



MEDIA AND ELECTIONS IN UGANDA

A Gender Analysis of Print Media Coverage of the 2016 General Elections



EMBASSY OF SWEDEN
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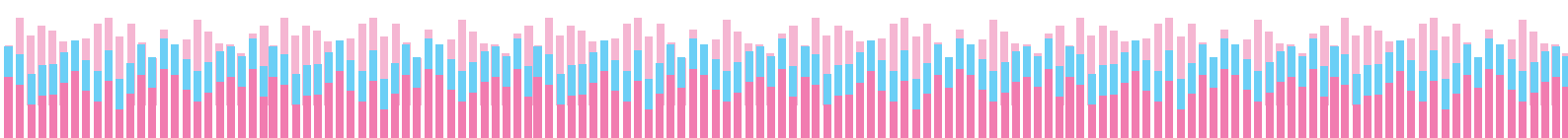




UGANDA MEDIA WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION
(UMWA)

MEDIA AND ELECTIONS IN UGANDA

A Gender Analysis of Print Media Coverage
of the 2016 General Elections



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Uganda Media Women's Association (UMWA)
Plot 226 Kisaasi
P.O. Box 7263, Kampala
Tel: +256 393 113 848; +256 772 469 363; +256 772 366 695
Email: info@umwamamafm.co.ug / umwa@infocom.co.ug /
Website: www.umwamamafm.co.ug

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

CEDAW	:	Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against
CSOs	:	Civil Society Organizations
DPC	:	District Police Commander
FDC	:	Forum for Democratic Change
GMMP	:	Global Media Monitoring Project
KCCA	:	Kampala Capital City Authority
M7	:	Museveni
MP	:	Member of Parliament
NIJU	:	National Institute of Journalists in Uganda
NRM	:	National Resistance Movement
OHCHR	:	UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
SFC	:	Special Forces Command
SIDA	:	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
UMWA	:	Uganda Media Women's Association
UN Women	:	United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women
UNDP	:	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	:	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
VIP	:	Very Important Person
WACC	:	World Association for Christian Communication Women
WSR	:	Women's Situation Room

DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

A News source: The person(s) providing information on the news subject matter in the article / story. He/she could have been interviewed. The source can also be a piece of document on the subject matter.

A News subject: The person or issue the article is rotating around.

An Article: It is the text or content well packaged for publishing in the electronic or print media.

A Story: It is another name for an article.

A Headline: It is a title of the article.

Byline: It is a printed line or text accompanying an article giving the author's name. It is normally placed between the headline and the text of the article, or at the bottom of the article.

Caption: Captions are words shown on a movie, television or below a picture / diagram, either describing or adding value to the content.

Circulation: It is a count of how many copies of a particular publication has distributed, on a day.

Election related story: It is that story that reflects an activity related to an election process of a given period. The actions of the different actors (candidates, the electorate, and those officials related to the different electoral phases) are considered to be part of an election related story.

Femininity: A trait of behaving in ways 'considered' typical of women. They are shaped by both social and cultural processes and not biology.

Gender: Is a social construct that refers to social relations between and among the sexes based on their relative roles. It encompasses economic, political and socio-cultural attributes, constraints and opportunities associated with being male or female.

Gender analysis: It is the variety of methods used to understand the relationships between men and women, their access to resources, their activities, and the constraints they face relative to each other. OR A systematic analytical process used to identify, understand, and describe gender differences and the relevance of gender roles and power dynamics in a specific context.

Gender awareness: It is the ability to view society from the perspective of gender roles and how this affects women's needs in comparison to the needs of men.

Gender differences: Are differences that result from the socially ascribed role of being male or female, i.e. masculinity and femininity.

Gender issues: Arise when there is inequality or differential treatment of an individual or group purely on basis of the social expectations and attributes of their sex. This is normally as a result of old attitudes persisting in situations where they are no longer valid.

Gender lenses: It is a tool that can be used to identify gaps and differences in any program from a gender perspective. (Taking men and women into equal consideration).

Gender roles: Roles classified by sex, in which the classification is social and not biological. Child rearing may be classified as a female role, but it is a female gender role rather than a female sex role as child rearing can be done by men or women.

Gender sensitivity: It is the ability of translating this awareness into action in the design of development policies, programs and budgets. OR It is the ability to recognize gender issues - particularly women's different perceptions and interests arising from their locations and gender roles.

If development programs do not take gender issues into account, they become gender insensitive or gender blind in as much as they fail to recognize the different needs of either women or men. If, on the other hand, a program takes gender issues into account, it becomes **gender responsive**.

Gender stereotypes: The generalized, simplistic and often exaggerated assumptions of masculinity and femininity in a given cultural context.

Masculinity: Is a description of gender identities, attributes, behaviors or roles generally associated with boys and men. They are shaped by socio-cultural processes and not biology.

Newspaper pullout: Is part of a newspaper that is designed to be removed and read separately.

News / Sound byte: A short audio or video clip taken from a 'speech' or press conference, and broadcast especially during a news report

Passive: Denoting lack of active participation in the public domain.

Readership: It is the average estimate of how many people read a copy of an edition of a newspaper.

Reinforce stereotypes: Reinscribe the generalized, simplistic and often exaggerated assumptions of masculinity and femininity in a given cultural context.

Sensitive: Is to be emotionally aware, and responsive to the feelings, moods, reactions and needs of others.

Sex differences: Differences that can be observed between the biological categories, male and female.

Sexism is prejudice or discrimination based on one's gender and the attitudes, stereotypes, and the cultural elements that promote discrimination.

Sexist language is language which excludes one sex or the other, or which suggests that one sex is superior to the other. For example, using *he*, *him* and *his* to refer to both sexes, male and female while writing.

Voxpop: A tool used in many forms of media to provide a snapshot of public opinion. Random subjects / people are asked to give their views on a particular topic which responses are presented on radio, television, or the print media as part of population opinion.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Women's fair representation and presentation in, and by the media, are part of UMWA's core business the reason we established *The Other Voice*, a newspaper pullout in 1998; and a women's focused radio station *101.7 Mama FM*, in 2001. Both media outlets have not only helped to keep the gender debate alive by way of increasing women's voices and their perspectives in media content, but the number of young women joining the profession, has over the years increased. Hundreds of now the senior media women in Uganda today learnt a thing or two from the Association's mentorship program very popular, then in the 1990s and early 2000.

Besides, UMWA has over the years, participated in Gender Media Monitoring, the most recent project being the Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP), an initiative by the World Association for Christian Communication (WACC) which seeks to assess media coverage on a global level, with a gender perspective. The most recent one was done May 2015, in which UMWA participated.

It was therefore a gratifying moment when UN-Women accepted to support UMWA to assess media coverage of Uganda's 2016 general elections from a gender perspective.

UMWA, therefore, appreciates those individuals and organizations that supported this short but noble project. In a special way, we are greatly indebted to the World Association for Christian Communication (WACC) for the exposure and training, our project team underwent in gender media monitoring in 2010 and 2015. The survey borrowed a lot from WACC's GMMP research tool, for which we deeply acknowledge.

Also especially appreciated is the Research team headed by Joseph Kalyebi Higenyi; the Researchers: Catherine Apalat and Joanita Nankya Sanyu; the Support group: Gorret Nalwoga Mukasa, Immaculate Nankya, Harriet Kanyunyuzi, Tom Mugoya, Charles Mugole, Annet Nakandi, Laila Mutebi, Justine Nakamya, Regina Nassanga, L. Kalanzi, Brenda Chipso, Ivan Mponye, G. Nyanzi, among others.

Once again we appreciate UN-Women and the Embassy of Sweden, for the technical and financial support towards this initiative. In particular, we would like to acknowledge the efforts of Heleen Annemans, Joy Mukanyange, and Farah Eck, for their efforts in shaping this document.

Margaret Sentamu-Masagazi

Executive Director

Uganda Media Women's Association (UMWA)

FOREWORD

UN-Women

About Uganda Media Women's Association (UMWA)

Background, Vision, Mission, and Legal Status

Formed in 1983 by female journalists as a mutual benefit Association, UMWA was transformed into a human rights advocacy and service delivery NGO in 1997, and registered under the 1989 NGO Statute, with No. S.5914/1535.

Headed by a 7-person board, UMWA's primary beneficiaries are women living in disadvantaged situations and other marginalized groups. Women involved in information exchange especially media women, constitute UMWA's general assembly and form part of UMWA's secondary beneficiaries.

Vision: A nation of women, children and men making informed decisions for gender equality and social justice.

Mission: To enhance the visibility and status of women and other marginalized groups through awareness creation, capacity strengthening, advocacy and networking to realize gender equality.

Location: *UMWA is located 8 kilometers from the city centre, Plot 226 Kisaasi, where the coordination of its activities takes place as well as the production of an advocacy newspaper – The Other Voice. It is also the home of UMWA's radio station; 101.7 Mama FM, the first radio station in Africa, founded and managed by women.*

UMWA Works

Guided by its vision and mission, UMWA works within a 3-year strategic plan, and below are some of UMWA's Previous and Current Works

- **1997 – 2001:** UMWA designed and implemented several capacity building trainings for women journalists in themes like: conflict management, financial reporting, public speaking, policy analysis, court and parliamentary reporting among others. This was in addition to acquiring scholarships for tens of them to upgrade.
- UMWA designed gender policies for the media. Such two landmark booklets geared at improving women's portrayal in the media are: *Towards a Fair Mass Media in Uganda With Women in Mind*; and *Mass Media Use: Tips for Women Leaders*.
- Founded two media outlets: the women focused radio station, *Mama FM* (2001); and *The Other Voice* publication (1997): to increase the voices of women in the media and to keep the gender debate alive.

- Has been at the fore front in the promotion of community radio stations in Uganda especially in as far as their peculiar needs: regulation, training, and visibility are concerned.
- Has organized national and international trainings / conferences on topical issues including:
 - Training sessions for women parliamentarians and PWDs in effective utilization of the media.
 - Kenya Elections (2013): Learnings and Opportunities for the Uganda Media.
 - Fredskorpset marking 50 years, which also coincided with the golden jubilee of the Uganda-Norway relations.
 - Media United: way to earn public respect and trust.
- Undertaken several studies including:
 - Gender, Media and Elections (2016).
 - Gender Dimensions in Uganda's Print Media, (2014).
 - Media Monitoring of Elections (2006).
 - The Role of the Mass Media in Creating Images of Women, (1997).
 - Challenges in Career Advancement in Uganda (A Study of Journalists with emphasis on Women in the New Vision & The Monitor Newspapers, (1997).
 - The Role of the Media in the Fight against AIDS.
 - The Content Analysis of Media Coverage of Hardships of Single Parents.
 - Role of Women Broadcasters in Emancipation of Women.
 - Disseminating Adolescent Reproductive Health Radio Messages Using Group Media.
 - Analysis of the Media Contribution towards Women Poverty Alleviation.
 - The Press in Uganda Post Independence Era.
- Commissioned by the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development, and UN Human Rights, and drafted a Gender Mainstreaming Strategy for Media in Uganda.
- UMWA has over 15 years experience in successfully designing and managing multimedia campaigns particularly on civic rights and duties including those to the run up to Uganda's general elections of 1996, 2001 and 2006. Others relate to mitigating some of the impacts of HIV in the agricultural sector; and promoting women's land rights; prevention of gender based violence; amplifying voices of minority groups in the media; as well as making women's voices count in allocation of public resource.

PROJECT CORE TEAM



Margaret Sentamu-Masagazi, Research Coordinator. Margaret has wide experience in developing and managing communication strategies for social change. Been a lead trainer in human rights, gender sensitive reporting, and integrating reproductive health in media content. Skilled in Gender Mainstreaming, Strategic planning, Participatory methodologies, writing and editing for print, television, and radio. Has managed and coordinated regional and national donor projects. Participated in the GMMP 2015, in addition to taking lead roles in several research works. She holds a Masters Degree in Women and Gender Studies and a BA Political Science and Sociology, Makerere University, with Post Graduate Diploma in Mass Communication, University of Nairobi.



Joseph Kalyebi Higenyi, Lead Researcher. Joseph holds a BA Degree in Political Science and a Masters Degree in Women and Gender Studies, Makerere University. Joseph has undertaken over twenty researches in different capacities (leading, co-investigating, and assisting) in various fields, largely in social sciences but mostly in gender, with an emphasis on Media and Gender. He is also skilled, and has participated in different gender mainstreaming projects. Also participated in the 2010 and 2015 GMMP. His passion is to contribute to efforts aimed at promoting gender equality and equity in all aspects.



Catherine Apalat, Co-Researcher. Catherine is a qualified journalist, from Makerere University. She is the Programs Director of **101.7 Mama FM**. Catherine has experience and knowledge in gender and human rights. She has participated in a number of research projects including "Grassroots Women and Technology" in 2013, "Audience analysis for Mama FM listeners in 2014 and GMMP 2015. She has wide experience in writing analytical stories, production of radio and video/photo documentaries.



Nankya Joanita Sanyu, Co-Researcher. Joanita is currently the Project Officer – Fundraising and Marketing at Uganda Media Women's Association, UMWA. Participated in GMMP 2015, and Audience Research for Mama FM. She holds a Masters in Ethics and Integrity, Makerere University. Has done research about communities through feedback analysis to identify radio information needs. An administrator and ethical philosopher by profession, Joan is passionate about human rights and gender equality.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Across the five newspapers – New Vision, Daily Monitor, Red Pepper, The Observer, and Bukedde, the study was conducted for the months of December 2015, as well as January and February 2016, reviewing all the days but for purposes of comparisons, focusing on Monday, Wednesday and Friday editions. The Tuesday and Saturday editions of the same period were also covered for purposes of analyzing the *Women's pullouts* in New Vision (*Her Vision*) and Daily Monitor (*Full Woman*), respectively. Focusing only on election-related news stories, the study sought to analyze gender dimensions in the print media's coverage of the 2016 general elections in Uganda. The study generated 2,624 news stories on elections for Monday, Wednesday, and Friday. The Women's Pullouts had seven stories on elections.

Evidence from the study reveals that the visibility of women (candidates or voters) during coverage of the 2016 general elections in Uganda was significantly low relative to that of men, not only in terms of being read about or being heard, but also being seen in pictures. The study findings show that the representation of women as news subjects was only 20% as opposed to 80% for men. Emanating from the study also is that there is a direct linkage between one's status in Ugandan society – sex, occupation, and family status – and the likelihood of being covered in election related stories and providing additional information, in the case of the role, news subjects or the source play in the news stories.

The occupation of the largest proportion of women appearing in the news was related to care giving and domesticity such as "homemakers, parent, etc, (100%). No male appeared in this occupation; "health / social worker, child care worker" (71%) as opposed to only 29% of the males); and as "academic expert, lecturer, teacher" (33%). Female news subjects also appeared preponderantly in occupations that command less prestige and power such as office or service worker or non-management worker (71%) as opposed to men who featured mainly in those occupations associated with public life such as "retired person, pensioner..." (100%). No female fell under this category; "religious figure...." (94%); "police, military..." (93%); and "royalty.... (92%) as well as other occupations associated with political, economic and scientific power. Further, women were identified by their family status – wife, mother, sister, daughter – more often (seven times) than men being referred to as husband, father, son or brother of someone. Female news subjects or sources also featured mostly as persons narrating personal experiences than men who appeared preponderantly speaking for others.

Study findings indicate further that voices heard during coverage of the 2016 elections were predominantly of men, while women's voices were invariably invisible. The proportion of female news subjects directly quoted was 15% as opposed to 85% males. Considering that females comprised 20% of the total number of news subjects and yet only 15% of all those quoted were female means that the likelihood of a female news subject being quoted is reduced by at least 5%, the reverse being true for the males. It should be noted, however,

that even in stories that focused on women, more men (73%) than the women themselves in those stories (27%) were quoted. The number of the news subjects or sources photographed was much higher (82%) for the males, females having constituted only eighteen (18) percent.

Also emerging from the study is that news stories with a direct bearing on women, were not given adequate coverage. For example, stories specifically about women / a woman represented only 9% of the total number of stories. Those that made reference to gender equality / policies formed only 5% of all stories; those that highlighted issues of equality between women and men constituted only 1% of all stories and those that challenged / reinforced stereotypes constituted 1%.

Further observed in the study is that stories that had a direct bearing on women rarely found space on the front page, leave alone the first five pages, except when they are sensational or scandalous in nature. Similarly, it was found out that such stories occupied *less space* i.e. based on whether they occupied a full page, half a page, a third of a page, a quarter of a page, or less than a quarter of a page. Those that occupied a full page combined with those that occupied a half page contributed only 35% while those that occupied one third of a page, a quarter page or less than a quarter page, combined, accounted for 65%.

The Women's "pull outs" *Her Vision* in *The New Vision*, and *Full Woman* in Daily Monitor can be efficient tools for promoting women's empowerment. However, they were found instead to be reaffirming gender stereotypes. The news stories about the elections formed only 3% and even then, it was mostly men's perspectives sought. *Full Woman* actually has a sub-section "Man Talk" where stories on women and elections were allocated. On the other hand, 97% space was about home care and parenting, fashion and design, relationships, beautification, and such other related issues.

Further revealed by the findings is the gendered portrayal in coverage evidenced in photographs and the story texts, that tilted more in relation to women than men. Some of the photographs featured had elements of sexism, while others perpetuated gender stereotypes such as of women as care givers and as prone to emotion, among others. Moreover, in some photographs featuring women, they are shown playing secondary roles e.g. entertaining people at campaign rallies, while in others, their photos tended to be smaller in size than those of men, in the same story.

Relatedly, the language used in some of the stories, with regard especially to female news subjects or even news sources, was seen to be generally sexist (by referring to women as "speaking blankets", "oil wells", "juicy", "bootylicious"); demeaning (by referring to adult women as "girls", "gals", "babes", "thigh vendors", "prostitutes", etc); and, judgmental by intoning that women are capable of making independent decisions, are indecisive, weak and dependant as well as generally not being informed. Other words and phrases reflected women's perceived subservience to men, such as "master" and "boss" in reference to men and "servant" in relation to women.

Delivery of news during the study period followed a similar pattern. The representation of female journalists delivering the news was only 7% as opposed to 74% for men, the remaining 19% was delivered by journalists whose sex was “not known” having been referred to as “our reporters, or staffer”. More (73%) female journalists covered stories that had national implications than they covered stories with local dimensions (27%). Male journalists also covered more of national stories (51%) as opposed to 48% for local stories. However, they covered all the stories with international implications. Such coverage points to gendered patterns in task allocations by media houses.

The study findings indicate further that there is a relationship between the sex of the reporter and the gender dimensions of the story. Female journalists (reporters) were found to be more likely, than men, to feature more female news subjects; to quote more female sources; to file stories that highlight issues of gender equality; as well as stories that challenge stereotypes. On the other hand, male journalists (reporters) were seen to file, more than women, stories that quote more male news sources; and stories that depict more women than men as victims or passive participants and those that have women as a central focus. However, both female and male reporters were seen to have an equal likelihood of filing stories that refer to gender equality rights legislation, and policies.

In the last part of this Report, an effort has been made to propose a way forward in terms of recommendations that can be used by the government, media training institutions, media houses and journalists, media rights and gender equality focused CSOs and media consumers, as well as the UN family and other international agencies, in an effort to promote fair and balanced representation and presentation of both women and men in and by the print media.

Among others, these recommendations include adhering to and enforcing legal frameworks that guide media operations; respecting the principle of equality and fairness in respect to female and male news subjects and sources; avoiding the use of images and language that are sexist, derogatory, discriminative and stereotypical through development of appropriate gender-inclusive policies, resource materials and policy guidelines; imparting skills to journalists, in addition to offering both female and male journalists equal opportunities to cover all issues and the resources needed for doing so; and conducting periodic research in gender and media, to inform future decisions by all stakeholders. Media rights and gender equality focused civil society organizations, are also called upon to support women leaders, or those aspiring to be, build knowledge and skills in effective utilization of the media. The National Strategy to Mainstream Gender in Uganda’s Media developed by Uganda Media Women’s Association, UMWA (in 2014), with support from the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) and the Ministry of Gender, Labour, and Social Development, should also, as a matter of urgency be reviewed and implemented as it embodies detailed actions in addition to those mentioned above.



MEDIA AND ELECTIONS IN UGANDA

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND

Media and Gender

In the recent past, there has been an upsurge in the number and growth of media houses and corresponding developments in technology that has witnessed communication transcending national boundaries and turning the world into an intricate web. This growth has widened the scope of the media's role from merely informing, educating and entertaining to mobilizing and agenda setting for individuals, communities, nations and the world at large. That the media plays a very important role in societal development is not an issue of debate, but of concern is the tremendous impact it has come to be associated with, i.e. it has an influence on public opinion, personal beliefs and preferences, tastes and outlook on a number of issues, including gender relations (EAJA, 2008; GMMP 2010).

Through different types of media, people come to adopt behaviors and lifestyles, assume attitudes, and build stereotypical images that affect their actions in daily life (Chyi and McCombs, 2004; Schuefele and Tewksbury, 2007). Belief formation regarding groups of people, most often, occurs when any given characteristic of an individual is particularly obvious or salient such as sex. Given the salience of categorization by gender, it seems almost inevitable that people are perceived in terms of sex-role stereotypes. According to Mattelart (1986), stereotypes in the media often encourage people to model their behaviour in stereotypical ways. White (2009), Eagly (1989), Blumer (1983), and Entman (1993) variously propounded that the media has a great influence on how people perceive issues and personalities. Moreover, an increase in salience and / or cumulation of the prominence of those elements in the news influences the prominence of those elements among the public (Carol and McCombs, 2003; Shaw, 1997).

A tremendous volume of research (globally) has been conducted about gender and the print media with regard to the coverage of women issues as well as access to and participation of women in the media vis-à-vis that of men. While statistics vary from situation to situation, locality-to-locality and different special groups of people, the underlying, obvious and common phenomenon to all is the negative portrayal of women across the board, as well as its failure to provide a balanced, accurate or realistic picture of women's diverse lives, multiple roles, and contributions to a changing world (UNESCO, 1995).

All studies appear to indicate that there is little space and air time allocated to women's issues which lends credence to the assertion that the media have failed to give recognition to women's contribution and concerns and reference to stories on women as not being news worthy and cannot, therefore, sell the newspapers. Also, articles featuring women are rarely given prominence by front or back page allocation, as most of them are relegated to inside pages. The few exceptions may include powerful politicians as well as those involved in violence and what society deems degrading behavior (Adagala, 1993). Moreover, many newspaper articles are devoid of women's voices. A significant proportion of women who catch the public eye do so only when they do something extreme, especially if it is unpleasant (Zambwe, 1994). Many appear in the news largely in the context of love and marriage, of housewife and mother of the family, domestic life and raising of children (Ogundipe-Leslie, 1990;

Longwe and Clarke, 1992; Mattelart, 1986; Muriel, 1994) and as socially and economically dependent like children with no other status than that of wife and mother, daughter or sister, or some other relation, which personal relationships often have no relevance to the story (Olga, 1986; Muriel, 1994; ISIS, 1981). Similarly, the media often defines women in terms of the men in their lives or by such men's absence (ISIS, 1981). Effectively then, women are visible in the media only when they are cast into stereotyped roles, but they remain invisible in relation to the political questions of the day.

Women are rarely portrayed as rational, active or decisive (ISIS, 1981) or in positions of authority (Gallagher, 1987) but rather as brainless, dependant and incompetent, as objects of men's pleasure (Gallagher, 1979; Newland, 1979; UN, 1985). However, when they step out of their traditional roles, the media often distorts and ridicules them. Their efforts are seen as ridiculous and inane (Bukhart, 1993) and, in many cases, such women are considered role deviants (UNESCO, 1994). The media also portrays women as objects of humour or disparagement, and as sex objects through sex appeal creations, beauty fronting, and image undressing. Men, on the other hand, are depicted by the media as dominant, independent, logical, objective, and as public figures (ISIS, 1981), and glorified as powerful and successful (GMMP, 2010). The social imaginary views the public space as exclusive to men, with women occupying spaces that they lack the knowledge, capacities and character to reside in (GMMP, 2010).

Specifically on photographs, studies done in the past show that there is a gendered use of visual imagery in journalism. While how many women and men portrayed appears to differ considerably, it has been argued that images of women are employed in media to titillate or excite and that photos in tandem with captions and page layouts more often than not serve to reinforce a variety of gender stereotypes to varying extents. Women are often sexualized, in some cases brutalized, are pictured as passive, domesticated, as victims or as subordinate to men (GMMP, 2010). Indeed, while men are usually pictured either from the head up or fully clothed, the comparative frequency with which women's bodies are pictured in various states of undress is much higher. Front pages are populated by images of women in sexualized poses alongside lurid headlines, sexist catch phrases and suggestive titles.

Many photos often have no / little contextual information about the persons behind them. Even when captions or titles attempt to challenge stereotypes, they rely on the use of the sexualized female subject to draw attention to the story (GMMP, 2010). Women are often portrayed in the background of landscape shots where they appear passive, as part of the scenery. To that end, news imagery does not accurately and ethically depict the complex reality of gender and society, but serves only to distort reality rather than reflect it (GMMP, 2010).

Gender, Media and Elections

The media are essential to democracy, and a democratic election is impossible without media. A free and fair election is not only about the freedom to vote and the knowledge of how to cast a vote, but also about a participatory process where voters engage in public debate and have adequate information about parties, policies, candidates and the election process itself in order to make informed choices. Furthermore, media acts as a crucial watchdog

to democratic elections, safeguarding the transparency of the process. Independent and pluralistic media are essential for ensuring transparency, accountability and participation as fundamental elements of good governance and human-rights based development” (ACE, 2012). In order to fulfill their roles, the media need to maintain a high level of professionalism, accuracy and impartiality in their coverage. A prime concern of media coverage of elections is the right of voters to full and accurate information, and their rights to participate in debates and dialogue on policy matters and with politicians (ACE, 2012).

But be as required, women and men tend to be treated very differently by the media, worldwide. Similarly, men and women tend to have vastly different experiences of participating in political processes. Men are more visible and dominant in both media and elections; and gender stereotypes prevail in both. These differences are mutually reinforcing in the sense that less visibility of women in the media impacts their political success; and less women politicians means less news stories focusing on women leaders. Women’s participation in politics – as voters, candidates, politicians, civil society activists, and in other roles – is important because it allows women to exercise their fundamental civil and political rights. It is also important because it allows countries to draw on the full range of human resources available to it to progress; and helps to ensure that women’s and girl’s needs are adequately met in policy-making processes. Gender stereotypes and discrimination are damaging to both men and women because they constrain individuals and society as a whole (ACE, 2012).

It is increasingly recognized that media have a key role to play in women’s participation throughout political life. It can help to instill among the public the idea that women’s participation in political life is an essential part of democracy (and) can also take care to avoid giving negative or minimizing images of women and their determination and capacity to participate in politics, stressing the importance of women’s role in economic and social life and in the development process in general. In most countries political competition during elections is played out in the media, and the media thus play a key agenda-setting role. Media does this by determining issues and individuals they consider newsworthy, whether a candidate is present or absent, and the type of coverage they get when they are present, all condition their chances of getting elected, since the voters extract the information they need for making their political decisions from the media (ACE, 2012). Gender discrimination is also compounded by the general news media (Llanos and Nina (2012). Indeed, a number of studies carried out on media coverage of female candidates, however, reveal that even when there are a reasonable number of women candidates they are often neglected by the media (ACE, 2012). This view is supported by Pittmar (2016) who said that the media not only stereotypes female candidates by emphasizing feminine traits and issues, but also accords them less coverage that often questions their viability as candidates. Pittmar cites the example of Hilary Clinton’s bid for the 2008 Democratic nomination for president and Sarah Palin’s campaign for Vice President on the Republican ticket, both of whom were covered by the media in a negative, stereotypical and often sexist way. According to Pittmar, Palin was often portrayed as a sexist object while Clinton was attacked for her lack of femininity. Differential treatment of women and men by the media revises a formidable series of obstacles that often complicate women’s path to elective office (Hayes and Lawless, 2015).

Five Functions of the Media

Five major functions of the Media in a Democracy as Cook, T. (2006) outlines:

- **Presentation of ideas:** The media provide a place for citizens and leaders to discuss ideas and resolve disagreements. For example, the op-ed page and letters-to-the-editor section of a newspaper give citizens a place to share their suggestions on how local government should address issues of concern to them.
- **Agenda-setting:** By choosing to cover some stories and not others, the media help determine what problems citizens and leaders think are the most important to address in their community. For example, local television news might cover two robberies in the community, but not the closing of a local pool. This may lead to a public discussion about increasing the number of police on the streets, but no similar discussion about how to increase the number of recreation facilities for young people.
- **Watchdog:** The media should document what happens in government and asks tough questions of elected officials about their decisions and behavior. This watchdog role gives elected officials an extra incentive to be ethical and act in the best interest of citizens. For example, a local blogger might write about a city council member's involvement in a real estate development company that is being considered for a city building contract, causing the city council member to withdraw the company from consideration.
- **Information sharing:** The media help citizens become educated about an issue by providing the facts of the matter. Citizens can then use these facts to make up their own minds about what should be done. For example, the local newspaper might post standardized test results for each high school in the areas on its website, along with other information about each school. Citizens can look at this information to see what factors might contribute to high test scores.
- **Mobilizing:** Once the media provide citizens with the facts about an issue, citizens can use these facts to determine a course of action and advocate for it in the community. Using the example from the section on "information sharing," citizens might find that schools with higher test scores have better teacher-student ratios. Based on this information, they might decide to petition the School Board requesting more teachers be hired at their local high school, or to support candidates for office who have made putting more teachers in schools part of their platforms.

It is however important to note that governments, including that of Uganda, international organizations as well as Non-governmental organizations and companies have, over the years come up with laws, policies, programs and protocols to redress the situation. Recent studies in media trends indicate that there is a growing number of women practitioners in the media though few have attained positions at the decision-making level (Bukirwa Sentamu, 1997), and that while portrayal of women is predominantly negative, there are some positive

developments in the images of women in the media. These developments, however minute, should be harnessed and used as an opportunity to reverse the above trend (Gutek and Cohen, 1987; Sahn and Alam, 2013; Wijngard, 1992). In the case of Uganda, for example, women focused media, *Mama FM* (2001), and *The Other Voice* publication (1998) are initiatives to keep the gender debate alive in the media. Most recently, 2014, a National Strategy to Mainstream Gender in Uganda's Media was drafted awaiting review and eventual implementation by the mandated Ministry, Gender, Labour and Social Development.

Problem Statement

Many studies about media and gender in general and about media, gender and elections have been conducted over the years. However, the situation in the context of Uganda is not known. Hence, the need to conduct this study.

The Summary Objective

The overall objective was to undertake a gender analysis of the print media's coverage of the 2016 general elections in Uganda.

Specific Objectives

1. To establish the visibility accorded to both women and men during the print media's coverage of the (2016) elections.
2. To analyze the presentation of stories, with a direct bearing on women.
3. Analyze the portrayal of women and men, in election-related stories.
4. Find out who, between female and male journalists, delivered which election-related stories.
5. Identify and point out some best or worst practices of press coverage (2016 elections) for learning or replication purposes.
6. Propose recommendations to address identified gaps in realizing a gender sensitive print media in Uganda.

Purpose

The main purpose of the study was to generate data to increase the willingness of especially print media to promote gender equality.

Rationale / Justification

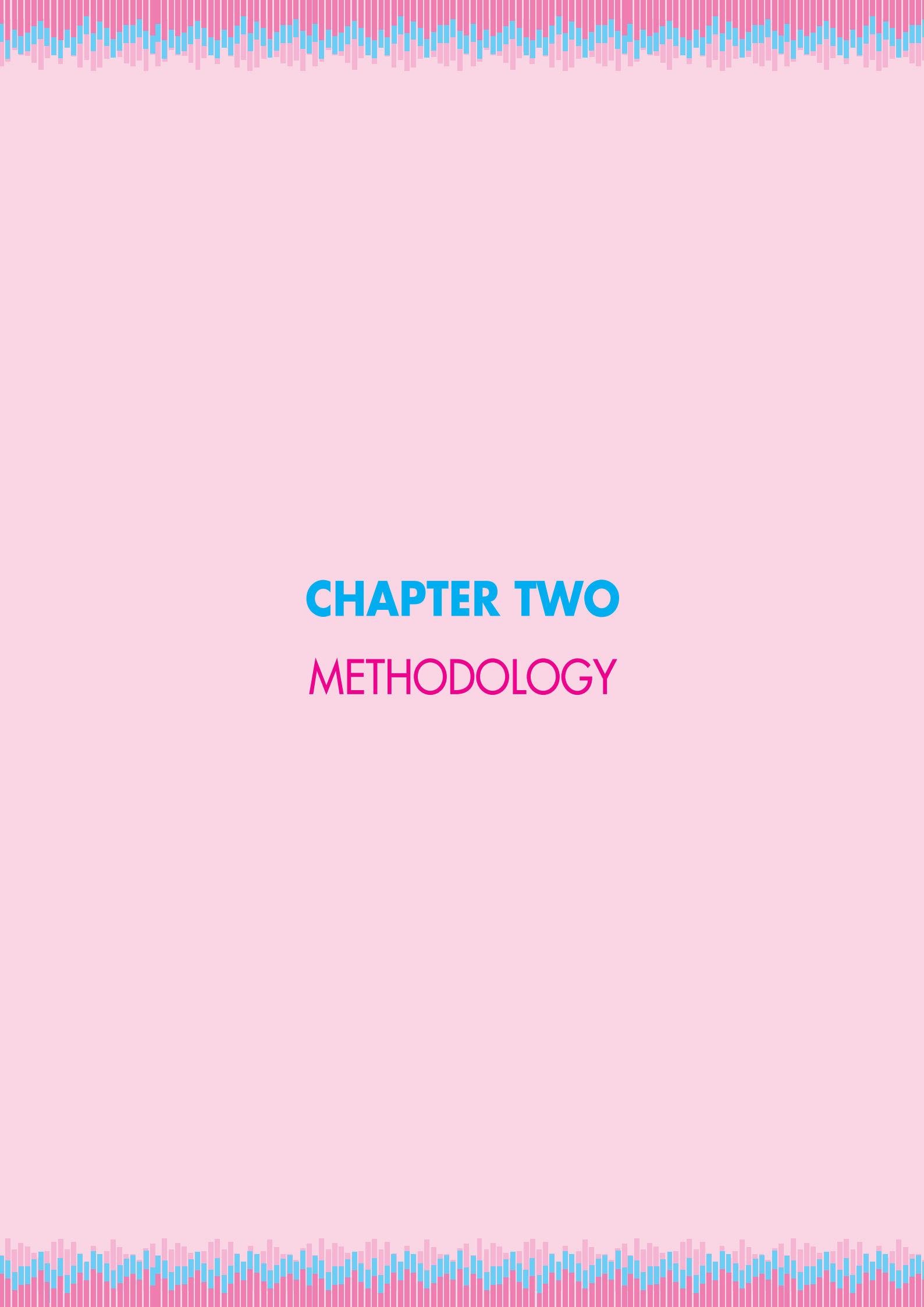
Aware that women constitute over 50% of the world's population, but account for less than 25% of the media content / space (which unfortunately, also includes distortions of their views, contributions and their bodies).

Also aware that despite the onset of the new media platforms, the print still commands significant authority in shaping public opinion.

Aware too, of the major strides women have gained in leadership, but their representation and presentation in the media is still low, despite the existence of some noble initiatives to address those gaps.

The justification for undertaking this study, therefore, was fourfold:-

- The study findings will add onto the already existing data, previously done in this area.
- The study findings will contribute to the review of the Draft National Strategy to Mainstream Gender in Uganda's Media and increase efforts for its implementation.
- The project processes, part of which are platforms for sharing and engagement with stakeholders, will keep the gender debate alive, impacting media operations, and other sectors as well.
- The project is in line with the national and international legal instruments and regulatory frameworks which provide for fair and equal coverage of both genders in the media. These include CEDAW, the Beijing Platform for Action, (1995) Section J: calling for a fair representation and equal representation of women and men in the media; the Electronic Media Act, the Journalistic Code of Conduct, and the Media Guidelines on Elections, among others.



CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY

THE MONITORING GUIDING PRINCIPLES

1. Number and Choice of Newspapers Monitored

Five newspapers (New Vision, Daily Monitor, Red Pepper, Bukedde, and The Observer) were selected because, with the exception of the latter, which is printed thrice a week, they are all dailies; they have the largest circulation in Uganda as well as a strong reputation for news. They also offer diversity in ownership. New Vision and Bukedde are public, while Daily Monitor, Red Pepper and The Observer are privately owned but also founded and managed by highly qualified media persons. Bukedde was chosen to also represent papers published in a local language. Also to note is that the five newspapers claim to exist for the social transformation of Uganda.

A Snap Shot of the Selected Newspapers

New Vision: Is part of the Vision Group incorporated as the New Vision Printing and Publishing Company Limited (NVPPCL), started business in March 1986. Government owns 76% shares, the rest belonging to institutions and individuals.

Vision is: "To be a globally respected Africa Media powerhouse that advances society".

Mission is: "To be market focused, performance-driven organization managed on global financial and operational standards".

Language: English; Circulation: 27,367 (2016); Average number of pages per edition: 56.

Bukedde: Launched in 1994, Bukedde is a sister paper to New Vision sharing the same vision and mission, and managed by the same corporate body, institutions and individuals.

Language: Luganda; Circulation: 20,240; Average number of pages per edition: 36.

Daily Monitor: The newspaper was established in 1994 as The Monitor by local senior media personnel in the country, and relaunched as the Daily Monitor in June 2005. Its name is shared by the Saturday Monitor and Sunday Monitor, which are also published by Monitor Publications Limited. The paper asserts that its private ownership guarantees the independence of its editors and journalists.

Daily Monitor is now part of the Nairobi-based Nation Media Group, owners of the Daily Nation which owns 76.7% of shares in Monitor Publications Limited, with the remainder held by five other individual shareholders.

Vision is: "To be the content provider of choice for the people of Uganda and the world".

Mission is: "To provide the best quality content in a sustainable and profitable way on all our platforms while adding value to the society and shareholders".

Language: English; Circulation: 19,793 (2016); Average number of pages per edition: 42.

Red Pepper: Founded by journalists on June 3rd, 2001, Red Pepper is known for its mix of sensationalism and scandal, but also for its reputation in breaking high level news stories and investigations.

Vision is: "To make the Pepper Publications Limited (PPL) the strongest and most reliable media in the region".

Mission is: "To Contribute Towards National Development by Disseminating Quality Information about the Issues Affecting Our Country".

Language: English; Circulation: 24,230 (2011); Average number of pages per edition: 30.

The Observer: Became a tri-weekly newspaper, in 2011, having evolved from a weekly at its launch in 2004. It is managed under The Observer Media Limited (OML) incorporated February 2, 2004. It is independently owned by a cooperative made up of mostly senior journalists formerly working with The Monitor. The paper has established itself as an informed and daring newspaper, breaking and publishing stories that other media in Uganda will not cover. It also prides itself of being the "only truly independent newspaper in Uganda with no political baggage associated with some of the newspapers on the market" (The Observer, 2006).

Vision is: "To be a fair medium".

Mission is: "To enhance the quality and credibility of news and public affairs reporting".

Language: English; Circulation: 15,000; Average number of pages per edition: 34.

The Women's Pullouts

Full Woman in the Saturday Monitor:

Full Woman was launched in 2004. Its aim is to inspire a woman to be the best she can be. The targeted woman is a woman hungry for information, vibrant, passionate, and progressive.

Her Vision in New Vision:

Her Vision was launched in 1994 to focus on female readership interests. But purpose has since evolved. Then branded Women's Vision, its objective was to support the women's empowerment agenda of the time, and to expose silent injustices against women. Today, Her Vision profiles issues not just the traditional women issues, from a "female" perspective, but it is also a platform to showcase women's achievements. But also in the light of mainstreaming agenda, increasingly the male voice or perspective to issues are becoming part of Her Vision.

2. Days Reviewed

For seven days, the five papers were reviewed, but analysis done for Monday, Wednesday, and Friday editions. This was because of the need to create a balance, in view of the fact that The Observer comes out only on those three specific days. That notwithstanding newspaper women 'pull outs', *Her Vision* (New Vision) and *Full Woman* (Daily Monitor) which don't appear on those three days (but rather on Tuesdays and Saturdays respectively) were also analyzed to gauge how they covered women during elections.

3. What was analyzed, when?

The electoral process in Uganda is continuous and involves many activities including but not limited to passing and enforcing the related laws; voter registration and education; nomination of candidates and campaigns; recruiting and educating electoral officials; polling and vote counting, which culminate in declaration and announcing of election winners and, thereby subsequently sworn in.

For purposes of this study, only stories deemed to reflect any of the above activities were analyzed. Hence the phrase "election-related stories". However, those news stories reporting issues impacting the election – such as death of a candidate / candidate losing a dear one; a phenomenon such as disease or disasters; infrastructure, among others – were also analyzed.

The research was conducted for the period between December 2015 and February 2016. Apart from the limited resources, this timeframe was chosen because it encompasses specific electoral processes that lead to the climax of elections: candidates' nominations, campaigns, voting and declaring of winners.

4. Data Collected

The study sought to collect data specifically relating to:-

- Visibility of women and men in relation to their numbers as news subjects and as news sources, as well as in photographs; the roles news subjects and sources play in the story; their status in society.
- Stories with a direct bearing on women such as those that focus centrally on women (solely about a woman / women); that refer to gender equality / rights legislation and/or policy; that clearly highlight issues of equality between women and men, and those that challenge / reinforce gender stereotypes and the space (size of news stories) as well as the placement (in terms of front or other pages) of the stories in which they featured. Data was also collected, relating to the Women's Pullouts in Daily Monitor, and New Vision.
- The portrayal of women and men through the language used in the text and headlines, as well as what the images featured, say about the roles and responsibilities as well as the position of women and men in society.
- Who delivered the news – the journalists, both female and male – in terms of their numbers; the number of stories they delivered, the number of female and male news

subjects they covered and that of those they sourced; and the geographical scope – local, national and international – of the stories they covered; and the implications of the journalists' sex on story content and context.

- Best and worst practice stories identified for learning purposes. These include those that reinforce or challenge stereotypes; have or don't have a gender balance in sources; and fail to or do indeed make reference to national and international standards.

5. Data Collection and Analysis

The monitoring involved:-

a) Quantitative Analysis:

An internationally recognized gender media monitoring tool, in form of a coding sheet developed by the Global Media Monitoring Project by WACC (*Annex 1*), was adapted to the Ugandan context, and was applied to establish:

- The number of women and men in the news, the type of story in which they are found, the roles they play in the story.
- The number of female and male journalists authoring an article, by newspaper.

b) Qualitative Analysis:

- A content analysis of news stories, to illustrate basic patterns in the reporting, was undertaken to create co-relationships between selected variables and themes.
- Qualitative content analysis is a specialized sub-set of content analysis, a well established research methodology. Content analysis is a research technique that employs a set of procedures to systematically and objectively gather and analyze the content of text so as to make valid inferences while recognizing that media texts are polysemic i.e. open to multiple different meanings to different readers. The 'content' refers to words, meanings, pictures, symbols, ideas, themes, or any other messages that can be communicated, while 'text' is something written, visual, or spoken that serves as a medium of communication (Macnamara, 2005).

6. Study Limitations and Delimitation

- a) The study employed the qualitative content analysis methodology. However, media texts are polysemic i.e. open to multiple different meanings to different people.

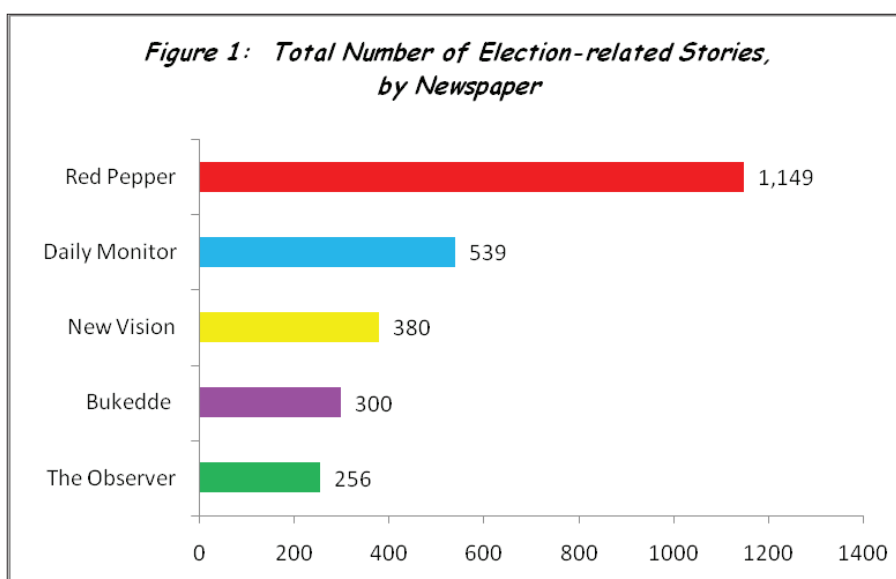
Being aware that the above may impact the findings, a three-day training session involving, among others, a critical analysis of sample stories from previous editions of newspapers was conducted for the research team in an effort to, as much as practically possible, create a common understanding and consensus about analyzing the different phenomena to be analyzed.

- b) The statistics on the readership and circulation figures of the newspapers under review were not readily available.

NEWS STORIES ANALYZED

TOTAL NUMBER OF STORIES

There were a total of **2,624** election-related stories during the study period, three hundred and eighty of which were from New Vision, Daily Monitor (539), Red Pepper (1,149), The Observer (256), and Bukedde (300). Red Pepper had the largest number of election related stories (44%) while The Observer had the least, with ten percent.



Women's Pullouts

There were a total of seven election related stories in the two women's pullout, three from *Her Vision*, and four from *Full Woman*.

Table 1: Women's Pullouts

Name	Numbers
Her Vision	3
Full Woman	4
Total	7



CHAPTER THREE

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

VISIBILITY OF WOMEN AND MEN IN THE NEWS

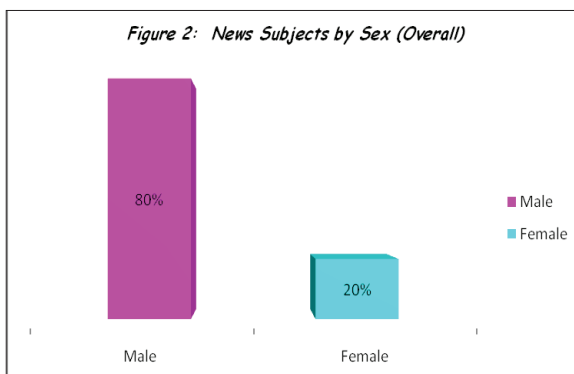
Visibility in print media has been construed to mean being read about (news subject), or being heard (a source – being quoted), or being seen (photographed), or having a mixture of two or all the three of them.

The study findings under this section, therefore, are a reflection of the extent to which the print media featured men or women as news subjects, sources or in photographs (images), signifying the visibility each of the genders was accorded. The status of the news subjects and the sources together with the roles each play in the story have also been considered under this section as they seem to have a linkage to the magnitude of the visibility, one would be allotted in the print media.

The related findings have been presented under sub-headings: News subjects; media, gender and status; news sources; and images in the news.

NEWS SUBJECTS

Analysis for the period under study (December 2015; January and February 2016) showed that overall, women constituted only 20% of news subjects, the majority (80%) having been male, out of a total of 8,363.



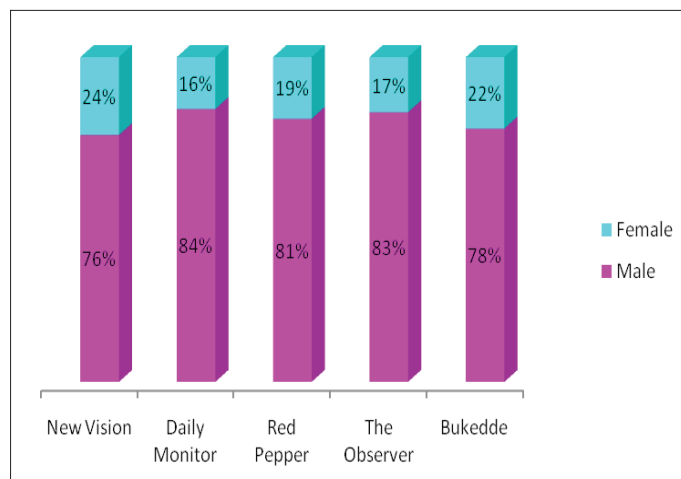
Presence of Female and Male News Subjects by Newspaper

Analysis of the presence of female and male news subjects by medium indicates that for all newspapers, men dominated. *New Vision* had 24% of female news subjects (out of a total of 2,119), being the highest among all the newspapers, while *Daily Monitor* had the lowest representation with only 16% (out of a total of 1,311). Representation of female news subjects in *Bukedde* was at 22% - out of a total of 1,309; *Red Pepper* had 19% out of a total of 2,484 stories; and *The Observer* had 17% women out of a total of 1,140 news subjects. Male news subjects on the other hand, constituted 76%, 84%, 81%, 83%, and 78% for *New Vision*, *Daily Monitor*, *Red Pepper*, *The Observer*, and *Bukedde*, respectively (see Figure 2).

This implies that while a majority of Uganda's population is female, only 20 percent of their stories are being told. Even when taking into account that less women participate as candidates

in the electoral process, it is still safe to conclude that reports on women are underrepresented. Women are not proportionately represented within the country's print media, especially during the critical time of the general elections.

Figure 3: News Subjects, by Sex, by Newspaper



MEDIA, GENDER AND STATUS

Position / Occupation of News Subjects

The study sought to establish whether or not there is a relationship between the sex of the news subjects and the occupations / positions they occupy in society, during coverage of elections by the print media.

The study findings indicate that politicians were the majority (68.3%); followed by Government employees (6.4%); Police, Military, etc (5.6%); Occupation not stated (4.1%); and Lawyer, Judge, etc at 3 percent; the least represented occupations were Retired Person / Pensioner (0.01%), followed by Child, Young person, etc, and Homemaker, Parent, etc each at 0.03%; Sports person / Coach etc (0.04%); and Student, pupil, school child (0.1%).

Analysis of the data indicates that the representation of women and men in newspaper coverage during elections has gender dimensions tagged to their occupations. The representation of males was 100% under occupation category of criminal, suspect, and no single (0%) female. There is a tendency for the media to glorify, and in the process perpetuate male violence, especially if it is against women.

Further analysis reveals that there was minimal presence of female news subjects in those areas Ugandan society considers to be a male domain. The 5 topmost occupations dominated by males were Retired person, Pensioner (100%); Religious figure (94%); Police, Military, etc (93%); Royalty, etc (92%) and Science / Technology, etc (91%).

Similarly, the five occupations where women featured most, are indeed those where society expects them to belong. Findings indicate that female news subjects featured most in those occupations (*child, young person, etc, has been discounted*) traditionally associated with

motherhood and care giving such as Homemaker, parent (100%); Health worker, etc (71%); Doctor, dentist, etc (31%); Academic expert, teacher, etc (33%); as well as those occupations considered to be of less prestige such as Office or service worker, etc (71%).

By the media giving coverage of elections based along culturally defined gender role stereotypes, it is perpetuating erroneous notions and perceptions, of male superiority and female inferiority, of males in the public arena, and of women in the domestic fields. This behaviour supports the traditional idea that women who venture outside the home are 'role deviants'.

Table 2: Position / Occupation of News Subjects, by Sex

	OCCUPATION	Female		Male		Total *	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
0	Not stated	133	38	213	62	346	4.1
1	Royalty, monarch, deposed monarch, etc.	6	8	66	92	72	0.8
2	Politician, minister, spokesperson...	1,116	20	4,603	80	5,719	68.3
3	Government employee, public servant, etc.	93	17	444	83	537	6.4
4	Police, military, para-military, militia, fire officer	35	7	440	93	475	5.6
5	Academic expert, lecturer, teacher	20	33	40	67	60	0.7
6	Doctor, dentist, health specialist	8	31	18	69	26	0.3
7	Health worker, social worker, childcare worker	15	71	6	29	21	0.2
8	Science/ technology professional, engineer, etc.	1	9	10	91	11	0.1
9	Media professional, journalist, film-maker, etc.	17	22	60	78	77	0.9
10	Lawyer, judge, magistrate, legal advocate, etc.	45	18	208	82	253	3.0
11	Business person, exec, manager, stock broker...	16	15	91	85	107	1.2
12	Office or service worker, non-management worker	15	71	6	29	21	0.2
13	Tradesperson, artisan, labourer, truck driver, etc.	10	18	46	82	56	0.6
14	Agriculture, mining, fishing, forestry	2	14	12	86	14	0.1
15	Religious figure, priest, monk, rabbi, mullah, nun	11	6	159	94	170	2.0
16	Activist or worker in civil society organization, NGO, trade union	36	27	96	73	132	1.5
17	Celebrity, artist, actor, writer, singer, TV personality	25	27	68	73	93	1.1
18	Sportsperson, athlete, player, coach, referee	1	25	3	75	4	0.04
19	Student, pupil, schoolchild	5	50	5	50	10	0.1
20	Homemaker, parent (male or female)) only if no other occupation is given e.g. doctor/mother = code 6	3	100	0	0	3	0.03
21	Child, young person no other occupation given	3	100	0	0	3	0.03
22	Villager or resident no other occupation given	52	39	80	61	132	1.5
23	Retired person, pensioner no other occupation given	0	0	1	100	1	0.01
24	Criminal, suspect no other occupation given	0	0	29	100	29	0.3
25	Unemployed	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	1,659	(20)	6,704	(80)	8,363	100

* Percentage totals not rounded off for purposes of accommodating all occupations that were represented.

The above notwithstanding, this was an electoral period where both women and men ought to have participated fairly and equally (in terms of facilitating their views on governance issues, how they wish to be governed; or engaging those who are offering themselves for leadership), and to be given equal coverage in the print media. Out of a total of 5,719 news subjects whose occupation was politician etc, only 20% were female. On the other hand, the print media opted to have men in that occupation dominating (80%) coverage. At the same time, there was over focus on people who have always had frequent media coverage, as news subjects most specially politicians (68.3%) as well as civil servants (6.4%) and security personnel (5.6%) at the expense of others. The local / average person as represented by the other occupations – outside the above mentioned three – and who equally had a stake in this election had less coverage as news subjects.

Identity and Family Status in the News

Women are often defined in the news in terms of their family relationships (wife / mother / daughter of..... etc). Men are sometimes defined in this way too (husband, father, son of..... etc) (GMMP, 2010). This study intended to find out whether, during reporting on this election, this was the case. While the survey shows that most (98%) news subjects are not identified by their family status, further analysis shows that women are seven times (7% - out of a total of 1,659 female news subjects) more likely to be identified by their family status as wives, mothers, daughters, etc, as opposed to men, (only 1% - out of a total of 6,704 male news subjects) being referred to as husbands, sons, etc.

Table 3: News Subjects identified by their Family Status, by Sex

Family Status given	N	%	Total (News Subjects)
Male	92	1	6,704
Female	114	7	1,659
Total	206	2	8,363

In the story headlined **“Mbabazi Camp, family fear Aine is dead”** there are four (4) news subjects, one of whom is a female. While all the male subjects are associated with some occupation, the female is not, but referred to merely as ‘a sister’ of Aine. (Daily Monitor, January 4, 2016, page 3).

By identifying women by their family status as mothers or wives, the media domesticates women further, inspite of their increasing participation in the public domain, while at the same time divorcing men from familiar responsibilities.



Roles of News Subjects in the stories

The study also sought to find out what roles (the capacity under which a news subject appeared in the news story) female and male news sources played in the different news stories related to elections. The roles have been categorized into the following:-

Do not know: the person's role is not clear.

Subject: the story is about this person, or about something the person has done, said etc.

Spokesperson: the person represents, or speaks on behalf of another person, a group or an organization.

Expert or specialist commentator: the person provides additional information, opinion or comment, based on specialist knowledge or expertise.

Personal experience: the person provides opinion or comment, based on individual personal experience; the opinion is not necessarily meant to reflect the views of a wider group.

Eye witness: the person gives testimony or comment, based on what he/she saw at that point in time (event, etc).

Popular opinion: the person's opinion is assumed to reflect that of the 'ordinary citizen' (e.g., in a street interview, vox pop etc); it is implied that the person's point of view is shared by a wider group of people.

The study findings indicate that while a majority of both women (82%) and men (85%) appeared under the role of 'news subjects', gender dimensions begin to emerge with regard to the other categories of roles (those that gave additional information). The representation of women (out of the 1,659 female news sources) was 7% for those women whose role was categorized as 'not known' as opposed to only 1% for male news sources. The findings reveal further that women are more likely to be heard in the news as persons narrating personal experiences (3%) as opposed to only 2% for men. On the other hand, men are more than one and a half times (5%) more likely to be heard in the news as 'spokespersons' than women (3%). Similarly, male news sources formed the bulk of persons whose opinions are based on specialist knowledge or expertise (4%) as opposed to only 2% for women. Men were also more preponderant (2%) as persons providing popular opinion than women (1%).

Table 4: Roles of Female and Male News Subjects in the stories

Function in Story	Female	Male
Subject	82%	85%
Spokesperson	3%	5%
Expert or specialist	2%	4%
Personal experience	3%	2%
Popular opinion	1%	2%
Not known	7%	1%
Eye witness	2%	1%

The above findings are revealing in that they portray men's superiority relative to women. This is in terms of having more men than women providing popular opinions – that are representative of views shared by the wider society – as opposed to more women than men narrating personal experiences that do not necessarily reflect those of the wider group. Further still, they are reflective of societal expectations of women not speaking in public, by having less women than men speaking on behalf of others as their spokespersons. Lastly, there is an element of portraying superiority of men's views. In an election period when voters are expected to make informed decisions about the most suitable candidates, one would have expected more people to voice their opinions. However, the print media solicited such expert opinions largely from men, which may reflect Ugandan society's emphasis on seeking expert opinions from men rather than women, and carries connotations of women being wanting in specialist knowledge.

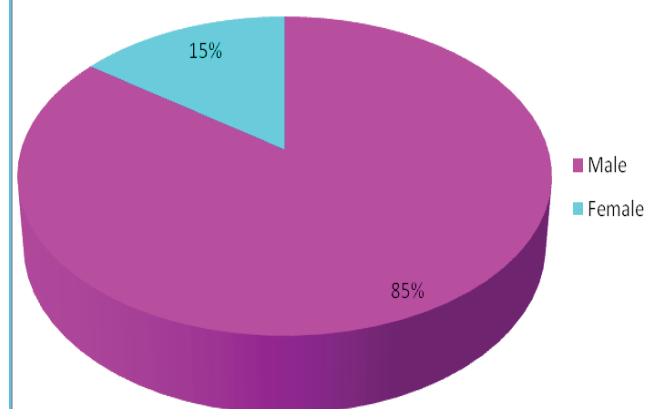
NEWS SOURCES

A news source can be described as the person(s) whose opinion(s) or a comment(s) on the news subject or subject matter are carried in the story. The source can be directly quoted through a fresh interview or a document (compiled before) on the subject matter. For purposes of this study, only direct quotes have been considered.

Women and Men's Opinions Overall

Analysis of the five newspapers sought to find out whose (women's or men's) opinions or points of view were reflected in the news stories. A total of 2,495 news subjects were quoted, out of whom a majority (85%) were male while females constituted only fifteen (15) percent. This shows that in as much as women may appear in the news, the likelihood of being heard dwindles by at least five (5) percent, the reverse being true for males. It implies further that the needs, interests, and aspirations of women are not likely to be heard in newspapers. In view of the fact that it is usually during election periods that political office seekers' intentions for the electorate are made clear, and the electorate's expectations are brought to the fore, it was only fair that those intentions and expectations for both female and male political office seekers, as well as of the electorate are highlighted by the print media, through their own voices, which was not the case.

Figure 4: News Sources Quoted, by Sex



Presence of Female and Male News Sources Quoted by Newspaper

Analysis for individual newspapers replicates general findings of underrepresentation of female news subjects in relation to the number of times they were directly quoted as news sources. Relative to the total number of news subjects quoted for each individual newspaper, the highest percentage representation of women who were directly quoted was registered in New Vision (17%) while men constituted 83% out of 738. Daily Monitor had 16% female, males forming 84% out of 742; The Observer had 13% of all those quoted being women and men 87% out of 518, while Red Pepper had only 12% of women being quoted out of 373. Bukedde, on the other hand, had the least number of female voices (11%) out of 124.

Example: Daily Monitor, December 11, 2015, page 4 headlined: “Why opposition numbers in parliament remain small”.

Analysis – All the news sources (referred to as stakeholders in the story) quoted are male without any single female voice, which if it had been sought, would have perhaps generated the missing gender element separate from the reasons given, in the story.

4 FRIDAY, DECEMBER 11, 2015

national

UGANDA DECIDES 2016

Why Opposition numbers in Parliament remain small

Justification. Analysts point to a hostile environment created by the ruling party and the Opposition's internal organisational weaknesses.

BY YASIN MUGERWA
editorial@ug.nationmedia.com

PARLIAMENT. More than 20 candidates running for political office will soon be gazetted as unopposed, paving the way for them to be declared either MPs or district chairpersons-elect in an environment where the ruling party's historical monopoly of the political space continues to show its effects.

According to preliminary data from the Electoral Commission, of more than 1,200 parliamentary aspirants countrywide, 12 MPs and 11 district chairpersons emerged unopposed. The 22 are all members of the National Resistance Movement (NRM).

In 2011, there were nine unopposed candidates, also from the ruling party. There were 1,270 candidates registered for the single-member constituency elections and 443 for the district-level reserved seats for women.

WHAT STAKEHOLDERS SAY



Jimmy Akena, UPC president. “For 20 years, political parties were not allowed to organise and groom future leaders. Even now, we cannot mobilise support and commercialisation of politics added insult to injury. All this affected our capacity to field candidates in all the elective positions.”



Mathias Nsubuga, DP Secretary General. “For two decades, DP was confined in Kampala and we could not go to areas like Karamoja and Western Uganda. The NRM benefited from the one-party system because for a long time parties were not allowed to mobilise.”



Frank Tumwebaze, Minister for the Presidency. “Instead of blaming NRM, let them explain why they failed to field candidates in an open contest. NRM has unopposed candidates because Opposition is weak and rejected by the people.”



Nandala Mafabi, FDC secretary general. “Museveni uses police to block us from accessing the voters and he shamelessly calls our leaders liars. Although there is a justification to our inability to field candidates in some places, it does not mean that we are doing nothing.”

said: “The Opposition in Uganda is still growing and given the legal and political and logistical constraints, that is expected.”

For the first 20 years of his rule, President Museveni banned political party activity. It was not until 2005 when local and international pressure forced him to abandon the one-party state arrangement that

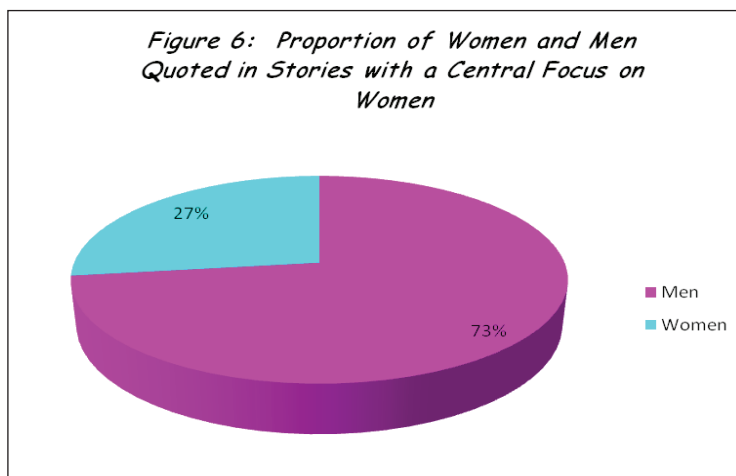
Instead, the unity we craved could not see the light of the day. The 12 seats gave added advantage to NRM and weaken the Opposition.”

Mr Wadri explained that it's a fundamental mistake for Opposition leaders to focus on the Presidency while ignoring the pillars that will keep their government in power in the event

The money issue
Explaining why NRM continued to dominate the political

Direct Quotes from Women and Men in Stories focusing on Women

Further analysis conducted established that even within stories which focused on women, there were more men (73%) directly quoted than the women (27%) the stories were about.



For the individual newspapers, the representation of women directly quoted in such stories was highest in the Red Pepper – 27 (32%) followed by New Vision – 9 (30%), Daily Monitor – 17 (28%), and The Observer – 9 (26%). Bukedde had – 1 (five percent).

Table 5: Proportion of Women quoted in Stories with a Central Focus on Women, by Newspaper

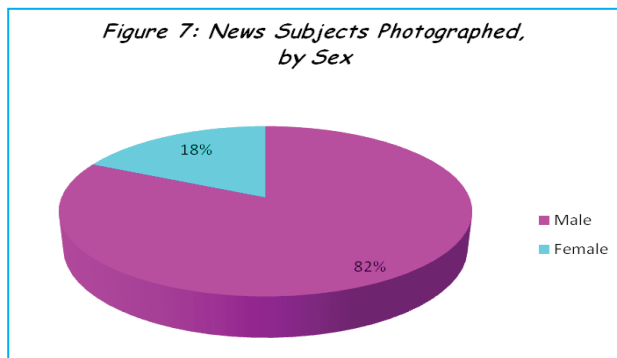
Newspaper	Yes	No
Red Pepper	32%	68%
New Vision	30%	70%
Daily Monitor	28%	72%
The Observer	26%	74%
Bukedde	5%	95%

Red Pepper, December 28, 2015, page 7 – Headlined **“Act now or lose Woman vote!”** – It is a story about women, **‘living in intense fear’** being part of the explanation why **‘..... rallies are mainly attended by men and youth’**, however, there is no single woman who was quoted.

IMAGES IN THE NEWS

Previous studies, as reviewed in the background to this study, have indicated that there is a gendered use of imagery in the media that does not reflect the true identities of women and men by reinforcing gender stereotypes. This study, therefore, proposed to investigate the situation relating to reporting of the 2016 general elections by the print media.

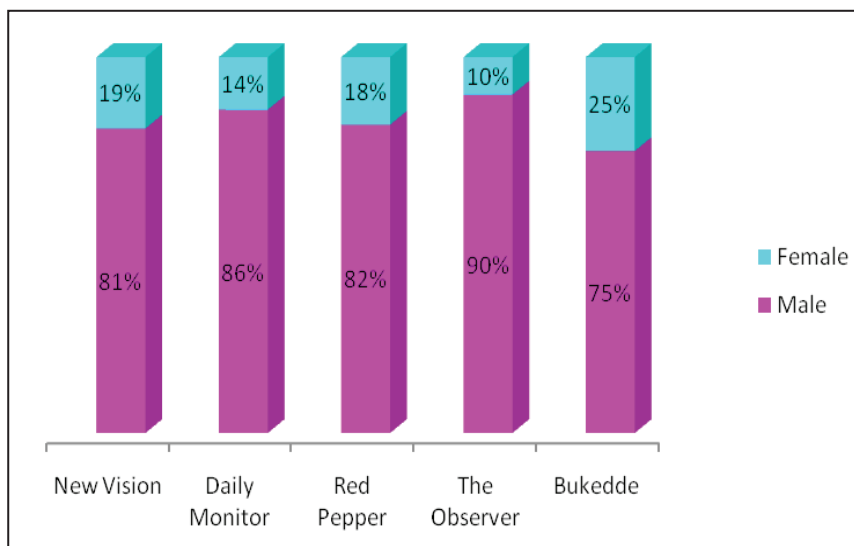
The findings revealed that there was a very significant difference between the number of women and men who appeared in print media photographs. Female news subjects had a representation of only 18% while the majority (82%) were male out of a total of 1,810 news subjects photographed.



Note: The percentage of female news subjects quoted out of all those news subjects was 15, while those photographed is 18%, creates a difference of 3%, implying that women are to be seen and not be heard.

The proportion of female and male news subjects photographed by each newspaper was also analyzed and the findings show that Bukedde had the highest (33%) number of females photographed (out of a total of 398). Women photographed in New Vision constituted 19%, out of a total of 418, Red Pepper 18% out of a total of 445, and Daily Monitor, only fourteen (14) percent, out of a total of 308. The Observer, with only 10%, out of a total of 241, had the least.

Figure 8: Sex of News Subjects Photographed, by Newspaper (%)



Other observations about photographs:-

- There was only one photograph of the only female presidential candidate, featuring her addressing a rally. And this was deep inside on page 10 of New Vision, Monday, January 11, 2016. Conversely, the male presidential candidates did not only feature daily, but also graced the front and other catchy pages – especially Yoweri Museveni and Kiiza Besigye.
- Placed in the politico-media context, Ms. Kyalya was relatively new on the political scene to attract wide media coverage as opposed to the above two who did so by virtue of

incumbency in the case of the former, and having been contesting for the fourth time in the case of the latter. That notwithstanding, the other fellow five male contestants who were equally new on the political scene attracted much more media coverage than the only female presidential contestant.

- There was only one photograph of a female candidate for parliament, showing her addressing a rally. Even then, a photograph from a previous function (a file photo) was used, as opposed to their male counterparts whose on-the-spot campaign photos were used.
- In some stories specifically about women, the accompanying photos are mostly of men, and in some cases, with none for the women in the story.
- Yet in others, the women who featured, evidently had nothing to do with the story at all, but their pictures were simply put there.

Maureen Kyalya, Yoweri Museveni, and Kiiza Besigye were part of the eight Presidential Candidates, the former being the only female presidential candidate. But while Museveni and Besigye enjoyed front page space in the five papers, the nearest page Kyalya appeared addressing a rally was page 10.

Kyalya - Museveni – Besigye Campaign Photos



New Vision, Monday, January 11, 2016, page 10

Kyalya Campaigns in Teso

Daily Monitor, Friday, February 12, 2016, page 1



Besigye campaigns in Wakiso

New Vision, Monday, December 21, 2015
Page 1

Museveni campaigns in Busia

STORIES WITH A DIRECT BEARING ON WOMEN

It was not enough to merely collect data on the number of news stories, but it was felt important to look out for stories that impact women in a special way either by being specifically about women or that deal with matters that affect women in a particular way highlighting inequalities between men and women or promoting social justice. The findings under this section have, therefore, been presented under the following four categories:-

- Stories that have a central focus on a woman / women.
- Stories that refer to gender equality / rights legislation, and/or policies.
- Stories that clearly highlight issues of equality between women and men, and
- Stories that challenge / reinforce gender stereotypes.

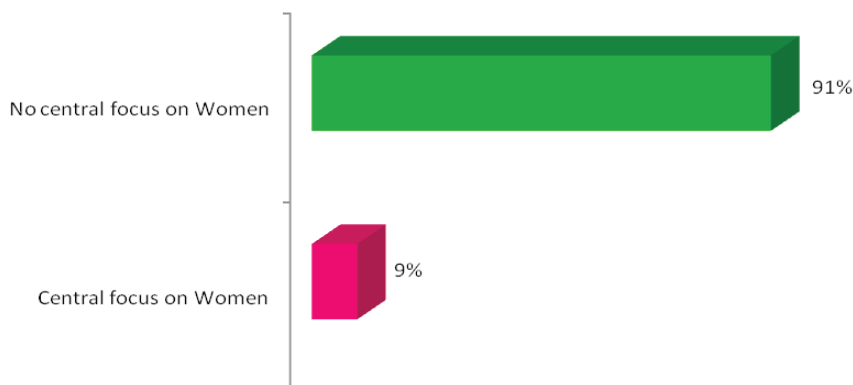
In addition, an attempt to analyze the placement and the space in relation to the four above was done whose findings are also presented under this section. In the last part of this section, the analysis of the data relating to Women's Pullouts, in as far as they covered the general elections is presented.

WOMEN'S CENTRALITY IN PRINT MEDIA NEWS

Data from previous studies indicate that most newsmakers, i.e. the people whose actions and opinions are reported in the news are men. But women too, do sometimes 'make news' in a significant way (GMMP, 2010). There was, therefore, a need to establish the kinds of stories that focused centrally on women, stories that are specifically about women (a group of women, or an individual woman).

The study established that out of 2,624 news stories analyzed, only 230 (9%) had a central focus on women.

Figure 9: Stories with a Central Focus on Women



The representation of stories about women as a percentage of the total number of stories for each newspaper was highest in *The Observer* (13%) followed by *Daily Monitor* (11%) and New Vision (8%). The lowest, each with 7%, was registered in Red Pepper and Bukedde.

Table 6: Stories with Central Focus on Women, by Newspaper

Newspaper Focus	Number	Percentage	Total (News Stories)
The Observer	34	13	256
Daily Monitor	61	11	539
New Vision	30	8	380
Bukedde	20	7	300
Red Pepper	85	7	1,149

STORIES THAT REFER TO GENDER EQUALITY / RIGHTS LEGISLATION OR POLICY

Proponents for a gender-just media contend that human rights and women's rights are relatively invisible in mainstream news content (GMMP, 2010). Therefore, the study sought to find out if the stories about the 2016 elections quoted or made reference to any policies and/or legal instruments on gender equality or human rights.

Findings indicate that in this category, the only reference made was to gender policies that presidential candidates were promising to institute. Among such policies were promises to increase the *Women Fund* in the national budget; ensuring that maternal and infant mortality rates are reduced; and provision of sanitary pads to school girls.

There were only 136 (5%) stories that made reference to gender equality / rights legislations, and policies, out of 2,624, the rest (95%) having made no reference at all.

Table 7: Stories that Refer to Gender Equality / Rights Legislation, Policies

	%
No	95%
Yes	5%

In relation to the total number of stories by each newspaper, the highest contribution of stories that referred to gender equality / rights legislation, policies was registered by *The Observer* (12%) followed by New Vision (10%), *Daily Monitor* (8%), and Bukedde (6%). Red Pepper, with 0.4%, had the least.

Table 8: Stories that Refer to Gender Equality / Rights Legislation and Policies, by Newspaper

Newspaper	N	%	Total (News Stories)
The Observer	30	12	256
New Vision	39	10	380
Daily Monitor	45	8	539
Bukedde	17	6	300
Red Pepper	5	0.4	1,149

STORIES THAT CLEARLY HIGHLIGHT ISSUES OF EQUALITY BETWEEN WOMEN AND MEN

Stories that highlight issues concerning equality or inequality between women and men include those that focus directly on an area of inequality. The study set out to find out the media's coverage of existing or proposed legislations / policies and/or any related reforms with regard to gender equality that candidates promised voters not only to further debate about, but also for the readership to appreciate, them. The findings indicate that only 27 stories representing only one (1) percent out of the 2,624 election-related stories, clearly highlighted issues of equality, between women and men. These included comments made by presidential candidates and those of news subjects with regard to problems faced by women seeking electoral office, distribution of and access to resources, or discrimination in relation to rights of various kinds.

Table 9: Story Clearly Highlights Equality Issues (as a percentage of the total number of stories by each Newspaper)

Newspaper	%	Total (News Stories)
The Observer	4	256
Daily Monitor	2	539
New Vision	1	380
Bukedde	1	300
Red Pepper	0	1,149

The Observer had the highest number (4%), of stories that clearly highlighted issues of equality between women and men, followed by Daily Monitor (2%) while New Vision and Bukedde each had one (1) percent. Red Pepper had no (0%) story of that nature at all.

STORIES THAT CHALLENGE OR REINFORCE GENDER STEREOTYPES

Some stereotypes about women and men are universal. For example, women are generally perceived to be unambitious, irrational, fragile, dependent, etc, while men are usually regarded as ambitious, rational, strong, independent, etc. (Gallagher, 1979; ISIS, 1981; Mattelart, 1986). Many news stories clearly reinforce stereotypes. Some stories clearly challenge these stereotypes. Stories that challenge stereotypes include those that overturn common assumptions about women and men in relation to their attributes, traits, roles or occupations, expertise or competence, interests, etc. Stories that reinforce stereotypes are those that reinscribe the generalized, simplistic and often exaggerated assumptions of masculinity and femininity in a given cultural context (GMMP, 2015).

During the survey, prevalence of gender stereotypes was, therefore, analyzed and findings show that stories that challenge stereotypes formed only 0.2% while those that perpetuate them constituted one (1) percent, in each case, out of 2,624 news stories. It should be noted that while these representative percentages appear, and seem to be, small due consideration has to be accorded the fact that the media's continuous sending out of stereotypical messages has a cumulative effect on the readers. Indeed according to Shaw (1997), cognition of a topic is more prominent in an individual's mind when the topic is repeated over a long period of time. Moreover, by stories that challenge stereotypes constituting only 1% effectively means that it may take longer to change the stereotypical mindset.

Table 10: Stories that Challenged / Reinforced Gender Stereotypes, by Newspaper

Newspaper Focus	Challenged Stereotypes		Reinforced Stereotypes		Total (Number of Stories)
	N	%	N	%	
The Observer	3	1.1	0	0	256
Daily Monitor	3	0.5	2	0.3	539
New Vision	1	0.2	1	0.2	380
Red Pepper	0	0	15	1.3	1,149
Bukedde	0	0	4	1.3	300
Total	7	(0.2)	23	(1)	2,624

Total Challenge: Total 7 (0.2 of 2,624)

Total Reinforce: Total: 7 (0.2% out of 2,624)

The percentage representation for each newspaper of stories that challenged stereotypes (in relation to the total number of stories by each newspaper) was highest in The Observer (1.1%) followed by Daily Monitor (0.5%) and New Vision (0.2%). The Red Pepper and Bukedde never had any such stories.

On the other hand, constitution of news stories that reinforce stereotypes was highest in the Red Pepper and Bukedde, each at 1.3%, followed by Daily Monitor and New Vision, each with 0.3% and 0.2% respectively. The Observer did not have any story in this category.

WHERE WERE THE STORIES WITH A DIRECT BEARING ON WOMEN PLACED IN THE PRINT MEDIA?

According to Carol and McCombs (2003), newspapers can influence readers by whether the story is the *lead story*, front page versus inside page, or the size of the headline. Yet, articles featuring women are rarely given prominence by front or back space allocations (Adagala and Wambui, 1993).

The study, therefore, sought to find out, where in the newspapers, stories that are of a specific nature to women and concerns relevant to gender equality were placed. Such stories have been categorized into four – *those that have a central focus on women; those that make reference to gender equality / rights legislation, and policies; those that clearly highlight issues of (in) equality between women and men; and stories that clearly challenge or reinforce gender stereotypes*. Placement itself has been categorized into two, i.e. stories that were placed on pages 1 – 5 (1st 5 pages) and those that appeared on page 6 and beyond (other pages).

The study findings indicate that many such stories did not find space on the front pages and, therefore, hardly featured on the next four pages. The total number of stories of that nature was 423, out of which only 36% were featured on the first five pages, a majority (64%) having been on the 'other pages', i.e. from page six (6) onwards. This may lead to the conclusion that the print media did not consider them that much salient.

Table 11: Placement of Stories with a direct bearing on Women

Story Type	1 st 5 Pages	Other Pages	Total (Story type)
Story about a woman / women (Central focus)	19	81	230
Story refers to gender equality / rights legislation, policies	51	49	136
Story challenges / reinforces gender stereotypes	30	70	30
Story highlights inequality between women and men	42	58	27
Total	36	64	423

The findings further indicate that only 19% of stories that were about a particular woman or women were placed on the first 5 pages, the majority (81%) having been placed deep inside the surveyed newspapers. The implication is that women as news subjects have, about *one chance in three* to feature on the first five (5) pages of newspapers.

In an election period such as was the case during the course of the study, it implies that the views, opinions and policy (or any other) issues of female candidates were not given the attention they deserved which by implication also means that female contenders for public office were not given chance to be heard by the voters which may have put them at a disadvantage. It should also be noted that a significant number of stories that had a central focus on women and had featured on the front pages were largely sensational or stereotypical, such as showing women's emotionality. (See Minister Nantaba's picture on page 41).

The findings indicate further that placement of stories that refer to gender equality / rights legislation and policies had a higher (51%) coverage on the first five (5) pages than on the 'other pages' (49%). This can be attributed, however, to the fact that presidential candidates, especially the NRM flag bearer, Yoweri Museveni, featured on the front pages most of the time, where the planned policies, such as boosting the Women Fund with billions of shillings; improving maternal health care; and providing sanitary pads to school girls were covered.

Coverage of stories that highlighted issues of equality between women and men on the first five pages constituted 42% while those on 'other pages' was 58%.

Further revealed was that only 30% of stories that challenge or reinforce gender stereotypes were featured on the first five pages, the majority (70%) having been covered on the 'other pages'.

HOW MUCH SPACE WAS ACCORDED TO STORIES WITH A DIRECT BEARING ON WOMEN?

The survey sought to find out how much space was allocated to stories specifically about women and those that are of relevance to gender equality, during coverage of the 2016 national elections in Uganda.

Analysis was based upon categorizing size of articles depending on whether the article featured on a full page, half page, third of a page, quarter page, or less than a quarter of a page. Study findings indicate that the space allocated to such issues was minimal.

Table 12: Space allocated to Stories (in terms of page size)

Type of Story	Space Allocated										Total
	Full Page		Half Page		Third of a Page		Quarter Page		Less than Quarter Page		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
About a woman / women (central focus)	30	13	37	16	48	20	56	24	59	26	136
Refers to gender equality/ Rights legislation and policies	35	26	28	20	27	20	26	19	20	15	230
Highlights equality between women and men	2	8	6	22	3	11	10	37	6	22	27
Challenges / Reinforces gender stereotypes	6	20	6	20	7	23	7	23	4	14	30
Total	73 (17)		77 (18)		85 (20)		99 (23)		89 (21)		423

There was a total of 423 news stories that were specifically about women and that are relevant to gender equality. The above table shows that the stories that were featured on a full page constituted only 17% while the majority (23%) were on space equivalent to a quarter of a page each. Those that appeared on less than a quarter page constituted 21%, third of a page (20%) while only 18% were on a half page.

Further analysis revealed that with the exception of stories that referred to gender equality / rights legislation and policies, where a majority (26%) appeared in stories covering a full page – attributed to, again, the fact that presidential candidates, who often had full page coverage, promised to provide sanitary pads to school girls, increase the women fund and, improve maternal and infant health – the rest, followed the general pattern of appearing in stories that covered smaller space.

Only 13% of stories about women had full page coverage, the majority (26%) having had less than a quarter page coverage. The others were covered on quarter page (24%), third of a page (20%) and 16% on half page. Stories that highlighted inequality between women and men had the highest coverage (37%) on story size of a quarter page followed by half page and less than a quarter page, each at 22%, while only 8% of this category of story had full page coverage. Stories that challenge / reinforce gender stereotypes had most coverage on space that was third of a page, and a quarter of a page (each at 23%) followed by those that covered full page and half page (each at 20%). However, only 14% covered less than a quarter of a page space.

That a significant number of news stories that were specifically about women, and those that are of relevance to gender equality covered page space that was less than a quarter (21%); only a quarter (23%) and a third of a page (20%) suggests, among others, that such issues are not considered important.

THE 'WOMEN'S PULLOUTS'

In a bid to improve on the visibility of women in the media, the electronic and print media in Uganda, continue to make innovations including setting aside "women's pages" or airtime, for them to express their concerns. *101.7 Mama FM*, a women focused radio (2001) and *The Other Voice* (1998) both initiatives of UMWA, are such in Uganda. Daily Monitor and New Vision also have similar initiatives otherwise known as *women magazines* or *pullouts*.

Full Woman in the *Saturday Monitor*: was launched in 2004. Its aim is to *inspire a woman to be the best she can be*. The targeted woman is a woman hungry for information, vibrant, passionate, and progressive.

Her Vision in *New Vision*: was launched in 1994 to focus on female readership interests. Then branded *Women's Vision*, its objective was to support the women's empowerment agenda of the time, and to expose silent injustices against women. Today, *Her Vision* profiles issues not just the traditional women issues, from a "female" perspective, but it is also a platform to showcase women's achievements. But also in the light of mainstreaming gender, increasingly the male voice or perspective to such issues are becoming part of *Her Vision*.

The study therefore sought to find out the extent to which *Her Vision* and *Full Woman* covered the 2016 general elections, the assumption being that their “envisioned woman” is kept active and engaged in the political processes of the time.

The study findings, however, reveal that there were just a handful of articles specifically about elections. *The New Vision* had 53 stories out of which only 3 (7%) were election-related, while *Daily Monitor* had 4 (2%) such stories out of 193, that were featured during the survey period. Perhaps in the eyes of the editors, election issues are not women’s issues, which may explain their almost zero coverage in the women’s pullouts (Refer to Table 1 page 14).

The three stories in *Her Vision* included:-

1. ***New Vision, February 2nd, 2016, page 17:*** Under the “*Think about it*” section, the writer stopped at highlighting the launch of a Youth and Women Observatory Platform for the 2016 general elections, by the Electoral Commission. No analysis given.
2. ***New Vision, February 23rd, 2016, page 17:*** Under *Her Vision*’s “*Think about it*” section, commends women for the “*stellar job*” they did by participating in the elections as contestants, observers, or voters. But their views were not sought on the so called *stellar job*.
3. ***New Vision, February 23rd, 2016, page 38:*** The “*Profile*” section, under the headline “Women who triumphed over men in polls” names 17 women who contested and won the elections for the “directly elected seats of Parliament”. It profiles two of them and mentions the names of the other fifteen.

The four stories in *Full Woman* included:

1. ***Saturday Monitor, January 23rd, 2016, page 24:*** Under the “*Man Talk*” section five (5) males were interviewed on: “**Is it that Uganda is not ready for a female president or Uganda’s females are not ready to lead Uganda?**” A photograph of a female presidential candidate, Maureen Kyalya, accompanied the story. Analysis of this story shows outright bias against women. The question posed is not only judgmental and misleading against, but also prejudicial to, women becoming presidents. Only males’ views were incidentally sought.
2. ***Saturday Monitor, February 27, 2016, page 16:*** under “*Man Talk*” section headlined: “*Notes from Inside the Women’s Situation Room on Election Day*”, the writer highlighted the part played by the Women’s Situation Room (WSR) during the elections, in an effort to “avert election-related violence”. But the story fell short of describing the processes and no single female source in the story was quoted yet the WSR was run and managed by women.
3. ***Saturday Monitor, February 27, 2016, page 24:*** Under the “*Man Talk*” section and headlined: “National issues: What more can Women do?” Four men were interviewed and gave responses to the question “**In an uncertain political environment such as the one we are experiencing right now, what role can women play? How can women best play a vital role on the political sphere?**” Analysis of the story indicated not only judging women, but complete lack of female sources on a topic that they should have directly have

responded to, but not men as indicated in the story. Readers could have benefited more from the story if it had highlighted what women had already done before questioning what they can do under the circumstances.

- 4. *Saturday Monitor* February 27, 2016, page 25:** Under the headline “Verdict from the Women’s Situation Room” one of Uganda’s most eminent educationists, Prof. Joy Kwesiga, is interviewed about the WSR. However, if more female voices were quoted, possibly these could have contributed to a more inclusive story, other than the Professor who was reported to be giving a “verdict” of the WSR like the headline seems to suggest.

Out of the four election related stories in *Full Woman*, only three appeared under the section *MAN TALK*, but only men’s views were sought, on issues relating to women. Women’s views were largely absent apart from speaking out about the Women’s Situation Room (WSR) under a sub-heading of “Notes from Inside the WSR”; and a short interview with Professor Joy Kwesiga ostensibly giving what *Full Woman* referred to as a “verdict” on the same. This was however devoid of analysis of the processes of this new innovation, the WSR for the first time in Uganda and its contribution to the political processes.

The WSR for example, is a peace-building platform that rallies women, youth, media, stakeholders, professionals, religious and traditional personalities and institutions to ensure a transparent and peaceful electoral process. With origins in the 2011 Liberian presidential and legislative elections, the WSR was initiated by the Angie Brooks International Centre to ensure women’s empowerment, leadership development, international peace and security through international coordination, as well as political analysis, monitoring and documentation. Its efforts have contributed to seeing peace and stability before, during and after elections across the African continent, notably Senegal and Sierra Leon (2012), Kenya (2013), Nigeria (2015) and Uganda (2016). In that context, the works of WSR in Uganda did not get the attention it deserved, at least by the media during the election period.

In addition to the observations made for the above individual stories, it emerges clearly that the seven stories did not bring out the full potential of women with regard to elections, by for example featuring them in the elections, nor did they provide them an opportunity to engage on governance issues, or what they expected from those aspiring for the elective positions.

It is, therefore, worth noting that the women’s pull outs that would have played a major role in highlighting not only the participation of, but also the hurdles faced by, women during elections, concentrated on those issues that perpetuate notions of women’s “domesticity” and ‘obsession with own beauty’.

Most of the issues covered by the two pullouts (242 or 97%) overwhelmingly featured issues of a domesticating nature that included but were not limited to parenting, nutrition, cooking and homecare; others were about relationship (Marriage, love, etc); others were centred on beautification such as fashion and design, dressing, modeling, jewellery, etc. However, some gave useful tips about such other issues as health, and the law.

From the foregoing, it cannot be ‘Her Vision’ nor can she be a ‘Full Woman’ when related pullouts build and recreate false images about her while, at the same time, concealing her real image and productive value.

GENDER PORTRAYAL

Studies conducted in the past, as evidenced in the background to this study, have revealed that the print media often distorts and misrepresents women and men through gendered portrayal. Under this study, an analysis of photographs, headlines, and news stories was done in an effort to draw attention to certain tendencies or patterns in news coverage or portrayal of both women and men. These have been presented under these two categories: **photographs / images**, and **language**, used in the news stories.

The findings of this study show that the print coverage under the study period was full of distortions and misrepresentations of women and men. However, because these distortions and misrepresentations were observed to have been overwhelmingly stacked around female news subjects, only those that are of a negative nature to women have been presented, and form part of this report. Where male news subjects are featured, it is only for purposes of comparison.

PHOTOGRAPHS / IMAGES

The study sought to bring out what the photos say about women's and men's aspirations, roles, responsibilities and position in society, what they say about their behavior in relation to each other, etc.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

Flanking and/or being Flanked in Photographs

Analysis of photographs which featured female news subjects indicates that a *significant* number, especially those who were not news subjects, appeared while flanking their spouses or candidates; or being flanked by fellow male supporters or a particular candidate (saying nothing but posing or caught off guard doing something not related to the news story).



NRM's Moses Muwanika Jubilates with his supporters
New Vision, Monday, February 22, 2016, page 6



A Presidential candidate is sandwiched between 2 smiling lady politicians – a government minister, and another who wants to contest for the Woman MP Katakwi where the minister was currently representing. An equally beaming Museveni is supposedly, expected to be the conflict solver. And the women...? No... they cannot!

Daily Monitor, December 2, page 4

Size of Photographs

In stories where both women and men are featured in photographs, some photos of women tended to appear below those of men or at the extreme right hand side of the page and, in some cases, were smaller in size in comparison to those of men.

But while it is true that women photographs tended to be smaller in size than men's, it was interesting to note where this was the reverse. Women's pictures appeared almost twice as big as those of their male counterparts, when portrayed in negative light. **Bukedde, February 12, 2016, page 2** illustrates this very well. There are 2 women and 4 men but the size / space given to the two women is much bigger than that accorded to the 4 men.

Camera Focus

While a significant proportion of photographs of campaign rallies had the camera centred on men, the full close up was engineered on women when they were entertaining but not discussing key election issues! **Red Pepper, December 9, 2015, page 8**, clearly shows this.



Reinforcing Gender Role Stereotypes

Analysis reveals that some photographs reinforce gender role stereotypes. Out of a total of 326 photographs that featured women, the publishers chose those ones that depict women as care givers, domestic workers or playing a secondary role in society.

Bukedde, February 17, 2016, page 3, had one such example. This was a day to the polling day February 18th. The headline: *"What is happening to Kampala"*. The story is about how several people were stuck with their luggage, in the Kampala Taxi and Bus parks. But to amplify on the story the publisher chose to focus on a woman carrying three children and standing by some foodstuffs. And so the story says: **Namuddu.... was stranded with three children and foodstuffs**. In reference to an adjacent picture where a man is carrying a bag, no reference is made that he too was stranded, and no mention of what he was carrying. The inference to Namuddu, stuck with children and the foodstuffs, may be highlighting the plight she was suffering, at the time, but from a progressive stance, the picture seems to reinforce gender stereotypes, meaning – that yes, women have to play those prescribed gender roles of caring, but nothing more. But men are providers, they can carry anything without disclosing what is in their bags..... because after all they set the rules!



Story and Photographs about Women's emotionality

Red Pepper, December 4, 2015, page 1, had a story about a female MP, also a government Minister who decided to contest on an independent ticket even after her party, NRM had refused her. Ms. Nantaba later won a court case against the NRM Electoral Commission which had sought to block her candidature. The headline which announced this was: **"I've crushed NRM Mafia – Nantaba"** which sounds triumphant, in fact challenging gender stereotypes, but the language used in the accompanying captions and text betrays this through such use of phrases as **"Nantaba never misses to shed a tear or two....."**.

- **"An emotional Nantaba cries after court cleared her".**
- **"HEART BROKEN; Nantaba wept uncontrollably after court declared her for nominations".**



LANGUAGE

Specifically analyzed was the language used in the headlines, and in the texts.

Headlines

A headline or a title is considered the most important component of a news story / feature or even a book. It is that important because several people stop at sneaking an eye at just a headline / title because they may not have the money to buy or even the time to read the whole article / book. The headline is again that important due to the fact that it is deemed to be the summary of the story, and an attraction to the potential readers, the much more reason why special attention should be given to its design / packaging. The trick therefore, is to design a headline that is not only attractive but 'inclusive' of all categories of people.

During the course of this survey, therefore, due attention was given to headlines to establish what they said about women and men. It was observed that while a majority of headlines had no issues that warranted mention, there were those that had negative connotations, and just like in the case of photographs, these were disproportionately used with regard to female news subjects in comparison to the males in the news.

Such headlines have been presented under the categories of: *sensational, inappropriate / misleading, and making headlines for the wrong reasons, headlines that are gender insensitive including those that are out rightly sexist.*

Sensational Headlines

Sensationalism is used by mass media as an instrument to gain attention and prompt emotion from the audience. Sensationalism generates a certain level of interest in a story by using language or graphics that are thrilling or shocking (McQuail, 2000).

1. **Red Pepper of January 27, 2016, page 27**, under the headline: **"MP Koyekyengo Faces Arrest For Assaulting NRM Mobilizer"**, had a story

about assault of a man by a group of people, including one female MP also an aspirant, a male engineer, a male bodyguard and one person only identified as a worker (unknown sex). The story talks of how the MP and the engineer ordered the bodyguard and that other "worker" to beat up a man. But when it came to the headline, it is only the female MP, her name mentioned, and only her photo and that of the victim that were featured. The question would then be: What value do women add in splash headlines where the text is not even reflective of their deeds?



2. **"Speaker Kadaga Loses Kamuli LCV Battle as Kategere Wins" "DEMYSTIFIED"**

Red Pepper, February 26, 2016, page 27, had a screaming headline where Speaker Rebecca Kadaga as a subject in the headline was never elaborated on not even in the text that followed. A person who did not read the text (article) but stopped at the above headline would go with a wrong impression. The headline seems to imply that it was Hon. Kadaga who stood for the Chairmanship of the Local Council V of Kamuli District, and lost. The story does not also indicate in any way that Kadaga was a mystery to justify the word 'DEMYSTIFIED'.



3. **Red Pepper, February 3, 2016, page 20** featured a story headlined: **HERE I'M! "FDC Iron Lady Musumba Joins NRM"**. The story is about how Hon. Salaam Musumba had attended "the NRM Liberation festivities". However, the headline suggests otherwise and wrongly states that she had quit FDC, and joined NRM.



4. **Red Pepper, January 4, 2016, page 1**: The headline says: **"KADAGA, AND LUMUMBA FIGHT BEFORE M7"**. But the said story does not in any way show how Hon. Kadaga, also the Speaker of Parliament, fought with Hon. Kasule Lumumba the NRM Secretary General as the headline alleges.



Observations:

What kind of a "fight" was this?! How about if it was the men who had had a disagreement before M7..... Would this be portrayed as a fight? It is unfortunate that several times; several media, portray women as fighting each other, even when they have only disagreed.

HEADLINES THAT ARE GENDER INSENSITIVE

There were some headlines that appeared gender insensitive by the very nature of using words and/or phrases that are exclusive of both genders.

1. *The Red Pepper*, December 23, 2015, page 1 has a headline: **"Mbabazi Unleashes Winning Team"**. The story is about Presidential candidate Amama Mbabazi naming his campaign taskforce. The sub-headline read: **"124-man Group comprises of 5 Former Presidential candidates and NRM MPs"**. Either by intent, design or otherwise this headline is gender insensitive in that the story names the 124 members of the taskforce among whom are 23 women yet prefers using the phrase **124-man Group**. This deliberately misleads the readers to believe that the team is exclusively composed of men.
1. *Bukedde*, February 12, 2016, page 1 headlined: **"Engeri Abeesimbyewo mu Kampala gye balwanira akadaala ka Besigye"**, literally translated as: **"How contestants in Kampala stopped at nothing but to fight for Besigye's support"**. The story is about how opposition candidates from Kampala were trying to associate with presidential contestant Kiiza Besigye in a bid to win over the electorate in Kampala. It mentions how the opposition candidates were literally fighting to get endorsed by Besigye, some of them seen physically fighting to get on the campaign platforms where Besigye was scheduled to appear. The story mentions seven men and four women. But the headline, and the accompanying photographs features only women, giving an impression that it is only women involved in the so called "bitter fight".



2. *The Observer*, January 15 – 17, 2016, page 1 – 3 headlined: **"MUSEVENI'S NEW POWER MEN IN ANKOLE, KIGEZI"**. The story is about individuals who are said to have contributed significantly to the success of presidential candidate Yoweri Museveni's campaign rallies in Ankole and Kigezi. Ten (10) individuals are mentioned and five of them feature in the accompanying photographs. However, use of the phrase **"Museveni's new power men"**

gives the impression that the group is composed of men only, yet the story lists at least one woman, also described her as a “key mobilizer”. It should be noted that the use of such a phrase does not only appear excluding a gender but – it also suggests that women and power are mutually exclusive.

That, the said woman’s photo is conspicuously missing from that group of the “powerful” is perhaps to emphasize that well you may be there but “you are not powerful enough”. Moreover, the occupations of the nine men mentioned are highlighted – business people, politician, and soldier, but the woman was not mentioned, and simply referred to as “sister of Jovia Saleh, wife of General Salim Saleh”.

The Texts

Analysis was done to find out whether or not there was differential selection and use of textual words and phrases, between female and male news subjects. The findings indicate that, to some extent, this was the case especially those with negative connotations, disproportionately used with regard to female news subjects or sources as opposed to males. These have been categorized into stories that use words / phrases that portray sexism, those that perpetuate gender stereotypes, as well as those that are judgmental. There are some, however, that have two or more of those attributes (multifaceted).

Multifaceted Type of Story

1. Red Pepper, January 18, 2016, page 11 had a story headlined: **General Kyaligonza Vs Mukula: Who Spices M7 Rallies Better? BATTLE OF THE TITANS**

The story is about the methods employed by two male politicians to attract people to attend presidential candidate Yoweri Museveni’s rallies – Capt. (Flight) Mike Mukula, the NRM Vice Chairperson for Eastern region and Maj. Gen. Matayo Kyaligonza, the NRM Vice Chairperson for Western region. According to the story, the Eastern region mobilizer uses a helicopter while the one for Western region uses ‘antics’. However, in both cases, they use women as well.

The story also describes the functions of the men and the women during rallies, the mode of transport used by both men, and how they are all usually dressed. The story has some three (3) accompaniments in form of images featuring the two men and, one of the women, mentioned.

Analysis – the language and photos used in the story are full of ‘**master-servant**’ undertones, sexual innuendos and gender stereotypes.

Master-servant relationship – throughout the story there is use of the word ‘**master**’ in reference to the men – e.g., “**like her master** Mukula, the babe.....” and in case of the other woman “..... rarely says a word to anyone apart from **her master**”. “And that in terms of smartness..... the two **bosses** are always smart”.

Women as men's property – women's subservience to men is also brought to the fore by the story referring to what the two women do. Both are said to be there for the purposes of delivering some things to their '**bosses**' according to the story, in reference to one of the women. "..... **some voters there thought the babe was carrying a message..... from the Pope**, while for the other woman, when Kyaligonza wants his glasses, "..... **he simply turns his hand and the gal..... will be there to deliver the glasses**". In both cases, women are portrayed as mere messengers to do the bidding of their 'masters'.

The story also highlights how Brig. Gen. Kyaligonza "**..... keeps a watchful eye on her.... to prevent 'oil speculators' from encroaching on his oil well!**" The use of the word "**his**" infers to the general's ownership of the woman in question. And so does the word '**project**'. According to the reporter, "While at a rally..... one of the SFC boys tried to pull this 'project' out of the VIP tent...." being in reference to the same woman.

Physical attributes and denigrating – This is evidenced through the use of phrases / words to that effect. Both women are described in terms of their **brown colour**, one was said to wear tight jeans that expose her "**proper endowment**", another as a "**speaking blanket**" and as an "**oil well**". There is also the use of the word "**booty-ful**" – booty is a word usually associated with spoils of war, of conquer and of conquest, of women by men. The word 'booty', in colloquial terms also refers to a person's behind, and the way it was used in the story is quite derogatory.

The constant reference to the women's personal attributes including their dressing, beauty, brown colour, speaking blanket, oil well, project, as a way of justifying success of campaign rallies is going overboard.

The said women are also referred to as **babes** (at least 10 times) and **gals** (twice) – (a babe – or a baby?)

The story headline, too, is quite misleading. The story only highlights a few issues relating to mobilization skills, but largely dwells on the women's beauty and their assumed personal relationship to the said men.

2. *Red Pepper*, December 25, 2015, page 1

Headlined "***Sexy Yellow Girls Brigade joins M7 Campaigns***". This story is about the NRM's intentions of recruiting more support among women. However, it is full of sexual innuendo; sexualization of women; portraying them in terms of their looks; and generally denigrating them.

Denigrates women by referring to them as '**thigh vendors**', '**ladies of the night**', '**prostitutes**', '**Kandahar vendors**', etc.

Sexualizes women by use of such words and phrases as, "**the team comprises only**":- "**extremely dangerously beautiful ladies**"; "**who likely paid their water bills at birth**"; "**a team of sex-oozing babes**"; and "**luscious girls**".

Cheapens women to suggest that they:

- offer sex to their partners in return for the partners' political support to their candidate;
- offer free sex to clients in exchange for cooperation. Create wealth program benefits – but every Ugandan citizen, irrespective of whether they offer free or paid-for sex is entitled to benefit from this program.
- ***“group.... Headed by Hassan Zari who is considered a role model among that category of girls”:***
 - This definitely ought not to be the kind of role modeling that the media should show the public.
 - The story writer's declaration that one of the female news subjects is “..... considered a role model....” is not supported by any research to that effect.
- **reinforces common but erroneous beliefs** about women e.g.:
 - ‘Women are just a little more than children’ i.e. calling them **‘gals’** doesn't qualify them to be adults capable of making informed decisions, for which reason they are called upon to offer free sex; or to sell **‘political sex’** cheaply.
 - ‘Women are good at using their bodies for better or for worse’. In which respect the story talks about ***“the group of socialites.... is to lobby women to deny their hubbies sex..... unless they declared support for.....”***.
 - ‘Women are good at nothing’, – certainly not in the regular army; can't fight as good as men; are not fit to join – therefore, they can only join that **‘other army’**, the **‘Yellow Gals Brigade’** and do what they are best at doing – offering sex!!

STORIES WITH LANGUAGE THAT PORTRAY SEXISM

There were a number of news stories that indulged in making reference to and/or vividly describing personal attributes of, especially, female news subjects (sometimes in relation to men), such as their facial appearance, thighs, breasts, buttocks, private parts, etc, as well as making denigrating and derogatory remarks about them. Yet these are women who, in their own right, and their communities, are leaders.

Examples

1. *Red Pepper*, February 17, page 20 had such an example, with the headline: **“FEEL IT”**
“Police Boss Injures Sexy Nabillah ‘Down There’”

The story is about instituting of “..... an alternative charge of kidnap with intent to murder:, against a male police officer..... in connection with the “Pine car murder case”. That be the case, the journalist dwelt on using such words / phrases as **“Police Boss Injures Sexy Nabillah**



‘Down there’. Coverage of an election in which Hon. Nabillah is not only a contestant but also an incumbent MP and referring to her as sexy, is outright sexist especially so that she was voted as one of the most able legislators in Uganda’s parliament, a fact that was lost on the reporter.

2. *Red Pepper*, February 5, 2016, page 24
“Sexy Molly Goes Through Unopposed”

In a country characterized by dirty politics and a multiplicity of candidates for any one electoral office, one going through unopposed is not easy. That Molly did so, shows not only that she is a class apart but also that her constituents felt she needed no opposition, perhaps based on her performance as a legislator, instead of the journalist inferring that if she had not been ‘sexy’, the situation would have been different. Possibly the other question would be: Wouldn’t the Ugandan audience also like to see the sexy male MPs who acquired elective positions unopposed..... if the media really want to describe politicians by their looks!!



3. *EASTERN ROUTE!*
Kyalya Flashes Yummy Thighs, Causes Scrotal Eruptions

The story highlights presidential candidate, Maureen Kyalya participating in a radio talk show. Instead of giving details of the message the candidate was sending to the electorate, the story centres on her “Yummy thighs” and how it caused “Eruptions”.



JUDGMENTAL LANGUAGE

Some writers used language that was judgmental – with phrases that adjudged female news subjects, or chose to use quotations by other people, that referred to the said news subjects in negative light about their character, abilities, etc.

Succession: Keeping Power in the Family – BIG SHOES **The Observer, December 21 – 22, 2015, page 10**

Background – The story highlights, how in the past, children have succeeded elective office from their parents or siblings. It then focuses on a female Member of Parliament, and with very vivid descriptions using judgemental language, the MP saying the political shoes have proved too big for her!

- *"One of the most barefaced cases of a politician struggling to fit in the shoes of a departed family member is..... 19-year-old senior six student....."*
- *She has "to juggle growing up and embarking on university education with parliamentary business".*
- *".....She did not complete her course".*
- *"Her constituency was not well represented".*
- *"Even the ambulance her father had bought for the constituency was run down"*

The writer sums it up by saying that "no wonder the said female MP hanged up her political boots and is not contesting for re-election." The way the words have been used in this story may incline readers to believe that women are incapable of holding elective office and impacting voter choices in relation to female candidates.

Stories with Language that Reinforces Gender Stereotypes / Assumptions / beliefs

As evidenced from the background of this study, there are common assumptions and perceptions about women and men in society that tend to define their attributes and opportunities, as well as how women and men relate to each other not only at the individual or personal level but also generally as groups of individuals, as by the media propagated.

Men are considered, for example, to be 'naturally' independent, rational, aggressive, decisive and promiscuous, while women are perceived to be passive, emotional, maternal, nurturing, sexually receptive, and dependant. However, stereotypical images of women and men, based upon notions of one sex's superiority over another, encourage and promote inequality between women and men with regard to, among others, decision making, access to and control over resources as well as roles and activities undertaken in society.

These images are socially constructed and are propagated through the socialization process, and the media, is known to be part of this process, because it portrays women and men in stereotypical ways.

During the course of the study, therefore, effort was made to see whether this was the case during coverage of the 2016 general elections. The research findings, indicate that indeed, in some of the stories, the language used was stereotypical. One such assumption observed was that **"Women are subservient to Men"**. There were stories that perpetuate notions of women's subservience to men, of men's 'lordship' over women, through the use of words and phrases to that effect. Some of these include words such as "acquisition", "booty" etc, (in relation to women) and "master", etc in relation to men.

- *The Observer*, February 3 – 4, 2016, page 4 had one such story, under the headline **“Mbabazi faces uphill task against Museveni in Tooro”**. The story is about how presidential aspirant Hon. Amama Mbabazi was trying to win back support after losing some of his key allies in the area. One person specifically mentioned is a woman.

The journalist referred to the said woman, one Evelyn Jundah, as an **‘acquisition’** – **“His new acquisitions include Evelyn Jundah,”** which by implication means that she is Hon. Mbabazi’s property.

- *The Observer*, December 21 – 22, 2015, page 9 had a story headlined: **“Succession: Keeping power in the family”**, the story is about how in Uganda, offsprings and siblings have taken or are likely to ‘take’ parliamentary seats from their kin, giving examples including that of a one Nameere who had wanted to stand for an elective position, but was discouraged by her father, Minister Ssempijja.

The story may make readers conclude that women are not capable of making independent political decisions through such phrases as **“Minister Ssempijja, said his daughter did not consult him before deciding to contest.....”**.

- Another such story appeared in the same paper, *The Observer*, 11 – 12 December, 2015, headlined: **“How NRM secured Kibaale MP seats”**, the story is about how many parliamentary seats were won by NRM flag-bearers but highlights how one female contender had been ‘convinced’ to step down for her opponent by, among others, her father.
- *Daily Monitor*, December 9, 2015, page 15. Headlined: **“Luwero Minister makes U-turn on Budaka seat”**. The story is about how a female Minister had changed her mind and accepted nomination to contest for a parliamentary seat but had earlier on declared her intention not to seek re-election.

The story may be misinterpreted by the readers to mean that women are incapable of making binding decisions, that they are slippery and cannot therefore be trusted. The use of such phrases as **“..... woman MP..... Makes a dramatic U-turn..... a few months after she announced her withdrawal from elective politics”** also perpetuates notions of women being political comedians.

- *Daily Monitor*, December 11, 2015, page 1 headlined: **“Abim nurses in trouble over Besigye Tour”**, the story is about the visit of Presidential candidate Kizza Besigye to Abim hospital during the campaign period. He was taken around the dilapidated hospital by two nurses who shared their plight with him. But according to the story, the said nurses (women) **“..... did not know that they were talking about to Dr. Besigye”** insinuates that women are generally not informed.
- *Bukedde*, December 4, 2015, page 6 had a story headlined: **“Tough fight for Kampala”**, with a sub-headline **“Nabillah meets Nakiwala face-to-face on nomination day”**. While the story is about women contenders for the district woman MP seat, and how tough the campaign may be, the story stops at featuring photographs of the said female politicians but none of them is interviewed for her views which perpetuates beliefs that women may be seen, but not heard.

WHO DELIVERED THE NEWS STORIES?

The background to this study has evidenced that there is a glaring difference in the numbers of female and male journalists, and what as well as whom they write about. The study sought, therefore, to find out what the situation was in relation to covering of the 2016 general elections in Uganda.

The related findings are presented below under subheadings: Reporters overall; Reporters by scope; and Does the sex of the reporter matter?

REPORTERS OVERALL

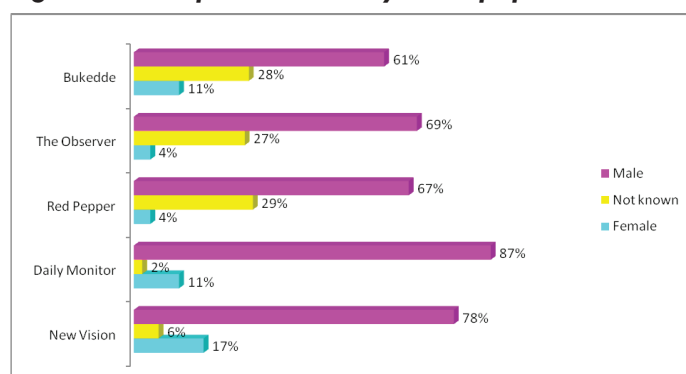
The proportion of females and males who wrote (presented) election-related news stories in Uganda's print media was analyzed. Out of the **2,723** stories which carried the author's name (otherwise referred to as **by line**), only 9% were female, while the majority (74%) were male. The sex of the others (17%) was not known, having been referred to as 'our reporter, reporters' etc.

Table 13: Totals by Sex

Sex	No. of Stories	Percentages
Male	2,015	74
Not Known	463	17
Female	245	9
Totals	2,723	100

Further analysis reveals that coverage of election-related news stories by female journalists was highest in New Vision (16% out of a total of 599), followed by Daily Monitor and Bukedde, each with eleven (11) percent (out of a total of 666 and 358 respectively). Red Pepper and The Observer had the least number of stories written by women, each with four (4) percent (out of 655 and 345 respectively). On the other hand, delivery of such stories by male journalists was highest in Daily Monitor (87%). The others were New Vision (78%); The Observer (69%); Red Pepper (67%); and Bukedde (61%). The Red Pepper had the highest number of stories written by journalists whose sex was 'not known' (29%). Bukedde had 28%; The Observer (27%), New Vision (6%) and Daily Monitor only two (2) percent.

Figure 10: Reporters' Sex, by Newspaper



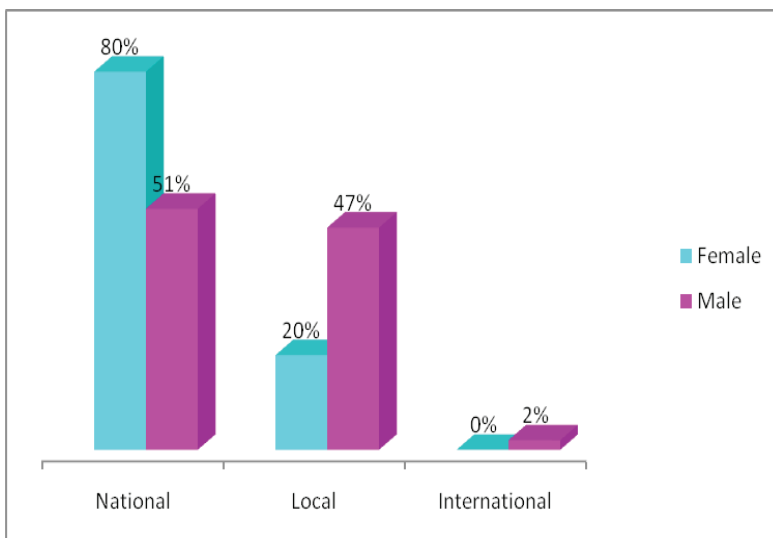
REPORTERS BY SCOPE

The study also analyzed coverage of stories by female and male journalists, depending on whether they had local, national or international dimensions. For example if a candidate promises to build a secondary school in each sub-county in a district, that is considered a 'local' story; however, if the same promise is made in relation to the whole country, that is considered 'national'. 'International' stories are those considered to have implications beyond national borders, for example, a politician / politicians meeting outside the country for purposes of harmonizing their stand on particular issues with the mediation of foreigners, or a candidate promising to secure national frontiers from foreign attacks, it is considered an 'international' story.

Emerging from the findings is that a majority (73%) of female journalists wrote stories that had importance across the country (national) while their contribution to stories with local implications was 27%. The contribution of male journalists to national and local stories was almost at par, having been 51% and 48% females.

However, coverage of international / foreign stories, comprising 1% of the total, was exclusively done by male journalists. This case points to gender patterns in allocation of tasks by print media houses, which may impact upon the fact that the sex of the reporter plays an important role on the gender dimensions of election related stories.

Figure 11: Coverage of Domestic and Foreign Stories (Scope), by Sex of Reporter (%)



DID THE SEX OF THE REPORTER MATTER?

It has been found, according to previous studies done at the local and global level, that the level of participation and influence of women in the media has implications for media content – female media professionals are more likely to reflect other women's needs and perspectives than their male colleagues. It is important to acknowledge, however, that not all female journalists will be gender aware and prone to do so, just as it is not impossible for males to effectively cover gender issues (GMMP, 2015).

In that regard, therefore, the study sought to find out whether the sex of the reporter had implications for the gender dimensions of election related stories (2016), so that the data may help inform patterns of deployment, allocation of tasks and of related resources for both female and male journalists, by print media managers.

Note: *In all cases, stories filed by both women and men, as well as by those reporters whose sex was 'not known' were discounted.*

Selection of News Subjects by Female and Male Reporters, by Newspaper

Findings of this study indicate that in Uganda's print media, female news subjects are more likely to be found in stories reported by females than those reported by males. Overall composition of female news subjects was 31% in stories filed by female reporters, as opposed to only 21% in stories by male reporters, which is a ten (10) percent difference.

Table 14: Selection of Female or Male News Subjects, by Female and Male Reporters, by Newspaper (%)

Sex of Reporter	New Vision			Daily Monitor			Red Pepper			The Observer			Bukedde			Total (Overall)		
	F	M	T	F	M	T	F	M	T	F	M	T	F	M	T	F*	M*	T*
Female	35	65	100	21	79	100	32	68	100	17	83	100	50	50	100	31	69	100
Male	18	82	100	14	83	100	18	82	100	21	79	100	31	69	100	21	79	100

F – Female; M* – Male; T* – Total*

For the individual newspapers, the highest number of female news subjects appearing in news stories by female reporters was in Bukedde at 50% followed by New Vision (35%), Red Pepper (32%), and Daily Monitor twenty one (21) percent. With only (17%), The Observer had the least.

Proportion of Female and Male Reporters Quoting Female and Male News Subjects

There is a significant relationship between the sex of the reporter and the likelihood of either a female or male news subject being quoted according to the findings of the study. Female reporters quoted 220 news subjects in total, of whom 38 (17%) were female, and 83% male. Conversely, male reporters quoted 1,949 news subjects in total, of whom 184 (9%) were female and 91% male. This implies that female reporters are more likely to quote female news sources, than male reporters.

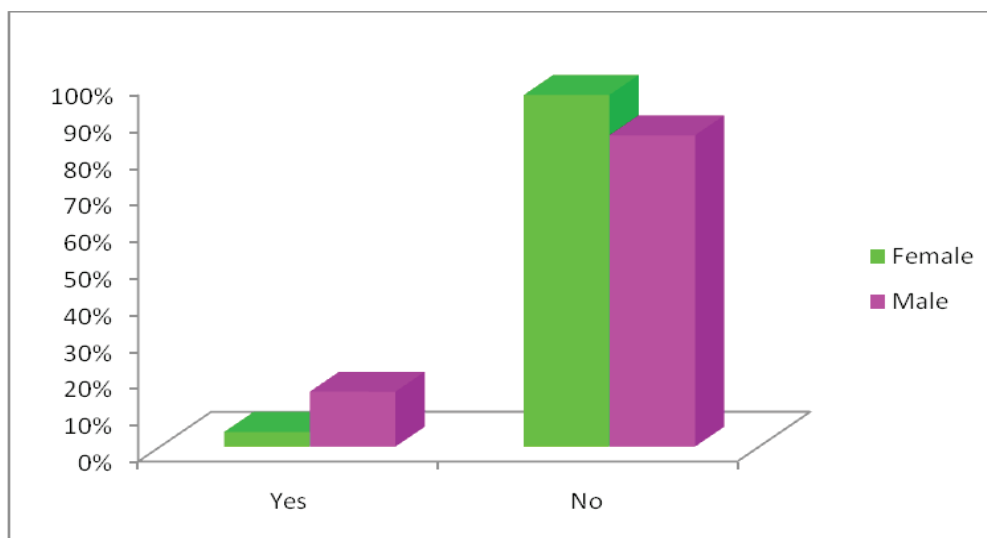
Table 15: Sex of Quoted News Sources, by Sex of Reporter

Sex of Reporter	News Subjects				Total No. Quoted
	Female		Male		
	N	%	N	%	
Female	38	17	182	83	220
Male	184	9	1,765	91	1,949

Proportion of Stories by Female and Male Reporters that had News Subjects as Victims

Study findings show that there is a relationship between the reporters' sex and depiction of news subjects as victims. Female journalists depicted only 4% of news subjects as victims compared to 5% by male journalists.

Figure 12: News Subjects Portrayed as Victims, by Sex of Reporter



Proportion of Stories reported by Female and Male Journalists that have Women as a Central Focus

The findings show that there is a significant relationship between the sex of the reporter and focusing centrally on women. A combined total of 245 female reporters filed 11 stories with women as a central focus, giving them a representation of 4%. On the other hand, male journalists totaling 2,015, wrote 113 such stories, representing 6%. This shows that male reporters are more likely to write stories that have women as a central focus than female journalists.

Table 16: Stories with Women as a Central Focus, by Sex of Reporter

Journalists Sex	Stories with Focus on Women		Total (Journalists)
	N	%	
Female	11	4	245
Male	113	6	2,015

Proportion of Stories reported by Women and Men that highlight issues of Gender Equality

The study findings show that four (4) such news stories were written by female reporters (whose total number was 245) representing 2%. Conversely, 8 news stories were filed by

male reporters (whose total number was 2,105), representing only 0.3%. This shows that female journalists are far much more likely to highlight issues of gender equality than their counterparts, the male reporters.

Table 17: Stories where issues of Gender equality are raised, by Sex of Reporter

Journalists Sex	Gender Equality raised		Total (Journalists)
	N	%	
Female	4	2	245
Male	8	0.3	2,015

Stories where Gender Stereotypes are Challenged / Reinforced, by Sex of Reporter

The survey shows that sex of the reporters does not play a significant part in having stories that challenge / reinforce stereotypes. There was one such story written by female journalists, weighed against the total number of female journalists (245), this represents 0.4%, as opposed to four such stories (0.2%) by male reporters, relative to their total number (2,015).

Table 18: Stories where Gender Stereotypes are Challenged, by Sex of Reporter

Journalists Sex	Stereotypes Challenged		Total (Journalists)
	N	%	
Female	1	0.4	245
Male	4	0.2	2,015

Proportion of Stories by Female and Male Journalists that refer to Gender Equality / Human Rights Legislation and Policy

Female reporters filed 9 stories that made reference to gender equality. Relative to their total number (245), this represents 4% while males wrote 60 such stories which represents 3% relative to their total number (2,015). This indicates that there is no significant relationship between the sex of the reporter and likelihood of writing stories that refer to gender equality, rights legislation or policies.

Table 19: Stories that refer to Gender Equality / Rights Legislation and Policies, by Sex of Reporter

Journalists Sex	Reference to Equality		Total (Journalists)
	N	%	
Female	9	4	203
Male	60	3	2,015

BEST OR WORST PRACTICES

During the course of the study, some examples of worst practices to be avoided in news delivery and those with best practices (for replication) were identified and are given below. This section is crowned with a Gender Mainstreaming Checklist for Media Programming which can be adopted by the print media.

WORST SCENARIOS

Missed Opportunity Stories

The survey noted that some stories were presented as lacking, especially where there were high chances to complete the gender perspective equation, considering the fact that some candidates had hinted on promises that would deal with gender specific needs. In such instances, all the reporters, needed to do was to ask follow up questions, to give a holistic story that would be considered a gender sensitive piece. Unfortunately, they did not cease that opportunity – thus, the inference to ‘missed opportunity’.

For example, all newspapers, carried big stories on one of the Presidential candidates promising a women’s fund worth Uganda Shillings 324 billion; as well as provision of sanitary pads to school girls. But the journalists did not endeavour to highlight why or how these policies are necessary, for example, how the lack of sanitary pads is contributing to girl child school drop out. How the fund may contribute to the reduction of the historical economic imbalances between women and men; nor did they analyze how the policies will be implemented, etc.

Daily Monitor of January 29, 2016, page 8 had such a story. It highlighted voter apathy, giving statistics from 2001 to 2011 general elections but failed to provide gender disaggregated data nor did the story infer as to why both women and men don’t turn up to vote as expected which would have significantly explained gender patterns and trends among youth voters.

A number of stories especially from Red Pepper under the section of Gender Portrayal, are good examples of some of the “**worst stories**” as they depict sexism, and gender stereotypes, etc.

Imbalance in News Sources

Red Pepper, December 11, 2015, page 25 – headlined “**Three nurses suspended**”. This story is about three nurses (all women) who were allegedly suspended following Presidential candidate Kizza Besigye’s visit to Abim Hospital. While the story has a central focus on those women, none was given opportunity to be heard, the writer having chosen to rely only on male news sources.

BEST PRACTICES

Scores of the gender balanced stories were among those that were analyzed. To qualify for a best practice story, elements like equal number of news sources, challenging stereotypes, carrying gender disaggregated data, were considered. Below are some best practice stories picked from different newspapers.

Story That Has a Gender Balance of Sources

***New Vision*, December 23, 2015, page 25**

The story is headlined ***“Inzikuru Campaigns for Museveni”***. It is about Dorcus Inzikuru’s efforts at mobilizing support for Presidential candidate Yoweri Museveni, in the West Nile region. The story is good in as far as sourcing is concerned because it had a gender balance in voices since both female and males were sourced in equal (50% each) proportion!

Story that Challenges Stereotypes

The Observer*, December 11 – 13, 2015, page 6** headlined: ***“How NRM secured Kibaale MP seats”, is a story, like the headline suggests, about how many parliamentary contenders in the area had gone unopposed, and the forces (including negotiations) behind that enviable feat. One of those forces was the NRM Secretary General, Justine Kasule Lumumba.

The story challenges gender stereotypes about women as not being capable leaders. It highlighted the input of the Secretary General, a woman, in securing the said political victories for her party yet she was not physically present. The story also depicts her in a positive way, showing that she is indeed not only assertive, but also an effective and capable political leader, by using such phrases as:

- “Secretary General Lumumba works phone magic as aspirant tries to throw spanner in the works”.
- “Sources said NRM Secretary General Justine Kasule Lumumba worked on phone to reinforce the emissaries”.

A Checklist of a Gender Sensitive Story

As already stated, this section (Best or Worst Practices) is meant for learning purposes. Below therefore is a checklist a gender sensitive Reporter / Editor would be looking out for.

Gender Mainstreaming Checklist: Checklist for Radio / Media Programming

	Women (Statistics or comment)	Men (Statistics or comment)
Beneficiaries		
Breadth of coverage <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Does our coverage reflect a holistic view of women & men Is gender awareness and sensitivity built into our stories & radio programs? 		
Depth of Coverage <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Has our coverage given fair and equal broadcast time to women & men's voices Have we probed the gender issues that may under lie our stories Are a variety of sources, representing a broad spectrum of views consulted? 		
Story angles <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Is the story analytical? Does it go beyond the event to raise underlying gender issues (inequalities / concerns). Are male and female subjects treated equally? Does our coverage apportion blame on the subject (because they are women or men? If there is any blame this should be contextualized. Does the story challenge or reinforce gender stereotype? The best story should not reinforce but challenge stereotypes. Are stories approached from a human rights perspective? Are the experiences and concerns of women and/or men been trivialized in anyway? Is the story fair, accurate and balanced? 		
Language <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Is the language used inclusive of both women and men? Is it constructive or derogatory to a man or woman? Are gender neutral terms used or it is assumed that masculine terms are inclusive of women too?! Is the physical description of women or men relevant to the story? Is it done equally to both women and men? 		
Content <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Relevance of content: Does it benefit women and men in equal measure? What financial benefit? Is it to women or men? Is data disaggregation by gender? 		

	Women (Statistics or comment)	Men (Statistics or comment)
<p>Visuals</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are women and men equally represented? • Is there a gender bias in how the event is portrayed? • For professional women, does the image show a professional role, as opposed to emphasizing the physicality of women? • Are women portrayed as survivors or victims? The best story is that one which challenges the negative stereotypes. • Are women portrayed as active or passive? • Does the image degrade the dignity of men or women? None should be degraded! • If you substitute man for woman does the story still make sense? The best story is that one which treats both men and women, in the same light. 		



CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

SUMMARY

The newspapers sampled were five (New Vision, Daily Monitor, Red Pepper, The Observer, and Bukedde), and the focus of analysis was only stories on/about elections, for the period December 2015 – February 2016 (especially on 3 days: Monday, Wednesday and Friday). There were, however, additional days – Tuesday and Saturday (for Women's Pull outs analysis). The total number of stories analyzed was 2,624. **Red Pepper** had the highest (44%), followed by **Daily Monitor** (21%), **Bukedde** (11%), and with 10%, **The Observer** had the lowest.

Women constituted 20% of news subjects, 80% having been male. New Vision was found to have carried women as news subjects the most (24%) followed by Bukedde (22%), Red Pepper (19%), The Observer (17%), and Daily Monitor with 16%, had the least. It is apparent from the foregoing that the election period as depicted by the print media was predominantly male. This picture does not mirror nor is it in tandem with a reality in which women form at least half of Uganda's population.

The study made a close association between one's sex, status in society and being covered by the print media, during elections. Most of the women covered belonged to those occupations socially associated with homemaking (100%) – no man featured in that occupation – and care giving, as health / social / child workers (71%), men in that category constituting 29%. On the other hand, the occupational categories where men featured most are those traditionally associated with power in society such as Security (93%), Royalty (92%), and Politicians (80%) and in the Science / Technology profession (91%). In the same way, more women than men, be they voters or candidates, were identified by their family status. The study has evidenced that women are most likely to be found as news subjects while narrating personal experiences or giving accounts at a scene of an accident or of a crime or at a campaign venue, or as eye witnesses. On the other hand, men appeared more as spokespersons with expert or specialist knowledge about issues being written.

The study has demonstrated that newspapers reflected mostly men's opinions (85%) as opposed to women (15%). Be as low as it looks (15%), the situation was not helped by the fact that women formed 20% of all news subjects in the papers under review. The question then is what happened to the 5%? Are we then correct to confirm that in as much as women "may appear" in the news, the likelihood of being heard dwindles by at least 5%? The low percentages (20 or 15) imply that the needs, interests and aspirations of women are less likely to be expressed in Uganda's newspapers, during elections, or perhaps any other period. This may perpetuate notions about women not speaking in public, especially considering that even in stories that centred on women, there were more men (73%) quoted directly than the women (27%) themselves in those stories.

While the percentage of women who 'appeared' in photographs was 18%, those directly quoted were 15%. This may imply that women can only be seen but not heard. At many different fora, it is not infrequent for women to attend, but not be given a chance to speak.

By the media giving coverage along socially defined status in society, it seems to be reinforcing gender stereotypes of women's inferiority to men. This is also applicable in relation to the roles both female and male subjects played in the stories.

However, there was no significant relationship observed between female and male journalists covering stories that challenge or reinforce gender stereotypes, as well as those stories that refer to gender equality / rights legislation and/or policies.

Analysis of the coverage of stories that had a direct bearing on women shows that such stories (about women / a woman; referring to gender equality / rights legislation / policies) had an almost insignificant coverage during the period under review. Such marginal coverage may point to their not being considered important, or of less importance, by the print media. The same aforementioned news stories were found to have hardly graced the first five (5) pages of newspapers (only 36%) as a majority (64%) were placed deep inside the newspapers. Moreover, further analysis reveals that a significant number of stories that had a central focus on women, and appeared on the front pages, were observed to have been sensational, misleading / inappropriate and sexist, while others were stereotypical. That just a handful of such stories graced the front pages, may point to their having been considered inconsequential, relative to others that did so.

Also emerging from the survey is that news stories that had a direct bearing on women were mostly found on space that was either less than a quarter page (21%); a quarter page (23%) and a third of a page (20%). Under the circumstances, it would not be farfetched to assume that the importance attached to them by the media is insufficient.

Study findings indicate that both New Vision's **Her Vision** and Daily Monitor's **"Full Woman"** had only a few stories (3%) about elections, 97% being on such issues relating to domesticity, home care, and beautification, among others. Therefore, the relevance of the pull outs was deemed not to have been helpful to electoral office seekers or to the voters. There is no way the intended consumers (women) can appreciate these pull outs as **"Their VISION"** nor become **"FULL Women"** when their content, instead of making them so, rather typically and inevitably draws them further and further into nurturing and domesticity.

The findings evidence a gendered portrayal of covering the elections. A significant number of news stories were found to have used language, headlines, and images, some of which promoted stereotypes, others were sexist and judgmental, while others were misleading. Some for example, made assumptions about women – their assumed inabilities; or referred to women and men in terms of their relationship to each other – who is master / lord over whom; who is dependent, upon whom, etc, while others made reference to the sexual objectification of women – some with very vivid and very personal descriptions of women.

Study findings indicate that delivering news in Uganda is still predominantly done by males. Female reporters constituted only 9% of all reporters as opposed to males (74%) and those whose sex was not known (17%). Moreover, the scope of coverage (Local, National, International news) showed that most women (73%) covered national as opposed to 27% (local news); male reporters covered local news (48%) and national news (51%); and all news

stories with international dimensions (accounting for 1%) of all news stories) were covered by male reporters exclusively. This may point to issues associated with deploying, tasking, training, etc, or simply the fact that one is a female and the other, a male – about inherent perceptions about women and men – or their perceived abilities and inabilities.

Also demonstrated by the study is that there is, to some extent, a relationship between the sex of the reporter and the gender dimension of the story. While both female and male journalists are likely to cover male than female news subjects, female journalists are more likely to feature more female news subjects than male journalists. In the same way, female journalists are more likely than their male counterparts to file stories with more female voice and to cover more stories that highlight issues of gender equality. Male journalists, on the other hand, are more likely to feature stories that focus on women and those that featured more victims.

Some other news stories were deemed to have been missed opportunities because of their failure to give gender segregated / gender specific information / data, while other stories failed to include women's points of view by not quoting any woman.

There were, however, some stories which were found to have had good coverage and which could be used as examples because they challenged stereotypes; or had a balance in news subjects quoted.

CONCLUSIONS

The survey has demonstrated that during coverage of the 2016 general elections in Uganda, the print media's coverage of women, irrespective of whether they are politicians or voters, is still centred around men, to the near exclusion of women, be they news subjects or deliverers of the news. This is despite women's superior numerical strength to men. According to the 2002 National Census, women constitute 50.9% of the population, 49.1% being male.

It has demonstrated further that the print media does not only stop at under-representing women but also goes on to misrepresent them. Survey findings have indicated that the media does so along lines that are socially defined, by portraying women in negative and stereotypical ways, in comparison to men. The mode of reinforcing those notions is images and language that are often sexist, judgmental, stereotypical, degrading and sometimes derogatory.

The study findings are, therefore, in conformity with other such similar ones conducted in the past (referenced in the background to this study), that came up with equally the same gender trends in reportage.

However, the fact that over 50% of Uganda's population is female and yet their representation during the print media's coverage of the 2016 general elections was only 20%, and the fact that those very few women appearing in the news were often stereotyped, raises two major questions: why is it so, and what are its implications? In the first instance, such a situation is not only illustrative of the minimal importance accorded women by the media, but also points to the possibility of print media practitioners not being gender-aware. Women's low presence can also be attributed to their low capacity in effective media utilization.

First of all, if such images and language, as employed by the media, continue to be used, then the likelihood of having a fair and equal presentation and representation of women and men in the media wanes over time, because such stereotypical images and language are continuously reinforced by the media.

Secondly, if the print media is devoid, or at best has very minimal coverage of gender issues, then those issues don't get on the public agenda, and ***"when women are portrayed through gender stereotyped lenses, this impacts the behaviours, actions, and attitudes of society, in turn impacting societal development, the exercise of gender equality and women's rights"*** to quote Pesàntez (GMMP, 2010, p.37).

It is imperative, then, that the print media in Uganda begins to look at both women and men as equals by offering them both the coverage they each deserve. It is not too late, nor impossible for this situation to change. This is more so if all stakeholders – government, media houses, individual reporters, civil society organizations, media regulators, media product consumers – adhere to internationally acceptable standards, as well as legal instruments and frameworks.



CHAPTER FIVE

WAY FOWARD

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the findings, it is clear that different stakeholders can contribute to realizing a gender equality media in Uganda. Below are proposed recommendations per each stakeholder:

Government Agencies

- Enforce, and monitor the implementation of gender equality laws and policies in Media Training Institutions and Houses. And where necessary, punish the culprits.
- Develop and implement a nationwide Education / awareness campaign to promote fair representation and presentation of both sexes by, and in, the media.

Media Training Institutions

- Institutions offering media studies at all levels including Universities and Certificate based schools among others should mainstream gender in their day-to-day operations. From Board level, staffing to the curricular offered.

Media Houses and Journalists

- Just like Media Training Institutions, Media Houses should mainstream gender in their day-to-day operations right from the board level, staffing training and exposure to presentation of a media product. In particular media managers and practitioners should apply the media gender checklist (generated by UNESCO or other sources) during content generation and packaging, as well as presentation of the media product. This way, the issue of negative stereotyping, derogatory language or unproportional sourcing would be dealt with.
- Media managers should also:- allocate resources and assignments equitably to both female and male journalists at the same time ensuring that all new 'staff' are oriented into gender equality ethos, and regular refresher sessions are done for the staff, already at work.
- Media owners and managers should invest in regular audience surveys to get a feel of who is and why people are, or not reading their newspapers.

In particular, **Individual Journalists** should:

- Scrutinize how they write and present news stories so that they are devoid of language and images that are derogatory, sexist, discriminatory or stereotypical. Language and images used should be able to show, for example, that both female and male are capable of holding elective office; that both female and male voters are capable of making independent political decisions, etc.
- Ensure that both female and male voices are heard in equal proportions, by sourcing information from both women and men who are either candidates or voters. If one potential

news subject or a source is reluctant for one reason or another even when you have applied the necessary interviewing skills, then go to the next, and the next until gender parity in sources is attained for the news story.

- Create an atmosphere / environment that is acceptable, comfortable, and conducive for both women and men who are potential sources of information so that they can freely say what they wish to say, without any undue reservations.

Media Rights and Gender Equality focused CSOs

- Undertake regular gender media monitoring and share results for improved coverage. For a start, a large scale survey to address key questions raised under this study, should be done.
- Engage media houses and other relevant stakeholders on the need and importance of gender mainstreaming in the media.
- Support the capacity of media managers, owners and journalists in advancing the gender agenda in the media.
- Strengthen the capacity of women especially those seeking or already in leadership positions (at all levels), in effective utilization of the media underlining the influence it can have on their lives.
- Together with other stakeholders, organize functions to reward best practices and 'punish' worst scenarios in gender reporting.

Media Consumers

- Apply gender lenses at every media product, and when / where necessary with the use of the law and international instruments, lodge a complaint to the media house or the relevant regulatory authority.

The UN Family and other International Agencies

- Provide support to work with the relevant Government Agencies, or / and the media rights / gender equality focused CSOs in mainstreaming gender in the media; and building capacity of women in its effective utilization.
- As a starting point, support can be provided to revive efforts to review and implement the National Gender Mainstreaming Strategy for Media in Uganda. This was developed by UMWA in conjunction with the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development, and OHCR, 2014.

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Gender Media and Election Monitoring



Uganda Media Women's Association (UMWA)

Plot 226 Kisaasi

P.O. Box 7263, Kampala

Tel: +256 393 113 848; +256 772 469 363; +256 772 366 695

Email: info@umwamamafm.co.ug / umwa@infocom.co.ug /

Website: www.umwamamafm.co.ug