Editorial Caricature Representations of Female Political Leaders in Jamaica: The Case of Portia Simpson Miller

by

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Abstract

Women's political participation has been the cause of much discussion globally. The points of contention and the intensity of these discussions vary across borders. However, issues of sexuality, the iron-fist woman versus the nurturing woman, the need for women to adapt to the machismo of the political system and leadership capabilities of females remain constant themes. In Jamaica these discussions were heightened in 2006 with the ascension of Jamaica's first female Prime Minister, Portia Simpson Miller. Mainstream media vividly captured the gender discourse of the society through its editorial caricatures. This research paper will describe and analyse editorial caricature representations of female political leaders in Jamaica with particular focus on Portia Simpson Miller. The caricatures to be discussed will span 2006 to 2016. During this time Mrs Simpson Miller served as Jamaica's first female Prime Minister from 2006 to 2007 and again from 2012 to 2016 when her party lost the general election. The literature review will cover perspectives on gender and sexism, women in leadership and media representation, which are explored in the context of the representation of women in politics in Jamaica.

Keywords: Portia Simpson Miller, Sexuality, Patriarchy, Media Representation, Politics, Women.

This paper is dedicated to my husband O'neil Thomas for his unconditional love and support during my time away from home and to my daughter, Gianna Thomas who took the journey with me to Canada to complete my studies.

Acknowledgements

Table of Contents

Chapter 1.

Introduction

1.1. Statement of the Problem

From the proverbial man in the street to the halls of academia the debates about women's political participation have been intense yet quite interesting. The recent candidacy of Hilary Clinton for President of the United States of America has added fuel to these discussions. In Jamaica, the discussions on the involvement of women in politics have been ongoing and have intensified over the past ten years with the ascendency of a female Prime Minister who has also served as a party leader for the People's National Party (PNP) and Member of Parliament for over four decades cumulatively. These incidents have led to an increase in political caricatures on the issue of female leadership in politics in Jamaica.

Against the background of male dominance and gender stereotyping in Jamaican politics, Portia Simpson Miller did not escape gendered media representations as Prime Minister. The rise of a woman to the highest office in political leadership in Jamaica did not translate to a change in the operations of the political system. Women are arguably still largely excluded from political leadership and when they are a part of the elected political leaders they are scrutinized more intensely than their male counterparts and continue to be represented in stereotypical ways. The media as a key agent of socialization continues to shape the discourse through its representations of gender and leadership. Samarasinghe (2000) rightfully pointed out that politics is a man's game and government is a men's club

and the media in Jamaica has done well in representing this sentiment through it's political caricatures in the two major newspapers- the Jamaica Observer and The Gleaner.

Analysing gender stereotyping can be challenging as it is often subtle and subjective. Despite these challenges, I will analyse gender stereotyping with an understanding that stereotypes are rooted in roles that have been assigned historically to men and women. Although there have been changes, roles assigned to women and men and views of those roles are still largely traditional. For example, female candidates are perceived to be more suited for addressing issues such as health, social welfare and education while males are seen to be more capable of addressing crime, agriculture and business or the economy.

The media are a key socializing agent which play a critical role in shaping opinions, promoting values and attitudes and reinforcing stereotypes in any given society. According to studies by Senior, (1972); Waters, (1985); Heron, (1998), the media play an important role in politics as it delivers messages and aids in forming opinions. Kahn and Goldenburg (1991) point to the critical role that the media play in relying on stereotypes in its coverage of male and female candidates. These stereotypes result in consequences for public discourse on matters of gender and leadership. The gender differences give meanings to dichotomies such as masculine- feminine, public-private, hard-soft, rational-intuitive, active-passive among others. In these cases the traits associated with men are more favoured for leadership and public life than those associated with women.

1.2. Significance of the Problem/Rationale

The sexist treatment and representation of women in electoral politics is a global social injustice. My research on editorial caricature representations of female political leaders in

Jamaica is a reflection of and response to the global social injustice being faced by women, perpetuated by patriarchal hegemony which blurs the attainment of gender equality. The print media serves as a medium through which this hegemony is represented and therefore maintained.

By highlighting the stereotypical ways in which women are represented, this research will therefore be a part of the intervention on the social injustice meted out to women in politics in Jamaica. My research could be shared with women's groups, media watch groups as well as advocacy groups interested in the work of women in politics, to provide a tool that can empower decision making on women's political participation. Individual female politicians may also benefit from the knowledge to shared based on this research as the literature and the discussions will highlight some of the discursive strategies that are used to keep social power and dominance in the hands of men (as a group) and how this impacts how women (as a group), are represented. This awareness will provide a tool that can be used to guide the strategies for changing the discourse on gender and politics in Jamaica, which sees men as the dominant group while women are viewed as subordinates and not fit to be in political leadership.

This position of dominance has not only been accepted and reinforced by men but women too have internalised the patriarchal structure of the society making power and dominance jointly produced in Jamaica. This has led to social injustice for women who are a part of the political process, albeit a small percentage compared to men. The political structure in Jamaica has been male dominated for many years and although more women have entered the political sphere, inequality still exists. Often women who enter this space must appropriate masculine traits and/or be judged at a higher level for competence. This

criterion of high competence is often not leveled against men who are privileged in this space.

This hegemony must be challenged and resisted in all its forms. Mittelman and Chin (2000) suggest that "while hegemony is being implemented, maintained, and defended, it can be challenged and resisted in the interlocking realms of civil society, political society and the state" (p.18). My research will serve as a challenge and critique of this hegemony within the political arena. It is hoped that the level of consciousness achieved will inspire action by those who are exposed to the knowledge created through my research as the nation takes a step forward to social justice for women in politics.

Social justice in relation to gender and politics in Jamaica may seem unattainable due to pervasive power imbalances between the dominant and the subordinate or the empowered and the powerless and those at the margins versus those who enjoy the privileges of the center. Takacs (2002) describes what is necessary to achieve what may seen unattainable.

> To work toward a just world-a world where all have equal access to opportunity-means, as a start, opening up heart and mind to the perspectives of others. We must be able to hear each other and to respect and learn from what we hear. We must understand how we are positioned in relation to others - as dominant/subordinate, marginal/center, empowered/powerless (p. 169).

This is an essential part of my work as a communicator for social justice. I do not only view myself as a transmitter of information and knowledge but also as one who is being informed and receives knowledge in the process.

The knowledge and awareness created through my research will serve as a tool to guide the strategies for changing the discourse on gender and politics in Jamaica, creating a landscape of fairness and justice. Rawls' (1999) points to fairness and justice for all

peoples, which I apply to gender expectations and discussions. Both genders are to be respected for their unique perspectives and abilities. Pluralism must be accepted over any form of hegemony that seeks to tout universalism as the ideal. Human rights must be upheld, with freedom from any kind of discrimination being a priority.

While the call for justice for women generally can include a redistributive form of justice where there is just distribution of resources and goods there is a more urgent call in politics for recognition as a form of justice. In this context, justice must be in the form of acceptance of a "difference-friendly world," where assimilation to majority or dominant cultural norms is no longer the price of equal respect" (Fraser, 1999, p. 27). Unique perspectives should be recognised of minorities (racial, sexual as well as gender difference) and there should be a "cultural and symbolic change" (Fraser, 1999, p. 28). According to Fraser (1999) this would involve "upwardly revaluing disrespected identities, positively valorizing cultural diversity, or the wholesale transformation of societal patterns of representation, interpretation, and communication in ways that would change everyone's social identity" (p. 27).

1.3. Objective and Research Questions

The main objective of this research is to analyse the portrayal of Portia Simpson Miller in editorial caricatures in Jamaica as part of a wider discussion on how women in politics are portrayed by the media. The research questions which have guided this inquiry are as follows:

    I.   How do caricatures portray Portia Simpson-Miller?

II.   Are gender stereotypes reflected in the caricatures, and if so, how are they reflected?

1.4.   Positionality

Growing up in Jamaica, a society that has been colonised, the remnants of slavery are still visible in many spaces and power is wielded as an achievement. Power over is a key component of the many hierarchal structures within the society based on gender, class and skin colour. The gender sphere is one area where power over is both publicly and privately expressed with males assuming the dominant position while females are viewed as the subordinate group. The acceptance of this patriarchal kind of ordering has made this dichotomy pervasive in many industries and institutions. I am interested in seeing how the media serve as a space where gender stereotypes are reinforced and (mis)represented through editorial caricatures.

Growing up in Jamaica provides me with a unique experience of the rebellion against, compliance with and enforcement of the sexist approach to the gender discourse and its representation in the media. The representation of female politicians by the mainstream media in Jamaica has long been an area of observation for me due to the visible differences in how men and women are discussed and represented in that society. It has been fascinating to see how the discourse related to gender relations, gender expectations and leadership within that society has been framed by the mainstream media. My nationality, experiences with gender relations in Jamaica and my academic exposure constitute my positionality and are the reasons for selecting this topic for investigation.

Using Maher and Tetreault's definition of positionality Takacs, (2002) states that "the idea of positionality, in which people are defined not in terms of fixed identities, but by their location within shifting networks of relationships, which can be analyzed and changed" (p. 169). It is important to note that this relation is dynamic with changes taking place both relationally and contextually and therefore defining my identity and acquired knowledge in any given situation is fluid. My identity is a mark of my relational position and is therefore not an essential quality that is immutable. My knowledge is validated when I acknowledge my position within the context of my research.

Positionality is a multidimensional and unique experience which positions each person in relation to another individual and where no one position is viewed as being privileged or more important than the other. Therefore, I acknowledge my position as a Jamaican female, schooled in the theories and practices of media and communication and gender and development studies but not as being more privileged and having more voice than those who may be of different experiences. Takacs (2002) points out that "understanding positionality means understanding where you stand in respect to power, an essential skill for social change agents" (p. 169). At different points in the process this position from which I will be conducting my research may lead to empowerment or disempowerment of myself, which will be accepted as a constructive part of the research process. The empowerment and disempowerment that may be experienced at any given time will not be viewed as an area for critique but as an opportunity for greater reflexivity on my positionality. It is important that I reflect on this process as I seek to add to existing work aimed at challenging media (mis)representation of women in politics.

1.5. Theoretical Framework

In conducting research, it is important that the discussions and analyses are based on solid theoretical foundations that can assist in giving meanings to the discourse being explored.

Theories informing this research include theories of patriarchy and sexism, media representation as well as social justice, which, taken together, help explain caricatures of women politicians in Jamaican media.

1.5.1. Patriarchy and Sexism

Patriarchy is described as ''the domination of the major political, economic, cultural, and legal systems by men, and stresses the need to identify the attitudes, expectations, language behaviors, and social arrangements that have contributed to the oppression and marginalization of people'' (Robbins, Chatterjee, & Canda, 2006, p. 97). A patriarchal system is one where males control access to institutional power, and arguably mold ideology, philosophy, art and religion to suit their needs. The exercise of male power is viewed as at least somewhat conspiratorial, and women—whatever their economic status—are perceived as an oppressed class (Mirkin, 1984, p. 41). Under patriarchy women have been assigned roles and responsibilities that have largely prevented them from venturing into territories branded as being male. One of these territories is undoubtedly politics with its gendered discussions and stereotypical ways of assessing male and female political leaders.

The traditional psychological and ideological views of women's roles have been one of the greatest obstacles to their participation in politics at the highest level. Randall (1987) posits

that "politics has traditionally been understood to be a public activity dominated by men and requiring typically masculine characteristics…whilst women were identified above all with the private world of the family and the domestic life" (p. 4). This discussion is a manifestation of the public private dichotomy that is rooted in patriarchal and sexist discourse. Gilchrist (2008) states that "to a very large extent, women's role in public life generally and in politics specifically, has been undermined and trivialized by male hegemony" (p. 20). She further states that the attainment of gender equality is blurred by the existence of patriarchy (Gilchrist, 2008, p. 20).

1.5.2. Media Representation

The media continue to play a critical role in shaping the thoughts and perspectives of the society and issues that begin to gain attention can be attributed to the media. The "images, symbols and narratives" presented by the media influence, to a great extent, the conversations and beliefs of its audiences. Behaviours and habits begin to change and develop based on exposure by and to the media. According to Brooks and Hebert (2004),

> much of what audiences know and care about is based on images, symbols, and narratives in radio, television, film, music, and other media. ow individuals construct their social identities, how they come to understand what it means to be male, female, black, white, Asian, Latino, Native American – even rural or urban – is shaped by commodified texts produced by media for audiences that are increasingly segmented by the social constructions of race and gender. Media, in short, are central to what ultimately come to represent our social realities. (p. 297)

Further to the position held by Brooks and Hebert (2004), Wood (1994) highlights that due to the prevalence of media in our lives, the distorted representations shown may affect how and what we view as normal and desirable for men and women.

1.5.3. Social Justice

In describing social justice, Rodriquez (2006) looks to Frey, Pearce, Pollock, Artz and Murphy who define social justice as "the engagement with and advocacy for those in our society who are economically, socially, politically and/or culturally under resourced" (p. 24). Rawls (1999) sees justice as fairness where all are treated with equal respect and dignity and has the same influence on the processes that they are involved in without prejudice, regardless of the differences that exist. Under patriarchy women have been assigned roles and responsibilities that have largely prevented them from venturing into territories branded as masculine. Women have been judged and treated unfairly because of sex and have been placed in a disadvantaged position. Their abilities have been questioned and contributions to larger political discourse challenged if it does not reflect the patriarchal hegemony of what is expected of political leaders.

Chapter 2.

Literature Review

2.1. Gender and Media Representation

According to bell hooks (1992) the representation of black female in the media "determines how blackness and people are seen and how other groups will respond to us based on their relation to these constructed images" (p. 5). Hudson (1998) and Hill Collins (2000, 2004) both posit that dominant racial, class and gender ideologies are the key causes of how the media presents black women. Adding to hooks' discussion of representation, Hudson (1998) argues that "these stereotypes simultaneously reflect and distort both the ways in which black women view themselves (individually and collectively) and the ways in which they are viewed by others" (p. 249).

Wood (1994) states that "all forms of media communicate images of the sexes, many of which perpetuate unrealistic, stereotypical, and limiting perception" (p. 31). She further states that there are three themes that describe how media represent gender. Her first assertion is that women are underrepresented which falsely implies that men are the cultural standard and women are unimportant or invisible. Secondly, men and women are portrayed in stereotypical ways that reflect and sustain socially endorsed views of gender, and thirdly, depictions of relationships between men and women emphasize traditional roles and normalize violence against women (Wood, 1994, p. 31). Wood (1994) suggest that men are consistently presented as being active, adventurous, powerful, sexually aggressive and largely uninvolved in human relationships while women are portrayed as sex objects who are usually young, thin beautiful, passive, dependent, and often incompetent and dumb.

She continues with the idea that females are portrayed as being devoted to improving their appearances and taking care of homes and people (p. 32).

Wood (1994) further highlights that a recurrent theme in media representations of relationships is that "men are the competent authorities who save women from their incompetence (p. 35)." She points to the example of children's literature which vividly implements this idea by casting females as helpless and males as coming to their rescue. Wood mentions that when the media portrays women as working outside of the home, women's careers receive little or no attention. Despite their career titles, women are shown as homemakers, mothers, wives and caregivers. Wood (1994) points out that television programming disproportionately depicts men as serious confident, competent, powerful, and in high-status positions. It is also interesting to look at how males are not presented. Men are seldom shown doing housework, rarely presented caring for others and are typically represented as uninterested in and incompetent at homemaking, cooking, and child care (Brown & Campbell, 1986; Doyle, 1989; Horovitz, 1989).

2.2. Gender and Sexuality

According to Mohammed (1995) "gender is the social organisation of sexual differences. But this does not mean that gender reflects or implements fixed and natural physical differences between men and women. Rather, gender is the knowledge that establishes meanings for bodily differences" (pp. 20-21). Mohammed (1995) further describes gender system as,

> That system of gender relations which is deemed to exist at any time and around which the cultural construction of masculinity and femininity proceeds. The term gender relations, refers to the social relations, both structured and unstructured,

between men and women which are guided by norms and values, underpinned by ideology, sanctioned by a range of mechanisms from social opprobrium to death. (p. 21)

A gender system therefore consists of the rules that govern both sexes. Mohammed (1995) points out that "the components of a gender system include the social roles assigned to men and to women; the cultural definition of masculinity and femininity…" (p. 21).

Over time, within the globalised environment, masculinity has come under increased scrutiny and analysis both in the Caribbean and worldwide. Caribbean men have always been involved in passing on roles and norms to each other with the influence of the wider society. As men relate to each other and various institutions within the society their sense of masculinity is developed. According to Linden Lewis (2007) "masculinity is something men do, not something they necessarily define in a systematic way" (p.4). Masculinity is often an individual form of self- understanding that constitutes personal attitudes and behaviours, and on the other hand, it can be seen as a set of collective, cultural ideals that define appropriate roles, values and expectations for men.

Defining and understanding masculinity is essential to any discussion on the representation of females in politics but this must move to another critical stage. These discussions must move to the stage where the discourse goes into issues of "identity and nature of being" (Lewis, 2007). We must be clear about how men develop their sense of manhood and the defining features or characteristics that results in boys being labelled as a man. Based on the characteristics that must be acquired to make the transition to manhood, Lewis (2007) says "consciousness of one's masculinity then, emerges out of a constellation of social practices or behaviours of men" (p. 6). Further to this Lewis (2007) points out that manhood is also connected to the ideology that leads men to an understanding of themselves as

"gendered subjects for whom society has devised specific roles and expectations" (p.6). The society takes on the role of policing the boundaries of masculinity through sanctions and rewards. The literature highlights that power, which is a critical aspect of the definition of manhood, facilitates access to resources and privileges from which women and subjugated masculinities are intentionally or unintentionally barred. In defining masculinity, femininity is defined as the Other.

Simone de Beauvoir (1989) uses the term "Other" to allude to the secondary position which women (femininity) have been relegated to in society. Beauvoir (1989) suggests that the "othering" of women is largely rooted in patriarchy and the definitions attached to being masculine and feminine. Beauvoir (1989) explained that for a being to define itself, it must also define something in opposition to itself. She asserts that it is at the point of the man asserting himself as the subject and as a free being that the Other is born. Beauvoiur (1989) points to immanence versus transcendence, nature versus nature and production versus reproduction as key factors in the discussions on women as the Other.

Beauvoir (1989) uses "immanence" as a description for the space that has been assigned to women historically. In this space women belong to the interior, passive, static, and immersed in themselves. On the other hand, Beauvior (1989) uses "transcendence" to describe the opposing male space where the male is active, creative, productive, powerful and extending outward into the external universe. Beauvoir (1989) believes that these two descriptions should interplay but points out that throughout history men have denied women the transcendent role. Beauvoir believes that women are forced to relinquish their existential right to venture into the spaces traditionally assigned to men and be held captive in immanence.

Beauvoir (1989) also looks at the nature versus nurture discourse. She suggests that the inferior role assigned to women in society is not due to natural differences but rather differences created by society and imparted during the early stages of life. Male domination is not inherent or fated but conditioned at every stage of development (Beauvoir, 1989). Beauvoir (1989) says that "Man learns his power." She also highlights that woman is not born passive, mediocre, or immanent but learns these traits through socialization.

Production versus reproduction is the other dichotomy which Beauvoir (1989) refers to in her discussion on woman being branded as the Other. Beauvoir (1989) states that there exists a difficulty in reconciling the role of woman as a reproductive being who can also be engaged with her productive abilities. Beauvoir (1989) believes that a woman's reproductive abilities should not prevent her from taking on responsibilities outside of the home. She asserts that women are neither exclusively "workers" nor exclusively "wombs."

2.3. Women in (Political) Leadership

In reviewing literature, the issue of leadership has been of interest to a wide cross sections of scholars. However, prior to the 1980s the focus was largely on the experiences of men. Klenke (2004) highlights that "it has been primarily the study of political leadership exercised by a privileged group of "great men" who defined power, authority and knowledge" (p. 1). Klenke (2004) asserts that this focus on political leadership disregarded the spaces where females traditionally held leadership roles: social movements, family, community, volunteer organisations. Klenke (2009) also points to the fact that "women in leadership roles today hardly

are allowed to forget that they are women leaders, no more than blacks in a white nation or Catholics in a Protestant State can forget their minority status" (pp. 16-17).

The literature suggests that women do not lack confidence in their ability to lead but that they are faced with a sense of "vulnerability, tokenism and precariousness" (Klenke, 2009, p. 17). This places woman in a disadvantaged position when called upon to lead. Bass (1959) observed that "from its infancy, the study of history has been the study of leaders. What leaders do or do not do matters enormously in the cause of human affairs" (p. 8). Klenke states that:

> Gender gives collective meanings to perceptions of leadership which, in turn, bound with gender and cultural biases. Rather than treating gender as an individual characteristic, it is considered here as a matter of social relations and culture. Culture determines the identity of a human group in the same way as personality determines the identity of an individual (p. 23).

According to Wolverton (2009), several characteristics such as passion and commitment, self- awareness, and self-confidence are commonly associated with effective leaders. Regarding a description of what is considered to be successful leadership, (Eagley and Johnson, 1990; Loden, 1985) point out that women and men who are effective leaders are expected to show different behaviours and leadership styles and the assessment of male and female leaders differ in terms of what it means to be successful in their roles. These discussions are largely based on the expectations that exist within a patriarchal system and the division of gender identities and happen face-to-face but also human-to-human over the internet.

Kann, (1999) in discussing the evolution of US politics offers a description of patriarchy as "men's domination of women in family life, religion, culture, economics, society, and politics" (p. 4). He posits that American politics are gendered and connects this to its

16

founders. He stressed that most founders assumed that men were leaders while women were their natural subordinates and politics were viewed strictly as a matter for men. The idea of women contributing to public good was scuffed at and there was the belief that any woman who was not under the guidance of a male was dangerous and disorderly. This aided in the perpetuation of traditional patriarchy in politics in America (Kann, 1999, pp. 4-5). Although America is a different jurisdiction from Jamaica, the ideas on patriarchy and how it operates are relatable as the concept of patriarchy and how it manifests is a universal theme and both societies operate as democratic systems of government.

According to Johanna Dunaway (2013) who conducted research on the coverage of female candidates in traditional media, news stories relating to female candidates have a different tone and content compared to that of their male counterparts. The research found that articles about female candidates had more discussions related to character traits while article about males speak largely to political issues. Dunaway (2013) further explained that in cases where the candidates are only males the stories were focused on character traits 6 per cent of the time and on political issues 55.5 per cent of the time. On the other hand, when females are the only candidates, the stories focus on personality traits 9.4 per cent of the time and on political issues 51.7 per cent of the time. Interestingly when there were both male and female candidates, the news articles focused on traits 10.8 per cent of the time while political issues was the focus 58.1 per cent of the time. The research also highlighted that the coverage of the appearance and clothing choices of female candidates was covered in the remaining percentage as well as other factors that may affect likeability of the candidate. Appearance and attire for the males garnered less attention than that of males.

2.4. Women's (Mis)Representation as Social Injustice

Cox (1983) points out that societies are not only held together by force but also by ideologies that are formed by civil society. While I agree that ideologies together hold societies, I also believe that these ideologies are formed by the dominant group (in this case males) and passed down to civil society through various agents which aid in normalising these ideologies and giving the false consciousness that they have been developed from the bottom up. Various institutions such as religion, school, family and the media serve to legitimize the ideologies of patriarchy. According to Cox (1983) "hegemony is the bedrock of social order" however I do not believe any kind of hegemony needs to exist. People should be valued for who they are and what they belief within reason and human rights.

Men's position has caused them to ignore the fact that women too should be afforded equal opportunities within the political sphere. Takacs (2002) states that "few things are more difficult than to see outside the bounds of our own perspective to be able to identify assumptions that we take as universal truths, but that instead have been crafted by our own unique identity and experiences in the world" (p. 169). One area where a patriarchal universal truth has been conjured up is within the political arena. The promulgation of these ideologies as truths has led to more gendered discussions in politics and more gender talk when assessing females who choose to enter politics. The traditional psychological and ideological views on women's roles have been one of the greatest obstacles to their participation in politics at the highest level. Randall (1987) posits that "politics has traditionally been understood to be a public activity dominated by men and requiring typically masculine characteristics…whilst women were identified above all with the private world of the family and the domestic life" (p. 4). This discussion is a manifestation

of the public private dichotomy that is rooted in patriarchal and sexist discourse where fairness and justice for the feminine gender are disregarded.

Chapter 3.

Methodology

In executing my research, I sought to conduct critical discourse analysis around gender relations in Jamaica with a focus on gender stereotyping of women in politics by mainstream print media through editorial caricature. I analysed the properties of the selected editorial caricatures and the role they play in reinforcing gender stereotypes and the reproduction of the discourse on gender more broadly.

Print media caricatures were consulted as primary sources for gathering information on the representation of women in politics in Jamaica. This information was discussed using secondary sources such as books and journal articles which will offer insights on the major themes related to gender stereotyping based on the theoretical framework and a review of the existing body of literature related to this topic. The current Opposition Leader and former Prime Minister, Portia Simpson Miller was used as a central figure in the discussions on how women are represented in caricatures.

Due to time constraints influencing the scope of the project, a total of eight editorial caricatures done by Las May of the Jamaica Gleaner and Clovis of the Jamaica Observer were analysed. Samples of the editorial caricatures were selected based on issues related to gender stereotyping of Portia Simpson Miller, in her capacity as a political leader. Portia Simpson Miller was chosen as the primary figure for my analyses as she served as the first female Prime Minister of Jamaica, also having served as Councillor, Member of Parliament and leader of the then governing and now opposition party. Her tenure in politics spans over four decades, having first been elected as councillor in 1974. While editorial

caricatures are not paid for by any political party and the cartoonists do not publicly identify with a political party, their contribution to the debate on gender stereotyping and (mis)representation of women cannot be overlooked.

Chapter 4.

Discussion and Analysis

The aim of this research paper was to analyse the portrayal of Portia Simpson Miller in editorial caricatures in Jamaica as part of a wider discussion on how women in politics are portrayed by the media. Six caricatures from the two most widely read daily newspaper, Jamaica Gleaner and Jamaica Observer were selected and will be discussed and analysed based on themes which emerged from previous research as captured in the literature review as well as the theoretical lenses of patriarchy and sexism, media representation and social justice. As part of the analysis a brief description of each caricature, to include interpretation of the local dialect, is included, to provide context for the analysis. LJG will be used to refer to caricature by cartoonist Las May of Jamaica Gleaner and CJO will be used to refer to caricature by Clovis of Jamaica Observer.

Caricature 1: CJO   **Caricature 2: CJO**

Prior to the 2011 General Elections, the Debates Commission organised a series of debates between the two political leaders as well as other members of both parties. Following the debate between Portia Simpson Miller and Andrew Holness, there was a widely held view

that Mrs. Simspon Miller won the debate. As part of this discussion Clovis presented Mrs. Simpson Miller as a parent aggressively "beating" a child in Caricature 1. This is a stereotypical representation of mothers in Jamaica who discipline children by giving them a whopping. This depiction was void of governance issues directly related to the debate. This depiction adds to the fact that Mrs. Simpson Miller has been referred to locally as Sista P. or Mama P. which positions her in a motherly role, despite her role as Member of Parliament and Prime Minister which are related to her career.

Caricature 2 is another stereotypical representation of Mrs. Simpson Miller as a mother and by extension a nurturer. Despite the fact that she is at work, dressed as a career woman she is depicted as babysitting one of her cabinet ministers, Phillip Paulwell who is commonly referred to as her baby based on his alleged incompetence. This caricature is against the background of Jamaica hosting some matches of the Cricket World Cup in 2007. At that time, the Morant Bay Courthouse was destroyed by fire and Mrs. Simpson Miller as Prime Minister and Minister of Sports was asking that Phillip Paulwell, the Minister of Technology (who is in charge of insuring public spaces) ensure that the cricket stadium, Sabina Park was insured.

Both caricatures depict Mrs. Simpson Miller in the stereotypical gender role as a mother and nurturer despite the professional space that she occupies. As suggested by Beauvoir (1989) the production versus reproduction dichotomy is clear in these caricatures. Although Mrs. Simpson Miller is supposedly in a productive role she is not addressed or depicted as such but is consistently depicted as being in a reproductive capacity and constructed associated roles. There is a great level of difficulty in reconciling her reproductive and productive abilities. This reinforces a position held by Wood (1994) that

when the media portrays women as working outside of the home, her career receives little or no attention. Despite Mrs. Simpson Miller's career she is shown as a mother and caregiver/nurterer.

Caricature 3: CJO
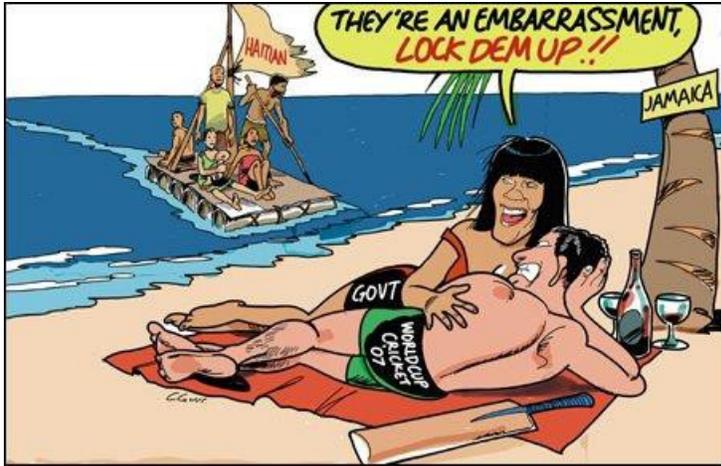
Caricature 3 was published against the backdrop of Jamaica hosting matches from the Cricket World Cup in 2007. At that the country was experiencing an influx of Haitians entering the country illegally via boat. In this illustration Mrs. Simpson Miller was presented as "government" relaxing on the beach in an intimate position with "World Cup Cricket '07" while Haitians were making their way to shore. She exclaimed that they are an embarrassment and should be locked away without leaving from her compromising position to attend to this matter of urgency. This depiction relegates the Prime Minister to a sexual figure who is more interested in short term relationships than looking after those that will affect the country for a longer period. There were controversies surrounding the hosting of the cricket matches but they were not depicted in the caricature. Instead the Mrs. Simpson Miller was depicted in a sexual position because she is woman.

Despite her position as Prime Minister, Mrs. Simpson Miller does not escape the sexualization on females and the gendered representation as sex symbols. She does not escape the social roles that have been assigned to women and the cultural definitions of femininity referred to by Mohammed (1995). The dominant gender ideologies discussed by Hudson (1998) and Hill Collins (2000, 2004) serve as a key framing of the representation of Mrs. Simpson-Miller in Caricature 3. The caricature supports the point made by Hudson (1998) that stereotypical representations reflect while at the same time distorts the ways black women view themselves as a group and individually and impacts how they are viewed by others. The prevailing discourse on gender roles both creates and is created by the representation.

Caricature 4: CJO   **Caricature 5: LJG**

Attention to appearance remains one of the gender stereotypes that women engage with daily. Caricatures 4 and 5 align well with the ideology that females are overly concerned about appearance over most, if not every other thing. In Caricature 4 Mrs. Simpson Miller is depicted as searching through her closet of numerous outfits and shoes to decide on her election suit. It is ironic that in preparing for an election she is presented as looking for an outfit and not thinking about possible policy issues that would be of importance to the

electorate. The depiction implies her lack of regard for performance and great attention to appearance. Caricature 5 presents a similar positioning of Mrs. Simpson Miller who is seen admiring herself using a mirror while at the lectern at the political debate while her opponent is pontificating but seemingly taken back by her obsession with herself. Again, her appearance is placed above the matter at hand which is to present her plans for the nation as election approaches.
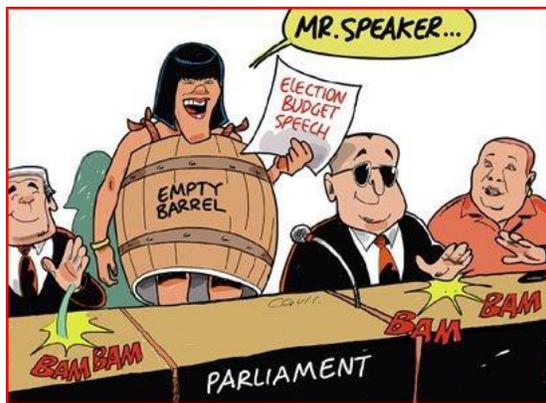
Caricature 6: CJO   **Caricature 7: LJG**

Mrs. Simpson Miller has faced numerous criticisms regarding her competence as a political figure and her ability to lead. She is often positioned as being the figure head for the political party and government that she leads, while the men are positioned as the decision makers and workers. In Caricature 6, as Mrs. Simpson Miller makes her budget presentation to parliament, she is presented as an empty barrel, aligned with a popular proverb in Jamaica that says, "empty barrels make the most noise." This demonstrates absence of knowledge and intellectual prowess on governance and state matters. It reinforces the stereotype that women are not well versed on public matters and even though they may have careers outside of the home, their knowledge is limited. She also appears to be scantily clad beneath the barrel which is highly suggestive.

The literature points to the recurrent theme in media representations of relationships where "men are the competent authorities who save women from their incompetence (Wood, 1994, p. 35)." Woods points to the example of children's literature which vividly implements this idea by casting females as helpless and males as coming to their rescue. Wood (1994) points out that television programming disproportionately depicts men as serious, confident, competent, powerful, and in high-status positions. The depiction of Mrs. Simpson-Miller in Caricature 7 is an illustration of this concept. She is being introduced as the most powerful leader of her political party but instead of accepting the complement graciously she is asking for her male predecessor. It is being suggested that she does not have confidence in her ability to lead and would not accept the title but instead passes it on to the male who led before her.

Caricature 8: LJG

Mrs. Simpson Miller was often criticized for her frequent travels. She was referred to as a "frequent flyer" even for trips that were for government business. As defence, she would

make it clear that any personal trip and associated expenses were not being paid for from the government's coffers. Caricature 8 presents Mrs. Simpson Miller in a lude manner making comments that her husband gives her a credit card, she travels in style and they have been provoking her to speak her mind for a long time. Her posture is suggestive of vulgarity and dependence on her male counterpart, to the extent of him providing her with a credit card even though she is Prime Minister. This ties to the gender stereotype that women are financially dependent on men, who are the breadwinners. The patriarchal system has positioned women as being dependent and women too have bought into the idea and have become accepting of it, to the extent that Mrs. Simpson Miller is depicted as being proud to express that her husband gives her a credit card for her travels.

All the themes explored in the literature reviewed for this research were clearly present in my analysis of the representation of female political leaders in Jamaica, with specific focus on Portia Simpson Miller. The caricatures presented Mrs. Simpson Miller as sexualised object, dependent on males, unaware and unintelligent and as a mother figure and nurturer regardless of her professional role. This research suggests that women are largely stereotyped in politics in Jamaica and the traits and behaviours associated with being feminine are focused on more prominently than those traits having to do with leadership and capabilities.

Chapter 5.

Direction for Future Research

This research focused on women in political leadership and how they are represented by editorial caricatures in Jamaica, using Jamaica's first female Prime Minister as the central figure. Insights from this research can be used to inform media houses in drafting guidelines for the publication of editorial content such as caricatures. It is important that gender stereotypes be tackled by all socializing agents, of which the media is critical. The guidelines would request that those developing content be mindful of the representation of groups that have been stereotyped in ways that undervalue their contribution to the society.

Further research on the intersectionality of class and gender could provide more textual analyses that addresses power relations and meaning making about gender and class. Brooks and Hebert (2004) suggest that "most critical and cultural approaches to media studies work from the premise that Western industrialized societies are stratified by hierarchies of race, gender, and class that structure our social experience (p. 298). The intersectional approach would give a broader picture of the issues that are at play in representing gender. It would give an improved understanding of the media's role in producing and reproducing inequity within a society as well as point to steps that can be taken to develop a more equitable and just society.

Another area where further research would be beneficial is personal testimonies from female political leaders on their experiences regarding media representation of them as gendered beings. These stories would present first hand experience which could

corroborate or question aspects of the interpretations that have been made of caricatures and representation of female political elites.

The depiction of gender stereotype regarding men is another area that could be explored to have a fulsome discussion on gender stereotyping. The nature of the patriarchal system is such that it not only affects women but men too fall victim to expectations and idiosyncrasies. The portrayal of men in specific ways allows for the othering of other men who so not fit these cultivated criteria. Hegemonic masculinity set up expectations of how men should operate and those who do not fit within these expectations are "othered" and often feminised. Research in this area will further highlight the dangers of patriarchy for societies who want equality and equity for its people.

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