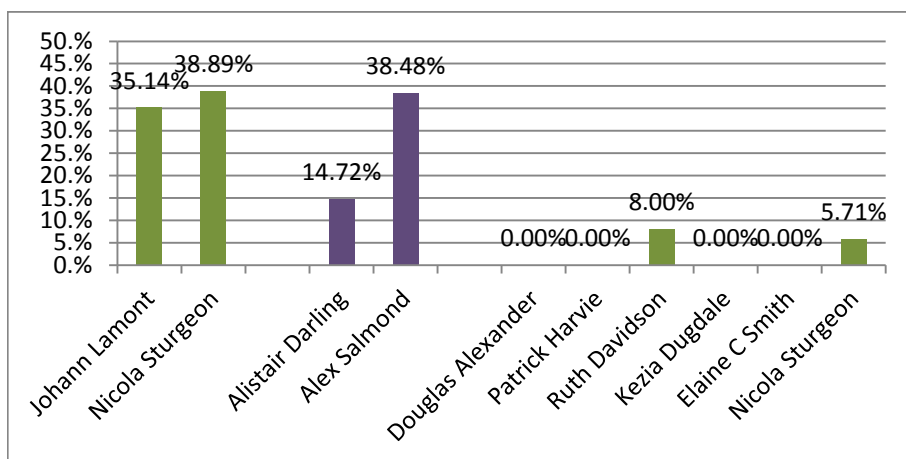


Figure 30. Proportion of negative tone per individual politician (newsweek samples)

Like the positive mentions regarding Alistair Darling and Alex Salmond, the negative mentions generally related to political performance during the debate and the campaign trail overall, particularly how they were tiring and their (lack of) popularity or “likeability factor”. However, as will be discussed more fully in the critical discourse analyses sections, there was also commentary about Alistair Darling and Alex Salmond’s appearance, which discussed their suits and ties, which was often as an aside, but also used as a metonym to criticise a particular style of masculine politics. There were also negative mentions of their appearance were often linked to how “tired” they looked (McLeod, 2014, Aug 08; McMillan, 2014, Aug 08).

In the Newsweek 3, most of Sturgeon’s negative mentions focused on an online “Twitter spat” she had with Johann Lamont. This was very gendered commentary, which framed their argument as a “women at war” (*Scottish Sun*, 2014, Sep 06) and discussed more fully later in this chapter. Meanwhile, Ruth Davidson’s negative commentary was regarding how she was “outshone” by Elaine C Smith in the televised debate (*Scottish Daily Mail*, 2014, Sep 04).

Interestingly, the negative mentions about Lamont and Sturgeon in the Newsweek 1 were highly gendered. The two women were often framed as “the two most senior women in Scottish politics” though this translated to setting back “women’s cause” (Drumlanrig, 2014, Mar 03) when their performance was evaluated in negative terms. This also prompted further comments which equated women’s politics fitting a particular feminised style which they deviated from, as well as them needing to “behave” (Shearer, 2014, Mar 03). A number of these themes are analysed in more depth in the critical discourse analysis section which follows.

There were also negative mentions which focused on appearance. This included references to Lamont’s “starched immobile face” (Gordon, 2014, Feb 28), which establishes the way she looks in opposition to the expectations of feminine seamliness and empathy, while there was also commentary on Lamont and Sturgeon appearance and being “overdressed” (MacLeod, 2014, Feb 27), equating their poor performance with poor sartorial choice.

Looking to Twitter, the proportion of negative mentions appeared to have a similar trajectory that we see in the newspaper samples – if a higher proportion overall – showing that the news media and public Twitter discourse were perhaps in accord. Debate 1 again had the highest proportion of negative mentions at 63.31%. Debate 2 next followed with 48.46% and Debate 3 at 33.17%, as shown in Figure 31.

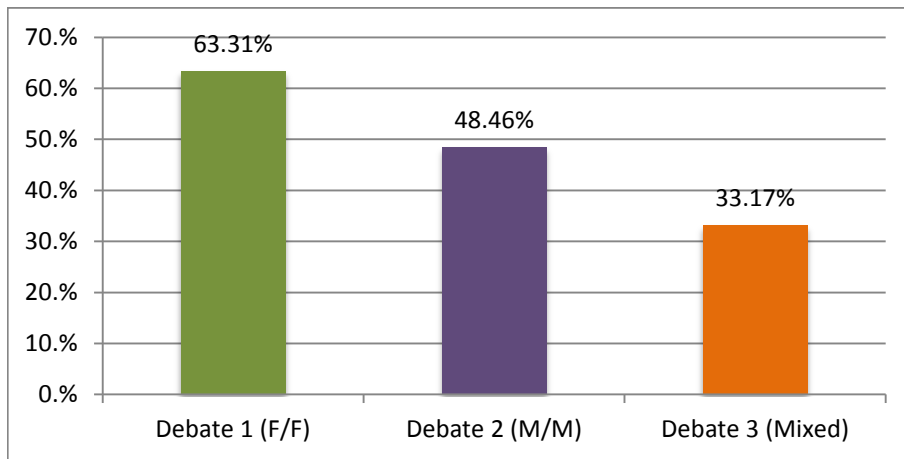


Figure 31. Proportion of mentions with negative tone (debate: Twitter samples)

During Debate 1, however, Johann Lamont had a much higher proportion of negative mentions on Twitter at 86.59% compared to 29.82% for Nicola Sturgeon. During Debate 2, Alex Salmond had a higher proportion than Alistair Darling, at 54.51% to 39.8% respectively, while in Debate 3, the three politicians on the *Better Together* side all received the highest proportion of negative mentions, with Douglas Alexander taking the highest proportion of his own mentions at 65.89%, followed by Kezia Dugdale at 63.3% and Ruth Davidson at 57.71 as shown in Figure 32.

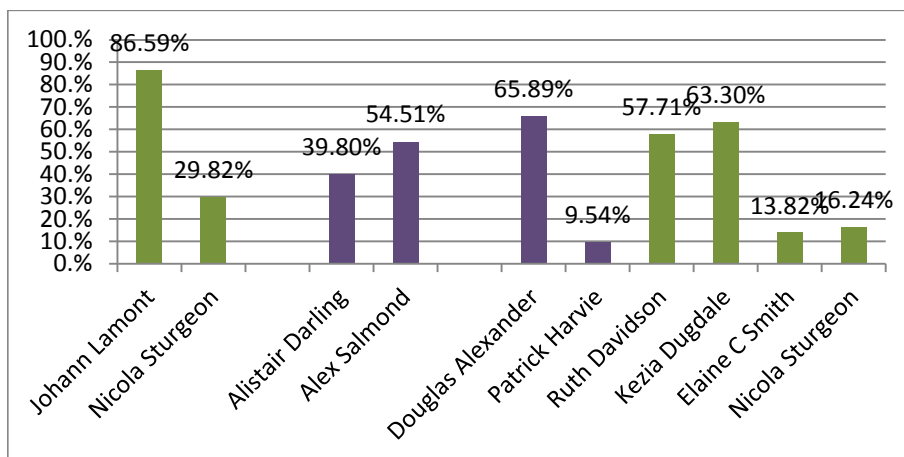


Figure 32. Proportion of negative tone per individual politician (debate: Twitter)

This strongly suggests that in regard to positive and negative tone, this was influenced much more along political lines rather than in terms of gender. This also hints at the dominance of *Yes Scotland* supporters on Twitter (Shephard and Quinlan, 2014), who may have become more vocal towards the end of campaign period when Debate 3 took place.

Negative mentions of Lamont and Sturgeon during Debate 1 on were focused on their performance and comments made by the women, such as Johann Lamont's repetition of the term "astonished" and her comment that people in Scotland were not "genetically programmed" to make political decisions:

- RT @ShonaRobison: Did @JohannLamont really just say we are not genetically programmed to make political decisions in Scotland???? #scotnight" (@joymacn52_joy, 2014)
- I am astonished @JohannLamont that you are the best Labour in Scotland has to offer. #scotnight (@David__Steele, 2014)

In Debate 3, there was evidence that when the Twitter commentary became more negative in tone, this took on more gendered and sexist dimensions, though this was marginal. Kezia Dugdale was described as a "lying cow" and "bitch":

- #scotdecides No point in mincing words: Kezia is a lying cow (@gardenwaits, 2014)
- RT @Sizzy6: #ScotDecides Kezia hang your head in shame for that personal remark on @NicolaSturgeon You have shown the world what a bitch you are (@magnethead_666, 2014)

Ruth Davidson, meanwhile, was called a the homophobic slur "dyke" with her negative insults taking on a masculinised dimension, in reference to her as a drag version of prime minister David Cameron:

- Ruth Davidson is a fat tory dyke #scotdecides (@1DonaldThomson, 2014)
- So david Cameron did come up and do a tv debate but the only thing is he's in drag #DavidCameronDragAct Ruth Davidson #ScotDecides (@natneilz, 2014)

As will be discussed in the next chapter regarding appearance, negative comments such as these are expressed in a different way to those in regard to the appearance of the men, which includes references to hair, eyebrows, and comedic figures.

When the proportion of negative mentions were aggregated together according to gender, it shows that there is a slight trend where the men received more negative coverage as a proportion of their own mentions, both in the newspapers and on Twitter, as shown in Figure 33.

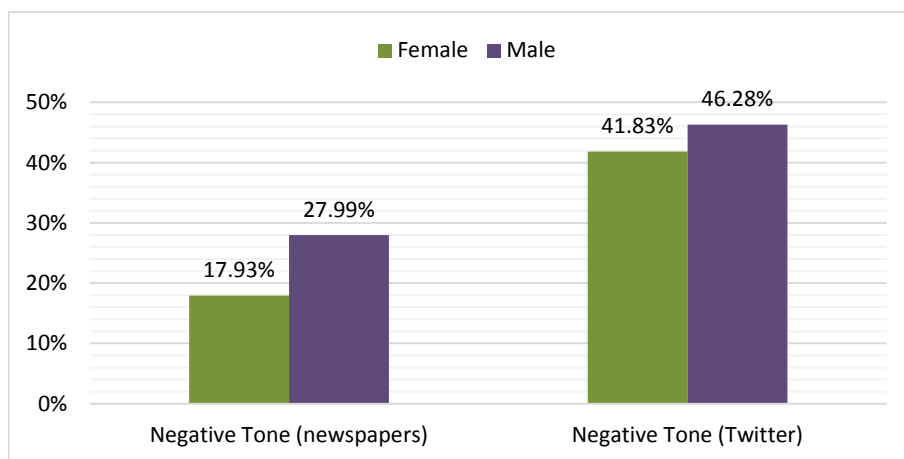


Figure 33. Proportion of politicians' mentions with negative tone, split by gender

In regard to these findings, these suggest that negative representations may be directed at specific individuals, though this is arguably related to the oppositional nature of the debate styling, where there is an invitation for polarised comparisons. Moreover, this is particularly apparent in the Twitter samples, which suggests a split

along political lines. Significantly, however, the samples featuring two women featured high proportions of coverage in particular, and as will be shown in the later analysis, these include much more gendered representations. This is articulated in specific ways, pointing to the added pressure female politicians have in the public sphere, where they are judged more harshly for not adhering to specific standards.

6.9 Gender Labels

As outlined at the beginning of this chapter, gendered mediation can be considered part of a broader narrative of gendered discourses attached to women in politics which can be seen as situating them as opposed to a political male norm (Gidengil and Everitt, 2003). Central to this thesis is the way language operates in sustaining or challenging these discourses. Already, this chapter has highlighted some of the ways language can be used to differentiate gender, such as the use titles and naming practices. This category builds on these sections by looking at the way gender and gendered terms may be explicitly articulated as markers of difference between men and women.

West *et al.* (1997 p. 121) point to the historical practices of gendering careers or professions, examples of which include the terms waiter and waitress, actor and actress; or those which have been given modifying gender markers, such as “woman doctor” or “male nurse”. Lexical and collocational patterns such as these are good indicators of underlying dynamics; indeed, as Fairclough (1995) highlights, these patterns are a place which exposes tensions and contradictions in texts. For example, the collocation of “woman doctor” or “lady doctor”, but little-used “man doctor” or male equivalent exposes the gendered assumption of maleness associated with this

professional role.⁹⁶ The same can be said of the generic used of male pronouns or terms for non-gender specific concepts (such as mankind).

In regard to politics, these labels may be more prevalent due to the media's propensity to focus on the gender of female politicians. Studies from Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross (1996) and Ross and Sreberny-Mohammadi (1997) argue the media often focus on female politicians' role as a woman first before seeing her as a politician. Though arguably dated, Ross *et al.* (2013 p. 17) find evidence of this in media coverage during the 2010 UK General Election, showing it is still a recent practice: they suggest that when women feature in the news, it is in stories about women specifically "so that their sex was the most interesting thing about them, rather than their potential or previous experience as serious political actors". A number of gendered nicknames have also been highlighted throughout this thesis, such as "Iron Ladies" and "Blair's Babes" (and their variants) which has also been used extensively in the media, exposing tensions and attitudes towards the women they refer to.

This variable, therefore, is concerned with the way gender itself may be explicitly articulated in relation to the political figures analysed. Given this stance, there was an expectation that in this study there would also be more explicit gendered labels or references when female politicians were discussed in both the newspaper and Twitter samples. In the coding process this included coding:

- When the text called to attention something significant due to a politician's gender
- If gender or gender issues were the subject point of the article or tweet regarding any of the politicians
- If gendered labels – such as being called a "female politician" or "male speaker" – were used in regard to the politician

⁹⁶ Compare for example the term "male nurse", a gender division which further consolidated the "caring" associations with women rather than men.

- If descriptive gendered nouns were used, such as “the mother said:” or “the father-of-two” and so forth.

This included any kind of novelty labelling which was also linked to gender. One issue with this was that this does not allow for the coding of terms which are not considered gendered *per sé*, but have certain gendered connotations, such as the term “shrill” or “bossy” which have often been used negative for women in positions of power. Though notes were taken throughout the coding process, there was also an expectation that terms such as these would be addressed in the critical discourse analysis of the reading.

The data revealed that there was indeed a disparity between the different samples, showing that Newsweek 1 which featured two women, Johann Lamont and Nicola Sturgeon, had a much higher proportion of mentions of gender than the other two newsweeks. This consisted of a proportion of 27.40% of the mentions in that sample, comparing to the lower proportion of these of mentions at 8.89% for Newsweek 3, which featured the six political figures (Douglas Alexander, Ruth Davidson, Kezia Dugdale, Patrick Harvie, Elaine C Smith and Nicola Sturgeon). The newsweek which looked at the coverage of two men, Newsweek 2 regarding Alistair Darling and Alex Salmond, was even lower still with only 1.87% of the mentions for that newsweek, as shown in Figure 34.

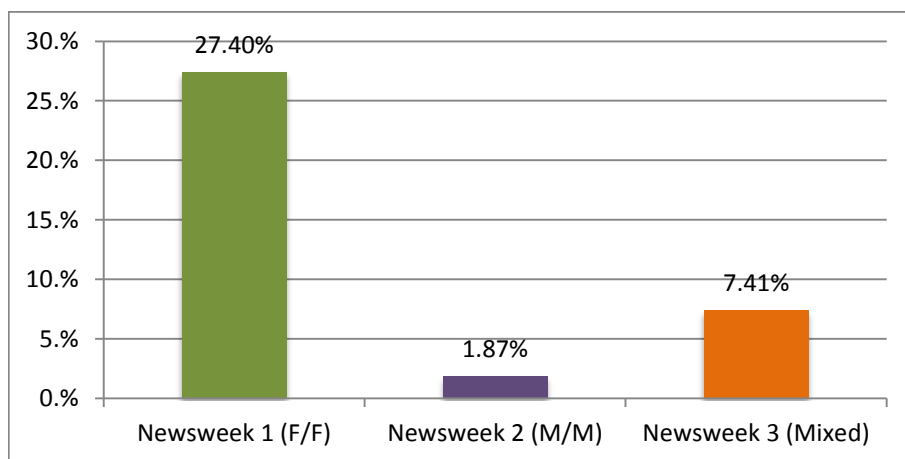


Figure 34. Proportion of mentions with explicit gender labels (newsweeks)

In this instance, it appears that when women are present in the coverage, gendered labels or discussion was proportionately higher. Further to this, when it is solely women looked at in the coverage, then gendered labels are even more evident again, suggesting similarities with Ross *et al.* (2013). These examples are used as the point of departure in the critical discourse analysis which follows and includes references to the women as “lady leaders” and being connected with a specific political style (for example Shearer, 2014, Mar 03; Sugden, 2014, Feb 26).

This was reinforced when the figures for each debate were disaggregated, showing that it was only women, Nicola Sturgeon, Ruth Davidson and Elaine C Smith, who had any kind of gendered references or labels affixed to them in Newsweek 3. Elaine C Smith had the highest proportion of this gendered coverage, but this was due to a number of articles she had written for the *Daily Record* publication where she called herself by the nickname “Granny Smith” (Smith, 2014, Sep 05a; Smith, 2014, Sep 05b; Smith, 2014, Sep 05c; Smith, 2014, Sep 05d) and through referring to her position as a grandmother. The figures are shown in Figure 35.

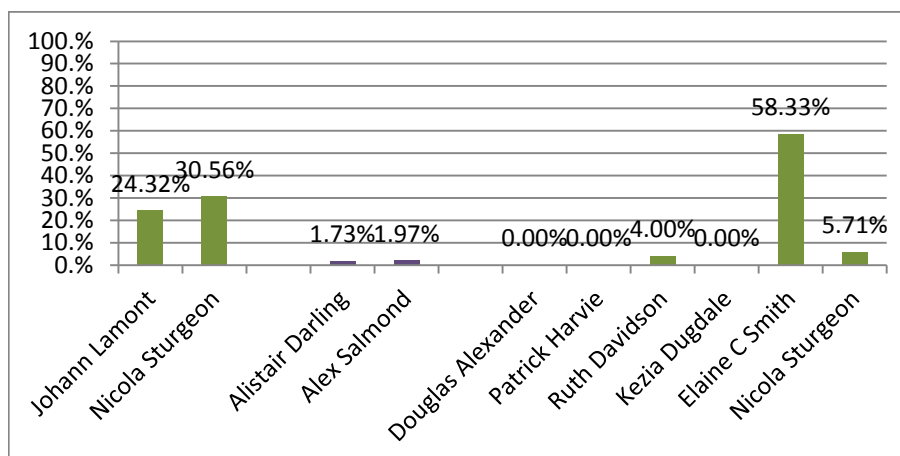


Figure 35. Proportion of gender labels per individual politician (newsweek samples)

In the Twitter element of the sample there were different kinds of patterns in operation, showing a much smaller proportion concerning this variable overall. As discussed, Twitter may offer a more participatory sphere (Sparks and Dahlgren, 1991; McNair, 2003), which could anticipate a more informal and colloquial discourse used in political discussion, but also more contested discussion when it comes to gender, potentially bypassing the dominant control of “masculinist mainstream media” (Walsh, 2015 p. 1032). Alternatively, given the gendered nature of online abuse discussed in Chapter 2, there may be a rise in gendered comments in the Twitter discourse (for example Megarry, 2014).

The trends showed that Twitter and newspaper samples were dissimilar, with a lower proportion overall for each sample compared to its newspaper counterpart. It was the last debate, Debate 3, featuring the six politicians of mixed genders, which had the highest proportion of these mentions at 2.85%, followed by Debate 1 featuring Johann Lamont and Nicola Sturgeon at 1.80%. The debate featuring two men still had the lowest proportion of references to gender in their sample with only 0.62%, as shown in Figure 36.

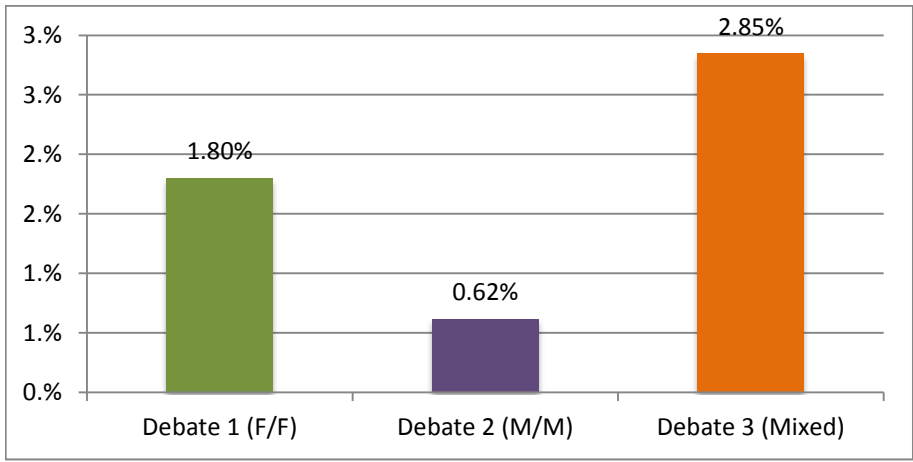


Figure 36. Proportion of mentions with explicit gender labels (debate: Twitter samples)

When disaggregating the information for the individual Twitter analysis, the female politicians were all shown to receive a higher proportion of gendered mentions than the male politicians. Therefore, even though this time Debate 3 received a higher proportion, it still shows that this was directed at women.

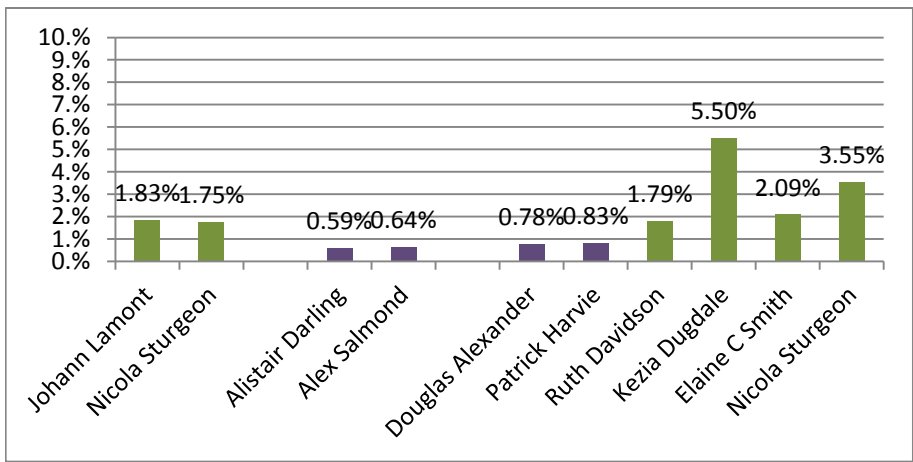


Figure 37. Proportion of gender labels per individual politician (debate: Twitter)

The results of this variable are interesting in that it confirms that women are represented more in explicitly gendered terms than their male counterparts, both in the newspapers and online. This may point to the women's gender being more obviously discordant with the masculine norm, and in the case of the newspapers, is more apparent when men are absent from the discussion. The results of this variable, when seen aggregated together show both differences between male and female politicians: women are still marked and known through their gender much more than men, as shown in Figure 38.

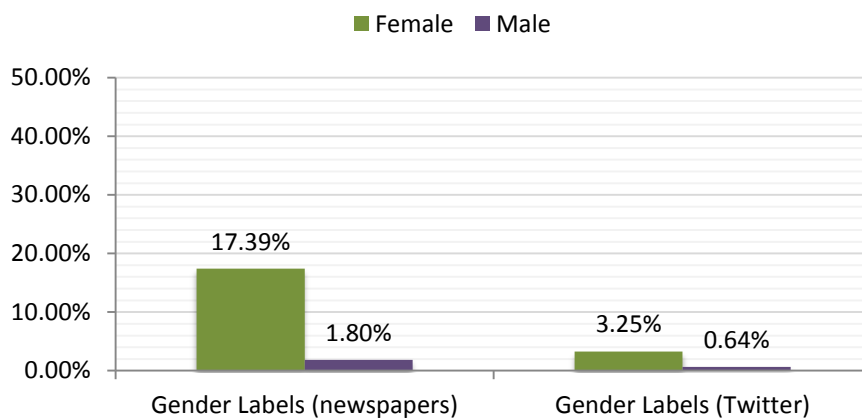


Figure 38. Proportion of gender labels, split by gender

The differences between the newspapers and the Twitter results are interesting, showing that the newspapers are more likely to reference gender than in the Twitter discussion. In this case, it may be that further gendered comments about the politicians on Twitter were much more dispersed and could have been subjected to a lag effect, with later discussion and analysis following, or there may have been different commentary which did not use this hashtag as an organising feature. There may also be different discussions around gender which did not reference the politicians directly. This, alongside the restricted space of the tweets, suggests less time to reflect and compose more elaborate descriptions, something afforded more to journalists in their writing after the event.

6.10 Critical discourse analysis

This section now takes the form of a critical discourse analysis which will in part address the fourth research question of this study: “What kind of gendered discourses (including what can be considered gendered mediation and gendered stereotypes), if any, are in play around the politicians analysed?” As previously discussed, a number of discursive frames have been used in regard to female politicians which emphasise their outsider status to the public realm (see for example Norris, 1997b). The results of the content analysis show that female politicians are represented in explicitly gendered terms more than male politicians. The findings of the critical discourse analysis in this section will outline a number of the gendered discourses used in the representation of the politicians which are consistent with areas of research discussed in the opening chapters

As has been highlighted, one aspect of gendered mediation is its insidious and embedded nature, therefore themes have emerged in the critical discourse analysis which were also not coded as explicitly gendered – for example the term “yah-boo” politics or the use of “shrill” – but have emerged throughout the forthcoming analysis to show how these terms are used in gendered ways. Furthermore, as will become evident, the majority of the extracts drawn upon consist of opinion and editorial articles. This is significant in that these act as evaluative articles which perform a specific public sphere function (Higgins, 2006). The analysis will therefore show that the themes and discourses discussed are particularly problematic for female politicians as they orientate them in opposition to an established masculinist political norm.

6.11 Leading Ladies: “All women”

Patterns arising from the data show evidence of a number of discourses which suggest a form of “gendered mediation” (Gidengil and Everitt, 2003) through the emphasis on women’s breakthrough role or acting for “all women” (Childs, 2008; Ross, 2017) through their political performance, which ultimately frames them as an essentialised group. Initially, gendered representations of Lamont and Sturgeon coincided with reference to their political position. One article in the *Scottish Sun* referred to Lamont and Sturgeon as “two lady leaders” (Shearer, 2014, Mar 03). This was similarly seen in an article in the *Herald* which described them as “Scotland’s two leading female politicians” (*Herald*, 2014, Feb 26). These terms of gender and rank were initially represented in a positive way together in anticipation of their involvement in the televised STV debate, as discussed earlier in this chapter. Gender and rank are also coupled in a similar extract which describes the women as “the two most senior women in Scottish politics”. The positive tone of the phrases is visible in the vocabulary with the frequent reference to their rank signalling their political authority. However the various collocations of “female” and “politicians”, “women in politics” and “lady leaders” explicitly genders their political position and it used to denote rank within the hierarchy of politics.

As Fairclough (1995 p. 102) argues, collocations (patterns of co-occurrence between words) can construct contradictions in texts and are ideologically significant choices. In this case a tension arises between the discourse of gender and the discourse of politics. By depicting these figures as leading *female* politicians, these extracts celebrate the breakthrough role of these women reaching their leading positions. Yet simultaneously, through gendering this placement, politics is established as synonymous with maleness. This also establishes a hierarchy with the assumption that ultimate political authority is male: they are the most senior *women* in Scottish politics, not senior people overall. Men are therefore also made conspicuous through this categorisation as higher in rank. Arguably, the alliterative collocation “lady leaders” also draws on formal discourses

which were historically used to describe women in male roles (such as the example of a “lady doctor” given earlier in this chapter). The use of the term “lady” is significant as though on its surface level it signals deference, it also has connotations of diminution (such as “little lady”) when used in the context of news discourse, especially if drawn from a tabloid newspaper in the sample (as in this case, the *Scottish Sun*). Therefore, while the breakthrough position of these women is celebrated in reaching the high auspices of their role, they are simultaneously presented as interlopers in the normative male space of the public sphere and politics.

Interestingly, the discussion on Twitter was much less focused on the positive impact of seeing high ranking female politicians taking part in a debate, though there were tweets which still emphasises the women’s gender as a salient quality. For example, as illustrated in the content analysis, one user issued a retweet of the Scottish Socialist Party’s claim that it was “encouraging to see powerful female leaders going head to head” (@rattlecans, 2014). Similarly, another user tweeted: “finally see @NicolaSturgeon put pride into women's politics and show the inept argument from the no campaign #scotnight” (@itsjustlewis, 2014). In the same way as highlighted above, the collocation of gender and political rank therefore creates a tension which simultaneously establishes women in politics as symbolically positive, yet still presented them as “other” in the process.

Examples of similar positive messages were also visible in tweets published during Debate 3, with one user commenting that in regard to Nicola Sturgeon, she was “head and shoulders above so many other politicians in Scotland. Women can to [sic] be proud of her. #RoleModel” (@RobertColson1, 2014). This conceit is further extended with the gendered distinction of “women’s politics” which establishes politics as a separate sphere to that of politics more generally which, by extension, is male. Moreover, Sturgeon’s performance in Debate 3 represented as bringing “pride” to women, also establishes her performance as symbolic through the use of the hashtag

“RoleModel” which positions her descriptively (standing for) women, but is also ambiguous in that it hints at her acting for women in a more substantive way.

When the newspapers represented Johann Lamont and Nicola Sturgeon’s performance as poor, as highlighted earlier in the chapter, they did so in gendered terms. Discussion and criticism centred on how both Sturgeon and Lamont talked over one another (and also for the female chair, Rona Dougall, for not intervening sufficiently). In one opinion article in *Scotland on Sunday*, the following headline is used: “Stairheid Rammy sets back women’s cause” (Drumlanrig, 2014, Mar 03) which brings together the overlapping domestic and trivialising discourses (as will be discussed more fully below). Adding to this is a gendered discourse which is established by the phrase: “women’s cause”. This can be interpreted in two ways: firstly, as women’s cause in regard to descriptive representation through women’s access and progress in political contexts (and makes allusions to past women’s movements); and secondly, as women’s cause in regard to substantive representation, as in causes that are of concern and interest to women. The ambivalence in the title, which is not fully clarified in the article, suggests that both explanations apply. The implication is that the “all women” frame is used to establish Lamont and Sturgeon’s poor performance as reflecting poorly on both other female politicians and women more broadly.

6.12 Voice: “like dentists' drills on Dexedrine”

As has been established in previous chapters, voice is an important facet in the mediation of political actors and can be considered intertextual through the modes of direct and indirect speech reporting (Fairclough, 2003). However, media research has shown that sources are not used indiscriminately and analysis into different patterns of quoted speech has been one way to gauge women’s structural marginalisation in the media and in political communication (Ross, 2007; Adcock, 2010; Macharia, 2015; O'Neill, Savigny and Cann, 2016). As the content analysis for this thesis has

demonstrated, speech patterns of the male and female politicians did not indicate any form of marginalisation when they were quoted in the media texts. This is important and encouraging in that it points to equitable representation in some aspects of their manifest visibility. The critical discourse analysis however, shows evidence of much more gendered terms when women's voices are instead discussed in the media texts which, as will be shown, are deeply problematic.

Building on the "all women" discursive frame which highlighted the women's poor performance reflecting badly on women generally (Childs, 2008), one opinion article in the *Scottish Daily Mail* describes the exchange in excessively gendered terms:

The first half - snide, patronising, evasive - was merely a cold-blooded, dainty little cat-fight. The second half, grandly billed as 'cross-examination', was a fullblown stairhead rammy with ruthless interruption, incessant rantage, dark and baleful tones and much postured faux outrage. Meanwhile, Miss Dougall quite failed in what is surely the most crucial aspect of her job - to stop the two women talking at the same time, ever shriller, ever more incandescent, like dentists' drills on Dexedrine (MacLeod, 2014, Feb 27).

The vocabulary used to describe the debate between the two women uses hyperbolic imagery and onomatopoeia along the common theme of discomfort arising from the sound of their voices. These are established through the evocation of the uncomfortable, sharp noise of a dentist's drill. This simile is further heightened through the alliterative use of the reference to the drill (and women) being under the influence of the stimulant drug Dexedrine, a form of amphetamine. Research suggests that women's voices are often referred to as high-pitched and jarring and can "connote unreasonableness, silliness or edginess" (Macdonald, 1995 p. 45). This is further emphasised through the use of the relentless nature of the exchange ("incessant rantage") as well as the notoriously gendered term "shrill", which is often used when women violate behaviour expectations through acting more aggressively (Kahn, 1996 p. 33). As illustrated here, voice is rendered in a significantly gendered and pejorative way.

This can also be seen in use in other texts in the news corpus. In another opinion article in the *Herald*, the women cause “bleeding” ears through their exchange (Rowat, 2014, Feb 28), while another in the *Scottish Sun* uses the term “screeched” to describe them (Leckie, 2014, Feb 27). The connotations with noise and pain are significant in that the discourse establishes the content of their exchange as trivial, as the articles situate it as provoking discomfort in the assumed audience. For example, one extract from the *Scottish Daily Mail*, in an overview of online reaction to the debate afterwards, says “many viewers were left exhausted with sore heads after the “rammy” in which the pair spoke over each other, shouted and simply failed to get any points across” (Sugden, 2014, Feb 26). Here, the collectivised identity to emerge in this case (Fairclough, 2010) is situated in accord with the commentator, which furthers the implicit “othering” of the women.

Simile is used to a similar effect in another extract, this time in an editorial of the *Sunday Mail*: “It is hard to properly describe the depths plumbed for those lucky enough to have missed it but two washing machines tumbling down a tenement stair would make a similar noise and slightly more sense” (*Sunday Mail*, 2014, Mar 2). The hyperbolic description of the women as provoking a noise worse than washing machines crashing down stairs is doubly significant in that it is also located in a specifically domestic setting (which is explored further in the next section). Similarly evocative terms were also used to describe the woman’s performance (“barney” “car crash”, “carnage”, “wreckage” (*Sunday Mail*, 2014, Mar 2) “dreadful car-crash telly” (MacLeod, 2014, Feb 27)). The hyperbolic language used alongside the gendering of the women’s voice as irrational and emotive suggests a lack of composure and competency. Even though the campaign period was described as increasingly heated and heightened between both sides, these extracts show that this is particularly problematic in regard to female politicians as they are exchanges are depoliticised and trivialised through these gendered terms.

This can also be seen in a similar overlapping discourse which describes the two women with metaphorical animal imagery. Firstly, in the aforementioned *Scottish Daily Mail* article, the debate is also described as a “cat-fight” (MacLeod, 2014, Feb 27) which is again, a notorious gendered term used in a similar way to “shrill” to describe women in aggressive terms, though with more physical and violent connotations to feline scratching and hissing. As Douglas (1995) this suggest a motif with is often used in the media to belittle women by presenting feminised fights as hysterical and trivialising, used to downplay women’s serious exchanges. According to Carling and Winfrey (2009 p. 328), “describing women in sexist terms reduces their credibility or may cause them to be seen as less human Animal terms focus on the appearance and sexuality of young women (foxy), and as women grow older, or are seen as too aggressive, they may be called barracuda, old bat, shrew, or cow”. In this way, the cat-fight metaphor alluding to a baser nature takes on a titillating dimension, and suggests sexualised undertones (for example the term “cathouse” used to describe a brothel). This is seen in a similar extract, which describes the women as “yawling at each other like foxes raking your bins at midnight,” (Leckie, 2014, Feb 27).

In another extract, a folklinguistic discourse is drawn upon to describe the women as harpies: “looking like a mad harpie” (Leckie, 2014, Feb 27). The harpy (harpie) is a reference to mythological creatures of half-human and half-bird hybrid form known for their aggressive and violent screeching: “In classical mythology a monster with the head and body of a woman and wings and claws of a bird. It was fierce, ravenous-looking and loathsome, and lived in an atmosphere of filth and stench, contaminating everything it came near” (Harpy, 2012). This simile is also intertextual in drawing upon allusions from Homer and Milton, among others, and has become idiomatic, acting as shorthand for a “cruel, greedy woman” (ibid) associated with cacophonous noise and disorder.

As resultant overlapping discourses of noise/pitch and animals/creatures ultimately trivialises the performance of Lamont and Sturgeon. This is echoed in another extract which represents the women to “niggle[] each other repeatedly” (Drumlanrig, 2014, Mar 03), rather than being represented as taking part in a political discussion and argumentation associated with this type of political performance. The gendered terms of the discourses also shows evidence of the “silence/shame” double bind (Jamieson, 1995), as the references act as a form of “public shaming” of these women for transgressing their expected gendered performance. Silence – or seemingly behaviour – is implied when the women are criticised for talking over one another (“Miss Dougall quite failed in what is surely the most crucial aspect of her job - to stop the two women talking at the same time”(MacLeod, 2014, Feb 27)). This is further emphasised in another extract which implores the women to either have a “calm chat” or keep a “dignified silence” (Shearer, 2014, Mar 03). As discussed in the next section, the representation of discordance is symbolic of the transgressive performance of these women as they deviate from expected behaviour of their gender.

The stereotypically gendered terms used to describe the women’s argumentative voices further contrasts to the way the two men, Alistair Darling and Alex Salmond, are described in the second newspaper sample. At times, like the women, Darling’s and Salmond’s debate was described as being badly performed, with their voices represented as being discordant throughout. Yet the way this was described in newspaper samples was in less hyperbolic terms. For example, one article in the *Scottish Sun* describes the men as “a couple of angry, shouty, middle-aged men” (Nicoll, 2014, Aug 06), writing in the headline: “we got two shouty men”. Another in the *Times*, (*Scotland*) writes: “The independence debate in Scotland has moved on so much from two white, middle-aged men in suits shouting at each other” (*Times (Scotland)*, 2014, Aug 09). In these cases the differences in word choice between the genders (predominantly “shout” compared to a variety of expressions for Lamont and Sturgeon highlighted above), shows how readily these terms are employed for women. As will be discussed, though this is seen to represent a desire away from stereotypically male

political figures, tension arises from the comparison in that women's discordance is rendered much more problematic in the metaphorical language used to describe it as such.

In regard to social media, comments in Twitter appeared to echo the newspaper discourse, with comments which referenced that "Shouty Salmond not a hit with the women of Scotland and now it seems the men too #ScotDecides #indyref" (@MonicaLennon7, 2014). Though Salmond's (lack of) appeal to women voters is discussed later, other such examples of the "shouty" debates are as follows:

- Overall Darling is coming across a bit shoutier than he probably wants to" (@Browser01, 2014)
- Bernard Ponsonby asks audience to let speakers be heard but often lets Alistair Darling shout over Alex Salmond #indyref #ScotDecides (@columbastrail, 2014)
- Darling seems to think talking over and shouting is the way to debate? #indyref (@Kerrg1, 2014)

Even though there was criticism at the mean for shouting, this did not appear to be couched in the same terms as Lamont and Sturgeon. Though tweets did not use the same kind of hyperbolic imagery as the newspaper articles, when Lamont and Sturgeon were discussed in terms of their voice, this was often carried with it an implied desire for them to "shut up":

- Someone tell moan-a-minute Johann Lamont to shut her geggie (@scotbot, 2014)⁹⁷
- "@NicolaSturgeon is going into rant mode again #scotnight" (@kilmacolm1, 2014)
- @JohannLamont Bad listener. Won't answer questions & won't let @NicolaSturgeon answer #bigmouth #scotnight" (@Clarabellaxo, 2014)
- RT @RyanNorton39: Sturgeon's mask has really slipped this evening. She's just ranting like a pub bore #scotnight #indyref (@alexgallagher2, 2014)

⁹⁷ 'Geggie' or 'geggy' is Scottish (mostly Glaswegian) slang for 'mouth'.

Rather than shouting, however, these extracts show instead a tendency to use the stereotypically gendered terms, describing the women as “ranting” and “moaning”. Further to this, Sturgeon’s aggression is seen as something unpleasant in one extract: “RT @BigGfaetheBigG: Passive aggressive? Sack that... Sturgeon completely aggressive & on the warpath. Unpleasant & painful to watch. #scotnight #indyref” (@s91258849, 2014). This further feeds in to the “silence/shame” double bind (Jamieson, 1995) in terms of women appearing transgressive when speaking out in too aggressive terms. As will be outlined in the next sections, these discourses also overlap with gendered discourses of decorum and expected “womanly” behaviour which are also connected to the women’s performance. While the men’s description as “shouty” does also hint at a desire for a more tempered political exchanges and innovative performance more generally, which is discussed in the next chapter, the allusion does not carry with it the same desire for silence: this only appears to be the case when the two women are performing against one another.

6.13 Domesticity: “a stairheid rammy”

The previous section shows a number of gendered discourses by alluding to the women as shrill and animalistic. Building on these established discourses are further behavioural ones which appear to locate the normative expectations of female behaviour. As this will also show, this further overlaps with expectations of a specific form of gendered political style that women are expected to display. This, in turn, situates women who deviate from these norms as transgressive and outsiders whose behaviour is represented as being found lacking.

As seen in the *Scottish Daily Mail* extract which was referred to in the last section, the debate between Johann Lamont and Nicola Sturgeon was described in hyperbolic terms. Within the extract from the and in the article’s headline, the term “stairheid rammy” is used to describe the debate between the two women (MacLeod, 2014, Feb

27). In Scottish vernacular, a rammy is a traditional slang word for a fight, with “stairheid” the stair head (top of a flight of stairs). This situates the term further as being a fight between neighbours occupying the same common domestic space (usually in a Scottish tenement). The phrase itself has traction in the Scottish media and has evolved from its original use to become a form of journalistic shorthand to describe political exchanges and football match fights (Cairns Speitel, 2017).⁹⁸ The collocation between the discourses of the private and domestic (stairheid) with that of a fighting discourse (rammy) serves to belittle the fight, and does so in a pejorative way. The use of this phrase builds upon the previously mentioned discourses of discord and animal imagery: it is a fight, but only trivial one and derisively so. However, the use of the phrase in this context in particular is more problematic through its overlapping with the previous discourses established in the texts, as well as the overall association of women with the domestic realm, shown in the opening chapters (see for example Macdonald, 1995; Lovenduski, 2005). The readiness with which the phrase “stairheid rammy” is applied in this context doubly undermines these women through their additional characterisation as outsiders.

The use of this metaphor, which is from the Scots dialect, can again be seen as an example of the “conversationalisation” of discourse (Fairclough, 1992; 1995) which aligns the subject position of the news giver (the columnist) and the news receiver (the reader) (Fairclough, 1992) through a particular shared Scottish colloquialism and therefore a form of shared national identity. The foregrounding of this phrase in the article’s headline, “How this televised stairheid rammy sank the debate to a new low” (MacLeod, 2014, Feb 27), also emphasises this alignment through the modality of the phrase. As Fairclough (1992 p. 142) suggests: “modality concerns the extent to which producers commit themselves to, or conversely distance themselves from, propositions: their degree of “affinity” with the proposition”. In this case, the

⁹⁸ This has also been used in the past to describe a debate which Sturgeon took part in with Anas Sarwar, deputy leader of the Scottish Labour party. This affair was considered a much more confrontational, with the *Scotsman* and *Scotland on Sunday* calling it a “stairheid rammy”, however there was an absence of gendered terms alongside this, instead being described in more pugilistic terms.

proposition in the headline involves a high affinity with the assertion, though this is informed by the genre type of the article itself. Though the voice and subjectivity of the columnist is foregrounded through his/her voice in the text (and accompanied by a picture and byline), the conventions of this style also allow for this opinion to be constructed in objective terms (the rest of the article has minimal subjective modality markers and hedging), allowing for “partial perspectives to be universalized” (ibid p. 161). The situation of the performance of the two women in these terms is done so in a way that is portrayed as being representative of public opinion.

As discussed later in the extract, the “fullblown stairheid rammy” is a description of the second half of the debate, which is established as more transgressive than the “cold-blooded, dainty little cat-fight” of the first half:

The first half - snide, patronising, evasive - was merely a cold-blooded, dainty little cat-fight. The second half, grandly billed as 'cross-examination', was a fullblown stairheid rammy with ruthless interruption, incessant rantage, dark and baleful tones and much postured faux outrage (MacLeod, 2014, Feb 27).

The word choice is particularly interesting in this instance through the contrast established between these two terms: firstly the “fullblown stairheid rammy” implies an emotive, frenzied state; while secondly the cat-fight is described both “cold-blooded” and “dainty”, paradoxically describing much more tempered and dispassionate behaviour. These two terms are significant in that the first can be seen to denote a form of rationality as well as implying a more feminine, seemly behaviour. The placement of the terms, therefore, can be positioned as the preferable of the two behaviours, when situated in comparison to the ultimate transgressive act of the domestic fight. Furthermore, the extract represents the women as exhibiting “postured faux outrage”, a form of inauthentic behaviour in their more combative form. In this way, then, they are situated as violating the gendered behaviour expectations through escalating aggression (Kahn, 1996).

As already mentioned above, in a separate extract, the women are described as sounding worse than “two washing machines tumbling down a tenement stair” (*Sunday Mail*, 2014, Mar 2). The domestic setting is also emphasised in this case through the collocational word-choice (a tenement stair, rather than just a stair). Similarly, in the same extract, Lamont and Sturgeon’s performance are again depicted as transgressing behavioural gender norms when the article uses yet another simile “like a couple of drunks in a taxi queue” (*Sunday Mail*, 2014, Mar 2) giving obvious connotations of drunkenness and impropriety.

Behaviour and domestic discourses are established in the same way in extracts taken from Twitter which discussed the first televised debate in a somewhat harsher tone at points. For example, one user describes the women as “shouting over each other like a pair of fishwives in a stairheid brawl” (@chriswaite, 2014). Here the fishwife is seen a folklinguistic and archetypal figure in UK discourse characterised as being loud and foul-mouthed, and is often used in a pejorative sense. This further echoes the domestic “stairheid” imagery employed in the newspaper sample with the gender label of wife situating the women as linked in a subordinate, marital role. In another example, marital status is called upon when Johann Lamont is described as Ed Miliband’s “Stepford Wifie”: “RT @traquir: Apparently @JohannLamont is genetically programmed to be astonished #scotnight Looks like Ed has his very own Stepford Wifie” (@Dougjb74, 2014) which makes intertextual reference (Fairclough, 1992) to the subservient, robot, domestic robots of the 1972 novel by Ira Levin, with the added Scottish colloquial allusion to the domestic “wifie”. In this instance the term draws upon the references to the novel (and subsequent films) which places the emphasis on the submissive role of the robot housewives controlled through the whim of their husbands. It also places Lamont in a subordinate role to the then-Labour Party leader, as shown through a marital discourse.

The terms “wifie”, “stairheid”, and “fishwife” also situates the women in an extended discourse with an added dimension of social class. The terms are evocative of a

vernacular which describes working-class women formed in a Scottish popular discourse and pivots on different conceptions of national identity, class and gender. This is reminiscent of the complex dynamic of the “rough kind of feminism” discussed by Hughes (2010 p. 6). Though, rather than a Scottish working class identity being met with respect and approval, the terms here are used to as a way to trivialise; they are pejorative and depict a transgressive kind of working-class femininity. Alongside the aforementioned allusions to metaphorical drunkenness, their behaviour is aligned with the depoliticised “temper” of the fishwife. Although these terms are specific to Scotland and the UK (though there may be cultural equivalents), they can be considered as contributing to a cross-cultural practice which renders women in politics to specific stereotypes.⁹⁹

In an extract in the newspaper sample, the two genres converge when an article in the *Scottish Daily Mail* quotes further tweets which show similar discourses found in the samples drawn here:

Online quotes included 'Two fishwives shouting over each other with a powerless shrinking violet in the middle', while Scottish comedian Janey Godley later tweeted: 'Stop shouting over each other making us all look like fishwives.' Radio Clyde political editor Colin Mackay described the politicians as 'nippy sweeties,' saying: 'They couldn't stop themselves from interrupting each other (Sugden, 2014, Feb 26).

The inclusion of tweets in newspaper discourse is becoming increasingly common, which points to the agenda-setting power of discussion on Twitter and a convergence of discussion with varying degrees of formality. This operates as a way for newspapers to rehearse conversational discourses which may not be appropriate for the style of the printed press. In this case, the extract here allows for a rehearsal of the term “fishwives” while distancing itself from claims of sexism.

⁹⁹ See for example, Lundell and Ekström's (2008) discussion on the visual rendering of political women in the press as the archetypal figures of the princess, the witch and the madwoman.

Domesticity is also hinted at in an editorial from the *Scottish Sun*, which describes an online exchange between Nicola Sturgeon and Johann Lamont taken from the Newsweek 3 sample. The article describes the politicians' fight after Lamont was found to be doorstepping (canvassing) in Sturgeon's constituency: "Labour leader Johann Lamont yesterday invaded enemy territory by doorstepping SNP deputy chief Nicola Sturgeon's constituents" (*Scottish Sun*, 2014, Sep 06). In this case, the women are situated in a discursive space between the public and private in domain of "the doorstep", and later in online conversation, which is seen to be antagonistic. The conversational style of this political discourse is evident in the alliterative headline of "women at war" with the hyperbolic language already undercutting their credibility, describing their online discussion as a "social media spat", echoing the previous terms used to trivially frame the women's exchange (cat-fight, stairheid rammy).

Gender is foregrounded in the article through the headline, as well as through the description of "ladies" and "using girl power to steal votes from each other", which is at once infantilising through the use of "girl" but also has intertextual links to popular culture discourses of the somewhat insubstantial feminist "girl power" of the Spice Girls pop group in the 1990s. This is tied up at the end of the piece, which distils them in a gendered cliché: "a referendum campaign hath no fury like a woman scorned" (ibid).¹⁰⁰ This term is often used to describe aggressive, vengeful and violent women and also has connotations to the harpy, as discussed in the previous section.¹⁰¹ The dissonance of this phrase in this context, with the trivialising discourse used throughout, however, renders the phrase comedic in its use. What appears to be the case, then, is that these overlapping discourses of voice and domesticity come together in gendered terms as a

¹⁰⁰ This is an intertextual reference from seventeenth century play *The Mourning Bride* (Congreve, 1928 [1697]) with the "scorned woman" mythologised and the phrase itself now an idiom used in modern day nomenclature. This has often been misattributed to Shakespeare. The full quotation is "Heav'n has no Rage, like Love to Hatred turn'd, Nor Hell a Fury, like a Woman scorn'd" (Congreve, 1928 [1697]).

¹⁰¹ In Greek mythology, the Furies were spirits of vengeance "principally of murder within the family but also of other breaches of natural order such as filial disobedience, inhospitality, and oath-breaking; they may have been considered the personifications of curses" (Brewster, 2014).

way to critique these female politicians when they have transgressed the feminised behaviour norms associated with their gender.

6.14 “A less yah-boo kind of politics”

Throughout the above extracts, overlapping gendered discourses thus far imply the political performance of women should adhere to specific behavioural expectations. In the remainder of the extract from this pseudonymous *Scotland on Sunday* article previously mentioned, “Stairheid Rammy sets back women’s cause” (Drumlanrig, 2014, Mar 03), the terms of behaviour the women should display are established:

STV's televised independence debate last week between Johann Lamont and Nicola Sturgeon looks set to become a benchmark for naked political antagonism. The current Scottish Labour leader and the SNP Deputy First Minister interrupted and niggled each other repeatedly, with STV host Rona Dougall eventually giving up trying to keep things civil. As a result, the debate will now inevitably become known as The Stairheid Rammy. It is likely to silence, for some time, those who argue that more women in parliament would guarantee a more civilised, and a less yah-boo kind of politics (Drumlanrig, 2014, Mar 03).

The performance of Lamont and Sturgeon is established as counter to the expectation they would bring a softer, feminised political style compared to a combative, aggressive and “antagonistic” style associated with male politicians. Yet this creates a paradox reminiscent of the “feminine/competency” double bind (Jamieson, 1995; Murray, 2010; Campus, 2013) discussed in Chapter 3: “yah-boo” politics is established as the norm, yet when the women display this kind of gendered political performance, they are criticised in negative terms. This simultaneously legitimises the expectation that men display more aggressive behaviour, which further strengthens this dichotomy. As a result, the implication is that female politician’s participation in the public sphere is conditional on both their performance adhering to specific feminised behaviours and, as discussed, that their behaviour is representative of, and should represent “all women”.

Another extract can be seen to call for more collaborative, sisterly types of behaviour between the two women. In this case, in another opinion article in the *Scottish Sun on Sunday*, the exchange between Lamont and Sturgeon is juxtaposed to a different incident between celebrity figures Michelle Mone and Elizabeth Hurley,¹⁰² who have had an apparent Twitter feud over a shared love-interest:

Did she try to meet up with Michelle and have a calm chat about the situation to find out what's happening? Did she keep a dignified silence and wait for it all to pass? Of course she didn't. No, of course she didn't. She took to Twitter, posting a photo from Planet of the Apes of Charlton Heston kissing a female ape, with the caption, "no accounting for taste". A less-than subtle dig at Warne and Mone. What was she thinking about? Publicly humiliating another female ... and all because of Shane Warne. Really? (Shearer, 2014, Mar 03).

The backstabbing behaviour of the women is critiqued in terms of displaying a form public humiliation: Elizabeth Hurley should have kept a "dignified silence" or had a conciliatory "calm chat" in private, but instead made the details of the feud public on Twitter. The use of a form of rhetorical questions, which are answered in the extract, establishes a conversational style which aligns the subject positions of the columnist and public/reader in critical accord which foregrounds the transgressive nature of the women's behaviour.

This setting is used as a hook to bring in the other scenario regarding Lamont and Sturgeon and is subsequently used as a way to evaluate their political performance:

[T]his week the two lady leaders running their parties in Scotland apparently showed themselves up to be less than decorous too. Labour leader Johann Lamont and deputy First Minister Nicola Sturgeon went head to head in a televised debate about the future of our country. Both are a shining example of strong women (ibid).

¹⁰² Michelle Mone is a Scottish entrepreneur and owner of lingerie company Ultimo, while Elizabeth Hurley is an English actress and model.

The implication is that women have to act in solidarity, opposing woman-against-woman backstabbing behaviour. Though Lamont and Sturgeon have the privilege of being described as “shining examples of strong women”, which suggests a hierarchical privileging of political status, they are still described as acting “less than decorous” during the debate. The uneasy juxtaposition in the article implies that women who “do” politics should act in similar ways and hone their performance to the requirements of feminine seamliness.

This extract can be considered interdiscursive in that it brings together the genre of celebrity gossip with political discourse, and can be seen as a “colonizing” of the orders of discourse (Fairclough, 1992 p. 54) of the tabloid and gossip with that of politics. This is problematic for the female politicians (Lamont and Sturgeon) represented as it equates the behavioural expectations of one pair of women (celebrities) in regard to a romantic disagreement the same as the performance of two senior politicians. As discussed in the next section, this culminates in a universalised expectation of female gendered behaviour.

The use of the term decorum also suggests certain rules of etiquette should be adhered to in political situations – as one might expect for any debate by way of rules of good behaviour and manners – yet the article hints at wider ramifications for women should they deviate from these norms. Women, the author says, must “help themselves” in these situations: “It’s fantastic that in Scotland we have women in real positions of political power, but it must be used to its advantage.” Here, the onus is placed upon women to advance their status in positions of power by adhering to these so-called rules of decorum. Echoing the previous *Scotland on Sunday* extract (Drumlanrig, 2014, Mar 03), it emphasises women’s responsibility to adhere to normative gendered expectations as a way of legitimising their political participation. Feminised decorum is a dominant frame of normative evaluation for these politicians, as opposed to those more readily associated with political discourse, such as assertiveness and political commitment. This again illustrates the opposing sides of the “double bind” (Jamieson,

1995), exposing the socially-constructed associations regarding male and female behaviour in regard to the public sphere. Lamont and Sturgeon are regarded as “strong” yet criticised for displaying the characteristics associated with “strong” political style.

In the same article, men and women are also established in an oppositional discourse. Men are described as more supportive of their own gender, as opposed to backstabbing women are more likely to betray one other women to get ahead:

"If I Were a Boy", as Beyoncé sang, "I'd drink beer with the guys ... cause they stick up for me." Maybe that's the biggest lesson women should take from the men. Men are always covering each other's back whereas a woman is more likely to stab you in it ... So, come on, ladies, it's been embarrassing. Don't live up to the stereotype. Let's not bitch and fight. Let's pull together (Shearer, 2014, Mar 03).

In using the term “bitch and fight” the extract draws upon similar animalistic imagery as seen in the previous sections in a reference to the oft-used insult “bitch” which has its origins as the name of a female dog. As Anderson (1999 p. 602) suggests, the term is “not only is a defining archetype of female identity, but also functions as a contemporary rhetoric of containment disciplining women with power”. This carries with it the constraining connotations of “women's power as unnatural and threatening” (ibid p. 600). In this extract men are represented as embodying a kind of protective behaviour, while women are represented as backstabbing to those of their own gender group. Paradoxically, the resulting discourses therefore place women in two stereotypical frames at the gendered poles of the double bind: imploring the softer, feminine and collaborative woman, or the backstabbing and fighting aggressor. Simultaneously, men are shown to be both protective of those of their own gender, with more controlled behaviour. Using an intertextual reference to American singer, Beyoncé (which is discussed in the next section), the columnist calls on the female politicians to act more like men: “Come on, girls, it's time for you all to Beyhave”.

Discourses of “sisterly” conduct are further evoked in an extended extract from the *Scottish Daily Mail*. The conceit depicts contrasting scenes between the two women: the first an exchange between Lamont and Sturgeon in the opening of the Scottish Parliament three years earlier; the second, the relations between them following the televised debate:

Ambushed Indeed, there was a rather heartwarming moment at the swearing-in of MSPs in May 2011, when Miss Sturgeon and Miss Lamont ambushed new Nationalist MSP Humza Yousaf, gorgeously arrayed in a dazzling sherwani, and caressed the fabric, and teased him, their heads bending together in girly-talk over glittering sequins. Something chill and terrible has fallen between these women since. Frank, even passionate, disagreement is one thing. The open, naked and mutual contempt on display on Tuesday was quite another. It was born in large part, no doubt, of nerves, and of the moment the nation faces, and simple animal fear - an entire political career can be destroyed by just one sufficiently catastrophic television appearance. But it was also ugly, it was unnecessary - and this was all too evident. You could not imagine any banter, afterwards, in the green room, far less a quick glug later on at Rogano or a shared taxi home... and that, somehow, is infinitely sad (MacLeod, 2014, Feb 27).

The author embellishes the opening scene with Lamont and Sturgeon brought together in harmonious accord over the attire of one of their male colleagues. Here, the women are situated within the infantilised discourse of giggling schoolgirls through the description of “girly-talk”. This is also feminised through the excessively tactile and sensual description of them of “caressing” and “teasing”. However this behaviour is now lost in the charged nature of the current debate, which the columnist views as having descended into open contempt. The counter-narrative, a fictionalised scenario – a shared drink and “banter” in a Glasgow bar (Rogano) – is discarded as an impossibility due to the now ugly nature of their televised exchange (this also contrasts to the “couple of drunks in a taxi queue” (*Sunday Mail*, 2014, Mar 2) as mentioned above).

The women are constructed as having deviated from a desirable, consensual style of politics, however the extract also conflates the behaviour of the women as being

applicable across two different spheres: that of the public (the debate) but also the private (the green room and a bar). The imagined rendering of the women in a bar recalls the discourse of society column and later aspiration magazines such as *Hello* which report on social movements of rich and famous figures, a traditionally “soft” journalist style often considered less prestigious, and associated with women as a form of “feminine ghetto” (Chambers, 2004 p. 123). In doing so, there is both a feminisation and a trivialising effect in play, bringing together discourses of girlish immaturity and hinting at a style where appearance and artificiality are celebrated. Again, there is a construction of an expectation of a universalised feminine behaviour which in this case can be given to be consensual and sisterly. On the other hand, the construction of the women as trivialised establishes this as something diminished and lacking substance.

An extract from the *Sunday Mail* commentator makes a similar comment regarding a particular feminised style. Quoting “one of the world’s top experts on TV debates”, the extract asserts:

The two debaters had a responsibility to discuss the issues in an intelligent and adult way and they just didn't seem capable of doing that. There has always been a hope that, as more women entered politics, they would help encourage a calmer, more mature discourse. I didn't see that with Sturgeon and Lamont (Aitken, 2014, Mar 02).

The implication is that women are expected to bring a mature form of discourse, and when they deviate from this expectation, they are deemed as “kids fighting in the playground” (ibid). The implication is that women’s – and men’s – entry into politics is predicated on displaying behaviours related to these gendered norms. Interestingly, the quoted source, above, says that the reason for the bad performance was because “it got too personal”: “They both seemed to be settling scores with each other in a personal way” (ibid). This was similar to a comment in regard to the debate in the *Scottish Daily Mail* which alleged: “But saddest of all is the sense that all this is getting far too personal” (MacLeod, 2014, Feb 27). As discussed earlier, this can be seen as an example of van Zoonen’s (2005) convergence of personal and political life which is seen

to be more problematic for women, whereas the polarised expectations of feminine behaviour and politics are accentuated. Here, the behaviour display of the women is again stratified into two forms of femininities: backstabbing, personal insults as opposed to the feminine behaviour of agreeableness.

Similarly, this time in an editorial in the *Sunday Mail*, emotive behaviour in political performance is established as being controlled and constrained: “There is nothing wrong with a bit of passion. Indeed, if politicians are not passionate about the most important debate of their lives, then they are in the wrong job. But that passion must be tempered with civility and respect for their opponents” (*Sunday Mail*, 2014, Mar 2). Yet the end of this article closes with the phrase “whether we are an independent country or not, we should be a grown-up country” (ibid). This further situates the political performance of the two women as infantilised which echoes the statement above that equates the feminised style as being more mature.

In common with the discourse of a feminised political style, but in an inverse scenario, is a discourse established in regard to the performance of the women performed in Debate 3 and discussed in the Newsweek 3, which focused on the six politicians, Ruth Davidson, Kezia Dugdale, Elaine C Smith, Nicola Sturgeon, Douglas Alexander and Patrick Harvie. In this extract, as shown in the content analysis, an opinion article from the *Herald* congratulates Kezia Dugdale and Elaine C Smith for their performance, deeming it an “encouraging consensus at the heart of the campaign” (Macwhirter, 2014, Sep 04), shown in the article’s headline. The author praises the women’s “laughing” “disarming” and “eloquent” exchanges which are seen to represent a more consensual style.

References to the two women are couched in informal terms (as highlighted earlier in the chapter, the author uses their given names Elaine and Kezia and also uses the term Elaine C for Smith). This is emphasised and contrasted against the use of surnames for

Alex Salmond and Alistair Darling. The commentator also makes a reference to “Mr Salmond” at one point: “Scotland will cease to be a geographical entity, as mr Salmond invites his mate Vladimir Putin to send in his annexers and oppressors” (ibid). Though this appears to be a knowing use of the title in a more conversational way, particularly aside the use of the term “mate”, the title-use makes its absence in regard to the women even more conspicuous. This example shows a more conversational style (Fairclough, 1992; 1995) used to discuss the women in this extract, which is perhaps more pertinent in that it is from the quality title, the *Herald*, and hints at a more informal attitude to these women when discussing a feminised style in this context. This is again reminiscent of “familiarity and warmth rather than authority and gravitas” as highlighted by Murray (2010 p. 13) and discussed earlier in this chapter.

Thus far, then, female politicians appear to be constructed in regard to normative expectations of feminised political style. So too, in keeping with Childs (2008 p. 145), are explicitly gendered discourses arguably seen to be more prominent when these women are represented as transgressing these gender norms. In contrast to these discourses, the emergent masculine gendered discourse to emerge – predominantly in regard to Darling and Salmond – was that of fighting and combat. For example in one extract, the two men are established in a head-to-head feature article which lists personal attributes in opposition in a kind of “statistical” form in a combative, masculine style. The men are primed as measuring up to one another through the headline: “Slick Salmond V Affable Alistair”, with the inclusion of personal information such as their spouses, children, suit-choice, and educational background (Roden, 2014, Aug 06). This also shows evidence of personalisation (Langer, 2011) through a foregrounding of individual characteristics (as will be discussed in the next chapter), though framed in a distinctly masculinised way.

Similar to the debate between Lamont and Sturgeon, the newspapers generally represented the debate a poor performance by the men (though more so for Salmond).

Further extracts show the difference in the vocabulary used in regard to their debate compared to their female counterparts, instead exhibiting a normalisation of fighting and combative imagery, similar to findings of Harmer, Savigny and Ward (2017). Examples highlighted below were characteristic in the sample regarding Darling and Salmond:

- Darling draws first blood (Gardham, 2014, Aug 06)
- A bloody nose for Salmond (Roden, 2014, Aug 06)
- Five times in five different ways, Darling asked the question on currency. It was a relentless pounding from a man who had been expected to just put his gloves up and take the punishment. (Crichton, 2014, Aug 06)
- Alex takes a pounding... Salmond is slugged (Clegg, 2014, Aug 06)

This was also reflected in the tweets during Debate 2, which also routinely included phrases in pugilistic terms. For example:

- RT @DephandStom: Mr Salmond on the ropes as Darling lands repeated heavy blows on the issue o the poond. #ScotDecides (@RobFlannigan, 2014)
- RT @alexmassie: Darling won because most the debate was on currency, economics and pensions. His home turf. But he thumped Salmond on these. #ScotDecides (@GordonAikman, 2014)
- Salmond destroying Darling here ?? #ScotDecides #indyref (@cgordon25, 2014)
- RT @LearnTribe: Killer punch @AlexSalmond believes in social justice but has finite budget if Westminster continue to squeeze #ScotDecides (@ElaineMaySmith, 2014)
- RT @PatrickCorrigan: Salmond lands a punch re economy: "You (Darling) were in charge of financial regulation when the banks went bust." #ScotDecides #indyref (@johnycassidy, 2014)

Instead of discord and violence being domestically situated (a stairheid rammy) they are instead based on sport and fighting, with the violence controlled and more productive, and an eventual victor (in the women's debate there was no victor, with both Lamont and Sturgeon presented as losing). Though these comments were predominantly confined to Darling and Salmond, there was also evidence of this in regard to Patrick Harvie, a Green party politician, who was commended for his performance in Debate 3. He was described as being "consummate" (@JNHanvey,

2014), “brilliant, brilliant oration all round” (@MoiraShemilt, 2014), and “inspirational, passionate” (@GerryChambers1, 2014) and was also described in similarly combative terms: “Now THAT is Patrick punching way above his weight - he's storming this debate, making Ruth look an amateur” (@irnbruandwhisky, 2014). What these comments show, then, is the different ways the discourses of political argumentation are gendered.

The association that women (and men) are established as each embodying a gendered – and diverging – political styles suggests evidence of the “separate spheres” ideology (Macdonald, 1995; Lovenduski, 2005) which has thus far positioned women as interlopers to the public sphere, as well as being expected to adhere to traditional gender norms of feminine behaviour, such as cooperation, accord and seamliness. So too has already been shown that these women are expected to act for “all women” in their political performance (Childs, 2008). As the next section will discuss, this is problematised even further through their positioning in a postfeminist discourse which further genders these women in accord with this discourses outlined thus far.

6.15 Postfeminism and “Borgenesque Scotland”

The tension building throughout these extracts displays discourses which simultaneously construct female politicians with the expectation they offer a particular feminised political style, yet when involved in encounters with other women, result in conflict based on their gender. This is further problematised in a number of ways when articulated through a postfeminist sensibility (Harmer, 2015; Gill, 2016; O'Neill, Savigny and Cann, 2016). This is shown through discourses which stress that discussion of female politicians can be done in individualised and gendered ways, either through the specific alignment of the columnist as a feminist, or through implied assertions that a form of gender equality has been reached in Scotland. However, in doing so, more traditional gendered expectations are reified.

According to Gill (2016 pp. 612-613) postfeminism has been linked variously to other “post” movements (such as poststructuralism, postmodernism, and postcoloniality), yet argues that two formations are the most influential. The first is that of a “sensibility” which pervades media culture, bringing together a neoliberal emphasis on individual empowerment and choice which leads to a contradictory stance of feminist and anti-feminist ideas. This can be seen in Harmer’s (2015 p. 28) account of political spouses being depicted as individuals choosing certain lifestyles, rather than recognising structural inequality, whereby “newspapers sought to emphasise supportive and domesticated women who were tangential to the political issues rather than emphasising women politicians”. The second explanation Gill (2016) gives is in reference to McRobbie (2009 p. 11) who suggests elements of contemporary culture have co-opted a discourse which is “perniciously effective in regard to this undoing of feminism, while simultaneously appearing to be engaging in a well-informed and even well-intended response to feminism”. This following section will show evidence of a number of ways postfeminist discourses are also seen in the media texts analysed in this study.

In its discussion of Lamont and Sturgeon in regard to their less than “decorous” behaviour being equated with a celebrity feud, discourses of feminine empowerment are also evoked in the aforementioned opinion piece in the *Scottish Sun on Sunday*. The critique of both pairs of women (Lamont and Sturgeon, Michelle Mone and Elizabeth Hurley) pivots on the columnist’s attendance of a concert of the American singer, Beyoncé. Intertextual references (Fairclough, 1992) are made to Beyoncé’s singing repertoire throughout the article, with song titles “Single Ladies” and “Independent Woman” used as a form of shorthand for modern female empowerment (Shearer, 2014, Mar 03). This in itself points to a kind postfeminist sensibility whereas Beyoncé, though in recent years has taken a recognisably “feminist turn”, has in the past been associated with a kind of feminist rhetoric which lacks “complex awareness of continuing systemic struggle” (Chatman, 2015 p. 931). Alongside this is the use of more traditional lexicon associated with feminism and the feminist movements with terms such as “sisterhood” and the ongoing “struggle for equality” used, together with a

direct reference from the author “channelling [her] own inner feminist”. The layering of these different strands creates a unified discourse of female support and empowerment which is used as a conceit to critique the performance of the two politicians along the lines of their lack of female solidarity and representativeness of “all women” as highlighted above.

The use of these intertextual references display an interplay between a number of discourses including popular culture, feminism, politics, and interpersonal relationships which can be seen as an overlapping in orders of discourse outlined by Fairclough (1992). These shifting relations expose a tension around attitudes to gender. In the case of this extract, there appears to be a movement towards more empowerment and strength, at the same time showing the resilience of the more traditional narratives of softness and accord. In the case of this article, the foregrounding of the author is also an important part of this. As Fairclough (1992 p. 83) writes, context is crucial as to whether the identity of the participant is foregrounded or backgrounded. The author’s own gender identity works together with her claims to a feminist ideology, suggesting she has more licence to make these comments, establishing a subject position in accord with the public/reader as a woman speaking in the collective. This in turn situates the readership in the same “feminist” identity as the columnist, allowing for the discharging of accusations of sexism or criticism through a unified identity. Yet, though she is calling for a move away from gendered stereotypes, she still simultaneously rehearses them, paradoxically “othering” the women in the article for displaying transgressive gendered behaviour.

The self-awareness and self-reflexivity of the columnist in platforming feminist discourses acts as an effective strategy to disaffiliate from gendered clichés, yet there is still a reinforcement of the gendered representation of feminine, sisterly conduct and a softer style of politics as appropriate to women. For example, in the extract below, specific gendering practices are highlighted which have been detrimental to women in

politics, acknowledging that they have been gauged by a different vantage point to men:

The general consensus seemed to be that the pair engaged in little more than a slanging match and a who-can-shout-the-loudest contest rather than getting down to the real issues. One commentator uttered the immortal words "nippy sweetie" when giving his analysis on the showdown. Of course that says more about the way women in power are perceived than the women themselves. When men assert their authority in this arena they 'dominate', whereas when women do they're seen as a 'battleaxe' (ibid).

There is a sense of irony with this statement, however, as throughout the article the columnist has also called upon well-rehearsed gendered discourses which reinforce the stereotypical gendering of women for transgressing established norms. Indeed, the same author invokes the term "nippy sweetie" – as previously highlighted, a nickname associated with Nicola Sturgeon for a number of years (Higgins and McKay, 2016) and, even if this is knowingly to draw attention to its negative use ("one commentator uttered the immortal words 'nippy sweetie'"), it shows the ease with which those in the media can fall-back on these gendered descriptions, showing the resilience of this in regard to women in the public sphere, much like the previous allusions, fishwives, harpies, and cats. Meanwhile, paradoxically, men are seen to show behaviour supportive of other men, yet are also established as assertive and dominating. By emphasising that men's behaviour is lauded as assertive when women's similar behaviour is seen as transgressive, the columnist is enacting the very gendering practice she is criticising.

This can therefore also be seen as a way of policing women's behaviour, which is pithily summed up in the article's headline, with its intertextual reference again to the singer Beyoncé: "Come on, girls, it's time for you all to Beyhave". This again is problematic through the overlapping discourses which individualise the politicians, but also make them representative of other women: echoing the previous extract above, the emphasis is placed on the broadly symbolic nature of women in politics and their

responsibility to adhere to normative gendered expectations. The underlying implication is that it is up to women to prove their participation in politics through performing to the expectations of their gender. This, in turn, is established as a way of legitimising their political participation to a universalised behaviour as a form of substantive representation through the “all women” frame (Childs, 2008) which appears at odds to the discourses of equality in democracy.

A postfeminist sensibility is similarly employed by a commentator in the *Herald*. Deeming the Lamont/Sturgeon debate as “illuminating as a two-watt bulb” (Rowat, 2014, Feb 28), the columnist begins by describing a series of scenes across the world affected by the “uproar” of the debate, calling upon the discordant discourses highlighted in the section above. This is followed by a later depiction of bewilderment among waiting political journalists or “menfolk” who perform an analysis of the debate like traumatised soldiers. These self-aware comments are laden with irony as a way for the author to distance herself from the accusations of sexism if taken at face-value. Indeed, she makes the statement:

It would be sexist nonsense to say that the problems stemmed from the fact that the protagonists were women. The only difference between Ms Sturgeon and Ms Lamont and two male politicians was in the pitch of the voices. Well women are here, they have higher voices, get used to it (Rowat, 2014, Feb 28).

The columnist here uses the same kind of distancing tactic, making explicit that the criticism raised does not have a gendered dimension. The prior comments, however, rely upon the recognition of these rehearsed gendered discourses for their successful communication in the text.

A further extract in the same article, which makes reference the women’s clothing choice (also discussed in the next chapter), states:

Awkward, but in Borgenesque Scotland we don't fuss about such trivialities. It was a telling sign, though, that someone, somewhere, had not thought this event through (ibid).

The reference to the Danish political television drama *Borgen* – often lauded for its feminist depiction of women in leadership positions (Cochrane, 2012, Khrebtan-Hörhager, 2017) – draws on an intertextual link similar to the Beyoncé and feminist empowerment strands in the contemporaneous article discussed above (Shearer, 2014, Mar 03) and is used as a shorthand expression of views around gender equality, particularly in regard to politics. The collective pronoun makes the assumption that the readership and population of Scotland share this worldview, which Fairclough would describe as the “ideological work” of the text (Fairclough, 2003 p. 82), positioning the subject in high affinity to the preposition. This further consolidates a form of postfeminist discourse (Gill, 2016) where the positioning of the writer and readership together through a discourse of a feminist identity allows for the rehearsal of what would otherwise be a contentious and stereotypical subject-matter around female politicians, particularly in regard to gendered discourses of their voice and appearance.

A form of this kind of sentiment can be seen in the aforementioned article, “How this televised stairhead rammy sank the debate to a new low”:

Miss Lamont is also in the No campaign, uncomfortably allied with Scottish Conservatives and, of course, a Tory prime minister - as Miss Sturgeon lost no squeaking opportunity to remind us on Tuesday. But saddest of all is the sense that all this is getting far too personal. Generally, at Holyrood, whatever the poses taken in public, the baiting speeches made and the flaming press releases sent forth, there is general friendliness (and indeed a great many real friendships) across party lines and especially between our female politicians, for whom the trade has never been an easy gig (MacLeod, 2014, Feb 27).

Similar to the extract above, there is an acknowledgement of the difficulties women in politics specifically face. Scottish politics is presented as being stratified in public and private spheres: whereas work done within the Scottish Parliament, outwith the public

sphere and of knowledge to the general public, is a dynamic more aligned to accord and agreement across party lines. This creates a paradoxical tension with the representation of the two female politicians, however, with the boundaries being blurred here: their representation in public is also seen representative of the backstage and private-sphere aligned parliamentary movements. It is also representative of a form of double bind (Jamieson, 1995) where their personal and political performance are expected to be in alignment, yet they are criticised for being “too personal” in their political performance, as discussed in regard to van Zoonen (2005) above. As has been illustrated, transgressing these norms of behaviour has created specifically belittling and trivialising gendered discourses.

6.16 Conclusion

Firstly, this chapter has demonstrated evidence of an overall “conversationalisation” of political discourse (Fairclough, 1992; 1995) which can be seen to affect the representations of both male and female politicians. This is confirmed through the findings of the content analysis in regard to the naming practices employed across the media platforms. Titles were used only slightly more for male politicians than female politicians, though this was seen to vary across different figures and contexts. There was, however, evidence of the ambiguous use of the title “Miss” in one publication, which may be used as a certain stylistic way but has infantilising connotations. There is also evidence of a greater use of given names for women in newspaper and Twitter in particular, suggesting that this practice may increase for women in more conversational genres or platforms. Furthermore, this is even more pronounced in regard to politicians in lower ranking positions, as shown in regard to Kezia Dugdale. This suggests similarities to findings expressed by Murray (2010) which hints at connotations of warmth rather than authority and gravitas. This in turn may be problematic for women in politics who are establishing a career and are attempting to be taken seriously as political actors.

The use of nicknames, on the other hand, though showing an overall gender bias to women, seems more reliant on different factors such as celebrity, political rank, or political affiliation. The high proportion of the aggregate proportion for the women was influenced by Elaine C Smith, who deliberately used a nickname as a facet of persona as part of her political brand (this is discussed in the next chapter). Otherwise, in the newspapers, these were primarily used in regard to the most prominent men (Darling and Salmond). On Twitter, however, though there was a gendered element, this also showed that a man, Douglas Alexander, had the highest proportion on an individual basis. Such coverage shows evidence of gendered mediation yet suggests it is much more volatile in regard to different context and situations. It is ambivalent whether such practices are disadvantageous to women in particular, as the use of nicknames shows how this may be also trivialising to men. This points to the need to read these patterns in the context of other, overlapping discourses which already frame women as interlopers to the public sphere.

The chapter also shows that explicit gender labels are used more in regard to women. The content analysis revealed this was the case in both the newspaper and Twitter samples, though these results varied according to which women, with Nicola Sturgeon and Johann Lamont having a larger proportion in Newsweek 1 and Elaine C Smith in Newsweek 3. Meanwhile, on Twitter, Kezia Dugdale and Elaine C Smith had a higher proportion (again the specific case of Elaine C Smith will be discussed in Chapter 7). Interestingly, the proportion of gendered comments was much lower overall, suggesting that public discussion may be a site of greater contestation of more traditional gendered discourses for female politicians while newspapers may still rely on more stereotypical narratives and tropes to aid in their storytelling. However, as the critical discourse analysis will show, there were also a number of tweets which were later considered gendered in specific ways that weren't coded as explicitly gendered. This suggests a resilience of gendered divisions, while in different, more implicit terms.

Though male politicians were more likely to be cast in negative discussion overall, in the newspaper coverage this was much more focused on the performance of Johann Lamont, Nicola Sturgeon and Alex Salmond. On Twitter, however, this was much more polarised and politically aligned, with negative commentary focused on those affiliated with the *Better Together* side. Similarly, female politicians were more likely overall to be featured in commentary that was positive in tone, while on Twitter, this time the focus was on those affiliated with the *Yes Scotland*. This appears in accord with the findings of Shephard and Quinlan (2014) therefore, who suggested supporters of *Yes Scotland* had a greater media presence online.

The critical discourse analysis has revealed a number of gendered discourses that were evident in the samples. When negative commentary is seen to be directed at women, it is much more likely to be gendered. This suggests a greater use of gendered labels and discourses around female politicians when they are judged more harshly. As was illustrated, Johann Lamont and Nicola Sturgeon were criticised in both the newspaper and Twitter samples, with a number of discourses revealing that this criticism stemmed mostly from expectations of their gender performance also relating to their political performance. Through this, was also revealed an over-arching discourse which constructs female politicians as representing a kind of consensual, conciliatory style of politics. Significantly, these discourses were also most evident when two women (Lamont and Sturgeon) were constructed in relation to one another. This was also confirmed from the way politics was discussed in relation to this. Women are constructed as offering an oppositional kind of politics of the “yah-boo” style offered by men, which also emerged in the way Alistair Darling and Alex Salmond were discussed. The men were frequently mediated through sport and fighting discourses as opposed to the domestic and trivialising discourses around the two women. This can therefore be seen to also be a form of gendered mediation to emerge in the critical discourse analysis which was not coded in the content analysis. It further confirms that certain forms of gendered mediation appear more likely when those of the same gender are constructed together.

Furthermore, when the women were participating in Debate 3, they were seen in much more positive discourses connected to consensual and friendly politics. As was evidenced then, criticism was aimed at female politicians when they were seen to be transgressing expected gender roles of how female politicians should behave. This was displayed through a number of gendered, folklinguistic and intertextual discourses which also revealed a complex configuration of national identity, class and gender. Through the use of the discourse of Scottish dialect, constructions easily fell back into gendered depictions which situated women in the domestic sphere (the stairheid) and in stereotypical, clichéd terms (wifie, fishwives, shrill), which veered into animalistic descriptions (mad harpie, yawling foxes). Expectations of feminine behaviour were therefore established to be softer and more “decorous” while the negatively feminised constructions served to depoliticise and undermine the women. This therefore demonstrates that men and women are discursively constructed in distinctly gendered ways which situates women as alien and interlopers to the public sphere.

What is perhaps most striking is the readiness to use the “all women” frame (Childs, 2008) in discussion of women’s negative performance. This was split into two strands: first, used positively with the message that it is good to have visible women “in charge” and being in prominent positions; and then negatively, in that their failure means women are not fulfilling obligations of their gender. This is problematic in that it assumes that the performance of individual women is representative of all women, which implies that women are elected in their role solely as that. Women legitimate participation is constructed in that they are seen to offer a distinct feminised style. However this is restrictive of those who do not conform to these expectations. This is doubly problematic for women through the gendering of political discourses as inherently masculine and shows evidence of a double bind the female politicians face (Jamieson, 1995).

Though there at first appears to be a contestation to specifically gendered perceptions of male political dominance, with encouraging discourses of female empowerment,

these can instead be seen to be feeding into a postfeminist sensibility. Intertextual discourses of popular culture are used to express an authorial stance that equality has been achieved. Yet, in this construct, women's behaviour is still policed and established as more desirable when performed in accord with more feminised associations. Furthermore, this is also established at odds to a masculinised political norm. As Chapter 7 will also show, there is a discursive strand which contests male political dominance. Nonetheless, this is done from a position which still establishes this as the norm. Therefore when the role of women's participation and representation is questioned, the role of men is not. The use of discourses of female empowerment show a tension between shifting attitudes of female politicians and women more generally, but also show evidence of how resilient these embedded and overlapping gendered discourses are around women in the public sphere.

As highlighted, though the numbers of examples are small, they are important because of the form they take. Through the analysis, gendered discourses were revealed in mostly opinion and editorial articles. This suggests that routine coverage is more likely to be relatively straightforward and, alongside the results of the speech and prominence variables, hints towards more equitable representation. The kinds of articles which the discourses did occur are arguably *more* significant because of the evaluative function they perform. As these are part of the public sphere to inform an "enlightened public" (Habermas, 1996) as well as acting as a mouthpiece for the public, this sends important signals about the identity of who makes up the public. In this case, the discursive representation of female politicians suggests an unequal participatory status. This in turn exposes regimes of patriarchal power which still contribute to women's subordination.

7. Getting Personal

The previous two chapters have examined the ways male and female politicians have been represented in the Scottish public sphere in elements of the news media and social media. Firstly, the overall presence of the politicians in their respective samples was measured in Chapter 5, with the aim of giving an impression of the patterns around their visibility, prominence and voice. Chapter 6 included looking to categories which may not be considered gendered *per se*, but instead may lead to “gendered mediation” (Gidengil and Everitt, 2003) which feed in to broader discourses around women in politics. This showed evidence of a number of gendered discourses of the politicians in the samples which were particularly detrimental to women, including more frequent informal naming practices, and references to the “all woman” discursive frame (Childs, 2008 p. 152). Overlapping discourses of domesticity and expectations of a feminised style of politics established women as an essentialised group which orientated them as outsiders to the dominant masculine norm.

As Norris (1997a) outlines, more stereotypical depictions can also be located within broader gendered narratives which establish women as political outsiders. Chapters 2 and 3 showed how specific characteristics have been developed from the “separate spheres” dichotomy and historical associations with women and the private sphere; in particular associations of motherhood and children, bodily signifiers which relate to reproduction, and domesticity. Drawing on a number of categories identified from feminist political and cultural theory, as discussed in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, a number of distinct variables which could be considered of a personalised focus were coded for the content analysis, as outlined below. The results will show that while quantitatively small, there are still emergent patterns of gendered mediation which are limited but in themselves, significant. These show resilient discourses which establish women as “other” to the male political domain (Ross *et al.*, 2013). Like the previous chapter, there are also a number of emergent counter discourses which suggest a

desire to move away from more traditionally masculine-orientated politics. However, as will be shown, these in turn still reaffirm the public sphere as situated in a masculinist discourse.

7.1 Content Analysis

As outlined above, stereotypical framing of women can be understood as located within broader gendered discourses which establish women as outsiders to the public sphere. These stereotypes are seen to construct the personal characteristics of the category of women as related to those of the private sphere. Seven categories have thus been found to represent these personalised characteristics which may be gendered in mediated political communication:

- Personal relationships (marital or relationships)
- Parental relationships (including grandparental relationships)
- Physical appearance
- Sexualisation
- Age
- Sexual orientation
- Online abuse

These categories are by no means exhaustive, however can be considered to offer the most encompassing categorisation to capture possible gendered discourses. This section therefore provides the rationale for the inclusion of each category for analysis, exploring findings in previous research, followed by the results of the content analysis in regard to the newspaper coverage and Twitter discussion.

7.2 Relationship status

As discussed in the opening chapters, marriage and the property laws of coverture, voting rights, and a gendered division within education have historically provided the grounding for women's exclusion from public life. Though laws relating to these have gradually been transformed or abolished in modern history, there is still a residual effect found in some social attitudes around women's subordinate role in the public realm. Developing attitudes in regard to the institutions of private lives, such as same-sex relationships and family structures, mean there has been a deviation from the sole picture of heteronormative lifestyles; however, this is still limited to a small proportion of the population. Predominantly there is a resilience still of older, patriarchal practices, such as the terms of marriage (Jackson, 2015). Similarly, women's gains in employment, including equality legislation, have resulted in greater gender equality in the world of work, yet there still remains evidence of gendered divisions, including the expectation for women to remain primary caregivers and facilitating men's contribution and role in the public sphere (Lister, 1997; Mackay, 2001; Irving, 2015), which often leave women disadvantaged in terms of economic independence, power and security.

Preceding chapters in this thesis have also shown markers, such as aforementioned naming practices, of a women's relationship status, drawing attention to her embodiment of feminine paradigmatic duties through her spousal role. Mediated constructions of women in the public sphere have often included a focus on a woman's relationship status in regard to whether she can juggle the her wifely duties and those required of her public role, amounting to a double bind which mostly always leaves one role unfulfilled at the expense of the other (Jamieson, 1995). As has already been highlighted, discourses of women's partnerships are also "prismatic" (ibid), interlinked with connotations of fertility and the role of motherhood, as well as heteronormative sexual expectations with can relate to both age (whether she is still able to fulfil her sexual and child-bearing role) and orientation (whether she performs a heteronormative sexual function). These are often positioned at odds with the

masculine associations of leadership, with women disrupting the “natural” social order. This can also be seen as a facet of the “too masculine/too feminine” double bind (Jamieson, 1995; Trimble and Treiberg; 2010, Campus, 2013), a crux in these personalised categories in the chapter.

Spouses have also featured prominently in mediated political discourse, more so in recent decades, acting in a supporting role to political figures. At times, this has acted as a way for women to use as a path to political office themselves, though for others it has been an impediment to their own political careers. In the South America context in particular, a number of women have come to power through their husbands symbolic “wives-of him”, or on the event of his death as “widows-of-him” (Campus, 2013) with a “widow’s mandate” (Murray, 2010), such as Eva Peron, Isabel Peron, Violeta Chamorro, Cory Aquino, Cristina Fernández de Kirchner.¹⁰³ This, however, does appear to be culturally bound, as in other cases a woman’s political role following her husband’s may be seen as subordinate and even be countered with claims of legitimacy, such as in Hillary Clinton’s case (Bachmann, Harp and Loke, 2017). Though Hillary Clinton has been successful to a degree in her election to political office, she has failed to reach the same level as her husband, former-president Bill Clinton, and was often defined as the ex-President’s wife rather than on her political positions (Walsh, 2015).

The global dominance of male political leaders means spouses tend to be women and often take on a figurative role. Framed as a “wife-as-electoral-asset” as Ross (2017 p. 142) puts it, spouses can be politically active though this is framed as a complementary figure to their husbands (Higgins and Smith, 2013). This is perhaps most associated with the role of the “First Lady” in the United States but has also been a more recent phenomenon in UK politics, notably in the last few decades which can in part be seen as related to the increasing personalisation of politics (Stanyer, 2007; Langer, 2011). This positioning of spouses in the UK, however, has developed into a greater focus on the

¹⁰³ These women, arguably, also epitomize the gender frame of women ‘cleaning-up’ or transforming politics in times of political turmoil (Campus, 2013).

private lives of political party leaders, and has become increasingly negative and critical of their presence on the campaign trail (Harmer, 2016). The media focus on spouses has also been noted to come at the expense of female politicians themselves (Campbell and Childs, 2010; Harmer, 2012; Higgins and Smith, 2013; Ross *et al.*, 2013), suggesting a preference of focus on women who appeal to more traditional, feminine role and gender hierarchies, reinforcing heteronormative paradigms.

This variable, therefore, measures the amount of coverage which references the politicians' relationship status (if they are married, in a partnership, if they are single, or if any descriptive terms relating to their status, such as bachelor or spinster, were used) and whether there were, again, any differences between the politicians of different genders. In the newspaper sample, however, there was very little mention of the spouses, partners or relationship status of the politicians involved. Newsweek 1 had no mention of the relationship status of the two women politicians, Johann Lamont and Nicola Sturgeon. Newsweek 3, which featured the six politicians and mix of genders, had the highest proportion of mentions of this at 0.74%, which was followed by Newsweek 2 at 0.68% which featured Alistair Darling and Alex Salmond, as shown in Figure 39.

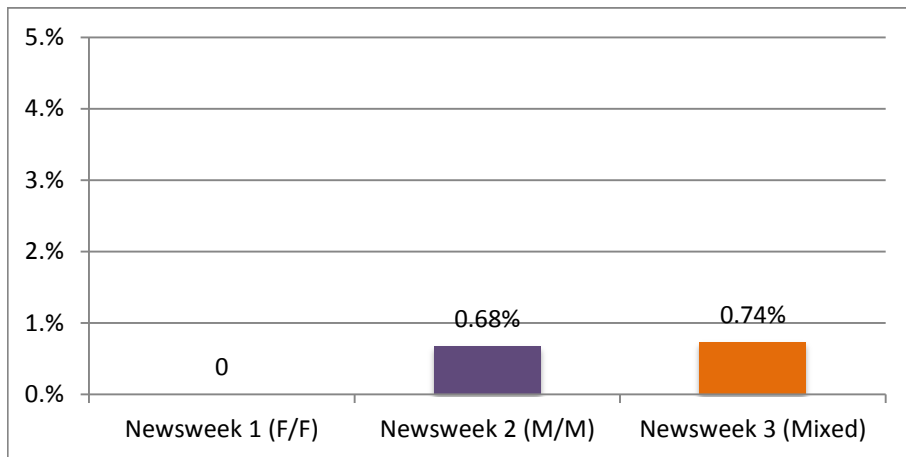


Figure 39. Proportion of mentions of relationship status (newsweeks)

In each of these newsweeks, however, these accounted for just two mentions for the three figures, Alistair Darling, Alex Salmond and one for Elaine C Smith, which occurred in only two articles. This means that when this is looked on an individual basis, mentions are very low for Alistair Darling (0.87%) and for Alex Salmond (0.56%). Due to the smaller amount of references to Elaine C Smith in Newsweek 3 overall, the one mention of her husband, therefore, make it 8.33% of her own mentions, as shown in Figure 40.

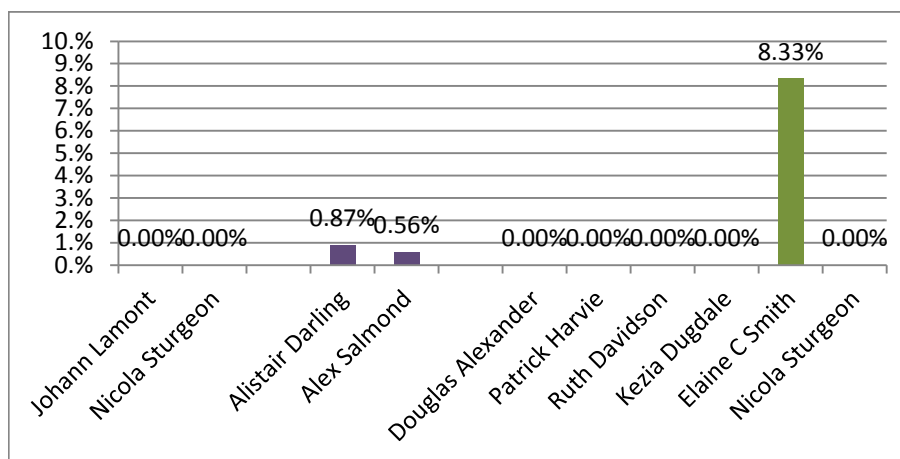


Figure 40. Proportion of relationship status mentions per individual politician (newsweek samples)

The first reference to the spouses of Darling and Salmond were in the previously-mentioned profile feature which depicted the men as the “Slick Salmond V Affable Alistair”. This included one entry for ‘FAMILY’ with “Wife Maggie, a son and a daughter” for Darling and “Married to Moira, who used to be his boss, since 1981. No children” for Salmond (Roden, 2014, Aug 06). Though brief in its descriptions, there is one difference between the two in that the reference to Salmond’s wife, Moira, also includes biographical detail of her initial working relationship with Salmond, and also the date their relationship began. This inclusion of this information hints at the deliberate pointing to what could be considered the unusual gender dynamic of Salmond’s wife being older than him and being his previous manager. The second reference to Salmond’s wife was included in an article about his stamina and health nearing the end of the referendum campaign. Asking whether he had “spread himself too thin”, it listed a number of events and appearances he had made including one of him enjoying the closing ceremony of the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games with his wife Moira, which was captioned as a “respite” (McLeod, 2014, Aug 08). Similarly, the second reference to Alistair Darling’s wife Maggie was in regard to him relaxing ahead of his debate with Salmond: “The former Chancellor looked calm and relaxed as he enjoyed a pint with wife Maggie and friends in an Edinburgh beer garden” (*Daily Record*, 2014, Aug 04). Clearly, the status of the wives of these figures are not a significant focus of

the newspaper, but the suggestion is that their spouses are framed as being in a supportive role, offering a welcome relief outwith the realm of political activity.

The one mention of Elaine C Smith's husband was in a two-page (spread) feature article in the *Scottish Sun* giving an interview where Smith discusses her thoughts on Scottish independence and the impact this would have on the Scottish broadcast industry. Here, her relationship status is referenced in an adjectival clause before introducing another direct quotation: "The mum of two, who lives in Glasgow with her husband Bob Morton, said: 'My hope — and it won't happen overnight — is that we can create an industry that's not on a shoestring.'" (Deanie, 2014, Sep 02). This is particularly interesting when juxtaposed with an article featuring Nicola Sturgeon which was coded in the third sample. This was included in the *Sunday Herald* as part of its "In the Hot Seat" series of interviews "with key figures on both sides of the referendum debate". Notably, there was no mention of Sturgeon's relationship in this interview in any such similar way. The inclusion of more personal information for Smith may be influenced by the overall tone of the article, which is informal and chatty. As will be argued in later sections, Smith's celebrity-status allows for further discussion on her personal life, including pointed references about her own personal circumstances.

There were no mentions of the spouses or partners (or lack thereof) in any of the Twitter samples. Therefore, when the aggregate figures are shown for the genders (Figure 41), this purely amounts to the newspaper articles, which as shown above, is only in regard to Alistair Darling, Alex Salmond and Elaine C Smith.

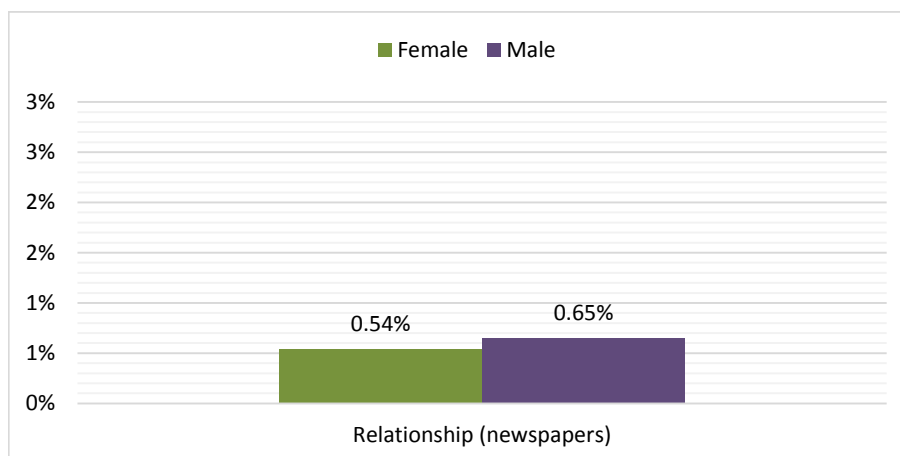


Figure 41. Proportion of politicians' relationship status, split by gender

The lack of mentions of spouses/partners across these samples may be considered surprising when compared to the media's occupation with the spouses of political leaders in the UK context. As discussed, this has mostly always been women,¹⁰⁴ with intense scrutiny centred on leaders' spouses, such as Cherie Blair, Sarah Brown and Samantha Cameron (Campbell and Childs, 2010; Harmer, 2016). In this respect, we may have expected to see an increased focus in the spouses of the two male figures, Alistair Darling and Alex Salmond. However, as shown this was not the case, though this may also be related to the reticence of either woman to be in the public eye; Salmond's wife Moira has been described at points in the past as being "reclusive" and "reluctant" (Cramb, 2007), which fits with the "supportive" apolitical role their wives appear to occupy in the marginal mentions they do appear in.

Both Johann Lamont and Nicola Sturgeon, however, have spouses involved in Scottish politics: Labour Councillor Archie Graham and SNP Chief Executive Peter Murrell, respectively. The lack of attention given to their spouses may point again to the personalised nature of media scrutiny which may increase as their profile is boosted, which also coincides with Harmer's (2016) findings regarding an increase in the private

¹⁰⁴ With the exception of Denis Thatcher and now Philip May.

lives (including spouses) of political party leaders. This may also be the reason for the dearth of mentions in the in regard to this variable and the other political figures in Newsweek 3. Spouses or partners may perhaps feature more in coverage outside the campaign context, particularly where there is more space for elaboration or there is a specific event which leads to a greater focus on specific figures.

Additionally, the absence of the spouses or partners in the Twitter samples may have been affected by the restricted word count of the tweets but, given the parameters of the sampling frame, this also indicates the engagement users have with the context of the political discussion (though we may expect to see comments around this more interspersed across a larger time, unanticipated, timeframe). Therefore, despite there being an expectation that discussion around these political figures would take a more personalised focus, in regard to this variable at least, it does not feature as part of the discourse.

7.3 Children and Parental status

In her study of myths of femininity in popular culture, Macdonald (1995 p. 133) writes that the mother is the “central icon of the caring person in western culture”. As well as the split between the public and private spheres, which is guided by male norms, values and conceptions, which confirms women supportive role in the domestic space, Macdonald (ibid p. 132) also attributes the association between caring and femininity to the propensity for religions of Judaic descent to place on women the “responsibility for moral leadership” within the family, as well as essentialist beliefs in women’s biological disposition to be natural “carers”. The undeniable interconnectedness of these three factors goes some way to explain how myths of femininity such as this are sustained in cultural representations, and as Macdonald also suggest how the double-edged nature of this construct can lead to polarised versions of “good” and “evil” motherly or caring behaviour. Though this may be relegated to fictitious

representations at an extreme level (such as the folklinguistic stereotype of the “wicked stepmother”), the endurance of caring and motherly discourses can still be traced in the normative expectations around women’s behaviour and in their mediated representations (ibid).

As we have seen, there may be certain maternal discourses which have been attached to figures in a metaphorical way, which extend to the all-encompassing “mother of the nation”,¹⁰⁵ seen in the likes of “Mutti” Angela Merkel¹⁰⁶ or even the grandmother “Ma” Ellen, for Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf (Thomas and Adams, 2010). However such representations can often be seen to invoke judgement about a women’s capacity to be both a mother and political figure, with the conflicting gendered expectations of these roles leading to a tension around her capability to perform either role sufficiently, which can lead to criticism (Brown and Gardetto, 2000; Loke, Harp and Bachmann, 2011; Garcia-Blanco and Wahl-Jorgensen, 2012)¹⁰⁷ and can be considered representative of a form of double bind (Jamieson, 1995; Murray, 2010). Resulting discourse may result in commentary about “juggling” careers and motherhood, but may also include speculation about a lack of children, related to scrutiny of women who deviate from the expectation of maternal roles, which can also result in speculation about their sexuality (Jamieson, 1995; Trimble and Arscott, 2003; Murray, 2010).

¹⁰⁵ The “mother of the nation” is an interesting frame in that the nation becomes an abstract version of children, echoing times when other female leaders who have transgressed the normative structure of children and marriage, such as Elizabeth I, the Virgin Queen instead being “married to God and country” (Bell, 2010 p. 62).

¹⁰⁶ There has also been evidence of the discourse around the attachment of maternal values as associated with leadership (Coates and Sylvester, 2016). The discursive situating of Merkel as the “mother” of Germany goes some way to circumvent her lack of children in that her normative role of mother is channelled to that of leadership of her country.

¹⁰⁷ While for male politicians, having children can be seen as beneficial, as a softening of their image to appear more sympathetic (Smith, 2008) for women it can be a subject much more difficult to negotiate. An example of this can be seen in Loke, Harp and Bachmann (2011), who examine the press treatment of two female US Republican Governors, Jane Swift and Sarah Palin, who both gave birth during their time in office. They argue that Swift’s parenting and governing skills were vilified because she “strayed from a dominant mothering ideology and her husband a stay-at-home father, disrupted hegemonic white masculinity” (ibid p. 205).

Family relationships have also offered opportunities for women in political roles. Similar to the “wives-as-him” frame, there have also been “daughters-of-him” (Campus, 2013), such as Marine le Pen, Benazir Bhutto, Indira Gandhi, and Aung San Suu Kyi, who have assumed their roles or are first known through their relation to their fathers. Again, these positions may be culturally-bound, and are not exclusive to women, as illustrated by the Bush dynasty (Murray, 2010), however do also offer the same kind of problems as wives who have followed their husbands into roles with questions of legitimacy and forging their own paths independently.

In the coding of this variable, any references to children, motherhood, fatherhood, or to a lack of children were included. This also included references to being a grandparent and grandchildren. Much like some of the other variables in this chapter, evidence of this kind of discourse was scarce in all the samples and completely absent from the Twitter samples. The newspapers had a very small proportion of these references, similar to that of the personal relationships variable; Newsweek 3 featuring the six politician of a mix of genders had the highest proportion of mentions regarding children at 3.7%. This was followed by Newsweek 1, featuring Johann Lamont and Nicola Sturgeon, at 1.37% and then lastly Newsweek 2 featuring Alistair Darling and Alex Salmond had the lowest proportion, with 0.34%, as shown in Figure 42.

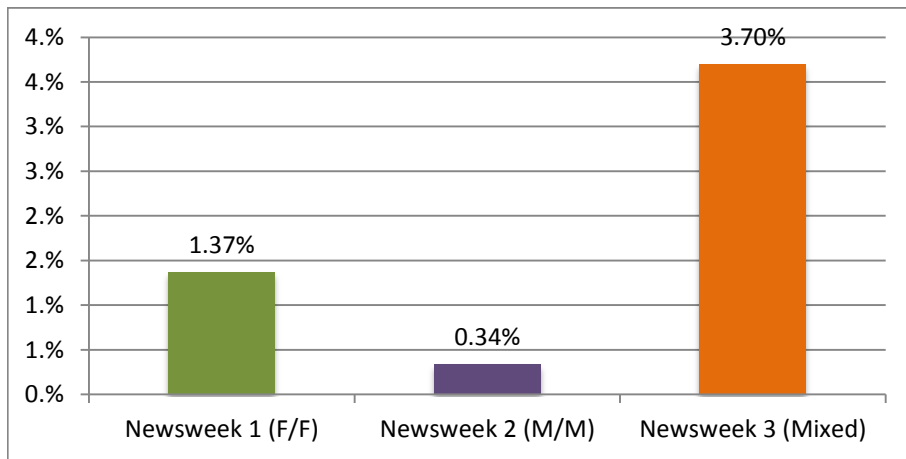


Figure 42. Proportion of mentions of children/parental status (newsweeks)

In Newsweek 1, Johann Lamont was the only figure to receive mentions regarding her children, with no mentions of this variable in regard to Nicola Sturgeon. In Newsweek 2 both Alistair Darling and Alex Salmond's parental status is mentioned, while in Newsweek 3 it is only Elaine C Smith who has any reference made to parental status; children are not mentioned in regard to the other five political figures all of whom have no children with the exception of Douglas Alexander. A breakdown of the individual proportion of each of their own mentions is shown in Figure 43.

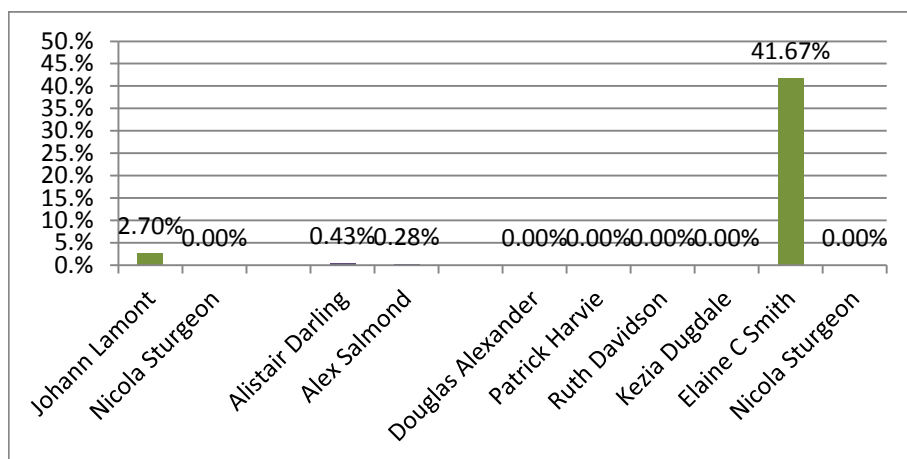


Figure 43. Proportion of children/parental status mentions per individual politician (newsweek samples)

References to children in regard to Alistair Darling and Alex Salmond were found in the same “Slick Salmond V Affable Alistair” article in the *Scottish Daily Mail*. Included in this are references to their spouses: for Darling, this was in reference to “Wife Maggie, a son and a daughter” and “Married to Moira, who used to be his boss, since 1981. No children” for Salmond (Roden, 2014, Aug 06). The references are brief, and do not go into much detail. The mention of Johann Lamont’s children was referenced in a personal-focused article which deviated from more issue or policy-based political discussion. Instead, the interview focuses on Lamont’s weight loss and made reference to her children in regard to this: “Her son and daughter, Colin and Fay, swim and play netball respectively and she had been dropping them off at their local Glasgow Life gym and picking them up” (McManus, 2014, Mar 01).

Similarly, the mention of Elaine C Smith’s children was also in the same article which made reference to her marital relationship. This was also done in the same segment, though her maternal status is signalled through the referential strategies of a collectivised grouping (Richardson, 2007) describing her as a “mum of two, who lives in Glasgow with her husband Bob Morton,” (Deanie, 2014, Sep 02). This contrasts with the profile piece of Darling and Salmond, in which details of their (lack of) children is listed

alongside other details, such as “tipple” and “favourite TV show”. Though this is an oft-used convention in newspapers, it perhaps suggests there may be differences in its use when representing subjects of different genders, where motherhood is a much more definitional feature for women than fatherhood for men. Further references are made to Smith’s role as a grandmother, which corresponds to her role as figurehead of a group called “Grans for Yes” (McAlpine, 2014, Sep 03) and her branding in the *Daily Record* as “Granny Smith” (Smith, 2014, Sep 05a; Smith, 2014, Sep 05b; Smith, 2014, Sep 05c; Smith, 2014, Sep 05d), a pun on a type of apple and her surname, as well as referencing her status as a grandmother.

When looking to the aggregate figures split for gender, there is a higher proportion of these kinds of mentions for women, however as has been shown, this is due to the dominance of mentions about Elaine C Smith (see Figure 44).

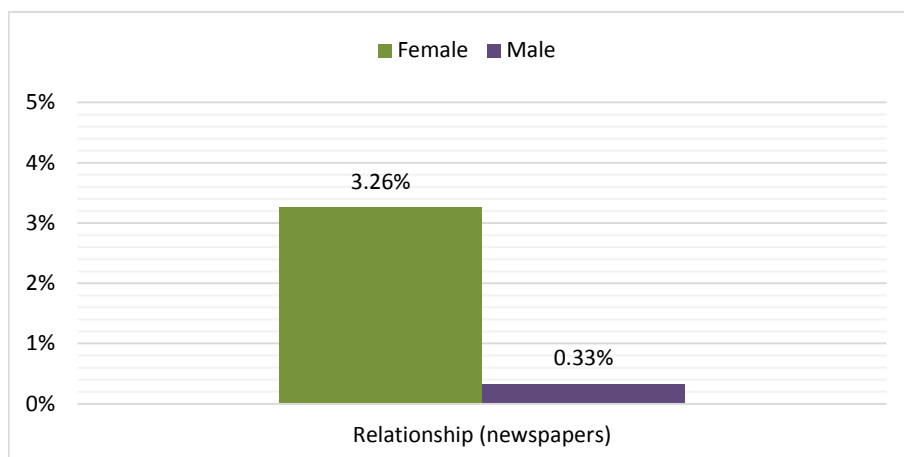


Figure 44. Proportion of children/parental status, split by gender

It is significant to mention that in regard to data analysed in these samples, it is the figures which have children who dominate. There are two exceptions to this: firstly, Alex Salmond is mentioned as not having children, though this may be down to the style of the profile piece which was listing personal information in a dualistic manner,

so it would have been necessary to include this alongside the information regarding Alistair Darling's children; secondly, in the third sample time, Debate 3, Douglas Alexander is the only other figure in the group of politicians to have children, though this is not mentioned throughout. This, however, may be put down to the lack of visibility and prominence he occupied compared to the other figures.

It is interesting to compare these results in the context of other points during the referendum period, when parental status was a key theme. During the campaign, *Better Together* launched an advertising strategy which said, amongst other slogans, "we love our kids, we're saying no thanks" and "I love my family, I'm saying no thanks" (Peterkin, 2014, Sep 02). This was met with criticism from Yes Scotland, with Nicola Sturgeon replying in a tweet, "For the record #ilovemyfamily and I'm voting #yes" (Huffington Post UK, 2014). Here, the discourse of family and children is equated with political responsibility and cohesion in the form of a UK vote, which was contested by those of the opposing side. This discourse was extended near the end of the campaign when the media coverage focused on comments from former Scotland rugby player Steve Munro who claimed that Salmond and Sturgeon "don't have any understanding of kids as they don't have children" (Stevens, 2014), equating their governance with lack of parental experience. Therefore, when taken into account alongside the results from the content analysis, discourses around parents, childlessness and leadership do exist, but suggest that these are triggered through certain narratives, which can happen during campaigning. This perhaps also accounts for the lack of mentions of children or parental status in the Twitter samples which, similar to the lack of discussion of relationships and spouses, may be affected by the limited space, and occupation with the discussion and debates themselves.

7.4 Physical appearance

Like Macdonald (1995), this thesis argues that though the historical impact of the “separate spheres” of the public and private has arguably been weakened, there are still ramifications of this ideological positioning in the contemporary representation of women. One key aspect of this is the way women’s bodies have been differently constructed in the media compared to men. Women’s association with the private sphere has established the association of the public realm with men’s bodies, with women an invisible, underlying force which made the public sphere possible through their private sphere duties including the provision of care and domestic work (Lister, 1997). Some areas of feminist research have argued that the historical policing of women’s bodies is part of the apparatus of control to uphold this gendered division of labour (Lovenduski, 2005). Mulvey (1975) suggests that the media in popular culture is created from the vantage point of the “male gaze” which privileges the perspective of a heteronormative male viewer. This stance helps explain the prolific objectification and commodification of women which takes place in the media, as well as their oftentimes depiction as enigmatic, impenetrable and “other” to a masculine norm (Macdonald, 1995).

Situating this discussion in regard to mediated politics, the evolving demands of media logic and a change in reporting conventions might be seen as contributing to the overall informalisation of social interactions in public life (Misztal, 2000; 2005), the increasing personalisation of politics (Stanyer, 2007, Langer, 2011) and a rise of the celebrity politician (Street, 2003; 2004, Wheeler, 2013; Cardo, 2014) where the bodies of political figures are much more readily referenced in media discourse. This however does not account for the seeming disparity between the reporting of male and female politicians’ physical appearance in media outlets, showing recent shifts in political communication act differently for female and male politicians (van Zoonen, 2006). Like the mediated construction of women overall, female politicians appear to suffer from the same disproportionate focus on their physical appearance, both by way of their

body and sartorial style. This, again, can be seen to be the product of a media culture which is imbued with masculine norms and the male journalistic gaze (Lundell and Ekström, 2008), though also arguably related to the agenda-setting nature of women's clothes standing out from the general political dress code of the male grey suit (Walsh, 2001).

Research into this kind of mediation has shown that there is a propensity for media texts to focus on the clothes or hair of female political figures in comparison to male politics figures (Ross, 2002; Garcia-Blanco and Wahl-Jorgensen, 2012; Campus, 2013; Walsh, 2015). Like a number of the variables tested throughout this thesis, this may not always be a definitive feature of gendered coverage, such as the findings of Norris (1997b). Nonetheless, it is perhaps one of the more readily associated areas of concern around the sexist (re)presentation of female politicians in a Western context in academic and wider societal discussion. As outlined in the discussion around the "double bind" (Jamieson, 1995; Murray, 2010; Campus, 2013), female politicians face a further burden from their male counterparts by having to adhere to the competing demands of political leadership and the feminised ideals of physical appearance.

The content analysis in this thesis therefore includes the variable of physical appearance which attempts to map any emergent differences between the male and female figures in the analysed samples. To make this as wide-reaching as possible in terms of this conceptualisation, the results include commentary on what the politician was wearing, how they styled their hair, makeup, also their stature or build (if they were thin, fat etc.) and how they physically looked, such as their body language, or reference to facial expressions. Given the findings of Harmer (2012) and Ross *et al.* (2013), for example, there was the expectation that female politicians would receive a higher proportion of mentions of physical appearance on both the newspaper articles and tweets.

The data for the newspaper samples revealed some interesting differences when it came to mentions of physical appearance. Newsweek 1 featuring two women – Johann Lamont and Nicola Sturgeon – had the highest proportion of mentions which made a reference to their physical appearance at 8.22%. Newsweek 2 featuring Alistair Darling and Alex Salmond consisted 3.75%. Notably, there were no mentions of appearance in regard to the six political figures of varying gender in the Newsweek 3, as shown in Figure 45.

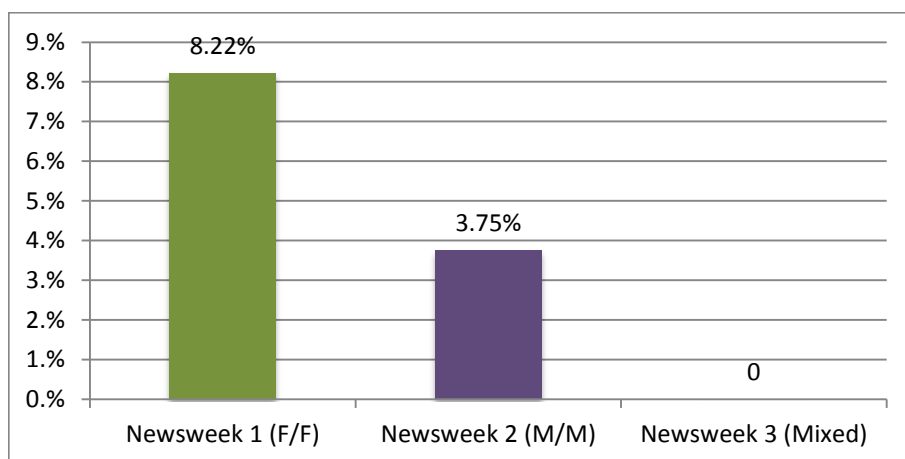


Figure 45. Proportion of mentions of physical appearance (newsweeks)

Looking to the individual figures, the higher proportion of mentions of physical appearance in Newsweek 1 can be seen as being attributed more to Johann Lamont, with 13.51% of her own mentions including a reference to her physical appearance, rather than Nicola Sturgeon (there was only one mention of Sturgeon’s appearance which makes it 2.78% of her own mentions). Alistair Darling and Alex Salmond, on the other hand, have slightly more equitable proportion of mentions of their physical appearance, as shown in Figure 46.

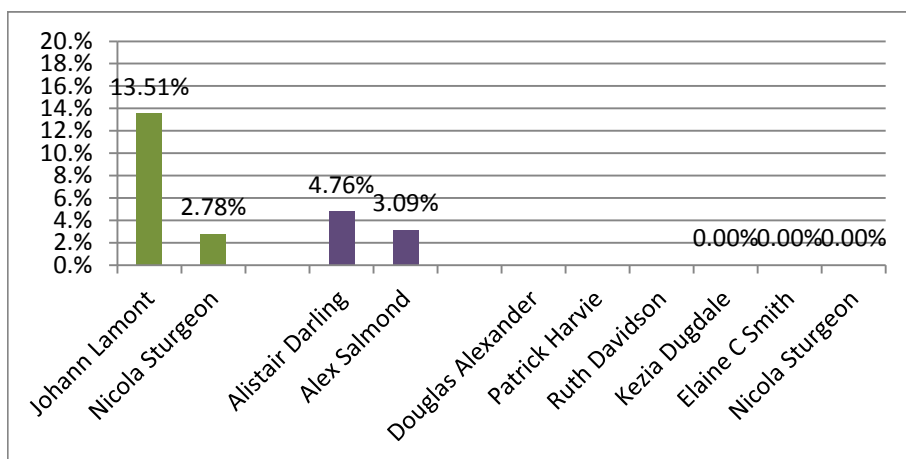


Figure 46. Proportion of physical appearance mentions per individual politician (newsweek samples)

As illustrated in Chapter 6, the newsweek which centred on the televised debate between Johann Lamont and Nicola Sturgeon included a number of opinion pieces about their performance. One of these articles included references to the appearance of both Lamont and Sturgeon, which discussed what they were both wearing (MacLeod, 2014, Feb 27). This was implicitly linked to evaluations of their performance, and was similarly done in another article, this time just focusing on the similar attire of Lamont and the female convener, Rona Dougall (Rowat, 2014, Feb 28). Reference was also made to Lamont’s “starched immobile face” (Gordon, 2014, Feb 28) whereby the lack of movement to her face suggesting a contrast to the supposed feminine norms of emotionality and empathy.

Discussion of appearance were also seen in articles which focused on Johann Lamont’s recent weightloss, which positively framed her “slimmer figure” (McManus, 2014, Mar 01) and fitness regime together. As Macdonald (1995) highlights, discourses of exercise often reinforce the link between beauty and health, which is seen in these article, with the further linkage to Lamont’s “mental health” as she is quoted saying (McManus,

2014, Mar 01) as well as being presented as relating to self-control and discipline (to stop “bad habits”, “crisps, chocolate and biscuits were out,” “there are some things in this world I like but I can’t have”). Her weightloss is also established as a competitive ideal, though interestingly, this is not in regard to another woman as we may expect, but to Alex Salmond’s own weightloss: “Lamont admitted she admired First Minister Alex Salmond’s self-control as he shed 2st on the 5:2 fasting diet”. This also hints at the narratives which may emerge around women’s bodies in adhering to normative beauty ideals such as weight.

After looking at all the instances of the mentions of the physical appearance of the male politicians, Alistair Darling and Alex Salmond, there appeared to be two dominant themes which emerged through the coding process. The first concerned the men’s attire as they appeared in the televised debate, such as “Mr Salmond, who was wearing a dark suit and a dark pink tie, ... But Mr Darling, who was wearing a dark suit and blue spotted tie, argued ...” (Cameron Brooks, 2014, Aug 06). There were a number, however, which related the clothes of these men as relating to a specific “type” of politician – “middleaged white men in suits” (Mullaney, 2014, Aug 06) – which will be expanded upon further in the later analysis.

The second strand focused on Darling and Salmond’s bodies as indicators of their endurance. For example, one article mentions how Salmond looked “tired and drawn” during the debate, before listing his movements over the previous two months, asking in its headline if he had “spread himself too thin” (McLeod, 2014, Aug 08), while another refers to both Darling and Salmond as “slightly tiredlooking middle-aged politician[s]” (McMillan, 2014, Aug 08). This was also extended to two articles which mention physical descriptions of the two men alongside comments from “body language experts” where expert sources were used to analyse the men’s physical stance and movements as a way of giving further commentary of their performance in the televised debate (Neill, 2014, Aug 06; *Scottish Daily Mail*, 2014, Aug 06).

Meanwhile the Twitter samples revealed a very different set of results to that of the newspaper samples. This time there were mentions of the physical appearance across all the debates samples of similar proportions. Interestingly, the debate with the highest proportion of mentions corresponded to the newsweek which had no mentions of physical appearance: Debate 3 regarding the figures of a mix of genders, which had a proportion of 2.11% of this variable. The debate featuring two women, Johann Lamont and Nicola Sturgeon, was in the middling range with the proportion of comments regarding their appearance sitting at 1.44%, as shown in Figure 47.

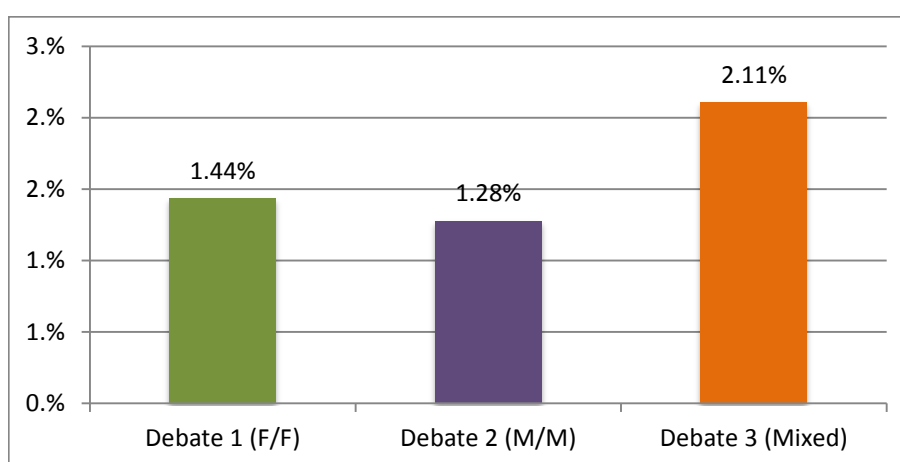


Figure 47. Proportion of mentions of physical appearance (debate: Twitter samples)

Breaking down the distribution to the individuals it is a man, Douglas Alexander, who stands out in this case, with the highest proportion of references to his physical appearance per her mentions at 8.53%. All the other politicians appeared to cluster around a similar proportion of 1%, with Ruth Davidson and Kezia Dugdale deviating slightly higher and Elaine C Smith and Patrick Harvie slightly lower than this, as shown in Figure 48.

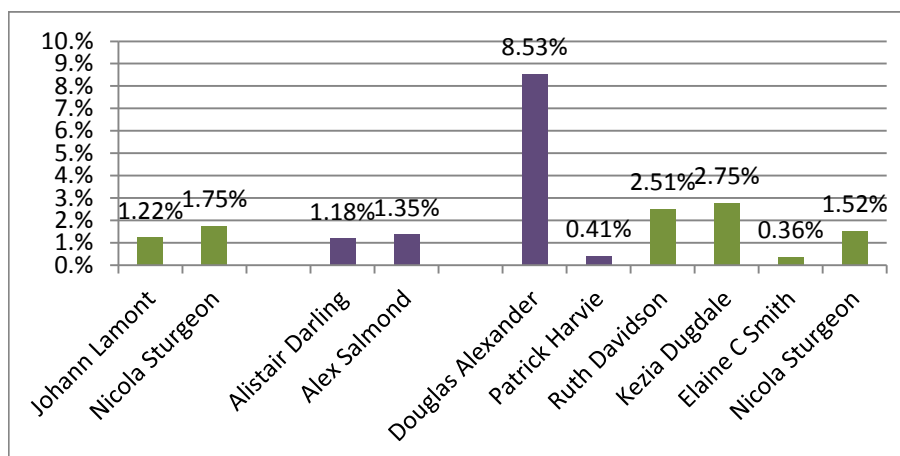


Figure 48. Proportion of physical appearance mentions per individual politician (debate: Twitter)

Like the newspaper sample, the tweets which referenced the appearance of the women in Debate 1, Johann Lamont and Nicola Sturgeon, referenced what they were wearing, for example: “@NicolaSturgeon and @JohannLamont dressed in the red and black of the #scotnight set!” (@gillamain, 2014), or “Well that was interesting! I declare @NicolaSturgeon's outfit the winner #scotnight night all!” (@stvclaire, 2014). Alongside this, Johann Lamont’s performance was linked to a physical image of her “pearl-clutching” (@frank_kerr, 2014) as a way of both situating her as lacking force and capability through a traditionally feminised description linked to older women. The only other tweet which referenced women’s clothes was made during Debate 3, which one user says: “Elaine C Smith has no facts or figures, and the fact that she’s wearing mule to what is obviously a court show occasion” (@davielaw67, 2014). The lower proportion of these kinds of tweets, however, was particularly surprising, given the tone of the newspaper discussion.

The tweets which had mentions of physical appearance concerning Alistair Darling and Alex Salmond during Debate 2 appeared to follow similar strands to the newspaper discourse. The majority of comments which focused on Darling’s appearance referenced his eyebrows. As will be discussed more fully in the critical discourse

analysis, these were often used a metaphorical way to link appearance with credibility (Campus, 2013). There were also a number of tweets about the men's body language. For example: "Immediate transformation in Salmond's body language & tone when addressing the floor. It's his strength" (@MartynMcL, 2014) which echoed the findings of the news discourse.

At other marginal points, Alex Salmond's larger physique is referenced in a pejorative way. One example says: "Answer the question salmond ya wee fat bellend" (@MLyonsz, 2014), while another says "Salmond obviously had too much pudding earlier" (@notmyconcern, 2014). The equating with physical description and performance hints at a similar kind of gendered discourses around female politicians in the media, with deviations from the standard expectation of slimness used as an insult.

It was Debate 3 which had the most striking difference compared to the newspaper sample. Most interestingly, Douglas Alexander received the highest proportion of tweets regarding his appearance, nearly half of all those recorded (11 out of 26). These were mostly pejorative references that either focused on his hair or his nose. The majority of the time this was done through a comparison to him of various fictional figures. This consisted of the wooden puppet Pinocchio (@LydiaReidYES, 2014) the character Frank Sidebottom from the 1980s (@KirstiBrown, 2014), (a comic persona notable for his large, papier-mâché head). This suggests a trivialising effect through the connection to these comedic and childlike characters, and works in quite a different way from the gendered discourses Johann Lamont and Nicola Sturgeon were trivialised in the newspaper coverage in Newsweek 1. This is also further discussed in the critical discourse analysis

Hair is a motif which came up in the Twitter descriptions, usually in a negative way, for a number of the debate participants, including both Nicola Sturgeon and Douglas Alexander: "Nicola Sturgeon and Douglas Alexander need to find themselves a new

barnet formula #badbarnets” (@westendgerard, 2014). This appeared to act in a similar way to the use of eyebrows, and was linked to the politicians’ wider credibility, as is discussed in the critical discourse analysis section.

Aside from Douglas Alexander, Ruth Davidson and Kezia Dugdale each received a marginally higher proportion of mentions regarding their appearance than the other political figures. In regard to Kezia Dugdale, there were very few of these, but the proportion was higher due to the low amount of mentions about her overall. Tweets also referenced her eyebrows: “Have the eyebrows on that girl Kezia fallen out? Look like they are running away from each other #ScotDecides” (@Jailender, 2014) which similarly infantilises her by referring to her as “that girl”.

The remaining mentions of Davidson, however, tend to veer towards more derogatory, masculinised descriptions highlighted in Chapter 7 as regarding negative tone; she is at points said to be “the spit of John Candy” (@ricescooper, 2014), “like Barney the dinosaur with a hangover” (@J_OHara18, 2014), and the aforementioned “#DavidCameronDragAct” (@natneilz, 2014). This strongly suggests a form of homophobic discourse linked to her queer identity, which is made overt in the inflammatory comment “a fat tory dyke” (@1DonaldThomson, 2014). The pejorative collocation of these terms which equate appearance and lesbian sexuality (as well as political affiliation) suggests contempt for deviations from standard paradigms of femininity.

Interestingly, when looking to the aggregate figures overall, this show that there is little difference in the proportion of mentions across genders, for both the newspaper samples and Twitter samples, as shown in Figure 49.

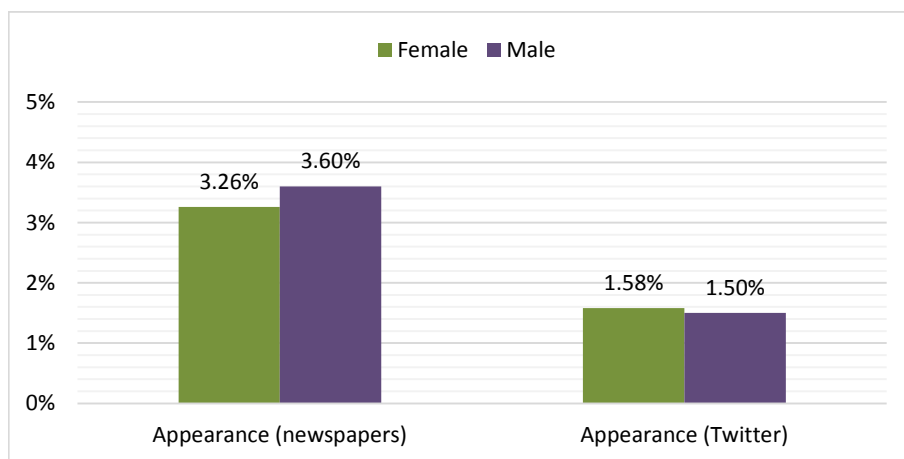


Figure 49. Proportion of politicians' appearance, split by gender

As has been illustrated, though, while the proportion of mentions may be similar, there are both deviations in the type of focus this takes across genders. The commentary on the men's appearance was similar to the women in that, contrary to the findings of some studies (Ross, 2002; Garcia-Blanco and Wahl-Jorgensen, 2012; Campus, 2013) there was evidence of both women and men's clothes and hair being commented upon, with even a slight trend in towards men overall (though this was dependent on individuals). However, in regard to the newspaper samples in particular, the critique of the "grey suit" of Alistair Darling and Alex Salmond is connected to a lack of vitality, which contrasts somewhat to the tendency for women's clothes to be connected to a lack of competency or femininity. This suggests a similarity to Smith's (2008) analysis with evolving gendered expectations of the "new man" political persona and a deviation from more traditional expectations of masculinity, as will be explored in the later analysis section. This theme of was also used as a way to critique the "shouty" adversarial style of the men, as previously discussed in Chapter 7.

On the other hand, the Twitter samples suggest a different trajectory, whereas the nearer the debate to voting day, the more intense the public discussion: thus more personalised commentary (as opposed to a glut of coverage in the newspapers). Even

so, with the discussion in Debate 3 of the Twitter samples featuring the six politicians, there is the suggestion of differences between the politicians of different genders. While it appears that a male figure did have a higher proportion of comments about his appearance, this was often in the form of irreverent – though pejorative – cartoonish comparisons, while with the women, there was evidence of the assignment of derogatory, masculinised descriptions, which may also be influenced by gender, political affiliation, but also sexual orientation.

7.5 Sexualisation

The overall personalisation of politics has been particularly important feature in the development of mediated politics. In the last few decades there is a compelling argument that there has been a similar sexualisation of culture overall which also has implications for political communication. As Gill (2007) contends, however, the cultural hierarchy between men and women means that this operates differently for each group. Insofar as the last section has outlined that mediated representations of female politicians may differ to men at the crux of their physical appearance, this also therefore extends to how their representations may also be sexualised. The male gaze, then, also extends to the sexualisation of women, and can be seen to operate in overt ways in magazines, advertising, film and television (Holland, 1998; Gill, 2007).

Representations of female sexuality have been routinely expressed as being transgressive and dangerous. In the Christian tradition, for example, Eve is depicted as the source of original sin and the cause of man's fall from grace. As has already been established in this chapter and earlier in the thesis, women are also associated with the paradigm of the caring mother which is perceived to be an essential quality to women. Dunk-West and Brook (2015 p. 155) describe how radical feminist understandings of patriarchal power and dominance show how these narratives are sexualised: "Women are 'for' men's sexual pleasure and, by extension, reproduction – figuring women as

either thoroughly serenely venerable mothers, or carnal temptresses.” This dualist positions has developed into what some call the Madonna/whore binary, which fixes women into these two reductive categories and is reminiscent of the double binds which women may also face in their mediated representations.

Such representations of female politicians have also included a policing of their bodies as a form of denigration and control. Figures who deviate from traditional discourses of femininity have at times also been presented as sexually aberrant or transgressive. Nicola Sturgeon, again, and Helen Clark have both been depicted at times as a dominatrix (Ross and Comrie, 2012; Higgins and McKay, 2016) while others, such as Angela Merkel or a de-feminised “pantsuit”-clad Hillary Clinton have been depicted as sexually abhorrent (Carlin and Winfrey, 2009). In the case of Merkel, Luenenborg *et al.* (2011) shows the readiness to sexualise her when diverging from her usual gender neutral appearance, seen to be a form of the double bind showing an ambiguity between femininity and political performance and power.

As has already been highlighted, the hegemonic nature of these discourses means that women themselves may feel compelled, albeit consciously or unconsciously, to play upon these stereotypical expectations to make themselves visible (Ross and Sreberny, 2000). Tensions can arise from what may be perceived as women trading on stereotypical notions of feminine attractiveness through “mediated self-exposure” (Kaneva and Ibroscheva, 2015 p. 224). Kaneva and Ibroscheva discuss the implication of this in an Eastern European context where female politicians’ sensationalised and sexualised displays are “paraded as a symbol of sexual and political empowerment” (ibid p. 235),¹⁰⁸ yet the authors argue that these women’s mediated performances of femininity are evidence of the same broad trend within post-socialist political culture. As illustrated in the previous chapter, gendered discourses which may

¹⁰⁸ The authors do concede that some of the examples they raise are “lurid and distasteful” and do not represent the majority of female politicians in Eastern Europe, though they say they still represent the “uniquely fraught nature of post-socialist political culture and its gendered mediation” (ibid p. 234).

at first be seen as empowering and positive may very quickly be inverted. This, in turn, makes the inclusion of this variable even more pertinent, given how gendered constructions may evolve while some more stereotypical narratives are upheld.

This category therefore builds on the previous variable, which looks at the physical appearance of the politicians in the samples, by exploring physical representations may be sexualised. Though this may at first appear difficult to separate, it is an important distinction to make in regard to how we understand and classify what is regarded as being overtly sexual and what is not. In this instance, sexualisation was operationalised through the coding of sexual references or sexual language as it appeared in the mentions of the politicians. This was informed by Simkins and Rinck (1982), whose study into sexual language included the broad categories of female genitalia, male genitalia, and the act of sexual intercourse, which also extended to secondary sexual features such as body hair and breasts.¹⁰⁹ Coding, therefore, included references to sexual or intimate features or sexual acts in reference to the politicians in question. This also involved references which could be considered abusive, though instances such as these were also intended to be coded in the category of online abuse discussed later in this chapter.

Given the findings of the literature and stark instances of this kind of coverage in the UK alone, there was an expectation that there would be a higher proportion of sexual language used in regard to the female politicians than the male politicians across the samples analysed. Furthermore, due to societal impression of social media, and the reports of verbal abuse directed at women on this platform, it was expected that this would also be much higher than the newspaper coverage.

¹⁰⁹ UK law states “penetration, touching or any other activity is sexual if a reasonable person would consider that— (a) whatever its circumstances or any person’s purpose in relation to it, it is because of its nature sexual, or (b) because of its nature it may be sexual and because of its circumstances or the purpose of any person in relation to it (or both) it is sexual”(UK Government, 2003)

These expectations were not met in the data, in that there were very scare sexualised mentions of the politicians. There was only three mentions in this category coded for this in the newspaper sample, in regard to Johann Lamont and Nicola Sturgeon in Newsweek 1 and Alex Salmond in Newsweek 2. This however, meant a higher proportion for the first week overall at 2.74% of the total mentions, compared to 0.17% in Newsweek 2. There were no mentions relating to this category in Newsweek 3, as shown in Figure 52.

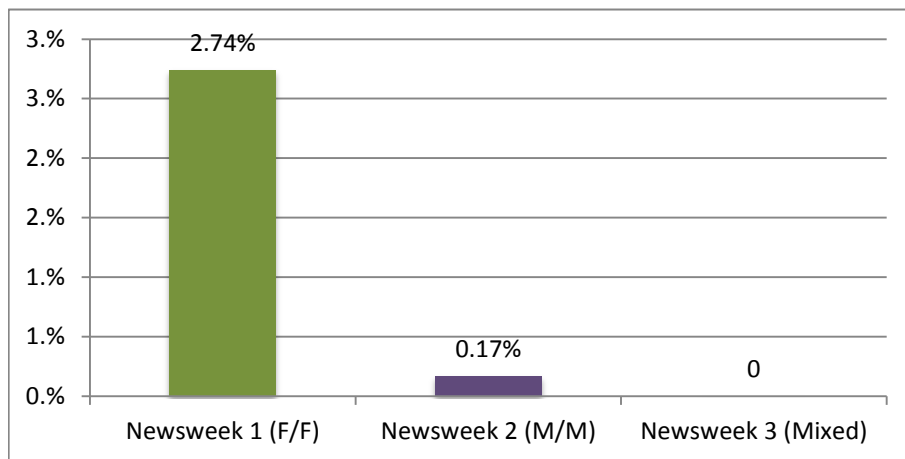


Figure 50. Proportion of sexualised mentions (newsweeks)

As a proportion of their own mentions, this was seen in the breakdown in Figure 53, which worked out to 2.78% of Nicola Sturgeon’s own mentions, 2.7% of Johann Lamont’s own mentions and 0.28% of Alex Salmond’s own mentions.

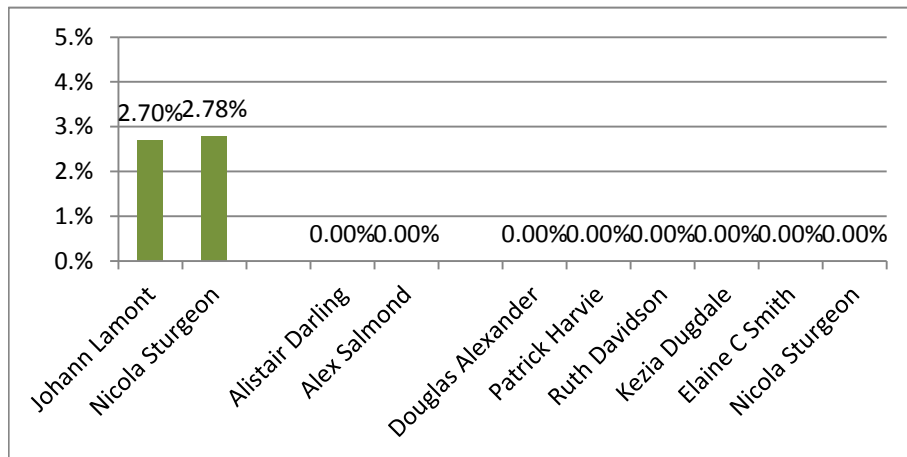


Figure 51. Proportion of sexualised mentions per individual politician (newsweek samples)

In regard to the mention regarding Alex Salmond, this was in reference to his opening of the televised debate, which was said to be “delivered in a high, voice-coached flutter that sounded as if it cost him a testicle” (Gordon, 2014, Aug 06). Here, the reference is to his anxiety meaning his voice was of a high pitch, likened to being castrated, and is an overt depiction of his emasculation through connotations with more feminised attributes. For both Lamont and Sturgeon, this was in the one article which also referencing their performance in the debate. Their display was depicted as “one great tartan turn-off”, which equated their poor performance with sexual repulsion. This was carried through in the phrase “You felt embarrassed, intrusive, even defiled...” (MacLeod, 2014, Feb 27) which situates the performance as something sexual impure and intrusive. This can be seen as a continuation of the discourse which established the women as transgressing gender norms. In this instance, their departure from more feminised behaviour is hinted at being sexually transgressive.

Meanwhile, in the Twitter samples, there were just three mentions of this variable overall, amounting to 0.03% in Debate 1 and 0.16% in Debate 3, as shown in Figure 52.

There were not instances of this in Debate 1 featuring Johann Lamont and Nicola Sturgeon.

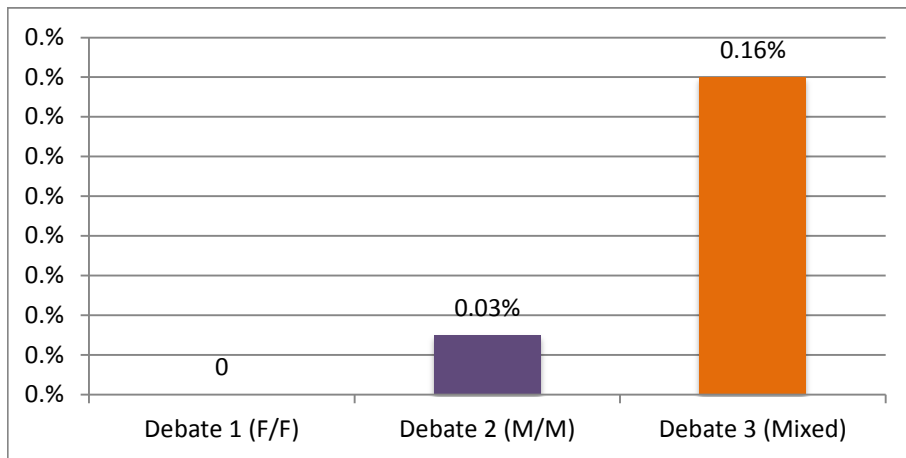


Figure 52. Proportion of sexualised mentions (Twitter)

When these were broken down to the individuals, these were seen to focus on Alex Salmond from Debate 2 and Nicola Sturgeon and Ruth Davidson in Debate 3, as shown in Figure 53.

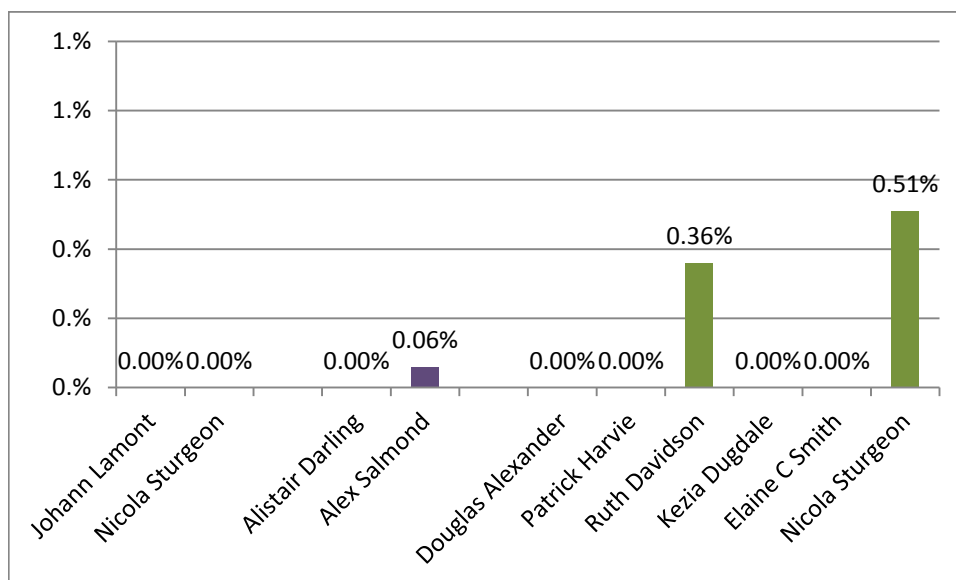


Figure 53. Proportion of sexualised mentions per individual politician (Twitter: debate samples)

The first, in regard to Alex Salmond, said: ““@AlexSalmond gets a hard on every time he talks about Norway #Scotdecides ~LabourNo” (@StandardWill, 2014). In this case, sexual imagery is used as derisive way to talk about Salmond’s focus on Norwegian society and politics. The remaining two references first referenced Nicola Sturgeon, with one Twitter user writing: “I could kiss u Nicola #scotdecides” (@mcculloch_0, 2014a), in a supportive, if physical, gesture. There second reference is made to Ruth Davidson which reads: “Davidson knickers are still soaked from that guy talking about shooting people #scotdecides” (@mcculloch_0, 2014c). In this case, a similar motif is used to that around Salmond, where sexual excitement is used as a derisive way to critique the politician, in this case Davidson’s discussion around security. Overall, then, the split between gender can be seen in Figure 54.

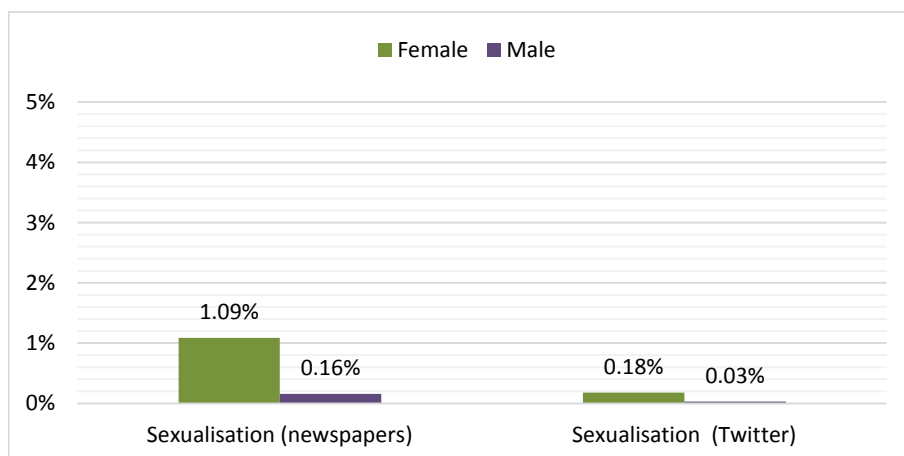


Figure 54. Proportion of sexualised comments, split by gender

As these results show, the sexualisation of these figures appears to be largely absent from the specific contexts of the samples analysed, though with a slightly higher proportion for Newsweek 1 which featured only women. Though the samples analysed in question do not account for any images which may have been used in the contexts, however, by concentrating on linguistic features in this case, the concern is more focused on the mediated representations of these figures in a form of political discourse. The findings of these results are therefore ambiguous. The scarcity of sexualised coverage in these samples overall is therefore encouraging, suggesting the sexualisation of women's bodies (and indeed men) is of a lesser concern in these specific political contexts, and is even more encouraging considering the expectation that this would be more prevalent online. Yet, the slightly higher proportion could be indicative of a continuing trend around female politicians, particularly in the news media.

This is particularly pertinent when taken into consideration with coverage to follow in the coming years after this study, particularly focusing on Nicola Sturgeon. In the election campaign for the UK General Election in 2015, when Sturgeon was later First Minister, she was photo-shopped by UK version of the *Sun* to appear as a bikini-clad

representation of US pop star Miley Cyrus astride a wrecking ball similar to that as appeared in her music video (Schofield, 2015a). However this was absent from the Scottish edition of the publication. The superimposed image of Sturgeon on the sexualised body of a younger woman was seen as an act of dominance over a woman who was seen to be overstepping her mark. Further to this she was also portrayed in a cartoon where former UK Labour Party leader Ed Miliband was placed in an exaggerated depiction of her cleavage (Mac, 2015), which was used as a way to emasculate Miliband.

This perhaps suggests a number of interconnected influences which contribute to sexualised discourse. Firstly, Sturgeon's UK prominence was not really consolidated until her performance in the UK elections, and thus coverage such as this may be linked again to an increase in seniority and visibility for female politicians. This however, also links in to questions around familiarity and proximity, but also deference: whereas in the Scottish context, Sturgeon was relatively familiar, senior, and was in a political position which appealed to a large number of the Scottish electorate. This may account for more deference and lack of sexualised coverage in the Scottish press, as opposed to the examples raised here from the UK press in 2015. As Walsh (2015 p. 1025) outlines "the news value of 'unexpectedness' affords women in prominent leadership roles relatively high media capital". The findings in this case suggest that this may work differently when intersecting in varying degrees with the competing news value of cultural proximity (Galtung and Ruge, 1965; Harcup and O'Neill, 2001) and may lead to varying degrees of politeness or deference.

7.6 Age

What will be becoming evident is how interconnected the variables in this chapter are in regard to the challenges women face in meeting the demands of political leadership. Thus far, it has been shown that both the relationship status of a women as well as

gendered expectations around the caring paradigm of motherhood can affect expectations of women's contribution in the public sphere, while wider media depictions of gendered, sexed bodies can be seen to position to a masculine norm which can objectify women as sexual objects related to motherhood or male desire. These gendered conceptualisations are, of course, examples of historical constructs which in their extreme form do not account for the complexity and agency women have taken in the construction of their own gender identities as gender categories undergo constant renegotiation. It is this thesis' argument, however, that these gendered constructs serve as a useful barometer to measure the resilience of certain narratives associating women with the private sphere, and how they may be construed in different ways.

So far in this study, the analysis has revealed small, but still significant gendered differences in the Scottish context thus far. This variable, which focuses on the age of the political figures, extends upon the preceding sections to interrogate how this may be gendered in media texts. Using Macdonald's threefold explanation for the consolidation of women's caregiver status through associations of the public/private divide, biological essentialism and religious expectations, expectations of women's fertility and child-bearing role can also be seen to be embedded within these discourses which also has links to how women's physical bodies are also viewed and policed. This also has implications on how aging can be gendered. As Macdonald (1995 p. 194) argues:

For women, ageing is constructed as a process to be feared and avoided as long as possible, while for men it often enhances status and prestige ... Because of the close relationship for women between appearance and identity, the signs of ageing trigger worries about loss of social value and esteem that have no equivalent for men.

Historical myths of older women, therefore, have tended to cluster round negative depictions of "witches, hags, old maids and crones" (ibid p. 195) which de-emphasise femininity but can also be seen attached to menopausal or childless women, or else

may be positively associated with the role of the grandmother as an extension of the wife and mother role.

Representations of age were therefore measured in the samples of this study. This included the coding any numerical or textual references to the politicians' ages ("44-year-old" "in his/her forties" etc.) as well as broader reference to age, such as being called old, young, youthful, or middle-aged or similar markers for age. As the literature suggests, there may be a gendered dimension to the way age is represented around politicians, with an increased focus on women's age as opposed to men's. However the results reveal that age was dispersed in a more complex way across the samples. It did not feature in the mentions of the two women, Johann Lamont and Nicola Sturgeon, in Newsweek 1, while 2.56% of the mentions of the two men, Alistair Darling and Alex Salmond, in Newsweek 2 contained mentions referring to age. Meanwhile, Newsweek 3, with the six politicians of mixed gender, had the highest proportion of references to age in the mentions at 5.19%, as shown in Figure 55.

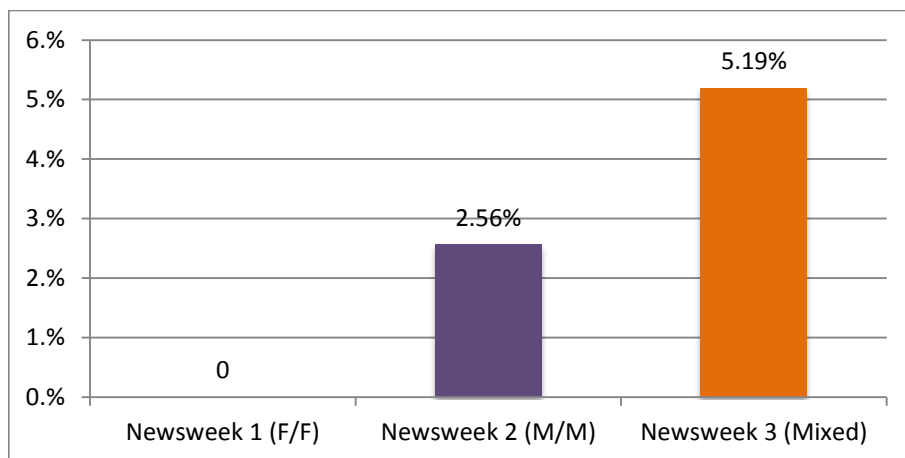


Figure 55. Proportion of mentions of age (newsweeks)

When broken down, the figures show that the mentions of age were only in reference to three figures, Alistair Darling and Alex Salmond in Newsweek 2, and only Elaine C

Smith in Newsweek 3. The high proportion of mentions of age in relation to Smith are again related to her own branding as “Granny Smith” (Smith, 2014, Sep 05a; Smith, 2014, Sep 05b; Smith, 2014, Sep 05c; Smith, 2014, Sep 05d) and as the figurehead of a group called “Grans for Yes” (McAlpine, 2014, Sep 03), as shown in Figure 56.

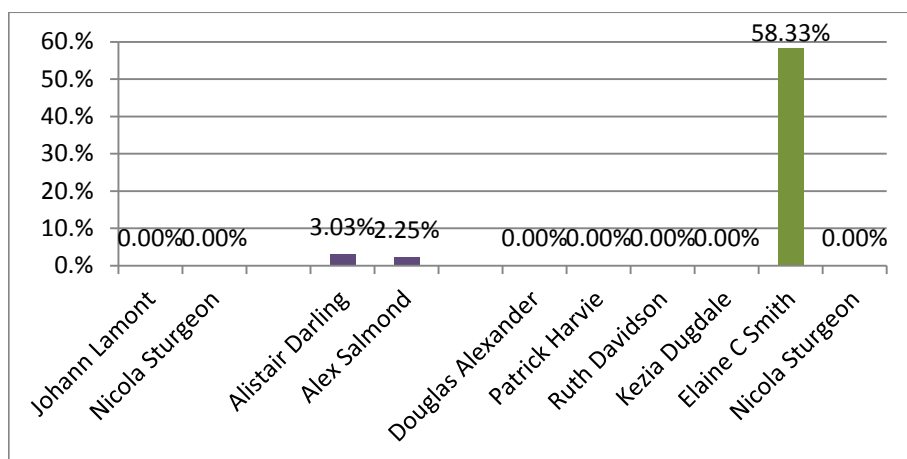


Figure 56. Proportion of age mentions per individual politician (newsweek samples)

For the newspaper mentions in Newsweek 2 regarding Alistair Darling and Alex Salmond, there were around the same number of mentions of age for each of the two men. The age of the two men also featured in the profile piece previously mentioned in the preceding sections regarding relationships and children, with it being given numerically alongside their full names: “ALEXANDER ELLIOT ANDERSON SALMOND, 59”; ALISTAIR MACLEAN DARLING, 60” (Roden, 2014, Aug 06). A further reference to their age was in regard to the debate they took part in, this time, as a coded way of measuring Salmond’s sub-par performance: “Salmond, 59, looked older than Darling during the programme. Darling is 60” (McLeod, 2014, Aug 08). The most frequent reference to age in regard to these two men, however, was in reference to them both being “middle-aged”. As has already been identified, this was also coupled with references to their attire and at times ethnicity (“white, middle-aged men”), and often done so in a negative way, as will be discussed more fully in a later section.

There was a pointed difference in the reference to age in regard to Elaine C Smith. She was the only figure from the six political figures in Newsweek 3 whose age was mentioned in that sample. As well as references to her as “Granny Smith”, Smith’s role as a grandmother is used specifically as something to legitimate her representativeness of those in a similar position, as well as acting as a figurehead for the pro-independence group, “Grans for Yes” (McAlpine, 2014, Sep 03). Only one other mention in the third newspaper sample referenced Elaine C Smith’s age, the same interview piece on her thoughts on the broadcast industry in Scotland, which did so numerically, describing her as “Yes campaigner Elaine, 56,” (Deanie, 2014, Sep 02).

Interestingly there were no mentions of age in any of the Twitter discussion, apart from the aforementioned reference to Elaine C Smith as being “like a granny” (@deanwilliamson, 2014). This could point to the Twitter users’ preoccupation with the discussion of the debates specifically, where age did not appear to feature, even when there was discussion around age, such as with Elaine C Smith. The breakdown of this variable can thus be shown as a proportion split by gender in Figure 57.

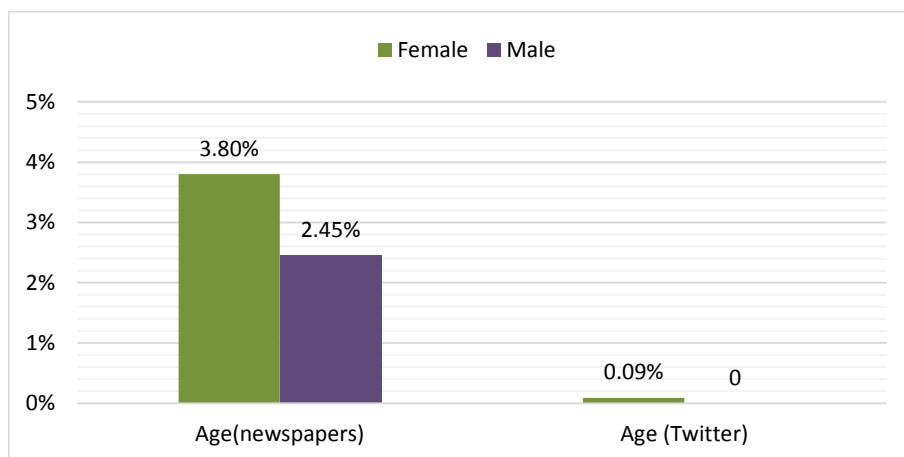


Figure 57. Proportion of politicians’ age, split by gender

Though the examples of these are similarly small in number, they do reveal pertinent distinctions particularly in the news discourse. The mentions of age in regard to Elaine C Smith are telegraphed as a way of legitimising her political voice, her connectedness to voters/citizens and for those who can be seen in the same age bracket as her (Grans for Yes). For the two men, however, age is used in a much more negative way as a signifier of being out of touch with a progressive electorate. The absence from the other politicians though does point to political seniority being an influence in the discussion in regard to this, unless strategically used. This, however, may operate differently for Smith because of her non-elected and celebrity status, as discussed in the analysis section.

7.7 Sexual orientation

As has been discussed, politicians' private lives are facing increasing scrutiny in the media, however as this thesis will argue is that this can operate differently when intersecting with the mediated discourses of gender. One facet of this which has yet to be addressed though has been touched on is the aspect of sexual orientation and LGBTQ¹¹⁰ identities. Historically, homosexuality among men was illegal in the England and Wales up until 1967, and up until 1980 in Scotland (though the same law was never applied to women) (MacNicol, 2017). It is still illegal in 72 countries and can result in the death-penalty in eight (Duncan, 2017). Evolving discourses around sexual orientation and queer identities often are still positioned against a heterosexual (and male) norm. Gill (2007) contends that it is still rare for queer identities to be normalised or mainstreamed, instead queerness is often aestheticised and fetishised and signified in through what she calls a "*hyper-sexualized chic*" (ibid p. 100, *italics in original*). Though she refers to these forms of hyper-sexualised depictions in the arena of advertising, this may also extend to more general media depictions which are also highly gendered. Making a distinction between the sexualised depictions of lesbians

¹¹⁰ As discussed earlier in Chapter 2, the use of the acronym LGBTQ (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Queer) is used as an umbrella term, with the acknowledgment that sexual orientation and gender identity can be fluid and may not be captured in this standardised term.

and to the gay man who are instead often construed as a “stylish identity, not a sexual one” (ibid p. 101), these representations often appeal to traditional notions of attractiveness, and particularly in the case of representation of attractive women together, have often been fetishised in their appeal to a heterosexual male gaze. Gay men and women who do not appear to adhere to traditional gender norms, who may appear more feminine or masculine respectively, may instead be subject to homophobic derision and negativity which may at times be done humorously or outright hostility.

Traces of this may also be seen in gendered representations of female (or male) politicians who again may not meet the expectations required of their gender. As has been touched upon in the preceding sections, female politicians who appear to deviate from the hegemonic expectations of femininity have often been framed as being lesbians, such as Tarja Halonen or Helen Clark, (van Zoonen, 2006; Trimble and Treiberg, 2010) and have been treated with hostility or derision. That being said, recent gains in regard to LGBTQ rights should be celebrated, where dominant heteronormative discourses have often been challenged and contested including areas such as family structures. Developments in political leadership where leaders are open about their queer identity may lead to more normalised depictions in the media and serve a symbolic function.

Scotland in particular has recently been seen at the forefront of LGBTQ proportional representation and leadership (Allegretti, 2016). At the time of the referendum, two of the politicians involved in Debate 3 were openly out as part of the LGBTQ community; Patrick Harvie as bisexual and Ruth Davidson as gay.¹¹¹ Both had been prolific in LGBTQ campaigning in the past, with Harvie working as an equality and LGBTQ health

¹¹¹ In 2016, four political leaders in Scotland identified as LGBTQ: Ruth Davidson; Patrick Harvie; Kezia Dugdale who had been elected Scottish Labour party leader in 2015; and UKIP’s Scottish leader David Coburn. Dugdale came out in 2016 during her time as party leader, though later said she was forced to do so after a magazine went against her wishes and published quotes about her sexuality which she asked not to be included (Cowan, 2017).

campaigner before his political career as well as actively involved in the Campaign to Repeal Section 28 in 1999 and 2000 (UK Government, 1988; European Greens, 2015),¹¹² while Ruth Davidson has talked openly about her sexuality when she became known as the first openly gay Scottish Tory candidate when running for party leader (Devine, 2010), and also spoke out in the Scottish press about homophobic abuse she has received online, including shortly after the referendum (Davidson, 2014; Peterkin, 2014).

In this case, then, there was the expectation that there would be more references to the sexuality with the inclusion of figures who deviate from those to be assumed as heterosexual (though this of course is not restricted to political actors who do not self-identify as part of the LGBTQ community). Despite these expectations, however, there were very few mentions of this variable in both the newspaper coverage and tweets. When these mentions did occur, they were solely focused on the Newsweek 3 and Debate 3. In the newspaper sample, there was a proportion of with 0.74% which mentioned a politician's sexual orientation. In regard to the Twitter sample, this was only 0.08% of the mentions. When the figures are split according to gender, this can be seen be slightly higher for men overall, though this is related to the smaller size of the newspaper samples (Figure 58).

¹¹² Section 28 was a clause of the Local Government Act 1988 which prohibited local authorities from "promoting homosexuality by teaching or by publishing material"

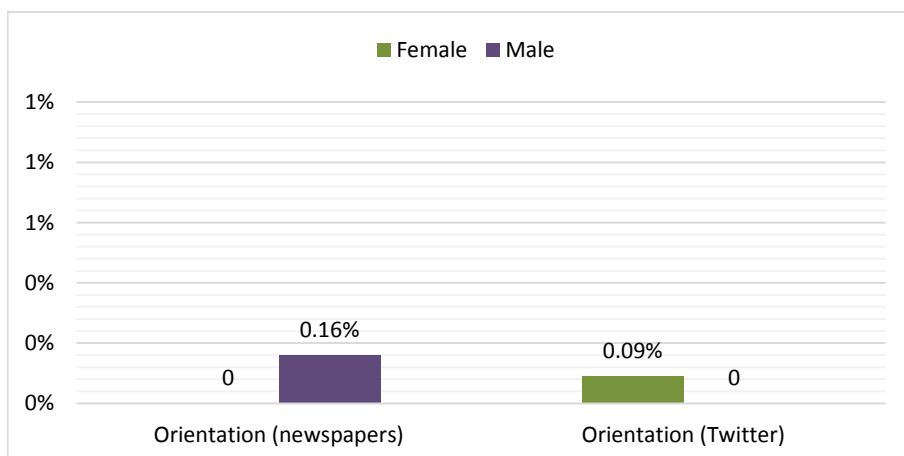


Figure 58. Proportion of politicians' sexual orientation, split by gender

The sole mention in the newspaper samples was in Newsweek 3 and regarding Patrick Harvie. In this case, the article concerns comments made from Scottish actor and Independence supporter, Alan Cumming, who discusses independence as a way to safeguard gay rights. Harvie is introduced to comment on this topic, with his sexuality included in a modifying clause: "Patrick Harvie, the openly bisexual leader of the Scottish Greens, added: "Holyrood is a parliament which has never once voted against any aspect of LGBTQ equality, and that's not something that can be said of Westminster" (MacNab, 2014, Sep 02). Ruth Davidson, instead, monopolised the commentary of sexual orientation in the tweets, though this again was restricted to one mention, which said: "Ruth Davidson is a fat tory dyke" (@1DonaldThomson, 2014). As illustrated before, this is grouped with depictions of her in masculinised, derogatory descriptions, which equate her appearance and sexual orientation in a pejorative way which is highly gendered.

Though very limited, the findings do suggest that mentions regarding sexual orientation are focused on those who are open in their queer identity. The polarised focus of the

discussion in regard to the figures, which monopolise both media, suggests there may be more complex discourses involved around the queer identities which may be more prominent in times outside the campaign period. The disparity in tone also suggests differences which may also point to this variable having further political and gendered dimensions. The negative association with the female queer identity suggest this intersection may result in a further othering from the lack of appeal to the male gaze, suggesting the woman “doing masculinity” is “coded as an “object[] of humour and/or horror” more so than the “man doing femininity” (Richardson and Wearing, 2014 p. 55).

7.8 Online abuse

Chapter 1 discussed the exponential rise of internet users over the last few decades (InternetLiveStats.com, 2017) and with it the social benefits, as well as the potential for it to provide for a more representative form of public sphere (Papacharissi, 2002). However, alongside the positive opportunities offered by online growth, there is also identification of the worsening problem of abuse and vitriol in many areas of online discourse. Strands of academic research and indeed public discussion and debate have focused on the gendered nature cyberbullying and abuse can take, as discussed in Chapter 2 (see for example: Jane, 2014b; 2016; Higgins and Smith, 2014; Megarry, 2014), which was also rehearsed in media discourse during the Scottish independence referendum (Mills, 2014; Webster, 2014, Sep 04)

At one intersection of this is abuse which centers on female politicians. Arguably, the tension which has been discussed throughout this thesis in regard to women taking on role in the masculinised realm of politics can also feature prominently in the reaction to female politicians online. A number of female politicians across the UK have reported experiencing abusive messages on the internet, which is also evident for politicians in the Scottish context: Ruth Davidson, Kezia Dugdale and Nicola Sturgeon (Borland, 2013;

Webster, 2014, Sep 04) have self-reported online comments which have involved death threats and sexualised abuse alongside studies which have found evidence of this (Pedersen *et al.*, 2014). This can also interplay and form other kinds of abuse which is both gendered and can take on a racialised nature (Asthana and Stewart, 2017) or homophobic (Davidson, 2014). This may even have a further effect of deterring women from taking on political roles (Ryall, 2017).

This variable was also included in this study, therefore, given the prominence of this subject and the gendered nature it can take. Though abuse may take different forms, in the case of this study this was operationalised through coding what could be considered bad, “profane”, rude or offensive language (this may also include sexualised language but only so in an abusive way (this is distinct from the previous section which also coded for sexualised language which may not be interpreted as abusive which can be considered alongside this variable)).¹¹³ In regard to the coding of this variable, cues were taken from the BBC editorial guidelines (BBC, 2015) which include expletives, sexual swearwords and pejorative terms relating to disability or illness, race, religion, gender, sexuality which are generally considered offensive (a fuller description of examples of this can be found in the Code Book in Appendix 3). This, however, was not done for the newspaper coverage, on the assumption that the publications would not use this kind of language in their copy.¹¹⁴ It is also important to note that while language can be considered “bad”, it could also be used for emphasis, therefore while the expectation may be that bad language would be more readily associated with negative comments, this variable measures bad language which may also be used positively.

The results show the contrary to what was expected, with a higher proportion of abusive mentions aimed at the male politicians in Debate 2 at 2.66%, followed by 2.16%

¹¹³ Though arguably any kind of unwanted overt sexualised language may be considered abusive, this may be related to gender, which doesn't allow for comparison to men.

¹¹⁴ This was also observed and confirmed in the coding process.

for Debate 1 focusing on Johann Lamont and Nicola Sturgeon, and lastly Debate 3, with six politicians, at 1.38%, as shown in Figure 59.

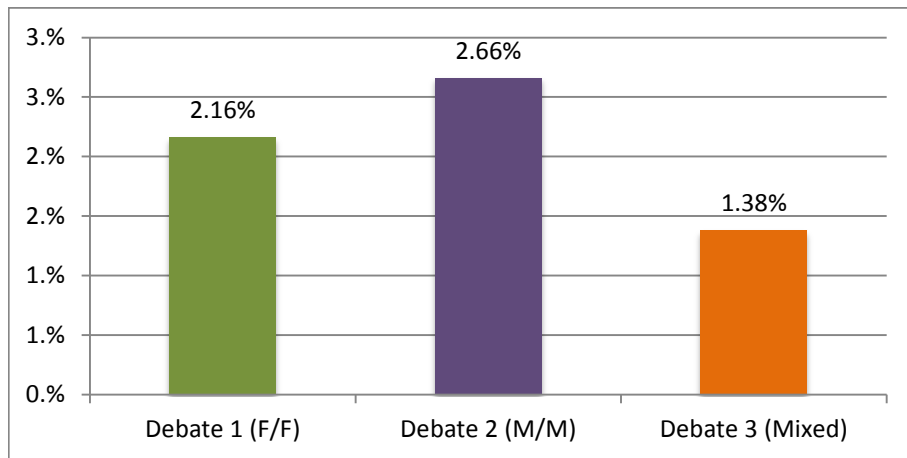


Figure 59. Proportion of abusive language (Twitter)

When considering the distribution as a proportion of their own mentions, this shows similar levels around all the politicians, though slightly more for Kezia Dugdale (3.67%) and Johann Lamont (3.05%), as shown in Figure 60.

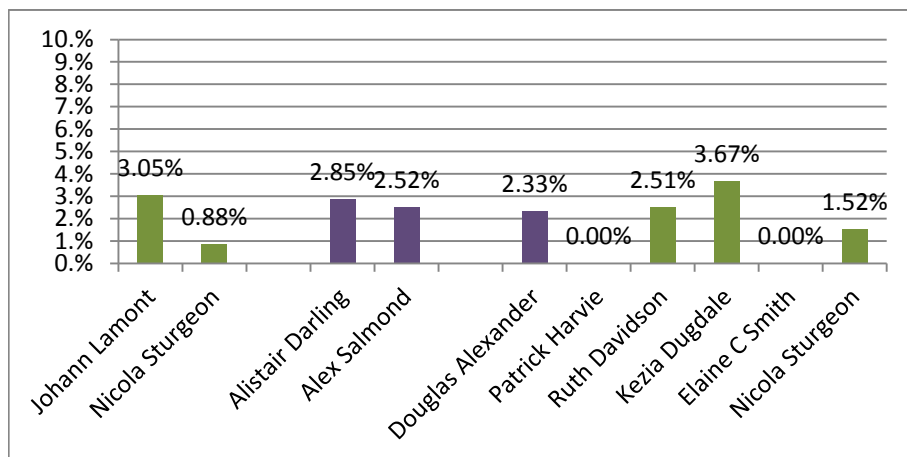


Figure 60. Proportion of online abusive mentions per individual politician (Twitter samples)

The comments which were coded for this variable in Debate 1 related to Johann Lamont with two comments regarding getting “her arse handed to her” (@northscot1320, 2014b), with another punning on the abusive term “c*nt” making a claim that she rhymed with “punt”: “The Irish called their currency the punt cos it rhymes with johann lamont...” (@jimwatsonMBA, 2014).

Most of the abusive language relating to Alex Salmond and Alistair Darling was used to criticise their performance:

- RT @martyboy17: As an undecided voter here... That Darling is a WANK #ScotDecides #indyref (@TomlitchTom, 2014)
- RT @IndyForTheGuy: Bullshit Alistair. Iceland and Ireland both have better growth than the UK has and for longer. #ScotDecides #IndyRef (@jclark1scotland, 2014)
- #salmond is making a bit of an arse of himself here (@georgeponton, 2014)
- Alex salmond is a twat! Defo better together! #ScotDecides #novote (@sam89holmes, 2014)

The tweets which used abusive in Debate 3, however, point to how these insults can be gendered, as has already been raised earlier, with Kezia Dugdale described as a “bitch” (@magnethead_666, 2014) and “lying cow” (@gardenwaits, 2014), and Ruth Davidson a “fat tory dyke” (@1DonaldThomson, 2014). The only man to have bad language in reference to him during the Debate 3 sample, Douglas Alexander, were comments calling him a “lying b..... [sic]” (@Mazella, 2014). This was also seen in references to Alex Salmond as a “blood thirsty bitch” (@linda8h, 2014) and Alistair Darling as “David Cameron’s bitch” (@nobbyswizzle, 2014).

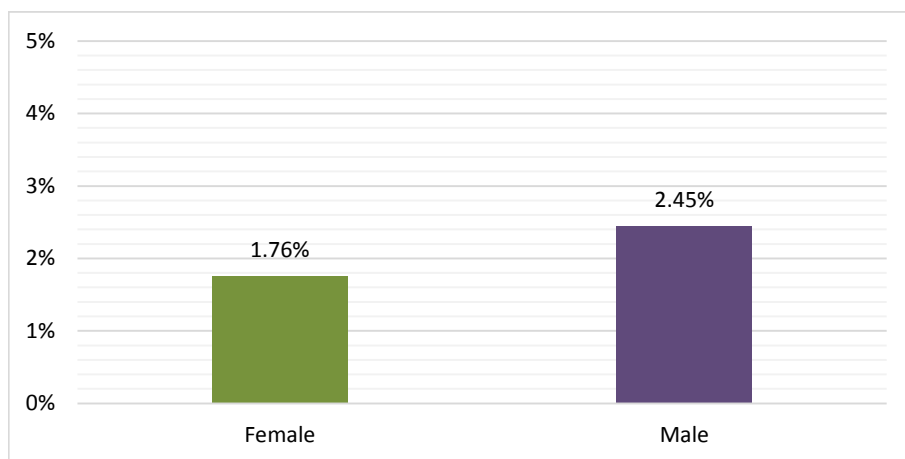


Figure 61. Proportion of online abuse, split by gender

As Figure 61 shows, there is very different quantitative difference between genders for this variable, with a slight higher use for men. This could be related to the prominence of Alex Salmond and Alistair Darling and timing of Debate 2. This may account for the smaller figures for women, though there is still a polarisation which focuses more on those of the *Better Together* side in Debate 3, suggesting again, an accord with (Shephard and Quinlan, 2014). However, as other sections in the content analysis show, even though there may be abusive language used for both men and women, this takes on a gendered dimension for women, and even more so for a woman who identifies as queer. This suggests the same trajectory as research into the gendered nature of abuse of social media (Megarry, 2014; Jane, 2014b) as well as those with a specific Scottish focus (Pedersen *et al.*, 2014), as well as reported anecdotal experience from Davidson herself (Davidson, 2014).

7.9 Critical discourse analysis

The content analysis in this chapter shows, a number of patterns which suggest gendered differences in the mediation of the variables of appearance and age. This next

section presents a number of discourses for analysis which have arisen from the results of the content analysis. These include the construction of clothes being related to political competency, as metonyms of a political “type”, and discourses of celebrity. The following discourse analysis will also show that these discourses are dialogical, as following from Jamieson’s (1995 p. 17) depiction of each double bind magnifying the other. Furthermore, as this analysis involves the interrogation of what may be considered stereotypically gendered discourses, this also involves the intersection of different constructions of femininity and masculinity. These show the different ways they intersect and are situated in resilient paradigms of femaleness and maleness.

This next section, then, presents a number of discourses for analysis including metaphorical discourses which align that of clothes and competency. This is done through the use of suits as a “sartorial metonym” (Walsh, 2015) for a political “type”. This is also evidence of one of the figures, Elaine C Smith, using gendered categories as a way to legitimise her political representative role. Emergent discourses also appear to challenge and contest male political dominance, showing a desire to move away from the middle-aged “grey man” of traditionally masculine-orientated politics. In doing so, however, it is still paradoxically realigned as being normatively masculine. Throughout this section, then, is an exploration of the resilience of certain gendered discourses, among those that are being renegotiated.

7.10 “Overdressed to the nines”

As was shown above, though the overall figures appear to show similar proportions of mentions of physical appearance across genders, these were shown to be particularly focused on specific individuals. In the newspaper coverage, these were solely found in the first two samples, Newsweek 1 and Newsweek 2, regarding Johann Lamont and Nicola Sturgeon, and Alistair Darling and Alex Salmond. In Debate 1, these featured commentary about the way the women looked and what they wore during the

televised debate. Notably, a number of these mentions were prominent in the same opinion and editorials which featured the gendered discourses rehearsed in the preceding chapter. Interestingly, there were also a number of comments about what Darling and Salmond wore. As the following sections will show, these discourses were articulated in a discourse consisting of what Walsh (2015) calls a “sartorial metonym” which acts as a metaphorical link between their appearance and political style. Though this revealed different connotations for the men and women: in regard to the male politicians, their general type of clothing – a grey suit – was depicted as metaphor for a form of political style; for the female politicians, their clothing choice was discussed in a more individualised way and was related to their political competency, exposing a form of confusion of what kind of appearance they should take.

In one such article in the *Herald*, one of the politicians – Johann Lamont – is described as wearing the same outfit as the convener:

True, there was a minor hiccup when it emerged that Ms Lamont and Rona Dougall, the presenter, turned out to be wearing the same outfit of black trouser suit and white top. Awkward, but in Borgelesque Scotland we don't fuss about such trivialities. It was a telling sign, though, that someone, somewhere, had not thought this event through (Rowat, 2014, Feb 28).

The suggestion is that Lamont's attire, which should not have been the same as the convenor, Rona Dougall, is something which should be considered in the context of the overall construction and running of the debate. The extract here first frames the similar attire of the two women as something unimportant, built through the texturing of lexical terms of conversational discourse such as “minor hiccup”, “we don't' fuss” and “trivialities” throughout. The premise is undercut at a turn indicated by the conjunction “though” which establishes that the matching of their outfits was not paid due consideration in the planning and organisation of the debate; indeed, the premise that it is a trivial concern is undercut by the formal categorisation of the subject matter as “trivial” though still included in the commentary. The clothes of these women,

therefore, are established as a signifier – the “telling sign” of the overall lack of professionalism and unpreparedness – which feeds into previous studies which have found links between perceptions of appearance, femininity and political competency (Jamieson, 1995; Adcock, 2010; Campus, 2013). Tweets also referenced the appearance of the women which went so far as to discuss their dresses as being similar to the TV set: “@NicolaSturgeon and @JohannLamont dressed in the red and black of the #scotnight set!” (@gillamain, 2014). And again – even in this case where it is presented in a positive way – Sturgeon’s dress is still equated with political competency: “Well that was interesting! I declare @NicolaSturgeon's outfit the winner #scotnight night all!” (@stvclaire, 2014).

The use of a conversational style in the *Herald* passage mentioned above allows for the introduction of the single adjective clause “awkward” at the start of the second sentence. In this case, the use of the verbless exclamation to describe the situation obfuscates the agency of this phrase, establishing collusion between the commentator and readership. As discussed in the previous chapter, the subject position of the readership is already aligned with the columnist through the collectivised pronoun “we”. Asserting that “in Borgelesque Scotland we don’t fuss about such trivialities” there is thus established a false equivalence to push against the places where such trivialities *would* be fussed about, even though this is not defined.

In another extract in the *Scottish Daily Mail*, a commentator describes the Lamont-Sturgeon debate as having a “tired theatricality about the whole thing” (MacLeod, 2014, Feb 27). Again, an evaluation of the entire political performance is linked to how the women were dressed, as illustrated in the following extract:

For one, both women overdressed to the nines - Miss Sturgeon in glorious Vatican red, Miss Lamont in stark Reformation black, and both with hair preened and crimped and micro-managed make-up. Menacing Miss Dougall added to the surreal nature of proceedings by turning up in practically identical

attire to the Scottish Labour leader, as if Miss Sturgeon were alone and noble before menacing inquisitors (MacLeod, 2014, Feb 27).

Similar to the preceding extract, a reference is made to Lamont's clothes being the same as the convener's. This time, however, the description of the political event is textured with religious, embellished vocabulary. The sets out that the women are "overdressed" with the theatricality described in a pejorative way as lacking sheen and being "tired". Metaphorical language is used to describe Sturgeon's vivid, blood-like "Vatican" red which is contrasted the staidness of Lamont's "Reformation" black. Simile is used to depict Sturgeon as almost martyr-like in front of Lamont and Dougall as threatening interrogators.

According to Campus (2013 pp. 80-81), the media have a tendency to consider the looks of women leaders as being linked to their personality more so than male leaders, with an implicit correlation between appearance and credibility. In this case, the descriptions of the clothes act as an extended metaphor for the representations of the women's political identities later in the article. The vivid red of Sturgeon's dress coincides with her description in the article as more enticing and "more appealing to women voters" compared to Alex Salmond, while Lamont in is instead deemed a makeshift "weirdly invisible leader" lacking vigour. The vocabulary evokes a religious discourse to the description, which gives it a heightened sense of formality and occasion, yet the hyperbole – the two women are compared to historical religious factions – gives a mocking undertone. This is accentuated by the stylistic convention employed through the deferential title "Miss" which arguably suggests an infantilisation of the women in the proceedings. The equation of the discourse of religion with theatre also hints at dramatic and surreal displays, hinting at an intertextual Monty-Pythonesque reference with the evocation of the "Spanish Inquisition", thus linking to a comedic discourse and adding to the mocking tone which undercuts their authority.

One tweet which was published during the debate, encapsulates this kind of tone, whereby Lamont's performance is linked to a physical image of her "pearl-clutching" (@stvclaire, 2014) which both accentuates her lack of strength and capability through a traditionally hyper-feminised description linked to older women. The description of Lamont feeds into the overall feminised discourse in regard to the of women's clothes. Interestingly, however, in the *Scottish Daily Mail* article, what the women are wearing isn't actually defined. Though the article elaborates on the colour of the women's clothes, there is a presumption that it is a feminised style of dress, implied by the assertion that they are "overdressed to the nines". In this case, there is an adaption of the idiomatic phrase "dressed to the nines" meaning to dress to perfection or the "highest degree" (Oxford English Dictionary, 2017) which emphasises the considered inappropriateness of their attire with the format of the debate. However, though Sturgeon did indeed wear a red dress suit,¹¹⁵ the other article states that both Lamont and the convenor wore black trouser suits with a white top. This therefore creates a disjoint with the claim that they are overdressed in what appears fitting attire for the genre of the political occasion of televised debate.

These descriptions, alongside the "micro-managed" make-up, "preened and crimped" hair and the artifice of the theatrical discourse, imply of a form of control over their own image that lacks authenticity and spontaneity. This, again, implies a lack of political competency at odds with the feminine-associated clothes and make-up the women use, which is used to over-compensate for this perceived lack. There is evidence, therefore, of a double bind (Jamieson, 1995) when it comes to their attire and appearance. On one hand, when considered not "thought through" the women's clothes are seen to betray a lack of political competency in regard to the overall performance, but when considered as feminised constructions "thought-through" to the point of theatricality, they are seen as lacking authenticity, spontaneity and authority. Similar to Luenenborg *et al.*'s (2011 p. 70) aforementioned findings regarding

¹¹⁵ Interestingly, Sturgeon's red suit is one which the *Daily Mail* has increasingly focused on (Daily Mail Reporter, 2017).

Angela Merkel, the political sphere is reconfirmed as male-dominated through the exclusion of women and femininities.

What this analysis reveals is that there is still a “media confusion” and tension around the appearance of female politicians (Campus, 2013 p. 87). The *Scottish Daily Mail* article describes the women as “overdressed”, which by extension implies that these is indeed a *right* way to dress, that there is a uniform or dress code for women. Yet as we will see, formal dress for women in politics does not have the same “rules” as the political uniform for men: the suit. Conversely, in the *Herald* extract (Rowat, 2014, Feb 28), there is criticism for women who wear the same or a similar outfit. Though this is reflective of wider social mores where women do indeed try and avoid the same outfits as their peers, this is usually because of the wide array of fashion choices available for women. Here, however, the only guidance for a political uniform for women is that it should, paradoxically, not be a uniform. This, again, shows a double bind (Jamieson, 1995) around the appearance of these women.

7.11 Grey Suits and the “grey man”

Moving to the men, as the content analysis shows their attire was also discussed in the newspaper sample. This tended to focus on the two figures of Alistair Darling and Alex Salmond, whose representations in this regard had some similarities to the discourses discussed in regard to Lamont and Sturgeon, above. Mostly, the men’s clothes were additional information as an aside, rather than taking on a more prominent focus compared to the women. For example, in the *Press and Journal (Aberdeen)*, the men’s clothes were introduced in subordinate clauses: “Mr Salmond, who was wearing a dark suit and a dark pink tie, highlighted that many countries which took part on the Commonwealth Games were smaller than Scotland ... But Mr Darling, who was wearing a dark suit and blue spotted tie, argued independence was not the ‘best thing to do’” (Brooks, 2014, Aug 06). Contrasting to the embellished description used in the former

examples of Lamont and Sturgeon, in this case the colour of the men's suits are not named, but instead given the vague definition "dark" with only their ties described in more detail.

The men's suits also feature in the *Scottish Daily Mail's* "Slick Salmond V Affable Alistair" profile piece mentioned in previous sections. In the "aestheticized" depiction of the men (Fairclough, 2003), making them sound more appealing, their attire is listed under the category, "SUITS", with Alex Salmond's choice given as "Slater Menswear - Started by a Russian tailor in the Gorbals," while Alistair Darling's choice reads "Marks & Spencer - reliable, smart and British" (Roden, 2014, Aug 06). As discussed previously, this article sets out Darling and Salmond in opposing sides, with personal characteristics set in opposition in a "statistical" form through the discourse of fighting or boxing. This frames the men in a combative, hyper-masculine style. Their personalities and political identities are also linked to their outward appearance, showing evidence of the same tendency afforded the women in the earlier extracts. Salmond's suit comes from Slater Menswear, a Scottish brand, which is symbolic of his Scottish national political affiliation. Darling is instead equated with the British-based department store Marks & Spencer, which is deemed "reliable". In this instance the men's clothing choice is used to imply political identity, their opposing stance in the referendum, though not as signifier of their immediate political performance.

Alistair Darling's "reliable" description in the above example is a recurrent motif in the sample. In the same article mentioned above, the link between Darling, his clothing choice and personality is made explicit in the section heading "AFFABLE ALISTAIR (WHO'S AS RELIABLE AS AN M&S SUIT!)" (Roden, 2014, Aug 06). Equating Darling with M&S, a brand associated with "quality, reliability and its Britishness" (Ruddick, 2013), brings with it the positive connotations of 'stiff-upper lip' British dependability, yet with this arises connotations that he lacks vitality and spontaneity. This is further emphasised in his description as "the grey man of British politics" (Linklater, 2014, Aug 06). The use of this stereotypical "grey man" metaphor provides an intertextual link to

media discourse in the past around political figures – in this case former Prime Minister John Major (Wintle, 2012) who was often represented as the epitome of the “grey man”.¹¹⁶ This is associated with a specific type of masculinity equated with understated rationality and, more negatively, dullness. This kind of discourse is similarly evoked in the simile which compares Darling to a “bank manager who’s just arrived from Tracy Island” (Cowing, 2014, Aug 06).

The representation of Darling as boring and a “grey man” has been something which has plagued his career (at one earlier point in the *Daily Mail* he is described as “grey in bearing, grey in vocabulary, grey in debate” (Hardcastle, 2007)). It is also used as a “peg” to describe his performance in the televised debate, where his heightened, impassioned performance leads to a caricature of him as “Mr Angry”. This time his glasses act as a form of synecdoche, whereas they are used to hyperbolically symbolise his emotion: “even his new spectacles, with their fierce brown rims, seemed to be bristling with anger” (Linklater, 2014, Aug 06). Darling’s behaviour is gendered in his depiction in the impersonal description as character – Mr Angry – as opposed to the “grey man”, with facets of his appearance attached to the descriptions. Therefore, this shows that the metaphorical use of appearance as representing broader aspects of personality and identity as discussed by Campus (2013), is in operation for both male and female figures. The difference, though, is that there different forms of gendering in play: insofar as Darling’s outward appearance is linked to his boring or indeed angry identity, his political competency is not questioned in the same way as Lamont and Sturgeon. His description as a “grey man” of politics orientates him as a specific political type familiar in the realm of politics, albeit in masculinised terms.

¹¹⁶ In the 1990s, the satirical puppet show *Spitting Image* took Major’s “grey man” boring character to its literal conclusion when his puppet was painted grey.

7.12 Hair, Eyebrows and Synecdoche

In the Twitter discourse there were discourses which appeared in play for politicians of different genders which suggest a form of public commentary which focused on the personalised features of a number of the figures. As Campus (2013 p. 80) suggests even apparently “insignificant particulars of appearance” may be taken for wider correlations of identity, with this section showing that specific features, including hair and eyebrows, were used as links to the politicians’ credibility.

Firstly, references to Darling’s eyebrow were prevalent in the newspaper and Twitter discourse. In the *Scottish Daily Mail*, one commentator writes Darling is “too earnest for much fun, although the famous eyebrows give him a comedic look (Roden, 2014, Aug 06). This is echoed throughout the Twitter discourse, with examples such as:

- Alistair Darling’s eyebrows currently putting together a referendum on whether to leave the union with his (@robert_ramage, 2014)
- #ScotDecides #Indyref have Alistair Darling's eyebrows got bigger? Is that even possible.. (@mayfieldmobster, 2014)
- Wat happened? Did Darling do it? Did he finally explain why his hair & eyebrows are diff colours? (@NathanCaton, 2014)
- His hair is so white yet his eyebrows are so dark. Can’t trust him (@GardinerMusic, 2014)

The dissonance between the colour of Darling’s white hair and dark eyebrows is taken at point to signal his trustworthiness, made explicit by the comment of the last example “can’t trust him” (ibid). However, a focus on eyebrows was also seen in reference to other politicians at points, including Kezia Dugdale: “Have the eyebrows on that girl Kezia fallen out? Look like they are running away from each other #ScotDecides” (@Jailender, 2014) and Alex Salmond: “everyones going on about darling’s eyebrows but eh take a wee sneaky look at salmond’s #bushcentral” (@rachaelfossey, 2014) and “I’m finding the independence of Alex Salmond’s left and right eyebrows disturbing and

a worrying precedent” (@MrRJMCGregor, 2014). In this case, it appears the eyebrows play a key focal point for points of observation, which may in part be related to the immediacy of viewing the debates and the invitation to rapidly comment.

Hair was similarly referred to in this way, and applied to figures of different genders, including Douglas Alexander, Nicola Sturgeon and Ruth Davidson.

- The only Barnet formula we should be talking about is how Ruth Davidson got that haircut (@sparkymcgoran, 2014)
- Nicola Sturgeon and Douglas Alexander need to find themselves a new barnet formula #badbarnets” (@westendgerard, 2014)
- Nicola Sturgeon’s hair “looks like it’s levitating over her head (@smiles_XoX, 2014)
- The waffle coming out of Nicola Sturgeon’s mouth is as good as her haircut! #getnewcrimper” (@MacGregorHair, 2014).
- Douglas Alexander was the original model for the Ken doll. Look at that plastic hair! (@FearghasKelly, 2014). References are also made:
- Has Douglas Alexander dyed his hair? Looks like Lego (@manualsandspecs, 2014).

The first two extracts reference Ruth Davidson, Douglas Alexander and Nicola Sturgeon, using a pun of the colloquial term “barnet” and the “Barnett Formula”: the mechanism for calculating the share of UK funding for the devolved nations (Scottish Government, 2016). As Walsh (2015 p. 1027) comments, hair is “something of a leitmotif in media coverage of female political leaders the world over”. Such discourses have often been used to as shorthand metaphoric descriptions of women, such as Hillary Clinton, whose changing hairstyle was seen as a metonym for her “chameleon” character (Campus, 2013 p. 80); or Margaret Thatcher, whose fastidiously coifed hair style was emblematic her “legendary control of her prime ministerial brief” (Walsh, 2015 p. 1028). These tropes can often be used as a way to trivialise by depoliticising women, yet show this in practice for both male and female politicians here.

A similar overlapping discourse is made more explicit in reference to Douglas Alexander in the samples. Already in those above, there are allusions to toys (“Ken doll” “Lego”) which suggest a comedic tone. In other extracts, he is discussed in a variety of different caricatures:

- Douglas Alexander’s nose is getting longer as this debate goes on #Pinocchio (@LydiaReidYES, 2014),
- Am I the only one that thinks Douglas Alexander looks like Pinocchio? Just waiting for his now to grow (@ben190278, 2014)
- Is it just me or does Douglas Alexander have a look of Frank Sidebottom about him? (@clashrock, 2014)
- Anyone else think Douglas Alexander looks like Fassbender’s Frank?”¹¹⁷ (@KirstiBrown, 2014)
- RT @natneilz: I am taking this serious by this Douglas Alexander guy really looks like The Count from Sesame Street #ScotDecides pic.twitter.com/hc0eGew6Mj (@LauraT123456, 2014).

As shown, these all appear in reference to comedic puppets or dolls: Pinocchio (@ben190278, 2014) Frank Sidebottom (@clashrock, 2014)¹¹⁸ and the Count from Sesame Street (@LauraT123456, 2014). This appears similar to the rhetorical method of synecdoche in political cartoons identified by Muir (1986 xi) and said to work through “highlighting a part-to-whole and a whole-to-part relationship” which foregrounds certain visual features in political cartoons. In the case of Douglas Alexander, the focus on his nose and allusions to comedic or children’s characters heighten the irreverence and recall caricatures of satirical sketches and acts as a kind of scapegoating.¹¹⁹

Yet, when looking to those that occurred in the discourse for women, there are suggestions of more troubling depictions. Ruth Davidson, in particular, is also referred

¹¹⁷ This is in reference to a 2014 film which featured actor Michael Fassbender in the role of Frank Sidebottom.

¹¹⁸ A referenced earlier in the chapter, Frank Sidebottom is a comic persona notable for his large, papier-mâché head.

¹¹⁹ These recall the caricatures of the satirical sketch show *Spitting Image* or the political cartoons of the Steve Bell, from the Guardian, known for his caricatures.

to as comedy figures, being alluded to as “the spit of John Candy” (@ricescooper, 2014), and “like Barney the dinosaur with a hangover” (@J_OHara18, 2014)). As these show, unlike the representations made of Alexander, which remain aligned to his gender, for Davidson, the crux of this insult is in the change in gender and subsequent masculinisation, which is echoed in the aforementioned references to her as “#DavidCameronDragAct” (@natneilz, 2014) and “a fat tory dyke” (@1DonaldThomson, 2014). Therefore, while appearance is discussed in the public discourse of Twitter for both men and women, it hints at what may operate in more problematic ways for women, particularly those with a queer identity who may be perceived to deviate from heteronormative femininities.

7.13 “Tired (of) middle-aged men”

The grey suit as representative of male politicians is a metonym which has been observed in research (Walsh, 2001; 2015) and an emergent discourse found in the texts of this study, as expressed above. Darling and Salmond’s appearance was shown to be linked to their outward performance, personality and identity. While this was also seen to work in a similar way to Lamont and Sturgeon, theirs was gendered in the way which accentuated confusion around the expectations of their performance in the political public sphere. As shown from the content analysis, references to gender or gendered labels were largely absent when discussion focused on Alistair Darling and Alex Salmond in the newspaper sample and were even fewer in the Twitter sample. The sections which were coded as gendered, though, were mostly when the two men were referred to as “white middle-aged men” (*Times (Scotland)*, 2014, Aug 09). This was included in the sense that this designation is arguably used to denote a particular type of man, akin to “male, pale and stale” moniker used in discussion about lack of representativeness in politics (Claeys, 2012). As already discussed, this was also in reference to their “shouting” and aggressive behaviour. This in turn points to a counter-narrative where gender norms are being contested in regard to political performance, yet at the same time this still reaffirms a masculinist political norm.

The men's clothes were often depicted in shorter asides as additional information. At times, these descriptions were used in conjunction with their age and also ethnicity. In one article, the men are described as "slightly tiredlooking [sic] middle-aged politician[s]", (McMillan, 2014, Aug 08). Another example in the *Scotsman* says: "Ponsonby [the convener] - on capable, assured form - introduced Alex Salmond, in a purple tie, and Alistair Darling, in a blue one. You tend to notice these things when it's just middleaged [sic] white men in suits on stage" (Mullaney, 2014, Aug 06). The collocation of these terms suggests a classification or type, whereas the whiteness, age and attire is grouped together as one category, of which Darling and Salmond are placed. Again this also links implicitly to wider political and feminist discourses which have critiqued male political dominance through the "male, pale and stale" moniker used in discussion about lack of representativeness (Claeys, 2012). The description in the *Scotsman* highlights that the colour of the ties of the two men is the only individual characteristic that separates them, expressing the inevitability of the "type" of these politicians. This further reasserts the mainstream expectation of politics to maleness, which is equated with white dominance and middle-age. The negative tone of these descriptions, however, is emphasised by connotations of tiredness and lack vitality as well as dullness.

The men's physical bodies are also seen as further indicators of endurance; professional "body language experts" are drafted in to decode the messages ascribed in the physical manifestation of the two men (Neill, 2014, Aug 06, *Scottish Daily Mail*, 2014, Aug 06). Age is used in a coded way to comment on Salmond's performance, constructing him *appearing* older as a way to denote weakness: "Salmond, 59, looked older than Darling during the programme. Darling is 60" (McLeod, 2014, Aug 08). Even though Darling is the older man, that he *looks* younger means he is still equated with youthfulness. Questions around Salmond's stamina were raised asking if he had "spread himself too thin" (McLeod, 2014, Aug 08) saying how he looked "tired and drawn" during the debate. This suggests that male politicians, in certain scenarios at least, are met with their own expectations of gender performance. Unlike Jamieson (1995) and Thompson and Yates (2016) who find aging men associated with wisdom or even potency, the

discourse here depicts them as undesirable, out of touch and lacking in authoritative masculinity.

The demands of political leadership appear to be associated with energy and vitality, and reveal an ageist agenda, away from the “middle-aged” men. In an extract referencing a *vox pop* in the *Times (Scotland)*, a speaker is quoted as describing the independence campaign as one enlivened by a fresher narrative absent from the persona of Darling and Salmond: “The independence debate in Scotland has moved on so much from two white, middle-aged men in suits shouting at each other” (*Times (Scotland)*, 2014, Aug 09). Similarly, another author derides the Darling/Salmond debate which, instead of addressing weighty issues to do with independence, offered up “a couple of angry, shouty, middle-aged men” (Nicoll, 2014, Aug 06). As discussed in the previous chapter, the situating of the “shouting” men contrasts the gendered depictions of the “shrill” debate between Johann Lamont and Nicola Sturgeon, however it also serves to heighten the use of a specific age marker (middle age) as signifying someone politically out of touch.

A further example states: “It's hard to imagine many in this target demographic will perch on the sofa for two hours tomorrow night to watch two middleaged [sic] men slug it out over abstract constitutional questions” (Deerin, 2014, Aug 04). As these collocations also reveal, this shows a desire for a more feminised kind of political representative, such as the more sympathetic and caring “new man” father (Macdonald, 1995; Smith, 2008) or indeed a female politician. This in turn, suggests that a more feminised politics offers a “transformative” appeal away from the political norm (Norris, 1997b; Campus, 2013). This, however, still arguably reaffirms that the parameters of the current political norm as masculine. Furthermore, though whiteness is addresses in a number of these extracts, its frequency is not as prolific as the pejorative label of the men as middle-aged, which suggests that in some cases, white dominance is not as salient an issues as the case of maleness and age.

This is also suggestive of a discourse emergent between Salmond and Sturgeon in the later samples, which establishes Sturgeon in a gendered opposition to Salmond. In criticism of his performance, Salmond is also seen to be particularly unappealing to women voters as a group. For example, an extract says: “Alex Salmond has a women problem. Many in Scotland's female population have not warmed to his fiery brand of politics, his bruiser reputation and seeming inability to talk about anything personal” (Cowing, 2014, Aug 06). On a number of occasions, this was also followed with speculation that Sturgeon would replace him in the next debate (*Press and Journal (Aberdeen)*, 2014, Aug 08) as his “able successor in waiting” (Bell, 2014, Sep 06). Even when she is discussed in more negative terms in Newsweek 1 alongside Johann Lamont, juxtaposed to representations of Salmond, she is still described as “more appealing to women voters” than Salmond (MacLeod, 2014, Feb 27), rehearsing the discourse that her primary appeal is for women.

Sturgeon is seen in an article with Salmond celebrating their decade long professional relationship, the pair are equated with discourses of marriage: seen as the “golden couple” (Cowing, 2014, Sep 06), which at times showed her in a subordinate, feminised position: “his faithful political partner, dutifully casting adoring looks at her leader as the cameras roll” (Roden, 2014, Sep 05), veering on sexualisation, with the *Scottish Sun's* “It started with a kiss ... We look back at the tender moments they've shared since they sealed their political union with a smacker in 2004” (*Scottish Sun*, 2014, Sep 05). In this overlapping discourse around Sturgeon, she is seen in a much more feminised position when she is subordinate to Salmond, which is made explicit through the comment: “Yesterday she was still subordinate. As a passing shopper observed to his companion: 'It's Alex Salmond... oh, and Nicola is behind him.' (ibid).

In a different extract, one commentator writes of a disappointment in the argumentative style of political performance the men displayed.

Better Together? Better apart? Sadly, it feels more and more like we'd be best forgetting the whole thing until we have more to offer than the kind of yah-boo cat-calling we sat through in Tuesday night's live televised slugfest. (Leckie, 2014, Aug 07)

Similar to the criticism of Salmond and Darling being "shouty" (Nicoll, 2014, Aug 06), the above extract highlights masculine-associated politics as a form of "yah-boo" style as well as the vocabulary of combat ("slugfest"). Also interesting is the use of "cat-calling" which contrasts to the previous seen use of "cat-fight" used as a description of the female-female debate. In this case, cat-call¹²⁰ is a term used to describe a discordant noise, but also has gendered connotations in its predominant use to describe comments and/or whistles directed at women and serve to evaluate and objectify them (Chaudoir and Quinn, 2010). The collocation of the terms "yah-boo" and "cat-calling" thus establish the exchange between Darling and Salmond as excessively aggressive, hinting at disorder.

In an aforementioned extract regarding Darling and Salmond being shouty, the assertion is made that "all we got instead was a couple of angry, shouty, middle-aged men blaring at each other across a golf club bar room (Nicoll, 2014, Aug 06). We can see this opposition further played out where instead of the domestic space of the "stairheid" in the previous descriptions, the men are situating in the "golf club bar room", which also has connotations of female exclusion. These extracts point to a form of counter-narrative co-occurring with the discourses discussed in this and previous sections. This may at first hint at a desire to move away from patriarchal power and a feminised style of politics yet, as this section shows, it still adheres to the gendered norms and further consolidates essentialist understandings of men and women in politics. When men are constructed as being too assertive or tired, they are criticised, yet are still establish as part of the political norm. Women, on the other hand, are faced

¹²⁰ This has its origins as "A squeaking instrument, or kind of whistle, used esp. in play-houses to express impatience or disapprobation" which later became known as a call of similar sentiment through "imitation with the voice". Though it now also defined in a similar way to "wolf-whistle" now as "A whistle, cry, or suggestive comment intended to express sexual attraction or admiration (but usually regarded as an annoyance), typically made by a man to a female passer-by." (Oxford English Dictionary, 2016)

with a double bind (Jamieson, 1995) with the expectation that they should represent a feminised political style, however are criticised when appearing too feminine or “overdressed”.

7.14 Elaine C Smith: Celebrity Gran

Though in the previous section age is collocated with other identity markers as an overall political “type”, it is articulated in a different way in the discourses involving Elaine C Smith. In this case, it instead intersects with her role as a mother and grandmother, but also a television personality (who is also a mother). As has already been shown in the content analysis section, the mediation of Smith deviated somewhat from the other figures of this study. She is distinct from this group in that she is known first and foremost in Scotland as a celebrity figure before her more visible role as a political figure in the referendum campaign. Street (2004 p. 438) classifies this role as a form of celebrity politician: an “entertainer who pronounces on politics and claims the right to represent peoples and causes, but who does so without seeking or acquiring elected office”, as opposed to an elected politician who engages extensively with popular culture. In so far as popular identities act as models of self within culture, these figures, Street (ibid p. 442) argues, have a plausible to claim to “represent” people, with their success based on how they claim to represent people’s views.

Smith uses her role as a “non-politician” as legitimizing her participation as a political figure. She writes: “as the only non-politician, I was really out of my comfort zone. But what I wanted to do was speak to the people in the hall and at home - not with lists of figures to counteract the other side but to go above that and talk about what is really happening in our country and how we can make things better” (Smith, 2014, Sep 05b). In a conversational style, she draws attention to her outsider status by stating that she is unaccustomed to the political proceedings (“out of my comfort zone”) as a form impenetrable language (“lists of figures”). Smith establishes herself as a representative

voice by saying she is going “talk about what is really happening” asserting that she is more connected to the people she is addressing. This is further emphasised from the switch from the referential marker of “the people” to the collectivised “we” by which she later groups herself with. Furthermore, the vocabulary she uses to describe her endeavours, that she is out of her “comfort zone”, is “going above”, emphasises her effort in taking on this role which further consolidates her message at the end that she is taking on this role for the greater good: to “make things better”. In this way, Smith hints her political participation along the lines of a more populist role, setting herself up as the voice of the “people” distinct from a political elite (Mudde, 2004). This henceforth allows her to rehearse different, more personal narratives than the elected officials, performing her gender in a way which may not attract the same kind of criticisms as elected officials.

Smith uses her gender as a marker for her participation, in particular her role as a grandmother, acting as her main signifier of this. This is emphasised in her role as a popular pundit in the *Daily Record* when she uses her familial position as a grandmother as the focal point through which she airs her political views. As already discussed, she refers to herself as Granny Smith in her opinion pieces in the *Daily Record*, which acts as a site for the intersection of a number of discourses. Firstly, she draws attention to her role as a grandmother, evoking traditional maternal and caring discourses in the context of an older woman. Secondly, the informal version of the term – granny – fits with the conversational style of a tabloid columnist, though would have perhaps been too informal if she were an elected politician, therefore there is a further evocation of solidarity with the readership. Lastly, the pun on the name of Granny Smith apple evokes discourses of wholesomeness and domesticity, but also hints at a more folksy discourse of traditional archetypal grandmother figures and fairy-tale apples. This has echoes in and mirrors with Smith’s celebrity roles which would be known to a large number of her readership: firstly as Mary Doll the TV wife of Scottish sitcom figure Rab C Nesbitt, and also a frequent pantomime dame in Scottish theatre (among other theatrical roles).

In both her newspaper column and speech in the televised debate, Smith makes a pointed reference to her role as a grandmother which was discussed in the newspaper sample: “Ms Smith revealed she had recently become a grandmother” (Peterkin, 2014, Sep 03). In a number of ways, Smith brings her gendered role as grandmother to the fore, which she highlights as her reason for involving herself in the independence campaign as the figurehead of the pro-independence group, “Grans for Yes” as mentioned previously in this chapter. In an article written by SNP MSP Joan McAlpine in a column for the *Daily Record*, titled “We’ve got gran ideas for the future”, the idea of age is linked with political responsibility, with the Elaine C Smith invoked as its figurehead: “Grans for Yes is one of the hundreds of groups that have sprung up during the campaign. Launched by new gran Elaine C Smith, it's about voting for the next generation” (McAlpine, 2014, Sep 03). Here, her grandmother status is designated through a modifying noun phrase similar to the reference to her as a “mum of two” (Deanie, 2014, Sep 02). As discussed, her gendered roles are much more pointed as definitional features making them something which is a part of her identity, she *is* a mum and gran, rather than she *has* children and grandchildren, or as was used for Alistair Darling, “Wife Maggie, a son and a daughter” (Roden, 2014, Aug 06).

One article in Newsweek 3 references her informal style, discussing her view on television in a post-independent Scotland (Deanie, 2014, Sep 02), as well as her “passionate contribution” (Peterkin, 2014, Sep 03). Another makes reference to her role in the TV debate, linking her positive reception to her informal positioning in Debate 3:

Then Elaine C laughingly found she couldn't quite bring herself to endorse the SNP's cut in business taxes in the White Paper. "I'm starting to sound like a politician here", she said, disarmingly. Which was fine. She wasn't there as a politician but as a passionate social democrat who thinks the country can become a fairer place if it takes charge of its own affairs. (Macwhirter, 2014, Sep 04)

The columnist embeds positive language throughout, which establishes Smith as an endearing figure. This is directly linked to her non-elected position. The use of emotive descriptions such as “laughingly” and the adjective “passionate” to describe her role (“social democrat”) sets up the role of the politician as oppositional and thus lacking in passion. Smith’s comment: “I’m starting to sound like a politician here” is framed as disarming, hinting at gendered associations of charm, amicability and authenticity. This further suggests an opposition between female associated qualities and the political norm.

A further piece makes reference to her reception online, which highlighted that audiences found her to “outshine” her opponents, making reference to an academic source who alludes to the novelty of seeing a figure such as this in the debate for the first time, contributing to her positive reviews. In this sense, there is an echo with the gendering “novelty” frame as found in Norris (1997b) which appeals to the news value of unexpectedness, though in this case also intersecting with her non-political role. The tweets in Debate 3 followed the same strand as that of the newspapers, focusing on the novelty and the “human” element of her performance which was connected with authenticity and sincerity. She was described as a “rising star”, giving “powerful HONEST points” “understands it's about people” and win – particularly working class – “hearts”:

- RT @andytemple67: Elaine C Smith, you are Scotlands rising star. I am sure Margo MacDonald will be smiling. #ScotDecides #Yes (@ins1908, 2014)
- RT @sempervig1lo: Elaine C Smith showing up politicians and showing how to make powerful HONEST points #ScotDecides (@linannlum, 2014)
- RT @ruth_wishart: Elaine C Smith understands it's about people. The personal is political. #ScotDecides (@MorLachie, 2014)
- RT @TamMcIlroy: Elaine Smith is going to win the hearts of a lot of working class people tonight. #ScotDecides @realcolinquinn, 2014)

Praise was seen to be gendered; one user describes her as “happy and friendly, like a granny” (@deanrwilliamson, 2014), while she was also called “passionate” (@Fantooshie, 2014) again feeding in to her association with emotion and authenticity.

At one point, one user refers to Smith with praise, saying “what a dame” (@Tab22Tab, 2014). While this signals her gender, it also makes an intertextual link to her memoir, an autobiography called *Nothing Like a Dame* (Smith, 2009) as well as the broader discourses of theatre and celebrity. These are also similarly seen in newspaper articles which also evoke her roles in television. One newspaper article makes reference to Smith’s previous TV role, saying: “it’s enough to make even Rab C Nesbitt proud of his wife.” (*Scottish Daily Mail*, 2014, Sep 04). Here, the article uses an intertextual reference point of Smith’s entertainment past to further invoke both her familiarity to audiences in that capacity, as well as highlighting her novelty in the political setting of the debate. The resultant reference, however, allows for the use of a more gendered, informal nickname (her name in the TV show is Mary Doll) in what can be seen as a merging of popular and political discourse which refers to her in the context of her TV husband, who takes precedence in the headline.

The above examples suggest that the performance of gender operates differently for Smith, who invokes her gender role of grandmother as a way of legitimising her representative role. However this similarly re-establishes the maleness of politics. Smith makes clear that she is not seeking to occupy a traditional political position and situates herself counter to this, which allows for her to reassert her femininities without pandering to the masculine-associated demands of politics. Instead, the terms of being a woman are met with conditional approval through her situation in the sphere of celebrity, but not entirely in the sphere of politics.

Smith’s reiteration of her role as grandmother is interesting when taken in to consideration of other similar discourses which are made within political communication. As already discussed in the content analysis section, oppositional discourses were established during the campaign in regard to parental status being linked to fitfulness to govern, with former Scotland rugby player Steve Munro who

claiming that the Alex Salmond and Nicola Sturgeon didn't understand children's interests, politically, through their own lack of children (Stevens, 2014). Furthermore, these discourses were raised in a later, wider UK context during the Conservative Party leadership bid from Angela Leadsom, who said that she was better to lead than Theresa May because she was a mother (Coates and Sylvester, 2016). That Leadsom soon after apologised and pulled out of the running shows that the discourse of maternal values and leadership are contested as dominant discourse. The discourses established around Smith show that the discourse of motherhood (and grandmotherhood) can be used as a performance of emotion and authenticity, but still in opposition to political leadership.

The impression in this case is that Smith's positioning allows her to align herself with a specific feminised style, through discussing the "shouty debates" (Smith, 2014, Sep 05b) she wants to avoid. Her suggestion that she wants to avoid this narrative comes with the emphasis that her peripheral role as a non-elected politician would instead bring a different, softer style. There is, however, a tension in that Smith also uses her platform to discuss the heterogeneity of women's experience, as is shown below.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, during the referendum there was a widely-visible TV broadcast from the *Better Together* side, called "The woman who made up her mind" (*Better Together UK*, 2014). This featured a woman who was arguably politically disengaged, and unsure about the direction her vote would go in the referendum, though makes up her mind to vote "no" by the end of the 2.40 minute long advert. This was much maligned for what many considered to be a sexist portrayal of women, with commentators branding it patronising (Cresci, 2014) as well as foregrounding women's connection to the domestic sphere and disassociation from politics. Speaking about the advert in her column, Elaine C Smith says "even Italian newspapers - BerlusconiLand - are calling it sexist and patronising" (Smith, 2014, Sep 05c). In this case, the use of the adverb "even" situates Italy as sexist and therefore Italian newspapers also finding it sexist legitimatises her own accusations around the sexist video. The use of the lexical compound "BerlusconiLand" – a reference to the former Italian Prime Minister – draws

on the shared knowledge of the figure's well-known sexist reputation to add additional weight to the claim.

Smith uses this to begin a discussion on a wider comment about sexist attitudes to women in public life and the need for a more heterogeneous view of women and their differences. Again, writing in a column in the *Daily Record*, she says:

Women are not one group. We are housewives, mothers, daughters, sisters and grannies. But we are also doctors, lawyers, judges, writers, scientists, professors, politicians, cleaners, nurses, managers, taxi drivers, businesswomen, hairdressers, painters, producers and singers. We have as many different jobs as men and as many opinions - so we'll take our time to decide. Don't patronise us and tell us what we think. Women still earn much less than men and will bear the brunt of any changes brought in by either side. Many women don't trust the men who have run everything for so long (ibid).

In making this claim, Smith outlines a form of womanhood at odds with the previous references which allude to a shared gender identity. In doing so, she also challenges the masculine-dominated politics where men have "run everything for so long". Still, there is a tension, however, as her own designation as a grandmother is her reasoning behind her role as figurehead of a group called "Grans for Yes" (McAlpine, 2014, Sep 03). Smith uses her role as a grandmother to establish herself as a representative voice of Scottish mothers and grandmothers in the referendum campaign (Peterkin, 2014, Sep 03), which relies on a shared personal characteristic for a form of descriptive representation.

Quite clearly, Smith represents a tension around the role of women in politics through the situation of herself in the political process. Smith contests essentialised constructions of women while positioning women together as a collective group with which she self-identifies, a position similarly taken in this thesis. However the way she distinguishes women is primarily through familial and domestic terms "housewives,

mothers, daughters, sisters and grannies” before listing different occupations which women may occupy. Significantly, mentions of racial, ethnic or queer identities are notably absent from this list which orientates these aspects of lesser concern in this discourse. This is further built upon by the construction of Smith’s gender identity as legitimising her political participation. While this is on one hand important in regard to her acting substantively for a specific group “Grans for Yes”, Smith also relies on traditional constructions of femininities through discourses of care and softer politics as an opposition of an assumed male, “shouty” version of politics. In doing so, she paradoxically accentuates her outsider status as making her a desirable representative while also perpetuating the two sphere dichotomy. This again has gendered consequences for the representation of women in the public sphere.

7.15 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that there are very limited representations of what can be considered personalised categories in the samples. However, even though the results are limited in scale, the patterns of occurrence are still significant. Mentions of personal or spousal relationships, children or parental relationships, and that of age were mostly in regard to Alistair Darling, Alex Salmond or Elaine C Smith. Firstly, this suggests a confirmation of the personalisation of politics, with an increased focus on male leaders (Langer, 2010; 2011). Secondly, the qualities attached to Elaine C Smith, who established herself as a political outsider, are shown to be used strategically as part of her mediated persona. Similarly, the mention of children by Johann Lamont is used in the same way in a story about her weight loss. This suggests the targeted way female figures may call upon personal details in the construction of their political persona. Meanwhile, the absence of these variables on Twitter suggests that these were of lesser concern in this sphere. Arguably this may be related to the rapid fire and immediacy of this form of discussion.

The content analysis also showed marginal, but suggestive findings in regard to further personalised variables. The sexualisation variable, though marginal, hinted to a form of gendered mediation which intersected with the discourses emerging in Chapter 6, showing pejorative comments towards Johann Lamont and Nicola Sturgeon in regard to their lack of feminine performance. In this case, their poor performance in the debate was seen by one commentator as sexually repulsive. The Twitter commentary, on the other hand, showed marginal commentary of this in regard to male and female politicians, where comments regarding sexual excitement were used in a derogatory way (in regard to Alex Salmond and Ruth Davidson).

Similarly, references to sexual orientation were largely absent from the samples, though significantly the mentions that did occur were in regard to those who identify as gay or bisexual. For Ruth Davidson, this also intersected with the variable of abusive language on Twitter. Though this was marginally higher for men overall, this was often articulated in feminised terms for both the men and women: the women were called a “bitch” “cow” and in the case of Davidson “dyke”, while there was also evidence of men being called “bitch” which was used as a form of emasculation. This suggests the same trajectory as research into the gendered nature of abuse of social media (Megarry, 2014; Jane, 2014b) as well as those with a specific Scottish focus (Pedersen *et al.*, 2014). The scarcity of this data, however, is interesting in pointing to how it may work in other contexts. Arguably, this is evocative of the “silence/shame” double bind (Jamieson, 1995) suggesting that abuse may happen more in conversation or directed at women on Twitter, when they *speak out*, rather than in the context of discussion of their performance. Furthermore, this may also be affected by certain triggers or other intersectional influences, such as those that speak with a more feminist agenda.

Physical appearance was the variable which had the highest proportion of mentions, though this was still low, particularly in regard to Twitter. Nonetheless the results of these were particularly interesting in the ways which these were constructed regarding both men and women. The hair and eyebrows of the politicians was often represented

in pejorative comments and applied to both male and female politicians, particularly in the Twitter discourse. Douglas Alexander in particular was linked to puppets and cartoons as a kind of synecdoche (Muir, 1986) as a way of scapegoating, but when this was operationalised in a similar way in regard to Ruth Davidson, the comments were masculinised and veered into homophobic abuse.

Discourses of appearance in regard to the Johann Lamont, Nicola Sturgeon, Alistair Darling and Alex Salmond showed that clothing was used as metonymic referential strategy to link to signs of identity (Campus, 2013), which was also seen in operation around both male and female political figures in these samples. In regard to the women, clothing choice was discussed in an individualised way and related back to their political competency. This appeared to show evidence of a double bind (Jamieson, 1995) which hyperbolically positioned them as feminised by being too “overdressed” and micro-managed, which was equated with a lack of political competency and that their debate was “not thought through”. Meanwhile, the clothing of the men was described in much more simplistic ways in subordinate clauses, though at times this was also depicted as a metonym for their political style more broadly, as a “middle-aged men in suits”. This was seen to apply to a more abstract displeasure with male-dominated politics as a whole.

Tensions therefore appear in regard to how women in politics should look and appear. As discussed, Lamont and the convenor are criticised for wearing the same clothes,¹²¹ a criticism absent on an individual level of the men in suits. Indeed, though there are counter-narratives which express a desire to move away from a more masculine “yah-boo” style, this acts on a more metaphorical level. The male suit, and indeed the middle-aged, white, male politician is constructed at points as being out of touch with a progressive electorate. Yet these emerging discourses of Darling and Salmond still

¹²¹ This has echoes with later coverage from the *Scottish Daily Mail* which criticises Sturgeon for favouring the same outfit, a red dress, on a number of occasions: “have you not got anything else to wear, Nicola? First Minister Sturgeon dons her favourite red suit twice in a week (and it's a very familiar outfit)” (Daily Mail Reporter, 2017)

reaffirm politics as a male space: it is the norm to *deviate from*. As the other discourses also show, there is also an expression of desire for a more feminised style of politics, yet this is constructed in a way which reifies more traditional gendered constructs in opposition to the masculinities performed by Darling and Salmond. This is seen to be problematic for both men and women who appear to transgress these gendered expectations, though as shown, this is doubly so for female politicians.

As a political outsider, Elaine C Smith is seen as a figure who can challenge the male dominance of politics, using her gender as a way to do this. She foregrounds her role as a mother and grandmother to establish herself as a viable alternative to the mainstream political style she alludes to. In doing so, she also positions herself as representative of a feminised political style. This can be seen as an extension of the discourses discussed in Chapter 6 which imply that women's role as representatives are positioned primarily as for the interests of women. Subsequently, this "differentialist" sensibility (Perry, 2005) regenders the political realm as masculine. Therefore, while this appears to challenge and contest male political dominance, it is simultaneously consolidated as such.

8. Conclusions

This thesis has sought to explore the mediated representations of gender in the context of the 2014 Scottish independence referendum. This has taken the form of an analysis of six media samples which focus on key political figures who were prominent during the campaign with a view to discussing emergent gendered discourses. Chapter 1 began with a discussion of the role different media play in providing a platform for the public sphere, while also exploring the way representation can be ideological and contribute to regimes of power. In doing so, this thesis argues that by analysing the extent to which the media contributes towards fulfilling its normative, public sphere function, it will show that it is democratically inclusive particularly in regard to gender. It ultimately concludes with the argument that, through exposing underlying hierarchical power dynamics in mediated discourse, gendered ideologies may be revealed.

Chapters 2 and 3 began with a critical discussion of the concepts of sex and gender and noted that while the destabilising of the concept of woman is theoretically convincing, retaining the organising category of women as a collective group is necessary in order to enact social change in regard to women's subordination. However, this stance should also be sensitive to the heterogeneity of women's experience. Theories in regard to the social constructiveness of gender have informed explanations of the exclusion of women from the public sphere, both in their under-representation in institutional politics and through their mediated representation. It argued that power relations and inequality are maintained through constructions of gender which are reified in the dichotomous framework of the public and private spheres. A key aim of this thesis, then, has been to contest the gendered assumptions around women and politics, which have historically been established in a problematic and fragmented relationship. To situate this in the Scottish context, samples were drawn from the campaign period of the Scottish independence referendum to explore the construction

of gender in regard to specific politicians, showing how discourses may be upheld or contested. This chapter will first summarise the main findings from Chapters 5 to 7 before moving to a general discussion of emerging themes. It will then discuss the limitations of the project, before concluding with recommendations for future practice and research.

8.1 Summary Findings

In order to begin the study, Chapter 5 sought to orientate the position of the politicians of the sample to give an impression of their presence in the media platforms included for analysis. Presence was described as a configuration of proportionate and symbolic representation which was operationalised through the measurement of visibility, prominence and speech. The findings showed a wide disparity between the number of mentions for Newsweek 2 and Debate 2 – featuring two men, Alistair Darling and Alex Salmond – compared to the other sample periods. Those which featured Darling and Salmond were found to have a significantly larger number of mentions than the other samples which predominantly featured women. It was argued that this was a confirmation of the overall shift of the personalisation of politics through an increased focus, or “presidentialisation” of these figures (Langer, 2011). However when speech and prominence were analysed, this showed more complex configurations which may include, but not be confined to, gender difference. This included influence by political rank, political affiliation and the timing of the samples. The results of prominence and speech variables, however, arguably point to more equitable levels of presence *within* the coverage, despite the disparity in numbers overall.

Chapter 6 revealed a number of patterns of “gendered mediation” (Gidengil and Everitt, 2003) throughout the samples. Titles were used only slightly more for male politicians than female politicians, though this was seen to vary across different figures and contexts. The use of given names showed a gender disparity which pointed to more

informal referential strategies used in regard to women, and those of a lower rank in particular. Meanwhile, though nicknames were used more in the newspaper for the women overall, this was down to the regular and pointed use of “Granny Smith” for Elaine C Smith; otherwise, these were primarily used in regard to the most prominent men (Darling and Salmond) and in Twitter, for Douglas Alexander. Though the findings point to practices which may trivialise both male and female politicians, these suggest more informal referential strategies used for women, which reaffirms their difference to their male counterparts and arguably undermines their political standing. The content analysis also revealed differences in tone of the samples. While the tone of coverage in the newspapers was centred on specific figures (Johann Lamont, Nicola Sturgeon, and Alex Salmond were specifically negative), the Twitter discussion was much more polarised along political lines, with a clear dominance of those in support of *Yes Scotland* shown through the targeting of positive and negative tweets.

An important result drawn from this analysis was that both the Newspapers and Twitter samples showed a preference for using explicitly gendered labels in regard to women as opposed to the men. This was also borne out in the critical discourse analysis which showed a number of gendered discourses used in the coverage. Significantly, this showed that when negative commentary was directed at women, it was much more likely to be highly gendered, with allusions to “fishwives”, “catfights” and “harpies”. Through evaluative performance in Debate 1, Johann Lamont and Nicola Sturgeon were framed in a number of ways which suggested an idealised feminine behaviour as being conciliatory, seemly and softer compared to the aggression of male politics. This, however, reified the dichotomous construction of gender, which also aligned them in opposition to the masculine associations of the public sphere, such as its conceptualisation of being “yah-boo” and combative in style. Furthermore, the women also had the additional implication of being representative of “all women”. The poor performance of Johann Lamont and Nicola Sturgeon was judged in terms of appropriateness to their gender and found wanting. This was used as a way to delegitimise their democratic participation. Though there was evidence of contestation to the perceived masculine style of politics amid discourses of feminist empowerment

(Shearer, 2014, Mar 03; Rowat, 2014, Feb 28), these were constructed in a postfeminist sensibility which still reified gendered difference as essentialised characteristics, establishing women in opposition to a masculine political norm.

Chapter 7 attempted to map the ways personal characteristics are evident in the representations of the politicians. It showed that these were very limited in the samples though arguably the patterns of occurrence were still seen to be telling. Firstly, the results hinted at an increased focus on the personal characteristics of male leaders, in accord with the findings of Langer (2010; 2011). The personal details of the women, on the other hand, were instead called upon by women themselves as a way of representing their political persona, as was the case of Elaine C Smith and Johann Lamont. Similar to the findings of Chapter 6, though there were very little quantitative differences, abusive and negative commentary on Twitter appeared to be gendered in its form, with terms used in regard to women (“bitch” “cow”). There was also evidence of the term “bitch” used to emasculate men.

Physical appearance was the variable which had the highest proportion of mentions, though this was of a similar proportion for men and women overall. However, the critical discourse analysis revealed differences in the how these discourses operated in the texts for those of different genders. In regard to the female politicians in Newsweek 1, clothing choice was discussed in an individualised way and was related to their political competency. This appeared to show evidence of a double bind (Jamieson, 1995) which hyperbolically positioned them as too “overdressed” and micro-managed, which was equated with over-compensating for lack of political competency. In contrast, the clothing of the men was referenced in shorter, subordinate clauses, though was also depicted as “sartorial metonym” (Walsh, 2015) as well as for their political style more broadly, as “middle-aged men in suits”. Similar to Chapter 6, there was evidence of discourses which appeared to contest male-gendered norm of politics. This was done through a criticism of this dominance of men, as well as a recognition from Elaine C Smith of the need to represent a difference to the “yah-boo” style of

politics displayed by men. However, again, these served to reaffirm the dominant political norm as masculine.

In terms of the methods of this study, the results reaffirm the use of a mixed methods approach, with both the content analysis and critical discourse analysis delivering patterns and insights which would not have been discernible if used in isolation. Firstly, the content analysis has shown broad trends in regard to the variables included in this study, showing a dominance of some variable (such as explicit use of gender labels) over others (such as the absence of spouses or partners). However, had these results been presented without further analysis, the nuanced picture of how gendered mediation may occur would not have been revealed as evidenced in later sections. This thesis therefore illustrates how content analysis may be used as an anchor to guide future critical analyses. In turn, these benefit from a streamlined point of departure but show how deviations from coded categories may also result in latent discursive strands. This thesis has therefore allowed for a contribution of knowledge that shows the complex way gender may discursively operate in the context of broader manifest trends.

8.2 Emerging Themes

This thesis has revealed a number of discourses which overlapped and co-occurred in the representations of the political figures included in this analysis. Some of these appear in accord with the findings of similar research in this area, which has found links between female politicians and discourses of domesticity (Harmer, 2012) and male politicians with more game-like, combative discourses (O'Neill, Savigny and Cann, 2016). There were also a number of themes which emerged in the discourse that were similar to those found in previous research and suggestive of more embedded gendered patterns, such as the "all women" frame (Childs, 2008). A number of these

discourses exposed tensions between attitudes concerning women and politics. Furthermore, many of these discourses established a seeming opposition between men and women. These themes will now be discussed in more focus, bringing together the strands of the study, firstly discussing the role of personalisation in the discourse. This is followed by a discussion of the way gender norms are rehearsed, before moving on to explore one of the main tensions moving throughout the discourse in regard to “differentialisation” (Perry, 2005).

8.3 Personalisation

Chapter 5 showed there was an overall dominance of men in both the newspaper and Twitter corpora. As discussed, this study does not involve the election of specific heads of government or leaders (even if implied, in the case of the leader of an independent Scotland). Therefore, even though both the *Yes Scotland* and *Better Together* campaigns had cross-party membership, the dominance of certain figures further implies a form of presidentialisation of politics (Langer, 2011) mentioned in previous sections. The results from Chapter 7 also showed a focus on the personal characteristics of the male leaders consistent with a broader personalisation of politics (ibid).

Therefore, while the relative absence of findings of personal characteristics in regard to the female politicians was unexpected, and contradicts some of the findings in Chapter 3, this is in part explained by the increased focus on the specific male figures. One further interpretation of this is that the presence of women in Scottish politics is being perceived as more routine, with their personal characteristics a lesser concern. While this may at first appear encouraging, the gendered discourses analysed in this study suggest a trajectory that hints towards more gendered coverage when women are more in focus. This is informed by the personalised mentions which did occur: a noteworthy proportion of items made reference to physical appearance or the personal style of the politicians. As was seen, these were represented in different ways in regard

to male and female figures, exposing a tension between competing expectations of women's gender and political performance which was also borne out in the other discourses in Chapter 6. This presented them as outsiders in the political sphere and reified their connection with the domestic realm as well as questioning their political competency and authority.

This suggests that, had the women in the samples been in greater focus, there may also have been further representations of their personal qualities in the media discourse. And as the results of the other variables show, this may have taken on a further gendered focus. The highly gendered nature of the discussion focused on Lamont and Sturgeon in Debate 1 also suggests the form negative comments may take, particularly when gender is constructed in the context of an all women debate. Again, this may be something which we see further intensified as women take on more senior political roles. This is certainly suggested with anecdotal observations of the newspaper coverage of Nicola Sturgeon in her role as First Minister, which has included her head super-imposed on a wrecking ball as bikini-clad representation of US pop star Miley Cyrus (Schofield, 2015a) as well as further criticism of her clothing choices (Daily Mail Reporter, 2017). In this case, it is important to point to the distinctions between the Scottish media and the wider-UK media; however, even in Scottish editions of the *Sun*, Sturgeon has been similarly gendered, though in contrastingly positive ways as Star Wars heroine Princess Leia (Higgins and McKay, 2016). This in turn points to the need for ongoing analysis in different public spheres as well as forms of leadership configurations. Given the election of Nicola Sturgeon as First Minister and Theresa May as Prime Minister, as well as the evolving patterns of female leadership in the Scottish context, this is a particularly salient path of inquiry.

This also confirms the approach of analysing quantitative and qualitative data together; particularly bringing together individual figure case study analysis in the context of wider patterns of overall representation. Research shows that individual female figures may attract more coverage through appealing to news values of unexpectedness and

because of their novelty (Wasburn and Wasburn, 2011; Meeks, 2012; Freidenvall and Sawyer, 2013). As Luennenborg *et al.* (2011) show, leaders such as Angela Merkel can eclipse other female politicians, who are otherwise structurally marginalised. Female leaders can therefore give an *impression* of parity of both institutional and mediated representation when the overall figures reveal otherwise. This in turn may be counter-productive in mobilising action in regard to equal representation. Indications from the findings in this study, therefore, suggest unique pitfalls for female politicians in the context of the trend of the personalisation of politics, similar to suggestions from van Zoonen (2006). Should they become more prominent, we may expect their personal qualities to be represented in different ways, while lower ranking counterparts may still be marginalised. This also bolsters the argument for analysing the quality of the media representation of female politicians. As Perry (2005) suggests, since women are a minority in politics, qualitative differences can also have a quantitative impact, and potentially contribute to their ongoing trivialisation, as this next section will now discuss.

8.4 Transgressing and Trading in Norms

This section now looks to the ways gender norms have been articulated in the media discourse analysed in this study. As Fairclough (1992) argues, the normalisation of the discourses, including those relating to gender, leads them to be embedded in our cultural lives as “norms”. And behaviour which appears to transgress these norms is seen as abnormal or deviant. Gendered constructs and stereotypes, therefore, are consolidated and “traded” in discourse and can also be seen to reproduce the concept of “women as a ‘group’” (Fowler, 1991 p. 103). As Chapters 6 and 7 have shown, Johann Lamont and Nicola Sturgeon were seen to transgress a number of gender norms attached to women. At points they were criticised for displaying behaviour counter to the expectation of a feminised, consensual and softer style of politics, which was also generalised to more “decorous” behaviour for women overall. This echoes what Lovenduski (2005 pp. 2-3) identifies as the particular difficulties female politicians face,

where on the one hand, they are “criticised for their failure to transform centuries-old male-designed traditions of politics” yet on the other, “expected to represent a particular model of womanhood”.

At points, there was a blurring between the expectations of the behaviour in the private lives of female politicians and associated gendered expectations with that of their political performance. This suggests similarities with van Zoonen (2006 p. 299) who argues that the convergence of personal and political life into a hybrid political persona tends to favour men more than women because of the “inbuilt and extreme polarization of femininity and politics”. For example, in the discourse, Johann Lamont and Nicola Sturgeon are expected to have a familiar and friendly relationship, both as politicians and in their private interactions. The blurring of the public and private realms in this instance shows how this is doubly problematic for women: when they did not display this behaviour they were represented to appear lacking professionally.

As seen, this was more apparent when the women were constructed in opposition to one another. In this case, criticism fell back onto particularly gendered constructions which aligned them with the private, domestic realm. This was evidenced in two strands: firstly through discourses of domesticity and Scottish dialect, such as the “stairheid” and “wifie”, which also revealed a tension in regard to class, with these discourses evocative of a working-class style which was used in pejorative tone. And secondly, more seemingly progressive discourses with intertextual allusions to feminine empowerment revealed further tensions when situated in terms of a postfeminist sensibility. Though presented in different styles, these discourses both served to reproduce a universalised understanding of “women as a ‘group’” (Fowler, 1991) through the establishment of expectations of behaviour. This was done in a way which simultaneously depoliticised and undermined them, reinforcing their subordinate role in the public sphere. The differences between these discourses shows the complex, hegemonic ways patriarchal ideologies may be dispersed.

Gendered norms were further emphasised when the women in later samples were praised for displaying behaviour in more accord with traditional expectations. The shifting and relational nature of these constructions was also shown when Sturgeon was seen in comparison to Salmond, where she was depicted in a subordinate role in discourses of personal relationships. What this ultimately suggests is that while female politicians may be constructed to “do” various kinds of femininities, these are still confined within a specific framework, hinting to their dichotomous nature. Though there is evidence of narratives which suggest a desire for a more feminised public sphere – the term “yah-boo” politics used in particular as evocative of a masculine style (Drumlanrig, 2014, Mar 03) – the automatic assumption that all women should display a feminised political style establishes them at odds with the dominant male narrative.

As the study also shows, a number of women make an attempt to draw on their personal characteristics for the purposes of their coverage and building their political persona. Johann Lamont’s story about her weight loss, which was suggestive of a personal interview or press release, involves commentary and discussion about the actions and processes she undertook in her personal life to achieve her slimmer physique, as well as references to her children. Elaine C Smith also frequently alluded to her personal identification as a mother and a grandmother in her political branding as a way to suggest the appeal of a more transformative and authentic political representative. As discussed in Chapter 3, accentuating gender norms for greater political advancement can be seen as a way for women to negotiate their position in the public sphere. Though this may be framed positively as contributing to the advancement of women’s representation through an increase in visibility, this presents its own challenges through the reification of these norms (Cameron, 1992; Walsh, 2001). This is also disadvantageous to women as it establishes a double bind in terms of their inclusion (Jamieson, 1995), with women who transgress against these expectations regendered, depoliticised and undermined. This thesis shows the hegemonic nature of these gendered discourses, then, showing how patriarchal ideology sustains women as outsiders and problematises their political participation.

Other circumstances outwith this study also show this can also backfire in different contexts. The example raised earlier in regard to Angela Leadsom in 2016, shows how her own emphasis on her role as a mother – which she argued would make her a better leader – backfired against her (Coates and Sylvester, 2016). This displays quite a different reception to the similar narrative from Elaine C Smith. In another example, when Nicola Sturgeon released details of a miscarriage in a biographical profile in 2016, her revelation was hailed as an intimate and authentic view of her private life, done to “challenge assumptions about childless women leaders” (Johnson, 2016). A *Sunday Times* description of the revelation as a “tantalising secret about her private life” alongside a sidebar of all female, childless politicians (*Sunday Times*, 2016) was met with backlash of accusations of sexism, showing how more problematically gendered discourses are sometimes challenged, while some are upheld. These examples, seen alongside the results of this thesis, show the shifting and slippery constructions of masculinities and femininities women need to trade in to negotiate the increasing personalisation of politics alongside gendered historical constructions.

8.5 Sameness/Difference

The term “double bind” is used frequently throughout this thesis, which has shown to be an enduring conceit in the representation of female politicians, going well beyond its earlier conceptualisations (Jamieson, 1995). An underlying tension which appears throughout the study relates to that of sameness/difference or “equality/difference” discussed in detail in Chapter 3 and echoes encompassing feminist concerns about whether women and men should be evaluated by the same criteria. This in turn relates back to arguments around universalised behaviours: to be “different” assumes there are essential categories of women and men; to be classified the same obfuscates differences from lived experiences. This exposes some of the difficulties around the mediation of women, including potential pitfalls for both media practitioners and female politicians themselves, if they strategically use an “egalitarian” discourse or “differentialist” approach as a way of legitimising their role in politics (Perry, 2005).

This is evident in a number of the discursive strands which emerged in the critical discourse analysis. Firstly, expectations of feminised political performance were seen to be generalised to an “all women” discourse, as discussed, and appeared to privilege specific forms of femininities, such as conciliatory and seemly behaviour. As has been shown, the application of the “all woman” discursive frame places a requirement on women to display these behaviours, otherwise they are represented as letting down “all women”. These discourses are dangerous in that they universalise women’s behaviour in politics in a way which still confirms their outsider status, exposing the precarious nature of women’s position. This can be seen in discourses relating to Margaret Thatcher, for example, who was said to have “set feminism back by setting such a bad example of a woman in power” (The Women’s Blog, 2012). The “all woman” discourse reifies essentialised gender characteristics of women by extension establishing them in opposition to the essentialised group of “men”, placing them in a differentialist discourse, as above. This further stratifies their professional credentials, aligning them with feminised qualities which may be placed in a subordinate role to the professional qualities expressed by male politicians (Perry, 2005).

Essentialised characteristics of women, with specific feminised requirements, have implications for different groups of women who are further marginalised, such as BME, LGBTQ or women with disabilities, whose own qualities may not be reflected in these dominant and mainly white hegemonic expectations. As the findings hint at, women who identity as queer may be doubly disadvantaged when rehearsed feminine discourses become more embedded as they are played out.

This also has implications in regard to attitudes to institutional representation, which is implied in the texts. The discourses above presume women are primarily elected as representatives in a substantive way: as *acting for* women, through their own identification as women. While this has been established in Chapter 2 as an important facet of political representation, as Harmer (2012) suggests, if this is seen as the primary mode of representation, then it signals that by extension, women do not act in

the main interests of men. This further differentiates them from their male political counterparts. Moreover, this also presumes that all women should and do stand for other women, and presumes a feminist agenda of all women when there are some who may not typify this (Childs, 2008).

Nonetheless, there is also merit in recognising women as a distinct group in order to further promote the role of women in politics. The collocative description of Sturgeon and Lamont as “leading ladies” and “most senior female politicians”, as discussed, is problematic in that it establishes a gender hierarchy. Yet is this still arguably works on a positive level through the promotion and visibility of their roles, albeit in gendered terms and potentially limiting as to how they are cast as political figures. As Falk (2010 p. 95) suggests, the discourses “simultaneously expand and reinforce the basic premise that men and women are different” though also “publici[se] the ability of women to operate (competently) in traditionally male spheres”. The articles in the samples which make reference to both Lamont and Sturgeon as being put forward for the accolade of “Outstanding Women of Scotland” (*Herald*, 2014, Feb 25; Ferguson, 2015, Feb 24) can be seen as a positive symbolic celebration of women in politics. So in the same vein, are ambiguous and point to the tension and blurring of boundaries in regard to how these modes of representation may become intertwined in their positive and negative message. To recall Bryson (2003 p. 247), who was referenced in Chapter 2, this illustrates the “precarious tightrope” of this terrain, “as political practicalities run up against awareness of instabilities, complexities and differences”.

8.6 Towards a Feminised Scottish Public sphere?

The results of this study showed differences in the discourses arising in the forms of media analysed. As identified in previous chapters, the critical discourse analysis revealed that the gendered discourses were predominantly found in opinion and editorial articles emerging from the samples. These serve a particular function in the

public sphere as evaluative articles are provided for the deliberation of an engaged public (Higgins, 2006). Chapter 1 discussed the important role the media play in regard to the formation of a public sphere, whereby democratic inclusion can be gauged by how well groups are represented. This is also connected to constitutive representations of collectivised identity, with the public sphere a “space of emergence” (Fairclough, 2010 p. 399). This shows that the Scottish press, as a form of the Scottish public sphere, still expresses problematic discourses in regard to gender identity and political identity. In part it is still suggestive of the “separate spheres” framework of gendering (Macdonald, 1995) which establishes women as more aligned with the private sphere and men more aligned with the public realm. Therefore, while the examples drawn from samples were small in number, they are more significant through their form. The subjective nature of these articles can be seen to express public attitudes, which are also confirmed at points in the Twitter discourse. As shown, these problematise women’s role in the public sphere through discourses which depoliticise them and situate them as outsiders. This in turn reinforces patriarchal power relations which place women in a subordinate position to men.

As Fairclough (1992) suggests though, tensions exposed in the texts can be seen as sites of struggle where discourses may be contested. This was seen in a number of discourses which attempted to challenge political male dominance. This, however, was shown in such a way as to express a desire for women to feminise the political space – which reifies essentialised gendered constructions – rather than through a transformation of the gendered associations of men and women. And, as illustrated, these also co-occur with more traditional gendered discourses exposing the resilience of associated constructions of femininity identified throughout this thesis. Nonetheless, while many of these depictions may be discouragingly problematic, such as women being represented as “yawling foxes” and “mad harpies” as discussed in Chapter 6, the presence of some form of contestation should be seen as a positive example of a desire for change toward a more feminised Scottish public sphere, even if this does present problems in regard to the further gendering of men and women.

8.7 Limitations

This thesis has produced a comprehensive account of gendered representations of political figures in the context of the 2014 referendum on Scottish independence. As detailed in Chapter 4 a mixed methods approach was taken to ameliorate limitations of the approaches of both content analysis and critical discourse analysis. Nonetheless, there are limitations which should be acknowledged. Firstly, in regard to the results of the overall presence of the politicians, the parameters set mean that they do not act as a visibility study overall, like the Global Media Monitoring Project (Macharia, 2015), such that it does not give an impression of the visibility of other female and male political figures outwith the samples. However, had this been the aim of the study, the design would have had to be very different. As expressed, the aim of this research was to look at gendered constructions, which has been significantly informed by the qualitative analysis. A full visibility study would not be able to sufficiently capture the overlapping discourses seen throughout the samples to show broader patterns of gendered mediation. Furthermore, the samples drawn were chosen in order to give the best targeted data when we would expect to see figures be prominent in as equitable a situation as possible, without being selective of specific events which may have given a skewed impression of coverage (such as targeted conversations about Sturgeon and Salmond's parental status when this was triggered by specific campaign events).

It should also be noted, however, that as the newspaper samples drew from a full newsweek of data of these politicians, there were also articles included in these samples outwith the context of the debate. This was designed to give the broadest representation of public sphere discourse which included the specific figures. This, arguably, could be seen as a deviation from the parameters of the Twitter sample, which were only in reference to the televised debate. However, due to the communicative style of Twitter, discourse is organised around hashtags and conversations, therefore parameters needed to be set which offered the most equitable circumstance as possible. Had this been done around conversations of

specific figures, such as through their Twitter handle, these may not have been reflective of public sphere discourse. The debates offered a targeted area of discussion which is why these were chosen to drive the Twitter samples (Coleman and Moss, 2016). This offered the best opportunity for comparison of two very disparate forms of media in the given circumstances and in a way that could produce results that can be tied in with gender-relevant media events.

A third limitation which should be noted is that the tweets were not collected in real-time and this was done so at a later date. There is a possibility, therefore, that a number of inflammatory tweets could have been deleted which means that the results of the Twitter variables may be underrepresented. However, as this thesis is primarily concerned with the more general and widely-used gendered discourses which occur around politicians in the Scottish public sphere, it is more important to identify those which are embedded and sustained as present in “normal” discourse, contrasting to tweets which may have been deleted after users have self-identified them as being problematic. These forms of tweets are of course of equal importance, but this further assures the legitimacy of these results, which can be used to draw useful comparison in light of these parameters.

8.8 Recommendations for Future Research and Practice

As has already been raised in the preceding section, there have been a number of changes in the roles of the women (and men) in this study. This includes: Nicola Sturgeon’s election to First Minister; Johann Lamont’s resignation; Kezia Dugdale’s election to Scottish Labour leader (and resignation) and confirmation of LGBTQ status while in her leadership position; as well as Ruth Davidson’s growing UK-wide popularity. These shifts all position this project as the basis of further longitudinal study or case study comparison which can further contribute to analyses in the ongoing deployment of (re)negotiable gendered discourses. This is also particularly important in regard to

other facets of identity, such as queerness, which is only hinted at in this study. The findings in regard to the newspaper sample also suggest particular focus should be given to evaluative coverage, such as opinion articles and editorials/leaders as indicators of the discursive constructions of gender as representative of public attitudes.

The stance taken in this thesis is pragmatic in regard to the construction of women as group for political purposes, which means that it is still productive to acknowledge there are differences between men and women and reflect positively on how these may contribute to the political realm. Nonetheless, as raised earlier, this should be done with care, looking to issues arising from how this is articulated in the media and public discourse. As has been shown, generalising women in a productive way, such as awards for “outstanding women of Scotland” is beneficial to foster discourses of inclusion within the public sphere to further promote equal participation. However, practitioners should monitor generalisations of women’s political performance – in the “all woman” frame in particular – which places a further burden on the individual performance of women which is not done so in the same way for men. This study also emphasises the need for practitioners to be aware of the role of women in political representation. As addressed, while the election of women is important in regard to the substantive representation of other women, it does not mean that is their sole responsibility. This may ultimately alienate and deter voting behavior in men. Furthermore, the same can be said for further marginalised groups, which may be positioned as only being representative because of one defining individual quality, such as a queer or specific ethnic identity.

Continuing with the tensions between the choices of “egalitarian” versus “differentialist” approaches to female politicians, as raised by Perry (2005), the alternative to the above issue suggests that treating men and women the same in mediated discourse, suggests fairness. Yet, similar to Kenny’s (2015) quota argument discussed in Chapter 2, the position of men and women should not be considered as a

“level-playing field”. This thesis has shown that in some ways, male politicians are subjected to the same discourses, such as a focus on appearance, hair and their bodies, as female politicians. Yet, as is also shown, these are expressed in very different ways amid very different, overlapping discourses. Practitioners should therefore be mindful of how different discourses may be problematic in different contexts. Certainly, the way women are represented now should also be in regard to past evidences and practices which have marginalised and trivialised women. Language and representation should be considered in the context of historical and cultural associations. For example, discourses of male politicians “shouting” have very different connotations to those discourses around women “shouting” particularly alongside other gendered discourses. As this study has shown, the associations of feminised shouting are with the domestic realm, and the depoliticised temper of the “fishwife”, which is more likely to be portrayed as a lack of decorum. This contrasts to the assertive, passionate and committed shouting associated with political male display.

This is not to say that women should not be described as shouting, if they should do so, but practitioners should be mindful of the contexts in which they occur. Therefore, in defense of its later construction of Nicola Sturgeon on the wrecking ball (Schofield, 2015a) the *Sun*'s response was that it included the same coverage of men, with a similar mock of David Cameron (“We treat you ball the same Nicola!” (Schofield, 2015b)). However, in considering the historical, theoretical and current political context, both of the *Sun* (which has overtly sexualised women) and women's ongoing sexualisation more generally, it is evident the image of Sturgeon is more problematic than that of Cameron. Furthermore, to recall Perry (2005), the limited number of women in the public sphere has further implications in terms of signals of respect and inclusion.

There are no straightforward answers in regard to this position, until, indeed, parity has been reached and women's mediated representation does not present the issues raised in this thesis. However, as Lovenduski (2005 p. 5) asserts, “understanding the processes

of increasing women's representation requires us to keep both equity and difference perspectives in play". Media practitioners should be mindful of the arguments around simple equivalence, when mitigating factors could express more problematic discourses for women. Similarly, this should also be done while being sensitive to the ways women are also represented as different, avoiding wide generalisations which obfuscate differing groups of women.

In this thesis, there has been shown a number of discourses which have been problematic for both men and women, as well as those that point towards more positive trajectories. Nonetheless, these discourses when used to represent women can be seen as doubly problematic through the reification of their outsider status to the public sphere. This research has highlighted the need for ongoing analysis in both quantitative and qualitative methods in a mixed methods approach, which should be used together to form a holistic picture of women's mediated and political representation. As this thesis demonstrates, gender remains an important feature in the mediated construction of political identities, both for men and women. Women's representation can be considered a matter of democratic fairness and equality, and based on the evaluation of their constructions in the Scottish public sphere, this has not yet been achieved. Better representations of the diversity of women's experience, therefore, are needed to help progress women's wider democratic inclusion.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Media representations of politicians in the Scottish public sphere – Codebook (newspaper)

The Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis is the newspaper article. The coder will read through each article and then record the required data for each category in the code sheet. The headline of the article is included as part of the article. Coders will either be asked to enter specific textual or numerical data, like the headline or the date. Otherwise, when asked to code a specific category (e.g. 1, 2, 3) enter the corresponding number into the category's box on the coding sheet.

1. Article number

Enter the article number. Each article has a unique number allocated to it handwritten in the top right of the article.

2. Coder

Enter the number of the person who is coding the text

1. Coder 1
2. Coder 2

3. Title of the article

Write the full title of the article as it appears on the LexisNexis print out given. If there is no headline, write 'no headline'.

4. Title of newspaper

Enter the corresponding number of the title of the newspaper as shown in the list below. There should only be these ten included in the sample.

1. *The Herald*,
2. *The Scotsman*
3. *The Press and Journal (Aberdeen)*
4. *Daily Record*
5. *Scottish Sun*¹²²
6. *Scottish Daily Mail*
7. *The Times (Scotland)*
8. *Sunday Herald*
9. *Scotland on Sunday*

¹²² The *Scottish Sun on Sunday* was later recoded, as this was initially downloaded alongside the *Scottish Sun*

5. Date

Written as dd/mm/yyyy

6. Page number

Write the page number as given. If the page number is split across two pages (e.g. 1, 4) put as it appears.

7. Word count

Write the word count of the article as indicated by Nexis. If there is no word count given, write 'not known'.

8. Type of article

There are six categories of article: **1) News article** – this is defined as the reporting events or issues with some sort of immediacy, prominence, and 'newsworthiness', offering up a set of facts and often direct reporting of events. For example, statements of policy by politicians, reactions to political events, results of opinion polls, events on the campaign trail etc. The main emphasis is the reporting of a 'set of facts', which is often in the 'inverted pyramid' style. **2) Feature article** -- is usually a more lengthy article of a softer focus, which explores news stories more in depth and has more background info (it may be triggered by a story in the news but not necessarily as time-sensitive as a news article), or an interview with a key political actor. The style may flow more than a news story and have a drop intro – an intro of a softer focus that 'drops' into the subject). Often feature articles are seen as accompanying stories to harder news items. Though the reporter may be present in the article, as interviewer etc. it differs from opinion comment articles, where the writer's opinion is the most salient issue expressed. **3) Opinion/comment** – these are articles which allow for the personality and views of the reporter to be exposed in the writing and is to the fore – it may be used to inform (as an opinion as an 'expert' etc.) or as a figure with a particularly entertaining or controversial viewpoint. These are often written in the first person. **4) Editorial/leader** – this is an article which expresses the viewpoint of the publication itself, often in the style of first person plural ('we think...') and established the editorial line. This may sometimes also have a byline, for example: *Herald View*, or *Record View*. **5) Letters to the editor**, these are letters written in to the publication, which usually will be attributed to a reader. Also include texts and tweets which may be published by a publication. **6) Other**: this is for any other article which may not fit these categories or you are unsure of.

1. News article
2. Feature
3. Opinion/comment
4. Editorial/leader
5. Letters to the editor
6. Other

N.b. The Nexis article may give a 'type' or section of the newspaper the article is placed. Do not code according to this, - this may be used for guidance to help distinguish between an opinion and feature for example, but the coder should rely on the criteria in the codebook to code accordingly.

9. Tone¹²³

This refers to the overall tone of the article, whether it is positive, negative, neutral or mixed in tone. For example, code the tone as overall positive if it is explicitly approving of something (such as a politician's role, appointment, a new policy). A good way to check if there are what are considered generally positive adjectives occurring throughout such as great, formidable, wonderful, brilliant, smart, etc. Alternatively, code as negative if the tone is disapproving or critical overall, for example, a politician behaved poorly, has a negative impact on the community, is not performing well etc. Code as mixed if there are both positive and negative evaluations in the article. Code as neutral/don't know if the tone is neutral overall or if you don't know.

1. Positive tone
2. Neutral/don't know
3. Negative tone
4. Mixed tone

N.b. you may find that articles which allow for a more 'evaluative' stance, such as opinion articles and leader/editorial articles may be more explicit in communicating positive, mixed or negative tone. However this does not mean 'informative' articles may not also present a different tone to the article.

[This category may be easier to code once you have read through and coded for the politicians as below].

10. Reporter(s) names

Enter the full name as appears on Nexis, including if it is a newspaper byline, such as 'Record View'. Where the name is not given, or it is 'no byline', put 'no byline'. If there are two or more bylines given, list both names in the order they appear.

11. Gender of reporter(s)

Write the gender of reporter if you are able to make an inference about this through the name. If the name does not allow this to be determined, code as 'not known'. If there is no byline or a newspaper byline, also code this as 'not known'. If there is more than one reporter, put male if both are male, female if both are female (as identified using steps above). If they are both male and female, code as mixed, or not known if you are not able to determine this.

0. Not known
1. Male
2. Female

¹²³ This was later adapted so it referred to the tone of the politician to make the distinction if there were two politicians in the same article which were regarded as being represented in a different tone.

3. Both

12. Mention of politicians

Read through the article, checking which politicians are mentioned throughout. Coders should include any politicians mentioned in the analysis including UK and Scottish politicians, Ministers, councillors, but do not include unnamed political spokesmen/women. If you are unsure if figures are politicians or not, check if they are described by their role, such as minister, MP, MSP, councillor etc. Once you have done this, go back to the start and record the name of the first politician encountered. Then code the politician according to the following subcategories as they appear in the article, entering a value into each of the boxes on the coding sheet. You should code the first three politicians mentioned in the article.

12a. Gender of politician

Code the gender of the politician being referred to in the article. If you are not aware of the politician's gender, make an inference about this through the name. If the name does not allow this to be determined, code as 'don't know'.

0. Don't know
1. Male
2. Female

12b. Voice of politician

Code the politician for only one of the categories as how his/her voice appears in the article **0) No voice** – the politician is referred to in the article, but his/her speech or thoughts etc. are not reported or paraphrased in the article in any way **1) Direct speech**, code for this if the politician is at any point directly quoted in the article i.e. their words are enclosed in speech marks e.g. 'Ms Smith said: "I support this view"' etc. **2) Indirect/reported speech** – only code for this if the politician's speech is reported but not directly quoted i.e. 'Jane Smith said that she supported the view...' etc. Also code if the politician's opinion or thoughts are embedded, e.g. 'Jane Smith thinks that the policy is good'. The main point is that the politician is given agency through thoughts/speech in the story, but not directly quoted, following on from the OED's definition of indirect speech: "Put in a reported form, not in the speaker's own words, but with the changes of pronouns, persons, tenses, etc. which conform it to the point of view of the reporter".

0. No voice
1. Direct speech
2. Indirect/reported speech

12d. Prominence of politician

Politicians are coded according to their prominence in the article, as one of three options, main actor, key actor, minor actor. The number of paragraphs may be a useful guide when choosing to code between the different types. **Main actor** – whether politician is a main figure in the story. Code if the politician is the only figure mentioned in the article or is the

single central subject of a story. For example, if the article pivots around the comments made by a politician, if it is an interview with the politician or the politician is the main focus of a commentary piece. For guidance, the figure will usually be mentioned in the top line of the story, in the first (or sometimes second) paragraph and/or the headline. *Only code up to two main actors.* **Key actor** – this is for an actor who plays a key role but is not the central figure in the story. For example, a politician giving a response or reaction comments to the subject of the article (if involving another politician). *N.b. if there are only two figure in a story and it looks as if they are given equal weight – for example if there is a fight between two, or they have been involved in a debate etc. code both as main actors. However, if it appears that one is given significantly more room in the article than the other, code one as a main actor, and the other as key actor.* **Minor actor** – this is if the figure is positioned as relatively insignificant to the article/story i.e. if they are not called upon to comment, or are instrumental in the story in anyway (for example a passing comment about the politician being present at a rally etc.).

1. Main actor
2. Key actor
3. Minor actor

12e. Reference to physical appearance

This relates to whether the politicians' physical appearance is described in the article. This includes the way they look, their clothes, makeup, stature, build etc. E.g.: 'Ms Smith showcased her edgy style in some patterned, red jackets' 'Ms Smith's red jacket is the epitome of bad taste,' 'Ms Smith wore a red jacket to Holyrood today' etc.

0. No reference
1. Reference

12f. What kind of reference to physical appearance

What aspect of physical appearance is described? Write a few words as to what is described (face, clothes, weight, height etc.)

12g. Reference to age

Code when a politician's age is referred to in the article. This may include reference to their age as a number, but also whether they are described as being 'old', 'young' etc. in any way. E.g.: 'Mr Smith looked young and energetic,' 'Perhaps Mr Smith is too young to take on a leadership position' or the 'Mr Smith, aged 29, debated the matter...'.

0. No reference
1. Reference

12h. What kind of reference to age?

What aspect of age is described? Write a few words as to what is described, whether it is young old, numerical etc.

12i. Reference to given name/nickname

Code if the politician is referred at any point by his/her given name only or a nickname. Code **1) Reference to given name** if he/she is referred to by his/her first name only but not as a nickname e.g. 'Jane delivered a speech' (do not code for this if he/she is referred to by their full name including their first name). Code as **2) if there is a reference to a nickname** e.g. 'Jaunty Jane's back in the swing' Nicknames include a rhyme, contractions (so, Al, Kez, Nic, Jo etc), diminutions such as Ruthie or Paddy, affixes (adding something to the end of a name), as well as attributes being used as a name, such as "slim" or "red" and so on.

0. No reference
1. Reference to given name
2. Reference to nickname

12j. What kind of reference to first name/nickname?

Write down the name used, whether it is first name or nickname.

12k. Reference to children

Code if the article references the politician's children, that she/he has children or not etc. Code if the reference is approving, supporting etc., e.g.: 'Mr Smith is a great father' 'How can Mr Smith understand without having his own family?' 'Mr Smith has three children'.

0. No reference
1. Reference

12l. Reference to sexuality/sexual orientation

Code if the article references the politicians' sexuality in any way i.e. refers to them as being gay, straight, a lesbian etc. E.g.: 'Ms Smith is a great role model for the LGBTQ community', 'Ms Smith should not be a mother if she is gay' 'Ms Smith, who is gay, said...'.

0. No reference
1. Reference

12m. Reference to sex/sexual language

Code if the article uses sexual language or reference to sex in regard to the politician, if they are referred to in a sexual way, or talks about their sex life etc. This includes whether there is a reference to female genitalia, male genitalia, and the act of sexual intercourse, as well as references to secondary sexual features such as intimate body hair and breasts. E.g. 'Who wouldn't want to get in bed with him?', 'Mr Smith's a terrible shag' 'Mr Smith said he had slept with six women'.

0. No reference
1. Reference

12n. Reference to marital/relationship status

Code if the article references the politician's spouse, partner, as being married, as being in a relationship, being unmarried, not having a partner etc. E.g.: 'Ms Smith and her husband have been happily married for 12 years.' 'Can Ms Smith know what it means to cut this tax if she is unmarried?' Ms Smith has been married for three years).

- 0. No reference
- 1. Reference

12o. Explicit reference to gender

The aim of this category is to only code for gender being referred to in an explicit way. So code if there is an explicit reference to the politician's gender as a subject point or if gender is the main focus in regard to the politician. For example; 'Jane Smith, becomes the first female politician in the role.' Code if gender is used as a label, such as a specific adjective or descriptor of a politician e.g. 'the female politician', 'the male speaker', 'the first female...' or if he/she is described with specific gendered nouns 'the husband of, the wife of, mother, sister etc. '. E.g. 'it is great progress she is the first woman to...' 'a man in this role couldn't understand this job.' 'it was the speech of a man who...'

- 0. No reference
- 1. Reference

12p. What is the explicit reference to gender?

Describe what the explicit reference to gender in a few words.

13. Mention of politician x2

Go back and do the same coding for the next politician you come across in the article, recording all the categories in the boxed numbered 13 on the code sheet.

14. Mention of politician x3

Go back and do the same coding for the next politician you come across in the article, recording all the categories in the boxed numbered 14 on the code sheet.

There is space at the bottom of the sheet to make any notes if there is anything extra or important you think should be noted (whether there are more politicians mentioned in the article which could be considered main or key actors etc.)

Once you are finished, go back a make sure all the categories have been recorded on the sheet before moving on to the next article with a new coding sheet.

Appendix 2¹²⁴

Coding sheet: (newspaper)

Media representations of politicians in the Scottish public sphere

1. Article number	2. Coder	3. Title of the article

4. Title of newspaper	5. Date	6. Page number	7. Word count	8. Type of article	9. Tone of article

10. Reporter(s) names	11. Gender of reporter(s)

12. Name of politician _____

12a. Gender of politician	12b. Voice of politician	12c. Number of paragraphs	12d. Prominence	12e. Physical appearance	12f. Description of physical appearance
12g. Age	12h. Description of age		12i. First name or nickname	12j. Description of first name or nickname	12k. Children
12l. Sexuality	12m. Sexual language	12n. Relationship status	12o. Explicit reference to gender	12p. Description of explicit gender	

¹²⁴ Number of paragraphs (12c) was removed from the coding process

13. Name of politician _____

13a. Gender of politician	13b. Voice of politician	13c. Number of paragraphs	13d. Prominence	13e. Physical appearance	12f. Description of physical appearance	
13g. Age	13h. Description of age		13i. First name or nickname	13j. Description of first name or nickname		13k. Children
13l. Sexuality	13m. Sexual language	13n. Relationship status	13o. Explicit reference to gender	13p. Description of explicit gender		

14. Name of politician _____



14a. Gender of politician	14b. Voice of politician	14c. Number of paragraphs	14d. Prominence	14e. Physical appearance	12f. Description of physical appearance	
14g. Age	14h. Description of age		14i. First name or nickname	14j. Description of first name or nickname		14k. Children
14l. Sexuality	14m. Sexual language	14n. Relationship status	14o. Explicit reference to gender	14p. Description of explicit gender		

Please make any extra notes here if needed:

Appendix 3

Media representations of politicians in the Scottish public sphere - Coding manual Twitter)

The Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis is the Tweet. Each coder will read through the Tweet and record the required data for each category in the code sheet. Each Tweet should mention at least one politician. If there is not a politician in the Tweet – let the supervisor know and move on to the next one. Coders will either be asked to enter specific textual or numerical data, like the Tweeter’s name and the date. Otherwise, when asked to code for a specific category, enter the corresponding number onto the category’s box on the coding sheet. Please code up to three politicians mentioned in any one Tweet (write a note at the bottom if there is more than three).

1. Tweet number

Enter the Tweet number. Each Tweet has a unique number allocated to it.

2. Coder

Enter the number of the person who is coding the Tweet

1. Coder 1
2. Coder 2

3. Date

Record the date of the Tweet written as dd/mm/yyyy

4. Tweeter’s name

Enter the full name of the Tweeter (who is writing the Tweet) as it appears on the Tweet.

5. Tweeter’s handle

Write the Twitter handle of the person who is Tweeting. This is the @.... name.

6. Gender of Tweeter

This variable is to test the presenting gender of those issuing the Tweet. Write the gender of Tweeter if you are able to make an inference about this through his/her name or Twitter handle. Refer to <http://www.bounty.com/pregnancy-and-birth/baby-names> if you want to check the gender through this. If the name is neutral, you may use gendered titles to make an inference if one is used (for example Ms, Mr, Miss). If the Tweeter is using a pseudonym, still code the gender of this, under the reasoning that the Tweeter is still presenting as a gender *per sé*. Code as don’t know if you cannot tell the gender through the name, for example if it is a nickname or a unisex name you cannot make an inference from, or if the name is unfamiliar for you and you cannot draw an inference of gender through a search of the generator. If there is a mix of genders used between the Tweeter’s name and handle, also code as don’t know.

0. Not known
1. Male
2. Female

7. Retweets

Record whether the Tweet is a retweet or not. It will have RT at the start of the body of the Tweet to show this.

0. No retweet
1. Retweet

8. Pic or link

Record whether a picture or a link is included in the Tweet. For example at the end of the Tweet there are links with 'fb.me/6PrloqdMi' or 'bit.ly/UYYCPm'. Code this as a link. If there is a picture, given as something like 'pic.twitter.com/bjImwNR2p0', code this as a picture. If you're not sure if it is a link or picture, but don't know.

0. No pic
1. Link
2. Picture
3. Don't know

9. Mention of politicians

Read through the Tweet, checking what politicians are mentioned in it. Once you have done this, record the name of the first politician encountered in the Tweet for this category. They may be mentioned through a hashtag, e.g. #janesmith, through using their Twitter handle, e.g. @jane_smith, or by writing their name or a variation of their name or nickname. Once this has been done, code the politician according to the following subcategories.

a. Descriptors

Write down any descriptors, describing words, adjectives used to talk about the politician, e.g. "quiet" "angry" "boring" etc.

b. Tone

This refers to tone concerning the politician mentioned in the Tweet, whether it is positive, negative, neutral or mixed. Code the tone as positive if it is explicitly approving of the politician (such as a politician's role, performance, something they said). A good way to check if there are what are considered generally positive adjectives such as great, formidable, wonderful, brilliant, smart, etc. Alternatively, code as negative if the tone is disapproving or critical, for example, a politician behaved poorly, there is a negative comment or they are said to not be performing well etc. Code as mixed if there are both positive and negative evaluations of the politician, such as them performing well, but there is a comment about them looking bad. If there is a joke at politician's expense, code this as mixed (positive for eliciting a humour response but negative for the politician). Code as neutral/don't know if the tone is neutral overall or you don't know. If a Tweet involves a direct or indirect quote of a politician's speech, without an evaluation around it (whether

they agree or disagree with the quote, or say the like or don't like the words), code as neutral. If a picture or link is included in the link, leave as don't know. In the event of two politicians being mentioned in the Tweet – if the overall tone is negative code as negative etc. positive as positive and so on. If the Tweeter makes a positive comment about one politician, while another is negative, code accordingly.

0. Neutral/don't know
1. Positive tone
2. Negative tone
3. Mixed tone

c. Gender

Code the gender of the politician being referred to in the Tweet. If you are not aware of the politician's sex, make an inference about this through the name. If the name does not allow this to be determined, code as 'don't know'.

0. Don't know
1. Male
2. Female

d. Twitter Handle

Code if the politician's Twitter handle is used in the Tweet.

e. Given a voice

Code the politician for only one of the categories as how his/her voice appears in the Tweet **0) No voice** – the politician is referred to in the Tweet, but his/her speech or thoughts etc. are not reported or paraphrased in the Tweet in any way **1) Direct speech**, code for this if the politician is at any point directly quoted in the Tweet i.e. only code for this if their words are enclosed in speech marks e.g. 'Ms Smith said: "I support this view"' etc. **2) Indirect/reported speech** – only code for this if the politician's speech is reported but not directly quoted i.e. 'Jane Smith said that she supported the view...' etc. Also code if the politician's opinion or thoughts are embedded, e.g. 'Jane Smith thinks that the policy is good'. The main point is that the politician is given agency through thoughts/speech in the story, but not directly quoted.

0. No voice
1. Direct speech
2. Indirect/reported speech

f. Reference to marital/relationship status

Code if the article references the politician's spouse, partner, as being married, as being in a relationship, being unmarried, not having a partner etc. E.g.: 'Ms Smith and her husband have been happily married for 12 years.' 'Can Ms Smith know what it means to cut this tax if she is unmarried?' Ms Smith has been married for three years).

0. No reference
1. Reference

g. Reference to children

Code if the article references the politician's children, that she/he has children or not etc. Code if the reference is approving, supporting etc., e.g.: 'Mr Smith is a great father' 'How can Mr Smith understand without having his own family?' 'Mr Smith has three children'.

- 2. No reference
- 3. Reference

h. Reference to sexuality/sexual orientation

Code if the article references the politicians' sexuality in any way i.e. refers to them as being gay, straight, a lesbian etc. E.g.: 'Ms Smith is a great role model for the LGBTQ community', 'Ms Smith should not be a mother if she is gay' 'Ms Smith, who is gay, said...'.

- 0. No reference
- 1. Reference

i. Reference to physical appearance

This relates to whether the politicians' physical appearance is described in the Tweet. This includes the way they look, their clothes, makeup, stature, build etc. E.g.: 'Ms Smith showcased her edgy style in some patterned, red jackets' 'Ms Smith's red jacket is the epitome of bad taste,' 'Ms Smith wore a red jacket to Holyrood today' etc.

- 0. No reference
- 1. Reference

j. What kind of reference to physical appearance?

What aspect of physical appearance is described? Write a few words as to what is described (face, clothes, weight, height etc.)

k. Reference to age

Code when a politician's age is referred to in the article. This may include reference to their age as a number, but also whether they are described as being 'old', 'young' etc. in any way. E.g.: 'Mr Smith looked young and energetic,' 'Perhaps Mr Smith is too young to take on a leadership position' or the 'Mr Smith, aged 29, debated the matter...'.

- 0. No reference
- 1. Reference

l. What kind of reference to age?

What aspect of age is described? Write a few words as to what is described, whether it is young old, numerical etc.

m. Reference to first name/nickname

Code if the politician is referred at any point by his/her given name only or a nickname. Code **1) Reference to given name** if he/she is referred to by his/her first name only but not as a nickname e.g. 'Jane delivered a speech' (do not code for this if he/she is referred to by their full name including their first name). Code as **2) if there is a reference to a nickname** e.g. 'Jaunty Jane's back in the swing'. Otherwise code as no reference.¹²⁵ Nicknames include a rhyme, contractions (so, Al, Kez, Nic, Jo etc), diminutions such as Ruthie or Paddy, affixes (adding something to the end of a name), as well as attributes being used as a name, such as "slim" or "red" and so on.

0. No reference
1. Reference to given name
2. Reference to nickname

n. What kind of reference to name/nickname?

Write down the name used, whether it is first name or nickname.

o. Explicit reference to gender

The aim of this category is to only code for gender being referred to in an explicit way. So code if there is an explicit reference to the politician's gender as a subject point or if gender is the main focus in regard to the politician. For example; 'Jane Smith, becomes the first female politician in the role.' Code if gender is used as a label, such as a specific adjective or descriptor of a politician e.g. 'the female politician', 'the male speaker', 'the first female...' or if he/she is described with specific gendered nouns 'the husband of, the wife of, mother, sister etc. '. E.g. 'it is great progress she is the first woman to...' 'a man in this role couldn't understand this job.' 'it was the speech of a man who...'

0. No reference
1. Reference

p. What kind of reference to gender?

Describe what the explicit reference to gender in a few words.

q. Sexual language used

Code if the article uses sexual language or reference to sex in regard to the politician, if they are referred to in a sexual way, or talks about their sex life etc. This includes whether there is a reference to female genitalia, male genitalia, and the act of sexual intercourse, as well as references to secondary sexual features such as intimate body hair and breasts. E.g. 'Who wouldn't want to get in bed with him?', 'Mr Smith's a terrible shag' 'Mr Smith said he had slept with six women'.

0. No reference

¹²⁵ This was later recoded so that both given names and nicknames could be coded in the same Tweet. Titles were also recoded after the first coding process to have parity with the newspaper coding, though none were coded.

1. Reference

r. What kind of sexual language used?

Write down the kind of sexual language used.

s. Use of profanity/offensive language

Code whether profanity or offensive language is used in the Tweet in reference to the politician. This includes expletives and sexual swearwords and pejorative terms relating to disability or illness, race, religion, gender, sexuality which are generally considered offensive. For example, c*nt, f*ck, n*gger, b*tch, sh*t, w*nker, b*stard, p*ssy, c*ck, p*ss etc. though this list is not exhaustive and coders can look for others too, and derivatives of these (there is a likelihood that Twitter users are creative and use compound expletives to create new terms, so use your judgement as to whether this is language which would be offensive if used in public or on moderated forums). Also include both English and Scottish derivative forms in reference to the politician (from p*ss/p*sh and sh*t/sh*te to f**k and c**t etc.) as well as textual/censored variations Tweeters may use e.g. f#ck, f@ck, sh1t sh*t etc. Also record this if there are spelling mistakes. If there is strong language it is likely that it will be used in a negative sense, but there is also a possibility that offensive language could be used in a positive way, which should be judged from the tone.

- 0. No reference
- 1. Reference

t. What kind of profanity/offensive language?

Write down the profane/offensive language used here.

u. Mention of politician x2

Go back and do the same coding for the next politician you come across in the Tweet recording all the categories in the boxed numbered 10 on the code sheet.

v. Mention of politician x2

Go back and do the same coding for the next politician you come across in the Tweet. Use a second sheet and staple together, marking that it is the second sheet.

There is space at the bottom of the sheet to make any notes if there is anything extra or important you think should be noted, like if there are more than three politicians mentioned in the Tweet.

Once you are finished, go back a make sure all the categories have been recorded on the sheet before moving on to the next article with a new coding sheet.

Appendix 4

Coding sheet: (Twitter)

Media representations of politicians in the Scottish public sphere

1. Tweet number	2. Coder	3. Date

4. Tweeter's name	5. Tweeter's handle	6. Gender of tweeter	7. Retweet	8. Pic or link

9. Name of politician _____

9a. Descriptors _____

9b. Tone	9c. Gender of politician	9d. Twitter handle	9e. Given a voice	9f. Relationship status	9g. Children	9h. Sexuality
9i. Physical appearance	9j. Description of physical appearance		9k. Age	9l. Description of age		
9m. First name or nickname	9n. Description of first name or nickname		9o. Explicit reference to gender	9p. Description of explicit gender		
9q. Sexual language	9r. Description of sexual language		9s. Profanity	9t. Description of profanity		

10. Name of politician _____

10a. Descriptors _____

10b. Tone	10c. Gender of politician	10d. Twitter handle	10e. Given a voice	10f. Relationship status	10g. Children	10h. Sexuality
10i. Physical appearance	10j. Description of physical appearance		10k. Age	10l. Description of age		
10m. First name or nickname	10n. Description of first name or nickname		10o. Explicit reference to gender	10p. Description of explicit gender		
10q. Sexual language	10r. Description of sexual language		10s. Profanity	10t. Description of profanity		

Please make any extra notes here if needed:

Appendix 5

Intra- and Inter-coder reliability test results using Cohen's kappa (K), newspapers

	Intra-coder reliability (<i>K</i> =)	Inter-coder reliability (<i>K</i> =)
Newspaper title	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)	.985 (<i>p</i> > .0005)
Article title	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)
Date	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)
Page number	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)
Word count	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)
Type of newspaper article	.960 (<i>p</i> > .0005)	.939 (<i>p</i> > .0005)
Reporter name(s)	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)
Gender of reporter(s)	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)
Politician given name	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)
Politician nickname	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)
Politician title	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)
Politician gender	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)
Politician prominence	.927 (<i>p</i> > .0005)	.854 (<i>p</i> > .0005)
Politician voice	.961 (<i>p</i> > .0005)	.935 (<i>p</i> > .0005)
Politician physical appearance	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)	.906 (<i>p</i> > .0005)
Politician age	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)
Politician relationship status	.969 (<i>p</i> > .0005)	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)
Politician children	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)
Politician sexuality	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)
Politician sexual language	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)
Politician first name or nickname	.969 (<i>p</i> > .0005)	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)
Politician gender labels	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)	.953 (<i>p</i> > .0005)
Politician tone	.813 (<i>p</i> > .0005)	.812 (<i>p</i> > .0005)

Appendix 6

Intra- and Inter-coder reliability test results using Cohen's kappa (K), Twitter

	Intra-coder reliability (<i>K</i> =)	Inter-coder reliability (<i>K</i> =)
Date	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)
Tweeter name	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)
Tweeter handle	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)
Tweeter gender	.943 (<i>p</i> > .0005)	.943 (<i>p</i> > .0005)
Retweets	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)	.980(<i>p</i> > .0005)
Pics/links	.927 (<i>p</i> > .0005)	.936 (<i>p</i> > .0005)
Politician given name	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)
Politician nickname	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)
Politician title	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)
Politician gender	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)
Politician voice	.986 (<i>p</i> > .0005)	.972 (<i>p</i> > .0005)
Politician Twitter handle	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)
Politician physical appearance	.927 (<i>p</i> > .0005)	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)
Politician age	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)
Politician relationship status	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)
Politician children	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)
Politician sexuality	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)
Politician sexual language	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)
Politician first name or nickname	.937(<i>p</i> > .0005)	.937(<i>p</i> > .0005)
Politician gender labels	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)
Politician profanity	.932 (<i>p</i> > .0005)	1.0 (<i>p</i> > .0005)
Politician tone	.952 (<i>p</i> > .0005)	.849 (<i>p</i> > .0005)

Appendix 7

Results of variables in given newsweeks and debates.

Results for Newsweek 1

For each of the variables, the number of mentions is recorded together with the proportion it represents for that politicians in the given news week.

	<u>Total Mentions</u>	Prom (Main)	Prom (Key)	Prom (minor)	Voice (Dir)	Voice (Ind)	Voice (No)	Given name	Nickname	Titles Miss	Titles Ms	Title Mrs
Johann Lamont	37	19	5	13	11	1	25	2	0	2	4	0
	50.68%	51.35%	13.51%	35.14%	29.73%	2.70%	67.57%	5.41%	0.00%	5.41%	10.81%	0.00%
Nicola Sturgeon	36	15	13	8	9	3	24	1	0	3	3	0
	49.32%	41.67%	36.11%	22.22%	25.00%	8.33%	66.67%	2.78%	0.00%	8.33%	8.33%	0.00%
Total	73	34	18	21	20	4	49	3	0	5	7	0
		46.58%	24.66%	28.77%	27.40%	5.48%	67.12%	4.11%	0.00%	6.85%	9.59%	0.00%

	Title (comb)	Tone (neut)	Tone (pos)	Tone (neg)	Tone (mix)	Ref gender	Relation	Children	Physical	Sex Lang	Age	Sexual Or.
Johann Lamont	6	10	5	13	9	9	0	1	5	1	0	0
	16.22%	27.03%	13.51%	35.14%	24.32%	24.32%	0.00%	2.70%	13.51%	2.70%	0.00%	0.00%
Nicola Sturgeon	6	16	3	14	3	11	0	0	1	1	0	0
	16.67%	44.44%	8.33%	38.89%	8.33%	30.56%	0.00%	0.00%	2.78%	2.78%	0.00%	0.00%
Total	12	26	8	27	12	20	0	1	6	2	0	0
	16.44%	35.62%	10.96%	36.99%	16.44%	27.40%	0.00%	1.37%	8.22%	2.74%	0.00%	0.00%

Results for Newsweek 2

For each of the variables, the number of mentions is recorded together with the proportion it represents for that politicians in the given news week.

	<u>Total Mentions</u>	Prom (Main)	Prom (Key)	Prom (minor)	Voice (Dir)	Voice (Ind)	Voice (No)	Given name	Nickname	Titles Mr		
Alistair Darling	231	104	82	45	32	20	179	7	3	66		
	39.35%	45.02%	35.50%	19.48%	13.85%	8.66%	77.49%	3.03%	1.30%	28.57%		
Alex Salmond	356	186	101	69	82	40	234	15	11	97		
	60.65%	52.25%	28.37%	19.38%	23.03%	11.24%	65.73%	4.21%	3.09%	27.25%		
Total	587	290	183	114	114	60	413	22	14	163		
		49.40%	31.18%	19.42%	19.42%	10.22%	70.36%	3.75%	2.39%	27.77%		

		Tone (neut)	Tone (pos)	Tone (neg)	Tone (mix)	Ref gender	Relation	Children	Physical	Sex Lang	Age	Sexual Or.
Alistair Darling		104	20	137	95	7	1	1	11	1	8	0
		29.21%	5.62%	38.48%	26.69%	1.97%	0.28%	0.28%	3.09%	0.28%	2.25%	0.00%
Alex Salmond		73	51	34	73	4	1	1	11	0	7	0
		31.60%	22.08%	14.72%	31.60%	1.73%	0.43%	0.43%	4.76%	0.00%	3.03%	0.00%
Total		177	71	171	168	11	2	2	22	1	15	0
		30.15%	12.10%	29.13%	28.62%	1.87%	0.34%	0.34%	3.75%	0.17%	2.56%	0.00%

Results for Newsweek 3

For each of the variables, the number of mentions is recorded together with the proportion it represents for that politicians in the given news week.

	<u>Total Mentions</u>	<u>Prom (Main)</u>	<u>Prom (Key)</u>	<u>Prom (minor)</u>	<u>Voice (Dir)</u>	<u>Voice (Ind)</u>	<u>Voice (No)</u>	<u>Given name</u>	<u>Nickname</u>	<u>Titles Mr/ Miss</u>	<u>Titles Ms</u>	<u>Title Mrs</u>
<u>Douglas Alexander</u>	17	4	7	6	7	1	9	0	0	3		
	12.59%	23.53%	41.18%	35.29%	41.18%	5.88%	52.94%	0.00%	0.00%	17.65%		
<u>Patrick Harvie</u>	7	2	5	0	6	0	1	0	0	3		
	5.19%	28.57%	71.43%	0.00%	85.71%	0.00%	14.29%	0.00%	0.00%	42.86%		
<u>Ruth Davidson</u>	25	6	9	10	12	3	10	1	0	1	5	0
	18.52%	24.00%	36.00%	40.00%	48.00%	12.00%	40.00%	4.00%	0.00%	4.00%	20.00%	0.00%
<u>Kezia Dugdale</u>	4	0	3	1	3	0	1	1	0	0	1	0
	2.96%	0.00%	75.00%	25.00%	75.00%	0.00%	25.00%	25.00%	0.00%	0.00%	25.00%	0.00%
<u>Elaine C Smith</u>	12	6	3	3	5	4	3	2	7	0	1	0
	8.89%	50.00%	25.00%	25.00%	41.67%	33.33%	25.00%	16.67%	58.33%	0.00%	8.33%	0.00%
<u>Nicola Sturgeon</u>	70	22	33	15	41	2	27	5	1	5	20	0
	51.85%	31.43%	47.14%	21.43%	58.57%	2.86%	38.57%	7.14%	1.02%	7.14%	28.57%	0.00%
<u>Total</u>	135	40	60	35	74	10	51	9	8	5	7	0
		29.63%	44.44%	25.93%	54.81%	7.41%	37.78%	5.93%	6.67%	6.85%	9.59%	0.00%

	<u>Title (comb)</u>	<u>Tone (neut)</u>	<u>Tone (pos)</u>	<u>Tone (neg)</u>	<u>Tone (mix)</u>	<u>Ref gender</u>	<u>Relation</u>	<u>Children</u>	<u>Physical</u>	<u>Sex Lang</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Sexual Or.</u>
<u>Douglas Alexander</u>		11	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		64.71%	17.65%	0.00%	17.65%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
<u>Patrick Harvie</u>		6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
		85.71%	14.29%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	14.29%
<u>Ruth Davidson</u>	6	9	4	2	7	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	24.00%	36.00%	16.00%	8.00%	28.00%	4.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
<u>Kezia Dugdale</u>	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	25.00%	75.00%	25.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
<u>Elaine C Smith</u>	1	6	6	0	0	7	1	1	0	0	7	0
	8.33%	50.00%	50.00%	0.00%	0.00%	58.33%	8.33%	8.33%	0.00%	0.00%	58.33%	0.00%
<u>Nicola Sturgeon</u>	25	39	7	4	20	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
	35.71%	55.71%	10.00%	5.71%	28.57%	5.71%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
<u>Total</u>		74	22	6	30	10	1	1	0	0	7	1
		54.81%	16.30%	4.44%	22.22%	7.41%	0.74%	0.74%	0.00%	0.00%	5.19%	0.74%

Results for Debate 1

For each of the variables, the number of mentions is recorded together with the proportion it represents for that politician in the given Twitter debate.

	<u>Total Mentions</u>	<u>Twitter handle</u>	<u>Voice (Dir)</u>	<u>Voice (Ind)</u>	<u>Voice (No)</u>	<u>Given Name</u>	<u>Nickname</u>	<u>Titles Mr/ Miss</u>	<u>Titles Ms</u>	<u>Title Mrs</u>	<u>Titles Comb</u>	
Johann Lamont	164	64	32	16	116	25	8	0	0	0	0	
	58.99%	39.02%	19.51%	9.76%	70.73%	15.24%	4.88%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	
Nicola Sturgeon	114	47	15	10	89	36	1	0	0	0	0	
	41.01%	41.23%	13.16%	8.77%	78.07%	31.58%	0.88%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	
Total	278	111	47	26	203	61	9	0	0	0	0	
		39.93%	16.91%	9.35%	73.02%	21.94%	3.24%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	

	<u>Tone (neut)</u>	<u>Tone (pos)</u>	<u>Tone (neg)</u>	<u>Tone (mix)</u>	<u>Ref gender</u>	<u>Relation</u>	<u>Children</u>	<u>Physical</u>	<u>Sex Lang</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Sexual Or.</u>	<u>Profanity</u>
Johann Lamont	14	3	142	5	3	0	0	2	0	0	0	5
	8.54%	1.83%	86.59%	3.05%	1.83%	0.00%	0.00%	1.22%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	3.05%
Nicola Sturgeon	34	45	34	1	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	1
	29.82%	39.47%	29.82%	0.88%	1.75%	0.00%	0.00%	1.75%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.88%
Total	48	48	176	6	5	0	0	2	0	0	0	1
	17.27%	17.27%	63.31%	2.16%	1.80%	0.00%	0.00%	1.22%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.88%

Results for Debate 2

For each of the variables, the number of mentions is recorded together with the proportion it represents for that politician in the given Twitter debate.

	<u>Total Mentions</u>	<u>Twitter handle</u>	<u>Voice (Dir)</u>	<u>Voice (Ind)</u>	<u>Voice (No)</u>	<u>Given Name</u>	<u>Nickname</u>	<u>Titles Mr/ Miss</u>	<u>Titles Ms</u>	<u>Title Mrs</u>	<u>Titles Comb</u>	
Alistair Darling	1191	36	100	40	1051	80	4	0	0	0	0	
	41.11%	3.02%	8.40%	3.36%	88.25%	6.72%	0.34%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	
Alex Salmond	1706	188	181	70	1455	56	5	0	0	0	0	
	58.89%	11.02%	10.61%	4.10%	85.29%	3.28%	0.29%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	
Total	2897	224	281	110	2506	136	9	0	0	0	0	
		7.73%	9.70%	3.80%	86.50%	4.69%	0.31%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	

	<u>Tone (neut)</u>	<u>Tone (pos)</u>	<u>Tone (neg)</u>	<u>Tone (mix)</u>	<u>Ref gender</u>	<u>Relation</u>	<u>Children</u>	<u>Physical</u>	<u>Sex Lang</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Sexual Or.</u>	<u>Profanity</u>
Alistair Darling	400	293	474	24	7	0	0	14	0	1	0	34
	33.59%	24.60%	39.80%	2.02%	0.59%	0.00%	0.00%	1.18%	0.00%	0.08%	0.00%	2.85%
Alex Salmond	475	228	930	73	11	0	0	23	1	4	0	43
	27.84%	13.36%	54.51%	4.28%	0.64%	0.00%	0.00%	1.35%	0.06%	0.23%	0.00%	2.52%
Total	875	521	1404	97	18	0	0	37	1	5	0	77
	30.20%	17.98%	48.46%	3.35%	0.62%	0.00%	0.00%	1.28%	0.03%	0.17%	0.00%	2.66%

Results for Debate 3

For each of the variables, the number of mentions is recorded together with the proportion it represents for that politician in the given Twitter debate.

	<u>Total</u> <u>Mentions</u>	<u>Twitter</u> <u>handle</u>	<u>Voice</u> <u>(Dir)</u>	<u>Voice</u> <u>(Ind)</u>	<u>Voice</u> <u>(No)</u>	<u>Given</u> <u>Name</u>	<u>Nickname</u>	<u>Titles</u> <u>Mr/ Miss</u>	<u>Titles</u> <u>Ms</u>	<u>Title</u> <u>Mrs</u>	<u>Titles</u> <u>Comb</u>	
<u>Douglas</u> <u>Alexander</u>	129	5	16	19	94	16	22	0	0	0	0	
	10.49%	3.88%	12.40%	14.73%	72.87%	12.40%	17.05%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	
<u>Patrick</u> <u>Harvie</u>	241	86	86	30	124	25	1	0	0	0	0	
	19.59%	35.68%	35.68%	12.45%	51.45%	10.37%	0.41%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	
<u>Ruth</u> <u>Davidson</u>	279	53	46	29	204	76	9	0	0	0	0	
	22.68%	19.00%	16.49%	10.39%	73.12%	27.24%	3.23%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	
<u>Kezia</u> <u>Dugdale</u>	109	7	9	5	95	53	8	0	0	0	0	
	8.86%	6.42%	8.26%	4.59%	87.16%	48.62%	7.34%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	
<u>Elaine C</u> <u>Smith</u>	275	0	111	31	134	21	9	0	0	0	0	
	22.36%	0.00%	40.36%	11.27%	48.73%	7.64%	3.27%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	
<u>Nicola</u> <u>Sturgeon</u>	197	71	56	47	94	39	2	0	0	0	0	
	16.02%	36.04%	28.43%	23.86%	47.72%	19.80%	1.02%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	
<u>Total</u>	1230	222	324	161	745	230	51	0	0	0	0	
		18.05%	26.34%	13.09%	60.57%	18.70%	4.15%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	

	<u>Tone</u> (neutral)	<u>Tone</u> (pos)	<u>Tone</u> (neg)	<u>Tone</u> (mix)	<u>Ref</u> gender	<u>Relation</u>	<u>Children</u>	<u>Physical</u>	<u>Sex Lang</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Sexual Or.</u>	<u>Profanity</u>
<u>Douglas Alexander</u>	33	10	85	1	1	0	0	11	0	0	0	3
	25.58%	7.75%	65.89%	0.78%	0.78%	0.00%	0.00%	8.53%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	2.33%
<u>Patrick Harvie</u>	116	94	23	8	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
	48.13%	39.00%	9.54%	3.32%	0.83%	0.00%	0.00%	0.41%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
<u>Ruth Davidson</u>	63	37	161	18	5	0	0	7	1	0	1	7
	22.58%	13.26%	57.71%	6.45%	1.79%	0.00%	0.00%	2.51%	0.36%	0.00%	0.36%	2.51%
<u>Kezia Dugdale</u>	21	18	69	1	6	0	0	3	0	0	0	4
	19.27%	16.51%	63.30%	0.92%	5.50%	0.00%	0.00%	2.75%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	3.67%
<u>Elaine C Smith</u>	121	112	38	4	14	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
	44.00%	40.73%	13.82%	1.45%	5.09%	0.00%	0.00%	0.36%	0.00%	0.36%	0.00%	0.00%
<u>Nicola Sturgeon</u>	109	53	32	3	7	0	0	3	1	0	0	3
	55.33%	26.90%	16.24%	1.52%	3.55%	0.00%	0.00%	1.52%	0.51%	0.00%	0.00%	1.52%
<u>Total</u>	464	324	408	35	35	0	0	26	2	1	1	17
	37.72%	26.34%	33.17%	2.85%	2.85%	0.00%	0.00%	2.11%	0.16%	0.08%	0.08%	1.38%

