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In the battlefield of politics

Representation of female and male politicians in Icelandic news papers

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Abstract

This thesis is written within a master's program in Gender studies, with media studies as a major. It offers a view of feminism, postfeminist media culture and gendered politics. In recent years and decades increasing pressure has been applied to looks and appearance in the media. The print media constantly publish images of celebrities and there is a certain preference for thin and beautiful bodies. Postfeminism that appeared in the last decades of the 20th century works as a resistance against the values of the second wave feminism in which women's liberation was highly important. The 'make-up paradigm' has increased pressure on women and female politicians are no exception from that. The research focus is set on Iceland which has high gender equality standards. Newspaper photographs from two of the biggest newspapers are analyzed, focusing on female and male politicians in today's political sphere.

Keywords: feminism, postfeminism, gender, media, politicians, equality

Útdráttur

Þessi ritgerð er skrifuð innan meistaranáms í kynjafræði, með áherslu á fjölmiðla. Hér er farið stuttlega yfir femínisma, póstfemíníska fjölmiðla menningu og kynjaða pólitík. Á undanförunum árum og áratugum hefur aukin áhersla verið lögð á útlit og ásýnd innan fjölmiðla. Prentmiðlar birta stanslaust myndir af dægurstjörnum og viðgengst þar ákveðin dýrkun á granna og fallega líkama. Póstfemínismi sem kom fram á sjónarsviðið á síðustu áratugum tuttugustu aldarinnar virkar sem mótspyrna á móti gildum annarar stefnu femínisma þar sem kvenfrelsi var hátt vegið. Hann hefur aukið þrýsting á konur með ákveðinni útlits dýrkun og kvenkyns stjórnámálamenn eru ekki þar ekki undanskildir. Rannsóknin beinir sjónum sínum að Íslandi, sem stendur vel hvað jafnrétti kynjanna varðar. Greindar eru dagblaðaljósmyndir og greinar frá tveimur innlendum dagblöðum en áhersla er lögð á kvenkyns og karlkyns stjórnámálamenn innan núverandi stjórnámálaramma.

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1. Introduction

In this, the beginning of the 21 century, the Nordic countries have the highest percentage of women in parliamentary, with women holding over almost 40% of parliamentary seats while the average for the rest of the world is 13.8%. Still there are very few women in high positions, such as head of state and/or government. In 2006 there were only twelve women in such positions while there were 191 sovereign member states in the United Nations (Hoogensen and Solheim, 2006:8-9). In many of the countries that have high percentage of women in the parliament there is a Quota system, which means i.e. that political parties have a gender based Quota for their candidates in an attempt to recruit more women (Hoogensen and Solheim, 2006:36). This approach is particularly used in the Nordic countries and Iceland is no exception from that. The two political parties in the present Icelandic government use this system when setting up list of candidates. Recent parliamentary elections in Iceland, on the 25th of April 2009 show that gender equality is highly valued amongst the public, where 43% of elected congressmen were women (Alþingi Íslendinga, 2009). This shows that Iceland is gaining more gender equal governing as other Nordic countries. Having reached such a level of equality it is interesting to look at different gender representations which can be seen within the society. This thesis examines Icelandic media and gendered politics by looking at how female and male politicians are portrayed in two of the biggest news papers in Iceland, Morgunblaðið and Fréttablaðið.

Despite the entry of more women into journalism, news rooms remain a male-dominated sphere, and its norms, values and conventions continue not merely to reflect, but to reinforce that fact (Gidengil and Everitt, 2003:562). This view is shared by Gunilla Jarlbro who says that the media are defined and matured out from a male norm (2006:16) and even though there are now more female journalists than before, they tend to use male sources like their male coworkers (2006:33). This might be effected by the fact that they are working in a male-dominated environment, trying to be ‘one of the boys’ (2006:31). In her book *Medier, genus och makt* Gunilla Jarlbro says that it is not just about liberation, that more women must be shown in Swedish news media. This is also important for the democracy to function as it should (2006:23). She claims that the media has the possibility to function as ‘a democratic and integrating place in the society’ but doesn’t fulfill that role since not all voices, such as women’s, are heard (2006:145). Iceland is a democracy, but even though half of the inhabitants are women a media research made for the Ministry of Education in 2005 showed that 76% of persons that appeared in the TV-news and related news shows are men and only

24% women (Margrét Valdimarsdóttir, 2005:3). Another study also done for the Ministry of Education showed that in TV-advertisement 70% of all participants are men and 30% women, and only when it comes to models do women outnumber men with 85% of all models seen in the advertisements (Auður Magnús Leiknisdóttir, 2005:4-6).

Jarlbro conducted a quick research in March 2004 where she took two Swedish newspapers, three days of each paper and counted how many men and women could be seen in those newspapers photographs. Her result was that less than one third of the pictures were of women, except for on 8th of March, which is the international women's day; those two papers had 31% and 41% of the pictures of women (2006:26). A similar count for the Icelandic news papers in March 2009 showed that in Morgunblaðið women were shown in 38% of picture material and in 32% of picture material in Fréttablaðið. That number is a little higher number than in the Swedish newspapers but the fact that the prime minister, and half of that time period's government, were female politicians certainly had its effect.

In their book about women in power Hoogensen and Solheim write about twenty women around the world, one of them Vigdís Finnbogadóttir, president of Iceland from 1980-1996. They also bring up the question of whether Hillary Clinton would participate in the USA presidential election in 2008 and if one of the two political parties would have a woman as a vice presidential candidate, both of which came to pass even though neither of those women got elected (2006:135). These women work as role models for all other women, and Vigdís was, and still is, adored by the Icelandic nation. Women tend to be connected to softer news, and if interviewed, are often asked for their opinion about social issues such as schools and care (Jarlbro, 2006:37). Although gendered news issues are not the focus of this thesis, it is something worth researching in relation to female politicians.

Jarlbro argues how one of the gender issues that female politicians have to face, in Sweden as well as other countries, is being addressed by first name in the media while male politicians are addressed by their last name. By addressing females with more personally agenda the media undermines their power as politicians (2006:63). This is not an issue in Iceland since only first names are used, the last names are seldom family names but just used to indicate whose son or a daughter a person is. Therefore the first name is used, or both but never just the last name. Instead there is another language problem which is that almost every word in Icelandic is either masculine or feminine, that is i.e. a minister (ráðherra) is a masculine word, president (forseti) is masculine, which means that in fact one can speak of him, and say Mr. President even if the president is a woman. The same goes for many other job titles that have over time been dominated by men and do not change even though women

can now perform these jobs. A person (persóna) is a she and a superior (yfirmaður) is a he etc. These gendered words can sometimes lead to confusion when journalists always talk about him the minister, and then change their speech into talking about her maybe later in the same short newscast.

As this thesis will show, I criticize modern media for their postfeminist approach to women, where some postfeminist material may even be considered to be antifeminist. Writing with a 'third wave' feminist perspective, I believe in situated knowledge and that knowledge production is always affected by the person making it. Therefore I do not hesitate in situating myself, a 26 year old white heterosexual woman from Iceland, a mother, a daughter, a feminist, living and studying in Sweden. I have a Bachelor degree in Media studies and have worked somewhat within the Icelandic media. My feminist standpoint and my experience within the media can have its benefits when analyzing media out from a gendered perspective, where theory and practice cross paths and hopefully make for interesting reading.

My focus in this thesis is on Icelandic news papers and the government that began on the 1st of February 2009 and worked until the elections on the 25th of April, and has gotten the nickname 82 days government. The serious economical collapse that struck Iceland and the Icelandic banking system in October 2008 lead to the resign of the government of Sjálfstæðisflokkurinn (Independence party) and Samfylkingin (Social democratic alliance), and a leftist government of Samfylkingin and Vinstrihreyfingin-grænt framboð (Left-Green movement) was created. Those two leftist parties do focus on gender equality, and announced their new government on the 1st of February with five women and five men, with our first female prime minister. My research material is based on two interviews with newspaper photographers, a random sample of newspaper material from Morgunblaðið and Fréttablaðið in February and March as well as some material from the days around the resign of earlier government in January, both pictures and articles. To gain a better perspective on the 82 days government, there is also an interview with Steingrímur J. Sigfússon, the leader of the Left-Green movement, the only proclaimed feminist political party in Iceland. Qualitative research methods are used in collecting and structuring the data.

Feminist analysis of the media has been 'animated by the desire to understand how images and cultural constructions are connected to patterns of inequality, domination and oppression'(Gill, 2007b:7). Informed by feminist media analyzing from Rosalind Gill, Gunilla Jarlbro and Lisebet van Zoonen, Foucault's theories of oppression and power structures as well as Anja Hirdman's work in visual analyzing, this thesis offers a view of feminist theories

on media. It shows how postfeminist media culture can affect the display of female and male politicians in the news media, focusing on Icelandic newspaper photographs. The following questions are raised: Are there any patterns to be found in how male and female politicians are photographed, and if so, do they show any forms of domination or oppression? Are there some culturally constructed power forms or flows within the newspapers that affect gender equality in Iceland? Looking at forms of domination or oppression between genders is something that feminists have always focused on, but looking at images and relations to bodies and representation commonly is to be found in the third wave feminism. In a gender equal country like Iceland the media should reflect the gender status and show the culturally created forms of power within the society. Therefore we seek to find these forms and structures discussing postfeminist media culture, Foucauldian power structures and gendered politics, and how all this relates to visual representation of female and male politician in Iceland.

2. Feminism in our time

Situating feminism today is not an easy task. There is no one 'feminism' and by claiming to be a feminist one must have some idea of what that means, what it stands for in present time and what actions can be considered as feminist actions for we cannot claim every action towards gender equality to be a feminist action. There has never been a single theory, a shared vision or agreement on male dominance, gender oppression or women's liberation, and most likely there will not be any single approach for the production of knowledge on gender issues (Ramazanoğlu and Holland, 2002:7). Judith Butler is one of the most influential scholars within the gender issue debate and in her book *Gender Trouble* she questions the binary 'women versus men' that tended to be used by earlier feminists and women's movement's. She says that putting women in one group as a species would in some other notions seem sexist (1990:147). To some degree I do agree with her, and have some doubts about identity politics in general, but how are women, and other oppressed groups, then supposed to fight oppression if not with a joined force? Where does the power come from that creates women's oppression and more importantly, how do we control or change that force of power?

Rosalind Gill writes about media culture in her book *Gender and the media* where she defines her use of the term feminism:

I use the term feminism to signal a concern with enduring gender inequalities and injustices, amongst a matrix of other forms of oppression relating to 'race', ethnicity, class, age, sexuality, disability and health status (Gill, 2007:25)

This definition is really good and valid because feminism is not just about gender inequalities; it is also about the 'matrix' of oppression that lies within our societies. Today there are many feminists who claim to be 'third wave feminists' and then there is the highly debated concept of postfeminism. In order to understand our present society and the message that the media culture ingrains in us, let us look more closely at third wave- and postfeminism.

2.1 Third wave feminism

Feminist movements or era's in the western world have been labeled as waves, with the first wave beginning around 1850 and ending in the 1920's. The second wave is said to have begun in the 1960's when there was an increasing demand for women's liberation and rights (Kinsler, 2004: 128-9). It's motto was 'the personal is political, challenging women's exclusion from the public world of politics and economics'(Mack-Canty, 2004:154). There is

no precise end to the second wave, although it may have reached its highest peak between the 60's and the 80's. Third wave feminism emerged in the 80's and the reasons for this new wave were multiple. Some of the leaders from the second wave called for discussion on feminism and race, most of them women of color (Kinser, 2004: 130). Although founded on second wave principles third wave feminism sought more to theorize about complex and multiple forms of oppression (Genz, 2006:341).

Talking about the Third wave is not unproblematic. In recent years there has been a constant discussion and debate about its existence, or more generally, if it is a wave, a movement, what it stands for etc. Stacy Gillis, Gillian Howie and Rebecca Munford have collected together many interesting feminist writings in their book *Third wave feminism – a critical exploration*. In the introduction of the book they go through the history of feminism, in which they claim that the collapse of the second wave happened sometimes during the 1980's and that feminists didn't unite to rebuild it (2007:xxii). This concept was first seen in the late 1980's in an analogy titled *The third wave: Feminist perspective on racism*. In 1992 Rebecca Walker then made the canonical annotation when she wrote an article declaring *I am not a post feminism feminist I am third wave*, where she made a clear distinction between second wave and post feminism (2007:xxiv). That title may be descriptive for the third wavers that have had to defend and distinguish themselves from post feminism.

Amands D. Lotz writes one of the articles in this book about Third wave feminism and she calls for a feminist language, a shared vision:

Feminists need a language to negotiate the complexity of the intermezzo, a language that places them relative to feminist histories, contemporaneous issues and possible futures, but this language must be established and shared before it can be meaningfully used. Such a language might provide a way through which we could discuss the shifting meaning of such signifier as color pink, make-up, domesticity and motherhood (Lotz, 2007:72)

She touches upon the main point of the criticism for today's feminism, the uncertainty about what it is, or more importantly, its meaningful existence as a force and how that force is supposed to work towards gender equality. This language is not just words needed but a 'need for theorized concepts rooted in shared meaning (2007:80). Lotz mentions the color pink, and in her article she talks about that color as a symbol for the changes in feminism, this color that so often has been labeled as a sign of women's oppression, where newborn girls are already given this gendered pink label. Now this color seems to be everywhere around feminists,

almost as a declared feminist color, and Lotz wonder if this is a sign for this third wave of post feminist culture within feminism (2007:72)

One of the most important concepts of the second wave was the 'nature/culture' debate, passion versus reason, subjectivity versus objectivity; ideas that seem to be distinguished in western sciences, where the man is connected to culture and reason, and the woman to nature and passion (van Zoonen, 1994:14). Third wave feminists have involved themselves into this debate by reestablishing embodiment, looking for the perspective of each woman, her situation and different views of the world (Mack-Canty, 2004:155). Bodies matter, their race and functions. Each individuals experience from that body is therefore something to look at and to consider in a gendered society. Personal experiences of young women and how they function in their social surroundings is therefore interacting within feminism today (Mack-Canty, 2004: 156). Those theories can be found in Donna Haraway's writings about situated knowledge, where she talks about biases in science knowledge production and how there must be an expectance for what counts as knowledge, that the language of science doesn't always need to be masculine or completely cut off from the person creating it (1988:578-580).

One the most influential concepts within feminism has been the feminist standpoint theory, where sciences and knowledge production are challenged to consider women's standpoint, their experiences and situation. Through the development of the theory its followers have striven for truth and politics to be formed by 'two central understandings: that knowledge is situated and perspectival and that there are multiple standpoints from which knowledge is produced' (Hekman, 2000:10). Sandra Harding is one of these stand-point theorists and she says that we must 'avoid the one true story, that we can talk about less false beliefs but not claim the truths as something realistic at each time'(2000:52). She claims that our analyses are socially situated and 'constituted by the often hard-to-detect politics of the conceptual frameworks we adopt, intentionally or not' (ibid:57). Third wavers seem to have taken this situated knowledge and standpoint theory into their theorizing, although it is sometimes hard to detect.

Colleen Mack-Canty discusses three kinds of feminism in her article *Third wave feminism and the need to reweave the nature/culture duality*: generational/youth feminism, postcolonial feminism and ecofeminism where she posits the latter as being a possible means to end oppression's of nature, racism, sexism, classism, heterosexism, speciesism and naturalism. She claims that ecofeminism understand power like Foucault, as multiple force relations not centered but 'diverse and constantly being reproduced (2004:170). This position of the third

wave to think more out from the perspective of each body, the situated knowledge of each individual is one of the things that makes it different from the second wave that focused more on women as a group, and oppressions of groups. This might possibly also have roots in the individualism that can be found within the Third Way of politics, and will be discussed further along with postfeminism.

Amber E. Kinser has some interesting thoughts about third wave feminism and the contributions that the third wave rhetoric can make. She situates herself in between the second and the third wave (2004:125) and argues that the 'third wave is less about differences in politics than it is about differences in climate' and claims that the most important connection we have to look at concerning the third wave is the 'current socio-cultural, technological, and political climate'(ibid:132-3). Kinser claims that the third wave feminists are important in negotiating space between second wave and postfeminist thought, that they live in a technological climate that enables them to talk to young women that are part of a 'media-savvy, culture-driven' generation (ibid:135-6). She says it is extremely important for third wavers to distinguish their voice from that of postfeminism so that the latter wont simply be called feminism (ibid:142). In a way the third wave become's the space between second wave feminism and postfeminism i.e. with the feminism/femininity debate, where second wave feminists have connected the femininity to patriarchal obedience and postfeminists have taken up some sort of an anti-feminist approach in this discussion. Third wavers bridges this gap by making 'a new subject space for women, allowing them to be feminine and feminist at the same time'(Genz, 2006:344).

The third wave in feminism was a necessary response to the social and political environment that was created in the last decades of the 20th century. Strong and effective forces always call for a resistance, as the women's movement in the 1960's and 1970's called for a changed landscape within societies. The resistance seems to have come in the form of some anti-feminism tendencies of postfeminist ideology, where young women claim that there is no longer need for women's movements or feminists. This might be too easy for them to believe when they really want the battle to be over and mistake any kind of a resistance for feminism (Kinser, 2004:144). One could only wish that the battle was over, but the third wave was a logical response to the criticism of the second wave and a necessary option for women in present times for they must follow up on the social and political landscape that surrounds them. In order to resist postfeminism breaking down what earlier has been accomplished in

gender equality, the third wave must make its voice heard and continue with the work of the second wave feminists.

2.2 Postfeminism

Postfeminism and its existence are highly debated within the feminist and gender discourse today. Some say it's a myth, others claim it to be anti-feminist and even though this concept seems to be vivid in the discussion there isn't much agreement on what it is. Many scholars have written about this phenomenon, and most often related to the media since it can have quite an impact on the western world today. I will argue that there is something that we can call postfeminism, and that it is affecting the battle for gender equality today, especially with the media structuring it within our social sphere.

This concept of postfeminism was first seen within the academic field in 1987 in Judith Stacy's discussion of the term, where she 'reclaimed it for use in popular journalism at that time' and used it to describe the depoliticization and revision of the main goals of the second wave feminism (Lotz, 2007:76). Stéphanie Genz seeks the roots of post-feminism in the Third Way of politics that began in the last decade of the 20th century in the Western world, as an alternative for the 'worn-out dogmas of traditional liberalism and conservatism' (2006:333). She claims that this political agenda has a strong individualism that excludes all feminism collectivity and exerts the socialist root and principles (ibid:335). This may be so, at least to some extent, since post-feminism has been criticized harshly for its individualism and consumerism aimed at young people, for the 'consumer feminism' that gives young women false ideas of being in a feminist movement (Kinser, 2004:144).

Anthony Giddens is sometimes said to be the father of the Third Way of politics and he does have some really interesting thoughts about the functions of the society. One of these is the form of social reproduction and how people follow and become involved in social expectations. A woman that doesn't shave her legs or armpits might be treated as a deviant for ignoring socially accepted convention of femininity. 'People's everyday actions, then, reinforce and reproduce a set of expectations – and it is this set of others people's expectations which make up the 'social forces' and 'social structures'' (Gauntlett, 2008:103). Angela McRobbie criticizes Giddens in her writings about postfeminism and popular culture, where she says that there is only a distant echo of the feminist struggles in his writings and that his writings seem to speak directly to the postfeminist generation. McRobbie talks about

the year 1990 and the decade that followed as a turning point for feminism, both for their own critique of their work and also where women were distancing themselves from feminism. She says this could be seen in their attempt to be sophisticated modern women, reaching further than the popular feminism that appeared in the media in the 1990's, with talk shows and other media attention to feminist's subjects of battle (McRobbie, 2006:60-63). She further argues:

But still, it seems now, over a decade later, that this space of 'distance from feminism' and those utterance of forceful non-identity with feminism have consolidated into something closer to repudiation rather than ambivalence, and it is this vehemently denunciatory stance that is manifest across field of popular gender debate. This is the cultural space of postfeminism (McRobbie, 2006:62)

McRobbie's writings about popular culture are really interesting and she manages to show how the individualization has pushed feminists joined battles aside, at least regarding young women today.

Elaine J. Hall and Marnie S. Rodriguez claim that postfeminism is a myth, after analyzing the present discourse in scholarly and popular media; including books, journals, magazine articles, and national newspaper articles (2003:880) they identify four claims of post-feminist arguments:

(1) Support for the women's movement has decreased over the 1980-1990 period. (2) Antifeminism has increased among "pockets" of young woman, women of color and full-time homemakers. (3) Feminism has lost support because it has become irrelevant... (4) A "no, but..." version of feminism has developed... (Hall and Rodriguez, 2003:879).

All these claims, if really true, mean a backlash against the women's movement and the fight for gender equality. Hall and Rodriguez do however conclude in their research results, using public opinion surveys from 1980-1990, that there isn't a support for these postfeminist claims but rather an increased or a stable support for the women's movement. They further state that there does however seem to be evidence that suggest a new version of feminism, the "I'm not a feminist, but..." phenomenon that could affect and decrease support for the women's movement in the future (Hall and Rodriguez, 2003:898). If there is an increased or stable support for the woman's movement, why is there so much discussion and debates about backlash and postfeminism? The public opinion polls may show increased support but we must then ask ourselves what values people put in the women's movement and also look at the gap between feminist support and women's movement support. There is also the fact that

in the technical world in which we live today, cultures and beliefs can change rapidly along with increased material production from popular culture.

Rosalind Gill says that the notion of postfeminism is really important in feminist cultural analyzing. In her writings about postfeminist media culture she says that 'postfeminism is best understood as a distinctive sensibility, made up of a number of interrelated themes' (2007:147) and she further states about postfeminist discourse:

These include the notion that femininity is a bodily property; the shift from objectification to subjectification; the emphasis upon self-surveillance, monitoring and discipline; a focus upon individualism, choice and empowerment; the dominance of makeover paradigm; a resurgence of ideals of natural sexual difference; a marked sexualization of culture, and an emphasis upon consumerism and the commodification of difference (Gill, 2007a: 149)

In this there are so many contrasts to the second wave feminism as well as to the third wave feminism, even though the third wave feminism can overlap these emphases at some point. It seems as if postfeminism does in fact have a lot in common with the third way of western politics, individualistic thinking and self-surveillance. Given the negative media representation of feminists as unattractive, unfeminine, and lesbians, young women resist the label of feminism because they fear it distances them from men, marriage and motherhood (Hall and Rodriguez, 2003:884). The notion within postfeminism of being oneself and pleasing oneself doesn't fit into the picture of feminists that the media presents. An important point in the postfeminist discourse seems to be that all our practices are freely chosen and if a woman wants 'to use her sexual power to get her way she is free to do so because it is her body to use' (Gill, 2007:153). McRobbie also talks about this and calls this feminist individualism, where there is a certain self-consciousness, it is okay to show the body in a sexist way, deliberately evoking feminist critiques, as long as it is your choice and done for your enjoyment (2006:64). Although the third wave does bridge the 'gap' between feminist and femininity, allowing each to exist without the cost of the other, the label of feminism seems to scare young women away from taking a stand. This role of the independent sexual being seems to attract young women and especially if women believe that the battle is won; then why be the unattractive, unfeminine feminist?

It seems as if the concept of postfeminism is in many ways at the same stages as the third wave. There is a lack of vocabulary about it, no real wide agreement or theoretical base that gives a shared vision. This lack of a shared vision can prevent feminists from using it as a

critical tool to analyze today's media, for there must be some more expansive theory built around it in order to develop it as a critical tool.

2.3 Postfeminist media culture

The mass media leads the way when representing gender. In the last few decades the images of the 'pretty housewife' have been abandoned and the 'girl power' icon, the independent successful woman, has replaced her in the media sphere (Gauntlett, 2008:279). Third wave feminism has called for a change in media's representation of women. The change has happened but not always for the better. Postfeminism seems to have affected the media in many ways and Rosalind Gill claims that the debate about postfeminism is about the 'transformations in feminism and transformation in media culture – and their mutual relationship' (2007:147). McRobbie also discussed media and postfeminism, where she argued:

As a mark of a post-feminist identity, young women journalists refuse to condemn the enormous growth of lap-dancing clubs. They know of the existence of the feminist critique and debates (or at least that is my claim) through their education ... Thus the new female subject is, despite her freedom, called upon to be silent, to withhold critique in order to count as a modern sophisticated girl (2006:65).

This brings up some questions about the power structures within the journalistic field, for although each individual is supposed to be free to write, there are always some forces that lead and affect the knowledge that is produced. In Monica Löfgren Nilsson's research on SVT news in Sweden there is to be found a recent backlash in the quantity of women interviewed, starting around the year 2000 when the percentage of female politicians and experts interviewed went down again, having risen to its peak around 1995. In 2003 two thirds of the SVT-news reports were done by men and 84% of all politicians and experts interviewed were men (Nilson, 2004:46-48). When considering these numbers together with increased participation of women in politics, and more women working within media than in the last decades, it seems likely that this is an affect of the postfeminist backlash. It is not that women aren't participating in the society; they just do not seem to have much interest in gender equality.

The transformation in feminism has led it closer to media related fields. Lisebet van Zoonen criticizes feminist studies for moving away from the relevance of academic knowledge to feminism and other progressive political projects, and instead focusing more on researching

soap operas, gossip magazines or romances in order to liberate women. She says that this policy or process diminishes critical feminist media politics and 'it's potential as a comprehensive cultural critique' (van Zoonen, 1994:7). She has a valid point there but with increased material from popular media culture the need for entering into this field of research cannot be ignored.

Feminist media scholars within communication began to research stereotypical images of women in the media and the affects it might have on the audience. The women's movement did bring up some questions on already given stereotypes that had seemed naturally 'given' in the media and called into question the media's role in this process (van Zoonen, 1994:16). But although the media display's all these images of women and men, and it is unlikely that those images have no affect on us, it is 'unsatisfactory just to assume that people somehow copy or borrow their identities from the media' (Gauntlett, 2008:1). We must look out for other influential factors as well.

David Gauntlett book on *Media, Gender and Identity* shows a thorough work in the media field in past and present time, even though some of his thoughts cross roads with third wave feminist theories and understandings of the media. Gauntlett claims that the media had more stereotypical gender representations in past decades than it does in present time, showed 'men being more active, decisive, courageous, intelligent and resourceful' than women, as well as showing greater quantity of men (2008:61). That might be the case for popular media, that it is presenting more equal quantity of men and women now than before. Hence, the news media at least does not show enough progress, looking at Jarlbro's work, and the statistics from Icelandic news media regarding quantity of male and female interviewees as well as my own findings regarding the quantity of pictures in *Fréttablaðið* and *Morgunblaðið*.

Gauntlett asks if critical thinking can be closed off by mass produced popular culture. He discusses TV-shows such as *Idol* and the *X-factor* where stars are produced in the capitalist machine of consumption (2008:25-26). Although those stars are produced in this individualistic society, one could wonder how much of a free individual they really are, led on by the popular culture. Gauntlett takes up some of John Fiske's arguments about popular culture and power, in which Fiske claims that we cannot just assume that the audience are passive consumers, they also reject that role and become producers (ibid:28-29). That is a fact since in present media, the audiences are increasingly being brought into the circle of production with participation of all sorts.

Rosalind Gill criticizes the media harshly for objectifying female bodies, how their bodies are discussed, evaluated and scrutinized by men and women alike in the postfeminist media culture, 'constructed as a window to the individual's interior life' (2007:150). The sexualization of women's bodies doesn't just reach young women and men, but children as well. The newest figure of women in advertisements seems to be the sexually independent, heterosexual white and middle class, young woman playing with her sexual power (ibid:151). Gill points out how closely this young independent heterosexual women is to the heterosexual male fantasy that can be found in pornography (ibid:152). Feminists, especially radical feminist, have fought against the production of pornography and the masculine objectification of women that is produced there. They claim that it changes men's view of women and their sexualities, their behavior and thoughts towards women (van Zoonen, 1994:19-20). This arouses many questions about the self, and how we formulate it. Whether the patriarchic system is really able to create their own fantasies of women's looks and behaviors, and construct it within them?

The sexualization of women within the postfeminist media culture is also really contradictory since not all women are constructed as sexual, active and desiring subjects: they have to fit into the stereotype of the young, slim and beautiful woman (Gill, 2007:152). And those young beautiful women must also be under constant self surveillance and discipline, having magazines and Tv-programms telling them how to dress, behave, order a drink or get the perfect guy. In this culture of individualistic self-help discourses 'the self has become a project to be evaluated, advised, disciplined and improved or brought 'into recovery'' (Gill, 2007:156). Following this individual culture where the media suggests appropriate lifestyles, individuals construct a narrative of the self with the choices they make in order to achieve some focus in this complex life (Gauntlett, 2008:123)

Gauntlett discusses magazines and looks, how bodies are portrayed and the image that people have of bodies. After looking at several studies, his conclusion is that women's magazines display and celebrate thinner bodies than men's magazines (2008:87). He has a thorough chapter about men's magazines and modern masculinities in which he argues against the view that 'men's lifestyle magazines represent a reassertion of old-fashioned masculine values, or a 'backlash' against feminism'. He says that the content of these magazines rather shows how men try to keep up with the modern way of life, trying to find their place within the social sphere (2008:189), which is similar to Anthony Giddens theories about the form of strategies to make sense of modern life (2008:140). I cannot agree with Gauntlett and his arguments that

men's magazines are only trying to help men keep up with the modern way of life. This form of media, as well as any other media, can affect people's view, opinions and maybe even way of life, and if there is a backlash against feminism to be found there it is something that really needs consideration. Hence, his claim about women's magazines preferring thinner women bodies compared to men's magazines is interesting and, if right, shows some underlying form of power, guiding women into self-surveillance and the belief that their bodies are supposed to be thinner.

In Gauntlett's book there is also a chapter about women's magazines and female identities where he states that magazines do communicate a picture of the independent, assertive woman as well as emphasize on looking beautiful. There is though a pick'n'mix attitude that readers do show in reading the magazines (2008:215). He says that we 'no longer get singular, straightforward messages about ideal types of male and female identities' but that the media is instead showing us all the superstars, icons and public characters that we can borrow bits of our identity from (ibid:287). All these pictures of the superstars and public person do however form us; they construct our image of reality and can affect the way we look at our own image. The media most often leads the public discourse and if it can change some features of social life by presenting it and talking it through, it is quite possible that it has structured a category of postfeminism with its coverage (Hall and Rodriguez, 2003:884).

Advertisements do of course play a big role in the media's reproduction of gender roles, in that advertisers are quick to follow, or lead, the present debate. Today they realize that people wouldn't take seriously an advertisement with old fixed ideas about women working at home and, therefore focus more on how to be sexy at work (Gauntlett, 2008: 62). Although this discussion is important, it is extensive and will not further be analyzed here.

3. Foucault's power structures

One of the key elements of feminist thinking is power and there are many theories and understandings of that concept. Some see it as a group force but others, such as poststructuralist feminists, argue that 'power is not a monolithic thing that some groups (men, capitalists, whites) have and others (women, working class, blacks) have not' (van Zoonen, 1994:4). Marxists saw power as something held by the dominant class and capitalism, and 'for feminists, it was men in patriarchal society who had the power, women were powerless' (Gauntlett, 2008:128). Power is to be found everywhere and throughout the discussion on feminism and postfeminist media culture, there were already many forms of power that came

up for discussion. Gauntlett took up Fiske's argument about popular culture and power, Jarlbro talks about how the media undermines women's power in using first name bases, Gill talks about power forces of post-feminism etc. When looking at gendered representation in the media, the issue of power is bound to come up for power is everywhere. One of the questions this thesis seeks to answer is if here some culturally constructed power forms or flows within the newspapers that affect gender equality in Iceland. Going even further: can the media work as a repressive power force for women in politics?

Looking at power structures and possible oppression within the media representation of male and female politicians, the theories of the French philosopher Michel Foucault can be used as an analytical tool. His theories of power and knowledge are grounded on quite different principles from some of his fellow scholars. In his first book of three about the history of sexuality he explains his use of the term power.

Power must be understood in the first instance as the multiplicity of force of relations immanent in the sphere in which they operate and which constitute their own organization (Foucault, 1976: 92).

He further states:

Power is not an institution, and not a structure; neither is it a certain strength we are endowed with; it is the name that one attributes to a complex strategical situation in a particular society (Foucault, 1976:93)

With this he says that power is a net of relations that we form between us in our own space and that we can search for it with in our own actions and strategies. In this first book he builds his main theory up on the development of the discourse about sex and sexualities although his aim is to show the lack of that same discourse in previous centuries. If power relations must always be looked upon 'in the sphere in which they operate' the fact cannot be overlooked that gender equality in each society affects power forces. Uneven numbers of male and female representatives can therefore create a power force effecting further equality. Power comes from below, it has no central point but how does Foucault then explain the hierarchies of power, of force that can be found in our society?

One must suppose rather that the manifold relationships of force that take shape and come into play in the machinery of production, in families, limited groups, and institutions, are the basis for the wide-ranging effects of cleavage that run

through the social body as a whole. These then form a general line of force that traverses the local oppositions and links them together... (Foucault, 1976:94)

Power is then all about relations and by forming relations among ourselves, we produce power. Following Foucault's arguments Philip Barker, in his book *Michel Foucault an introduction* says that power can then be seen as a 'net-like' series of relations, not hierarchical or a one way street but circulating between bodies so that it is hard to get a grasp on or use it as an instrument (Barker, 1998:28). Barker claims that Foucault challenges the fundamental belief of humanism about the subject contemplating the truth from a politically neutral zone outside of power. If it is not possible to isolate power from knowledge, and 'power produces both the objects of knowledge and the subject to which particular knowledge/object relates' then a subject cannot exist outside power relations. (Barker, 1998: 27-28). What this circulation of power-knowledge-subject tells us, as well as the net-like series of relations flowing between bodies, is that nothing and no one are free of power. We must never look at something as a singular object/subject without connections to different kind of power relations and influences. As Barker phrases it: 'The very possibility of being an intellectual, a revolutionary or a radical is already a consequence of power relations, and all the intellectual can do is focus on the possibility of transforming their own thought and perhaps the thoughts of others' (1998: 31). If no individual can stand outside of power relations, then one must be aware of given power relations in connection to knowledge production. The feminist concepts of situated knowledge and standpoint theories are therefore well deserving of attention in relation to these Foucauldian theories.

One of Foucault's main theories is that power is productive, he claims that we should not always see power as a negative force, that 'power might have positive or negative consequences, but most importantly is productive, bringing things into being' (Gauntlett, 2008:131). In his own words he says: "That is why the notion of repression which mechanisms of power are generally reduced to strikes me as very inadequate and possibly dangerous" (Foucault, 1980:59). Foucault also maintains that there are never relations of power without possible resistance (ibid:142). When power is being exchanged, being circulated, the possibility always exists that it can be reversed, transformed and resisted (Barker, 1998:37). This can be directly related to the resistance that feminism has had to face. The second wave force called for a resistance that came in the form of postfeminism, challenging its values and efforts. It might be a logical response, since one of postfeminists claims is the individualism, and that feminism doesn't speak for all women. Barker claims

that the Foucauldian individual refuses to speak for others or make ultimate long-term pronouncements. Instead, openings are created ‘whereby different groups may be able to pursue their own tactics and strategies’ (Barker, 1998:32). Does a force of power, a movement or organization aimed at a specific group then always call for a resistance? If so, then the force of postfeminism must call for a reaction of third wave feminists or others that don’t like the backlash that follows this anti-feminist tendency.

3.1 Foucault and the body

In her book *Foucault and Feminism* Lois McNay takes up a few arguments for and against Foucault’s work when it comes to feminist theories. She claims that one of feminist’s main problems with his work is that he ‘neglects to examine the gendered character of many disciplinary techniques’ and that ‘sexual difference simply doesn’t play a role in Foucauldian universe’ (1992: 11). She criticizes Foucault for his notion of the body that is ‘conceived essentially as a passive entity, upon which power stamps its own images’(ibid.:12). His work has however been important for feminism:

Foucault’s idea that sexuality is not an innate or natural quality of the body, but rather the effect of historically specific power relations have provided feminists with a useful analytical framework to explain how women’s experience is impoverished and controlled within certain culturally determined imaged of feminine sexuality. Furthermore, the idea that the body is produced through power and is, therefore, cultural rather than natural entity has made a significant contribution to the feminist critique of essentialism
(McNay,1992: 3)

Escaping essentialism is one of feminist’s most important projects when analyzing women’s oppression, since biological difference between male and female bodies has structured a gender inequality that often seems to be legitimized within our cultures (McNay, 1992:17). McNay claims that the ‘natural body’ must rather be looked upon as a central device used in the legitimating of certain strategies of oppression (ibid:21), which feminist have done when trying to show how modern disciplinary power around the female body are ‘central to the maintainance of social relations’ (ibid:31)

Thus, Foucault’s gender blindness is criticized by feminists, since it ‘predominates in the very forms of conventional social theory which he claims to attack’ (McNay, 1992:47). Hence, McNay criticizes his bypassing of any notion of individuality and experience, and claims that the understanding of individuals as submissive bodies has the effect of pushing women back into this position of passivity and silence (McNay, 1992:47). On the other hand some critics

say that it is not to be seen as a problem, since it is consistent with his 'strategy of desexualization' in which he doesn't think in terms of the division of masculine and feminine (McNay, 1992:194). It is a justified criticism of his gender blindness, for he doesn't talk much about the sexual difference of bodies, nor about possible individual experience affecting our social body. However, this desexualization can be good insofar as it spawns the realization that we don't always have to look at the population out from male or female bodies, or that at least, ought to be the case. He is in fact telling us that 'it is impossible to know the materiality of the body outside of its cultural significations' for the body is shaped by power forces and relations (McNay, 1992:30).

Foucault has been influential within feminism and his work been an inspiration to feminist theorists:

Under the prevailing influence of Foucault, there is a shift away from feminist interest in centralized power blocks, e.g. the state, patriarchy law, to more dispersed sites, events and instances of power conceptualized as flows and specific convergences and consolidations of talk, discourse and attentions (McRobbie, kafli í bók, 60)

He changed the way power was looked upon, how it was conceptualized and its relation to bodies and sexualities. His conception that it is not only to be looked upon as a negative force is justifiable for power is also a productive force. It can however work as a negative force when the circulation and flow are gender biased.

4. Gendered politics

Female and male politicians are under constant pressure from the mass media when it comes to appearance and communication with the press. Their images are constantly splashed in the newspapers and other media, and all this attention can work both towards positive and negative result. With all the focus that modern media set on bodies and appearance, which was presented within previous chapters on postfeminism and media, the public appearance of politicians must also be under influence of popular culture.

Liesbet van Zoonen made a case study on two female political leaders, Angela Merkel in Germany and Tarja Halonen in Finland. van Zoonen claims that the 'celebrity politics', which are a combinations of popularization and personalization, make the public arena hard for female leaders. The two women analyzed have much in common though their political opinions may be different. Halonen seems to have caught the Finns attention and adoration by being a mother figure with nurturing qualities, easy to connect to, and with a sense of humor

although her own presentation isn't gendered in the stereotypical feminine way with regard to style and clothing (2006:292-3). Merkel has been named the Iron lady of Germany, has received some criticism for her style and appearance, and apparently has been trying to change that image (ibid:295-6). Both women have made an effort to keep their personal life separate from their political life and both have been 'caught off guard by popular culture's style pundits' at some point (ibid:297).

...on the level of gender discourse celebrity politics seem to produce stronger symbolic distance than before between hegemonic ideas of femininity and the political sphere. The hyper femininity of current celebrity culture and post-feminism, with fashion, sexuality, glamour and consumption as core ingredients (Hollows and Moseley, 2006) construes female politicians as exceptions to the feminine mainstream, who are part of a distant world (van Zoonen, 2006:298).

Is van Zoonen saying that the modern world of hyper celebrity femininity makes female politicians, trying to keep their personal life and gender out of the focus, unable to keep up with the mainstream and work the mass media in a favorable way? She says that the risk of prominent attention to a non-standard gender choice often make female politicians 'retreat within the boundaries of the political sphere' (2006:299). This really makes one wonder if women like Halonen and Merkel are really just one of the boys, if their political carrier is dependent upon their taking up a masculine form of appearance and style?

It seems to be a tendency for the media to present women as agents of change, and feminists often call for them to take up more of women's issues into discussion (van Zoonen, 2006:288). Looking at the political sphere and celebrity politics van Zoonen mentions that women are not only perceived as agents of change, but that there is also a difference in how they are presented in the media sphere. She claims that male politicians are more linked to the word 'fame' which is connected to the culture of production and achievements. At the same time female politicians are more connected to the word 'celebrity' that stands for and is related to the culture of consumption. The 'celebrity' is a cultural concept that has appeared in the 20th and the 21st century within the mass media (ibid:290). If 'fame' is connected to achievements in the history of time it can be hard for women to be related to the term, having been excluded out from the public sphere for so long. Connecting women to a concept based on consumption and public exposure in the media undermines their power to act, to produce and achieve just like any other politician. van Zoonen takes up the arguments of R.C. Swartzberg in his writings about political superstars in which he claims that female

politicians need to mask their femininity and imitate men. According to him female politicians do not have the same opportunity to use the art of seduction as male politicians because of connections to sexual connotations, and for them the only 'feminine model of celebrity available to women in politics world is that of the mother, tying into myths of femininity as nurturing and caring' (van Zoonen, 2006:293). Once again women are left with a stereotypical feminine role that seems to be socially constructed around their gender.

Celebrity politics is one of van Zoonens concepts of research, and the discussion around media and politics is always vibrant. John Corner and Dick Pels collected together many interesting discussions about the subject in their book *Media and the Restyling of politics*. They say that the media-politics relation debate is not only fluid within the political studies but also an increasing subject in media researching (2003:3). Getting young people interested in politics can be difficult as media managers have pointed out. Therefore media can be in a hard position when competing with popular culture, where i.e. more people vote in Britain's Big Brother reality show than in elections for the British parliament (2003:1). This increased popular culture can then lead these two fields closer together, so that politicians become like pop stars, at least some of the behavior and appearance. They do have to 'sell' themselves, as John Street talks about in his article *The celebrity politician*, and it can have everything to do with supply and demand. The politician needs to get votes, and therefore produce a product that the public wants (Street, 2003:85-87). If selling the product means following modern demand of the popular media culture, then the appearance and 'product' of politicians must be affected by a demanding power force like post-feminism.

A Canadian study done by Elisabeth Gidengil and Joanna Everitt on political leader's debate in 1993, 1997 and 2000 shows a remarkable difference in gender representation. They conclude that television news presents the candidates with a 'masculine narrative' and that stereotypically masculine imagery predominates (2003:572). This can be seen in the words used to describe the debate, where traditional 'masculine' sports are used as metaphors, as well as the battlefield of war. The politicians are in a war, and 'the party leaders are boxers going for the knockout punch' (2003:562). The research also showed that confrontational behavior of female leaders tended to receive more coverage than by male leaders, their finger pointing and clenching a fist was shown as a more aggressive behavior from them. That is interesting because the researchers also listed down how often each leader pointed a finger or clenched a fist and their male counterparts engaged in this behavior (2003:566-567). Could it be that when female leaders engage in this aggressive behavior, they step out of the pre-

expected female behavior and therefore receive this attention from the media?

Looking at female and male politicians Heldman, Carroll and Olson write about Elisabeth Dole's bid for the Republican nomination in 1999. Their results show that she received less attention than the male candidates, even though popularity polls early in the 'race' showed her having an equally good chance as John McCain against George W. Bush. The attention that she got from the media was more negative towards her than towards the male candidates, and the attention was different in the sense that her personality traits and appearance received more attention than it did with the male candidates (2000:12-13). She withdrew from the 'race' of being nominated as the Republicans candidate after six months so the full affect of the media's gendered attention will not be fully examined (ibid:1).

Hoogensen and Solheim conclude in their book *Women in power* that 'the language of power is still male' (2006:129). They also find that most key positions in defense are still out of reach for women and that women's issues organizations have little funding to give to female candidate while i.e. defense contractors have enough money to give to male candidates (2006:128). In media's approaches to politicians, issues such as education and healthcare seem to be presented as more female issues while foreign policy and finances are male issues.

In Britain Margret Thatcher is the only woman to have held an important power position within the political field and is one of few female world leaders to have had something to say about military action. She got the nickname "Iron Lady" for her way of governing and the way she acted as a leader and that is clearly not connected to a stereotyped feminine gender role (Gidengil and Everitt, 2003:560, Hoogensen and Solheim, 2006:130-136). In a Swedish study on female directors in the business world, this tendency to call female directors 'iron-lady' was found, as well as some stereotypical descriptions and representation that showed a gendered difference between male and female directors (Edström, 2002:32).

How to behave and perform is a constant issue for politicians to think about. With these studies and writings about politicians showing this gendered difference, it seems to be all the more for female politicians to consider. Failing to conform to the traditional masculine norm of governing, of political behavior, can affect their visibility but then again so can attachment to traditional feminine behavior (Gidengil and Everitt, 2003:561). Media's attention to female politician's private life is one thing that attaches them to the stereotypical feminine role but it also works as a reminder of the fact that their choice was not to fulfill that role but participate in a public mission (van Zoonen, 2006:299).

Hoogensen and Solheim talk about five main barriers that can keep women from running for office as well as keep them from winning if they do: stereotypes, career choice and preparation, family demands, sex discrimination, the political system (2006:136). Stereotypes to which women are usually linked to have their roots in their earlier private and domestic roles. That leads to them being rather seen as caring, approachable, sensitive and honest while men are rather connected to the 'strong, ambitious and tough leader' (Norris, 1997:154). Women that campaign with stereotypically female issues like education and health care and men that campaign with stereotypically male issues like crime will enjoy significant electoral advantages, in short candidates are best advised to play their "own" turf (Iyengar, Valentino, Ansolabehere and Simon, 1996:78).

Pippa Norris has written a lot about women in power and in her article *Women leaders worldwide: A splash of color in the photo op* she concludes that journalists do not put more focus on female politician's personal traits than they do males. She did however find two themes of a gendered difference; one was that female politicians have more focus on their prior political experience and qualifications than male politicians. Second was that in media coverage female politicians are 'widely portrayed by journalists as agents of change, who will clean up corruption in politics' (Norris, 1997:161-163). Her conclusion also confirms other researcher's results and data showing that women leaders are less visible in the news, even when considering the amount of women in politics and the amount of news coverage of politicians. The results from her research do however suggest that the media are acquitted of some of the accusations of sex stereotyping while gender framing within the news still remains common (ibid:164-165).

All these findings and studies show that there is a gendered difference in the representation of male and female politicians. It might be different between cultures and countries, but nonetheless it is fact. Higher gender equality status is likely to have its affects, and for the Icelandic media hopes were set on finding less difference than in some of the earlier mentioned studies.

5. Research methods

5.1 Interviews with qualitative method

‘Qualitative methods take the researcher’s communication as an explicit part of knowledge instead of deeming it an intervening variable’ (Flick, 2006:16). Therefore this kind of a research method is appropriate for feminist media research, especially when we consider ‘situated knowledge production’. One of the problems in qualitative research is selecting the cases, trying to focus on the quality of the material, not quantity, asking not how many interviewees there are, but why the selected ones are suitable for the research (ibid:41). There is a certain danger of the researcher being blind on the field or the subject under research because of pre-formed opinions and assumptions (ibid:99). An insider perspective can be useful although the researcher must always maintain a certain distance (ibid:119).

For this thesis two photographers were chosen, the managers of the newspaper photo-departments at the selected newspapers, Morgunblaðið (MB) and Fréttablaðið (FB), both having worked in newspaper photographing for more than 15 years. I myself as an interviewer do have some pre-formed theory-driven assumptions about the subject from my studying, but I also have an insider perspective from my work experience within Icelandic media. The interviews with photographers at MB and FB were conducted with semi-structured interview techniques, using open questions, hypothesis-driven questions, and confrontational questions (Flick, 2006:156) in discussing how they photograph men and women, their work methods and if they have thought of gender difference when considering news paper photographing. The interviews were taken in Iceland in their own work environment at the newspapers. The male politician who was interviewed has been in politics for 26 years and is a proclaimed feminist, participating in a gender equal government of Iceland. He was interviewed by phone also with semi-structured interview technique.

5.2 Analyzing pictures

Photographs are important for the material of news stories and some even say that a picture can say more than a thousand words. Anja Hirdman writes about gender, sexualities and public vision in her book *Tilltalande bilder* and she claims that there is a difference in how women and men behave themselves when pictured together and points to a certain female gaze where the women are often in a listening position looking at the men while they rather look in another direction (2002:53). This can be seen as a power symbol or even remains of

the patriarchal culture that feminists have protested, where the woman is looking at the man as a role model while the man pays no attention to her. He is portrayed as a productive force while she is in a stand-by position. Hirdman talks about four usual picture styles: long-distance, medium-distance, close up and extremely close up. Long distance perspective often shows the whole person along with a lot of background surroundings; medium-distance has an equal amount of surroundings as of the subject. In the close up the head and shoulders are in focus, but the extreme focus shows the person's face in detail. The meaning of this picture language or use of distance can be different from one media to another, a long-distance picture with in news media is a sign of a more distant addressing to the public while the same distance can mean something else in a men's magazine (ibid:48). A view from above often portrays persons as little and from down and up shows them bigger. This is seen as symbolizing power where panning down on people symbolizes less power. Showing a parallel picture shows a more equal ground and that is shown to dominate within the Swedish press journalists sphere (ibid:49). van Zoonen (1994:76) also talks about media images and their meanings, where she relies on the analyzing map by A. Berger.

Signifier	Signified
close up (face only)	intimacy
medium shot (most of body)	personal relationship
long shot (setting and characters)	public distance
full shot (full body of person)	social relationship
pan down (camera looks down)	smallness, weakness
pan up (camera look up)	power, authority

Both van Zoonen and Hirdman seem to agree that a long shot shows a public distance and that panning down on a person means less power as well as panning up means more power.

Body language with its every gesture and positions can also be represented in pictures and used to interpret certain feelings such as sorrows, happiness or anger. Women are more often shown smiling, which portrays them as easier going and unproblematic (Hirdman, 2002:49). A certain power language is also shown through eye contact, direct eye contact shows a more equal standard because it puts the one looking at the picture in the same place even though it can also work as a delusion of intimacy between the subject and the viewer. People that are categorized as socially weak tend to look more directly to the camera than those considered socially strong. Facing the camera straight forward is often said to represent feelings, personal closeness, or character (Hirdman, 2002:52)

Combining feminist critique on postfeminist media culture and feminist media analyzing done by van Zoonen and Hirdman the following questions will be used in the image analysis where the focus is on gendered difference of the politicians photographed:

- is the image long-, medium, close- or extremely close distance
- are the pictures in context with the material of the article
- is the person photographed up or down
- are there any special symbols or characteristics caught in the image
- when both female and male politician are in one image, how are they positioned in the image

With this the following interpretations of distance are set, also combining van Zoonen and Hirdman method of analyzing.

long distance (full body of person) >	social relationship
medium distance (surrounding as much as person) >	public distance
close up (head and shoulders) >	personal relationship
extremely close up (showing only facial characters) >	intimacy

Even though the media often refer to themselves as mirrors of society, only showing the reality, Hirdman doesn't look at representation as 'a reflection of reality, but rather an active process of selection and presentation which creates meaning' (1998b:225). McRobbie says that 'representations are interpretations' which can never only be images. There are many devices such as highlighting, cutting and editing that help to produce permutations of meaning, whether literacy or visual (McRobbie, 2000:125). That is something that will be looked at in the research material, how the Icelandic newspapers construct a gendered reality to present to the society, creating meanings and visual power structures.

5.3 Discourse analyzing

Gidengil and Everitt used five indicators of aggressive debating behavior while researching the Canadian leaders, addressing another leader by as "you" or by name, how often each leader was shown interrupting, and how often each leader was shown pointing a finger or clenching a fist (2003:564). As said in the introduction, there will not be found a gendered

difference in using first or last names of the administer in the articles following the photographs but expressions with hands and other characteristics will be looked at.

When reading photographic images, there is a certain power language in the pointing a finger or clenching a fist since it usually shows the person as angry, saying something important or at least in action. Hirdman says that we produce gender differences both verbally and visually through a system of representation, differences that are constructions of a social order of power hierarchies (1998a:5). She further claims we must think of the process of visualization, that words create pictures in our heads, pictures that help to create those same social power hierarchies (ibid:7). What are the messages that these images send us? We must look at the situation or event that surrounds the images when trying to code or understand that message, constructing it in the context of a larger social meaning (ibid:11)

Rosalind Gill talks about Stuart Hall's encoding/decoding model and its three premises:

first, that the same event can be encoded (represented) in more than one way; secondly, the message always contains more than one potential meaning besides the preferred encoded one; and thirdly, messages therefore have the potential to be read in different ways (2007:17)

van Zonnen also talks about Hall's model and says that it does provide a useful framework to review and arrange feminist media theory and research, suggesting the central question to be: how is gender discourse negotiated in the 'moments' of the construction of media meanings – production, text and reception?' (1994:9). If we are to interpret, encode/decode the media, its knowledge production cannot be overlooked. The question is, what kind of knowledge does it produce and present to us when it comes to gender difference? Foucault talks about the knowledge production and the pleasure of knowledge, how power forces of pleasure produce knowledge. He sees power as a net of relations, and without a doubt, the wide net of the media posting pictures and reflections of society can create knowledge with its power. Hirdman says that the strength of the photograph lies in its 'use as a strategy in representation' and will therefore work as knowledge production about people (1998a:5)

Trying to read the message of images, one must realize that the message aren't always the same. Nick Lacey writes about visual representation in *Image and representation – key concepts in media studies*. His view is that the message must always be read and interpreted regarding its surroundings, similar to Foucault's power relations in its own sphere. As an example he takes an album with images of a home working housewife. If you look at it at home the meaning is completely different than if you would look at it in a class room where it then has educational meaning (1998:27). He talks about the context and how pictures and

words are put together, and how this all must be seen in relation to each other, surroundings, images and words (ibid:24-27). One of his main claims regarding image analyzing is that codes aren't necessarily linguistic, that is, 'they can be any sign which is recognized by society to have particular meaning' (1998:7).

Stuart Hall talks about conceptual maps in his book *Representation: cultural representation and signifying practices*. He says that there are different maps we carry around in our heads and concepts are not random but 'organized, arranged and classified into complex relations with one another' (1997:18). He further claims that 'codes fix the relationship between concepts and signs. They stabilize meaning within different languages and cultures' (1997:21). He has some interesting thoughts about representation of language and meaning, especially his constructionist argument where he claims that:

[N]either things in themselves nor the individual users of language can fix meaning in language. Things don't mean, we construct meaning, using representational system – concepts and signs (Hall, 1997:25)

In this thesis the emphasis is set on codes and meanings constructed and recognized within the theory field of gender and media studies, with the main focus on feminism. Although meanings are never 'finally fixed' there are some feminist codes and meanings that have come up for discussion through this theory: how power can be symbolized in images, how gendered representational differences can construct social meanings etc. Through the analysis of research material these theories will be followed through when looking at the representation of female and male politicians in Icelandic newspapers.

6. Interviews with photographers

Photographer A began working at Morgunblaðið in 1995 as a picture manager, after studying photography in New York. There are certain work rules and traditions that the photographers at MB follow, besides of laws about privacy. A says that the main rule is not to print something that hurts or diminishes people; their duty is to take a picture that tells a story.

A – We are really much aware of it here that we are also listing the Icelandic history, that is one of the main things, we are always doing two things, telling about events happening here and now, and listing the Icelandic history with all its actors [...] like the political field where those people are almost like family friends, their faces flashing by everyday.

He says that it is very important that the picture works both visually and structurally and that is what photographers try to get when catching certain moments i.e. from politicians. The photo has to be a mix of something interesting and well structured subject. Like in other newspapers MB both has spontaneous pictures and preset pictures and A says that there is a big difference between the two.

A – there are two kinds of photo shooting, one where the photographer is with the journalist and another where the photographer is alone. We have a studio here but don't use it much since it is quite natural for a journal that wants to show the fluid culture to take as much as possible in the natural environment. We take so-called environmental portrait where the environment is supposed to say something about the person photographed and the person in the same time saying something about the environment.

Focusing on fluid culture in the society must give MB a chance to work as a good mirror of that same society, and show how well gender equality works as well as any other social issue. If the person photographed is supposed to say something about the environment, and vice versa, then the person and the environment must work together in creating a power relation. An image of a person that is photographed in the serious surroundings of the parliament must then show more power or different power, than in more a relaxed surroundings. A factor such as another person's position, although not necessarily a part of environment must also have something to say about the power relations and structures.

Photographer B works at Fréttablaðið. He has been a photographer for 20 years and is now managing the photographic department. There are 6 photographers at the journal and their main guidelines for photographing regard general laws about privacy, rules in the parliament

and in court. B says that the photographers are just in charge of taking the picture; the journalists rarely set any demands as to how the pictures are supposed to be, except when there are any special circumstances regarding the news report. He says that abrupt pictures are more fluid while the preset pictures give more time to think of surroundings, positions and light. When asked if they think of gender roles when taking pictures he first says that he doesn't quite understand what I mean and I further ask if he thinks differently about taking pictures of men and women, if he sees some kind of a power structure in it.

B – I only speak for myself, and it is more out from appearance and age, women that are older are more sensitive for taking pictures from below, taking pictures up on them, I don't think of power or anything like that...

Interviewer – Sometimes things are really unconscious, you say you think about this relating to age!

B – that is more for the picture material and women don't want ... their neck becomes like he becomes [symbolizes double chin or lose skin with his hand] and if they are photographed down or need to look much down than the structure of the neck changes, you try to consider that... I haven't caught myself in express myself with that

This is quite interesting, relating this to their age and considering that they won't have double chin. It also seems to have caught the attention of photographer A.

A – Women often ask, 'does the double chin show' and then the photographer moves more up so it won't show [...] I think men are more considerate with women, maybe unconsciously, but you feel that they are more sensitive, I know that they are.

A says that women are more often aware of how they look when photographed, give themselves time to look in the mirror and prepare, while men do not. He says that he has noticed in particular that older women like to use 'older' pictures, showing them younger while men are more up for taking new pictures. Claiming that women think more about their looks isn't new information but this is something that must also be considered in relation to the media, and the post-feminist media culture. Increased focus on looks, bodies, weight and age, among other things, seems to put more pressure on women than men, how they look and appear in the media. The double chin is apparently not something that is allowed to be seen, with both the photographers and the women being aware of rather taking the picture more from above rather than from below. This increased pressure on looks is working as a negative

force of power, and this constant focus on beauty within media images seems to be affecting women more than men. Foucault says that power will always be resisted but also that it can be transformed. When the women are in the position of being photographed, of coming into the public eye, there must be some power related achievements involved. If these women then want to be photographed in a position that undermines their power, considering that taking pictures from above a person shows a form of oppression, the power that they have can transform from positive power to a negative one. This might not be consciously done but nonetheless able to effect women's power.

6.1 Photographing women and men

Photographer A says the photographers at MB don't have any consciously made policy about how to photograph women and men but he is convinced that there is a difference in how they behave when photographed.

A – We had one woman working here as a photographer and I was really sad to see her go because I did on purpose send her to certain assignments that I knew that she would handle differently than the guys i.e. I noticed that she had better luck with photographing women than the guys did, women seem to think it more comfortable to have a woman photographing them than a man, especially women that are not used to this... it was quite obvious and I don't really know what it was, more sensitivity to them, understanding on their situation or what. I have myself as a photographer experienced women being more unsecure of themselves when photographed, maybe this has to do with self image or the way they think that others look upon them.

He says that women feel better when another woman is photographing them, and in an informal interview Steinunn Sigurðardóttir vice editor at FB said the same, that sometimes it seemed that women preferred female photographers. Considering the fact that less than 10% of Icelandic newspaper photographers are women, we cannot help wonder how the gender representation would be with a more equal gender percentage of working photographers. Steinunn Sigurðardóttir said that they tried to count a few times a year how the gender presentation was in the journal regarding photographs, how many women and how many men were shown, as well as always trying to assure that the front page both had pictures of both men and women (Steinunn Sigurðardóttir, 10th of February 2009). Photographer B confirms that:

B – yes, that has been done... on the other hand it is quite clear that it is harder to photograph women and harder to get them to be photographed. It takes longer time and many of them don't want to, much harder to get them to participate than men [...] some of them are more sensitive for their looks, want to fix themselves and get ready, this might have changed during the last years with the collage generation of women... you can see them more and they are easier to get for photographs, but these are just my thoughts and feelings about this, nothing theoretical that I have to support this.

This is maybe not so surprising considering how much more pressure women versus men experience when it comes to appearance in the media, at least from the postfeminist media culture. B says that he hardly remembers a man that has been hard to photograph, demanding or wanting to see the pictures before printing, but there is a small but still existing group of women that would do that. He says that older women rather ask for softer light and more of a distance shot, but men just come and go without any further thought. Considering the fact that all of the current photographers at MB and FB are men, and photographer A talked about women being more comfortable with other women photographing them, the question is if there would be a difference with more women photographers. If a woman does feel more comfortable when photographed, will she think less about her appearance and looks, or even more? Again there comes into play the flow of power, if women are harder to get access to and harder to get to participate with photographers, that tool of media related power will possibly flow away, most likely to the ones willing to be photographed.

When asked about appearances, A says that the clothing and outfits of persons in photographs don't matter and that there is no reason to prefer taking a picture if a person is looking particularly good.

A – You follow the story in the face, but of course it is the whole image structure that matters, how forms talk together. If there are some good contrasts that work well together, dark clothing with light skin then you do of course use that but I don't think it is consciously done to think like 'she is well dressed', at least I don't think so and don't sense that in my coworkers. The focus is on a news angle, something that catches the eye.

There does however seem to be some discussion of how the female politicians dress among the photographers. Photographer A mentions that Jóhanna Sigurðardóttir was in a white jacket when entering Bessastaðir to meet the president and formally claim the new government, while later that same day wearing a black jacket when in a TV interview. Photographer B also

mentioned that Jóhanna had been wearing some kind of a velvet dress the day before. They both agree that the male politicians almost always look the same with their suit and ties so apparently the female politicians clothing does draw attention to them. What would then happen if female politicians would all dress the same? There are rules about men having to wear a tie in the parliament, but there are no such rules about female dressing. If the female politicians would all dress the same, that could bring them closer to the masculine way of governing, and further away from the soft mother figure.

Interviewer – *What about politicians, is it different to photograph female and male politicians?*

B– *Well, that is maybe the group of women that is easiest, they are so used to this and don't mind if every picture isn't one hundred percent... it is more just if they change themselves, their hair or looks, get thinner or something that they want to get a new picture, they don't want to see the pictures [before printing].*

He mentions a male politician who is now the leader of one of the smaller political parties and says that he changed his whole appearance before campaigning, made himself look older and more serious, so that all older pictures of him are no longer an option to use. It would be interesting to know if that male politician would ask for newer pictures if the journal would print old pictures, before his “make over”. It looks like he connected his looking more serious to more power in politics, which may not be new for a young male politician. Does the same work for female politicians? Considering the celebrity politics that Corner and Pels talk about, how politicians must ‘sell’ themselves it is perhaps not surprising that this male politician wanted to change his looks before his campaign. Likewise, it might be quite natural for female politicians to want to look their best, since they don't seem to have the same social access to this form of power as men. Photographer B says that these female politicians are the easiest group to photograph and don't care if the pictures aren't always one hundred percent. All the same both photographers admit that there is a tendency to treat women more sensitively than men so the female politicians might not have a reason to ask for better pictures.

Photographer A says that he notices a difference with the years regarding styles and stylizing of politicians, that there is now a certain election-machine going for the politicians for elections, stylizing them, he mentions i.e. that many male politicians changed their glasses before last election.

B – ... the photographs give so much [to the newspaper] but it also depends on how it is portrayed, the same picture in different newspapers doesn't necessarily say the same thing, where she is placed and how big matters, the picture editorial also matters.

Regarding politicians B says that big close up pictures aren't necessary unless there are some special emotions or expressions shown, everybody knows what they look like. He says that they do of course try to get something to give life to the pictures and some politicians just give out more expressions and quirks than others.

Many politicians, both male and female, now have image counselors and try to dress “appropriately” for the senate and media. B says that male politicians are almost always the same, they have to wear a suit in the parliament, but female politicians have more space to dress up and change their style. He claims that the clothing doesn't matter unless it is something special, he would notice if they were particularly impressive in style and most likely take a picture of that person, even though it wouldn't necessarily be a news story. The fact remains that a big part of being in the public eye concerns looks, and today's postfeminist media culture increases the pressure from the make-up paradigm towards all women. Even though van Zoonen says that female politicians are sometimes outrun by the hyper celebrity femininity, they will always be breaking some socially constructed rules if not engaging in feminine gender roles.

6.2 Power structures within photographs

Iceland is one of the Nordic countries, although small and far away somewhere out in the Atlantic Ocean. Photographer A says that they try to compare themselves with other Nordic countries and specially mentions that in other photojournalist organizations there are many more of women than in Iceland, where women make up less than 10% of this field.

A – This influences work methods, streams and policies in this profession, we can't overlook that. I would like to see more women. A picture always tells a story and each photographer interprets the society, finds an angle or a subject based on his own experience and background. The same goes for the sex of the photographer, it does matter as well as education and hobbies. In every picture there are three main things; the subject, the tradition and the photographer as a creator. There is always a man or a woman in the back, a name, an individual, and I really miss not having more women.

What he is saying is similar to the feminist concept of situated knowledge, there is always someone creating the knowledge, in writings or in pictures, and that person's gender, experience, education, hobbies etc., matters in the process. The lack of women in the profession changes the material and the knowledge production, the telling of the history that A talked about in the beginning of his interview. Considering the Foucauldian way of power, flowing between bodies, and that power relations must be looked upon in its own sphere, the person that is photographed must have a different connection with different photographers and behave differently depending on surroundings.

Along with his work in MB, photographer A has been teaching photography and tells his students not to take a picture directly in front of people, because that is the view people usually see. Looking for a new angle can then of course mean taking the shot from below or above people. He says that the movie industry has made some stereotypical language of the bad guy that is looked down on and the good guy that the camera looks up to, and that power language seems to be ingrained in us. He seems to be aware of the panning up/down power position and act on that both in his work and in his teaching other photographers.

Photographer B says that photographing different people is sometimes difficult, mostly difficult for someone beginning in photography. Everyone is shy at some point and will have a hard time communicating directly to a public person at first, but as soon as some kind of a relationship is established it gets easier. He says that sometimes there are certain stereotypes that the photographers have but that disappears as soon as they get to know something about the person photographed.

Interviewer- *Beside of gender, does it matter what person you are photographing, like social status?*

B- *no, you just want to hand in good material, no matter what that is, it doesn't really matter if it is the manager of the Central bank of Iceland or the congress man, I'm not afraid if they like my pictures or not [...] you do maybe treat people with different respect, going around in the parliament you take of your hat and follow the rules [...] maybe you show the person arranging groceries in the supermarket a different side.*

In this profession like others, and in life itself, people are treated differently regarding to social status, the guy in the grocery store will probably not get the same treatment as the president or the congressman, and these photographers do treat women and men differently in that women get more space for their insecurity, fixing their appearance and looking out for

their double chin. The gendered power structure with panning up and down on people is questionable when considering what these photographers have to say about the neck, the double chin and age, if many women do ask about being photographed down then the photographers are more likely to do this with other women as well. The fear of looking bad or old is then creating a power structure within newspaper photographs, negatively affecting women's images or presented images of power positions. Panning down on women is in theory supposed to show them less powerful/strong when they are more worried about the double chin showing and want to be 'shot' down. Rosalind Gill says that postfeminism is all about the 'shift from objectification to subjectification, the emphasis upon self-surveillance, monitoring and discipline' (2007a:147) and that this can be seen clearly within today's media. Women who feel this presence of the media and live within a society where there is adoration for thin and beautiful bodies do care how their images are posted and displayed within the media. From these interviews it is clear that Icelandic women are no exception from that.

7. Interview with Steingrímur J. Sigfússon

As previously stated, the Left-Green movement is the only proclaimed feminist party in Iceland. Founded in 1999 it had equality as a top priority in its policy, and in 2005 added a special excerpt about women's liberation into their main policy (Vinstrihreyfingin-grænt framboð, <http://vg.is>). Although the Social democratic alliance that was also started in 1999 was created of three small parties, including the women's alliance which had been participating in politics since 1983 (Samfylkingin, <http://samfylkingin.is>) it doesn't seem to focus as much on gender equality as the Left-Green movement, at least not when proclaiming feminism. This process of retreat from a given women's movement might be a part of the post-feminism backlash although both those parties do value gender equality among their top priorities.

Steingrímur has been in politics a long time. He was young when elected a congressman and has retained that position for 26 years. He is the founding chairman of the Left-Green movement.

Steingrímur – Right in the beginning we set up a clear vision of equality policy for the movement, from founding it in 1999 it has been one of our top priorities. We do define ourselves as a feminist party, the first one in Iceland to do so and I actually think we are the only one yet at least.

He says that the 82 day's government is a milestone for gender equality, having an equal number of men and women, as well as being led by a woman as the first female prime minister. It is a clear policy for both the parties involved to have a gender equal government in Iceland

Interviewer – *What then about political issues in selecting ministers, it is known in Europe as well as elsewhere that female politicians tend to be connected to softer issues like education, environment and health care, while male politicians are more in economic and employment issues...do you consider this?*

Steingrímur – *Well... yes, we have, but not so much except for the fact that the prime minister is a woman. The new government might have something like that to bear, that there will be more traditional men's fortresses that will fall. I think that there aren't so many ministries left that women haven't been in charge of, we have had two women as foreign affairs ministers but I know that the ministry of economics has never had a female minister, and not the industrial and employment affairs nor the ministry of communication, so there are a few fortress yet to fall.*

It is interesting that he uses the word 'karlavígi' which translates as men's fortress, since 'vígi' is an old word from the Viking days of war, where 'vígvöllur' is a battlefield. It is like the women are warriors that need to break down the fortress, and this might not be such a bad description when talking about positions that have throughout history only been held by men - women have had to fight for it, even if only metaphorically in a battlefield.

When discussing stylists Steingrímur says that it is not something that they usually have, mostly just before elections and if there are some pictures to be taken for brochures of something like similar for information and advertisement. He does joke about the fact that a few years ago on party had all their congressmen go to a so-called color analysis and that many had found it to be funny, since it was supposed to make them look better and younger. He says that this is something that has not been exaggerated in Iceland; it is mostly if a party has some kind of problems, like the one he mentioned before, that there are some actions trying to make things happen. The photographers said the same, that there was some restyling before elections, for example that many politicians had new glasses, and also the one that changed his whole appearance before last elections. None of the interviewees do however connect this to gender or link it especially to women.

Regarding photographs Steingrímur says that there have rarely been problems when it

comes to the media. He says that it was known before that the newspapers would print bad pictures of their opponents (before 1990 almost all the newspapers in Iceland were politically controlled) but now it wasn't something obvious, the MB didn't always pick the best pictures of him but nothing that he would make comments about.

Interviewer – *But what about pictures of men and women, like you and Jóhanna, do you think that there is any difference?*

Steingrímur – *Well, I guess it can be that women are treated in a softer way than men; I think it could very well be... that there is rather the tendency to spare them from printing bad pictures.*

That is similar to what the photographers said, that they treat women differently and are more considerate towards their appearance in the pictures. Where does the root of this power lie? If it is to be found within the media, the post-feminist media culture can probably be blamed. Hence, when all these three men, the politician and photographers agree on the sensitivity that women face the question of power flow is valid. Towards personal life Steingrímur says that he has managed to keep his family out of his public life, saying that this is mostly dependant on how each individual presents this to the media. If someone once lets the media into their personal life, it is hard to turn that back, and sometimes today's younger politicians proceed too fast in these matter not realizing that this is something that really needs consideration. That can probably be traced to what Corner and Pels talked about regarding politicians, selling themselves for votes and attention.

The interview with Steingrímur was taken in the beginning of May, just a few days before the newest government was announced. On mother's day, the 10th of May, the new government was formally created with seven male administrators and five female administrators. That means the government consists of 42% women and can therefore be said to reflect women's percentage in the parliament that reached 43% in the elections in April. Steingrímur has had to defend this agreement, since some think it goes against the Left-Green policy not to have an equal number of male and female administrators. His answer was that at the end of this government's era, the gender work in the government would be equal, which was interpreted as possible changes within administrators later on (Þóra Kristín Ásgeirsdóttir, 2009).

8. Results from photographic analyzing

In a random sample of Fréttablaðið in February and March 2009, pictures from 38 newspapers were analyzed. The sample showed 59 pictures with female administers and 62 pictures with male administers. In these altogether 105 pictures no pattern could be found of panning up or down on female and male administers. Many of the pictures are taken within the parliament where photographers only have limited workspace and almost all the pictures are panning down. In Morgunblaðið, under the same time period, 38 newspapers were analyzed and showed male administers in 77 pictures and female administers in 73 pictures. The same goes for MB as for FB, that in the 143 pictures in MB there could not be found a gendered pattern in panning down on the administers. It seems to be similar to the Swedish way, which Hirdman talked about, that parallel pictures in the newspapers show an equal ground between men and women.

Looking further into the different gender representation of the main political leaders, a few newspapers from the days before the new government was formed were also analyzed. There are the former prime minister and leader of the Independence party, Geir H. Haarde and Ingibjörg Sólrún Gísladóttir former leader of the Social democratic alliance and former minister of foreign affairs. They were often set up as a couple, the same as with the leaders of the 82 days government Jóhanna Sigurðardóttir and Steingrímur J. Sigfússon. The government that this research has its main focus on has the following administers:

Jóhanna Sigurðardóttir prime minister, congresswoman for 31 year

Steingrímur J. Sigfússon minister of economical-, agricultural- and fishery affairs, congressman for 25 years

Ásta Ragnheiður Jóhannesdóttir minister of social affairs, congresswoman for 14 years

Össur Skarphéðinsson minister of foreign- and industrial affairs, congressman for 18 years

Katrín Jakobsdóttir minister of educational affairs, congresswoman for 2 years

Kristján L. Möller minister of communication, congressman for 10 years

Kolbrún Halldórsdóttir minister of environmental affairs, congresswoman for 10 years

Ögmundur Jónasson minister of health care, congressman for 14 years

Ragna Árnadóttir minister of justice- and ecclesiastical affairs, outside of parliament

Gylfi Magnússon minister of business affairs, outside of parliament

8.1 The female leader

Jóhanna Sigurðardóttir prime minister is shown in 41 pictures in FB, of which only three portray her smiling and two with a softer, almost smiling face. One of them, where she is really smiling seems to be a set up shot and she is looking directly at the camera, trying to communicate with it. Many of the pictures are then taken in the parliament where she is always serious looking, and sometimes making a speech. Of the pictures that only show her, only one was extremely close up and big, and that was of her saying that she was going to give in to the pressure to take the leader role of Social democratic alliance, her political party. That picture is panned down, but showing her face with all its effects, the person that is reaching out for the people that want her to take the lead. Another interesting extremely close up picture is of Ingibjörg Sólrún Gísladóttir and Jóhanna, where Ingibjörg is in focus and really close up, announcing that she is no longer going to be the leader of the Social democratic alliance and step out of politics because of personal reasons (having had a brain tumor and following illness). Both those pictures, that are so extremely close up have dramatic news following, one woman stepping down and the other reaching out to lead her people, the extremely close up shot give us the persons, the one with serious illness and then one who is going to be strong (append. X). This supports what photographer B said about extremely close up pictures that show this intimacy, that they aren't necessary unless there is something big happening, some feelings and expressions that they are trying to catch in the face of the person.

In MB there were 34 pictures of Jóhanna alone, where she was most often shown smiling, and one pre-set picture where she has a mild, almost smiling look, is used 10 times. MB did not have a big close up picture of her when she announced her acceptance of the role of leader of Samfylkingin, but it does also have an extremely close up picture of Ingibjörg when she is announcing that she is stepping down because of her illness. In direct connection to this, is the fact that Geir H. Haarde former prime minister did also drop out of politics in this time period because of a similar illness. There is no extremely close up shot of him. The day after he announced his illness and that he was dropping out of politics, the front page of FB showed him in a long shot leaving the building of the Independence party. Another article's headline is "Geir leaves politics" and its accompanying picture could be categorized as a close up with his head and shoulders showing. In MB there was on long shot of him standing up on the stage and waving to a crowd, a hero-like picture. There was however a picture of his fellow female leader in the Independence party, a close up/extremely close up

shot and a big picture, the picture's text saying that she was shocked over the news of his illness.

It is of note that the woman who is sick and leaving is shown with a 'intimacy' shot in both newspapers while the man that is sick and leaving is captured with a 'public distance' shot or a 'personal relationship' shot. The administrator of business affairs in the former government, a male politician, resigned only two days before the collapse of his government in January. He was shown in a close up shot even though the situation was serious and he was owning up to a huge responsibility and mistakes regarding the financial collapse (appendix, pic:59-68). What exactly does it tell us that those women are shown in an extremely close up shots in important moments, but the men are not? According to our given form of analyzing, extremely close up means intimacy while close up means personal relationship and this does imply that the newspapers regard the female politicians as more personal or intimate than the male politicians. Anja Hirdman talks about the public/private debate in her research about gender representation in Swedish newspapers and that women are often used as symbols or representations for certain conditions or events (1998b:228). Are the female politicians more private, does the intimacy in these photos tell us that? And is the shocked face of Geir's female coworker used as a symbol for the serious situation of his illness?

The images following the illnesses of the two leaders are only personal when it comes to the woman. The main policy for the second wave feminism was 'the personal is political' but it might be that female politicians are also more personal than political. van Zoonen found that Halonen in Finland reached her people by being a mother figure, and Hoogensen and Solheim conclude that the language of power is still male. If a person is ill and leaving politics, it means less power, a weak position to be in. Ingibjörg is shown as intimate in her decreasing power position, but Geir is not, in fact, a woman's face is used to symbol his powerlessness. Could this be a direct connection to the mother figure, the soft woman and her social position?

Looking at Jóhanna, her pictures and her career is interesting in connection to van Zoonens research on Merkel and Halonen, in which Merkel is referred to as the iron lady, as well as the theme found in Edström's research about Swedish female directors being referred to as iron ladies. Jóhanna might in that sense be our Iron lady, she doesn't seem to smile a lot, although one short article in MB by a known female journalist is about her being more lively since her becoming a prime minister, being softer, smiling more and "even allowing her to

joke and then has a prankish look on her face". In another short article in FB, the journalist, also a woman, says that Jóhanna is a good change from the black-tie middle age men always ruling this country. She does distinguish herself from the black-suits, often wearing a white jacket and with her white hair that photographer A mentioned that everyone would notice and recognize. Are these women iron ladies because they take up masculine ways of governing? How big is the gap between the 'mother' and the 'iron lady'?

Nowhere is there any mentioning that Jóhanna is gay, and is the first known head of state that is officially gay. On the website of the parliament she is officially registered in cohabitation with a woman but in Iceland her sexual orientation doesn't seem to matter at all. Only the web media wrote about this, and then in connection to foreign media that were writing about this and finding this remarkable, that not only is this a victory for women but also for gay people . An Icelandic journalist said this in an interview with BBC.

"It's by no means a big deal. It's been reported, but it's not something the public is focusing on... On the one hand, Iceland is a fairly liberal, tolerant country when it comes to homosexuality. On the other hand, she's never been particularly public about her private life, even though her partner is listed on the parliament's website[...] Whom the new prime minister crawls into bed with at night seems to be fairly far down the list of priorities for people[...] I can't remember them being seen together during any public functions, and she's not been an outspoken gay-rights activist in any sense," he said. "Given the fact that she likes being left alone as a private person, I would be surprised if that were to change dramatically." (BBC News, 2. february 2009)

She likes being left alone as a private person and seems to get that space from the Icelandic media and nation. This victory for the gay people does in that sense go quietly since she never mentions it, doesn't speak out for gay rights, at least not more than any other congressman. In this she her political person is similar to Merkel, keeping her private life separate out from the public sphere. That isn't hard in Iceland which has no real 'yellow press', but one can only wonder if this would be different were her relationship heterosexual. She is the most powerful woman in Iceland today but she is no mother figure like Halonen in Finland, she doesn't use her power position to speak out for gay rights and seems to manage to escape the Iron lady title.

8.2 Male and female administrators

Pictures of Steingrímur often show him with a serious or an angry look. Even in those that are a set up shot in his office following a long interview, he is still serious. But even though the separate pictures of Jóhanna and Steingrímur don't show any gender difference between them, both serious and panned up and down equally, pictures of them together are interesting. They are leading the government, and since it started on the 1st of February they have had several press conferences where they both answer questions. Of the ten pictures of them together in FB, Steingrímur is never seen looking at her except for one time when he stands over her desk in the parliament, leaning forward and talking to her, she sitting and looking up at him. Two pictures show her looking at him while he is talking; five pictures show them where one is talking and the other looking somewhere else. Then there are two somewhat comical pictures, one showing Steingrímur helping Jóhanna putting on a tie that all congressmen had been given for "men and cancer support day" and the other picture shows Steingrímur in focus, laughing and looking at someone outside the picture while Jóhanna is in the background having make up for a press conference (appendix, pic:19-24).

What kind of a power structure can we see here from these ten pictures, three of which portray her looking at him in three of them, in one he is helping her putting on a man's tie and then one where we see him laughing and her getting make up done. This suggests a more power control from his part, the female gaze at the male leader that Anja Hirdman talked about, where she is shown in the listening position. The "make up" shot is also gives the image of the female needing to look good while the male is set to go as he is, in front of the cameras. This can though not be found in MB where some of the pictures are more artistic, and only one of them shows one looking at the other, and that is him looking at her.

Other ministers receive much less attention from the newspapers which is understandable considering that Jóhanna and Steingrímur are the leaders and are therefore more in the spotlight. Katrín Jakobsdóttir is the youngest administrator, only 33 years old and she is almost always shown smiling. Maybe she is always smiling or she is more aware of communicating with the public and keeping a personal connection. She is never shown in the parliament or under any serious circumstances, even though articles following the pictures can refer to her speaking in the parliament. There are a few pictures of her where she is for example opening a website or in a committee of social welfare awards, in both more informal and at ease situations. The same goes with Ásta Ragnheiður Jóhannesdóttir, she is smiling in almost all of her pictures and is never photographed in the parliament. The sample is of course

random and not exhaustive for February and March, but even so, it is interesting that the only two of these ten administrators not shown in the serious surroundings of the parliament are women. The parliament is the highest power force in Iceland, and showing someone speak there confirms hers/his power. Both Katrín and Ásta Ragnheiður are in positions that are 'traditional' female administrative positions within politics, that is educational affairs and social affairs. They also seem to fall into the role of the soft mother figure, smiling, not too serious and communicating with the public through the lens of the camera.

Pre-set pictures of these ten administrators do show a gender difference. They look directly into the lenses of the camera and in that way communicate with the people. These are mostly close-up facial pictures, used with all kinds of small articles and news.

Female:

Jóhanna – smiling / mild face
Katrín – smiling
Kolbrún – smiling
Ásta Ragnheiður – smiling / mild face
Ragna – mild face

Male:

Steingrímur – mild face
Össur – mild face
Gylfi – mild face
Ögmundur – mild face /serious
Kristján – mild face / smiling

It does seem that the women are more aware of or in need of this personal act of a smile. Hirdman says that it interprets them as more easy going and unproblematic, as well as that looking directly into the camera represents personal closeness or character. Where is the underlying power here? Is this such a given fact for a woman to smile into the lens of the camera that she breaks the laws of the social reality if she doesn't, and therefore becomes deviant from the feminine social norm. The same goes for men and this serious or mild face, are they more attached to traditional masculine way of governing, being more serious and not in the need of smiling to the public in order to create some personal relation, but rather keeping more of a distance than the female politicians do.

8.3 Use of language

Metaphors are often used in the media, where journalists try to inspire their writings and embellish the text. Like the Canadian research by Gidengil and Everitt showed the language is often masculine, referring to politicians going into the battlefield of war or using knockout punches like in boxing tournaments. In the articles following the pictures analyzed there were not many metaphors or word phrases, it was more of a raw political news with lots of direct comments from the administrators. Some of the phrases that were used relate to old traditions

or sagas. One that was used for Steingrímur is *‘að ríða á vaðið’* which means to go first on the horse out into the river to see how deep it is and this saying goes back to the days when horses were the fastest way to travel. Another that was used about Jóhanna is *‘að leggjast undir feld’* which is to lay under a cover of fur to think thing through like the highest commander in Iceland did in the year 1000 when Iceland decided to take up the Christian religion. Those phrases cannot be gender related although it might be an act of courage to go first into the river; women also travelled on horseback in the old days. There were some direct comment from the politicians, one of the male politicians used *‘að fara upp á dekk að brjóta ísinn’* which means to go up to the deck of a ship and break the ice. That is something that possible can be related to masculine work methods since mostly men are fishermen, but nonetheless those were his words and not the journalists, although she/he put it as a headline. Another phrase came from a female politician who said the discussions in the parliament sometimes were like little boys trying to see who could pee the farthest. Again this was a direct comment from the politician.

When looking at the newspapers the days before the new government there was a highly gendered representation in MB of the new administrators in the government. Gylfi Magnússon was presented with the headline *‘úr fræðunum á vígvöllinn’* which means ‘from the academic field into the battlefield’, and an underlying headline that he has often ‘pointed the pen’ referring to his academic writings. The pen is sometimes related to the phallus, and when reading at the end of the article that he has five children the meaning of ‘often pointing the pen’ could be seen in a different light. The next article is about the new female administrators and is quite different (although for some reason they presented the wrong female professor it is nonetheless how they presented a female academic). The headline says *‘Sá heiminn í nýju ljósi eftir skúringarnar’* which means ‘saw the world in a different light after the scrubbing’ and the underlying headline says that ‘the probable minister of justice affairs is thought to be very hard working’ (appendix, pic:69).

In the article where the male politician is introduced, recent work and writings about the economical collapse are presented, his education, his academic work and that he spent a few summers in road construction work. In the article where the female politician is presented, we begin by reading that she got in touch with a different social status when working as a cleaning lady in Copenhagen when she was twenty years old, then her education, her life work and that she is the head of the law department at the University of Iceland. Hirdman says that words create meanings and pictures in our heads through the process of

visualization, and that these same pictures help to create social hierarchies of power. With this representation of the new ministers, will we then imagine him in his office writing and her on her knees scrubbing floors. Will the images that these words create direct us to old and worn out gender roles about the working housewife and a knowledge producing man?

Looking further into these two representations of the new ministers, her private life is more fully presented than his. The name of her husband and his job title are given, as well as that they have three children, love to travel in the summer and they have a home near the pond in Reykjavík. His private life details consist of the name of his wife and that they have five kids. Every aspect of these two articles show a gendered difference, connecting him to the battlefield and her to the scrubbing floors, that he has done some writing but she is hard working. His family is presented with the name of his wife and number of children while her family is presented in much more detail, i.e. the job title of her husband. This does support what van Zoonen talked about that female politicians receive attention to their personal life and families. This can be directly related to what already has been shown that female politicians seem to be more 'personal' than male politicians and are supposed to be soft, if they don't want the Iron lady title.

Also to be found in MB was a picture of Ragna Árnadóttir making her first speech in the parliament and the picture text says 'Jómruarræða' or 'Virginspeech' and then her name, new job title and what the speech was about. The word Jómfrú is used for a female virgin, 'hreinn sveinn' used for a male virgin but most likely that word would not be used for the first speech of Gylfi Magnússon, and most certainly not a reference to a male virgin. Referring to a woman in her fifties with this word is hardly appropriate, at least given the fact that the masculine form of this term wouldn't be used for a male politician, or any other man in the media.

Regarding the finger pointing or clenching a fist, very few pictures were found with those characteristics, mostly of Steingrímur who often seems to be portrayed with an angry look in the parliament.

9. Conclusion

It seems that Icelandic news media isn't far away from its Swedish counterpart when it comes to representation and gender differences. Although the photographic analyzing didn't show much of a power structure between male and female politicians, there were some issues there that need further attention. Postfeminism or remains of the patriarchal culture seem to have its effects within the Icelandic media as well as other European media, at least female participation in politics and governance is not reflected by the amount of female interviewees or pictures in the media. The make-over paradigm is clearly not unknown to Icelandic women, and the photographers did give us an interesting insight into that field. Having a picture taken is clearly different for women than it is for men. The women seem to smile more, communicate with the camera and the public that it interprets. They do care how their pictures come out, what is printed and how, as 'double-chin' example shows.

Going through the Foucauldian power theories I raised the question of whether the media can work as a repressive power force for female politicians. From what we can read about female politicians, and see from the empirical data, I really believe that the media can work as a repressive force. A possible new administrator, chairman of the law department at the University of Iceland, is presented with a headline talking about her scrubbing floors. On the same page the new male administrator is praised for entering the battlefield. That is really something that can negatively influence women and scare them away from entering into the public field of work. Women in politics seem to be seen as agents of change, and maybe this can literally be seen as a symbol for the changes that she was supposed to achieve, scrubbing away the financial crises since she was such a hard worker in the cleaning job.

Foucault says that we must not always see power as negatively productive and that power always calling for a resistance. Postfeminism may be a resistance against second and third wave feminism, but a force that works as a backlash towards gender equality must be considered as a negative power force. Even though the Icelandic newspapers come out as fairly gender equal when it comes to the visual representation in the photographs, there are some differences to be found. The intimacy, the personal relationship that we see between the readers and female politicians is not to be found at the same level between the readers and male politicians. It seem as the female politicians are considered softer, even more sentimental. The photographers and the male politician interviewed confirmed that there is at

least a tendency to treat them with more sensitivity than men. The female politician that was ill seems to be presented differently and more personally than the male politician who was also ill.

In the beginning two main questions were raised: are there any patterns to be found in how male and female politicians are photographed, and if so, do they show any forms of domination or oppression? Secondly, are there some culturally constructed power forms or flows within the newspapers that affect gender equality in Iceland? There was no clear pattern of domination or oppression to be found in the photographs that showed a gendered difference. The female politicians might be shown as more personal, more smiling and near the mother figure. That can hardly be called a form of oppression even though it might be influenced by remains from the patriarchal culture. It might however construct some cultural gender difference, that is, affect gender equality. If female politicians are used as symbols of powerlessness, as intimacy and personal relationships, the images can construct them as socially weaker than men. That can construct a negative power force, likely to affect the process of gender equality within the sphere that it operates.

An analysis like this is always limited and for further research a broader photographic analysis might be useful in casting a light on gendered differences within the Icelandic media. Focusing more on the female politicians, interviewing them to find out if they feel pressured or dominated in any way by the media, in relation to the postfeminist media culture, may also produce interesting results.

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Appendix 1



Jóhanna
Sigurðardóttir

Picture 1 Jóhanna, image often used in MB, close up with a mild face



Ósátt við ákvörðun Davíðs

Picture 2 Headline: Not satisfied with David's decision. Extremely close up shot, but printed as a small picture - MB



Picture 3 Three politicians, all showed similar and these small pictures quite usual with articles, parallel eye contact - MB



Morgunblaðið/GoII

Vinsældir Fylgi Samfylkingarinnar
hefur aukist um sex prósentustig.

Samfylking-
in stærst

Picture 4 Jóhanna and Ingibjörg - MB

Jóhanna tilbúin til formennsku



Picture 5 Jóhanna ready to take the lead, extremely close up but printed in a small column - MB



Picture 6 Jóhanna in the parliament – FB



Picture 7 Jóhanna ready to take the lead, extremely close up – FB



Picture 8 Jóhanna, preset take and smiling – FB



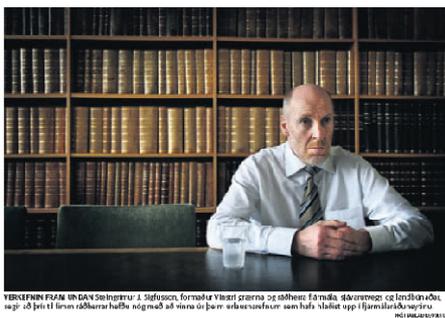
Picture 9 Jóhanna, picture often used in FB



Picture 10 Steingrímur in the parliament, angry look – FB



Picture 11 Steingrímur in the parliament, angry look – FB



Picture 12 Steingrímur in his office, serious look – FB



STEINGRÍMUR J.
SIGFÚSSON

Picture 13 Steingrímur, mild face - FB



STEINGRÍMUR J.
SIGFÚSSON

Picture 14 Steingrímur, smiling - FB



Picture 15 Steingrímur – FB



Picture 16 Steingrímur, used at least 17 times in MB February and Marsh, mild face/serious



Picture 17 Steingrímur, smiling – MB



Picture 18 Steingrímur – MB



Stafa máli Jóhanna Sigurðardóttir og Steingrímur J. Sigfússon greiðu fréttamönnum frá verkefnum ríkisgjafnaðar/Pjöðnæmingahátíðar.

Picture 19 Jóhanna and Steingrímur in a press conference – MB



Leiðtogar ríkisstjórnarmar Jóhanna Sigurðardóttir og Steingrímur J. Sigfússon segja nálg máli koma frá ríkisstjórn til meðferðar Alþingis á næstunni.

Picture 20 Jóhanna and Steingrímur in a press conference the only picture found where he is looking at her - MB



Jóhanna Sigurðardóttir

Steingrímur J. Sigfússon

Picture 21 Jóhanna and Steingrímur, serious leaders – MB



MÁLID KYNNT Forsætis- og fjármálaráðherra kynntu í gær áform sín um að opna á útgreiðslu séreignarsparnaðar.

FRETTAHLAENGI/PIETUR

Picture 22 Jóhanna and Steingrímur – FB



HÁLSTAU Steingrímur J. Sigfússon tók að sér að hrýta bindishnútt fyrir Jóhönnu Sigurðardóttur. FRÉTTA BLAÐIÐ/STEFÁN

Átakið Karlar og krabbamein:

Allir ráðherrar fengu bindi

HEILBRIGÐISMÁL Allir ráðherrar í ríkisstjórninni fengu þrífrit bindi og slaufur í gærmorgun í tilefni af átakinu Karlmenn og krabbamein, sem Krabbameinsfélag Íslands stendur fyrir.

Það var Guðrún Agnarsdóttir, forstjóri Krabbameinsfélagsins, sem afhenti ráðherrunum hálstauði. Jóhanna Sigurðardóttir forsætisráðherra tók við gjöfinni og hrósaði Krabbameinsfélaginu fyrir átakið, sem hófst á sunnudag.

Átakinu er ætlað að fá karlmenn til að huga að heilsu sinni og læra að bera kennsl á fyrstu einkenni krabbameins. - bj

Picture 23 Steingrímur helping Jóhanna with the men's tie – FB



BLAÐAMANNAFUNDUR UNDIRBÚINN Jóhanna Sigurðardóttir forsætisráðherra sagði ríkisstjórna samstarfið ganga vel og verkáætlun samkvæmt áætlun. Hún var þó sjálf nokkuð slöpp af kvæfi. FRÉTTA BLAÐIÐ/PIETUR

Picture 24 Jóhanna getting make-up before the press conference



Picture 25 Jóhanna and Steingrímur



Morgunblaðið/Heiddi
Menntamálaráðherra Katrín Jakobsdóttir opnaði Snöru í gær.

Picture 26 Katrín Jakobsdóttir opening a website - MB



Katrín
Jakobsdóttir

Picture 27 Katrín Jakobsdóttir – MB

urborg rita undir viljayfirlýsingu um byggi Forsenda yfirtöku Austurhafnar-TR á ver



Morgunblaðið/Krístinn
Afram Stefía Hornmansson frá Austurböfn, Katrín Jakobsdóttir og Hanna Birna Kristjánsdóttir voru hýr á brá í gestastofu tónlistarhússins í gær.

Picture 28 Katrín Jakobsdóttir – MB



Morgunblaðið/Árni Sæberg
Katrín Listfengur ráðherra

Picture 29 Katrín Jakobsdóttir , with this picture the article referred her speaking in the parliament but she is not shown in that serious surroundings – MB



- KATRÍN
| JAKOBSDÓTTIR

Picture 30 Katrín Jakobsdóttir – FB



RÍÐI OG BORG Katrín Jakobsdóttir menntamálaráðherra og Hanna Birna Kristjánsdóttir bo gestgjafi tillyntu, um áframhaldandi framkvæmdir við Tónlistarhús í gær.
FRÉTTIÐ/PIETUR

Picture 31 Katrín Jakobsdóttir - FB



DÖMNEFND UM SAMFLAGSVERBLAUN FRETIBLAÐSINS Hildur Petersen, Elíði Vigrísson, Guðjón Fíðriksson, Steinunn Stoklásdóttir og Katrín Jakobsdóttir.

Picture 32 Katrín Jakobsdóttir - FB



Picture 33 Katrín Jakobsdóttir - FB



Picture 34 Ragna Árnadóttir – FB



Picture 35 Ragna Árnadóttir – FB



Margrétalíki Árna Sveinberg
Jónfrúrræðan Ragna Árnadóttir, dóms- og kirkjunálaráðgjafa, mælti fyrir frumvarpi um greiðsluábyrgun. Frumvarpið var keimlíkt öðru sem Ebjörn Bjarnason mælti fyrir um, en það var þó um skuldaábyrgun.

Picture 36 Ragna Árnadóttir , the virgin speech – MB



Ragna Árnadóttir

Picture 37 Ragna Árnadóttir – MB



HÆTTUMAT heir Valur Ingimundarson, formaður starfshóps sem vann áhættumat fyrir Ísland, og Össur Skarphéðinsson utanríkisráðherra kynntu helstu niðurstöður hópsins í utanríkisráðuneytinu í gær. FRÉTTAHLAÐIÐ/GVA

Picture 38 Össur Skarphéðinsson - FB



MISSKILNINGUR Össur segir misskilning hjá Sigmundi Davíð að Samfylkingin stöndi fyrir rögshefferð gegn honum. FRÉTTAHLAÐIÐ/GVA

Picture 39 Össur Skarphéðinsson – FB



ÖSSUR SKARPHÉÐINSSON THORVALD STOLTENBERG

Picture 40 Össur Skarphéðinsson – FB



Össur Skarphéðinsson

Picture 41 Össur Skarphéðinsson – MB



Picture 42 Össur Skarphéðinsson - MB



**ÖGMUNDUR
JÓNASSON**

Picture 43 Ögmundur Jónasson – FB



NIÐURSKURÐUR Ögmundur Jónasson heilbrigðisráðherra (fyrir miðju) kynnti niðurskurðaráform á þremur heilbrigðisstofnunum, ásamt fulltrúum starfshóps sem fjallaði um málið, í Hafnarborg í Hafnarfirði í gær. **FRÉTTILAGIÐ/VALLU**

Picture 44 Ögmundur Jónasson, not so unsimilar to the Jesus last supper – FB



Picture 45 Ögmundur Jónasson – MB



Lakkinn Heilbrigðisráðgjafi kynnir í gær nýja reglugerð sem ætlað er að lækka lyfjakostnað um milljarð.

Picture 46 Ögmundur Jónasson – MB



GYLFI MAGNÚSSON Blaðamaður FT virðist hafa misskiilið viðskiptaráðherra þegar Gylfi sagði íslensku ríkisstjórnina ekki hafa plön um málaferli gegn breska ríkinu. FRÉTTAHLAÐI/ANTON

Picture 47 Gylfi Magnússon – FB



Picture 48 Gylfi Magnússon – FB



Picture 49 Gylfi Magnússon – MB



**Kolbrún
Halldórsdóttir**

Picture 54 Kolbrún Halldórsdóttir – MB



VINATENGLI Ásta Ragnheiður Jóhannesdóttir félagsráðgjafi og Nancy Allan, atvinnuáráðgjafi Manitoba, undirrituðu samskiptaleggð í Þjóðmenningarhúsinu í gær. FRÉTTIÐ/ALMENN

Picture 55 Ásta Ragnheiður Jóhannesdóttir – FB



**Ásta Ragnheiður
Jóhannesdóttir**

Picture 56 Ásta Ragnheiður Jóhannesdóttir - MB



Ástguðlaug Ární Sveinberg
Atvinna í Kanada Ásta R. Jóhannesdóttir og Nancy Allan undirrituðu samskiptaleggð um samvinnu Íslands og Manitoba í Þjóðmenningarhúsinu í gær.

Picture 57 Ásta Ragnheiður Jóhannesdóttir – MB



Ásta R.
Jóhannesdóttir

Picture 58 Ásta Ragnheiður Jóhannesdóttir



Samstarfið í óvissu

Picture 59 Geir leaving politics - FB

Óvissa í stjórnárum og kosningar framundan

Geir hættir í stjórnárum

Geir H. Haarde lætur af embætti formanns Sjálfstæðisflokksins á landsfundi í lok mars. Hann gengst undir lækniáægerð í útlöndum innan nokkurra daga. Geir vill alþingiskosningar 9. maí og leggur áherslu á að ríkisstjórnin starfi fram að þeim.

„Við reglubundna lækniáægerð á Landspítalanum í síðustu viku kom í ljós hjá mér lítil æxli í vélinda. Síðastliðinn þriðjudag var mér greint frá því að rannsóknir hefðu leitt í ljós að æxlið er illkynja.“
Á þessum orðum hófst yfirlýsing sem Geir H. Haarde, forsætisráðgjafi og formaður Sjálfstæðisflokksins, flutti blaðamönnum í beinni útsendingu úrvarps og sjónvarps í Valhöll í hádegjunni í gær. Óhætt er að segja að fram að því

morgun sagðist Geir ætla að ræða við blaðamenn klukkan hálf elft. Reiknað var með að hann myndi flytja pólitísk tíðindi. Sem hann gerði. En þau féllu í skugga fregra af veikindunum.
Geir upplýsti að hann muni gangast undir áægerð erlendis um eða skömmu eftir næstu mánaðamót. Hann kvæði ljáttýsni á að sigrast á veikindunum enda segðu lækningar batanorður ágeitar og að hann gæti reykst þess að halda fullra starfsorku á næstu mánaðum. Þó væri



TÍÐINDIN FLUTT Geir H. Haarde upplýsti um veikindi sín og brottfarir úr stjórnárum á fundi með blaðamönnum í Valhöll í gær.

Picture 60 Geir leaving politics - FB



Picture 62 Geir and Ingibjörg leaving politics - FB



Picture 63 Geir leaving politics - MB

Geir lætur af formennsku



GEIR H. Haarde formennsku stjórnaðaríðkanna fæðduka samant og þess í öðru lag. Svænt rannsóttu samant íðmóðum þess fram á þess daga í gegnum. Hægt er að sjá hvernig Spillandi útlök og Samfylgjar munu hittast í dag og kveðgar fólkanna í ljóðinu. Þá mun það skjást hvort flestar þeir hafa verið.

Picture 64 Geir leaving politics – MB

18 Stjórnarmyndun

Nýir ráðherrar í ríkisstjórn?

Þó að ekki sé endanlega búið að mynda minnihlutastjórn Samfylkingar og Vinstri grænna stefnir allt í að fimm verði ráðherrar sem ekki hafa tekið sæti í ríkisstjórn áður, þar af þrír þingmenn Vinstri grænna og tveir sérfræðingar úr Háskóla Íslands.

Úr fræðunum á vígvöllinn

Gylfi Magnússon hefur oft mundað pennann

Eftir Kristján Jónsson
kjon@mbi.is



Ráðherra Gylfi Magnússon á leið í ríkisstjórn.

GYLFI Magnússon, dósent við viðskiptafræðideild Háskóla Íslands, hefur verið tíu gestur í fjölmörgum söðustu vikur og mánuði og nýlega var hann meðal ræðumanna á tífundum á Austurvelli. Hann tekur nú við embætti viðskiptaráðherra í minnihlutastjórn Samfylkingarinnar og Vinstri grænna. Heimildarmenn minnast þess ekki að Gylfi hafi stutt opinberlega nokkurn stjórnsmáladólk. Hins vegar benda þeir á að Valgerður Sveinisdóttir hafi í ráðherratöku sinni beðið skipað hann árið 2005 formann Stjórn Samkeppnisferilsins og árið árið í nefnd um stefnumótun íslensks viðskiptaunhverfis. Lesendur verða síðan að gera upp við sig hvort þar með sé leyflegt að draga nýja ráðherrann í lík. Framsóknarfólksins. Gylfi fræðist í Reykjavík 1966, hann varð stúdent frá Menntaskólanum í Reykjavík

1986, lauk kandidatsprófi við viðskipta- og hagfræðideild HI 1990 og doktorsprófi í hagfræði við Yale-háskóla í Bandaríkjunum 1997. Fjallaði doktorsritgerðin um byggðalögreglu og byggðastefnu á Íslandi. Gylfi hefur einnig ritað pistla í Morgunblaðið og brugðist ljósi hagfræðinnar á margvisleg mál. Einn þeirra var Hallinn á júlíum 1996, þar rakti hann rannsóknir bandarískis prófessors á heildararkostnaðinum af því að oft væru gefnar jólagjafir sem viðtakandanum þætti lítið til koma. Gjafir færu oft í stigum.

Gylfi vann ýmis störf með námi, segist á heimasíðu sinni hafa stundað „við ýmsar skóflur“ hjá Vegagerðinni 1982-1985 (bætur samt við að þetta sé ekki satt, mönnum hafi verið haldið að verki) og var einnig blaðamaður á Morgunblaðinu sumrin 1986-1990. Hann hefur verið kennari við HI frá 1996, hefur ritað mikið um fræðigreini sína og efni er tengjast henni og er vísinnell fyrirlesari. Eigin kona Gylfa er Hrafnhildur Stefánsdóttir og eiga þau fimm börn.

Í HNOTSKURN

» Því er hins vegar ekki þannig farið að laundi sé gjaldþrota óta að ríkið sé gjaldþrota, það er ekki þannig, en það eru allmörg innlend hlutfélag og þar með taldir bankarnir í reynd teknlega sé gjaldþrota.

Gylfi Magnússon í samtali við RUV 3.10. 2008

» Ég held að það væri mjög óeysnasamlegt að bregðast við þessu með harkalegum niðurskurði á ríkisútgjöldum eða með mikilli hækkun skatta. Það myndi gera lítt verra.

GM í samtali við Mbl 3.11. 2008

» Það var greinilega ríkjandi hugmyndaræði að Seðlabankinn og FME gætu ekki að hefja bankana. Stofnanarnar voru eins konar bakbjór bankanna fremur en varðhundur. Og því fór sem fór.

GM samtali við Mbl 8.1. 2009

» Það hlýtur að vera einn eðlilegur líður í enduruppbyggingunni að þeir sem voru við stjórnvöllum þegar skiltan strandaði stigi til hlíðar og hleypistöðum að.

GM samtali við Mbl 18.1. 2009

Þingmaður í 14 ár en aldrei í ríkisstjórn

ÓGMUNDUR Jónsson, vaxtanalegur heilbrigðisráðherra, er fæddur 17. júlí 1948.



Hann lauk stúdentsprófi frá MR og síðan MA-prófi í sagnfræði og stjórnsmálefni við Eðlingarháskóla í Skotlandi árið 1974. Sama ár kvæntist hann Valgerði Andrésdóttur, eigin konu sinni, og eiga þau þrjú börn. Ógmundur hefur m.a. starfað sem grunn- og háskólakeppari og fréttamaður. Þá hefur hann gegnt formennsku BSBR frá árinu 1988. Hann hefur setið á þingi frá 1995, fyrst fyrir Alþýðubandalag og óháða en fyrir Vinstrihreyfinguna frá 1999, auk sæta í ýmsum nefndum.

Verður yngsti ráðherrann í komandi ríkisstjórn

KATRÍN Jakobsdóttir, vaxtanalegur menntamálaráðherra, er fædd í Reykjavík 1. febrúar 1976 og varð stúdent frá MS árið 1998. Þá lauk hún BA-prófi í íslensku við HI með frönsku sem aukagrein árið 1999 og sótar meistaraþráff í bókmenntum 2004. Síðan hefur Katrín m.a. starfað sem málfráðunautur RUV, við dagskrárgerð, ritstjórnarstjóri og kemsli.



Hún var varaþingmaður fyrir Reykjavík-urlistann 2002-8 og hefur m.a. átt sæti í fræðsluráði og verið formaður samgöngunefndar Reykjavíkur. Katrín er gift Gunnari Erni Sigvaldssyni og eiga þau tvo syni

Úr leiklistinni í þingstjórn og nú í ríkisstjórn

KOLBRÚN Halldórsdóttir, tilvaxandi umhverfisskipulagsráðgjafi, er fædd 31. júlí 1955 í Reykjavík. Hún lauk vaxtanaþráff frá VI 1973 og birtararþráff frá Leiklistarháskóla Íslands 1978. Að því loknu starfði hún sem leikari og hvíslari hjá Leikfélagi Reykjavíkur, en auk þess hefur hún m.a. unnið sem dagskrárgerðarmáður, framkvæmdastjóri, ritstjóri og stjórnandi stórra menningarviðburða. Kolbrún hefur setið á þingi fyrir Vinstri grænna frá 1999 og hefur m.a. setið í umhverfisleifunefnd, auðlindanefnd, vatnalaganefnd, Þingvallanefnd o.fl. Hún er gift Ágústi Péturssyni og eiga þau tvo börn.



Sá heiminn í nýju ljósi eftir skúringarnar

Líklegur dómsmálaráðherra þykir mjög dugleg

Eftir Baldur Arnarson
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VAXTANALEGUR dómsmálaráðherra kynntist misjafri þjóðfélagsstöðu á eigin höfðum þegar hún starfaði við ræstingir í Kaupmannabófn veturinn eftir áskriftir úr MR voru 1985, árið sem nokkurra ára líklegu mennskuférlí höfót.

Þjórg Thorarensen var þá um tveitugt og hafði sóst námið vel í menntaskóla, þar sem hún var ári á undan jafnöldrum sínum. Þrátt fyrir götan námsrástingur lokaði hún sig ekki af því loknum heldur lét sitt ekk eftir higgja í félagslífinu, þar sem hún var hrókur allra fagnadur og upptækjassón í góða vana hópi. Svona lýsir María Theilji, forstömuáður Lagastofnunar Háskóla Íslands, Þjórgu á yngri árum, og bendir á að fræðilegur metnaður Þjargar hafi komið snemma í ljós þegar hún gerðist ritstjóri Tílfjótis, tímarís laga-

nema í HI, þaðan sem hún útskrifaðist með kandidatsprófi í lögfræði árið 1991.

Þaðan lá leiðin til Eðlingar þar sem hún útskrifaðist með meistaraþráff í lögum frá Eðlingarháskóla í nóvember 1993, nánar tiltekið í stjórnáskipunar- og samantvöðunarlögfræði, alþjóðlegum mannréttindum og stjórnskipulagi Evrópusambandsins.

Deildarforseti lagadeildar

Að loknu framhaldsnámi hóf Þjórg stundakemslu við lagadeild Háskóla Íslands, þar sem hún er nú deildarforseti og prófessor.

Elvira Méndez Pinedo, lektor í Evrópurátti við lagadeild Háskóla Íslands, telur undir með Maríu að Þjórg sé mjög þægileg í samvinnu. „Hún er yfirmaður minn og ég er mjög, mjög sátt við hana. Hún er einstaklega kurteis og leggur sig fram um að mismuna ekki fólk. Það er alltaf hægt að banka hjá henni með hitt og þetta. Hún tekur hluti mjög alvarlega og er



Morgunblaðið/GaB

A skrifstofunni Björg þykir afar iðin í starfi.

einkar dugleg. Sem kollegi Þjargar hef ég ekkert nema gott um hana að segja,“ segir Elvira. Þjórg er gift Markísi Sigurbjörnssyni hestaréttardómara og eiga þau þrjú börn. Ferðalög eru þeirra yndi og nota þau sumrin í gjarnan til ferðalaga innanlands. Þau eiga heimili við Tjörnina í Reykjavík.

„Eins og að komast loksins í landsliðið“

Jóhann Ingi Gunnarsson sálfræðingur segir ánægju VG yfir því að komast í ríkisstjórn skiljanlega

Eftir Sigtrygg Sigtryggsson
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ÞAD hefur ekki farið framhjá neinum að þingmenn Vinstri grænna og almennt flokksmenn hafa verið óvenju brosmildir undanfarið, enda flokkurinn að komast til áhrifa í ríkisstjórn í fyrsta skipti í 10 ára sögu sinni. Gleðin kemur vel fram á myndum í blöðum og sjónvarpi og minnir óneitanlega á steninguna sem myndast hefur nokkurn sinnum í þegarastjórn Reykjavíkur undanfarið ár, þegar nýr meirihlutar hafa verið að taka við völdum. Jafnframt er áberandi hve gleði Samfylkingarfólks er hófstílltari, enda það að koma úr ríkisstjórn. Jóhann Ingi Gunnarsson sálfræðingur segist ekki vita til þess að rannsóknir hafi farið fram erlendis á viðbrögðum fólks þegar það eygir þann möguleika að fá mikil völd. „Allir stjórnmálamenn hafa sagt að þeir vilji völd, að



Morgunblaðið/Arni Sæberg

Bros og aftur bros Forystumenn Vinstri grænna hafa ekki getað leynð gleði sinni með væntanlega stjórnarþáttöku.

þeir vilji hafa áhrif. Því er gleði Vinstri grænna skiljanleg,“ segir Jóhann Ingi. Stjórnarandstaðan á Alþingi hafi lítil áhrif en ráð, berravald á Íslandi sé mjög sterk. Því hljóti þingmenn VG að hafa verið orðnir mjög óþolinmóðir að komast í stjórn. „Ég get myndað mér að þegar fólk hefur lengi stæði á hlöðarlínunni og telur sig eiga erindi inn á leikvanginn sé þetta eins og að vera loksins valinn í landsliði í þróttum,“ segir Jóhann Ingi.

Fyrsti leikurinn gegn heimsmeisturum

„Þó ert búinn að efa vel og telur þig öflugan leikmann en kemst aldrei að. Það eru aðrir fyrir í líönu, öflugir leikmenn. Ég hef líka tekið eftir því að fólk reynir að leyndu gleðinni svaltíð svo þetta verði ekki Þórðargleði eins og stundum er sagt. Enda er þetta ekki létt verk sem bíður ráðherranna, svona eins og að spila fyrsta leikinn gegn ríkjandi heimsmeisturum.“

Jóhann heldur áfram hlöngumánu þí fjórðitt og segir að það að vera stjórnarandstaðingur á Alþingi sé eins og að spila alltaf í íslensku deildinni og fá aldrei tekið eftir að spila gegn sterkari liöum. „Þú ert alltaf að tala um sömu hlutina og hefur engin áhrif. Ef þú fengir tilböð frá erlendu liöi myndir þú væntanlega fyllast óstjórnlegri gleði. Þetta eru bara eðlileg viðbrögð,“ segir hann.

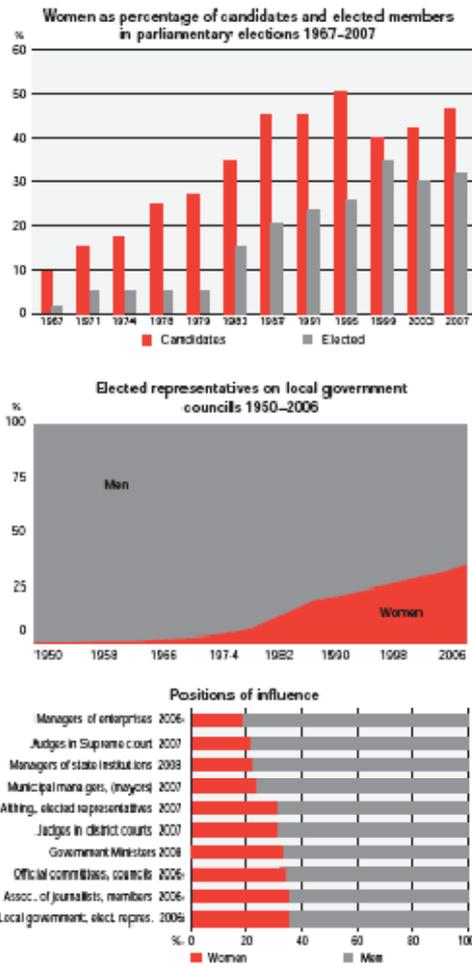
„Þau hlakka eðlilega til að sýna hvað í þeim býr. Svá á eftir að koma í ljós hveru öflug þau eru undir álagi og í samvinnu og þá fyrst kemur í ljós úr hverju þau eru gerð. Öll verbum við á öllum tímum að óska nýrri stjórn velfarnaðar því þá er allra hágur.“

Jóhann kveðst sjá líkindi með fjóráttaáttunnun og þingmönnum. „Þjóttamenn takast á í leik en eru vinnir þess á milli. Mér sýnist það sama eiga við á Alþingi. Meint takast á í umræðum í þinginu en eru svo vinnir þess á milli.“

Picture 69 The new administers presented. The male administer from the academy into the battlefield and the female administer that saw the world in a new light after all the scrubbing.

Appendix 2

Influence and power



Information from the official Center of equality in Iceland – Jafnréttisstofa, jafnretti.is