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**Media Gendering in Second-Level Democracies:
Scottish Labour Leadership Contests**

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Dedicated to the three greatest political influences in my life;

Dr Kevin Francis
James “Jock” Smith
and Kirsty

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Introduction

When the Consultative Steering Group on the Scottish Parliament presented their report to the Secretary of State for Scotland in 1998, they presented a clear aim, in common with the ambitions of the Scottish Constitutional Convention, to increase the accessibility of politics in Scotland. It was envisioned that by creating a Parliament where there was greater representation, where proceedings were easily accessible over the Internet, and where law could be influenced by publicly supported petitions, it would create both more equal politics within Scotland and move Scottish society towards a more equal base (The Scottish Office 1998, §2.1-53).

With the devolution process being championed by the Labour Party, which has traditionally been broadly supportive of the suffrage movement and fully supportive of the equal rights movement and increased representation of women and minority groups, it is unsurprising equal representation became a pillar of the new Parliament (Ross 2010, p 10) To achieve these aims, a number of measures were put in place both by political parties and the Scottish Parliament as a whole to encourage greater equality, with Labour adopting All Women Shortlists, twinning of seats, and quotas for regional list positions in Holyrood elections.

Arguably, many of these reforms achieved the desired effect. Within 15 years of the Parliament's establishment, three of the four main parties had selected female leaders, with one, the Scottish Conservative Party, the first in the UK to be led by an openly LGBT woman. Following their accession to Government in 2007 the SNP followed Labour by issuing a broad commitment to increase equality and representation, making this core to the National Planning Framework, one of the Government's key economic planning tools, and following this with a second commitment in the 2012 Economic Strategy. Throughout the life of the Parliament, further commitments to increased representation and enhanced social democracy have been issued by political leaders from across Scottish politics (Scott & Wright 2012, p 444). 2014 saw the appointment of the first female

First Minister, Nicola Sturgeon, who quickly sought to increase equal representation through positive action, including mandatory quotas for Cabinet and boards of public bodies.

This has all taken place alongside the growth of a global news media complex which appears to be discriminatory in its coverage of female politicians, where world leaders are criticised for exhibiting feminine characteristics or for being too macho, where cabinet ministers are leered at by the press passing judgement on the colours and styles of their clothing, and where presidential candidates are judged for their abilities as mothers instead of as political leaders.

While, through the '*new politics*' of devolution, Scottish civic society appears to have had an appetite to reach beyond the gendering of politicians and to create a more equal society, there has been little work to reveal the extent of gendering historically or its change over time. By examining print media reports for gendering relating to leaders of the Labour Party in Scotland, this study will investigate the extent of gendering within Scotland, providing insight into the level of gendering in Scottish media and the difference in gendering between the three national newspapers in Scotland. It will also look at how levels of gendering have changed since the election of Henry McLeish as leader of the Labour Party in Scotland in 2000.

Given the extent of the support of the Scottish political sphere for equal opportunities and representation, it is valid to assume that this would have resulted in a decrease of gendering over time, as evidence suggests that the levels of gendering of female politicians prior to the creation of the Parliament was both high and toxic, and that it remains highly problematic in other countries. Scottish civic society is a complex and multifaceted beast, which has only just begun to countenance efforts to reform institutions such as land ownership and the Sheriff Courts. This study intends to provide insights into that pace of adaption within the media, particularly the three papers with national reach across Scotland: *The (Glasgow) Herald*, *The Scotsman*, and *The Daily Record*.

Using editions of these three papers from a 15 year time frame, the way in which these key Scottish print media outlets have treated successful Scottish Labour leadership candidates will be

assessed. By looking at the number of incidences of gendering from the first month of taking office for each of the leaders of the Labour Party in Scotland, insight is gathered into how the media in particular, but also wider society, has reacted to the political drive to increase equal opportunities in the political sphere.

This study is particularly important at this time, when Scottish politics is infused with positivity and desire for further reform following the 2014 referendum campaign. Like the period when '*new politics*' was optimistically grasped, there is potential for real change driven both by a more open civic society and a more engaged public. This work also aims to complement work undertaken within first level democracies to examine gendering towards female leaders and candidates, including Julia Gillard and Sarah Palin. As such, it will also examine the history of gendering within Britain and other key democracies, but with particular focus on Palin, Gillard, and Merkel, as well as high profile female British politicians prior to 1999. Where possible, this work will complement existing research into gender, equality, and politics. These works will be discussed in more detail to provide fuller context.

Contextualising Gender and the Labour Party in Scotland

Before engaging with the wider literature, it is important to recognise some key factors in the research, and provide some definitions and clarifications for the overall work.

When discussing the Leader of the Labour Party in Scotland it is important to recognise that aspects of the role, including the title, have changed since the creation of the Scottish Parliament. It is not expected that this will impact on results; it is attitudes towards and coverage of the leader, rather than actions or effects, that are being investigated. Nonetheless it is important to note the changes to the name of the role. While it was initially known as the Leader of the Labour Group in the Scottish Parliament, emphasising the role of the leader and the party within the wider Labour movement in the UK, it has moved towards becoming more independent, with the Leader of the Labour Party in Scotland introduced for the election of Johann Lamont. For consistency, the title Leader of the Labour Party in Scotland or Scottish Labour Leader will be used throughout.

Two Scottish Labour Leaders have been excluded from the study. The first is Donald Dewar, the first First Minister. Dewar transitioned from his role as Secretary of State for Scotland to leading the Labour group without a formal election, and his tenure is surrounded by media coverage regarding the establishment of the Parliament. As such, given his role in the delivery of devolution and his legacy in terms of the Scottish Parliament it is difficult to compare him to his successors without bias.

The second is Kezia Dugdale. Following the resignation of Jim Murphy in June 2015, a new leadership election was announced. Due to the timing of the election, with its closure on August 15th 2015, it was impossible to collect sufficient data for full comparison with that of the previous leaders within the timeframe for completion of this work. This is particularly unfortunate, as it is expected that in line with the proposed hypothesis, Dugdale would have received a degree of

gendered coverage, and thus contribute an additional data point, which would have help to establish evidence of a trend over time.

When discussing gender and gendering, it is important to clearly define the terminology to avoid potential misinterpretations of concepts which are both complex and in a state of evolution. While sex describes the components which define individuals as biologically male or female, gender is a social construct which has been used to define a number of roles within society, politics and culture. Sex is generally fixed, while gender, both as pertaining to an individual and to society at large, can be altered, with the roles of men and women in society changing over time (Conway et al 1987, pp XX-XXIII).

The term 'gendering' within political and media studies is used to describe the way in which certain policies become associated with the construct of gender. Previous studies, discussed in-depth in later chapters, have associated evidence of gendering with the way in which the media tend to pursue certain topics, such as children, personal attire, details of a politician's partner and the home life or certain issues, such as family policy, healthcare, and abortion with female politicians. All of these examples have become associated with female politicians rather than male politicians. By way of contrast, where gendering is present, the male opponents or political counterparts tend not to be asked about personal issues and attire, but are asked significantly more questions on 'hard' topics such as foreign policy, defence, immigration and the economy. There is also evidence that gendering affects such diverse forms of media as the number and size of photos in print media and various aspects of television coverage. More recently, digital media coverage has also displayed evidence of gendering, with the British newspaper *The Daily Mail* criticised by a number of female Cabinet members and ministers for focusing disproportionately on their looks and attire compared to their male colleagues (Mason 2014).

While there is a case for incorporating consideration of other forms of gendered discrimination into this research, particularly regarding issues which could be regarded as transgendered, or

consideration of articles on a cis-gender/transgender axis as well as a male/female axis, there is little evidence that politicians identifying as heterosexual have been required to deal with issues that defy definitions of gender outside of the male-female binary. Furthermore, while terminology such as cis-gender and transgender is coming into wider use, the media remains relatively conservative, with no evidence of articles which may be considered to be transgender orientated within those examined for this study. It is important to recognise, however, that gender is a rapidly evolving area of study and further research relating to the trans/cis-gender axis in the future may provide greater insight into media gendering.

Literature Review

The fields of media and gender studies have been subject to wide reaching and insightful research as both fields have developed. Extensive research has been done into the ways that women are portrayed in media, compared to men, with research highlighting the way such portrayals have changed over time, as well as the various biases and imbalances present in media, both historically and in the present day. Many of these studies have been carried out as sociological or media studies, focused on the role of gender in media in society or within the wider context in media.

To fully contextualise this investigation, studies regarding a number of areas will be examined, beginning with earlier works regarding gendering within the UK and comparable countries. This will focus largely on the period prior to the creation of the Scottish Parliament. More recent studies relating to key female political figures from around the world, including Angela Merkel, Sarah Palin, and Julia Gillard will also be examined. Finally recent studies of gendering in general, and similar studies carried out in Scotland will be discussed, as well as studies relating to personalisation, a phenomena which may go some way towards explaining the extent of gendering, trends regarding gendering, and why it may have become less apparent in some countries.

Prior to the creation of the Scottish Parliament, representation of women, both within politics and generally within media was limited in the UK. Despite having been granted the right to stand for election as MPs by the Parliament (Qualification of Women) Act 1918, and seeing the first female Prime Minister elected in 1979, women remained a stark minority within the British political institutions. Indeed, prior to Labour's landslide victory in 1997, just 26 female MPs had been elected from Scottish constituencies in total, which resulted in the number of female Scottish MPs being equalled by the number of female Prime Ministers during the 1979 to 1983 Parliament (McMillan & Fox, pp 5-8). This resulted in a situation that the Hansard Society described as women being "under-represented and marginalised" (MacMillan and Fox 2010, p 7).

Evidence of this marginalisation can be seen in the 1994 Labour leadership campaign, which saw Deputy Leader Margaret Beckett vie with Tony Blair and John Prescott to replace the late John Smith. During the campaign, Beckett, who had served as an MP and member of the Shadow Cabinet since 1983, was framed by the media in explicitly gendered terms, including references to her sex life, private life, and appearance. The effect of this was to give the impression that she was lacking the personal, male characteristics required to lead her party, in contrast to the younger Blair and the trade union heavy hitter Prescott (Ross and Sreberny, 2000 pp 83-84).

The election of more than a hundred female MPs when Labour swept to victory in 1997 was notable for significantly altering the gender balance of the UK Parliament, yet these new MPs were welcomed as "*Blair's Babes*" (*The Mirror* 1997a) and allegedly as "*Blair's backwenchers*" (quote attributed to *The Sun* newspaper in *The Guardian* 2007) in the press. "*Blair's Babes*", a term originally coined by *The Mirror* for a pre-election series of articles where scantily clad young women gave their reasons for supporting New Labour, highlighted the levels of gendering that female politicians faced in the media. The reference is particularly problematic in terms of gendering, as it suggests ownership of the female MPs by leader Tony Blair, reduces them to sex objects with the use of the term 'babe', and implies that the female MPs lack the will or intelligence to make political decisions without a figure such as Blair. Implications stemming from this were to persist for a number of years, with a 2008 report of a backbench rebellion against then Prime Minister Gordon Brown referring to Tony Blair as "*their hero*" (BBC 2008).

The wider treatment of female MPs in the 1997 to 2001 Parliament was documented in a series of elite interviews, which provide valuable insights into the way female MPs were treated by the media and how they perceived the media to be operating towards them. Discussing the interview results, Ross and Sreberny are damning of the way that elected representatives were treated by the media, noting that the majority of women in Parliament felt that the media were primarily interested in them as mothers, wives, sex objects, or grotesques, with terms such as "*post-menopausal*" (2000

p 83) used to describe older women. From the interview evidence, it is clear that in the opinion of politicians from across the political spectrum, at various levels in Government and Opposition, that political rank was no barrier to extensive gendering.

Following up her study, Ross carried out similar interviews with female Members of the directly elected portions of the Australian and South African Parliaments (Ross 2002, pp 31-45). This again revealed widespread gendering of female politicians, with a number of comparisons drawn between the terms used to refer to women in the three countries. Notably, despite strong emphasis on equality and desire to move forward from the recently abolished Apartheid system, South Africa reported nearly identical forms of gendering to Britain, affecting female politicians from across the political spectrum, and from all ethnic backgrounds. In Australia, where there were comparatively few female MPs in the 1990s, elected politicians suggested that they were singled out for particularly harsh treatment compared to their male peers. Given that globally the representation of women in politics remains poor, this is a concerning finding which provides further indications that there will be extensive evidence of gendered media coverage of politicians in Scotland.

There is more recent evidence for the existence of gendering internationally. Three high profile women politicians have been publicly affected by gendering within the last decade. Alaskan Governor and Vice Presidential candidate Sarah Palin, former Australian Prime Minister Julia Gillard, and German Chancellor Angela Merkel have all been subject to varying degrees of gendering, with various impacts on their political careers.

Unexpectedly announced as the running mate of Republican Presidential candidate John McCain in 2008, Sarah Palin was the first woman to be nominated as Vice President by her party and only the second woman to be nominated by either of the major US parties. Having previously served as mayor of the town of Wasilla and as the incumbent Governor of Alaska, Palin had some political experience, although with little exposure on the national stage. She provides an interesting case for studying gendering, as her large family, her role as a carer for her disabled son, and her faith were

portrayed as positive attributes by the McCain campaign and used to highlight the pro-life and pro-family policies favoured by the Republicans (Miller and Peake 2013, p 498).

Two major studies examined gendering of Palin in print media, with both finding evidence of increased negative coverage and gendering when compared to her opponent, Joe Biden. Notably, Washburn and Washburn discovered that there was little coverage of Palin's opinions regarding internal affairs, diplomacy, and defence in either *Time* or *Newsweek*, despite coverage of Biden's views on the matters. Instead, there was more attention on Palin's views on abortion, although it should be noted that some of this may be related to the announcement of Palin's teenage daughter's pregnancy during the campaign (Washburn and Washburn 2011, pp 1035-1036).

Similarly, Miller and Peake found evidence for gendering and "disproportionately negative" coverage of Palin across 17 different US newspapers, although with evidence that Palin received more coverage than Biden in general (Miller and Peake 2013, p 497). Attempting to account for the strong attention to Palin's gender, appearance and family status, they suggest that Palin's decision to dress in skirts rather than the trouser-suits favoured by many other female politicians in the US, as well as the media attention on Palin's daughter, and an expensive wardrobe makeover may have increased gendering (2013, pp 486-89).

Importantly, the Miller and Peake study also confirmed that negative coverage and gendering towards Sarah Palin impacted on public perception of her as a candidate, with a positive correlation between the favourability of headlines towards Palin and the perception of her readiness to be Vice President. With time added as a variable, an inverse correlation between mentions of Palin's attire and her readiness to take office was also discovered (2013, pp 493-497).

The experience of Palin reinforces the earlier evidence presented by Ross regarding negative media coverage and gendering. However the findings of Miller and Peake goes further, giving a firm indication that public perception of female politicians is influenced media gendering. This serves to highlight the very real impact that gendered media can have, and while there were many

other factors behind the defeat of McCain and Palin's Presidential bid, it suggests that negative gendered media is likely to impact on the electoral fortunes of female politicians.

Similar to Palin, Australian Prime Minister Julia Gillard was subject to extensive gendered coverage in the Australian media. While evidence for this can be noted through much of her time in office, it was most notable following a speech in which Gillard attacked the leader of the opposition and his party for "*sexism and misogyny*" (Gillard 2012) towards her and to women in general. This speech prompted widespread gendering in both the Australian TV and print news media, with Gillard characterised as being subject to an "*emotional outburst*" (Wright and Holland 2004, pp 465) or acting in a manner which was in contradiction to the way in which women in Australia should be seen to act (Wright and Holland 2014, pp 459-465). In contrast to Ross's earlier findings, the authors do note that coverage of the speech by media outlets in other countries was less problematic than the coverage received in Australia, however they provide no specific evidence or examples of this (Wright and Holland 2014, pp 465).

One female leader who has been subject to both widespread gendering - but also more targeted gendering because of her position - is German Chancellor Angela Merkel. In a survey of gendering experienced by Merkel and her opponent Frank Walter Steinmeier, it was found German media outlets frequently made reference to the Chancellor's gendering when describing her, using terminology such as "*Woman in the chancellery*" and "*chairwoman*" (Lünenborg and Maier 2014, p 185). In contrast, Steinmeier was sometimes referred to in ways that reinforced his masculinity. Merkel was also more often referred to with regard for her previous career as a scientist (Lünenborg and Maier 2014, p 184-187).

Germany makes a particularly interesting study for gendering in the media due to the low levels of personalisation of politicians when compared to other Western democracies. However, as can be seen from Lünenborg and Maier, this has not prevented gendering altogether. This effect stems from Germany's strict regulation of the press regarding the personal lives of high profile individuals.

There is evidence that this has deterred the German media from disclosing details of a number of sex scandals within Germany, in marked contrast to corresponding evidence from the UK, where politicians' sex lives can be expected to receive widespread media attention when exposed, due in part to the press regulation regime (Stayner 2013, pp 151-159). As indicated by Ross and Sreberny, particularly with reference to the treatment of Margaret Beckett, portrayal of the sexual affairs of politicians is both an indicator and effect of gendering of female politicians (2000, pp 83-84).

Taken together, there is considerable evidence of gendering towards high level female politicians in first level democracies. Given the extent of this evidence, it would be extremely surprising if there was not gendering affecting the female political leaders in Scotland, particularly given the experience of many female politicians in the 1990s and the continued low number of women in elected positions in the UK as a whole.

There are some notable exceptions to the list of female world leaders who have been examined within the context of gendering. The first is Brazilian President Dilma Rouseff. This is due to the high proportion of media ownership by politicians within Brazil (Hervieu and Gustavo 2013, pp 6-8). This arrangement has its origins in Brazil's historic dictatorship, and it adds a layer of complexity when attempting to separate gendered criticism from more direct politically motivated attacks, particularly when compared to countries where there is nominally no political interference in the media.

The second notable absence is former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. While Thatcher's contribution to British politics is highly significant, albeit controversial, her legacy has a difficult relationship with gender. Evidence suggests that that she sought to disregard gender with regard to policy, while simultaneously lauding women for fulfilling traditional gender roles. In terms of the media, she came to embody a form of masculinism, while reinforcing patriarchal roles (Campbell 2015, pp 42-51). As such, it is difficult to use her as a point of comparison, due to the form of gendering being so radically different from that experienced by other female leaders. This

may partially be because of the trailblazing nature of her premiership, rapidly becoming the first female leader of a party, then Prime Minister at a time when there were few female politicians, let alone women at Cabinet level or in other senior positions of influence.

Finally, it is also important to note that Nicola Sturgeon, the first female First Minister of Scotland appears to have attracted media attention for her dress sense, lack of children, and marriage following her election as leader of the SNP. While no quantitative research has been carried out to observe the levels of gendering towards Sturgeon, evidence regarding other high ranking female politicians would suggest that it is probable that she is also widely subject to gendering compared to her male predecessors. Further research in this area would provide evidence proving or disproving this idea, as well as giving a fuller picture of the way that female politicians are treated by the media within Scotland.

Together these studies and the history of women in elections in the UK provide strong evidence of the levels of gendering present within the media prior to the creation of the Scottish Parliament. This in turn helps to inform the construction of the key hypothesis (discussed below) regarding gendering of Labour Party leaders in Scotland since 1999. However, it is also important to look at the ways in which the Parliament has sought to tackle inequality, and hence gendering both in itself and in wider society.

While the creation of the Scottish Parliament did not solve gender equality issues overnight, it appears to have contributed significantly to resolving some key issues. Abandoning Westminster's system of evening and late night sittings to allow those with care responsibilities to spend time with their family, emphasising the role of the Equal Opportunities Committee, and adopting non-gendering language in the drafting of the Parliament's standing orders (in contrast to the male-orientated language used in Westminster's official guidance) all helped to ensure that the Parliament would be more open to women (Busby and MacLeod 2002, pp 32-33). However, there is little

evidence for any changes in the way that the media conducted itself during what became known as the ‘*new politics*’.

Aptly described by McCrone et al as “*a real sense that everything is changing, that nothing can be taken for granted*” (2001, p 167), ‘*new politics*’ can be seen to encapsulate the positive drive for change amongst politicians and civic society figures involved in the passage of devolution. Many, including MSP Kenny MacAskill, became critical of the idea over time, as it failed to deliver the expected changes, suggesting that “*what was expected of devolution and what could be delivered differed markedly. Disillusion has brought cynicism and disengagement in its wake*” (MacAskill 2004, p 9).

Amongst the expected changes that it was thought the ‘*new politics*’ would bring to Scotland was greater representation for women in the Scottish Parliament. While this was initially achieved thanks to a combination of positive action on the part of Labour and the number of female candidates overall, the number of women in Parliament subsequently declined, first as the Scottish Socialist Party and Scottish Greens lost the majority of their seats, and then as the SNP increased its share of seats at the cost of Labour and Liberal Democrat MSPs. It is notable that there had been no spread of positive action beyond Labour until the SNP introduced a variety of measures on a temporary basis for the 2016 elections to the Scottish Parliament, with other parties resistant to measures such as All Women Shortlists (Kenny and Mackay 2013, pp 883-884; Carell 2015; Sanderson 2015).

While there were some tangible benefits stemming from ‘*new politics*’, such as improvements to the Health Service (Bromley et al 2006, pp 182-191), delivering a more equal society in terms of media gendering was not one of them. Indeed, accounts from former Labour Leader Wendy Alexander and then Labour Shadow Cabinet member Johann Lamont suggest that the media continued to gender women to a similar degree and in a similar manner to that experienced by

women in the first Blair Government, while a “*soft under-belly of inequality*” (McMillan and Fox 2010, p 19) remained prevalent.

Detailing accounts of female politicians and academics, McMillan and Fox go on to criticise the media for placing undue emphasis on confrontational politics and failing to highlight policies which were both sponsored by and predominantly affected women such as MSP Cathie Cragie’s bill to tackle housing repossessions. By linking the form and style of expected debate with gendering and the experience of women politicians, they highlight one of the most difficult forms of gendering to document quantifiably (McMillan and Fox 2010, p 19; 24-26).

If women are expected to behave in the same way as men within the political environment, and as McMillan and Fox state, receive criticism if they seek to work in a more open or consensual manner, this effectively maintains the status of the political arena as a limited, male-orientated sphere. Where the media are driving such criticism, it is another form of gendering. Those who seek to challenge this percept are forced to change themselves or accept increased criticism for such actions, similar to that experienced by Julia Gillard in the aftermath of her speech criticising sexism and misogyny within Tony Abbot’s government.

During the early years of the Scottish Parliament, there were also new issues developing around gendering and discrimination. Notably, expanding beyond the print and screen media, Wendy Alexander highlighted blogs as a particular source of offensive and gendered media commentary against female politicians during her time as Labour leader (McMillan and Fox 2010, p 26). This presages more recent criticisms of the so-called ‘cybernat’ group of pro-independence bloggers and social media activists by Jim Murphy before and after his election as leader (Huffington Post 2013; Stewart 2015).

The evidence provided by McMillan and Fox, and particularly from Wendy Alexander, suggests that while ‘*new politics*’ has a number of positive effects, as per Bromley, but has not yet delivered a more equal Scotland in terms of representation of women and gendering of female politicians.

Together with the historic experience of gendering in the UK and the details of gendering in other states, this provides a significant body of evidence upon which the hypotheses for this study can be based. However, while the history of gendering is vital to provide the context that informs us of its likelihood in Scottish media - despite the efforts of the *'new politics'* to avoid such tendencies - it is also important to discuss the reasons why gendering has remained such a consistent problem with regard to the media.

In *Women, Politics, Media* Ross lays out a strong feminist case, similar to that made by Simone de Beauvoir in the 1950s, for gendering being used to continue the economic suppression of women by reinforcing traditional gender stereotypes. This is coupled with the reinforcement of the traditional role of men and provision of permission to facilitate traditional gender stereotyping through the use of modern cultural images such as laddish behaviour, ironic sexism, or demeaning behaviour towards women (Ross 2008, pp 28-31; de Beauvoir 2010, pp 126-159).

Some aspects of gendering relating to these areas are more common in advertising, however many are or were common in news media. Aside from the use of language to reinforce gender roles, as evidenced by Ross' elite interviews and the descriptions provided by Wendy Alexander and Johann Lamont in Macmillan and Fox, there is evidence to support reinforcement of the patriarchy through encouragement of laddish behaviour (2010, pp 25-27). The use of scantily clad models during the 1997 campaign by the Mirror and phenomena such as the Sun's News in Briefs, where thoughts on a key story are combined with the paper's regular Page 3 image of a topless woman, play towards these ideas, and is indeed cited as a key problem by Ross (2008, p 91).

This effect, as recurs frequently in numerous analyses of male reaction to incipient feminist action, can be summarised thus; men believe their power is being reduced as more women rise to senior political rank, and so feeling threatened they respond negatively towards women in a manner that is still deemed socially acceptable to counteract this risk to their own status. While the growth of women in senior positions has extended to the media, with Rebekah Brooks previously editing

The News of the World and *The Sun*, and Katharine Viner recently taking editorship of *The Guardian*, Ross suggests that many women within the media feel pressured to continue to pursue gendered reporting in order to fit in with a male dominated team, or even to avoid workplace harassment or abuse. She also identifies a strong glass ceiling effect within the media, potentially limiting the amount of protest against gendering at senior levels (Ross 2008, pp 111-117).

While Ross is particularly blunt in her description of the reasons for and causes of gendering, a number of others including Van Zoonan (1999, p 115-117) and McMillan and Fox (2010, pp 15-17) broadly agree with her conclusions, which also fall broadly in line with a number of major feminist works and social critiques, including Corrin and De Beauvoir (Corrin 1999, pp 174-193; de Beauvoir 2010, pp 126-159). The impact of gendering and sexual discrimination on women operating within the political sphere cannot be denied, however a number of commentators and researchers are at pains to highlight other aspects of the political system which disadvantage women, incorporating themes such as '*new politics*' and the challenges of the work-life balance.

A number of academics engaged with the idea of '*new politics*' in Scotland identify issues relating to it, or to its failures, as factors in preventing greater equality. Hassan and Warhurst suggest that one of the very factors that makes Scottish politics unique and which paved the way for devolution - Scotland's distinct legal and education systems, churches, and media - helped to ensure that inequalities, including gender inequality, would remain entrenched in society. By failing to create new institutions, on the basis that the existing ones were fit for purpose, those same institutions have become fundamentally conservative forces, arguing against more proactive measures in terms of equality (Hassan and Warhurst 2002, pp 213-215).

An alternative viewpoint, and one which potentially meshes with Ross's traditional feminist argument, is that there is insufficient opportunity for women to engage in the Scottish Parliament while maintaining a family life. While the Parliament's working day was designed to help those with family and caring responsibilities maintain their commitments, there are valid criticisms that it

simply did not go far enough in the removal of barriers for women who remain primary caregivers in Scottish society, with Wendy Alexander citing the conflict between parliamentary life and family life as one of her reasons for leaving politics (Busby and MacLeod 2002, pp 41-42). With the Parliament as a leading organisation within Scottish civic society, its failure to lead in this area can be seen as reinforcing established norms within the context of Ross's critique of the media and other institutions.

Hypothesis Construction

Having examined the wider history of gendering outside of Scotland, as well as the experience of female political leaders around the world and in Scotland, the first of our hypotheses can be constructed. This seeks to confirm what can be implied from the literature review, namely that media gendering is or has been an issue within Scotland:

H1: Within the Scottish print media, gendering has taken place towards Scottish Labour Party leaders.

In order to prove or disprove H1, levels of gendering towards the selected leaders will be directly compared. As this seeks to simply prove the existence or not of gendering, any result above zero will successfully prove this hypothesis.

H2 is premised upon the successful proof of H1, and is again influenced by the findings of previous studies, in particularly the evidence that gendering has remained a problem for female politicians for much for the last twenty years:

H2: Levels of gendering towards Scottish Labour leaders have not changed significantly over time.

The third hypothesis is based on H1 being proven, and seeks to look at the journalistic and editorial treatment of politicians by the three different news outlets studied. Traditionally, tabloid-style newspapers have attracted greater criticism for gendered coverage, as exemplified by the “*Blair’s Babes*” headline, and this hypothesis seeks to confirm or deny that a difference exists between the three papers:

H3: The level of gendering will be greater in the tabloid *Daily Record* than in the broadsheet *Scotsman* and *Herald* newspapers.

While it is tempting to carry out this analysis on a broadsheet versus tabloid basis, the inclusion only of one tabloid and two broadsheets in the research makes this problematic and risks introducing bias against the tabloid journals. Instead, the three individual papers will be compared to each other, with the added benefit that any significant difference between the Glasgow and Edinburgh-based broadsheets (*The Herald* and *The Scotsman*, respectively) can also be identified. This does not preclude future research involving additional tabloid newspapers, or further comparisons with evening and local papers such as the *Edinburgh Evening News* or *The Press and Journal*.

Methodology

In order to identify the extent of media gendering towards Scottish Labour party leaders over time, it is important to ensure gendering can be assessed consistently between the various politicians, despite other variables, such as the length of time they served as leader, their position as the leader of the Scottish Executive versus that as leader of the opposition, and the prevailing policy environment. To allow the elimination of as many variables as possible while ensuring that the amount of data processed is of a manageable level, this study will focus on news stories regarding the leader in the fortnight before they became leader and the fortnight after they assumed office.

By using this narrow timeframe, a snapshot of each leader is created, regardless of the length of their terms. This helps to counteract any variation in the results stemming from the length of time in office which, for example, may have seen long-serving First Minister Jack McConnell address more issues that affected women in terms of policy than others who served shorter terms, and consequently being involved in a higher level of gendering than would be expected.

The initial proposal for this study suggested a three month study window. This was initially reduced to two months, to ensure that the research could be completed in the required timescale. Following completion of research into McLeish and McConnell, it became clear that nearly no data was being generated in the first two weeks and last two weeks of the study, with the majority of mentions occurring in the week immediately following the candidate's election. Consequently, the time period was adjusted to two weeks either side of the election. In the case of elections closing before announcement of the successful candidate, the two calendar weeks were taken from the day of the announcement, reflecting the expected uptick in press coverage of the new leader. This takes in both speculation on the successful leader, profiles of the candidates and successful leader, and news regarding the legislative priorities and Cabinet selections of the successful leader.

Three newspapers were selected for comparison: *The Herald*, *The Scotsman*, and *The Daily Record*. For the purposes of this research, only the weekday and Saturday editions of *The Herald* will be included, while *Scotland on Sunday* and *The Sunday Mail*, the Sunday counterparts of the other two papers, were also excluded. This exclusion helped to reduce risk that the difference in editorial teams behind the weekday and Sunday editions of each paper may result in data being skewed due to an increase or decrease in gendering in different editions.

The three papers were chosen because of their high availability throughout Scotland, their extensive and easily accessible archives, and their focus on Scotland's political system in their political journalism. Several other newspapers were considered for inclusion. From these, papers such as *The Guardian* and *The Independent* were excluded because of their limited coverage of Scottish affairs, which could result in insufficient data. *The Times* (Scottish edition) and *The Scottish Sun* were excluded due to the limited availability of their archives, while regional papers and evening papers such as the *Edinburgh Evening News*, *The Press and Journal*, and the *Dundee Courier* were excluded due to their limited scope and focus on local affairs.

The process for collecting data from the three selected newspapers involved a two-part data collection period, followed by content analysis. An initial read of physical copies of the selected papers was carried out, using the editions available in the National Library of Scotland. A verification search using the surname of the successful candidate was carried out for the selected papers over the same selected time periods using LexisNexis. This approach helped to ensure that full articles, sidebar articles and other text pop-outs could be assessed, as well as providing a measure of protection from coding errors stemming from using only hardcopy or LexisNexis. While parliamentary sketches were included in the research, photos, photo captions, and diary columns were excluded. In the case of the diary columns, this was due to the light-hearted nature of the writing making it difficult to consistently identify if the content was intended as ironic or sarcastic, or if it was genuinely gendering candidates.

The content analysis focused on a variety of keywords and themes which had been identified as being commonly associated with gendering towards female politicians. While a purely keyword-based list would have provided more exact results, using themes allowed for greater flexibility, particularly regarding use of language.

The list of gendering associated themes was created based on the work carried out by Wasburn and Wasburn (2011, pp 1031-1033), Miller and Peake (2013, pp 491-492), and Lünenborg and Maier (2014, p184-187), and reflecting the language and terminology encountered by women interviewed by Ross (2008). All terms have been selected based on their use in reducing the role of women from that of a politician, to traditional and outdated stereotypes such as homemaker and mother:

Table 1 - Themes Used for Content Analysis

Gendering Associated Themes
Family/Children/Marital Status
Personal Appearance
Clothing Designers/Brands
Domestic Life (other than family/children)
Sex, sexuality or sexual terms
Family Policy (including abortion, child benefits, sex education, family planning and maternal and paternal rights)

An article was deemed to be exhibiting gendering where there was clear mention of one or more of the gendering associated themes. All three newspapers made occasional mentions of lists of policy areas that the leaders were expected to tackle, without further context in terms of opinion or the expected outcomes of any desired changes. These were discounted as gendering, as it was difficult to ascertain if they formed part of the wider policy agenda at the time, a key area of interest

of the Labour Party as a whole, or something that was being driven by backbench or opposition interest. In contrast, articles which detailed Johann Lamont's position on family planning, Jack McConnell's position on sex education in schools, and Henry McLeish's policies on child poverty were counted as gendering as they provided clear details and views on policy areas frequently associated with female leaders.

Each article was recorded using a binary value, with 1 for gendering present and 0 for no gendering present. The total number of articles was recorded to allow the proportion of gendered articles to be calculated and to allow for comparison of the overall number of articles regarding each leader in the equivalent time period. Figures were recorded for each paper individually, to allow for comparison between the three different papers. Analysis was undertaken using SPSS, with data initially recorded by hand in tally sheets alongside explanatory notes, before being input initially in Excel, then SPSS.

In addition to the coded results, a number of quotes were taken from key stories to highlight particularly notable instances of gendering. Certain articles from the three papers regarding politicians were also sampled for quotes.

As the data for this study is taken from publicly available sources, there is no requirement for ethical scrutiny or permissions in terms of using evidence collected from members of the public or elite sources. However, due credit will be given for all sources used and quotes taken from the newspapers studied, in line with academic best practice and anti-plagiarism regulations.

Results

In order to prove or disprove the first hypothesis, all articles mentioning each leader were recorded as individual entries within SPSS. This allowed for the creation of a cross tabulated table, and easy comparison of the percentage of gendered and non-gendered articles (Table 2 and Chart 1). From this, the proportion of gendered articles for each of the politicians can be seen.

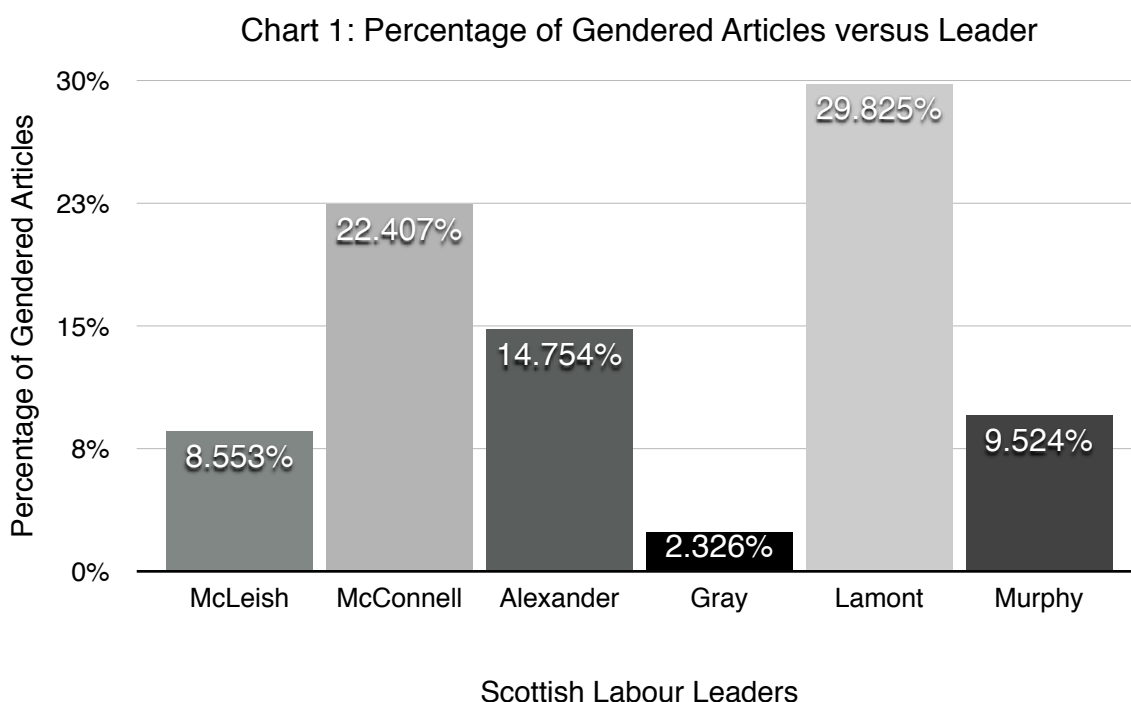
Table 2: Leader vs Gendering Present Cross Tabulation

			Gendering Present		Total	
			Yes	No		
Leader	McLeish	Count	13	139	152	
		% within Leader	8.6%	91.4%	100.0%	
	McConnell	Count	54	187	241	
		% within Leader	22.4%	77.6%	100.0%	
	Alexander	Count	9	52	61	
		% within Leader	14.8%	85.2%	100.0%	
	Gray	Count	1	42	43	
		% within Leader	2.3%	97.7%	100.0%	
	Lamont	Count	17	40	57	
		% within Leader	29.8%	70.2%	100.0%	
	Murphy	Count	8	76	84	
		% within Leader	9.5%	90.5%	100.0%	
	Total		Count	102	536	638
			% within Leader	16.0%	84.0%	100.0%

Source: Daily Record 2000-2014, Scotsman 2000-2014, The Herald 2000-2014

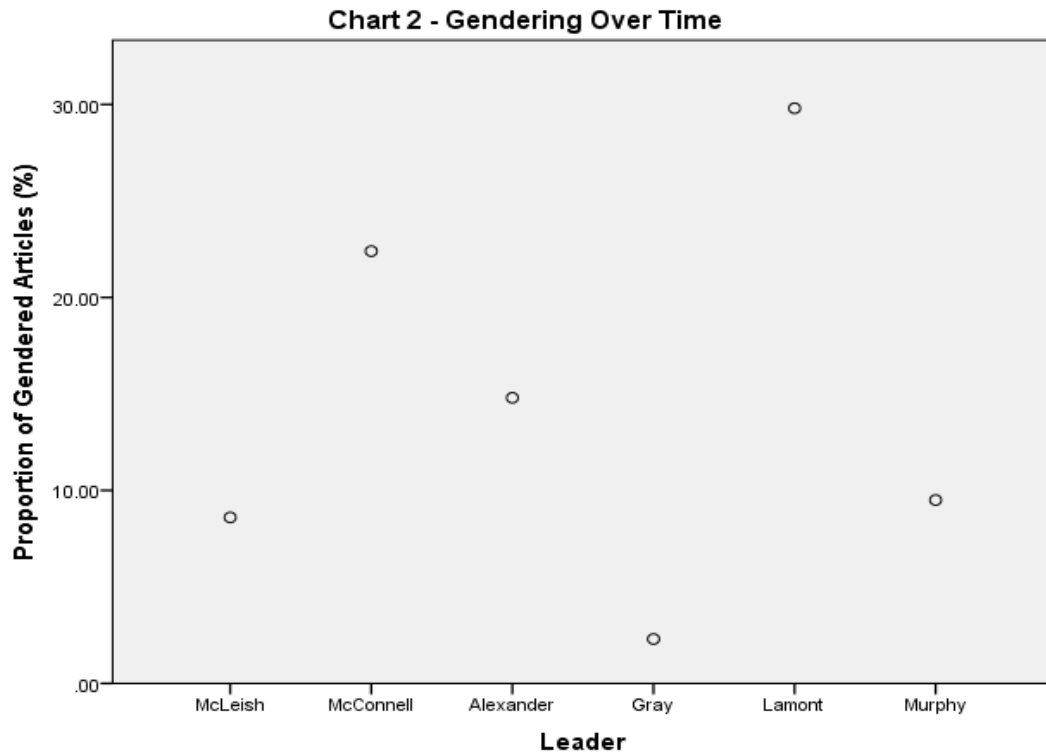
For all leaders, there was evidence of some measure of gendering, although the extent of this varied greatly between the individuals. Between all of the leaders, a total of 16.0% of articles about or mentioning the Labour leaders contained gendering related keywords or themes towards them.

This demonstrates that there has been some degree of gendering towards senior politicians in Scotland throughout the lifetime of the Parliament. Gendering peaked with Johann Lamont and experienced its lowest point during the election of Iain Gray. Less than 10% of articles about any of the male leaders are gendered, with the notable exception of Jack McConnell, who represents a stark outlier due to revelations regarding his personal life, discussed in more detail below.



Johann Lamont and Wendy Alexander both experienced greater gendering than any of the male leader, with the exception of McConnell, although the level experienced by Alexander is lower than expected. These results serve to adequately confirm H1, with clear evidence that gendering has taken place towards leaders of the Labour Party in Scotland. These results and their implications will be discussed further.

In order to prove or disprove H2, a linear regression was carried out using the proportions of gendering against leaders. As the period of time between leadership elections are extremely uneven, leaders have been used as a proxy value for time, with each leader coded as a value from one to six.



Plotted over time (Chart 2), there appears to be no obvious trends within the data. To confirm this, a simple linear regression was performed. In the event of a significant downward trend over time, which would be indicative of the success of ‘*new politics*’ and prevalence of fewer sexist tendencies in the Scottish media and civic society, a negative result would be expected, with a result of less than 0.05 demonstrating statistical significance. Conversely, a positive result would indicate an increase in gendering over the lifetime of the Scottish Parliament.

The results of the linear regression (Table 3), give an R squared value of 0.006 or 0.6%. This confirms that there is relationship between gendering and time, albeit a very weak one with little correlation. From this it is possible to conclude that the majority of changes in gendering witnessed around the election of Scottish Labour leaders are accounted for by other variables which have not been included within this model. As there were no further variables recorded as part of this research, it is not possible to propose an alternative model at this time.

Table 3 - Regression Model Summary^b

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.078 ^a	.006	-.242	11.20882

a. Predictors: (Constant), Leader

b. Dependent Variable: Gendering

Table 4 - ANOVA^a

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	3.070	1	3.070	.024	.883 ^b
	Residual	502.551	4	125.638		
	Total	505.621	5			

a. Dependent Variable: Gendering

b. Predictors: (Constant), Leader

Table 5 - Coefficients^a

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	13.097	10.435		1.255	.278
	Leader	.419	2.679	.078	.156	.883

a. Dependent Variable: Gendering

The findings of the regression are further confirmed by the accompanying analysis of variance (ANOVA) data (Table 4), with the sum of squares values indicating that time alone does not account for the vast majority of changes affecting gendering. Finally, the resulting coefficients (Table 5) provides the t-value of the coefficient and its significance. As the significance value 0.883 is considerably higher than the standard alpha value for significance of 0.05, it can be said that there is no statistically significant relationship between gendering of Labour Party leaders and time. As such, this disproved the null hypothesis and proves H2 to be true.

This demonstrates that there has been no significant linear trend in either direction in terms of gendering towards Labour Party leaders over time. Given the focus on ‘*new politics*’ in the early years of the Parliament, however optimistic it was, it is somewhat surprising that no significant trend at all was found. Given the drive for greater equality in Scotland following the outcome of the independence referendum and the SNP’s adoption of mechanisms to encourage women to enter politics, future directions of this trend with updated data, or an expansion of the study with leaders of other Scottish political parties may provide critical insight into changing nature of Scottish society.

It is also important to recognise that when considering only the two female leaders of this study, Wendy Alexander and Johann Lamont, gendering does increase over time. There are only two data points from a total of six, and far below the number required to establish a trend. The inclusion of additional data regarding Kezia Dugdale may provide enough data to prove a trend or to alter the results significantly. The inclusion of male politicians as opposed to women from other Scottish parties also means that the trend could be different under broader research criteria. Further research based around any of these additional subjects would serve to either confirm the existence of the trend or potentially provide fuller, but potentially contrary, data. These issues and the potential for further research building on this work will be discussed in more detail below.

Table 6 - Newspaper Versus Levels of Gendering Cross Tabulation

			Gendering Present		Total
			Yes	No	
Newspaper	Herald	Count	33	202	235
		% within Newspaper	14.0%	86.0%	100.0%
	Scotsman	Count	39	200	239
		% within Newspaper	16.3%	83.7%	100.0%
	Daily Record	Count	30	134	164
		% within Newspaper	18.3%	81.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	102	536	638
		% within Newspaper	16.0%	84.0%	100.0%

Table 7 - Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.330 ^a	2	.514
Likelihood Ratio	1.330	2	.514
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.326	1	.250
N of Valid Cases	638		

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 26.22.

To examine the difference between gendering in the three different newspapers, a second cross tabulation was carried out, along with a chi-squared test to examine the relationships between the two variables. With all three papers containing a similar amount of gendered articles, in the cross-tab calculation (Table 6), it appeared unlikely that there was any significant difference between gendering by the three papers. This was confirmed by the X value and the statistical significance in the chi-square test (Table 7), which with a significance level of greater than 0.05, proves the null hypothesis that there is not a statically significant difference between gendering by the three newspapers and leads to the rejection of H3.

However, a number of observations can be drawn from a further breakdown of gendering of each individual leader by the newspapers (Table 8). Surprising statistics include the *Daily Record's*

tendency to gender Johann Lamont, but not Wendy Alexander, the absence of gendering of Iain Grey by either of the broadsheets, and the high level of gendering of Jack McConnell by the *Daily Record*. It is possible to account for some of these findings, with the high level of gendering towards McConnell apparently being due to the revelation of a historical extramarital affair in the days before he took office as First Minister. Conversely, the lack of gendering towards Wendy Alexander by the *Daily Record* may relate to Alexander's earlier column for the same paper, documenting her experience as a mother of twins and charting her return to politics after maternity leave (Alexander 2006; 2007), as well support by the *Record* for Alexander as a challenger to Jack McConnell in 2001 (McBeth 2001). It is particularly notable as Alexander's column is heavily gendered, although outside the time period for this study due to Alexander's departure as columnist prior to her 2007 leadership run. These oddities, as well as specific examples of gendering towards various politicians will be discussed in more detail below.

Table 8 - Breakdown of Gendering by Newspaper

	Gendered (Scotsman)	Articles (Scotsman)	Scotsman	Gendered (Herald)	Articles (Herald)	Herald	Gendered (Record)	Articles (Record)	Record
McLeish	5	51	9.8%	6	62	9.7%	2	39	5.1%
McConnell	24	105	22.9%	14	80	17.5%	16	56	28.6%
Alexander	2	19	10.5%	5	25	20.0%	2	17	11.8%
Gray	0	14	0.0%	0	20	0.0%	1	9	11.1%
Lamont	7	22	31.8%	4	18	22.2%	6	17	35.3%
Murphy	1	28	3.6%	4	30	13.3%	3	26	11.5%
Total	39	239	16.3%	33	235	14.0%	30	164	18.3%

Taken together, the three hypotheses paint a disappointing picture of equality in politics in Scotland. Despite the drive of 'new politics', gendering has remained an issue, affecting three of the six leaders studied, and with no evidence of a decline over time.

It is also disappointing that all three of Scotland's main newspapers have engaged in gendering, with no significant difference between the proportions of gendered articles regarding the Labour

leaders. This suggests that none of the papers has been seeking to provide leadership in terms of gendering, despite some variation when broken down by candidate.

The evidence found falls in line with that from the various first level democracies previously discussed. As such, it confirms that despite its position as a new second level democracy, Scotland faces the same problems in terms of gendering as the United States, Australia, Germany and the wider UK. Instead of leading in terms of democracy and representation as envisioned by its creators, the Scottish Parliament appears to have fallen into the same traps. However, it may be possible to provide some insight into why this is the case.

Observations

Given the range of results, it is important to consider why some of the evidenced gendering has occurred, as well as what form it takes. This section will examine the political and media context within Scotland, differences between coverage for each leader, and variables which may not have been accounted for within the research model to provide greater insight into gendering within Scotland.

Having confirmed H1, it is worth examining the figures further, as well as some of the types of news story that displayed gendering. There are also a number of discrepancies which challenge assumptions made in the design of the study, particularly the high degree of coverage and the degree of gendering indications related to Jack McConnell, and the changing volume of coverage for the Labour Party leadership elections over time.

It would be logical to expect the elections of both Henry McLeish and Jack McConnell to attract more media attention than some of the subsequent leadership elections, especially given that all subsequent elections have taken place since the election of the first SNP Government and Labour's move to opposition in 2007. A change in First Minister has the potential to change the direction of the overall government programme in a way that replacing an opposition leader does not, and as such can be expected to attract more public and media interest.

The difference of nearly one hundred between the number of articles about McLeish and McConnell can be accounted for by a number of factors. Following the funeral of Donald Dewar, which received widespread media coverage, there was just three days between the announcement by McLeish and McConnell of their intention to stand and the election of McLeish as Leader, conducted on an ad-hoc basis by a subset of one of the three electoral colleges of the Labour Party (Lynch and Birrell 2004, pp 184-185; Hassan and Shaw 2012, pp 103-105). As such, there was no period of open voting and little time for public speculation as to the identity of the next leader, or

profiling of the two potential leaders that would normally be expected during a campaign.

Consequently, there is little focus on McLeish's personal life, with most evidence of gendering coming from references to his private life through comment on his previous career as a footballer, profiles of himself and his wife, and mention of his children (Duncan 2000; Sinclair 2000; Hardie 2000). It should be noted, however, that like gendering of Steinmaier in Lünenborg and Maier's study mention of McLeish's football career seeks to reinforce male characteristics, and as such may be worth further study in itself (Lünenborg and Maier, 2014, p184-187).

Following McLeish's resignation due to a scandal over expenses, there followed extensive coverage of McConnell. With 241 articles published about him or mentioning him, McConnell is more than one standard deviation from the mean value ahead of any other leader in terms of volume of coverage; a significant volume. This is may be accounted for by high levels of media interest in terms of who the new First Minister should be, speculation over leadership bids by Wendy Alexander and Malcolm Chisholm, who both later withdrew from the competition (Hassan and Shaw 2004, p 109), and media speculation as to the long-term conflict between Tony Blair and Gordon Brown and their preferred candidates.

Similar to the overall volume of coverage regarding McConnell, he was also subject to a higher proportion of gendered coverage than any other leader other than Johann Lamont. This can be traced to the high profile public admission of an extramarital affair with a member of Labour Party staff, announced shortly before he was confirmed as leader of the Labour Party, but after both potential challengers had withdrawn their names from the contest.

The admission, which received widespread coverage from all three papers and put considerable focus on McConnell's wife and family, including profiles describing Ms McConnell in a number of emotional terms, (Scotsman 2001b), resulted in an increase of the selected indicators for gendering. The use of terms such as "love cheat" (Sinclair 2001), graphic descriptions of how and where the affair was conducted (Daily Record 2000b), speculation over further affairs, and a pop-out story

describing how McConnell had been gifted a whip by an amorous colleague while working at a public affairs company under the headline “*Labour Whip*” (Daily Record 2001a) are all hallmarks of gendering. The extent of gendering against McConnell was not expected during the design of the study, and as such has led to him serving as an outlier in terms of male politicians. However, it does suggest that political affairs may be seen by the Scottish media as negative irregardless of gender of the politician involved.

Comparing the proportions of gendered coverage towards McConnell, the *Daily Record* has the highest percentage, with 28.6% of articles featuring gendered coverage, compared to *The Scotsman*’s 22.9% and *The Herald*’s 17.5%. While there is not enough verifiable evidence to draw a firm conclusion on this, this may be related to the *Record*’s open support for Henry McLeish and over McConnell in the 2000 election battle and its alleged support for Wendy Alexander prior to her withdrawal from the competition in 2001 (McBeth 2001). This would suggest that that the level of gendering towards McConnell may stem from media partisanship rather than deliberate sexism in the coverage of his affair.

One interesting footnote to the so-called “*Trousergate*” (Sinclair 2001) affair was that while the *Daily Record* and *The Scotsman* published profiles of McConnell’s wife, a senior executive at Glasgow City Council, as part of the coverage of his affair, the privacy of his adopted children appears to to have been broadly respected. In all three papers, his children were only mentioned in passing or in association with McConnell’s election as First Minister, with no disclosure of personal information in line with media regulations on coverage of children and young people. The same cannot be said for McConnell’s former lover, Maureen Smith, who was forced to release a statement appealing for papers to end the “*intolerable harassment*” (Scotsman 2001a) of her friends and family at a time when she was in mourning for her recently deceased husband.

McConnell is possibly the most interesting figure in terms of this study, having been portrayed by the media as an opponent to McLeish, a cabinet minister in McLeish’s Government and as his

successor. More than any other leadership candidate, his election appears to have become a dominant story, avoiding being overshadowed by events, albeit partially because of his affair.

While McLeish's election was overshadowed by the death of Donald Dewar, it was not the only one assumption of Scottish Labour leadership to be likewise superseded by external events. Media focus on other stories would appear to explain the wide variance between the number of articles covering the election of the first two leaders studied and the remaining four.

The elections of Wendy Alexander and Iain Gray took place on the 14th September 2007 and the 13th of September 2008 respectively. In both cases, this was shortly after the Scottish Government's announcement of their programme of government, denying the new leaders opportunity to comment on forthcoming legs. Conversely, the elections of both leaders were shortly before the UK-wide Labour Party Conference. While the conferences afforded increased coverage to Prime Minister Gordon Brown and his cabinet, in both cases the only coverage relating to the newly elected Scottish leaders was of their speeches (Gray 2007; Fraser 2007; Gardham 2008; Scotsman 2008). As such, while there is wide coverage of the Labour Party in terms of the UK as whole and as opposition to the SNP in Scotland, little of this involved the new leaders. In 2007, this was compounded by speculation, particularly in the *Daily Record*, regarding the imminent announcement of a snap autumn election (Lyons 2007). Likewise, in 2008 Gary's election was overshadowed by the success of the SNP in the Glasgow East by-election and fears about the upcoming Glenrothes by-election (Schofield 2008, Schofield and Gardham 2008). His honeymoon period, after the election was interrupted by the UK Government bailout of Halifax Bank of Scotland and the Royal Bank of Scotland, which attracted a considerable volume of media attention and appears to have afforded little opportunity for Labour in Scotland to make their voices heard.

This overshadowing of the election period may go some way to explain the near absence of gendering towards Iain Gray. In contrast to the interest in McLeish, McConnell and Alexander's backgrounds and family lives, there is no mention of Grey's family, wife, children, previous career,

or even the ministerial posts he held in the first Scottish Parliament, prior to losing his seat in 2003. This is somewhat difficult to account for, as the media would normally be expected to seek to provide some insight into a senior politician by detailing previous occupations and immediate family in a candidate or leader profile. In the one profile *The Herald* ran of Gray, there are only details of seats he has previously stood for, and a brief mention of his previous career as a teacher and aid worker (Dinwoodie 2008). This is in stark contrast to the previous three leaders who were all profiled by multiple papers with details of their previous careers, partners, and children. Had it not been for the subsequent increase in gendering with regard to Johann Lamont, it would be possible to see the example of Gray as a positive sign in terms of gendering. However, it remains an isolated case without adequate explanation.

By the election of Johann Lamont in 2011, the leadership election period had moved to late December. Despite the absence of newspapers on Christmas Day and the closure of the Parliament for the holiday period, this does not appear to have limited coverage of the election, with Lamont the subject of more stories than Gray and nearly as many as Alexander. It was during this period that we see the peak value of gendering occurring, with nearly 30% of articles mentioning her career, family, or discussing family policies.

Notably, Lamont's previous career as an English and Assisted Learning teacher (Scottish Parliament date unknown) seemed to be of particular interest to all three newspapers. This is in contrast to coverage of Jack McConnell, who spent nearly ten years of his career as a high school Mathematics teacher (Parliament Date Unknown), and Iain Gray, who taught Mathematics and English in Scotland before becoming a teacher in Mozambique (Scottish Labour Date Unknown), with the teaching careers of the two male leaders seldom mentioned.

It is difficult to account for this discrepancy in coverage, particularly given the potential positive press that could extend from Gray's background as a teacher in the developing world. It therefore

seems likely that it is evidence of further gendering, with teaching being seen as a more suitable role for a female politician than a male politician.

By the time of the election of Jim Murphy, wider political affairs appear to have again overshadowed coverage of the leadership election. This can be traced to several factors. The most important is the 2014 independence referendum, which continued to influence Scottish political life following the defeat of the Yes campaign and the build-up to the 2015 election. The impact of this on Murphy's election is obvious, with the new leader forced to defend Labour's Westminster election chances less than a week after his election.

As with Gray, there is a comparative lack of interest in Murphy's family, although his vegetarianism, teetotalism and love of running and Irn-Bru are all mentioned in coverage surrounding his election (Crichton 2014; Woollard 2014; McMillian 2014). Murphy's high profile in Scotland, having served as a Defence Minister, Scottish Secretary, Shadow Scottish Secretary and as key campaigner and spokesperson for Better Together, and having received a large amount of media coverage after being pelted with eggs and issuing attacks against bullying behaviour during the referendum, may also have led the media to feel that there was little need to repeat Murphy's political history.

These findings provide springboards for a number of further pieces of research. With clear evidence of gendering against Wendy Alexander and Johann Lamont, there is a strong case for carrying out complementary research into the elections of Nicola Sturgeon, Annabel Goldie and Ruth Davidson. There may also be value in looking at potential gendering of unsuccessful female leadership candidates or of Scottish Government Ministers, as a point of comparison or for evidence of wider trends. The treatment of Jack McConnell in the media, with an emphasis on his affair, would potentially provide an interesting case study into gendering of male politicians, and a study looking at a media gendering over a longer period during his time as Labour Party leader might identify any further gendering or provide evidence that reduces his position as an outlier.

To fully understand the gendering of Labour Party leaders in Scotland, it is important to understand the context in which it took place. The media cannot be seen in isolation or a fully neutral force when it comes to analysis, although due to the nature of statistical analysis they must be treated as such. It is important to recognise factors and potential factors, such as possible bias against Jack McConnell, the wider economic and political repercussions taking place at the time of Iain Gray's election, and differing levels of attention to the teaching careers of Lamont, McConnell, and Gray which can affect the manifestation of gendering beyond the scope of this study.

Limitations

As this study focuses only on one political party within one second level democracy, and few studies exist on media gendering in other second level democracies such as Wales, Flanders and Catalonia as points for comparison, it is important to recognise the limitations involved. This work seeks to provide evidence, and the starting point for an explanation as to why such evidence has been generated, although this cannot be fully accomplished with this study alone.

The strongest limitation is the lack of data. While there is evidence which is strong enough to support or dismiss the various hypotheses, there are comparatively few data points. This makes it difficult to fully identify relevant trends. A more robust set of data, potentially looking at instances of media gendering from a wider number of sources against a wider number of female politicians might provide different results.

Furthermore, by focusing on the experience of successive leaders rather than multiple candidates in a single election, a picture is built up of the experience over time, however a more direct and straightforward comparison is lost. This could be accounted for with further research, comparing the experience of each candidate in each election. Yet limitations would still remain in this instance, particularly given the lack of female contestants in the selection process following Donald Dewar's death and the withdrawal of Wendy Alexander as the only female contestant against Jack McConnell following the resignation of Henry McLeish.

Furthermore, the focus on leadership candidates also fails to account for the gendering encountered by other female politicians during the same period. A number of instances of this were noted in the articles studied, with negative gendered references to Labour backbenchers Cathie Peattie, Cathy Jamieson, and Karen Whitefield, as well as towards Nicola Sturgeon during the SNP's time in opposition.

It is also important to highlight the focus on the Labour Party as a significant limitation. By focusing on one party, the experiences of Nicola Sturgeon, Annabel Goldie and Ruth Davidson as Scottish party leaders is ignored, despite their experiences providing further potential evidence for trends over time. A follow-up study could seek to rectify this by focusing only on female party leaders, documenting the levels of gendering experienced by each and comparing them over time, although such a study would have to treat 2005, the year in which Goldie was elected leader of the Scottish Conservatives, as its starting point, ignoring the first seven years of the Parliament's life.

While this study does provide empirical evidence confirming that gendering is present within the elite levels of Scottish Parliament politics, it does comparatively little to address why this remains the case when positive action has been taken by both the Parliament and some political parties. A follow-up study taking a qualitative approach, similar to the elite interviews carried out by Ross, has the potential to help identify trends underpinning why gendering continues to take place, as well as accounting for individual factors such as age. Interviews with a wide variety of female politicians would also help to identify differences in experience, for example, between those who have had children before entering Parliament and those who had children during their parliamentary terms, or if the sexuality of Members has affected the way in which they have been covered by the media.

The use of newspapers also serves as a limitation for the study. With Scottish politics receiving coverage via dedicated television news bulletins from the BBC and STV and programming such as *Newsnight Scotland*, *Scotland 2014/2015*, and *Scotland Tonight*, as well as coverage in social media content on a variety of platforms, a great deal of news media content is excluded from this study. The selection of papers is also limiting, with major papers including the national *Scottish Sun*, the regional *Press and Journal*, and all local and evening papers excluded. While incorporating other newspapers and media into the study would require a large amount of research, it would be possible and would serve to provide further points for comparison.

With no English language studies into media gendering of politicians in other second level democracies, the lack of suitable comparative data is a limiting factor in the analysis of gendering in Scotland. A similar study looking at media gendering in Wales would provide both a suitable follow-up research avenue and an interesting counterpoint to this data, examining the extent of gendering in comparable but politically divergent country with its own media institutions. Similarly, there is potential for studies focusing on Catalonia, a common political comparator for Scotland, or the German Lander, which like Scotland has a high degree of independence in terms of politics.

It is important to note that this study does not fully explain why, despite the emergence of the theory of '*new politics*', that there are not more women entering politics. It has to be read within the context of research such as of Kenny and Mackay, who found that despite enthusiastic support for greater representation of women, the idea of positive action did not transfer between them, despite its success for Labour (2013, pp 883-884). Similarly, Busby and MacLeod's earlier study suggested that despite early efforts to make the Scottish Parliament more accessible to women in terms of working hours, considerable problems remain in terms of access to family as well in arrangements for maternity and parental leave. They go so far as to suggest that job sharing, as unsuccessfully proposed by two independent regional list candidates, would potentially enable greater political access for women, caveating that considerable barriers need to be overcome to develop this into a workable system (Busby and MacLeod 2002, pp 31-40).

Finally, in terms of successful peer review of the study and to ensure repeatability, any follow up research should involve more than one researcher, allowing for double checking of the content analysis. While every care has been taken to eliminate author bias, transcription errors, and type one statistical errors, collaborative working on content analysis helps to reduce the likelihood of these still further.

Conclusion

With two of the hypotheses proven and the third disproved, the extent of gendering regarding Scottish labour leadership is clear. There is evidence of gendering, the level of gendering has not significantly changed over time, and all three of the newspapers studied have engaged in similar amounts of gendering towards Labour leaders. With a significant amount of newspaper coverage of Johann Lamont in particular displaying evidence of gendering, it seems clear that Scottish politics - at least as regards the Labour Party - is not immune from the gendering issues that have affected other female politicians in first level democracies.

From this conclusion, there are a number of areas requiring further study: gendering towards other female leaders in Scotland, gendering towards leaders in other second level democracies, and gendering towards politicians outside of the leadership circles. There are also limitations in this study that have to be dealt with: the small number of data points, the impacts on including male politicians, and the lack of suitable data for comparison. All of these areas provide fertile ground for further study.

It cannot be denied that further study of this type is required. Gendering remains evident in the media in the UK, with recent examples including criticism of recently elected MPs, notably Mairi Black for appearing to be “a gussiedup teenager” (Turner 2015), purchasing clothing from a supermarket chain rather than more costly options, and commentary on the what the sartorial choices of female ministers imply about their personalities (London and Styles 2014). This level of gendering is highly problematic in any country which seeks to embed equal representation within elected bodies. By diminishing the role of women, through repeated references to their previous careers, emphasis on their decisions regarding children, discussing views on family policy over other issues, and critique of how they choose to dress, the media turns female political leaders into novelties, reducing their agency. By identifying areas of gendering against female politicians, it is

possible to begin to tackle it and construct robust defences against the practice. By reducing the amount of gendering, it becomes easier to ensure equal representation.

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