UGANDA MEDIA WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION

Project Title:
Media for Gender Equality and Social Justice: Leaving No One Behind

## GENDER MEDIA MONITORING

## FINDINGS

APRIL - SEPTEMBER 2020

CONTACT:
Uganda Media Women's Association (UMWA)
Plot 226 Kisaasi
P.O. Box 7263, Kampala

Tel: +256 393113848
+256772469363/+256772366695
Email: info@umwamamafm.co.ug / umwa@infocom.co.ug
Website: www.umwamamafm.co.ug
Facebook: www.facebook.com/ugumwa
Twitter: @UMWAandMamaFM

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS ..... I
LIST OF TABLES ..... III
LIST OF ACRONYMS ..... IV
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ..... V
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY. ..... VI
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION ..... 1
BACKGROUND ..... 1
BUT WHY GENDER MONITOR? ARE THERE BENEFITS? ..... 2
HOW DO THE PARTICIPATING MEDIA HOUSES BENEFIT FROM THE EXERCISE? ..... 2
ABOUT UGANDA MEDIA WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION, UMWA ..... 3
CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY ..... 9
CHAPTER THREE: THE FINDINGS ..... 11
THE NEWS SUBJECTS ..... 11
MEDIA, GENDER AND STATUS IN SOCIETY ..... 11
TOPICAL AREA AND OCCUPATION ..... 11
Key: Topical Areas ..... 12
Occupation of News Subjects: When do Men / Women Make News? As Politicians? Doctors, Home makers, Health Workers, etc.? ..... 14
FAMILY STATUS AND SOCIAL IDENTITY: which Gender was identified with Family Ties? ..... 16
WOMEN AND MEN'S OPINIONS IN PRINT MEDIA NEWS: Whose Views? ..... 17
Women and Men as News Sources ..... 17
Topical Areas on which Female and Male Sources Were Quoted: Which Gender spoke on what Topic? ..... 18
IMAGES IN THE PRINT MEDIA ..... 20
SEX-DISAGGREGATED STATISTICS ..... 20
WHO DELIVERED THE NEWS ..... 21
News Reporters ..... 21
Photographers ..... 21
Choice of Female and Male News Subjects by Female and Male Reporters ..... 23
Proportion of Female and Male News Subjects Quoted By Female and Male Reporters ..... 23
Female and Male Reporters attaching Family Relationships to News Subjects ..... 24
SUMMARY CONCLUSION FROM THE FINDINGS ..... 25
SO WHAT CHANGED? ..... 26
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE 2016, 2018/2019 AND 2020 FINDINGS ..... 26
GENERAL CONCLUSIONS AND POSSIBLE REASONS ..... 27
FORWARD: RECOMMENDATIONS. ..... 28
REFERENCES ..... 30

## LIST OF TABLES

| Table No. | Title | Page |
| :--- | :--- | ---: |
| Table 1 | Sex of News Subjects by Newspaper | 11 |
| Table 2 | Topic By Sex of News Subjects | 14 |
| Table 3 | Occupation of News Subjects By Sex | 16 |
| Table 4 | Sex of News subjects identified by their Family Status | 17 |
| Table 5 | Sex of News Sources by Newspapers | 18 |
| Table 6 | Topical Areas on which Female and Male Sources were Quoted by Sex | 19 |
| Table 7 | Sex of News subjects whose Photographs accompanied News Stories <br> by Newspaper | 20 |
| Table 8 | Sex of Reporters By Newspaper | 21 |
| Table 9 | Sex of Photographers By Newspaper | 21 |
| Table 10 | Choice of female and Male News Subjects by Sex of Reporters | 23 |
| Table 11 | Sex of News Subjects Quoted By Sex of Reporter | 23 |
| Table 12 | Proportion of Female and Male News Subjects Tagged With Family <br> Relationship By Sex of Reporters | 24 |
| Table 13 | Trends / Comparative Analysis | 26 |

## LIST OF ACRONYMS

| CEDAW | $:$ | Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against <br> Women |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| DGF | $:$ | Democratic Governance Facility |
| EAJA | $:$ | East African Journalists Association |
| FM | $:$ | Frequency Modulator |
| GMMP | $:$ | Global Media Monitoring Project |
| GMMT | $:$ | Gender Media Monitoring Team |
| ISIS | $:$ | Institute for Science and International Security |
| NBS | $:$ | Nile Broadcasting Services |
| NIJU | $:$ | National Institute of Journalists of Uganda |
| NTV | $:$ | Nation Television |
| UMWA | $:$ | Uganda Media Women's Association |
| UNESCO | $:$ | United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization |
| WACC | $:$ | World Association for Christian Communication |

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Uganda Media Women's Association, UMWA, wishes to appreciate the following organizations and individuals for their contribution to this research project.

First, and foremost, we would like to register our sincere gratitude to the Democratic Governance Facility, DGF for funding the project "Media for Gender Equality and Social Justice: Leaving No One Behind" under which the Gender Media Monitoring Component falls.

We also take this opportunity to acknowledge the World Association for Christian Communication, WACC whose monitoring tool under the Global Media Monitoring Project, GMMP has been very useful, in shaping the data collection tool. In the same vein, we are also very appreciative to UNESCO whose gender sensitive media indicators have impacted the research tool too.

To the media houses from which news content that was monitored was got, (Bukedde, Daily Monitor, New Vision, and Red Pepper), we can never thank you enough for your cooperation.

We are also grateful to Nankya Immaculate, for formatting this report.
Lastly, we extend our appreciation to the Core Gender Media Monitoring Team at UMWA: Joseph Kalyebi Higenyi - the Principal Investigator/ Gender in Media Analyst; and the Researcher/ Program Officer, Gender Media Monitoring - Nankya Joanita Sanyu, for their efforts that have culminated into this Research Report.


Executive Director
Uganda Media Women's Association, UMWA

Uganda Media Women's Association, UMWA, is implementing a Project: Media for Gender Equality and Social Justice: Leaving No One Behind. The project, funded by the Democratic Governance Facility (DGF) seeks to address the poor responsiveness of the media, policy makers and implementers toward gender equality.

Gender media monitoring is one of the activities under this project. It purposes to generate evidence-based data to, among others, show the extent to which media content is gender sensitive by the start of the project, through to the end. The other purpose is to generate gender-segregated data to show the magnitude of gender inequality in media news content and to propose a way forward. The identified gaps / strengths in turn may not only help inform other project purposes, but also any initiatives geared towards promoting gender equality by other stakeholders such as government; media owners, managers, practitioners and training institutions; the general public; and development partners. Gender Media Monitoring (GMM) aims to articulate concerns about media and communication broadly, from a gender perspective. It involves conducting gender-focused media monitoring and engaging with media professionals on gender issues in media policy and practice. Overall, the research and advocacy initiative seeks to advance gender equality in and through media news content.

This study was conducted based on previous research studies on the subject area that have shown not only that women's representation in media news content is very low, but also demonstrated that their presentation is stereotyped, in comparison to that of men.

From April - September 2020, and using both qualitative and quantitative methodologies, the study analyzed news stories in the Monday editions of the last two weeks of each month within the study period of 4 Newspapers (Bukedde, Daily Monitor, New Vision and Red Pepper). Selection of these media houses was based upon, their nationwide circulation and diversity in their ownership - some are privately owned and others public corporations.

Among others, the study purposed to establish the visibility of women and men in news stories, as news subjects, as news sources and in the images accompanying those news stories. Further, it sought to find out the extent to which one's station in life determines the likelihood of one appearing in news stories. Under this, three (3) issues were analyzed: (1) the Topic under which one was featured; (2) the Position / Occupation of news subjects and, (3) whether or not a Family Relationship was attached to a news subject. Additionally, the study sought to find out on what topical areas (Public vs Private) news sources were quoted. The objective was to establish the interplay between one's gender and socially defined roles, expectations and attributes.

Finally, the study sought to find out the proportion of women, relative to men, who deliver news stories, the capacity in which they do so; and whether there is a relationship between the sex of the reporter and the choice of not only news subjects, but also news sources, as well as attaching a family relationship to female and male news subjects.

The findings of the study indicate, among others that relative to men, women's visibility in news stories was significantly lower. This was not only in terms of being read about as news subjects or being heard as news sources, but also being seen in images accompanying
the news stories. As news subjects, women formed the minority (only 26\%) as opposed to $74 \%$ for males, out of a total of 2001 news subjects. Additionally, the voices heard in media news, during the period under study, were overwhelmingly male while those of women were invariably invisible. The proportion of female news subjects directly quoted was only $22 \%$ as opposed to $78 \%$ males, out of 369 news sources. Indeed, by giving voice almost exclusively to males, these media stories obliterate the fact that women have opinions and perspectives which should be reflected in and by the media.

The above scenario is replicated in Print media images. According to the findings, males featured in images accompanying news stories were disproportionately more (79\%) than females (21\%).

Thus, women who form more than 50\% of Uganda's population were rendered invisible by, and in, media news during the study period.

Effort was made to establish whether or not, there is a relationship between socially defined gendered status and the level of visibility in media news. This was at four levels: (1) Topical areas where news subjects featured; (2) Occupations of news subjects; (3) Family status of news subjects; and (4) Topical areas about which news sources were quoted. Evidence from the findings indicates that, indeed, there is a relationship between socially defined gendered status and the level of visibility in media, in some cases.

Emerging from the findings, for example, is that relative to their total number as news subjects (519), the representation of females under the topical area of politics was higher ( $89.6 \%$ ) than that of males ( $86.0 \%$ ), the same being true for representation as politicians ( F $-85.1 \%$; M - 82.9\%). Similarly, the, representation of females on the topical area of politics was higher ( $86.4 \%$ ) than that of males ( $82.9 \%$ ). This is good news because previous studies in this area have shown the opposite.

While the survey shows that most news subjects (96\%) are not identified by their family relations, further analysis reveals that women are more than two (2) times (7\% out of a total 519 female news subjects) more likely to be identified by their family status as someone's wife, mother, sister, daughter.... etc., than men (only $3 \%$ out of a total of 1482 male news subjects) being referred to as husbands, fathers, brothers, sons.... etc. of someone. By identifying women by their family status as mothers and wives, the media domesticates women further, in spite of their increasing participation in the public domain, while at the same time divorcing men from familial responsibilities.

Conclusively, by featuring women and men along those lines, the media is simply reinforcing erroneously held notions about gendered roles in society that place women in the domestic and care-giving roles and men in the public arena. Among others, the domestication of women arises from such distortions.

Findings of the study indicate further that gender dimensions also appear with regard to who (female or male journalist) delivered the news. For example, out of a total of 209 journalists who delivered the news, a majority ( $90 \%$ ) were male and only $10 \%$ were female. Note: those whose sex was "Not Known' because they were referred to as 'Our Reporter(s)' and not by name(s) were discounted.

Of special note also, is the gendered difference in the numbers of female and male photographers. A majority of these were male (87\%) while females constituted only $13 \%$.

Note: those images not accompanied by the names of photographers or which were captioned 'By our photographer(s) or File photo', etc., were discounted.

Analysis of the implications of the reporters' sex on the gender dimensions of news content was also undertaken. Note: In all cases analyzed below, any one story filed by Both Female and Male journalists, as well as those by reporters whose sex was "Not Known", were discounted.

The findings indicate that there is a relationship between the sex of the reporter and the proportion of female and male news subjects appearing in print news stories. Overall, female reporters had 289 news subjects in their stories out of whom $7 \%$ were female and $93 \%$ male. Male reporters on the other hand, had 813 news subjects in their stories out of whom $4 \%$ were female and $96 \%$ male. This suggests that generally, female journalists are likely to cover more female news subjects (a difference of 3\%) than their male counterparts, in their news stories.

Similarly, female journalists quoted more female news sources (9\%; M-91\%, out of a total of 55) than their male counterparts who quoted less (5\%) female news sources ( $M-96 \%$ ) out of a total of 186 . This is a difference of $4 \%$ which suggests that female reporters are more likely to quote female news sources than the males. It also suggests that generally, the likelihood of a female being quoted is higher in stories filed by female than male journalists.

Study findings show further that male reporters are more likely than females to attach a family status to news subjects. Female reporters did not attach a family relationship to any of the news subjects they covered. All the news subjects who had a family relationship attached to them was by male journalists.

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 Desk and Field 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, especially women, build knowledge and skills in effective utilization of the media.

With regard to Gender Media Monitoring, it is specifically recommended that the media houses whose content is to be monitored should know what Gender Media Monitoring is all about - What is to be monitored, Why and How, as well as When the findings of the Study will be shared. It is recommended further that best performing media houses and individual reporters be recognized and, where possible, be rewarded for their outstanding news products based upon the extent to which they are gender sensitive.

## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

## BACKGROUND

Uganda Media Women's Association, UMWA, is implementing a Project: Media for Gender Equality and Social Justice: Leaving No One Behind. The Project seeks to address the poor responsiveness of the media, policy makers and implementers towards gender equality. Gender Media Monitoring, GMM is one of the activities under this Project.

GMM aims to articulate concerns about media and communication broadly, from a gender perspective. It involves conducting gender-focused media monitoring and engaging with media professionals on gender issues in media policy and practice.

GMM purposes to seek out and produce gender disaggregated data to inform not only increased media commitment to gender-ethical journalism, but also the usage of gender sensitive language in reporting. Thus, GMM uncovers the widespread misrepresentation and underrepresentation of women in news content of media houses monitored. Bare facts from the findings may produce positive results. For example, they may help build a consensus on the need to improve the quality of cooperation between media and women's civil society organizations. Further, on the need for all parties to make efforts towards overcoming the problem of gender-insensitive media, and to build awareness of media audiences about gender equality given the media's role in aggravating negative and sexist perceptions of women. Overall, GMM seeks to advance gender equality in and through the news.

The other purpose of GMM is to generate gender-segregated data to show the magnitude of gender inequality in media content and to propose a reform strategy. The identified gaps / strengths in turn may not only help inform other project purposes, but also any initiatives geared towards promoting gender equality by other stakeholders such as government; media owners, managers, practitioners and training institutions; the general public; and development partners.

The two-year initiative is funded by the Democratic Governance Facility, DGF. The Project builds on the gains made in 2018/2019.

A Gender Media Monitoring Team, GMMT, was constituted, trained / retrained in gender media monitoring. The Gender Media Monitoring Tool captures information about for example, the sex of the writer, the people appearing in the story: news subjects, who is sourced, on what topic? His / her occupation, net worth in society, placement, type of picture / photo, language / tone of the story. Does the story reinforce / challenge stereotypes, reference to gender equality, laws / policies? etc.

The Team produced six Quarterly Reports in 2018 / 2019. For the year 2020/2021/2022, four Half-Year Reports shall be produced, results shared with selected stakeholders. This Report represents the first findings from the period under review.

## BUT WHY GENDER MONITOR? ARE THERE BENEFITS?

- Findings help bring to the fore the need for change towards news media policy and practice that are more gender-aware and gender-responsive.
- Evidence gathered has potential to propel change, yet, such evidence on Uganda's news media appears to be lacking.
- Gender Media Monitoring could provide a measure to indicate progress in women's status over time.
- Stories centered on women could support advocacy for gender equality and women's rights.
- Gender Media Monitoring allows a systematic surveillance of media performance in order to describe and critically evaluate it. Continuous monitoring helps in detecting changes in media content over time.
- Media monitoring bridges the gap between activists and media professionals. It creates a link between the media and their audience which has the potential to lead to democratic, professional, more equitable and diverse media systems.
- The results of monitoring provide a picture of media content that allows discussion about representation in media at a level of specificity, based on 'hard' evidence.
- Can address violations of any kind especially the gender based violence.
- Data generated by GMM help media professionals to grasp the complex problems and limitations in typical media representations, to understand that these are deeply embedded social practices and interpretations, and the part they, as media, play in constructing those representations. In discussions about what is wrong with, or missing from, the pictures of the world got from media content, hard data, together with concrete examples, will reach media professionals with an immediacy never achieved by theory or abstract argument. This is what media monitoring provides.
- Facilitates in developing a critical mass of aware-media-consumers who lobby media for more diverse coverage. Gender Media Monitoring develops new social capacities and awareness which is vital if change is to occur.


## HOW DO THE PARTICIPATING MEDIA HOUSES BENEFIT FROM THE EXERCISE?

They are provided with an opportunity of knowing how they fair in terms of gender sensitive reporting for possible chances of improving. The feedback is provided at no cost. Moreover, representatives of each of the participating media house get a chance to interact with other stakeholders during the Sharing session. The Project Team also offers guidance to the media houses.

## ABOUT UGANDA MEDIA WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION, UMWA

## Background

The Uganda Media Women Association (UMWA) was founded in 1983 by a group of 48 female journalists as a membership association. The Association was formed after the realization that Uganda did not have any umbrella body to cater for the professional interests of media women as well as the information needs of the marginalized in society. Back then in the 1980s, the only umbrella Journalist Association available would not cater for, or recognize the concerns or contributions of female journalists. Female journalists were absent in the Association's leadership. Besides, the media was hugely gender insensitive, women's visibility and portrayal were highly wanting despite them forming over $50 \%$ of Uganda's population. The press did not make adequate acknowledgement of their achievements or aspirations. It was therefore felt that through access to media and possible ownership by the women themselves, women could impact on the development and direction of their country, thus the founding of UMWA.

UMWA leads in the promotion of the gender agenda in Uganda's media having spearheaded / done several activities in that direction including training of both managers and practitioners, in gender, several studies on the gender representation and portrayal in the media; and executing the first ever Annual Gender Media Awards in 2017. UMWA is the national focal organization of the Global Media Project (GMMP) and produced two Country Reports.

Similarly, UMWA has undertaken at least similar studies including:

- Gender Dimensions in Uganda’s Media. (2018 / 2019).
- Media and Elections in Uganda: A Gender Analysis of Print Media Coverage of the 2016 General Elections at: www.umwamamafm.co.ug/wp-content/uploads/2016/ 03/Agender-Analysis-report-on-media-and-Elections.pdf
- Gender Dimensions in Uganda's Print Media, (2014) at: www.umwamamafm.co.ug/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/Report-on-Gender-Dimensions-in-Ugandas-Print-Media-September-2014.pdf

UMWA for over 12 years ran a Gender focused newspaper, The Other Voice, and for the last 18 years, managed a developmental radio, 101.7 Mama FM whose aim is to counter the negative portrayal of women but also to increase their voices on the airwaves to impact the development agenda.

UMWA's Strategic Vision 2019 / 2023 is: An engendered media where gender equality and women's empowerment are upheld for holistic sustainable development; while the Mission is: To engender media through information sharing, capacity-strengthening, networking and advocacy in order to enhance the visibility and status of women.

UMWA is headed by a Board of Directors, while the day-to-day activities are spearheaded by a full-time Executive Director who works with men and women competent in their
expertise. The organization is registered with the Registrar of Companies and also under the 1989 NGO Statute, with No. S.5914/1535.UMWA's headquarters are located 8 kilometers (Kisaasi), from Kampala capital city.

## 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) various 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, dependent 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).

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).

## 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, except for only one related study by UMWA (MEDIA AND ELECTIONS IN UGANDA: A Gender Analysis of Print Media Coverage of the 2016 General Elections). 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 2020 general elections in Uganda.

## Specific Objectives

For purposes of this study, below were the specific objectives:

1. To establish the visibility accorded to both women and men during the print media's coverage of the (2021) elections.
2. Find out who, between female and male journalists, delivered which election-related stories.
3. To make a comparative analysis between the 2020 findings and those of 2016 and 2018/2019.
4. 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

1. Number and Choice of Newspapers Monitored

Four newspapers (Bukedde, Daily Monitor, New Vision and Red Pepper) were selected because 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 and Red Pepper are privately. Bukedde was chosen to also represent papers published in a local language.
2. 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 the subsequent swearing 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.
3. 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.
- 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 implications of the journalists' sex on story content and context.


## 4. 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 wellestablished 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 (McNamara, 2005).


## 5. 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 days 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.

## CHAPTER THREE: THE FINDINGS

## THE NEWS SUBJECTS

There was a total of 2001 news subjects of whom 519 (26\%) were female and a majority (1482-74\%) were males, as indicated in the table below.

Table 1: Proportion of Women and Men making News by News Paper

| Newspaper | Sex of News Subjects |  |  |  | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Female |  |  | Male |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | F | $\%$ | F | $\mathbf{\%}$ |  |
| Bukedde | 47 | 19 | 206 | 81 | $\mathbf{2 5 3}$ |
| Daily Monitor | 165 | 28 | 426 | 72 | $\mathbf{5 9 1}$ |
| New Vision | 128 | 27 | 355 | 73 | $\mathbf{4 8 3}$ |
| Red Pepper | 179 | 27 | 495 | 73 | $\mathbf{6 7 4}$ |
| TOTAL | $\mathbf{5 1 9}$ | $\mathbf{2 6}$ | $\mathbf{1 4 8 2}$ | $\mathbf{7 4}$ | $\mathbf{2 0 0 1}$ |

The table further shows that the highest representation of female news subjects was registered in Daily Monitor (28\%; M-72) followed by New Vision and Red Pepper (27\%; M$73 \%$ in each case). Least was in Bukedde (19\%; M-81)

## MEDIA, GENDER AND STATUS IN SOCIETY

Society often defines men and women in terms of their status, in relation to each other. It is common in many societies to find that men are accorded a higher status than women. For example, there are many occupations deemed 'unmanly' to mean they are a reserve for women, or unwomanly, meaning they are meant for men. Similarly, women and men are often defined in terms of their family relationship, etc.

## TOPICAL AREA AND OCCUPATION

Gender and media research has shown that the frequency by which women and men appear in the news is determined, to some extent, by two major issues - the topic being covered, and the occupation of news subjects.

The media covers many topical areas including but not limited to politics, the environment, entertainment, agriculture, health education, security and spirituality. However, whether a female or male (or both) will appear in any one given topical area in news stories, is determined by social expectations about, and attitudes towards, women and men. There is a tendency, for example, for media practitioners to cover more male news subjects in "Public" Sphere occupations such as politics, governance, security, the economy, etc., more than they do females. Conversely, they also tend to cover female news subjects in such care-giving/ domestic/ private topical areas as family, fashion and design, health, education, etc., more than they do males.

In that regard, a list of possible topical areas was compiled, totaling to 32 (thirty-two). These have been placed under seven major categories as indicated below.

## Key: Topical Areas

## 1. Politics and Government

a) Politics and Government
b) Diplomacy, International Relations
c) National Security, Defence, Police, Army, Prisons, Militia
2. Economy
a) Economy general
b) Employment, Labour, Unionization, Social Security
c) Poverty, Housing. Social Welfare, Charity
d) Economic Policies, Strategies, Budgets, Audits
e) Banking, Insurance, Stock Markets
f) Agriculture, Fishing, Land issues, Water
g) Trade, Business, Investment, Procurement
h) Transport, Communications

## 3. Science and Technology

a) Science, Technology, Industry, Mining, Manufacturing, Petroleum, Electricity, Research
b) Health, Nutrition, Hygiene, Sanitation, Medical
c) Environment, Climate, Pollution, Tourism, Forestry
4. Social
a) Education - Higher, Secondary, Primary, Pre-Primary, Technical
b) Women's Movement, Gender Equality
c) Royalty, Culture, Tradition
d) Spirituality, Religion, Morality
e) Migration, Refugees, Racism, Xenophobia
f) Disaster, Drought, Floods, Famine, Earthquakes, Accident, Death, Sickness
5. Legal
a) Human Rights
b) Legal, Judicial, Legislation
6. Crime and Violence
a) Kidnapping, Robbery, Assault, Abduction, Murder, Violence, Corruption, Embezzlement, Theft, Trafficking
b) Riots, Demonstrations, Industrial action
c) War, Terrorism, Rebellion, Insurgence
d) Rape, Sexual Abuse / Harassment, Female Genital Mutilation, Gender Based Violence
e) Child - Abuse / Neglect / Sexual Abuse

## 7. Arts/ Media / Sports / Entertainment

a) Arts, Entertainment, Leisure, Celebrity
b) Fashion, Design, Beauty
c) Family, Relationships, Marriage
d) Media
e) Sports

According to the table below, the overwhelming majority of news subjects (both Females and Males) featured under the topical area of Politics (86.9\%). Others were Crime (4.9\%), Legal (3.5\%) and Disaster (1.6\%). It is important to note that Political issues dominated because this research was specifically about coverage of the National elections.

Table 2: Topic By Sex of News Subjects

| Topic | Sex of news subjects |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Female |  | Male |  | Total |  |
|  | F | \% | F | \% | F | \% |
| Politics | 465 | 89.6 | 1274 | 86.0 | 1739 | 86.9 |
| Diplomacy | 2 | 0.4 | 17 | 1.1 | 19 | 0.9 |
| Security | 1 | 0.2 | 17 | 1.1 | 18 | 0.9 |
| Employment Issues | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Poverty | 1 | 0.2 | 2 | 0.1 | 3 | 0.1 |
| Economic Policies | 1 | 0.2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0.04 |
| Banking | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Agriculture | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Trade | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Transport | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Economy General | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Science | 1 | 0.2 | 1 | 0.1 | 2 | 0.1 |
| Health/ Medicine | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Environment | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Education | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Women Movement | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Royalty | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Religion | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Migration | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0.1 | 2 | 0.1 |
| Disaster | 11 | 2.1 | 22 | 1.5 | 33 | 1.6 |
| Human rights | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0.1 | 2 | 0.1 |
| Legal | 17 | 3.3 | 54 | 3.6 | 71 | 3.5 |
| Crime | 19 | 3.7 | 79 | 5.3 | 98 | 4.9 |
| Riots | 1 | 0.2 | 12 | 0.8 | 13 | 0.6 |
| War | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Gender Violence | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Child Abuse | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Arts | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Fashion | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Family | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Media | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Sports | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| TOTAL | 519 | 100 | 1482 | 100 | 2001 | 100 |

Apart from the fact that more women (89.6\%) than men (86.0\%) were covered under the topical area of Politics, a closer analysis of the findings does not show any inherent gender dimensions that relates women and men with specific topical areas. But it is important to note that coverage of more women than men under the topical area of Politics is a departure from the past as the reverse has always been the case.

Occupation of News Subjects: When do Men / Women Make News? As Politicians? Doctors, Home makers, Health Workers, etc.?

According to previous studies regarding gender and media, it is common for the media to cover female and male subjects depending upon the positions they occupy in society. For
example, society has defined the social divisions of labour along gender lines so much so that there is an almost distinct line drawn between what is considered the public arena (designated as a male domain) and the private or domestic sphere, normally associated with care-giving, (curved out for women). By so doing, the media reinforces this socially engendered division of labour, which in turn defines the public or domestic roles to be played by women and men in society.

Given the above scenario, the study sought to find out whether this is the 'norm'. For purpose of analysis, effort was made to incorporate as many occupations as possible, the number coming to 29 as indicated below.

The table below shows that the overwhelming majority of news subjects featured in news stories were Politicians (83.5\%) followed distantly by Security Personnel (4.2\%) Government Employees (3.3\%) and Occupation Not Stated (2.7\%). Others were and Lawyers (1.9\%) and Activists ( $0.7 \%$ ). The non-representation of other professions is by virtue of the fact that because this research was specifically about coverage of the 20221 General elections.

Table 3: Occupation of News Subjects By Sex

| Occupation | Female |  | Male |  | Total |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | F | $\mathbf{\%}$ | F | $\mathbf{\%}$ | F | $\mathbf{\%}$ |
| Not stated | 19 | 3.6 | 37 | 2.4 | $\mathbf{5 6}$ | $\mathbf{2 . 7}$ |
| Royalty | 0 | 0 | 8 | 0.5 | $\mathbf{8}$ | $\mathbf{0 . 3}$ |
| Politician | 442 | 85.1 | 1229 | 82.9 | $\mathbf{1 6 7 1}$ | $\mathbf{8 3 . 5}$ |
| Government <br> employee | 21 | 4.0 | 46 | 3.1 | $\mathbf{6 7}$ | 3.3 |
| Diplomat | 2 | 0.3 | 3 | 0.2 | $\mathbf{5}$ | $\mathbf{0 . 2}$ |
| Security Personnel | 12 | 2.3 | 74 | 4.9 | $\mathbf{8 6}$ | $\mathbf{4 . 2}$ |
| Academic Expert | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0.2 | $\mathbf{4}$ | $\mathbf{0 . 1}$ |
| Doctor | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | $\mathbf{0}$ | $\mathbf{0}$ |
| Health worker | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | $\mathbf{0}$ | $\mathbf{0}$ |
| Science | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | $\mathbf{0}$ | $\mathbf{0}$ |
| Media Professional | 2 | 0.3 | 9 | 0.6 | $\mathbf{1 1}$ | $\mathbf{0 . 5}$ |
| Lawyer | 6 | 1.1 | 34 | 2.2 | $\mathbf{4 0}$ | $\mathbf{1 . 9}$ |
| Business person | 2 | 0.3 | 7 | 0.4 | $\mathbf{9}$ | $\mathbf{0 . 4}$ |
| Service / social <br> worker | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | $\mathbf{0}$ | $\mathbf{0}$ |
| Trader |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Agriculture | 3 | 0.5 | 8 | 0.5 | $\mathbf{1 1}$ | $\mathbf{0 . 5}$ |
| Religious figure | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0.06 | $\mathbf{1}$ | $\mathbf{0 . 0 4}$ |
| Activist | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0.2 | $\mathbf{4}$ | $\mathbf{0 . 1}$ |
| Sex worker | 10 | 1.9 | 6 | 0.4 | $\mathbf{1 6}$ | $\mathbf{0 . 7}$ |
| Celebrity | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | $\mathbf{0}$ | $\mathbf{0}$ |
| Sportsperson | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0.1 | $\mathbf{2}$ | $\mathbf{0 . 0 9}$ |
| Student | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | $\mathbf{0}$ | $\mathbf{0}$ |
| Homemaker | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0.2 | $\mathbf{3}$ | $\mathbf{0 . 1}$ |
| Child | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | $\mathbf{0}$ | $\mathbf{0}$ |
| Villager / Resident | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | $\mathbf{0}$ | $\mathbf{0}$ |
| Retired person | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | $\mathbf{0}$ | $\mathbf{0}$ |
| Criminal Suspect | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | $\mathbf{0}$ | $\mathbf{0}$ |
| Unemployed | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | $\mathbf{0}$ | $\mathbf{0}$ |
| Traditional healer | 0 | 0 | 7 | 0.4 | $\mathbf{7}$ | $\mathbf{0} .3$ |
| Total | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | $\mathbf{0}$ | $\mathbf{0}$ |
|  | $\mathbf{5 1 9}$ | $\mathbf{1 0 0}$ | $\mathbf{1 4 8 2}$ | $\mathbf{1 0 0}$ | $\mathbf{2 0 0 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 0 0}$ |

Closer scrutiny of the findings reveals only one gender dimension a higher representation of women politicians (85.1) than their male counterparts (82.9), relative to their respective totals.

## FAMILY STATUS AND SOCIAL IDENTITY: which Gender was identified with Family Ties?

Media content identifies men and women according to the status society has attached to them. However, a vast majority of those identified by their 'low' status are women, the reverse being true for men. For example, there are times when women are defined, by the media, in terms of their family relationships such as mother / wife / daughter of--- etc. Men
sometimes, too, are defined along those lines as father, husband, son of-- etc. However, the likelihood of men being identified by a personal tag (father, husband, son, grandfather, grandson, uncle, etc.) is far much less than that of women. These are mostly attached to the fame and achievements (or their lack) of husbands, sons, fathers, etc., instead of as people in their own right, with their own abilities, capacities, achievements, talents or rights. Thus it is common for women to be heard of, read about or seen as Kalyebi's wife, Sentamu's daughter or Opio's mother saying /doing this or that. Often, these family relations have no relevance to the story at all. By identifying women not as individual persons who exist in their own right but rather as someone's 'other', the media depicts them as possessions and appendages of the men in their lives.

The study, therefore, purposed to find out the extent to which news content attaches such negative connotations to news subjects. The findings are summarized below.

While the survey shows that most news subjects (96\%) are not identified by their family relations, further analysis reveals that women are more than two (2) times (7\% out of a total 519 female news subjects) more likely to be identified by their family status as someone's wife, mother, sister, daughter.... etc., than men (only $3 \%$ out of a total of 1482 male news subjects) being referred to as husbands, fathers, brothers, sons.... etc. of someone.

Table 4: Sex of News subjects identified by their Family Status

| Sex of News Subjects | Frequency | Percentage | Total (Number of <br> News Subjects) |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Female | 36 | 7 | $\mathbf{5 1 9}$ |
| Male | 38 | 3 | $\mathbf{1 4 8 2}$ |
| Total | $\mathbf{7 4}$ | $\mathbf{4}$ | $\mathbf{2 0 0 1}$ |

## WOMEN AND MEN'S OPINIONS IN PRINT MEDIA NEWS: Whose Views?

## Women and Men as News Sources

The study sought to find out the extent to which women and men are featured in media new stories as news sources. These are news subjects who were directly quoted in the analyzed news stories. The purpose of analyzing direct quotations is to gauge the extent to which direct female and male voices in news media content shape public opinion on a variety of issues, considering that the media plays a big role in shaping public opinion.

The findings show that there were a total of 369 (18\%) news subjects out of 2001 who were directly quoted. Out of these, females constituted only $22 \%$ while a majority (78\%) were male.

Table 5: Sex of News Sources by Newspaper

| Newspaper | Sex of News Subjects |  |  |  | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Female |  |  | Male |  |
|  | F | $\%$ | $\mathbf{F}$ | $\mathbf{\%}$ |  |  |
| Bukedde | 6 | 38 | 10 | 62 | $\mathbf{1 6}$ |
| Daily Monitor | 42 | 24 | 135 | 76 | $\mathbf{1 7 7}$ |
| New Vision | 23 | 19 | 95 | 81 | $\mathbf{1 1 8}$ |
| Red Pepper | 10 | 17 | 48 | 83 | $\mathbf{5 8}$ |
| TOTAL | $\mathbf{8 1}$ | $\mathbf{2 2}$ | $\mathbf{2 8 8}$ | $\mathbf{7 8}$ | $\mathbf{3 6 9}$ |

The table shows further that the highest representation of female news sources was registered by Bukedde (38\%; M-25\%) followed Daily Monitor (24\%; M-76\%). Least was in Red Pepper (17\%; M- 83\%) and New Vision (19\%; M-81\%).

Topical Areas on which Female and Male Sources Were Quoted: Which Gender spoke on what Topic?

Studies conducted in the past have shown that male voices are heard mostly on public sphere topical issues such as politics, economics, science and technology, sustainable development and sports among others. On the other hand, female voices are largely heard on topical areas relating to the domestic sphere (issues linked to the family and upbringing of children) or specific problematic gender issues (gender violence, sex trade etc.) and beauty related stories, as well as care-giving, such as provision of health, education, and charity as is the case with work some NGOs. By so doing, the media perpetuates the assumed spheres demarcated for women and men by society.

Table 6: Topical Areas on which Female and Male Sources were Quoted

| Topic | Sex of News Sources |  |  |  | Total |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Female |  | Male |  |  |  |
|  | F | \% | F | \% | F | \% |
| Politics | 70 | 86.4 | 239 | 82.9 | 309 | 83.7 |
| Diplomacy | 1 | 1.2 | 7 | 2.4 | 8 | 2.1 |
| Security | 0 | 0 | 3 | 1.0 | 3 | 0.8 |
| Employment | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0.6 | 2 | 0.5 |
| Poverty | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Economic Policies | 1 | 1.2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0.2 |
| Banking | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Agriculture | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Trade | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Transport | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Economy General | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Science | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0.3 | 1 | 0.2 |
| Health/ Medicine | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0.6 | 2 | 0.5 |
| Environment | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Education | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Women Movement | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Royalty | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Religion | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Migration | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0.3 | 1 | 0.2 |
| Disaster | 3 | 3.7 | 4 | 1.3 | 7 | 1.8 |
| Human rights | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0.3 | 1 | 0.2 |
| Legal | 1 | 1.2 | 8 | 2.7 | 9 | 2.4 |
| Crime | 5 | 6.1 | 20 | 6.9 | 25 | 6.7 |
| Riots | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| War | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Gender Violence | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Child Abuse | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Arts | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Fashion | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Family | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Media | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Sports | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| TOTAL | 81 | 100 | 288 | 100 | 369 | 100 |

The above table shows that out of a total of 369 news sources, ( $\mathrm{F}-81$; M-288), the overwhelming majority were quoted on topical areas relating to Politics (83.7\%). Others were Crime ( $6.7 \%$ ) followed by Legal (2.4\%) and Diplomacy (2.1\%).

There was no observable gender dimensions emerging on a closer analysis, except for the fact that female news sources quoted on political issues was higher (86.4) than that of males (82.9) quoted on the same topic. Previous studies have shown the reverse.

## IMAGES IN THE PRINT MEDIA

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, some of which reinforces gender stereotypes. This study, therefore, purposed to find out whether or not the sampled media houses had an equitable representation and fair presentation of female and male news subjects in the images accompanying the news stories in which they appeared.

The findings show that out of the 2001 news subjects, only 301 (15\%) had their photographs accompanying news stories and 1700 ( $85 \%$ ) did not. However, out of the 301, the representation of females featured in photographs was only $29 \%$ compared to $71 \%$ for males. These findings are summarized in the table below.

Table 7: Sex of News subjects whose Photographs accompanied News Stories by Newspaper

| Newspaper | Sex of News Subjects |  |  |  | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Female |  | Male |  |  |
|  | F | $\%$ | F | $\mathbf{\%}$ |  |
| Bukedde | 18 | 25 | 53 | 75 | $\mathbf{7 1}$ |
| Daily Monitor | 24 | 29 | 58 | 71 | $\mathbf{8 2}$ |
| New Vision | 16 | 26 | 45 | 74 | $\mathbf{6 1}$ |
| Red Pepper | 29 | 33 | 58 | 67 | $\mathbf{8 7}$ |
| TOTAL | $\mathbf{8 7}$ | $\mathbf{2 9}$ | $\mathbf{2 1 4}$ | $\mathbf{7 1}$ | $\mathbf{3 0 1}$ |

The table shows further that the highest representation of females whose photographs accompanied news stories was registered in Red Pepper (33\%; M-67), followed by Daily Monitor at 29\% (M-71\%). The least was in Bukedde (\%) (25\%; M-75\%), and New Vision (26\%; M-74\%).

It should be noted that women's representation as news sources was $22 \%$ yet that for print media images was $29 \%$ a difference of $7 \%$. By having more females appearing in photographs accompanying news stories than giving them a platform to express themselves, the media is perpetuating social beliefs that "women are to be seen, not to be heard".

## SEX-DISAGGREGATED STATISTICS

None of the newspapers under analysis had any story that had gender disaggregated data ( $0 \%$ in each case).

## WHO DELIVERED THE NEWS

Under this section, effort was made to find out who (female or male) delivered the news or took the pictures accompanying the news stories.

## News Reporters

There were 335 reporters in total out of whom only 27 (8\%) were female, while the majority (213-64\%) were male. Reporters and Photographers whose sex was "Not Known", having been referred to as 'our reporter', or 'reporters', or 'Reuters', or "PANA", etc. have in all cases below, been discounted.

The table below shows that there were a total of 209 reporters out of whom only $10 \%$ were female, the rest ( $90 \%$ ) having been male.

Table 8: Sex of Reporters By Newspaper

| Newspaper | Sex of News Subjects |  |  |  | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Female |  | Male |  |  |
|  | F | $\%$ | F | $\mathbf{\%}$ |  |
| Bukedde | 8 | 23 | 27 | 77 | $\mathbf{3 5}$ |
| Daily Monitor | 9 | 10 | 85 | 90 | $\mathbf{9 4}$ |
| New Vision | 3 | 5 | 55 | 95 | $\mathbf{5 8}$ |
| Red Pepper | 1 | 5 | 21 | 95 | $\mathbf{2 2}$ |
| TOTAL | $\mathbf{2 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 0}$ | $\mathbf{1 8 8}$ | $\mathbf{9 0}$ | $\mathbf{2 0 9}$ |

The table shows further that the composition of female reporters was highest in Bukedde ( $23 \%$; M-77\%), followed by Daily monitor (10\%; M-90\%), while the least was in both New Vision and Red Pepper each with 5\% (M-95\%).

## Photographers

Table 9: Sex of Photographers By Newspaper

| Newspaper | Sex of News Subjects |  |  |  | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Female |  |  | Male |  |
|  | F | $\%$ | F | $\mathbf{\%}$ |  |  |
| Bukedde | 0 | 0 | 6 | 100 | $\mathbf{6}$ |
| Daily Monitor | 2 | 22 | 7 | 78 | $\mathbf{9}$ |
| New Vision | 2 | 13 | 14 | 87 | $\mathbf{1 6}$ |
| Red Pepper | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | $\mathbf{0}$ |
| TOTAL | $\mathbf{4}$ | $\mathbf{1 3}$ | $\mathbf{2 7}$ | $\mathbf{8 7}$ | $\mathbf{3 1}$ |

While discounting those photographs by people whose sex was Not Known, having been referred to or captioned as "File Photo", etc. there were 31 photographs that accompanied
news stories whose photographers taken were identified as being either female or male. Out of these, only 4 (13\%) were females while27 (87\%) were males.

For the individual newspapers, female photo journalists were highest in Daily Monitor (22\%; M-78\%), followed by New Vision (13\%; M-87\%). Bukedde and Red Pepper did not have any female photographer ( $0 \%$ in each case).

## IMPLICATIONS OF THE REPORTERS' SEX ON THE GENDER DIMENSIONS OF NEWS STORIES: SELECTED CASE STUDIES

It is generally acknowledged that not all female journalists are gender aware, and equally that males, too, can effectively cover gender issues. However, studies done over the years indicate that the participation level of women in the media has implications on media content - female media professionals are more likely to reflect other women's concerns and perspectives than their male colleagues. That being the case, therefore, the study endeavored to establish whether there is a correlation between the sex of the reporter and the gender dimensions of news stories

Note: In all cases analyzed below any one story filed by Both Female and Male journalists, as well as those by reporters whose sex was "Not Known", were discounted.

## Choice of Female and Male News Subjects by Female and Male Reporters

The table below shows that there is a relationship, between the sex of the reporter and the proportion of female and male news subjects, appearing in news stories.

## Table 10: Choice of female and Male News Subjects by Sex of Reporters

| Reporters' Sex | Sex of News Subjects |  |  |  | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Female |  |  | Male |  |
|  | F | $\mathbf{\%}$ | F | $\mathbf{\%}$ |  |
| Female | 21 | 7 | 268 | 93 | $\mathbf{2 8 9}$ |
| Male | 35 | 4 | 778 | 96 | $\mathbf{8 1 3}$ |

The table above reveals that, overall, female reporters had 289 news subjects in their stories out of whom 21 (7\%) were female and 268 (93\%) male. Male reporters on the other hand, had 813 news subjects in their stories out of whom 35 (4\%) were female and 778 ( $96 \%$ ) male. This suggests that generally, female journalists are likely to cover more female news subjects (a difference of 4\%) than their male counterparts, in their news stories.

## Proportion of Female and Male News Subjects Quoted By Female and Male Reporters

As the table below reveals, there is a relationship between the source and the sex of the reporters and the sex of news subjects quoted.

Table 11: Sex of News Subjects Quoted By Sex of Reporter

| Reporters' Sex | Sex of News Sources |  |  |  | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Female |  |  | Male |  |$|$

The table above shows that, overall, female journalists quoted 55 news sources out of whom 5 (9\%) were female (M-91\%). Their male counterparts quoted 10 female news sources ( $5 \%$; M-95\%) out of a total of 186 . This is a difference of $4 \%$ which suggests that female reporters are more likely to quote female news sources than their male counterparts.

## Female and Male Reporters attaching Family Relationships to News Subjects

The study purposed to find out who (female or Male reporters) is more likely to attach family relations to news subjects. The findings show that female reporters are over three (3) times more likely than males to do so as the table below shows.

Table 12: Proportion of News Subjects Tagged with a Family Relationship By Sex of Reporters

| Sex of Reporters | Sex of News Subjects |  | TOTAL (News Subjects) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | F | \% |  |
| Female | 0 | 0 | 289 |
| Male | 38 | 5 | 813 |
| Total | 38 | 3 | 1102 |

The Above Table shows that both female and male reporters covered 1102 subjects out of whom 38 (3\%) were referred to by their family status. However female reporters did not attach family relationships to any of the 289 news subjects they covered. On the other hand, male reporters attached a family relationship to 38 (5\%) out of a total of 813 news subjects they covered. This suggests that male journalists are more likely to attach a family relationship to news subjects than the males during coverage of election- related news stories.

## SUMMARY CONCLUSION FROM THE FINDINGS

The survey has demonstrated that the print media's coverage of election - related news stories is still centered around men, to the near exclusion of women, be they as 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 Uganda's population, $49.1 \%$ being male.

It has demonstrated further that the 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 media reportage.

## SO WHAT CHANGED?

## A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE 2016, 2018/2019 AND 2020 FINDINGS

A comparison of the results from the gender dimensions of Uganda's print media, Media and Elections research 2016, 2019 GMM research and 2020 revealed that change in the gender dimensions of news media has been small and slow across the period. Only $26 \%$ of news subjects - the people who are interviewed, or whom the news is about - are female (A slight increase of only $6 \%$ since 2014).

Table 13: Trends / Comparative Analysis

| Period | News <br> Subjects |  | Family <br> Status |  | News <br> Sources |  | Images | Delivering the <br> News |  | Photographers |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\mathbf{F}$ | $\mathbf{M}$ | $\mathbf{F}$ | $\mathbf{M}$ | $\mathbf{F}$ | $\mathbf{M}$ | $\mathbf{F}$ | $\mathbf{M}$ | $\mathbf{F}$ | $\mathbf{M}$ | $\mathbf{F}$ | $\mathbf{M}$ |
| $\mathbf{2 0 1 6}$ | 20 | 80 | 7 | 1 | 15 | 85 | 18 | 82 | 11 | 89 | N/A |  |
| $\mathbf{2 0 1 9}$ | 21 | 79 | 19 | 3 | 23 | 77 | 26 | 74 | 13 | 87 | 13 | 87 |
| $\mathbf{2 0 2 0}$ | 26 | 74 | 7 | 3 | 22 | 78 | 29 | 71 | 10 | 90 | 13 | 87 |

The above table shows that in most of the selected variables there has been an improvement in female coverage. Example:

- News subjects: In 2016, Female formed20\% (M-80\%) this figure increasing by $1 \%$ to $21 \%$ in 2019 and $26 \%$ (M-74\%) in 2020.Over all there has been an increase of $6 \%$ between 2016 and 2020.
- Family Status: Attaching a family status has no bearing on the story has remained at $7 \%$ for females though there was a more than $50 \%$ increase in the 2019 study to $19 \%$. For men on the other hand there has been a steady increase over the years albeit in smaller proportions, from 1\% in 2016 to 3\% in 2019 and 2020.
- News sources: there has been a 7\% increase for female from 15\% (M-85\%) in 2016 through 23\% (M-77\%) in 2019 to 22\% (M-78\%) in 2020.
- Images: the number of women whose images accompanied their stories rose by $11 \%$ (M-89\%) from $18 \%$ in 2016 to $29 \%$ (M-71\%) in 2020, having risen by $8 \%$ to $26 \%$ in 2019.
- Delivering the news: the number of female journalists has dropped by $1 \%$ from $11 \%$ (M-89\%) in 2016 to $10 \%$ (M-90\%) in 2020, though it had increased in 2019, by $2 \%$ to 13\% (M-87).
- Photographers: From 2019 to 2020, female photo journalists have remained constant at $13 \%$ (M-87\%) in each case. In 2016 such analysis was not conducted.


## GENERAL CONCLUSIONS AND POSSIBLE REASONS

From the findings, it becomes apparent that while the journey is still long and slow, there has been progressively, an improvement in the print media coverage of women and men. Among others, this may be attributed to the following:

- Training of journalists in Gender Sensitive Reporting: Since 2016, UMWA has trained more than 900 journalists. Of these 200 were under DGF II, and 213 under DGF I, while the rest, under other initiatives.
- Training of women leaders in effective media use: Under DGF 1 and 11: 187 women have been trained on how to engage with the media.
- Training of women leaders in use of media as an advocacy tool for gender equality. Between 21018 to-date, 200 have been trained.
- UMWA conducted 12 Onsite Orientation Trainings in 12 media houses in Hoima (Radio Liberty), Mbarara (Orumuri, Radio West, TV West, Revival FM and New Vision), Masindi (Kings FM, Bunyoro Broadcasting Services (BBS), and Radio Kitara) and Kampala (Record TV, Top media consortium and Success FM) districts in Gender Sensitive Reporting.
- Media Round Tables on how to promote gender equality through media: These involve media managers/ editors, they discuss and plan for the implementation of strategies aimed at adopting the gender sensitive reporting guidelines.
- Interactive dialogues: These are held between women leaders and media practitioners, to improve their working relations. The Project has been able to bring together 400 women in politics and 580 media practitioners (past 29 months).

It is hoped that continued engagement in the above areas will deliver the desired effect of having a media that leaves no one behind as we strive for gender equality and social justice.

## FORWARD: RECOMMENDATIONS

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

## Government

- Enforce, and monitor the implementation of gender equality laws and policies in Media Training Institutions, Media Houses and Media products.
- Develop and implement a nationwide Education / awareness campaign to promote fair representation and presentation of both sexes by, and in, the media.
- Where appropriate, take action against noncompliance.


## Media Training Institutions

- Institutions offering media studies at all levels should mainstream gender in their day-to-day operations. From Board level, staffing to the curricular offered. In the latter case, adopting and operationalizing the Course Unit on Gender developed by UMWA is highly encouraged.


## 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 adopt and apply the Advocacy Strategy for Mainstreaming Gender in the Media developed by UMWA as well as the Gender in Media Checklist (generated by UNESCO) during content generation and packaging, as well as presentation of media products. This way, the issue of negative stereotyping, derogatory language or disproportionate sourcing would be dealt with.
- Media managers should also allocate resources and assignments equitably to both female and male journalists while 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.

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.
- Ensure that both female and male voices are heard in equal proportions, by sourcing information from both women and men
- 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
- Engage media houses and other relevant stakeholders on the need and importance of gender mainstreaming in the media.
- Facilitate capacity enhancement 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 media utilization, underlining the influence it can have on their lives and that of the communities they serve.
- 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, such as Uganda Communications Commission.


## Development Partners

- Provide support to the relevant Government Agencies, and / or media rights / gender equality focused CSOs in mainstreaming gender in the media; and building capacity of women in its effective utilization.
- Facilitate Uganda Media Women's Association to among others:
- Undertake regular Gender Media Monitoring (both Field Studies and Desk Reviews) and share results, to show the magnitude of gendered differences in media coverage, and to make recommendations for improved coverage.
- Build a larger pool of researchers to respond to the ever expanding field of, and evolving methodologies in, Gender Media Monitoring.
- Publish Gender Media Monitoring findings to not only enable the wider International Community access them, but also appreciate the status of Gender and Media, especially in Uganda.


## REFERENCES

ACE (2012) (3rd Ed.): "Media and Elections", ACE Electoral Knowledge Network, accessed June 15, 2016.
http://aceproject.org/ace_entopics/me/me/10/me/oe
Adagala, E.K. and Wambui, K. (1993): "Situation of Women and Media in Africa", Women in Communication Trust, Nairobi.

Anderson, L. (1998): "Think about Women: Sociological Perspectives on Sex and Gender", Macmillan, New York.

Ayesha, I.M. (1990): "Ideology, Women and Mass Media: A Case Study of Kano, Nigeria". In Women and the Mass Media in Africa, AWWORD, Darkar, 1990.

Bandura, A. (1977): "Social Learning Theory", Englewood Cliffs / Prentice Hall, New Jersey.

Blummer, H. (1983): "The Movies and Conduct", MacMillan, New York.
Bukhart, N. (1993): "Ap's Coverage of Women: What is Women's News? How far have we come?", APME Foreign News Committee Report, October 1993.

Bukirwa Sentamu, M. (1997): "Challenges to Women's career advancement in the Print Media: The Case of The New Vision and Monitor Newspapers", MA Dissertation, Makerere University, Kampala.

Carrol, C.E. and McCombs, M. (2003): "Agenda-setting effects of business news on the public's images and opinions about major corporations", Corporate Reputation Review, 6 (1).

Chauldry, N. (2010): Why Voice Matters: Culture and Politics After Neoliberalization, Sage, London.

Chong, D. and Druckman, J.N. (2007): "Framing Theory", The Annual Review of Political Science, 10.

Chyi, H.I., and McCombs, M. (2004): "Media Salience and the Process of Framing: Coverage of the Columbine School Shooting", Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly, 81 (1).

Davies, P. (2011): "Gender, Crime and Victimization", Sage.
Eagly, A.H. (1989): "Gender Stereotypes: Their Content, Sources and Consequences", Paper presented at Conference on "Restructuring for Reality: An In-depth look at selected issues", Reddiff College, March.

EAJA, (2008): "Enhancing Gender Equality in the Media in Eastern Africa", Eastern Africa Journalists Association, Djibouti.

Entman, R.M. (1993): "Framing: Towards Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm", Journal of Communication, 43(4).

Figes, R. (1986): "Patriarchal Attitudes, Women in Society", MacMillan, New York.
Freyenberger, D.D. (2013): "Amanda Knox: A Content Analysis of Media Framing in Newspaper Around the World", School of Graduate Studies, East Tennessee State, Electronic Thesis and Dissertation, Paper 1117.

Fundire, S. (1994): "Gender and the Media". Paper presented at the FAMN-SADC Workshop, September 21-23, Harare, Zimbabwe.

Gallagher, M. (1979): "Women's Participation in the News", UNESCO, Paris.
Gallagher, M. and My von Enler (1996): "Women's Participation in the News", World Association for Christian Communication, Toronto

GMMP (2010): "Who Makes the News?" Global Media Monitoring Project 2010, World Association for Christian Communication.

GMMP (2015): "Who Makes the News?" Global Media Monitoring Project 2015, World Association for Christian Communication, Toronto.

Grady, K.E. (1977): "Sex as a Social Label: The Illusion of Sex Differences", Doctoral Dissertation, Graduate Centre, City University of New York.

Gutek, B.A,; Cohen, A.g. (1987): "Sex Ratios, Sex-Role Spillover, and Sex at Work: A Comparison of Men's and Women's Experiences", Human Relations, 40.

Hayes, D. and Lawless, J.L. (2015): "A Non-Gendered Lens? Media, Voters, and Female Candidates in Contemporary Congressional Elections", American Political Science Association, March 2015 / Vol. 13 / No. 1, accessed June 16, 2016, nongendered.pdf-Adobe Reader

ISIS (1981): "Women and the Media", ISIS International Bulletin 18, ISIS, Rome.
Llanos, B.; and Nina, J. (2013): "Election Coverage from a Gender Perspective". A Media Monitoring Manual, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance / UN Women. Accessed June 15, 2106.
www.idea.int/publications/election_coverage_gender_perspective/index.
Longwe, S. and Clarke, R. (1992): "Gender Analysis of the Images of Women in the Media". Paper presented at a joint UNICEF-TAMWA Workshop on The Gender Analysis of Media Production, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, 16 October, 1992.

Lowery, S. and Melvin, L. (1983): "Milestones in Mass Communication Research: Media Effects", Longman, New York.

Macnamara, J. (2005): "Media Content Analysis: Its uses, benefits and best practice methodology", Asia Pacific Public Relations Journal, 6 (1).

Mattelart, M. (1986): "Women, Media and Crisis: Femininity and Disorder", Comedia, London.

McCombs, M. (1997): "Building Consensus: The News Media's Agenda-setting Roles", Political Communication, 14.

McQuail, D. (2000): "Mass Communication Theory" (4th ed.), Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA.
Modeleski, T. (1991): "Feminism without Women: Culture and Criticism in a 'Postfeminist' Age", Routledge, London.

Muhammadi, A.S. (1996): "Media Women in a Global Context". Paper presented at a UNESCO Conference, June 15, 1994, UNESCO, Paris.

Muriel, C.G. (1987): "Popular Culture and the Portrayal of Women: Content and Control" in Boss, B.B. and Free, M.M. (eds) (1990): "Analyzing Gender: A Handbook of Social Science Research", Sage, Newbery Park.

Neuendorf, K. (2002): "The Content Analysis Guide Book", Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA.
Neuman, W. (1997): "Social Science Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches", Ally and Bacon, Needham Heights, MA.

Newland, B. (1979: "The Sisterhood of Man", Norton and Co., New York.
Ogundipe-Leslie, M: "The Images of Women and the Role of the Media in a New Political Culture in Nigeria", in Africa Media Review Vol. 4 No. 1, ACCE, Nairobi, 1990.

Pesàntez, N.C. (2010): "News and Formation of Thinking", in GMMP (2010). Who Makes the News, World Association for Christian Communication, Toronto.

Pittmar, K. (2016): "Outlook: Gender Bias, Media, and the Cause for Concern in Presidential Politics", accessed June 15, 2016
http://presidentialgenderwatch.org/2016-outlook-gender-bias-media-and-the-cause-for-concern-in-presidential-politics

Sahn, G.K. and Alam, S. (2013): "Media Agenda on Gender Issues: Content Analysis of Two National Dailies", Journal of Mass Communication, II (1), Pragyam.

Schuefele, D.A. (1999): "Framing as a Theory of Media Effects", Journal of Communication, 49.

Shaw, E.F. (1979): "Agenda-setting and Mass Communication Theory", International Communication Gazette, 25.

Sundaram, V. (2007): "Violence Victims as a Gender-specific process", PHD Thesis, National Institute of Public Health, Copenhagen.

UNESCO (1995): "Women and the Media: Access to Expression and Decision Making", International Symposium, Toronto Plan for Action, February 28 - March 3, 1995, Toronto, Canada.

UNICEF (1994): "International Symposium of Women and the Media: Access to Decision Making", Eastern and Southern African Regional Preparatory Workshop, Harare, Zimbabwe, September 21-23, 1994.

Walklate, S. (2004): "Gender, Crime and Criminal Justice" (2nd Ed.), Willan Cullompton.
White, A. (2009): "Getting the Balance Right: Gender Equality in Journalism", International Federation of Journalists, Brussels.

Wijngrad, R.V.D. (1992): "Women as Journalists: Incompatibility of Roles", In Africa Media Review Vol. 6 No. 2, ACCE, Nairobi.

