WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP AND EMPOWERMENT CONFERENCE 2015

1-3 MARCH 2015

BANGKOK

THAILAND

CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

Tomorrow People Organization

Dušana Vukasovića 73, Belgrade, Serbia

http://www.tomorrowpeople.org

Proceedings of international conference:

"WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP AND EMPOWERMENT CONFERENCE 2015"

Table of contents:

A Critical Analysis of Leading and Learning	Carroll Byrne	Griffith University, Australia
Beyond breaking the silence of child sexual abuse: when speaking the truth is not enough	Mora Fernandez	La Casa Mandarina, Mexico
Building Potential Character of Woman Leadership	Rosalina Pertiwi Gultom	Sriwijaya University, Indonesia
Connections between Participation in Women's Studies Courses, Well-Being, and Activism	Jennifer J. Thomas	Wilkes University, USA
Enhancing women's participation in rural water supply	Dewi Dimyati Aloysius Masi Ika Meidy Deviarni	Polytechnic State of Pontianak, Indonesia
Exploring Career Opportunities for Diverse Women in South Africa with special reference to Aviation: Life Orientation Perspectives	Mabatho Sedibe	University of Johannesburg, South Africa
In and out of our own skins: confronting and overcoming obstacles to men's and women's mental constructs in the spheres of power and leadership, via the context of 3 major '-isms' –sexism, ageism and racism	Dr. Keith Akiva Lehrer	York University, Toronto, Canada
The Doha Paradox: Disparity between Educated and Working Qatari Women	Tehreem Asghar Mariam Bengali Rumsha Shahzad	Georgetown University School of Foreign Service, Qatar
The journey from fashion blogger to personal brand entrepreneur: A perspective from co-creation with audience	Yu-hsin Wang	National Cheng Kung University, Tainan, Taiwan
Where are the women? : An examination of local Malaysian media in 13th General Election	Dr Ummu Atiyah Ahmad Zakuan	University Utara Malaysia, Malaysia

Index of authors:

A Critical Analysis of Leading and Learning

Carroll Byrne

It is evident when researching *Leading Learning* that as a result of increasing global interest in assessment results, contemporary educational leaders are expected to perform considerably different duties to those their counterparts did, as little as two decades ago. The introduction of worldwide examinations such as PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) in 1997 by the OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) involving 70 countries was believed to provide a powerful tool for shaping government policy. This instrument and others like it, which have now proliferated the educational sector have resulted in an expansion of the roles of 21st Century educational leaders. The contemporary leader is not only responsible for the day to day, machinations of their school but the holistic wellbeing of staff and pupils as well as the academic outcomes of students in their care. Leadership in 2014 is considered one of the defining factors in the last of this list, student outcomes. Effective leadership is being touted as the integral factor in how students perform.

With concepts such as effective governance, teacher quality, leading learning and student achievement under increasing scrutiny by academics to elucidate what effective leaders do, in order to successfully impact on student outcomes. It is necessary to critically analyse which of these leadership styles I have appropriated and how these qualities will impact on the staff that I manage and more notably the affect student academic outcomes.

Smyth (1989) states that; "*one of the problems with a construct like leadership is that although it may have some meaning in the management sciences it is difficult to transport it into schools in a way that makes much sense*" (Smyth, 1989, p.179). Smyth also maintains that: "*The notion of one group (the leaders) who exercise hegemony and domination overanother (the followers) is, in a sense, an anti-educational one*" (ibid). Unfortunately, however, for contemporary leaders it is purported by bureaucracy that modern principals do exercise hegemony and that their *predominant influence* and leadership capabilities play an integral role in the outcomes of students which has led to a rise in the research into what constitutes effective leadership.

When examining leadership Dempster (2009) states that it is insufficient for contemporary principals to be able to run a school, '*financially and legally efficient*' (Dempster, 2009, p.1). Dempster (2009) also claims in his article *Leadership for Learning: A framework synthesising recent research* that there is a necessity for some kind of framework that links leadership and learning and that;

> "*The necessity for a framework responds to increasing concerns amongst school leaders that their work has been dominated by management concerns rather than what it takes to improve student learning*" (Dempster, 2009, p.2).

Too much time spent on managerial demands and not enough focus on growing student achievement and learning is a serious concern that current school leaders face. It could be argued that contemporary leaders in educational institutions need to become more reliant on the human resources at their disposal; the teachers. There is also a need to facilitate opportunities for these individuals to develop as teacher leaders in order to share their increased work load. This of course is not an easy task for many principals who have been working within an administrative hegemony model for many years.

It is apparent when studying much of the research that it is time for all educational establishments to move away from the hierarchical status quo; the, "*heroic leader*" (Robinson, 2007, p.5); a term coined by Robinson (2007), towards a more distributive, pedagogical form of leadership. When discussing optimum leadership, Crowther (2002) removes the onus of control from the hierarchical structure which until recently was considered the norm, to a more distributive model of teacher as stakeholder and leader. This is clearly in keeping with my leadership style which tends to be distributive and pedagogic in nature and focuses on the development of productive and cooperative relationships. I concur with Fullan (2011) as cited by MacNeill, Cavanagh and Silcox (2009) that, *"..in people-based organizations(sic) (such as schools) relationships are the key to successful change"* (Fullan, 2011, p.5).

As documented in my pedagogical purpose statement, interpersonal relationships play a major role in my pedagogical practice and I am cognizant that I work as part of a team and need to value the members in the Creative Arts department for everyone to reap the benefits. This leads me to another concept I firmly believe in; the notion of the teacher as shareholder/ stakeholder. When teachers are nurtured and professionally developed and given autonomy to become leaders in their classrooms, their students benefit. I would go as far as to say that if we could float our schools on the share market and give teachers actual stocks in their school, student achievements would grow exponentially. When teachers are given leadership responsibilities and have a vested interest in the outcomes for all students the results are tangible.

It could be argued that in the three schools I have worked in that there have been a number of pedagogues that have lost their enthusiasm for the profession due to a lack of vested interest in the outcomes. When confronted with hierarchical leadership many teachers found that they were marginalised as stakeholders in the decisions that were made when it came to student achievement. I agree with Crowther (2002) when he maintains that;

"*a new paradigm of the teaching profession is needed, one that recognizes(sic)both the capacity of the profession to provide desperately needed school revitalization(sic) and the striking potential of teachers to provide new forms of leadership in schools and communities*"(Crowther, 2002, p,3).

and that,

"*Teacher leadership occurs most readily in supportive organisational environments. But environments that support and nurture teacher leadership are not endemic to many schools*" (ibid, 2002, p.11).

I would like to think that I offer a supportive environment for my staff to work, develop and grow their practice through collegial alliances based on mutual respect. Crowther (2002) claims that alliances are important in order to create opportunities that may otherwise be overlooked, citing Rosabeth Kanter (1994) who asserts that, " *like romances the formation of alliances rests largely on hopes and dreams – what might be possible if certain opportunities are pursued*" (Crowther, 2002, p.95).

Crowther (2002) also states that the teacher leaders he observed in his research exhibited a hands-on aptitude to construct alliances and networks in many forms, thereby producing the creation of new ideas, dreams and opportunities. Adding that teacher

leadership is well-suited to the post-industrial world, "*where hierarchy in organizational(sic) relationships will decrease in importance*" (Crowther, 2002, p.16). Again I would hazard a guess that this will not sit well with many principals and educational leaders that have held the onus of control for a considerable amount of time; however, when I contemplate my own pedagogical purpose and practice this current shift in paradigm resonates with my leadership goals.

This is in keeping with the recommendations made by Temperley (2011) who reports on the need for contemporary educational leaders to take responsibility for creating the conditions that motivate and optimise opportunities for teachers. Temperley (2011) asserts that leaders are fundamental in the optimum promotion of engagement, learning and wellbeing of the students in their classrooms. In her paper: *A background paper to inform the development of a national professional development framework for teachers and school leaders,* Temperley (2011) presents a framework to guide the professional learning and development of school leaders and teachers throughout Australia.

AITSL (Australian Institute for Teaching and School Leadership) also states that; "*The knowledge and skills that underpin quality teaching are complex and sophisticated. Australia's educators are increasingly aware that – with the contextual issues outlined above and a rapidly developing knowledge base about the nature of learning, professional learning and improving student outcomes* (Dumont, Istance & Benavides, 2010; Timperley,2011) – *engagement in professional learning and development is no longer optional*" (Timperley,

2011, p.3). I concur with Temperley (2011) with the fact that professional learning and development of educators is no longer optional and educational leaders need to be the instigators of this shift.

Louis, Leithwood, Wahlstrom and Anderson (2010) agree in their six year study on, *Successful Educational Leadership* indicating that:

"*comparable agreement is also evident about the contribution of leadership to the implementation of virtually all initiatives aimed at improving student learning and the quality of schools*" (Louis, Leithwood, Wahlstrom & Anderson, 2010, p. 7).

Louis et al. (2010) discuss the two core functions of leadership: *Providing direction* and *Exercising influence,* maintaining that,

"leadership is all about organizational(sic) improvement; more specifically it is about establishing agreed-upon and worthwhile directions for "said: organization(sic) and doing what it takes to prod and support it to move in those directions" (Louis, Leithwood, Wahlstrom & Anderson, 2010, p. 7).

If leaders provide the two functions of *Providing Direction and Exercising Influence,* it is argued that there will be a direct correlation with stability and improvement. In my current pedagogical practice which appears to be closely aligned with Robinson's (2007) dimensions of leadership, it could be argued that I already *provide direction* and *exercise influence* on my team, while meeting the expectations of Robinson's (2007) Dimension five: *Ensuring an Orderly and Supportive Environment.*

One of the fundamental premises of my pedagogical purpose is to provide a supportive and orderly environment for the Creative Arts' team members, because I want them to feel valued. The Visual Art, Drama and Dance teachers as well as teachers' aides under my purview have worked on establishing and fostering an environment of collegiality and respect over the last **seven years.** The department did not operate in this manner prior to my appointment to the position of Head of Creative Arts. There were a number of issues with a disruptive staff member who bullied and harangued other team members in one particular subject area. This became a departmental issue that needed to be dealt with. When this was resolved, the Creative Arts team needed to band together to forge a new direction, in terms of how we wanted to organise our work environment. This was identified as one of support and collegiality which we have worked towards ever since.

As I am striving to be a distributive leader I place a lot of emphasis on productive and effective relationships with colleagues and students in order to give teachers the opportunity to have control in their classrooms, developing their teacher leadership skills. Crowther's (2002) view of synergistic leadership that yielded exceptional results for the focus school, Greenhill's State High is extremely interesting because I have stated that the fundamental premise of my pedagogical purpose as a leader is to collaborate with my team without stifling their individual leadership skills. It is also a goal of my pedagogical practice to nurture each individual's potential as a teacher leader as it is not possible for me to be an expert in every subject area in my department.

Crowther (2002) in his idealistic presentation of the need to develop teacher leaders states that;

"a new paradigm of the teaching profession is needed, one that recognizes(sic) both the capacity of the profession to provide desperately needed school revitalization(sic) and the striking potential of teachers to provide new forms of leadership in schools and communities" (Crowther, 2002, p.3)., again resonating with my pedagogical purpose as I cannot stress enough the importance of quality teachers in classrooms in Australia.

Hargreaves (2006) concurs using this excellent analogy about the need for educational leaders to provide students with effective teachers, which can only happen if teachers are professionally developed as pedagogues and leaders, with the principal having a vested interest in what is occurring in the classrooms in their school.

"Like an excellent meal, deep, sustaining learning requires wholesome ingredients, a rich and varied menu, caring preparation, and pleasing presentation. The primary responsibility of all educational leaders is to sustain this kind of learning" (Hargreaves, 2006. p.27).

"There is no point in sustaining learning that is trivial or that disappears once it has been tested. Sustainable leadership fully understands the nature and process of student learning, engages directly and regularly with learning and teaching in classrooms, and promotes learning among other adults in order to find continuing ways to improve and expand the learning of students (Hargreaves, 2006,p.27).

Upon further scrutiny of my pedagogical purpose it is evident that I too, like Crowther have a fairly idealistic vision of the type of leader I would like to be. In my optimal world all teachers, middle managers and senior leadership teams would have a vested interest in the outcomes of all students across the socio-economic divide. Utopia, to me would see all teachers striving to develop their pedagogy in order to create innovative, experientially engaging opportunities in which students make meaning of contemporary curriculum in order to achieve successful outcomes.

Crowther (2002) in T*eachers as Leaders: Emergence of a New Paradigm* presents, "*a view of educational leadership that is idealistic, realistic, and suited to the complex needs of school communities in a rapidly changing world*" (Crowther, 2002, p.5). This vision once more appears to align with my leadership paradigm giving me some hope that I am not alone in my idealistic, distributive view of the way forward for educational leadership and teacher leaders.

Crowther (2002) sums this up stating that,

"Teacher leadership facilitates principled action to achieve whole school success. It applies the distinctive power of teaching to shape meaning for children, youth and adults. And it contributes to long-term, enhanced quality of community life" (Crowther, 2002, p.10).

Within the context of my current School as the Head of Creative Arts my pedagogical practice also seeks to develop a shared moral purpose with my Creative Arts team and to have a cooperative approach to endorsing and applying the power of creativity as a whole department approach. Collaboration with my team is imperative to create and articulate a common vision of the kind of student learning that we wish to take place in our individual subject areas. This is in keeping with Robinson's (2007) *five Leadership Dimensions* which I have mentioned could easily form the premise of what I currently do as the Head of department. Hargreaves (2006) states that, "*developing and renewing a compelling sense of purpose is central to sustainable leadership"*, (Hargreaves, 2006, p.24), and that,

"If the moral purpose of what we produce is important for corporate sustainability, it is even more important in education and public life. Schools, school systems, and educational change advocates cannot be indifferent to or evasive about just what the moral purpose of education should be" (Hargreaves, 2006. p.27).

When asked recently why I wanted to be a principal in the future, it made me reflect upon my moral purpose. My reply was that, "*I wanted to change lives*", and when I thought about that more extensively it became clear that it was both students and teachers' lives.

In my opinion, the only way to achieve extraordinary student outcomes is to value the human resources at our disposal as a principal; resources that are often overlooked and in many cases taken for granted. Hattie (2003) concurs with the importance of quality teachers in an educational institution with his body of research revealing that the variance in the outcomes of student achievement can be effected by their teacher as much as fifty percent.

Similar claims have been made by Rowe & Buckingham (2002), Darling-Hammond (2002), Hattie (2003), Leigh & Mead (2005), Stronge (2007) and Kennedy (2008), Heck (2008), Watson et al (2010) Collins (2011) and Jensen (2012), all of which agree that teacher quality is one of the most important factors influencing student learning and achievement.

Therefore I am extremely cognizant of the fact that it is imperative current Educational leaders focus on the role of the teacher in their establishment.

Michael Knapp and associates as cited by Hargreaves (2006) states that leadership for learning means, "*creating powerful, equitable learning opportunities for students, professionals and the system*" (Hargreaves, 2006, p.27). One of my goals as the current leader of the Creative Arts department is to reassess learning experiences regularly in order to assure that students are consistently engaged in a range of what Hayes (2010) calls "*best-fit' pedagogies*". Robinson's (2007) Dimension Three: *Planning, Coordinating and Evaluating Teaching in the Curriculum* also plays a role in my pedagogical purpose which is to establish a professional learning community that provides valuable learning experiences for staff for whom I am responsible. This relates to Robinson's (2007) Dimension Four*; Promoting and Participating in Teacher Learning and Development.*

We currently do this at the beginning of the year when each staff member is asked to create a PLP (Professional Learning Plan) for the year ahead. During the consultation process we establish what the department goals and expectations are within the School parameters and learning framework. This is in keeping with Robinson's (2007) Dimension one; *Establishing Goals and Expectations*. The next step is to then consider and articulate in writing what the individual teacher's needs are to develop excellent practice. We then outline the professional learning opportunities internally and externally for the coming year. When considering these professional learning experiences we make sure that we develop a strong focus on what is needed for our incumbent cohorts, rather than a wish list of professional development. This is in order to eliminate pursuing activities that would detract from authentic learning experiences.

On many occasions we identify areas we can all benefit from and arrange to attend professional development as a team. This is in keeping with the notion that learning leaders need to know their people and the contexts within which they are expected to achieve student outcomes. It

also establishes a culture where as a learning leader I am privy to information regarding the teaching and learning process and outcomes and can facilitate meaningful professional development experiences, employing Robinson's (2007) Dimension Two: *Strategic Resourcing.*

My interest in Cowan's (2007) findings that, " *Leaders are increasingly called on to function in ways that demand creative smarts as much as book smarts*" (Cowan, 2007, p.156) indicates a right brain approach to the concept of leadership. My belief in my pedagogical purpose of the infusion of creativity as a whole school approach in order to achieve increased student engagement and subsequently student achievement, may be considered naïve. However, based on the findings of Creativity as a precursor to success by Roland Deiser (2011) it is evident that we need to continue down the path of creativity due to two trends;

" *the rise of the Creative Class and the importance of creative talent in a knowledge economy*" (Deiser, 2011, p.18).

In conclusion, if I wish to achieve a collaborative style of leadership I should be considering the concept of collective leadership, which appears to underpin the approach I am currently undertaking when developing my leadership skills. Louis et al (2010) citing Miller and Rowe (2003) assert that Collective Leadership promotes;

"a shift away from conventional hierarchical patterns of bureaucratic control toward what has been referred to as a network pattern of control, that is a pattern of control in which line employees are actively involved in [making] organizational (sic) decision(s) [and] staff cooperation and collegiality supplant the hierarchy as a means of coordinating work flows and resolving technical difficulties"(Miller & Rowe, 2006,p.219-220).

Louis, Leithwood, Wahlstrom and Anderson (2010) maintain that, "*leadership is second to classroom instruction as an influence on student learning*" (Louis, Leithwood, Wahlstrom & Anderson, 2010, p. 7). A plethora of studies articulate that the results of effective leadership in schools, although difficult to clarify, indicate a small variance on the impact of student outcomes. The findings on exactly how leaders achieve these effects on student achievement varies; however, the findings clearly indicate that although small, there is around a 5 to 7 percent, variance on the impact on student learning, which is still significant.

It is evident, therefore, that it is imperative that leaders consider their role in an educational setting in the 21st Century as one of nurturing the human resources and growing the potential of their teacher leaders and giving credit and development to those individuals that have direct contact with students on a daily basis, as this makes the difference.

Bibliography

Crowther, F. (2002) *Developing teacher leaders: how teacher leadership enhances school success*. Corwin Press. Thousand Oaks. p.3-16.

Deiser, R. (2011) *Creative Leadership.* Executive Excellence Publishing. Retrieved from http://serach.proquest.com.libraryproxy.griffith.edu.au/docview/840391857.

Dempster, N. (2009) *Leadership for Learning: A framework synthesising recent research. EdVentures,* Canberra, The Australian College of Educators.

Dinham, S. (2011) *Let's get serious about teacher quality: The need for a new Career Architecture for Australia's Teachers*. Australian College of Educators. p.1-9. Retrieved from http://austcolled.com.au/article/lets-get-serious-about-teacher-quality-need-new-career-

architecture-australias-teachers

Fullan, M. (2011) *Choosing the wrong drivers for whole system reform*. Summary of Seminar

Series Paper No. 204, May 2011. *www.michaelfullan.com/media/13501655630.pdf* accessed 29th July 2013 at 11.03am.

Hargreaves, A. & Fink, D. (2006) *Sustainable Leadership*. San Fransisco. Jossey- Bass. Hattie, J. (2003) Teachers Make a Difference: What is the Research evidence? *Australian Council for Educational   Research.*   p.1-16.   Retrieved   from http://www.acer.edu.au/documents/hattie_teachersmakeadifference.pdf

Hayes, D. (2010) *Making Learning an Effect of Schooling: Aligning curriculum, assessment and pedagogy.* Routledge. London.

Macneill, N., Cavanagh, R. F. & Silcox, S. (2009) *Pedagogic Leadership: Refocusing on*

Learning and Teaching. International Electronic Journal for Leadership in Learning, ISSN

1206-9620, 02/2005, Volume 9, Issue 2.

Robinson, V. M. J (2007) *School Leadership and student outcomes: identifying what works and why.* Winmalle, N.S.W: Australian Council for Educational Research. p.5-27.

Smyth, J. (1989) *A 'Pedagogical' and 'Educative' View of Leadership: Critical Perspectives of educational leadership. Falmer.* London, New York. P.179-203.

Beyond breaking the secret of child sexual abuse:
when speaking the truth is not enough

Mora Fernández
La Casa Mandarina AC

Surviving is not the end point.
Surviving is only the beginning.
Undesirable Elements: Secret Survivors

What if speaking the truth of child sexual abuse is not enough? Everybody asks for evidence of a silent crime that occurs surrounded by secrets and without witnesses. Survivor´s words, minds and bodies are the proof. But nobody wants to listen. Their voice does not count. They need to be validated by others. And even when there is some evidence, it does not matter. People do not want to believe that Hell is on Earth and the devil exists. Survivors of sexual violence have seen him.

The core of this new project is to make survivors visible. We want them to have some justice and start their healing process supported by a society that prevents child sexual abuse to happen again. We need to change the system and the social norms that ignore them.

However, while that occurs survivors still have to be silent or face the consequences of getting their voice back, although sometimes they do not feel brave enough to keep on fighting for their rights. There are some wounds that never heal.

We need to stop this epidemic that goes from generation to generation. We need to heal. The silence and shame must end now.

Key words: sexual violence; gender violence; children rights; survivors; prevention; healing; empowerment; social norms; most recommended practices.

It was the beginning of the end of a long winter
The time for renewal, the time for hope
Undesirable Elements: Secret Survivors

In 2014, I started a research to gather and disseminate the best practices around the world to heal and prevent sexual violence.

As I previously stated, in the US every two minutes a person is sexually assaulted and every four in Mexico. One in 4 women, 1 in 6 men and 1 in 4 trans people will be sexually abused during their lifetime, according to the World Health Organization (Direct services providers estimate that the real number is one in three). Women are twice as likely to experience rape as breast cancer. 90% of abusers are a family member, a friend or someone the child trust. Due to the stigma and victim blaming, sexual violence is one of the most under reported crimes and, even when is reported, only 3% of perpetrators end in prison. Mexico and the US statistics reflect the sexual violence situation around the world: few research done and data coming from sources like police reports, clinical numbers and non-governmental organization that doesn´t reflect the heinous reality.

Sexual violence is more than numbers, are names and faces. It is a silent epidemic throughout the world, a human rights and health problem and a crime based in power and control. It can happen to anyone regardless age, race, gender identity, nationality, class and sexual orientation.
Child sexual abuse and domestic violence are the first encounter that many children have with oppression and trauma, which is why this is a problem to eradicate if we really want to build a better world. However, child sexual abuse is a taboo and nobody wants to talk about it. Not the government, not the media, not the teachers, not the parents… creating a continuum veil of ignorance that reinforce the same myths and stereotypes that allow these to happen and re-victimize the survivors over an over again.

After one year of research I found many positive and negative projects around sexual violence. I also have systematized an easily replicable and effective intervention scheme, based on three of the best practices I found, that help to empower communities from within communities and can be adapted to different contexts.

I also reinforced my statement: despite these devastating numbers there are almost no local agencies working on prevention and there are only a few saturated trying to take care of the survivors. Laws are incredible well written but due to the lack of political will they have not been translated into effective public policies. This in turn reinforces a policy context of generalized lack of consistent and reliable statistics, insufficient attention for the victims, insignificant budgets for prevention (including treatment options for rapists), and the loss of hope for survivors to gain access to justice.

And when we talk of justice we are not only referring to the legal aspect but also to the social response to this terrible crime and the possibility to repair the damage. We need to *create and demand public spaces to heal and build a new culture where survivors are publicly supported, rather than publicly shamed.*[1]

Most of the victims - children and adults – remain silent out of shame and fear of the consequences for speaking their truth. Many of the survivors that tell their experience of sexual abuse face the fact that society does not believe them or make them responsible.

The shame, fear and guilt are a normal consequence of being abused but also these feelings are reinforced because society always blames the victims. It is exhausting having to survive your own pain and at the same time face the injustice of being made responsible of the abuse you have experienced. It is even

---

[1] The Monument Quilt by Force: upsetting rape culture www.themonumentquilt.org

sadder having to spend energy trying to make a good excuse to cover the abuse because society is not ready to face the truth and hold you.

The abusers steal your voice but society teaches you to be silent. Some times because of ignorance, some others because of pain but most of the times because they feel uncomfortable with the truth and, instead of saying or doing something, they just close their eyes and pretend everything is fine as if reality would be magically changed as they open them. But for survivors everything continues exactly as it is. No, I guess it is worse because knowing that nobody cares makes you feel hopeless and worthless. In this world, survivors always lose.

I am not trying to blame anybody else but the abusers, but my question is... where is everybody else's responsibility? I know we have to give people the resources to know what to do and not to only be bystanders, but most importantly we have to work hard on changing the social norms and beliefs that perpetuate and allow this to happen over and over again.

I always encourage survivors –including myself – to tell their experience. But what if speaking the truth of child sexual abuse is not enough? Everybody asks for evidence of a silent crime that occurs surrounded by secrets and without witnesses. Survivor´s words, minds and bodies are the proof. But nobody wants to listen. Their voice does not count. They need to be validated by others. And even when there is some evidence, it does not matter. People do not want to believe that Hell is on Earth and the devil exists. Survivors of sexual violence have seen him.

The core of this new project is to make survivors visible. We want them to have some justice and start their healing process supported by a society that prevents child sexual abuse to happen again. We need to change the system and the social norms that ignore them.

However, while that occurs survivors still have to be silent or face the consequences of getting their voice back, although sometimes they do not feel brave enough to keep on fighting for their rights. There are some wounds that never heal.

We need to stop this epidemic that goes from generation to generation. We need to heal. The silence and shame must end now.

References

E. Sue Blume**.** Secret Survivors: Uncovering Incest and Its Aftereffects in Women . 1985.

Undesirable Elements: Secret Survivors
http://www.pingchong.org/undesirable-elements/production-archive/secret-survivors/

The Monument Quilt www.themonumentquilt.org

Rape and Sexual Assault: A Renewed Call to Action. The White House Council on Women and Girls. January 2014
www.iaclea.org/visitors/about/documents/WhiteHouseCouncil_sexual_assault_report_1-21-14.pdf

Conducting Interviews With Survivors of Sexual and Gender-Based Violence. Witness.org. 2013
http://blog.witness.org/2013/11/new-video-series-conducting-interviews-survivors-sexual-gender-based-violence/

World Health Organization www.who.int/reproductivehealth/topics/violence/sexual_violence/en/

Building Potential Character of Woman Leadership

Rosalina Pertiwi Gultom

Law Faculty

Sriwijaya University

ABSTRACT

Based on "Old Javanese English Dictionary" (Zoetmulder,1982) in etymology, woman means, "wanted". They are just recognized when they can use by the men, until their existence as the God's creature becomes nothing. So, the word"woman" has a meaning to become man's object. Based on Greatest Indonesian Dictionary (1998:1007),woman means," the girl in adult. The active meaning is claiming right, radical. As long as the development era, the woman thinking has evolved to be a charismatic leader. House (1977) gave an opinion,"a charismatic leader has a social power orientation to give priority to basic private values in internalization, to stimulate self-ideology, reward to stimulate the consistent attitude with mission and target of organization, the opened sharing information". As the aspect of leadership, woman is not only to teach based on quality side but also consider the time quantity of teaching and social emotionality. It has the purpose for the young generation doesn't become the bad generation and having ideology and strong personal attitude. Megawati Soekarnoputri, the first woman president of Indonesia was the fifth president. She was recognized as the world class leader. The world recognition of Long Time Achievement on politic was granted by International Conference of Asian Political Parties (ICAPP) in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, December 3rd,2010. The organizations is the right place to build leadership characteristic. Through the woman organization, they can change mind of thinking and more interaction, the education is the most important medium in developing intellectuality and woman self building, so they can be strong and charismatic leader.

Keyword : woman, leadership, organization, education.

Building Potential Character of Woman Leadership

Based on "Old Javanese English Dictionary" (Zoetmulder,1982) in etymology, woman means, "wanted". They are just recognized when they can use by the men, until their existence as the God's creature becomes nothing. So, the word"woman" has a meaning to become man's object. Based on Greatest Indonesian Dictionary (1998:1007) , woman means," the girl in adult.[1]

Based on the etymology, the word leadership refers to "leader". The word leader was thought in 1300, while the word leadership was thought in 1700 later. Until 1940 it was based on to character theory. The theory is looking for personal character, social, physic, or intellectual which make difference between leader nor the leader. Based on this theory the leadership has come from the birth or the self gift. Between 1940 till 1960 there was a behavioral theory of leadership which lead to certain behavior that make difference between leader and non leader. Based on this theory, the leadership can be thought so to build the effective leader who has ability on designing special program, next to between 1960 till 1970 there was the growth of leadership teaching based on possibility theory. It is not accordingly to character or behavioral leader but the effective leadership can be influenced by the certain condition. It needs certain leadership style. The modern leadership theory evolves between 1970 till 2000. It is not based on characteristic, behavior or certain situation but it is according to the more capability of leader than the others.[2]

James M Black in his book "Management", A guide to Executive Command said "Leadership is capatibilty of persuading others to work together undertheir direction as a team to accomplish certain designated objectives". The leadership as the process of directing and influencing the members in many activities. It has to be focused to what the leaders do, the process where they use their influences to make the purpose of organization clear for the members, motivate them to reach their goals. To help in creating a productive culture in organization. The leadership is the result of social organization which has forming or as the result of dynamic of social interaction. From the aspect of attribute, it is the compilation of the leader must have on them. So, the leader can be defined as someone who has influencing capability to the others without using their power, so the people who they lead is obeying their command as the deserve commander for them.[3]

Tannen (1995) said that "the leader has the priority to connection and friendship which those are woman's belonging, it makes possible the leader has egallite behavior, use the whole human resources, and focus to organizational structures". Eagly and Johnson (1990) found that," the strongest evidence for a gender difference in a leadership style in the tendency for women to adopt a more participative style and for men to adopt a more directive style." According to Natalie Porter and Jessica Henderson Daniel, there are a lot of required qualities to belong the effective leadership of organization in the recent situation, there are good quality of ability and for the general is associated by the Transformational Leadership and also by the Woman Leader.

Based on the statement it indicates that the woman leader is recognized as the more practice duty on thinking, contras by the stereotype point of view about feminism gender which explain the warm characteristic of figure in personal relation, more affiliate with others people that dominate is the visualization of the democratic leadership style. The woman tends to adopt the more characteristic leadership style. They stimulate participation, sharing power and information, and trying to improve "advances" for their followers. They tend to lead through involving or the use of human resources and according to charisma, skill, contact, and interpersonal skill in influencing others people.

The stereotype masculine and group norms of the leaders ignore the personality of woman preferences so they leave the their woman styles in duties and act more autocratic (Robbins,1998).

---

[1] Trisakti Handayani,Konsep dan Teknik Penelitian Gender,Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang,2001,page 12, 04 February 2015

[2] Rivai,Veithzal,Kepemimpinan dan Perilaku Organisasi,Rajawali Pers,2009,page 7, 05 February 2015

[3] Nahiyah Jaidi Faraz ,Kepemimpinan dan Perempuan,Universitas Yogyakarta Malang,page 3, 05 February

Feminine gender explains the warm characteristic of personal relation, more affiliate with others people that dominate is the visualization of the democratic leadership style, so the thing that should be understood is back to stereotype point of view about the gender difference which recognize the man is masculine while the woman is feminine. The democratic style of the woman leadership is indicated the availability of the structure which the growth uses cooperative approach of making decision. Under the leadership of the high morale, democratic, and cooperative leader, focus on quality of duty and direct by themselves. Meanwhile, the autocratic of leadership style uses the method of power approach in reaching decision and structural development.

The power is very dominated to be used. Concentrating power and making decision for themselves. And manage the complicated situation of duty for the employees so they want to do anything as their command. This leadership is negatively for the most. Which based on the treat and punishment. Although, there are also benefits such as it is possible to make the decision fast and also possibility to use the less competent of human resources. There have been two orientation or purpose which influence the autocratic and democratic leadership style. Such as this kind of behavior is focusing on duty completion, using personal and efficient resources, and presenting the arranged operation and can be used. The leader tends to have autocratic leadership style.

This kind of behavior is focusing to the improvement of relation and helping people, improve the working and team cooperation. Improving the satisfaction of low duty, and build identification by organization. The leader tends to have the democratic leadership style. The research of leadership style by Lowa University in 1930, was done before the behavioral theory becoming popular. Kurt Lewin and partners did the study in University of Lowa which concern to manager style of leadership. Their research identified two basic styles of leadership, first, the autocratic style of leadership, the autocratic leader makes decision, command the members what they suppose to do, and supervise the employees rigidly. The second, the democratic style of leadership. the democratic leadership stimulates the participation in making decision, work with the employees to do what they suppose to do, and not supervise them rigidly.

The democratic and autocratic leadership are often placed in corner of continum, based on the kinds of leadership orientation, so it can be mean that two more influencing styles of leadership which influence by the figure directly consist of and they are two style of autocratic and democratic leadership. the both of them has each orientations, as like Eagly said, that The Autocratic style of leadership is the style which has orientation to the duty, meanwhile the democratic leadership is the style which has orientation to interpersonal relation between the leader and employees. It is looked by the orientation of the leader, there have been two leadership orientation which are applied by Eagly and Johnshon, they are interpersonal and duty orientation.

Some of research result indicates that achievement and satisfaction of employees' work can be improved if the consideration (or give priority on interpersonal relation between the leader and the employee) is the dominant style of leadership. instead, the duty orientation of leaders believe that they can get result by keeping people busying and force them to produce. As like Gibson said to show that most of women has dimension of behavior which tends to think to make welfare the employees and more focus to interaction and facilitate them, meanwhile the men is more tended to have the dimension where there is distinct dimension of behavior, oriented to the purpose and tending to manage everything. Based the characteristic that can be categorized into masculine and feminine that the variable style of relevant leadership to be used by the autocratic style of leadership for men and democratic for women.[4]

Emphasizing the character that is believed as the woman characteristic such as like to share powers, communicative, cooperative, participative in this recent organization. The style of leadership emphasizes to the woman characteristic which is looked as the determine factor of someone effective in leading. To become an effective leader in organization, woman is not only because the masculinity and feminine, but the capacity to lead. The potential developing of woman as the organization leader can be done through the varies of education. It is intended to do through

---

[4] Nuri Herchwati,Gaya Kepemimpinan Laki-laki dan Perempuan,Universitas Airlangga,2012,page 137, 06 February 2015

two ways. First, the basic of woman thinking can be changed so it shows the higher characteristics. For example, leader changes themselves to be more confident, distinct, able to make private relation. Second, to the woman can be showed by the way to change work situation so it could be more match by the wanted purposes.

Woman can be a leader because they are tough with different ways or they recognize the potential leadership of the existence and have learned to lead. The researchers found that the women is like to lead no to claim themselves as the woman and different; they see themselves as human. The ways of their thinking like their capabilities, make them to be leaders. They have orientations to compete and complete the duties. They don't only learn to train their selves power, they also have ignoring their emotions in the situation where it needs clear consideration. It doesn't mean they are not emotional, but they try to learn to understand themselves and control their feelings. A woman who has profession as the organization leader of education tell the experiences to control their emphatic and emotion. "I think you need to be strength physically, also phycologic and emotional so everything that happens doesn't make you weak." It's hard to keep sensitively underestimate to what they think necessary. I need to learn how to interact with the other people, place in their positions."

In developing the awareness of leadership that has been belonging by the woman can be done through the educational process. According to Freire (1985) the education has to be oriented to the introduction of the human reality. Realizing that education is the continually process, a commencement which always "start and start again", which support the improvement of woman intelectuallity.[5]

To be a good leader, woman needs to develop some characters inside them. Such as good relation with themselves inside women thinking, they have to create the trust to themselves by changing their way of thinking. Because many women can see themselves for their lacks, meanwhile when she looks other people from the excess. She must be able to understand that everyone has the excess from the first side and lack from the other side. Develop the honor and trust, the leader will be able to build the trust and honor to other people or the people who they lead first for they can get the trust and honored. Speaking leadership is closed relation with the mastery leadership which can be reached if someone has self-mastery or self-leadership individuality. A woman leader must have self mastery or human quality from the leader which is soft competency that has to belong by the leaders. This soft competency has the central position and strategic and also has contribution that is very depend to the leaders' achievement in leading their followers. The woman leader who build individual self-mastery has three primary pillars as the basic modal to increase the human trust. The prime pillar of spiritual modal is the basic trust about something, the second is the ability to determine the goal of life, and the third is to build the full value system with the levels. The quality of spiritual modal of the leader is visualized from how their believe quality in doing something.[6]

Some women becomes the figure of leadership, such as Megawati Soekarnoputri, the first woman president of Indonesia was the fifth president. She was recognized as the world class leader. The world recognition of Long time achievement on politic was granted by international conference of asian political parties (ICAPP) in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, December 3 2010. Previously, in 2004 she was placed as one of the eight stronger women of the world. She has very interesting behavior and known as "the silent leader with golden behavior". In her leadership era, she was recognized success to lead the transition era of democratic in Indonesia.[7]

---

[5] Trisakti Handayani,Konsep dan Teknik Penelitian Gender,Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang,2001,page 21, 04 February 2015

[6] Taufik Bahaudin,Brainware Leadership Mastery,Elex Media Komputindo,Jakarta,2009,page 253,07 February 2015

[7] Evi Aryani, January 2014, "Biografi Megawati Soekarno" ,*http://biografi-orang-sukses-dunia.blogspot.com/2014/01/biografi-megawati-soekarnoputri.html,* 08 February 2015

Next, in India, Indira "Priyadarshini" Ghandi, the first Prime minister of india. Professionally this india woman is the distinct and charismatic figure in making every national decision, her political action was progressive. The elimination movement of hunger which she did called by name,"The Green Revolution" by advancing the varieties of rice seeds and improvement fertilizer and irrigation. It is rapidly can change the situation in India where the previous India was a poor country then finally able to show to the world as the Respected country. She gave the great contribution to her country and international relation.[8]

The woman can be a good leader, has the potential characteristic and behavior which womans's belonging. The developing of intellectuality, mind thinking, social interaction and the strength thas has to be improved and threat through education and organization so that in the future, it will create the smart women leaders and great influence to the world.

---

[8]Ariel,Eai,April 2012, "Indira Gandhi Biografi",*http://eai-ariel.blogspot.com/2012/04/indira-gandhi-biografi.html*,08 February 2015

REFERENCE

Trisakti Handayani,Konsep dan Teknik Penelitian Gender,Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang,2001,page 12, 04 February 2015

Rivai,Veithzal,Kepemimpinan dan Perilaku Organisasi,Rajawali Pers,2009,page 7, 05 February 2015

Nahiyah Jaidi Faraz ,Kepemimpinan dan Perempuan,Universitas Yogyakarta Malang,page 3, 05 February

Trisakti Handayani,Konsep dan Teknik Penelitian Gender,Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang,2001,page 21, 04 February 2015

Taufik Bahaudin,Brainware Leadership Mastery,Elex Media Komputindo,Jakarta,2009,page 253,07 February 2015

Evi Aryani,January 2014, "Biografi Megawati Soekarno" , *http://biografi-orang-sukses-dunia.blogspot.com/2014/01/biografi-megawati-soekarnoputri.html,* 08 February 2015

Ariel,Eai,April 2012, "Indira Gandhi Biografi", *http://eai-ariel.blogspot.com/2012/04/indira-gandhi-biografi.html,*08 February 2015

Connections between Participation in Women's Studies Courses, Well-Being, and Activism

Jennifer J. Thomas
Associate Professor of Psychology
Wilkes University
84 W. South Street
Wilkes-Barre, PA 18766 USA

Connections between Participation in Women's Studies Courses, Well-Being, and Activism

How do we encourage students, young people, the future leaders of our countries, to desire and to feel empowered to work toward the creation of a more just and equitable world? The purpose of my paper is to share with you findings from a study I conducted in order to begin to answer this important question. While many factors likely foster the skills necessary to become empowered, activist leaders, participation in Women's Studies college courses (WSC) may represent a powerful avenue through which these abilities develop. As an overview, I will begin with a brief theoretical background connecting WSC to student well-being and activism. Next, I will discuss how I went about investigating my research question by sharing the methods and results of my project. I will conclude with a summary of the findings, their implications, and ideas for future research.

WSC and Well-Being

Why should WSC a catalyst for the development of leadership skills, such as autonomy, and the desire to work toward a world that is more just and equitable? To answer this question, we must first understand a little about the content and teaching techniques utilized in WSC. In the US, misconceptions about women's studies and feminism run rampant. For instance, feminists are often characterized as "man-hating" extremists who are a threat to traditional values and gender roles (Anderson, Kanner, & Elsayegh, 2009; Aronson, 2003). Similarly, WSC are marginalized and viewed with contempt. This is unfortunate as "feminist" is simply a label to those who desire "to end sexism, sexist exploitation, and oppression," (hooks, 2000), and WS is a multidisciplinary field based on scientific inquiry aimed at understanding and eliminating oppression.

In fact, after investigating a wide range of WSC in the US, researchers discovered that a consistent pattern of pedagogic strategies are employed (Webb, Allen, & Walker, 2002). First, empowerment was revealed as a primary goal. Students learn that the classroom is a democracy

and that they are responsible for their learning. A second pedagogic strategy utilized is the understanding that knowledge is personally constructed and culturally bound thus one's own experiences and voice provide a critical element for learning (Webb et al., 2002). For example, students' questions, feedback, and insight are incorporated into discussions. A third pedagogic strategy is developing a respect for the diversity of personal experiences (Webb et al., 2002). "Feminist pedagogy makes explicit that how we experience and understand things is rooted in our social position, based on a variety of factors, including gender, race, ethnicity, class, and sexual preference," (Parry, 1996, p. 46). The goal is that students learn to respect, not fear, the diversity of human experiences. These three pedagogic strategies should lead to students developing a greater sense of well-being, specifically greater confidence in their convictions. It follows that my first hypothesis was that students in WSC should exhibit greater well-being (i.e., autonomy which refers to having confidence in one's beliefs, even when they are controversial or differ from the majority; Ryff, 1989; and social power or social influence which refers to the sense that within interpersonal relationships one has influence; Galinsky, Gruenfeld, & Magee, 2003) than non-WSC students.

WSC and Feminist Ideology

To develop a desire to work toward a more just and equitable world, students and future leaders must recognize that injustice exists. WSC provide a venue through which to spark a desire for change because students are made aware of inequality, discrimination, and the oppression that individuals face within their society and potentially around the word. For example, an objective of WSC is for students to critically examine how systems of privilege develop, operate, and sustain oppression and discrimination. It follows that WSC students should more strongly endorse the political and social ideology associated with feminism and the belief that collective action is necessary to attain gender equality/reduce sexism compared to non-WSC.

WSC and Activism

The final is question is whether WSC encourage students to become activists. For this study, activism was conceptualized several ways. First, activism can be expressed through one's actions. In this study being involved in activities that promote gender equality such as attending meetings or conferences on gender equality issues, signing on-line petitions, or attending demonstrations was an indication of activism. Second, activism was conceptualized as part of one's identity. Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) "good citizen" model provides a framework from which to understand one's activist identity. They identified three types of citizens: Personally responsible, participatory, and justice-oriented citizens. In the U.S. context, personally responsible citizens may follow laws, perform acts of community service, stay out of debt and generally behave in a way that conforms to the status quo. Participatory citizens vote and help others to vote, write letters to the editor, peacefully protest and engage in other activities aimed at fostering democracy. Finally, justice oriented citizens seek to reduce inequality and prejudice, promote human rights and represent diverse perspectives. The next question is, do WSC encourage students to engage in gender-related activism and citizens who are more participatory and justice orientated?

Because feminism is a movement (hooks, 2000), feminist ideology is embedded within a socio-political context that promotes individuals to be agents of change (Morgan, 1996). Understanding of activism and encouragement of students to become agents of change is also a theme of WSC. Furthermore, the development of a sense of community, in which individuals work together for the good of society is a pedagogic technique that is common to WSC (Webb et al., 2002). It was hypothesized that WSC students would be more likely to have engaged in gender-based activism and would have a greater desire to continue to engage in these activities in the future than non-WSC students. Furthermore, WSC students would be more likely to adopt

activist identities (i.e., score higher on the participatory and justice-oriented citizens scales) than non-WSC students.

Method

Participants and Procedures

To evaluate the study hypotheses 132 students (WSC $N = 75$) attending a small liberal arts college in the USA completed assessments the first week of an academic semester and approximately 12 weeks later, at the end of the academic semester. The majority of participants were female ($N = 103$), heterosexual (92%), and of European-American decent (91%). The average age of the students was 21-years-old. WSC students were recruited from WS-eligible courses (i.e., introduction to women's studies and psychology courses); non-WSC students were recruited from a communications and nursing courses. Most were liberal arts majors. The largest proportion of students were nursing majors (39%), followed by psychology majors (23%). Forty-one percent of the participants were women's studies minors and 35% identified themselves as feminist.

Participants completed assessments in their classrooms at two different time periods. Collection of the first wave of data occurred during the first week of class for the Spring 2014 academic semester. The second wave of data collection occurred at the end of the spring semester approximately 12 weeks later, at the end of the Spring 2014 academic semester. The project was approved by the Wilkes University Institutional Review Board and all participants signed an informed consent to participate. Participation was voluntary and some students received extra credit for their participation.

Measures

Well-being. Two measures were utilized to assess participants' well-being. First, participants completed the autonomy subscale of the Ryff's Psychological Well-Being Scale

(Ryff, 1989).   This well-validated measure assesses one's perception of self as being independent and able to resist social pressure. It consists of 9-items rated on a 6-point Likert scale. Sample items include, "I am not afraid to voice my opinions, even when they are in opposition to the opinions of most people," and "My decisions are not usually influenced by what everyone else is doing." At both time points this measure showed strong internal validity (T1 α = .80; T2 α = .82). A composite score was created by averaging the items; higher scores indicate greater autonomy.

The capacity for power scale (Anderson & Galinsky, 2006) served as the second measure of well-being. It is an assessment of one's general sense of social power and consists of 8-items rated on a 7-point Likert scale. Sample items include, "I can get people to listen to what I say" and "My wishes don't carry much weight" (reverse scored). A composite measure was created by averaging scores on the individual items; higher scores indicate perceptions of greater interpersonal power. At both time points the measure had high internal validity (T1 α = .81; T2 α = .84).

Feminist Ideology.   The specific social and political agenda and collective action (strategies for change) subscales of the Liberal Feminist Attitude and Ideology Scale (Morgan, 1996) served to assess participants endorsement of the political and social issues associated with feminism and the belief that collective action is necessary to attain gender equality/reduce sexism. The social and political agenda subscale consisted of 20-items while the collective action scale was composed of 10-items. Responses were measured on a 6-point Likert scale and composite measures were calculated. Sample items for the social and political agenda include, "Violence against women is not taken seriously enough" and "legislation is needed to insure a women can keep her job after having a baby." While the collective action measure included, "A radical restructuring of society is needed to overcome inequalities," and "Women need to unite

to achieve equal political and social rights." Internal consistency was good at both time points (T1 SocPol α = .84 T2 α = .87; T1 Collect α = .80; T2 α = .82).

Activism. At time 1, activism was assessed utilizing the Gender-Based Social Activism Scale (Calogero, 2013). This measure consists of 8-items rated on an 8-point scale from 1 'never' to 8 'everyday.' Items included "in the past 6 months, how often have you dissed issues related to gender equality with friends or colleagues in person or on-line," and "attended meetings, conferences, or workshops on gender equality issues." At time 2 this measures was again completed. In addition, participants also answered questions about their future activism. The items were identical to the gender-based social activism questions except that the stem was changed to "In the future, how likely will you be to …" A 5-point Likert scale was used with 1 'extremely unlikely' to 5 'extremely likely – definitely will do this.' Finally, at time 2 students also answered two questions about the extent to which their course subjectively affected their interest in activism (e.g., "This class has encouraged me to work toward helping create a more just world." These items were adapted from Stake and Hoffman (2001). Responses were made on a 5-point Likert scale, 5 'much more than other classes.' All measures were internally consistent (α's ranged .74 - .94).

Civic engagement/activist orientation. At time 2, participants competed the Types of Citizen Scale (Flanagan, Syvertsen, & Stout, 2007). Items are derived from Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) framework for a "good citizen" which identifies three types of citizens: Personally responsible, participatory, and justice-oriented citizens. Measured on a 7-point Likert scale (7 = strongly agree), the responsible citizen subscale included 6-items, while the other two included 4-items. Sample items include, "I think people should assist those in their lives who are in need" (personally responsible citizen), "Being actively involved in community issues is my responsibility" (participatory citizen), and "I will work to with others to change unjust laws" (justice-oriented citizen). Reliabilities ranged from .68 to .84.

Results

Adjustment

To investigate the first hypothesis, a 2 x 2 (WSC [yes, no] x Time [T1, T2]) multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted with repeated measures on Time. The adjustment measures served as the dependent variables.

Significant multivariate effects of WSC were revealed, Wilks' $\Delta = .93$, $F(2, 128) = 4.78$, $p = .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$. Partial support for the hypothesis was found. Univariate effects were significant for WSC for both autonomy and social power. Means revealed that WSC students had higher autonomy and social power scores at both time points compared to non-WSC students. However, there was not a significant interaction of WSC x Time. Students enrolled in WSC did not increase in their sense of autonomy and social power over the course of the semester.

Feminist Ideology

To test the second hypothesis, a repeated measures MANOVA similar to the first was conducted with the feminist ideology variables as the dependent variables. Significant multivariate effects of WSC x Time interaction were found, Wilks' $\Delta = .89$, $F(1, 128) = 15.26$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .11$. Univariate effects were also significant for the WSC x Time interaction for both social and political agenda and for collective action. Consistent with the hypothesis, students enrolled in WSC increased in their agreement with the social and political agendas associated with the US feminist movement and in their belief that collective action is necessary for change while non-WSC students did not. In addition, WSC students scored significantly higher than non-WSC students on these measures at T2 but not at T1.

Activism and Civic Engagement/Activism Orientation

To examine the hypotheses concerning activism and civic engagement identity, a repeated measures MANOVA was conducted similar to the previous MANOVAs with current activism as the dependent variable. Significant multivariate effects of time, Wilks' $\Delta = .95$, $F(1, 130) = 7.53$, $p = .007$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$, and the interaction of WSC x Time, Wilks' $\Delta = .97$, $F(1, 130) = 3.92$, $p = .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$, were revealed. Univariate effects of time and the interaction of WSC x Time were also found. Consistent with the hypothesis, WSC students engaged in significantly more activism from T1 to T2 than did non-WSC students. In addition, WSC engaged in more activism than non-WSC at both time points.

Two one-way univariate analyses of variance (ANOVAs) were conducted to determine whether WSC students intended to engage in more activism in the future and were influenced by their course to engage in activism compared to non-WSC students. Consistent with the hypothesis, WSC students were significantly more likely to want to engage in activism in the future and to view their course as having encouraged them to become more engaged in activism.

Finally, a one-way MANOVA was conducted to examine whether WSC students and non-WSC students differed in their civic engagement orientation/activism orientation. A significant multivariate effect of course was revealed, Wilks' $\Delta = .93$, $F(3, 130) = 3.47$, $p = .018$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$. Significant univariate effects of course were revealed for participatory and justice-oriented identity. As expected, WSC students more strongly endorsed participatory citizen and justice-oriented citizen styles than did non-WSC students. There were no differences for the personally responsible citizen orientation.

Discussion

Findings have important implications for those who are interested in inspiring future generations of leaders to become interested in working to create a more just and equitable world. First, to become agents of change individuals must feel have their ideas are valued. As expected, WSC students reported significantly more autonomy and social power at both time

points than did non-WSC students. Second, to enact change, individuals must be aware that injustice exists. WSC may aid in this understanding as over the course of an academic semester, WSC students significantly increased in their endorsement of goals associated with creating a world where men and women have equal status and in their belief that collective action is necessary to combat discrimination than did non-WSC students. Finally, to enact change individuals must engage in activist activities and develop a sense of self in which being civic minded, and committed to the greater good of society becomes part of one's identity. Findings showed that WSC students engaged in significantly more activism over the course of the semester and reported the course heightened their desire to be activists compared to non-WSC students. In addition, WSC students were more likely to want to continue to participate in gender-related activism in the future. Finally, WSC students were more engaged, justice-orientated citizens and likely to view themselves as agents of change. In other words, while WSC and non-WSC students were equality likely to follow rules and be personally responsible citizens, WSC students were more likely to see themselves as committed to participating in activities that would better their community and to be justice-oriented. In sum, this research suggests that WSC may be an avenue through which to empower students to desire and work toward the creation of a more just and equitable world.

In the future, researchers should broaden their sample to investigate whether connections exists between WSC, well-being, and activism among non-US populations. First, the pedagogic strategies utilized in the US resemble some of the individualist norms that characterize the mainstream US culture. Being independent, autonomous, able to stand on one's own and not be influenced by others is a hallmark of adulthood for those in the US and other western countries. Many of the pedagogic strategies utilized in US WSC mesh with individualistic norms. Although, some of the teaching strategies are more collectivist in nature. It would be worthwhile to determine the pedagogic strategies utilized in WSC courses taught in countries other than the US. We could then determine whether the teaching strategies utilized in WSC

that stimulate well-being and a desire to enact change are universal or whether they vary according to cultural context.

A longer-term investigation of the relationship between WSC, well-being, and activism is also warranted. This study was short term as there were only 12 weeks between the first and second assessment. In addition, the activism identity orientation or type of citizen measure was only given at time 2. A longer term study would aid in parsing cause and effect. Is it that WSC participation encourages students to take on a more activist slant or is it something about students who take WSC courses that leads to this orientation? And if WSC course participation is important, how long do these effects last? Do WSC students continue to hold a participatory and justice-oriented citizen orientation five or ten years later? Do they continue to participate in gender-related activism? And if it is something about the personalities of the students who enroll in WSC courses that encourages these orientations, we must determine what contexts and personality variables lead to the desire to enact change in the name of social justice.

Conclusion

In sum, WSC may be important for inspiring the next wave of leaders to become engaged, social activists. This research is in opposition to commonly held stereotypes of WSC as being frivolous and beliefs about feminists as being "man-hating" extremists who seek the downfall of society. Instead, the pedagogic techniques utilized in WSC may foster a sense of well-being – in particular autonomy and social power or influence – and they may inspire students to engage in the creation of a world where men and women have equal opportunity and value.

References

Anderson, C., & Galinsky, A. D. (2006). Power, optimism, and risk-taking. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 36*, 511-536. doi: 10.1002/ejsp.324

Anderson, K. J., Kanner, M., & Elsayegh, N. (2009). Are feminists man-haters? Feminists' and nonfeminists' attitudes toward men. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 33*, 216-224. doi:10.1111/j.1471-6402.2009.01491x

Aronson, P. (2003). Feminists or "postfeminists"? Young women's attitudes toward feminism and gender relations. *Gender and Society, 17*, 903-922. doi:10.1177/0891243203257145

Calogero, R. M. (2013). Objects don't object: Evidence that self-objectification disrupts women's social activism. *Psychological Science, 24*, 312-318. doi:10.1177/0956767612452574.

hooks, b. (2000). *Feminism is for everybody*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press.

Flanagan, C., Syvertsen, A., & Stout, M. (2007). *Civic measurement models: Tapping adolescents' civic engagement* (CIRCLE Working Paper 55). Available from http://eric.ed.gov

Galinsky, A. D., Gruenfeld, D. H., & Magee, J. C. (2003). From power to action. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 85*, 453–466.

Morgan, B. L. (1996). Putting the feminism into feminism scales: Introduction of a Liberal Feminist Attitude and Ideology Scale (LFAIS). *Sex Roles, 34*, 359-390. doi:10.1007/BF01547807

Parry, S. C. (1996). Feminist pedagogy and techniques for changing the classroom. *Women's Studies Quarterly, 24*, 45-54.

Ryff, C. D. (1989). Happiness is everything, or is it? Explorations on the meaning of psychological well-being. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 57, 1069–1081. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.57.6.1069

Stake, J. E., & Hofffman, F. L. (2001). Changes in student social attitudes, activism, and personal confidence in higher education: The role of women's studies. *American Educational Research Journal, 38*, 411-436. doi:10.3102/00028312038002411 (subjective belief that course influenced interest in activism scale)

Webb, L., M., Allen, M. W., & Walker, K. L. (2002). Feminist pedagogy: Identifying basic principles. *Academic Exchange Quarterly*, *6*, 67-72.

Wesstheimer, J., & Kahne, J. (2004). What kind of citizen? The politics of educating for democracy. *American Educational Research Journal, 41*, 237-269. doi: 10.3102/00028312041002237

ENHANCING WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN
RURAL WATER SUPPLY

Dewi Dimyati[*], Aloysius Masi, Ika Meidy Deviarni

Polytechnic State of Pontianak, Pontianak 78124, West Borneo, Indonesia
[*] Corresponding author

Abstract

Increased population growth led to increasing demands on natural resources including clean water needs. Water quality in canals of Kapuas River, West Borneo is affected by discharges of wastewater from a range of sources. The sources of pollutants are mostly from agricultural farm and urban storm water. Women's role in water management are still less, particularly in rural area of Indonesia. Therefore, the objectives of this research were (1) to enhance women's participation in water management, (2) to analyse water utility for every households, (3) to analyze women's participation on water management system through SWOT analysis.The study area of research was conducted in Sungai Rengas Village in West Borneo, Indonesia with total area 453,13 Km^2 and 23.537 in habitant. The research method used combination both of quantitative and qualitative method. Identification of women's participation on water management system used SWOT analysis. Data analysis in this method used External Strategic Factors Analysis Summary (EFAS) for external strategic factors containing an opportunity and a threat to the sustainability of the project. To analyze the internal factors which contain strength and weaknesses in this study used Internal Strategic Factors Analysis Summary (IFAS). The result of survey showed that approximately 56% women commit to involve on water supply management with composed group of 60 female participants responsible for simple water treatment system in 12 households on Sungai Rengas village. The workshop questionnaires showed that all participants very satisfy with the workshop and can apply the information of water treatment system for their household. Effective communication with local leader and community led success to advocate women participatory and leadership in water supply management. SWOT analysis lead to the Strength-Opportunities (SO) strategy by development of water treatment system with women's participation in management for low-income community to increase awareness between economy and water availability in Sungai Rengas village.

Keywords: *leadership, women, participatory, SWOT, IFAS,EFAS*

1.   Introduction

Increased population growth led to increasing demands on natural resources including clean water needs. Inequity in access to clean water and sanitation is the main problem encountered on the services provision in Indonesia, particularly at the provincial government level. Based on the MDG's report from Bappenas (2011), the number of households that have access to drinking water increased from 37.73 % to 42.76 % of the period 1993 - 2011. The access to drinking water in urban areas declined from 49.82 % to 40.52 %, while in rural areas from 45.72 % to 44.96 % of the period in 2009 – 2011 [1].

The government of Indonesia still struggle to provide clean water for human consumption, and adequate water supply for industry and agriculture. In West Borneo province, clean water supply for domestic and municipality still insufficient. The National Water Company in West Borneo only can provide 1.605 liters/s (38%) of total clean water from total population 4.25 million people with 4.250 liters/s of water need. Similar with irrigation (56,948 Ha) and plantation (2,108,242 Ha) need supply water 161.153 m^3/s [2].

The role of Indonesia's women in the management of water resources is very low due to lack of knowledge, skills, education, capital, and health services. Therefore, the sustainable development of water resources management can be achieved by considering the balance access for male and female through gender mainstreaming in the management of water resources. The objectives of this research were (1) to enhance women's participation in water management, (2) to analyse water utility for every households, (3) to analyze women's participation on water management system through SWOT analysis.

2. Materials and Methods

2.1 Study Area

The study area of research was conducted in Sungai Rengas Village in West Borneo, Indonesia with total area 453.13 Km^2 and 23,537 in habitant with the number of women 11,353 almost equal with men 12,184. This village is located in Kubu Raya regency with $0^0134'40.83"$ ~ $1^000'53.09"$ Longitude and $109^002'19.32"$ ~$109^058'32.16"$ altitude.
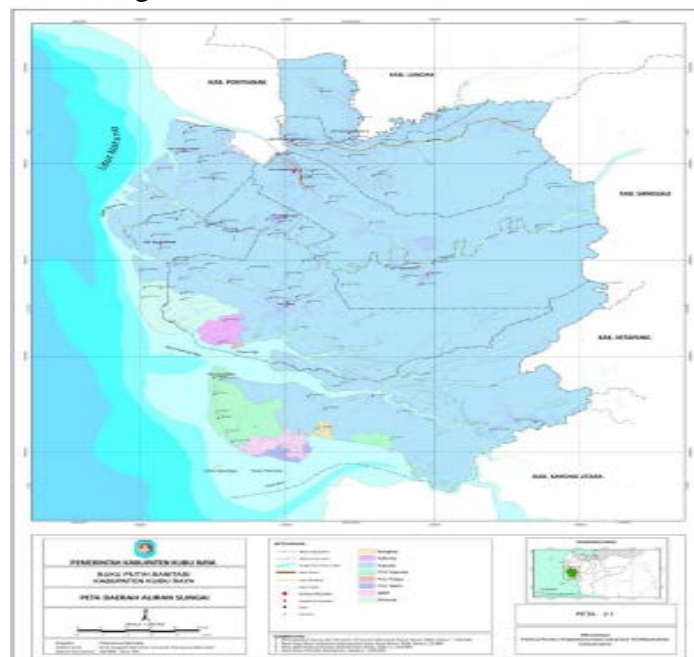

Fig.1 Map of Kubu Raya Regency

The local climate in Kubu Raya regency is dry, with a mean monthly precipitation of 260.8 mm in 2011. The highest precipitation in October with mean monthly precipitation of 533.2 mm and the lowest reach 144.1 mm in July. In Kubu Raya regency and Indonesia in generally, there are only dry and rainy season. Kapuas and Sekh river basin flow across Sungai Rengas village through canal. People in Sungai Rengas village take water for their domestic use and agriculture from canal.

2.2 Data Collection

Data collection was collected during interview through structured questioners during workshop and discussion for primary data. Furthermore, secondary data have been collected from bureaus reports and journal relate with study area. A survey was conducted with concerning water treatment system, women's participation on water supply, workshop to educate women's on water treatment system and their level of satisfaction from workshop and project was conducted at 12 households with women's representative for each households.

2.3 Method

60 women participants or equal with 12 HHs from 4 sub villages were selected systematically to accurately represent the population for water treatment workshop. Identification of women's participation on water management system used SWOT analysis, an acronym for "strengths", "weaknesses", "opportunities", and "threats". Data analyzed with descriptive qualitative method to define the strength and weakness in the research, also the opportunities and external threats to achieve the objectives of the research. Qualitative data collected from women's group and village authorities using structured questionnaire interviews and discussions. A Cartesius graphic representation of the results of a SWOT analysis facilitates the quick assimilation of the key features and highlights of the results. The SWOT Chart model differentiates between strengths and weaknesses of different scales, relevance and strategic impact with scale plot significant strength (5), strength (3), minor strength (1), neutral (0), minor weakness (-1), weakness (-3), and significant weakness (-5). The different probabilities of threats or opportunities are also incorporated with scale plot significant opportunity (5), opportunity (3), minor opportunity (1), neutral (0), minor threat (-1), threat (-3), and significant threat (-5).

2.4 Data Analysis

Data analysis in this method used External Strategic Factors Analysis Summary (EFAS) for external strategic factors containing an opportunity and a threat to the sustainability of the project. To analyze the internal factors which contain strength and weaknesses in this study used Internal Strategic Factors Analysis Summary (IFAS).

3. Result
3.1 Socio-Economic of women's respondents

Total respondents in questionnaire interviews were 40 women from 4 sub villages and 20 women from women's group in Sungai Rengas village. The socio-economic of respondents showed that most women or 67% of respondents in Sungai Rengas village as housewife, teacher and civil servant have equal number of 13%, and 7% run their own business. Figure 1 shows women's occupation in Sungai Rengas village.
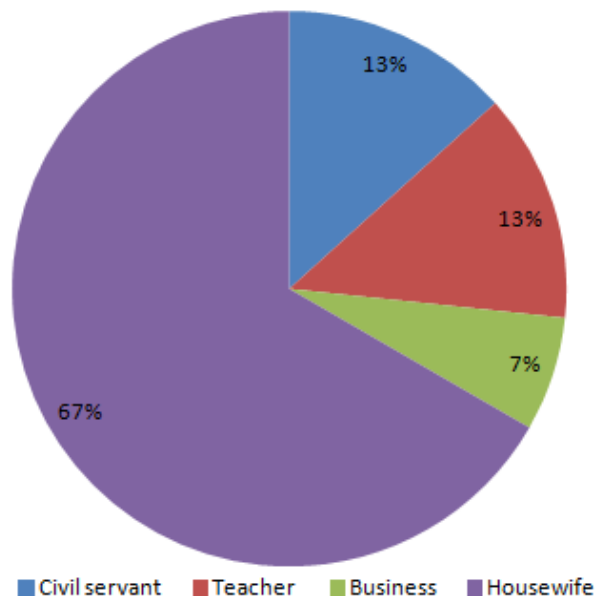

Fig 1. Women's occupation in Sungai Rengas village

Moreover, low education and lack of training were the main problem in women participates in water project scheme in Sungai Rengas Village with most of graduated from elementary school (35%). The number of women graduate from university still less or 16.7% of total respondents and 1.7% of respondents were illiterate (figure 2).
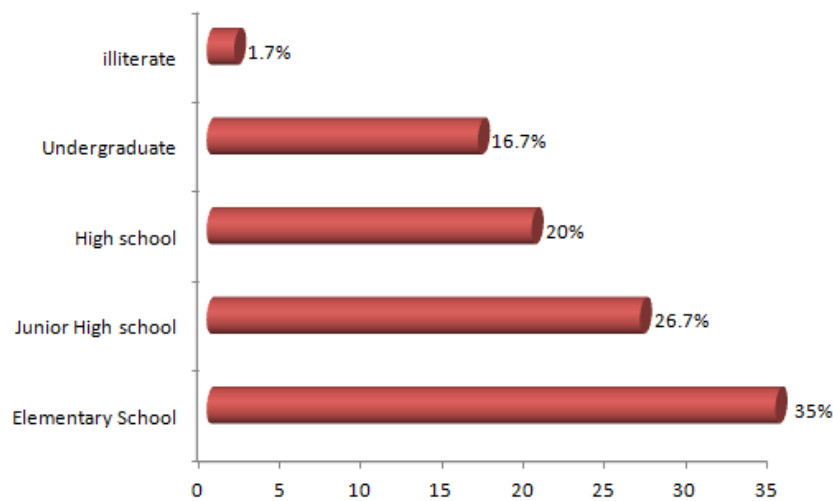

Fig 2. Education level of women in Sungai Rengas village

3.2 Water source and utility

River water has significant role in Indonesia especially for domestic use, irrigation, aquaculture, economic activities and transportation. People in Sungai Rengas village take water for their domestic use, agriculture, fish farming, and husbandry from river. However the quality of water has become main environmental problem in Indonesia, particularly in Sungai Rengas village. Ministry of Health (2008) reported that diarrhea remains a leading cause of death in children under five years old in Indonesia. Moreover, diarrhea rate in children from households using open wells for drinking water was recorded 34 % higher compared with children from households using tap water [3].

The majority (86%) of the respondents consume less than 100 liters of water per day per household. Only 11% of the respondents consume more than 100 liters of water per day per household and 3% of the respondents do not know exactly how many liters of water was consumed per day. Average water-consumption- ability of households from the developed potable water projects was calculated to be 49.1 liters and 33 liters in a day from functional and non-functional systems respectively. Almost all respondents (94%) explained that improve water development is their priority issue. The remaining respondent stated that welfare, agriculture system were the main issue in their village. Furthermore, respondent state water quality is the biggest problem due to pollution and sedimentation problem in the river.

3.3 SWOT analysis for women's participatory in water management

The result of survey showed that approximately 56% women show commitment to involve on water supply management with composed group of 60 female participants responsible for simple water treatment system in 12 households on Sungai Rengas village. The workshop questionnaires show that all participants very satisfy with the workshop and can apply the information of water treatment system for their household. Effective communication with local leader and community led success to advocate women participatory and leadership in water supply management.

Based on the variable strengths and weaknesses of the internal factors of the study was showed on IFAS matrix (table 1), total impact of strength (14) higher than weakness (12) with

the biggest impact from women's participation on water treatment system. The IFAS matrix also showed that water quality is the biggest issue in community and lack knowledge also access of technology gave challenges to develop integrated water resources management in Sungai Rengas village. However, this result indicates that strength factor is more influential than weakness to enhance the role of women in water resources management.

Table 1. IFAS matrix

Strength	Rating	Probability	Impact
Women's group	3	1	1
Water resources	1	5	3
Women's participation	5	5	5
Water treatment system	5	5	5
total	14	16	14
Weakness	Rating	Probability	Impact
Water quality	-5	5	5
Knowledge and access to technology	-1	3	3
Social and Culture	-3	1	1
Water pricing	-3	3	3
total	-12	12	12

Furthermore, EFAS matrix showed that total impact of opportunities (14) higher than threats (10). Rise of awareness in community for sustainability of water resources development improve opportunities to develop water treatment system for low-income community. Full participation of stakeholders including women's participation in integrated water management is important in order to consider the demand of stakeholders.

Table 2. EFAS Matrix

Opportunities	Rating	Probability	Impact
Water policy for low-income community	5	-5	5
Promotion of income for women	1	-1	1
National gender policy	1	-3	3
Increasing awareness between economy and water availability	3	-5	5
total	10	-14	14
Threats	Rating	Probability	Impact
Limited fund	-5	-5	5
Climate change	-1	-3	3
Urbanization	-1	-1	1
Sanitation and Hygiene	-1	-1	1
total	-8	-10	10

The Cartesius graph shows the SWOT analysis of enhancement women's participation in water resources management (Figure 3). Due to strength factor has bigger value than weaknesses. Moreover, SWOT analysis also showed the opportunity value is higher threats that lead to the Strength-Opportunities (SO) strategy. The Strength-Opportunities (SO) strategy to improve women's participation in water resources management is develop water treatment system with women's participation in management for low-income community to increase awareness between economy and water availability in Sungai Rengas village. Effective communication with local leader and community led success to advocate women participatory and leadership in water supply management.
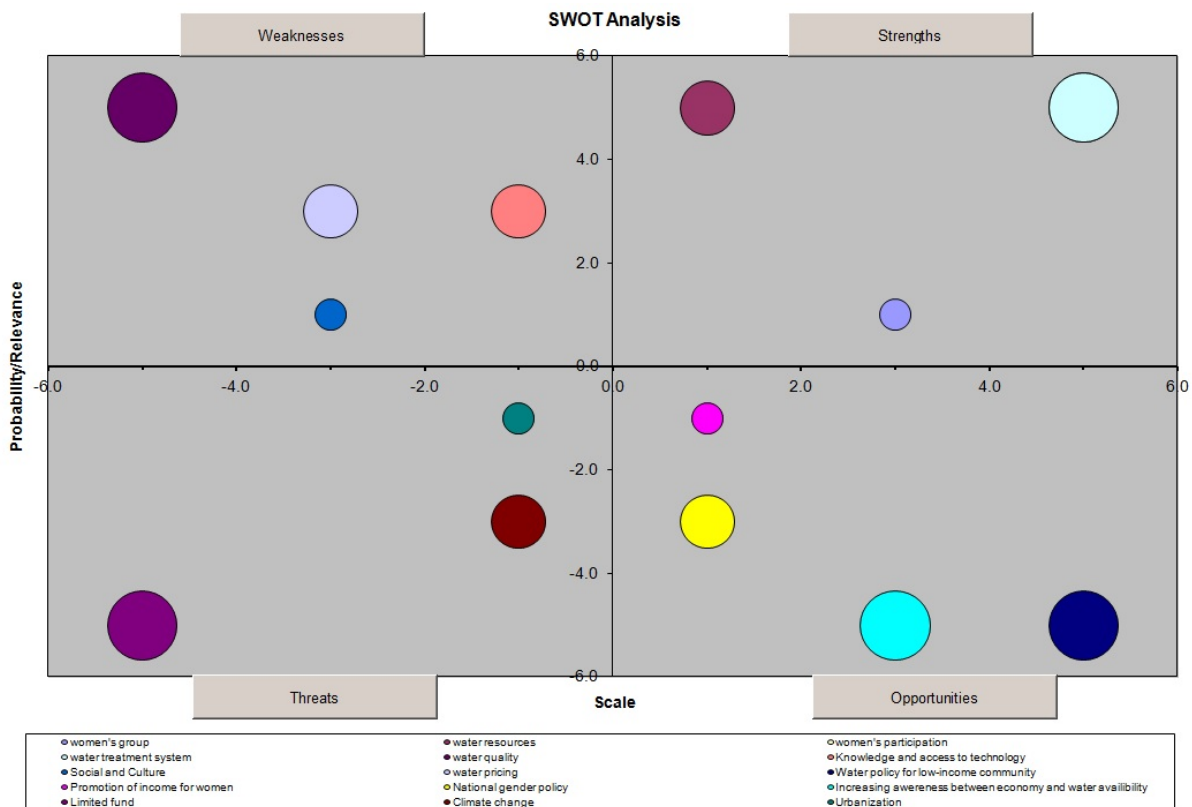

Fig 3. SWOT analysis using Cartesius graph

4. Conclusion

The study found that women in Sungai Rengas village have low education with less access on water resources management. Water quality is the biggest issue in Sungai Rengas village. The majority of the respondents consume less than 100 liters of water per day per household with priority issue to improve water development is their village. SWOT analysis lead to the Strength-Opportunities (SO) strategy by development of water treatment system with women's participation in management for low-income community to increase awareness between economy and water availability in Sungai Rengas village.

Acknowledgements

References

[1] Bappenas.2011. Laporan Pencapaian Tujuan Pembangunan Milineum di Indonesia *(Report of MDG Achievement in Indonesia)* .Jakarta: Bappenas (National Development Planning Agency).

[2] PemprovKalbar.2004. Sarana dan Prasarana Daerah Provinsi Kalimantan Barat. Retrieved from http://www.kalbarprov.go.id/profil.php?id=20 accessed on January 23th, 2015.

[3] Ministry of Health .2008. Laporan Nasional: Riset Kesehatan Dasar (Riskesdas) 2007, Jakarta: Ministry of Health, National Institute of Health Research and Development.

Exploring Career Opportunities for Diverse Women in South Africa with special reference to Aviation: Life Orientation Perspectives

Mabatho Sedibe

Department of Educational Psychology, University of Johannesburg,

P.O. Box 524. Auckland-park. Johannesburg. 2006. South Africa

Abstract

This article is based on exploring career opportunities for diverse women in South Africa with special reference to Aviation. Aviation is an industry that is not widely explored in South Africa especially with women as pilots, yet it plays an important role in the country's international, national and domestic economy. Little has been done on this focus due to its complexities and also that after 20 years of South African democracy; female skill shortage in the aviation industry is still not addressed. Yet equitable empowerment of diverse women in aviation is paramount important. This study is theoretically- based where various theories and concepts are used rather than research- based. In concluding this study it should be noted that the relative lack of diverse women in South African aviation sector is not an excuse because the South African government has given us all the opportunities to explore this field.

Based on these points, it is recommended that more career awareness and bursaries be made available to the ideal candidates and also that aviation industries should make piloting more attractive to women. South African government should thus intervene in that regard .e.g. start to see the significance of transforming the industries and also building aviation colleges in all the provinces as well as including aviation as a course in the curriculum of South African Universities.

Keywords: Diverse women, aviation, career opportunities and Life Orientation

INTRODUCTION

Aviation is an industry that is not widely explored in South Africa especially with women as pilots, yet it plays an important role in the country's international, national and domestic economy. Twenty years into South African democracy, diverse women, for that matter young women (White, African, Colored and Indian) in particular are still not occupying better positions such as flying aero- planes as pilots and aviators. This is still dominated by white males, because of imbalances created by apartheid prior 1994. This thus has led to the exclusion of certain people including diverse women in the country or societies. Furthermore, gender stereotypes, media programmes as well as motivational materials where only men are portrayed often as pilots also contributed to this exclusion. This might lead to girl thinking that aviation field industry is exclusively designed for men only. In other words transformation in the aviation industry is still a challenge, as there are still too few women who occupy highly skilled positions in that regard as compared to their male counterparts even after 20 years of freedom and democracy in South Africa (SA).

THE PROBLEM STATEMENT AND CONTEXT OF THIS INQUIRY

According to the statistics complied in 2013 by the Department of transport, a total of 57 women are pilots. On the other hand 688 Whites, 17 Indians, 8 Coloreds and 14 Black women are helicopters. This according to (Mitchell, Kristovics and Bishop, 2012) means that women pilots' representation is less than six percent of the worldwide pilot population. On this point it is evidence that empowering and educating women focusing on diverse career opportunities is important especially in the aviation industries, if South Africa wants to acknowledge both affirmative action and equal employment opportunities as stated in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (2004). If this is not respected and achieved, lack of people's awareness to career opportunities such as aviation can still contribute towards the inequalities of diverse women employment especially with reference to aviation. This is supported by South African Civil Aviation Authority (CAA) (2014) when stating that 89% of the country's pilots are white with 4% blacks only as well as only 8 qualified flight procedure designers in the country .This really shows that SA is still having a long way to go in reaching gender equality with regard to aviation as a career opportunity. Most blacks are occupying cabin crew positions. According to Khoza in Soweten newspaper (Tuesday June 2014 page 8), this type of disparities are caused by skills shortages experienced by previously disadvantaged communities. The second cause is that certain courses such as aviation are very expensive. For example an 18 months aviation course can cost up to R3000 000 in SA. This amount of money is too much for a black disadvantaged South African and thus cannot afford to get an opportunity to pursue the career in aviation. To the researcher this is really unfair and I thus personally refuse to say, historically disadvantaged individuals stretch only as far as for instance being a cabin crew, as statistics has indicated a high intake in that category. Even though the Government is given a credit as has spent money on training, there is still little change as this aviation is still nowhere near transformation after 20 years of democracy. This is supported by the Aviation figures on table 1 below as follows:

Table1

	South African Air Ways		SA		Comair	
	male	female	male	female	male	female
African	55	4	21	11	2	0
Colored	27	2	3	1	4	1
Indian	42	4	7	1	4	1
White	582	62	181	20	183	12
Total	706	72	212	33	193	14

Modified Table from Sources SAA, SA express and Comair 2013 as taken from Sowetan newspaper page 9, Tuesday 24, June 2014

Diversity in this study

There is a widely held misconception about diversity that people think it is static. In this study diversity is viewed as the concept that encompasses acceptance and respect of individual's holistic development. This is not the case in this article as we should be taught to know that diversity has been at a centre of debate in South Africa. Achieving it remains a challenge because of South Africa's complex political, geographic and socio-economic factors. This does not mean that we should postpone seeking ways in which diversity can be enhanced and achieved. This statement is supported by (Banks, 1989) when pointing out that we should strengthen an awareness of diversity by shifting away from the traditional view where certain job opportunities are suitable for males on the expense of females. In this context this means that diversity at work place should also acknowledge the employment of women especially in aviation industries where there is still prevalence of male domination.

The role of Life Orientation in making people aware of career opportunities

Before 1994 the subjects of School Guidance, Physical Education, Religious Education and Moral Education were offered at South African schools. However, in the early nineties these subjects were merged with a new subject called Life Orientation because of the new democracy in South Africa and rationalization process that was taking place in Education. Life Orientation as a new Subject was introduced into the primary and high school curriculum in 1997 and was then revised in 2002. This was part of the process of restructuring the Education system in line with a nonracist, democratic South Africa as stated in the Revised National Curriculum Statement (2004). Life Orientation includes five Learning Outcomes: Health promotion, Social development, Personal development, Physical development and movement, and Orientation to the world of work, thus effectively replacing

the pre-1994 subjects of School Guidance, Physical Education and Religious Education. On this note, this new Subject (Life Orientation) provides an appropriate platform to promote an awareness of orientation to the world of work. Teaching Orientation to the world of work as a unit in the curriculum is thus significant since through it, students especially female students can be aware of diverse career paths to follow including aviation. It is an ideal time to show students that Orientation to the world of work is inevitable and important.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Brofenbrenner's theory is very important in this article because it focuses on the interrelated systems such as the family, school, and society/community (Donald, Lazarus, Lolwana (2006). This theory is therefore relevant to this study and its relevance is seen when as a lecturer and researcher has realised that the systems permeate and interact with one another in order to bring into picture that balance. For example if students are taught and exposed right from school and University level (micro-system) to variety of career opportunities such as aviation, will be easy for most of female students/ women to know that they too can attempt to pursue such career paths at Higher Education Institutions and Colleges (meso-system), resulting in them working with their male counterparts in the communities (macro-system). It can be once more emphasized that the preceding theoretical framework is relevant to this article, as we are in the currently changing society that needs an inclusion of both males and females in the workplace as stated in the White paper Six (2004) that it is imperative that the continuing
inequities are eradicated and that the process through which the
learner, educator and professional support services populations become representative of the South African population, is accelerated. This means that there should be no segregation in any institution in as far as teaching and learning and employability of workers are concerned.

RESEACH QUESTION

Based on the preceding section, the research question can be stated as:

How can diverse women in SA be made aware of aviation as a career opportunity?

AIM OF THE STUDY

The aim of this study is to:

Describe and explore aviation as a career opportunity to the South African diverse women.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This article is limited to only South African diverse women, and therefore cannot be generalized to other cases or similar situations.

CONCLUSION

From the above discussion, it can be concluded that diverse females are still in minority in as far as employment in aviation is concerned .The researcher is therefore of the opinion that if the subject of Life Orientation can be taught thoroughly and seriously in schools, this can assist the students in seeing that there are more diverse career paths to follow including aviation.

RECOMMENDATION

Based on the preceding discussion, it can therefore be recommended that:

- South African government should intervene in that regard .e.g. start to see the significance of transforming the industries and also building aviation colleges in all the provinces as well as including aviation as a course in the curriculum of South African Universities
- More Career awareness and bursaries be in place to the ideal candidates.
- The aviation industry should make piloting more attractive to women and be taught as a Module/Course and not as a Unit

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Banks, J.A. 2001. *Multicultural Education: Characteristics and Goals in Multicultural Education. Issues and Perspectives*. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Khoza, A. *Sowetan newspaper,* page 9 Tuesday June 24 2014

Department of Education. 2004. *Education White Paper6. Special Needs Education*. Pretoria: Government Printers.

Department of Education. 2004. *Revised National Curriculum Statement: Grades 7–9 (Schools). Senior Phase.* Pretoria: Government Printers.

Department of Transport. 2013. *Statistics*. Pretoria: Government printers

Donald, D. Lazarus, S., & Lolwana, P. (2006). *Educational Psychology in Social Context.* 3rd Edition. Cape Town: Oxford University Press Southern Africa.

Mitchell, J. Kristovics, A., & Bishop, R. (2010).*Glass cockpits in general aviation: A comparision of men and women pilots' perceptions. International journal of applied aviation studies*, 10(2), 11-29

In and out of our own skins: confronting and overcoming obstacles to men's and women's mental constructs in the spheres of power and leadership, via the context of 3 major '-isms' –sexism, ageism and racism

Dr. Keith Akiva Lehrer

Liberal Arts and Professional Studies

York University

Toronto, Canada.

The much-vaunted 'level playing field' is still an aspiration for the majority of the world population, especially though not exclusively for the female portion –although it is no longer an abstract fantasy. Three entrenched '-isms': sexism, racism and ageism converge and conspire as deeply entrenched social and psychological constructs to 'sustain'(!) inequalities and inequities in many if not most human realms of endeavor: economic, business, political, academic, communal and artistic spheres represent an incomplete list. This paper looks at some positive movements in each (progress in redressing power imbalances), recognition of ancient and more recent obstacles in moving through each (forces maintaining the status quo), and thoughts on how to override some of the obstacles, in the light of the potent forces of 21st century technological break-throughs, simultaneously with the human condition of gloom and doom. Particular reference will be made to the role of the expressive arts (literature, music and dance inter alia), in breaking new ground to help level the playing field.

The contribution of a number of women (and some men) as pioneers in their respective fields will provide grist for the above mill –e.g. Biblical role models (Jael, Deborah, Miriam, the virgin Mary), nineteenth century British social activists (e.g. Elizabeth Fry, the Cadburys and Rowntrees), and writers: George Eliot, Charlotte and Emily Bronte, Jane Austen; more modern authors Thomas Keneally, George Orwell, Doris Lessing, Margaret Atwood, Hannah Arendt, Gabrielle Roth (creator of '5 Rhythms' dance genre), historical (Jeanne D'Arc, Gandhi, Golda Meir) and contemporary female political leaders (Latin American, Antipodean and European female heads of government).

In and out of our own skins…..

Introduction: hors d'oeuvre

Where to start? The issues of gender (in)equality and power (im)balance, of leader/submission roles between genders, and their converse, did not start with the Bible stories, but those myths definitely helped to create and re-inforce societal norms among Christian and Moslem populations. The first woman, Eve, born conveniently from Adam's 'rib', was ipso facto his 'appendage' –thus given inferior status ab inicio! The story of her tempting of the first man Adam, with the 'apple of knowledge', led them out of the blissful state of innocence, and they were punished by being banished forever from that state of perfection –the Garden of Eden. Eve the seductress, Adam the dupe: not the most auspicious start for the religiously sanctified chronicling of man-woman relations!

Did that apocryphal story set the stage for the next countless generations of blaming women for the basic ills confronting humankind? Did it establish a framework of distrust, or at least its embryo, in man-woman relations? Did it provide the ultimate justification of the burning or drowning of countless generations of women as witches, as soon as the female role of submission was judged by men to be usurping or even threatening male roles of power and dominance?

The history of Jeanne D'Arc can be seen to epitomize the rigidity of the framework of man-woman relations, in Medieval 'Christian' Europe, where she was forced to don men's clothing in order to fight and win the Dauphin's battles –he the spineless 'leader'; she the one with visions of her mission to save her royal 'master'. As with so many of histories heroes and heroines, Jeanne's story was dramatized and eulogized in literature, but by two male writers, both almost modern: Anouilh's L'Alouette (Anouilh 195.) and G.B. Shaw's more famous St. Joan (Shaw, 19...). In the former the Inquisitioner focused on Jeanne's mortal and unpardonable sin –her 'orgueil':in his male view, that of pride bordering on arrogance, in which she considered herself above the strictures of her Church. In a figurative sense Jeanne needed to shed her female skin, or 'skein', in order to adopt her role as spiritual and military leader. She paid the ultimate human price for that daring.

 The Bible cannot be blamed for offering only subversive or weak female stereotypes. It provides both overtly powerful and manipulative: the prophetess Deborah led the Children of Israel against the infidel army of Siserah, and overthrew him. The woman Jael personally slew the fugitive leader, albeit by lulling him into a sense of false security first, through food and succor. Earlier in the Old Testament Miriam was responsible for the life and protection of her brother Moses, albeit in a back-up role; when she attempted to usurp that role, she was punished (with leprosy, by Divine intervention!) And later, Delilah? Not exactly a righteous female: she used her attractiveness to lure her 'master' Samson into giving up the secret of his colossal physical prowess; i.e. his uncut hair. On balance the Old Testament seems to support interpretation of either a supportive or a subversive role, neither omnipotent, for the female gender. And the ultimate arbiter? God inevitably depicted as a male figure, with Man made in his image! The New Testament follows suit: it provides us with a male Christus, son

of God, and the role of his Mum -a sexless, and therefore pure, 'virgin' Mary, whose principal role once again is to support and succour her Divine Son. The very thought of supplanting her little wonder kid would be considered heresy of the highest order!

Main

One might argue that the myths of religion have no bearing on contemporary social structures, human relations, and modes of thinking. However in Western civilization at least, the Church, in all its major manifestations –Catholic, Protestant, Greek and Russian Orthodox, Evangelical, has provided an on-going institution, a prototype of what we now label 'global', with transnational or more accurately 'meta-national' power. Kings and Kingdoms, Czars, Emperors and Reichs have come and gone, but The Church has maintained its hold –on purse strings, real estate property, on social relations and behavior, and most intangibly yet perhaps most significantly, on the psyches of men and women. The largest, the Catholic Church, has yet to accept women into positions of power and leadership in its deeply entrenched organizational structure. Both sexes are born and raised into that structure, and their perceptions of the appropriateness of man-woman power relations have been framed, and to some extent still are so framed, by that structure. In Berger and Luckman's terms, this has represented, and through consistent inter-generational re-inforcement still represents, a major constituent of 'the social construction of reality'. The village priest, the father confessor, the bishop and archbishop, and at the peak of power 'el Papa': all male role embodying earthly empowerment, supported by religious ("Divine"?) authority.

And yet! An evolution, if not a revolution, can be perceived in the redressing the imbalance of power between the sexes. Some political milestones have included the almost global enfranchisement of women, during the last century –with a tip of our hats to the 'crazy sufragettes' in England, who chained themselves to the fences of political institutions, to demand change, in an heroic act of early social, non-violent disobedience. The first and second world wars, appalling as they were, still had the unplanned effect of having females acknowledged and accepted as skilled or trainable workers, in economies which had been stripped of male workers due to military conscription. An economic ratchet effect ensued, and with it, with cash in their pockets, politically 'liberated' females could get their feet on at least the bottom rung of the ladder towards economic 'liberation'. Still a far cry from executive management, but no longer could any latter-day French Revolution call just for 'fraternite' in its proclamation for human justice: together with 'liberte' and 'egalite', the rallying cry would need to be changed to include both sexes!

We are trapped in our own skins of perceiving our world, and our position within it, not just by social structures, as outlined briefly above, but by the very language which we learn and use, from earliest infancy. Words -our means of communication, are the building blocks to our understanding of social reality. In many languages the masculine form includes and 'embodies' the female: thus in Spanish 'padres' or fathers, includes mothers, making them invisible in the generic form of 'parents'. French revolutionaries would have similarly argued

that 'fraternite' would naturally have included 'sororite' –it was just a technical matter of gender inclusion. To a three-year old brain learning the meaning of language, this is no technical matter. It goes to the roots of his-her understanding of the world, and its social distribution of power.

This is not to declaim the profound impact of the French Revolution's 'battle cry'. 20th century women labelling themselves as part of the women's liberation movement recognize the deep connection, linguistic and social, between liberte and liberation. Here we go one stage further and suggest an ineluctable causal link between liberation and empowerment.

Spheres of excelling for women

From the general to the more specific: women have found leadership roles more accessible in some spheres of social activity, than in others. Two are worthy of particular note:

1. The Helping Professions and semi-professions
2. The Arts –performing and expressive

Women in the Helping Professions

The classical professions of law, medicine and priesthood have traditionally been barred, not just from females, but from all except politically/legally/socially approved classes of males; likewise the 'officer classes' of the military. In this way elites were perpetuated in class systems. Other more traditional societies maintained exclusivity through a rigid caste system, which was if anything less permeable than the Western class system observed and critiqued by Marx. In all these systems women were systemically excluded from elite professions.

In Western societies the above scenario has been attenuated, so that, with the exception of the Catholic Priesthood, women may aspire to work in the 'elite professions'. Judge Rosalie Abella, in a landmark study on the Status of Women and other minorities in Canada, attested to the fact that whilst women cannot be legally barred from entry, their representation in the elite professions was substantially lower than male counterparts of similar credentials. This was in a country which prides itself for its egalitarian and inclusive culture.

Since it was difficult if not sometimes impossible for women to gain access to the 'top' professions, in terms of pay and social prestige, they have often opted to enter the 'semi-professions' of a helping nature; nursing until recently was considered an exclusively female domain; occupational therapy, physiotherapy, osteopathy, audiology, massage therapy, music and dance therapy, all boast a disproportionate number of women 'professionals' working in them and earning above-level incomes, though not the astronomical earnings often reported of physicians and surgeons. As more pressure is exerted on the traditional institutions of law and medicine, including their schools, we can expect to see more vacancies of elite positions opened up to both genders equally, if only to preserve the highest level of professional quality, in an age which increasingly clamours for greater transparency in institutional and executive decision-making. This is clearly more valid, the more open and liberalized the society. he converse holds true.

Women in Expressive and Performing Arts

Expressive Arts include writing, painting, sculpture and musical composition. The 20th century Canadian Emily Carr managed to combine three careers: her most memorable was a pioneering depiction of aboriginal symbols, esp. totems, in her art; for which she was (belatedly) accorded an honorary position as sole female artist, among the illustrious Canadian 'Group of Seven' –the most recognized artists of the great Canadian landscape. Less well recognized was here ironic and self-deprecating style of literary writing, as exemplified in her autobiography: 'House of all sorts.' Since she earned very little from the sale of her early paintings, she was dependent on her third career for sustenance –she ran a rooming house in Victoria for many years, and had to put up with all the ignominies of a small landlord/lady trying to enforce her rights against mostly semi-indigent males –an unenviable occupation for any person, but compounded by her eccentricity and her lack of male muscle. (Landlords as Scapegoats –Lehrer 1988)

Women seem to be remarkably rare among the world's recognized and respected musical composers. However, this phenomenon might reflect as much on the devaluation of women's creative abilities by societies dominated by men, as by women's objective abilities in this area. Felix Mendelsohn was a well-recognized German composer, though perhaps less praised than others due to his well-known Jewish roots. His baptism did not dispense with the prejudices. However his sister Fanny faced the double whammy of gender and ethnicity. To some now her work represents a higher quality of musicianship than that of her brother, but it is still played very little, and in all probability much of it was not transcribed into musical manuscript. How much found its way into Felix's compositions is also not completely known, but would have offered some degree of creative outlet for Fanny's undoubted talents. In any event she lived in a time and place which was considered highly enlightened; yet it was not a society which supported her empowerment. Similarly with Clara Schuman, wife of the famous composer Carl Schuman. In both cases, the women were praised for their supportive role as pianists, performing the creative works of their male family members!

Interestingly if we shift our focus from classical to other musical genres, we witness more female participation and recognition. Bessie Smith was a Blues legend, followed by many others –Cleo Laine, Nina Simone, Ella Fitzgerald, all of whom made it on to the world musical stage. And they were all Black (not all African American –Cleo Laine was a star in the U.K.! They also all combined expressive with performing art!) As argued below, oppressions and liberations tend to compound one another. Empowerment in one area can be a potent force towards empowerment in another!

Performing arts would include all forms of dance, song, circus, theatre, film and TV/video. It would be hard to conceive of any of these flourishing without the presence of the female. In classical ballet women as well as men have been provided with leading roles (Swan Lake, Les Sylphides, The Nutcracker etc.) However, performances in artistic endeavours do not guarantee to women leadership roles. It might in fact lead them into being used as 'sex symbols' for audiences which have historically either been primarily male, or whose custom has been paid for principally by males, including the cost of their consorts. Scantily clad

women on elephants and on trapezes may indeed display high levels of skill and daring. Their value to the entrepreneur will lie in their ability to 'wow' the audience. This is not to go to the extreme of saying that in most performing arts the woman's body is a commodity, as Hobsbawn might presuppose. However, it is to suggest that the empowerment of women in performing arts as a whole hinges on the liberation of men from any obsession of images of women as sexual objects –work hard to accomplish in the face of an entertainment industry addicted to using female sexual imagery as one of its primary marketing tools!

Hard, but not impossible: Gabrielle Roth created a new genre of dance performance, which she labelled the 5 Rhythms (Roth….), and which has gained acceptance from both genders as a dance form which promotes liberation of mind and spirit, as well as body. It is taught by accredited practitioners of both genders; the classes are attended likewise by both genders; the quality of a dancer's performance is, as with yogic philosophy, subsumed under the emotional and spiritual enlightenment which may be facilitated by the practice. 'Showing off' by either gender in performance is discouraged. As with many non-mainstream performing and therapeutic arts, Gabrielle Roth devoted her life as a professional practitioner, moved thousands of souls through hard to better lived lives, and provides an exemplar of leadership and empowerment through creative art form. She lived into this century.

More mainstream and more universally enjoyed are the performances of Cirque de Soleil, which has expanded from its base in Quebec, to become a world-wide circus/dance arts phenomenon. It is not known to exploit the sexuality of its women performers, although it does push all its performers –male and female, to their limits –another example of liberation through the performing arts.

Writing has been a medium available for women's empowerment since antiquity, because it could be camouflaged as work produced by men. George Eliot (e.g. 'Middlemarch') maintained her 'nom de plume' in the face of discrimination and prejudice in 19th Century England, and succeeded in getting her art widely acclaimed. A sign of evolutionary progress has been the lack of need, in contemporary Western societies, of women hiding their gender identity, in order to have their books published. However, it remains a moot point as to whether women writers are as quick to receive universal accolades, as their male counterparts: Doris Lessing wrote her most famous books (the 4-part Golden Notebook) in 1962. The books wrote of topics considered taboo for discussion, for millennia: women's orgasms, menstruation, frigidity, their need for and right to equality in men-women relations, all of which provided grist for the mill of the Women's Lib movements of the 60s and 70s. Yet not until 45 years later did she receive the ultimate recognition of a world-class author – she was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in 2007, at age 88. She died six years later.

The Bronte sisters contributed to our understanding of the domestic and family status of women (inferior) in 19th century England (e.g. Wuthering Heights). A less well-known work by Charlotte, called 'Yvette', depicted the status of an unmarried woman (a 'spinster'!) not in England, but in France, where her heroine chose to courageously 'escape' to, in order be free

from the strictures of Victorian society. Sadly, she spent her life as a low-paid private school tutor of English –one up from a governess, but little different to what her socio-economic status would have been in her home country. Charlotte knew from first-hand experience, of what she wrote. Yet her writing empowered her and lives on, to empower current and future generations –of women, but also of men, in helping transform their 'mindscapes'.

Shifting to the mid-late 20th century, women writers start to abound. Often their work is morbid. At a personal level Sylvia Plath's poetry reflected her deep despair, culminating in suicide. At a philosophical/sociological level Arendt's work (e.g. The Origins of Totalitarianism) suggests an equally deep despair concerning the ability of the human race to manage its public affairs with any sense of the triple message of the French Revolution, from two centuries before. Both were acclaimed writers, whose gender did not prevent them from getting their quite different but powerful messages published and immortalized globally. The fact that neither was sanguine about the future of humankind might have more than a little to do with their ethnic background, (both were Jewish –both lived through the era of the mechanized slaughter of the 6 million Jews by the Nazi Reich, 1933-1945); which leads us to consider the links between the '-isms' of sexism, racism and ageism.

The stickiness factor of the 3 '-isms': sexism, racism and ageism

Those involved in social justice and liberation work would normally attest to the way that one 'ism' tends to collude with, to be compounded by a second and/or a third. 3 of the most basic social prejudices: sexism, racism and ageism, seem to straddle societies from East to West, from North to South, and despite Marx's brave predictions, to straddle classes within societies too. Oppressions created by one –ism seem to buttress and support oppressions maintained by the other two. And conversely: societies which have managed to recognize and then systemically reduce the inequalities revolving around sex, sexual orientation, transgender issues and the like, tend to be the same societies which have done similar work in recognizing and reducing inequalities and inequities around age and race/ethnicity. An ethos of inclusion would to facilitate the liberalization of attitudes, values and these will be reflected in the legal framework. Empowerment and leadership can then more easily arise from any group previously oppressed –through class, gender, sexual orientation age (at either end of the spectrum) and of course race, ethnicity and religious conviction. One might posit that the greater the inequality in one area, the greater the potential for inequality in other areas. Work on the empowerment of women may move a society towards greater egalitarianism in the other areas of oppression cited.

Women At Work: level playing field or glass ceiling?

Potentially both! In small-scale enterprises women have shown remarkable entrepreneurial flair, especially in the less developed countries. BRAC has fostered and built on this, not just in its home country of Bangladesh, but increasingly in Africa and other parts of the economically under-developed world. Millions of women have been empowered to transform their lives, from totally dependent and indigent status, to that of independent entrepreneur, and in many cases to relatively high economic status, which has washed over into a

transformed and much elevated social status. In Western economies, women have also managed to find niches where their service, helping, care-taking and therapeutic expertises have provided an edge, even in the competitive field of larger-scale activity. Lululemon has been a success story, by focusing on service and caring, within the yoga attire industry. Small-scale capitalism is not the only the only part of the playing field, which has opened up in recent times to economically adventurous women.

On the other hand, at the board room level of level of existing, successful multinational enterprises, women are still under-represented. Those who do manage to break through the 'glass ceiling' complain that they have to be incomparably smarter, more hard-working and talented than their male counterparts, in order to attain high-level organizational promotions, and be accepted as part of what has traditionally been considered a 'boys' club'. To the extent that this is still the organizational reality for large-scale enterprise, the transnationals are losing one of the most valuable sources of revenue-generating wealth, into which they can still tap. The leading academic institutions have (belatedly) recognized this, and women have increasingly found their rightful place in universities under a policy of more or less 'affirmative action'.

Women and Political Power

As with other areas, women have often been 'the power behind the throne'. Chinese dynasties have owed much to first, second, third and fourth wives, who have found it expedient to collaborate, rather than succumb to the humiliations of sexual competition. But closet power has been replaced increasingly by overt and institutionally recognized power. Perhaps even more telling has been the role of women in Opposition, where their power is volatile and not always welcome, whether or not it is institutionally recognized. Presently in S.E. Asia, two of the most outspoken Opposition Leaders are the now world-famous Nobel Peace Prize laureate Aung San Suu Kyi, who like Nelson Mandela spent much of her adult life in gaol or under house arrest, for daring to challenge an authoritarian, repressive and violent regime; and who finally was powerful enough to challenge the authority of the entrenched Government. Less famous at a global level, but made of the same mettle is the current Opposition Leader to the Government of China –not the PRC but the pugilistic island of Taiwan, whose current government has lost some of its pugilism vis-a-vis its behemoth neighbour. Tsai Ing-wen has her roots in the study of law, and currently uses them to uphold the Weberian principles of the rule of law, (Weber, 1949), in addition to challenging the bona fides of mainland China. Her Facebook page of 14/2/15 was quoted in the newspaper The Nation of Thailand, as follows: "We should create an era in politics that truly belongs to the people, a new politics of transparency, cleanness, participation, tolerance."

From Opposition leaders to some of the more notable female political power incumbents: Golda Meir, Gandhi (the woman, unrelated to the man, who never held formal political office!), and Thatcher, all left their marks on the world stage in the turbulent aftermath of the two world wars of the twentieth century. In earlier eras, Queens Elizabeth First and Victoria were formidable heads of State, and their State was arguably the most powerful world power during their reigns. In modern times, an increasing number of women have attained the

ultimate position of political power, as prime minister/president. The most powerful head of State in Europe presently, and for some time now, is a woman (Angela Merkel). In trans-national political institutions women are (again arguably quite belatedly) being given office at the highest level. The Secretary General (=Director) of Francophonie, which represents some 57 States and half a billion French-speaking people around the world, most in under-developed countries, is a woman, herself originally from Haiti, one of the poorest and most oppressed countries. Not a household name, unlike the Pope or the US. President, she nonetheless is highly thought of in international political spheres as competent, energetic, courageous and feminist. Michaelle Jean, prior to taking up her new position in January 2015, was Governor General of Canada.

An irony is that the generally considered macho culture of Latin America has spawned a disproportionate number of female presidents, (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica), some of whom are still in office. How many attained their positions independently of a male sponsor is a controversial question. It may go to the root of some of the male-female power issues with which we grapple, at a personal and at a societal level! At least the current Chilean and Argentinian Presidencies are not synonymous with violence, torture and 'disparacedos', as were the dynasties of their male presidential predecessors. One could posit that, despite Shakespeare's values-enhancing literary theme of the evil and violence of women in power (Goneril, Regan, Lady Macbeth et al.), women in actual power have exhibited less lust for blood and violence than their male counterparts –one could suggest this as part of their general socialization as caring and co-operating, rather than self-aggrandisement, competition and aggression, which have been suggested as hallmarks of male socialization for generations. Whatever their failings might be or have been , it is difficult to conceive of Merkel, or even the Iron Lady Thatcher, unlike Hitler and Stalin, consolidating their power bases through a Holocaust and systemic State terror, slaughtering tens of millions, as was perpetrated only a couple of generations before!

A final word on political power. Despite the ethos of democracy, political institutions tend to exhibit a fairly strong concentration of power at the 'strategic apex' (Mintzberg, 2007). To the extent that the most powerful political institutions in the world are hierarchical, and still run primarily in a top-down manner, one could argue that the most profound transformations regarding liberation and empowerment of the female world still awaits their becoming heads of at least the following six entities: 1. The Catholic Church ('la Mama' as a change from El Papa); 2. The PRC Head of State; 3. The President of the U.S.A.; 4. The President of Russia; 5. The Secretary-General of the United Nations and 6. The Head of the World Bank. From these pinnacles of power, women would no longer need to demand change via a 'bottom-up' approach, as has heretofore been the rule. Whether a world filled with female plenipotentiaries would augur a kinder, gentler and more humane universe for our children, has yet to be seen!

Postre

This short paper has necessarily been a discursive attempt to touch on some of the issues confronting women in their progress towards greater empowerment. That progress will be

facilitated by men being able and willing to move, emotionally if not physically, out of their own skins, in order to share a deeper communion with those who, for the imminent future at least, may remain their most intimate partner in life. Sharing of power and wealth (of all sorts) often leads to the availability of greater power and wealth. An era of male breast-beating and apologism would seem have less social value, than an ability, already detected in the younger generation if not the older, of men shedding age-old skeins of belief in their own inherent superiority. As the Aussies might bluntly put it, it's time to 'shove over mate!' –Or risk being shoved aside!

Bibliography

Abella R. Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women, Government of Canada, 1985

Anouilh J. L'Alouette, Editions de la Table Ronde, Paris, 1953

Arendt, H. The Origins of Totalitarianism, Schocken Books, N.Y. 1951

Berger P and Luckman T. The Social Construction of Reality. Anchor Books N.Y., 1966

The Bible. King James Authorized Edition, 1611

Bronte C. Villette, Smith, Elder and Co. London, 1853

Bronte E. Wuthering Heights, (under pseudonym Ellis Bell). Thomas Newby, London, 1847

Carr E. House of all sorts. Oxford U.P. New York, 1944

Hobsbawn E. J. The Age of Revolution, 1789-1848. Fist Vintage Books N.Y., 1962

Lehrer K. Landlords as Scapegoats. Fraser Institute, Vancouver, 1991

Lessing, D. The Golden Notebook. Michael Joseph. London, 1962

Marx K. Das Kapital. Berlin, 1867

Mintzberg H. Mintzberg on Management. Barnes and Noble, 2007

Plath, S. The Bell Jar. Heinemann, N.Y. 1963

Roth G. Sweat Your Prayers. Tarcher, N.Y. 1997

Shaw, G.B. Saint Joan. Constable and Co., London, 1924

The Nation (Thailand Newspaper). "Taiwan opposition leader lodges presidential bid." P.7a, 16/2/15

Weber M. On Bureaucracy. In Essays on Sociology. Transl. and ed. Gerth and Mills, Oxford U.P. New York,   1949

The Doha Paradox:
Disparity between Educated and Working Qatari Women

Tehreem Asghar
Mariam Bengali
Rumsha Shahzad

Affiliated with Georgetown University School of Foreign Service in Qatar

Abstract

Qatar is considered one of the best places in the world for women to get an education. Research has shown that for every man, there are six women enrolled in tertiary education. This upward trend in the willingness and ability of women to receive higher education is undeniably encouraging. However, though labelled a "vital element within the development process" of Qatar, the Qatari women's role in the labor market is, at best, limited. Recent data demonstrates that the participation of women in Qatar's labor force was a meagre 35%. Qatar, however, has made the empowerment of women in the labor market a significant part of its Development Strategy. The designers for Qatar National Vision have formulated its first National Development Strategy (2011-2016) with *Human development* being one of the four major pillars of this strategy. One of the aims of Human Development under NDS (2011-2016) is to increase opportunities for women to "contribute to the economic and cultural world without reducing their role in the family structure." This research, therefore, intends to analyze a) Qatar's success in carving out a more vital role for its female citizens and b) the obstacles in the realization of their goal to establish a more gender-inclusive labor force. The reasons for this analysis are, therefore, not solely to augment and scrutinize Qatar's Development Strategy but to demonstrate that Qatar's extensive investment in education will not reap benefits if the majority of its educated does not take advantage of the various avenues their learning opens up. Whether this is due to unwillingness on the part of women to work or due to gender neutral reasons such as the gap between education, training and job placement or other motives; this research aims to ascertain the reasons for this difference.

Key words: women, education, Qatar, disparity, women in the labor force

The Doha Paradox: Disparity between Educated and Working Qatari Women

Sample:
We surveyed 274 Qatari females from the ages of 17 - 25. Most of our participants were 19 years old. All of those surveyed were university students. The students were from Georgetown University, Northwestern University, Virginia Commonwealth University, Texas A&M, Carnegie Mellon University, Cornell University and Qatar University.

Methodology:
Our research had two components to it. The first consisted of hypothesizing barriers to work force participation by Qatari females. Our hypothesis was formed by examining existing literature on female labor and education in Qatar. While there was a dearth of solid, recent research done on these two topics, we gathered secondary data in the form of a) various news articles, b) data found through the Qatar Statistics Authority, c) studies on the topic done by organizations such as the RAND Corporation and d) literature on working women (not specific to Qatar.)

The second part of our research was collecting primary data through. These surveys were designed on conclusions derived from our research and attempted to understand whether the factors preventing women from being equal participants in the workforce were self-imposed, structural or cultural. The primary part of our survey consisted of Yes/No/Maybe/I don't know/Not applicable to me questions and was designed to see a) what Qatari females themselves believe in preventing them from seeking employment opportunities and b) what we could derive from their answers to more indirect questions. The secondary part of our survey was more in the form of multiple choice questions and the last was open ended questions. The open ended questions received the least number of responses from participants.

Findings:
According to research conducted by the Rand Corporation, "While Qatar has made notable progress toward expanding educational opportunities for its citizens… family responsibilities, cultural tradition, and social attitudes in Qatar continue to limit many women."[i] Most of our findings were in line with this research done in 2008. However we found a significant change in social attitudes towards working, especially amongst Qatari women themselves. We also found that Qatari women had a positive stance on juggling family responsibility and work.

Our first objective was to discover *if* Qatar had been successful in encouraging and/or achieving a gender inclusive work force. While a 36.3%[ii] female workforce participation suggests otherwise, in the opinion of young, university going women, Qatar has made significant steps towards the achievement of its aim. For example only 19% of our participants felt that working had *not* become easier for their generation, as compared to older generations while 56% thought the opposite. Our second objective was to make an attempt to understand *why* Qatari women were not participating in the labor force. According to our hypothesis and pre-survey research, there were institutional and structural obstacles in the way of Qatari women's career choices. We divided potential inhibiting factors into a) socio-cultural, b) political and c) economic factors. Thus each of our questions was directed towards determining the career impediments Qatari

women faced and whether trends or attitudes towards women in the labor force have changed over the years.

Do you think it easier for you to enter the workforce than it was for your mother's generation?
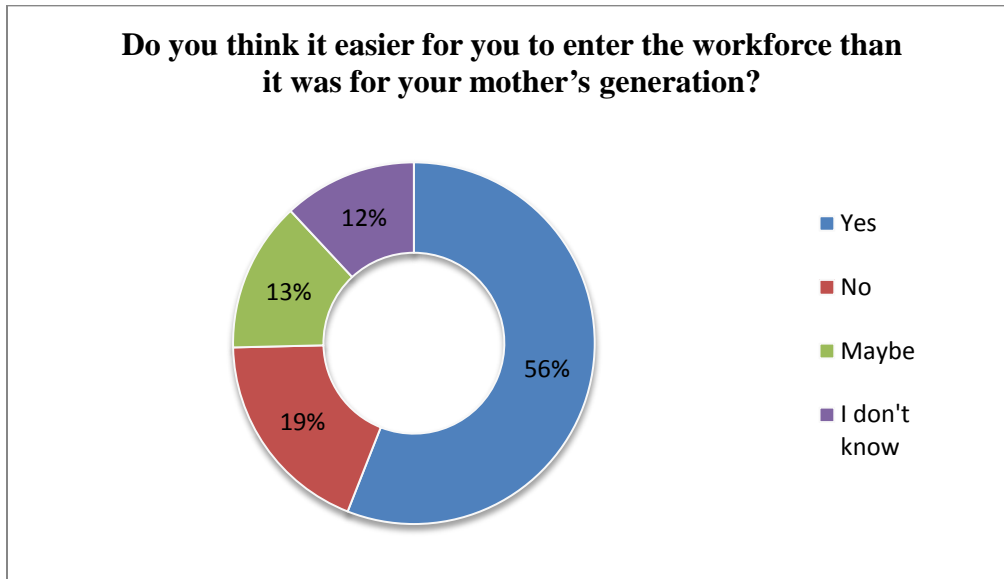
We drew the following conclusions based off our findings:
a) Participants generally had a positive view towards the job market and ease of integration into it.
b) Financial independence was the primary reason for seeking work.
c) Occupational segregation was a part of the mindset.
d) Familial and marital prosperity were deeply valued. Career and family life were mostly *not* seen as mutually exclusive.

**Qatari girls' opinion on the work force** *and what it means***:**

Our surveys showed that participants generally had a positive view of the Qatari labor market and the prospects it had for women. Furthermore one of the most significant findings of our survey was that all the participants who chose to answer the question of whether or not they wished to work after graduation, answered in the affirmative. This indicated that there were few, if any, personal reasons inhibiting the participants from working.

When asked about the composition of Qatar's labor force, participants were divided over the question of whether or not there were enough female role models in Qatar's working community. This division of attitudes demonstrated a divide in opinion amongst those who believe Qatar has gotten where it needs to be in terms of female work force participation and those who feel there is still room for improvement. 35% of those surveyed believed Qatar had a sufficient amount of female role models whereas 33% believed it did not. The majority of the rest said they were unsure. Similarly, 33% of our respondents were unsure whether or not there was a wage gap between men and women in the work force. 32% also felt there was no wage gap between men and women.

Those who said they were unsure about female role models or wrongly believed there was no gender wage gap, demonstrate a lack of awareness about the situation of Qatar's actual labor force. This deficiency can be traced to a want of vocational training and work opportunities available to Qatari women at the post-undergraduate level, resulting in a dearth of exposure and knowledge about the work force. According to Tahseen Consulting, a private consulting firm that has done research on educational trends in Qatar, there needs to be more of an emphasis on technical and vocational education and training for women. They believe there are simply not enough on the job training opportunities for women. This is more so in technical fields where "lack of early career guidance, and few experiential opportunities for girls to be exposed to technical fields at a young age". [iii] This results in a paradox of sorts where *because* young girls do not have enough mentorship prospects and therefore are not exposed to the labor market- they are unaware of what it might be like to actually work in Qatar as a female.

However that is not to disregard the 35% that believe there *are* enough female role models for Qatari women since their response was only referring to the *presence* of role models, not to the *availability* of training or mentorship. These role models may come in the form of influential figures such as Her Highness Sheikha Mozah bint Nasser Al Missned or in the form of family members or celebrity personalities such as Buthaina Al-Ansari, a business executive who is known for being an inspiration to several Qatari women. Familial role models are also a very high possibility considering 81 % of our respondents said they had women in their family who worked. These women include women in local start-ups and home run businesses, which are common amongst Qatari women. Examples of several famous start-ups include Fatima Al-Hudifi's Tasmeem Flowers and Chocolates' or Layla Al Dorani's Raw Middle East. [iv]

It is also interesting to note that 35% of our participants felt gender did not have an impact on their ability to pursue a career and 18% felt their gender impacted their career prospects in a positive manner, hinting towards an encouraging change in mindsets towards working women.

How do you think your gender affects your ability to pursue a career?
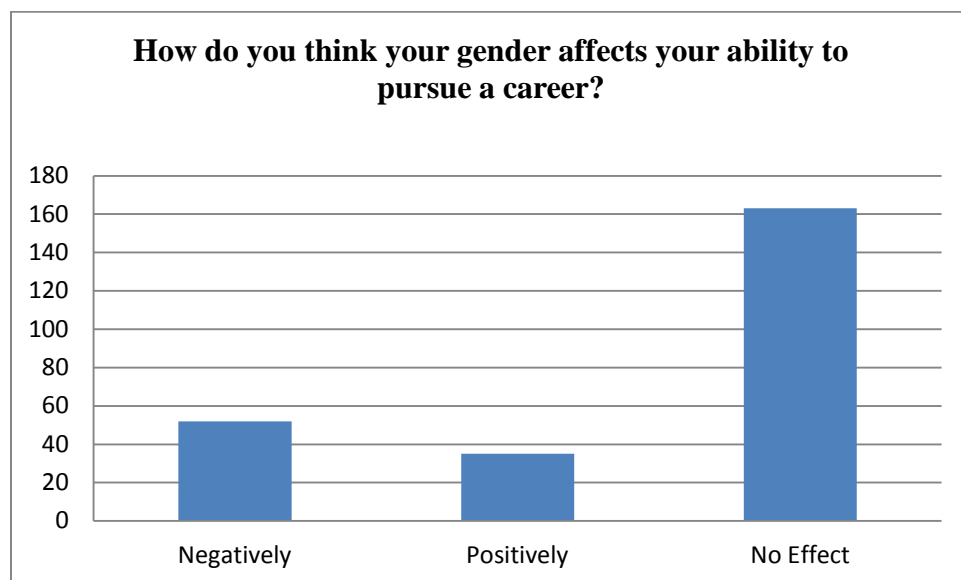
Occupational Segregation:
So, if Qatari women are increasingly self-inclined to work and believe in the availability of opportunities, what factors are preventing them from being a part of the work force? When asked this question, 48% of participants responded that nothing was stopping them from working. However 46% cited parents and/or culture and norms (i.e. most women in our family don't work), and/or religion as constraining factors. Furthermore, 54% of our participants believed that there were certain jobs that could only be done by women and certain jobs that could only be done by men. Globally, there has been a movement towards ending horizontal occupational segregation which works through our basic understanding of gender roles. [v]However, the image of work in Qatar still remains gender specific. For example, Virginia Commonwealth University, which is a design school, has only 4 males in its current undergraduate class, showing that certain careers are still considered obviously "feminine". This occupational gender segregation is aggravated by the fact that the majority of Qatar's economy is oil-based. According to Michael Ross, it is difficult to empower women in oil-based economies because the majority of well-paying jobs such an economy generates are traditionally considered to be "male jobs", preventing women from entering into the labor force. Moreover, rapid oil-wealth also skips several stages of industrialization that normally bring women into the workforce.[vi] Finally, technical jobs such as those in the field of engineering require vocational training, of which there is already a dearth in Qatar. [vii]
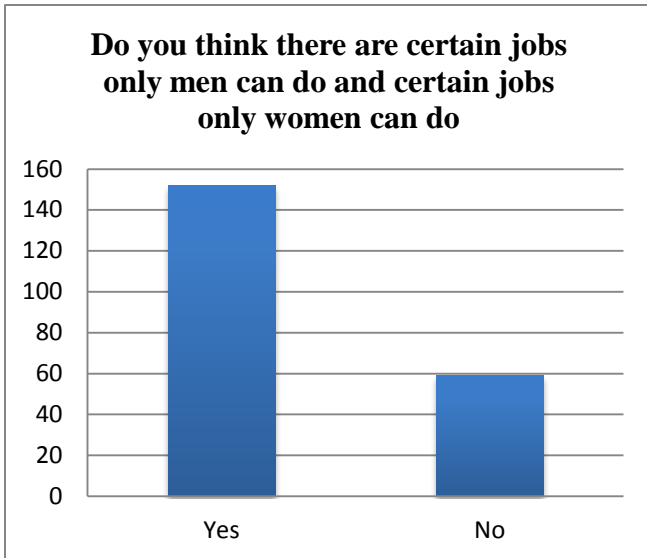
Occupational segregation also comes in the form of workplace mobility i.e. vertical occupational segregation. According to research conducted by Shareefa Fadhel in 2011, founder of a center which helps women create start-up businesses, 80% of Qatari families want their daughters to be in a gender segregated environment. [viii]This means women often miss out on leadership *and* mentorship opportunities since most of those who are in leading positions are men, which means that "women are forgotten and left behind in the development and leadership ladder."[ix]   Thus, according to Moza Almalki, a Qatari psychologist, despite the admirable progress Qatar has made towards greater gender mainstreaming and women empowerment, it is still a society in which:

"…boys grow up knowing that they will inherit family businesses or easily find high-paying government or military jobs that may not require a degree. Men have more social freedom than women, which helps explain their low university enrollment rates…Boys have their cars, their friends, their own lives. Girls don't get that at all that."[x]
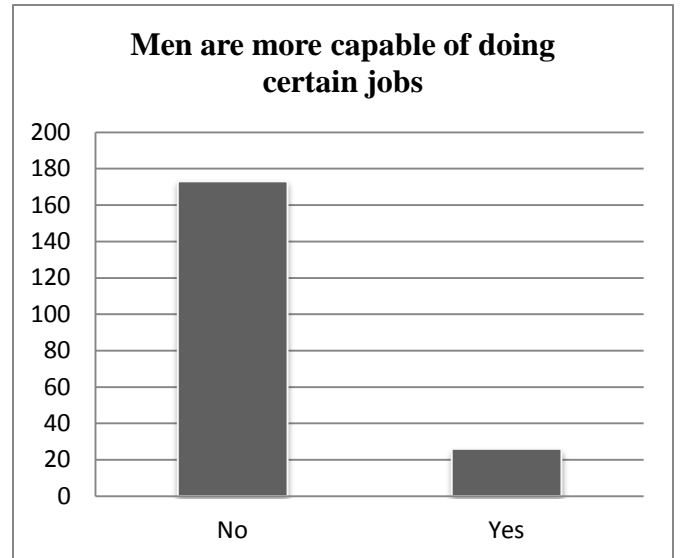
The "social freedom" of Qatari men does demonstrate a casual attitude towards university. It can be seen in the undergraduate class statistics for *all* Education City universities which have more female than male undergraduates enrolled currently. Even more telling is the universities with predominantly female students. For example, Texas A&M, though an engineering school, a field which is dominated by Qatari men, has more female students than male. This reiterates the comparative ease with which men can get into the labor force.

Despite all of this, there does seem to be a slow but budding change in attitudes towards the type of jobs women can perform. For example even though more than half (54%) of our respondents *did* believe women and men had a gender-specific set of jobs to do, many still felt they were *capable* of doing the jobs typically done by men. 59% of our respondents said women could

perform jobs men performed, indicating that their beliefs about occupational gender segregation did not stem out of inherent feeling of inferiority or disempowerment, but merely a belief that men and women's roles in society were different.

Do you think there are certain jobs only men can do and certain jobs only women can do

VS

Men are more capable of doing certain jobs

Economic Independence primary reason for work:

According to a 2011 survey by Catherine Hakim, [xi]"the idea of most women wanting to be financially independent is a myth". Instead women prefer to "marry up", looking for financially stable husbands as opposed to being financially independent themselves. However, the Qatari women we surveyed disproved this idea. While most of the women classified themselves as 'middle class', it is important to note that Qatar, recently categorized as the richest country in the world by Forbes, has an average income per capita of 88,222 dollars a year.[xii] Therefore Qatar's middle class is quite well-off. Despite having strong and stable economic backgrounds, women still desire to be financially independent.[xiii] In fact 71% of respondents said their family's income did not have an effect on their desire to work, demonstrating a strong aspiration towards economic independence. The increasingly career-oriented mindset of Qatari woman is true to global development trends; the majority of our participants said they wished to work to "support (them)selves financially".

Does your family's income affect your decision to work?

70
WLEC 2015
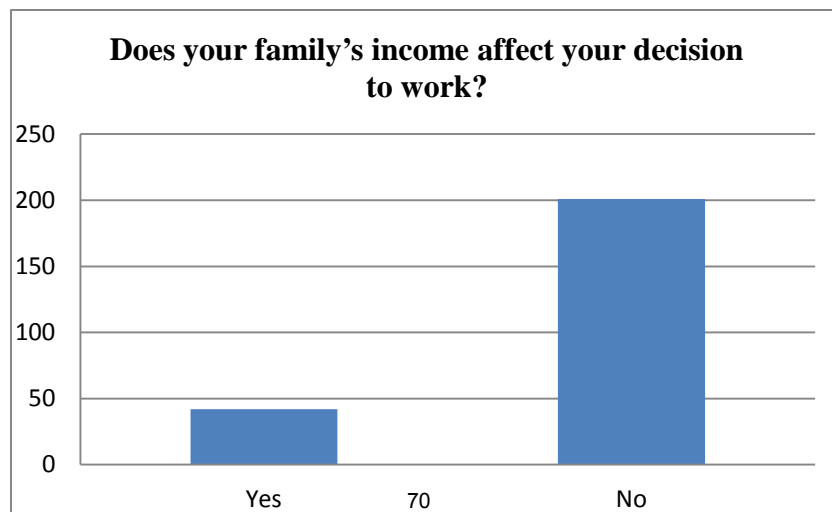
For most women, pay inequity results in power dynamics that are skewed towards the men in the family. For our participants, empowerment was translated into career choices as 62% of those surveyed said they felt a job was needed for them to feel empowered in society. That is unsurprising considering how independence, especially economic independence, is considered to be at the core of gender equality, allowing women to "make genuine choices about their lives through full and equal participation in all spheres of life." [xiv]However, while the women themselves feel the pressure to carve out a role for themselves in a society where men have more social capital, the economy doesn't feel the pressure to increase female participation in the labor force. For example, the need for more female participation is realized when a country is in an era of economic depression or is not doing well. Since the desire for increased participation does not stem from a genuine economic need, Qatar's wish to increase opportunities for women to "contribute to the economic and cultural world without reducing their role in the family structure"[xv] is more of a symbolic aspiration.

Attitudes towards marriage and family life:

Qatari girls' inculcated desire for a cohesive family unit was shown by the respondents adherence to the idea that marriage and children were essential to wellbeing; an idea that might be a working hindrance in light of recent debates over marital vs upward career mobility.[xvi] In our research, 48% of the respondents surveyed believed that children were crucial to family being. Moreover only 21% of respondents said they would delay childbearing for a career. Thus while strongly advocating for their careers, when pit against marriage, pursuing a career did seem to be a lower priority for the respondents.
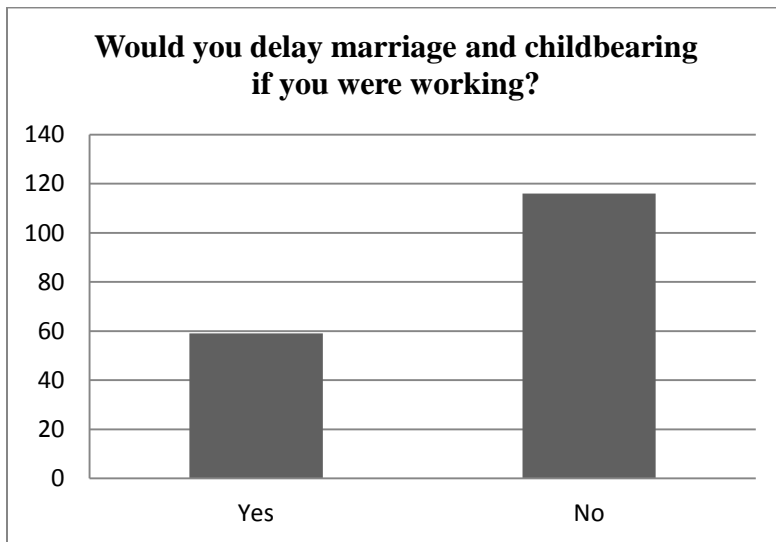
For example only 26% of the respondents cited a 'job' as being their sole plan after graduation. The rest included marriages and jobs, marriage, and undecided futures or futures that hinged on what their parents said. It was also interesting to note that 58% of respondents thought children would not stop them from working, showing that family life and careers were not mutually exclusive. While many women struggle with attempting to balance work and family life, the reality of the second shift [xvii] might be lost on a young generation of Qatari's who are used to

having their maids and nannies around. For example, 83% of our respondents had maids and nannies and 40% said that maids and nannies were responsible for most of the household chores. However, while the traditional definition of the "cult of domesticity"[xviii] might not apply since Qatari women do not usually *physically* undertake domestic labor, the image of the woman as the domestic head of the household remains; an image that compels women to have lower career aspirations than men and see the domestic/family life as their nucleus.

Gordon and Fraser trace the genealogy of dependence and talk about how certain types of dependencies have been embedded into our mindsets.[xix] While the idea of more economically independent women has become more pervasive, it seems Qatari women's identity is still not seen as completely separate from the family structure. 30% respondents surveyed said that men have the most authority in the household. There was also a sign of dependency, not only on male figures in the house but on comfortable and interconnected familial structures and comforts. For example, 42% of the respondents surveyed had a driver drop them off to university and other popular locations.

However while generally ideas towards marriage seemed to be positive, there was a change in trends seen in the age that our respondents wanted to get married. While earlier women in Qatar were seen as getting married at the average age of 18, our respondents cited 23-25 as the age at which they would want to get married. The majority of our participants (58%) said they would want to have 2-3 children, corresponding to Qatar's fertility rate of 2.04 births per woman.[xx] Only 2.5% of our respondents said they did *not* want to get married and have children.   Why *is* there such a huge desire to get married? The answer can be traced back to the symbols, values, norms and beliefs of Qatari society. According to Simone de Beauvoir, since women are *not born but created*,[xxi] our respondents seemed to have learned to embody what it means to be a Qatari woman. Even as young, female Qatari students might be more and more inclined to view future careers as empowering and essential to their empowerment, without many successful working women to look up to, young Qatari would probably try to embody the traits of older women within their family Since labor force participation amongst previous generations of Qatari woman was even less than it is now, the successful woman that young Qatari girls would try to emulate would be a family-oriented woman.

Conclusion:

Our research showed a new generation of Qatari women who were very willing to work and had a positive, uplifting attitude towards their prospects in Qatar's labor force. However, while Qatar, has taken positive steps in advocating for the education of women and therefore encouraged this positive, career-oriented mindset, the widening pay gap between Qatari women and men is a dangerous factor that may inhibit female workforce participation. According to a 2011 Labor Force Sample Survey, "Qatari women are paid 25 to 50 percent less than men, despite the fact that their working hours are comparable – and sometimes higher". [xxii]This worrying trend is exacerbated by mindsets that encourage occupational segregation which feeds socially constructed ideas about a woman's supposedly predominant role as a wife and mother. When looked at from a culturally relativistic point of view, the incredible amount of respect and adherence shown by Qatari women towards familial and cultural values is intensely admirable; such a mindset may inhibit workforce participation by promoting a one-dimensional, typically domestic image of Qatari women.

Finally, there is also a lack of graduate opportunities available to women as demonstrated by 63% of our respondents saying they wished to go abroad for further studies. A lack of post-undergraduate opportunities, both in terms of vocational training and schooling is also antithetical to the Qatar government's efforts to increase female workforce participation. As predicted by the Rand Corporation in their 2008 study of Qatari Women in the Workforce, "the lack of graduate education opportunities in Qatar… was a significant career barrier for women seeking job advancement…and could become a serious deterrent to achievement of Qatar's long-term economic development goals."[xxiii] However the opening of various vocational training centers and the pending opening of a new graduate school in Qatar could rectify this situation.

References

[i] FELDER, DELL, and MIRKA VUOLLO. "Qatari Women in the Workforce."RAND-Qatar Policy Institute (2008): n. pag. Web.

[ii] Qatar Statistics Authority (http://www.qsa.gov.qa/eng/index.htm)

[iii] Female Participation in Technical and Vocational Education and Employment Featured in Qatar Today." Web log post. Tahseen Consulting, 5 Oct. 2013. Web.

[iv] Menon, Ankita. "Ads by PassShowAd Options Overcoming Challenges, Women in Qatar Strive to Be Their Own Bosses." Doha News 9 Mar. 2014: n. pag. Print.

[v] Snyder, Karrie Ann and Adam Isaiah Green. 2008. "'Revisiting the Glass Escalator: The Case of Gender Segregation in a Female Dominated Occupation." Social Problems 55(2): 271-299.

[vi] Ross, Michael L. "Oil, Islam, and women." *American Political Science Review*102.01 (2008): 107-123.

[vii] "Female Participation in Technical and Vocational Education and Employment Featured in Qatar Today." Web log post. Tahseen Consulting, 5 Oct. 2013. Web.

[viii] Though that question was asked in our survey, it did not reveal significant trends.

[ix] Paschyn, Christina. "Educated and Ambitious, Qatari Women Nudge Their Way into the Office." The Christian Science Monitor (2014):

[x] Ibid

[xi] Hakim, Catherine. Feminist Myths and Magic Medicine: The Flawed Thinking behind Calls for Further Equality Legislation. London: Centre for Policy Studies, 2011. Web.

[xii] "The World's Richest Countries." Forbes Magazine 22 Feb. 2012. Web

[xiii] Most Qatari women do not marry lower than themselves, so would probably marry a middle class or upper class man.

[xiv] Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, Theme One - Economic Independence for Women: Listening Tour Report. 2008

[xv] Qatar. Ministry of Development Planning and Statistics. Planning Sector. Qatar National Vision 2030. Print.

[xvi] Buxton, Ryan. "Aisha Tyler: Choosing Work Over Family Is A 'Completely Valid Choice'" Huffington Post 3 Sept. 2014: n. pag. Print.

[xvii] Hochschild, Arlie and Anne Machung. 1990. The Second Shift. Avon Books: New York.

[xviii] Lisa A. Keister, Darby E. Southgate (2011). Inequality: A Contemporary Approach to Race, Class, and Gender. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p. 228. ISBN 978-0-521-68002-8.

[xix] Fraser, Nancy, and Linda Gordon. "A Genealogy of Dependency: Tracing a Keyword of the U.S. Welfare State." Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society 19.2 (1994): 309. Web.

[xx] Qatar fertility rate, Source: World Bank

[xxi] Beauvoir, Simone De, and H. M. Parshley. The Second Sex. New York: Knopf, 1952. Print.

[xxii] State of Qatar. Statistics Authority. Labor Force Sample Survey. 2011. Print.

[xxiii] FELDER, DELL, and MIRKA VUOLLO. "Qatari Women in the Workforce."RAND-Qatar Policy Institute (2008): n. pag. Web.

THE JOURNEY FROM FASHION BLOGGER TO PERSONAL BRAND ENTREPRENEUR: A PERSPECTIVE FROM CO-CREATION WITH AUDIENCE

Yu-hsin Wang

Master student

Institute of Creative Industries Design, National Cheng Kung University, Tainan, Taiwan

(On-going research)

ABSTRACT

With web 2.0 and the emergence of social media, a number of bloggers who share fashion-related content receive recognition among readers. Previous studies often take fashion bloggers as influencers and market mavens for discussion. The recent phenomenon indicates that fashion bloggers have successfully transformed their blog images into personal brands with self-own platform for retailing in either off-line or on-line channels. Tavi Gevinson started her fashion blog at age of fourteen and her observations and commentary on fashion trends attracted four million readers (The Daily Mail (London), 2010) within three years; it led her to pursue a legitimate career in fashion as founder and editor-in-chief of an online magazine targeting teenage girls. Chiara Ferragni, an Italian fashion blogger, launched her fashion blog, The Blonde Salad, in 2009 and now attracts 600,000 visitors per month. In 2013, Ferragni began collaborating with world-famous fashion brands - including Christian Dior, Louis Vuitton, Max Mara, and Chanel - and recently co-created a shoe collection with Superga and Steve Madden. In addition, she published a book and established a shoe brand eponymous with her personal blog. (The Business of Fashion, 2014) These are some existing examples that can be found in the anglo-saxons society and have been discussed in the previous researches. However, the process behind this phenomenon involving co-creation has not yet been fully investigated. Thus, the purpose of this study is to explore the interaction and relationship between bloggers and blog readers through the meaning they co-created and entitle the blogger's personal brand. Due to the characteristics of this research contains personal taste, preference and perception, qualitative approach enables this research to gain deeper insight into modern consumer behavior under the realm of social media. Three Taiwanese fashion bloggers have recently launched their personal brands are chosen for case studies in order to inspect the phenomenon in the eastern society. Data collection contains interviews with bloggers and readers: bloggers will be interviewed for entrepreneurial behavior and motivation and blog readers will be interviewed for perception and purchasing behavior of bloggers' brands. Analysis of data is done through a three-stage coding process, in which findings reflecting value of co-creation that enable success of internet-enabled fashion entrepreneurs. Finally, this research is aim to find out the determinants for entrepreneur in the era of social media and web 2.0.

Keywords: Blogger, Fashion blog, Social Media, Entrepreneur, Personal Brand, Value Co-creation

Where are the women? : An examination of local Malaysian media in 13th General Election

Dr Ummu Atiyah Ahmad Zakuan
Assoc. Prof Dr Mohd Azizuddin Mohd Sani
School of International Studies, University Utara Malaysia, Malaysia

Abstract

This paper examines the visibility of women candidates in the mainstream media, *Berita Harian (BH)*, during the recent 2013 general election. The newspaper was selected due to its highest circulation in the nation during the election campaign. The data was content analysed and it can be concluded that there was less coverage on the women candidates in this newspaper during the election campaign. Most of the news released concerned on trivial issues. Very few articles reported on the issues that they campaigned. These findings were consistent with studies conducted outside Malaysia, such as projecting more on the women's less experiences in politics, their physical appearances and personal life. This paper will also discuss Malaysian political system as well as the possible explanation of why women are less visible in the local Malaysian newspaper.

Key words: media representation, women, election, politics

I. Introduction

Since Independence in 1957 from the British, Malaysia is continuing to achieve political stability and economic prosperity to become a post-colonial modern state. Malaysia currently has the population of 29.6 million people where the majority is the *Bumiputera* at 61 percent of the population, Chinese at 24 percent and Indians at 7 percent. Malaysia stands at US$9,970 in GNI/capita with 12.7 million employed workers, including over 2 millions foreign workers (Faizli, 2013). From the agricultural based economy, it moves steadily achieving higher income nation by 2020, including the 97-98 economic recession and the post-September 11 recession in 2001 (Prime Minister Department, 2010). However, in terms of women representation in the highest level decision-making, the Parliament, is underrepresented.

The history has shown that it was not an easy ride for women in the country to get represented. After a threat to boycott the election in 1955, the first election in Malaya, the men had to comply and one woman was selected as election candidate and won (Ummu Atiyah, 2014). As the time progressed, the number of women in parliament has increased however it never exceeded 15%. According to The Global Gender Gap Index 2014, Malaysia was rank 132 out of 142 countries in terms of political empowerment (World Economic Forum, 2015). This situation is not so different from situation in legislatures worldwide. As of December 2014, there are 9,757 women representatives and 34,828 male representatives. The women constitute 20% of the total number of representation (The Inter Parliamentary Union, 2015). Hence, it can be seen that women under representation is not only a Malaysian phenomenon but also global.

The Global Monitoring Project (GMMP) which is conducted in five year circle in 108 countries revealed that in 2010, it was only 24% of coverage of women as news subjects and 19% coverage on women in politics. (Who Makes the News, 2011, http://whomakesthenews.org). Some studies also revealed similar trends when women received less coverage in the media. Bystrom & Dimitrova (2014), the former's earlier study which examined Clinton and Obama news coverage found that only 8% focused on Clinton while 24% on Obama. Similarly, there was less coverage on women candidates in Fiji general election as compared the male candidates. The female candidates were quoted 29 times as compared to 292 times for male candidates (Usman, 2013). Looking at this background, it is interesting but equally pertinent to see how local media portray women participation in politics in the country, in particular, during the election campaign.

II. Media, elections and women

Media and election are closely related due to its functions and impacts in democratic process. In terms of election, media, printed or online, gives news and information about the candidates and political parties that contesting in the election. It also reports various issues during the election campaigns and voters rely on it for various sources of information. Whatever medium of preferences in accessing to the information, it always aims to persuade the voters to choose respective candidate or party to win in the election subsequently, with collective win, they will form a government.

During the election campaign, there are three most important components, namely the media, the candidates and the voters. All three components are closely intersected since the public representatives are chosen through voting (Usman, 2013). Western media is predominantly

focusing on the candidates, party manifesto and the abilities of the candidates to debate his or her agenda while Malaysian media is likely to focus mainly on the ruling parties (Baharuddin et. al, 2009). Whatever is the focus, election coverage is normally focusing on the short-term element of the campaign rather than the deeper issues confronting the nation such as achieving gender equality in Parliament or highest decision-making bodies.

In Malaysia, it has been shown that the news coverage during the election campaign was mainly on focusing on the ruling parties (Nurina Awanis, 2014). It was reported that during the election campaigns, there are less coverage of women candidates in the media (Usman, 2013), stereotype coverage on women candidates (Burns et al, 2013) and gender-biased coverage on women candidates (Uscinski & Goren, 2011).

Norris (1997) explains that media is likely to put women candidates in disadvantage because of several reasons. First, their activities receive less coverage than men's. Second, the descriptions of the women are rather on their appearances or to the men in their lives (they are not accorded in independence existence). Hence, the way media view women has reflected what constitute newsworthy. Hence, by having less coverage or not the appropriate coverage, this is likely to reduce the visibility of women candidates in the elections simultaneously could reduce the chance of winning the contested seats.

III. Method

A content analysis is employed in this study. The mainstream Malay newspaper, *Berita Harian*, from 20th April until 5th May 2013 was selected. It was a two-weeks election campaign in the recent 13th General Election (GE13) in Malaysia.

Election campaign was chosen in this study because it is the most crucial period for all candidates and parties to struggle for their victories. Media is one of the important channels in the election campaign. The candidates and the parties are fully aware that the positive coverage in the media will give impacts to the voters. The voters are able to see what they are doing and this will be effective campaign strategies (Pres & Verburg, 1988).

Berita Harian (BH), was selected because it is rated as the highest number of Malay newspapers circulated during the GE13; *Utusan Malaysia* (UM) marked 636,000 of circulation, *Sinar Harian* (SH) recorded 710,000 while *Berita Harian* (BH) had 1.168 milion of circulation. (Malaysiakini, "Newspaper sales dip post GE13", 29th September 2013, https://malaysiakini.com/news/242432)

IV. Objectives of the paper

This paper aims to investigate the following objectives :
A) to analyse how women candidates were depicted in *Berita Harian*?
B) to examine what are the possible reasons behind the coverage of women in *Berita Harian*?

V. Women Representation in Politics and Media

Women constitute almost half of the population and as registered voters but are underrepresented in the significant positions in politics. They constitute a small number at the political decision making bodies - i.e the parliament. The main roles of women in politics are mainly to support the parties to win. Majority of them are confined to largely mobilizing voters, campaigning and as party workers but not many of them engage in significant areas; as election candidates and representatives in the parliament.

In the Malaysian context, although the number of women fielded as election candidatures increased from years to years but it is still far from the thirty percent of women in positions at the decision-making levels as endorsed by the United Nations Economic and Social Council (UN Women, n.d). The number of women in the Malaysian parliament has never exceeded 15% of the total number of representation, as reflected in Table 1.

Table 1. The number of women representatives in the *Dewan Rakyat*, Malaysia						
Year	No. of Seats	No. of women nominated	No. of women elected	Percentage of Women	No of men elected	Percentage of Men
1959	104	4	3	2.88	101	97.12
1964	104	7	3	2.88	101	97.12
1969	144	4	2	1.38	142	98.62
1974	154	9	5	3.24	149	96.76
1978	154	11	7	4.54	147	95.46
1982	154	8	8	5.19	146	94.81
1986	177	7	7	3.95	170	96.05
1990	180	15	11	6.11	169	93.84
1995	192	25	15	7.81	177	92.19
1999	193	30	20	10.36	173	89.64
2004	219	34	23	10.50	196	89.50
2008	222	45	23	10.36	199	89.64
2013	222	54	24	10.4%	198	89.6

Source : Ummu Atiyah , 2014.

Why do we need women in politics?.

It is important to incorporate interest and perspectives from both men and women as to ensure the balance of its societal composition. With this equality, it is likely to produce a

transparent and accountable government as well as able to improve all areas of life. It happens because many perspectives and concerns are incorporated into the decision-making bodies. Anne Philips (1998) introduced the "politics of presence" which assumed that there is a link between who is the representative (descriptive representation) with what is being represented (substantive representation). Philips argues that representatives are the "microcosmic reflection" of the group they represent. Thus women representatives are expected and assumed to act for women. It can be argued that women are needed to represent women and women will effectively represent women because of their differing roles and experiences. These arguments are supported by other female scholars. Manon Tremblay (1998: 436) argued that:

> ...differences in perception between women and men are the result of different psycho-social development, socialization and gender roles...that, since women experience discrimination in society, they would have a more-friendly political agenda than men and would easily espouse an egalitarian perspective on social and political issues

Hence, since women are underrepresented in politics as being shown earlier, their participation will play a significant role in the process of the advancement of women. Women's equal participation in decision-making is not only a demand for justice or democracy but also as a vehicle to voice women's interests and demand.

Barriers for women in politics

There are various factors emerged as barriers to the underrepresented of women in politics. Among others, are culture and religion (Askiah Adam, 1993; Mogana, 2000; Zaireeni Azmi, 2001), political party (Rashila Ramli & Saliha Hassan, 2009), and women's own qualities i.e. lack of self-confidence, illiteracy (Shehdova, 2000).

Media also poses barriers for women for full and active participation in politics (Norris,1997; Usman, 2013). Although women have made significant headways in corporate, economic and intellectual aspects, media, in relation to election campaigns, is likely to "pigeonhole" women into in the domestic sphere and focusing them to be mothers and wives (Usman, 2013), instead of focusing on the issues she fought, attention was driven to her style, makeup, and dress as well as her family life (Ferre, 2006).

In election, media coverage is crucial to make the people informed and assist them to make intelligent decisions about the candidates. With the correct media framing on the contribution by women political leaders strategically it can encourage participation of women in politics (Kiranjit & Halimahton, 2010). Visibility of election candidates provided to the electorate by the media is important, as news media coverage during campaigns has important consequences for evaluations of women and men candidates (Norris, 1997:12). Hence, by having visibility of women in the media, it is likely to increase the chances for women candidates to introduce herself to the voters, but also to persuade the voters to vote for her for the issues that she is fighting for. However, if she is less or not visible in the media, this will reduce the opportunities for her get the publicity of her issues, her personality as well as reflecting that women are not appropriate to be political leaders.

Khan & Goldenberg (1991) explain that if women are being unfairly portrayed by the media, then, it can be inferred that the media may be hindering the ability of women to obtain

political office, retain political positions and be promoted in politics. Khan explained:

> ...by differentiating between male and female candidates in their coverage, the press may encourage voters to develop more favourable impression of certain candidates and less favourable images of others. The media representation of a candidates' campaign may therefore influence the electability of candidates (2005: 7).

VI. FINDINGS

There are 171 articles in *Berita Harian* that were identified to be related to the election candidates during the election campaign in the 13th Malaysia General Election, from the 20th April until 5th May 2013. From the content analysis, it was found that there are 29 articles out of the total number, reported about the women candidates alone (17%) while 75% of the articles reported about the male candidates (129 articles). There are 13 articles (8%) reported about men and women candidates and these articles predominantly introducing the male and female candidates and their respective parties and constituencies.

Table 2. News coverage on women and men candidates during the election campaign

News coverage on	Women	Men	Women & Men
Articles	29	129	13

Objective 1:
To analyse how women candidates were depicted in *Berita Harian*?

It was discovered that the articles that concerned the women candidates alone were 29 articles and revolve around some issues relating to trivial, candidates, campaign strategy, personality of the candidates and others.

Most articles written about the women candidates refer to their personality**,** for example, Rubiah Wang, a parliamentary Kota Samarahan candidate, was portrayed as having a good leadership and friendly attitudes (*Berita Harian*, 20th April 2013, pp. 19), while Malacca Puteri State Chief, Mas Ermieyati was known as a discipline, dedicated, committed and experienced politicians (*Berita Harian*, 26th April 2013, pp.4) All women candidates covered in the newspaper, were portrayed positively ; i.e .honesty (*Berita Harian*, 21st April 2013, pp.26), capable (*Berita Harian*, 26th April 2013, pp.5) and they were from *Barisan Nasional* (BN) coalition parties.

The second largest coverage on women candidates alone was related to trivial issues**.** These issues can be classified as insignificant, however, it was given a wide coverage. For example, the newspaper reported that Tok Mun, a female candidate in Terengganu state seat, had to accept the key symbol for her campaign instead of the moon and star symbol that she wanted (*Berita Harian*, 21st April 2013, pp.23), Dr Rozaidah had visited an apartment which involved in a fire (*Berita Harian*, 27th April 2013, pp.39), Teresa Kok was perceived as greedy as she let go off a state seat for a parliamentary seat (*Berita Harian*, 20th April 2013, pp 18), Rowena Yam , BN Pulau Tikus candidate, stopped her speech and rush to help a child crying because her father passed out (*Berita Harian*, 29th April 2013, pp.22) and Nicole Wong, a BN candidate had assisted one person involved in a road accident (*Berita Harian*, 25th April 2013, pp.18).

News on the background of the candidates received the third highest coverage. Basically the news introduced the candidates and which political party and constituency they represented. For example, Aishah, a former singer, represent PAS for Jempol parliamentary seats, while Dayangku Intan represented PKR (*Berita Harian*, 20th April 2013, pp.8), two female candidates, Rela Ahmad and Asmaiza Ahmad , contested for state seats in Perlis (*Berita Harian*, 23rd April 2013, pp. 5, 25th April 2013, pp.4 & 5) and Teresa Kok from DAP contested against Nicole Wong Siaw Ting from MCA (*Berita Harian*, 21st April 2013, pp.22).

Campaign strategy and other issues received equal amount of coverage. In terms of campaign strategy, one female candidate urge the voters to see the capability of women leaders which were already proven i.e as bank governor (*Berita Harian*, 26th April 2013, pp.4), to incorporate youth into the development (*Berita Harian*, 22nd April 2013, pp 8), to conduct systematic campaigns, set up two centres and put posters around the city (*Berita Harian*, 26th April 2013, pp.27), and to conduct exhaustive campaign including at the opponent's areas (*Berita Harian*, 25th April 2013, pp.8).

Other issues include voters in certain areas were not happy with the performances of the female representatives from the opposition parties in the previous terms (*Berita Harian*, 28th April 2013, pp 21), the people condemned DAP for not listing candidates that they favour, i.e Janice Lee (*Berita Harian*, 20th April 2013, pp 9), and Tan Sri Rafidah believes that *Barisan Nasional* (BN) will get back the states they lost in the previous election (*Berita Harian*, 22nd April 2013, pp.18).

Table 3. Types of news that women candidates are associated with

Subtheme	Numbers of articles
Trivial	7
Candidates background	6
Campaign strategy	4
Personality of the candidates	8
Others	4
	29

There are 13 articles that covered both women and men candidates. These articles predominantly introduce the candidates men and women, contested for which party, constituencies (*Berita Harian*, 21st April 2013, pp.6,7,8 & 12,13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 22, 23, 33, 35, 40; 23rd April 2013, pp 2 , 4 &.8, 25th April 2013, pp.14; 1st May 2013, pp 5; 2nd May 2013, pp.2 & 3; 4th May 2013, pp.15).

Objective 2 :

To examine what are the possible reasons behind the coverage of women in *Berita Harian*?

A. The ownership of the media
It is believed that media in Malaysia is controlled by the political elites, hence, whatever is being covered in the media should enhance the benefits to the former.

The role of media is defined within the configuration of power to which the media are linked. The political elites will pass the circle of influence passes through the media system to other groups and power centers in society. The political elite generally use state power to develop a clientelist system of patronage and influence. In Malaysia, the goal of the print media under such a system is to support and advance the policies of the government. The major function in such a system is establishing and exercising effective control over the media, mostly privately owned.

In the case of the 13th General Election, the success of any party will be determined by how effective the political party to use the control mechanism for its own benefit and dominate the public sphere.

Ownerships of the press is one of the major areas that one should know in order to understand the media practise in Malaysia. Ownerships are important because the owners can and will influent the coverage and reporting of the newspapers. If the newspapers are owned by political parties, definitely those political parties have advantages to dominate the public sphere and public opinion. It is clear that many of the newspapers in Malaysia are directly and indirectly owned by political parties from the ruling BN. For the Malay press, the *Utusan Malaysia* is published by *Utusan Melayu* (M) Berhad, a company that also owns the *Utusan Melayu* and *Kosmo* newspapers, which has a special relationship with the ruling United Malays National Organisation (UMNO), the main component party in BN (Azizuddin, 2010). Meanwhile, the *Sinar Harian* is a daily newspaper published in Shah Alam, Selangor. It first hit the newsstands on March 31, 2006 in Kelantan and Terengganu before expanding its distribution to the state of Selangor and Kuala Lumpur in the West Coast in September 2007. *Sinar Harian* is published by Akhbar Cabaran Sdn Bhd, a company related to the Kumpulan Karangkraf and Ultimate Group of Companies, a major publishing interest in Malaysia. It is not clear whether the *Sinar Harian* has direct linked to either of political coalitions, the BN or PR.

The Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA), another BN component party, with its investment company, the Huaren Holdings, took over daily newspapers, The Star, *Nanyang Siang Pau*, and *China Press*. The Huaren Holdings bought the *Nanyang Siang Pau and China Press* from the Hong Leong Group for MYR$230 million on June 24, 2001 after a party referendum being conducted among MCA representatives where 1,176 (53 percent) votes favoured for the take over and 1,019 (47 percent) were against the moved (Ng, 2001, 1-2). In October 2006, a business deal between the MCA and media tycoon Tiong Hiew King solidified the monopolisation of the Chinese press, with all top four Chinese dailies, *Sin Chew Daily, Nanyang Siang Pau, Guangming Daily* and the *Chinese Press,* now concentrated in the hands of a firm political-business alliance which controls about 85 percent of the Chinese press in circulation (Azizuddin, 2010). On November 4, 2010, the MCA paid MYR1.28 billion for 42.4 per cent of Malaysia's largest-circulation English daily, 'The Star', saying it wanted to reorganize its investments and allow investment arm the Huaren Holdings Sdn Bhd to seek other assets. An MCA statement said that the party purchased 313,315,760 shares of the paper's publisher, the Star Publications (Malaysia) Bhd, at MYR$4.09 a piece, at the prevailing market rate.

In 2007, Media Prima Berhad, with closed link to UMNO, acquired all the private television stations including 'TV3', 'NTV7', '8TV' and 'TV9'. It also has a 43 percent equity interest in The New Straits Times Press (Malaysia) Berhad (NSTP), one of Malaysia's largest publishing groups that publishes leading newspaper titles such as the New Straits Times, *Berita Harian and Harian Metro.*

For Tamil newspapers, the *Nanban* was said to be started by Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC), a BN component party representing the Indians, former Deputy President S. Subramaniam. He started this newspaper in Tamil after having enmity with the then President Samy Vellu. The *Nanban* is published by Penerbitan Sahabat (M) Sdn Bhd, a privately held company incorporated on 1986. The *Nanban* was originally founded by Sikandar Batcha Abdul Majeed, former President of Kimma, in 1986. Kimma is a political party particularly for Indian Muslims which is not part of BN but declared supporting the BN. The first issue was published on October 1, 1986. After the demise of Sikandar Batcha on December 11, 2006, the *Nanban* is headed by his three sons Shafee Zaman, Ahmad Mydin and Nooruthen. Meanwhile, the *Nam Nadu* is said to be financed by Kenneth Eswaran, the President of Malaysian Associated Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (MAICCI). It is claimed that Eswaran was starting the newspaper to further his personal agenda. He was initially interested in the MIC treasurer's post. But the current MIC President G. Palanivel did not invite him to take up the appointed position.

It is evident that the news coverage during the election campaigns particularly the mainstream media portrayed all good images about the government, its agencies and policies. The coverage was not giving similar tone to the opposition parties. In a study conducted by Nurina Awanis (2014) on the Malay mainstream newspapers to see the direction of the news during the election campaign revealed that *Berita Harian* (BH), *Utusan Malaysia* (UM) and *Sinar Harian* (SH) showed positive coverage towards the BN government. In general, these papers reported positively towards the ruling government, comprising 990 news items (40%), and reported negatively towards the Alternative Front. It comprised of 30% coverage of negative news, or 750 news items. Only 3% news coverage towards the Alternative Front was positive. The largest coverage in these three newspaper was related the supports of the people irrespective of ethnic groups to the ruling government, followed by the personality of the candidates, the welfare of the people and lastly party manifesto.

This is also consistent with the earlier study by Azizuddin (2005) that practices by the media, to a certain extent, has been corrupted. It is used to serve the interests of the government, thereby giving rise to news reports that provide only a glowing picture of the state. The press has not been encouraged to entertain any criticism of government projects and leaders for fear that it would divert the attention of the people and the government away from so-called vital development issues and concerns. Thus, in the context of Malaysia, people normally read numerous reports of the officiating of government's development projects such as land settlement schemes and construction of low-cost flats. The reports always portray the positive side of the government but seldom the negative. This journalistic practice has the effect of portraying political leaders as always benevolent, compassionate and responsive to the needs of the ordinary citizens, and stifling any real critical perspective

Therefore, by representing the interest of respective ethnic groups in the media, it is very difficult for the women candidates to be picked up as news items in these respective newspapers. If ethnic politics are still dominant in the Malaysia's climate, then, other issues, including women representation in politics, which is beyond the ethnic flavour, will be difficult to surface.

B. Social religious and cultural context
Politics are still perceived as men's domain, and women are expected to concern more on the domestic responsibilities; cooking, cleaning the house, caring for other siblings & family members. This can be seen in the past that women, irrespective of ethnic groups, are mainly confined to the domestic spheres.
This later, has been reinforced by the literal interpretation from some Quranic verses (4:34,

2:28) and hadith ("Men would perish if they obey women") by some Muslims. The Chinese are bound by the teachings from Confucius while the Laws of Mannu by the Hindus (Ummu Atiyah, 2014). This belief system have influenced and shaped the roles and position of women in the respective communities.

This has been confirmed by many studies in Malaysia (Askiah Adam, 1993; Wu Ming Chu, 1994; Rashila Ramli, 1999; Zaireeni, 2001). For instance, Mogana (2000) had conducted a study on women in Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC) revealed that women played marginal roles such as organizing concerts, attending meetings and conference, organizing health exhibition at schools and distributed donation. This is consistent with Jaya Partiban (1993) who reported that MIC women were expected to concentrate more on social problems rather than political activities.

These religious and cultural orientation for so many years, has made politics meant mainly for men and it persists until today. This can be confirmed by the then Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia, Najib Tun Razak. He states that :

> I think we are seeing a new breed of women politicians who are very competent and who can make a success of any portfolio or responsibility...but in politics, not just any woman will succeed. There are two elements need to be considered if they ask for more representation. The first is to have the right women, and secondly, she has to be appropriate candidates...some constituencies like Kelantan, Terengganu and Kedah, is difficult to put up women candidates in these areas and to make sure she wins...for women politicians is added pressure, because it demands your time and your private life...Don't forget they are wives and mothers as well
> (The Ministry of Women, Family and Community Development, 2012, 127)

The above statement actually reflect the societal perceptions and expectations on women in the society. Hence, political leadership is not a prescribed domain for women, subsequently reduce the likelihood to be covered as news item.

VII. CONCLUSION

The coverage on female candidates in *Berita Harian* is at dismal. The first observation is the invisibility of women candidates in the newspaper. The findings show that the news that associated with the women candidates mainly concerning the informal aspects of the women candidates instead of the issues and agendas that they were fighting for. There were several subthemes that attached to the women candidates, namely personality of the candidates, trivial issues, candidate background, campaign strategy and others. From the news coverage, it can be argued that the degree of "newsworthy" of the women candidate is very insignificant for the newspapers. It may signal to the voters that women are insignificant political players, and as a result, it may contribute to the lower rate of women representation. As we need more women representation in politics, we need to rectify the situation through gender awareness. Gender awareness should be imparted to all segment of the people in the country including those involved in the news agency because only with this awareness, they will be able to understand the positions and needs of women, in this context, to make women candidates visible to the voters. This visibility will enhance women representation as the voters will be informed about them subsequently evaluates and select them. with equal representation of men and women in the decision making bodies, inclusive development can be achieved.

VIII. REFERENCES

Askiah Adam (1993, July). Gender: A Social factor in political consciousness and active participation. Paper presented in the Seminar on Creating Political Awareness Among Malaysian Women. Organized by Asian Institute for Development Communication, Kuala Lumpur.

Baharuddin Aziz, Rahmar Ghazali & Abd Rassid Abd Rahman. (2009). *Peranan dan Pengaruh Internet dan Kewartawanan Blogger Terhadap Pengundi semasa Pilihanraya Umum Malaysia 2008.* Selangor : UITM.

Berita Harian, "Tok Mun Mahu Bulan, Bintang" ,21st April 2013, Sunday, pp. 23.

Berita Harian, "7 Motosikal, Dua Kereta Terbakar di Ampang ", 27th April 2013, Saturday, pp.39.

Berita Harian, "Cakap-Cakap", 26th April 2013, Friday, pp.36.

Berita Harian, "Rencana : Usah Terikut Jalan Berliku Kamilia" 29th April 2013, Monday, pp 25.

Berita Harian 'Teresa Kok Tamak, Mahu Jadi Menteri", 20th April 2013, Saturday, pp.18.

Berita Harian" Calon BN Bantu Tenangkan Budak", 29th April 2013, Monday, pp. 22.

Berita Harian, "Sempat bantu nahas", 25th April 2013, Thursday, pp.18.

Berita Harian, "Shahanim tetap bersama BN", 20th April 2013, Saturday, pp.8.

Berita Harian, "Rencana : Aishah Perlu Keajaiban Kalahkan Isa" 22nd April, Monday, pp 25.

Berita Harian, "Calon BN mahu bawa lebih banyak pembangunan" , 22nd April 2013,Monday, pp 8.

Berita Harian, "Perlis tidak ketandusan Pemimpin Wanita", 25th April 2013, Thursday, pp 4 and 5.

Berita Harian, "Calon BN kerusi parlimen Ampang, Datuk Rozaidah Talib", 26th April 2013, Friday, pp.4.

Berita Harian, "Momentum Calon Wanita", 26th April 2013, Friday, pp4.

Berita Harian, "Penduduk yakin BN mampu kota janji", 23rd April 2013, Tuesday, pp 5.

Berita Harian, Tok Mun Mula Tampal Poster, 26 April 2013, Friday, pp. 27.

Berita Harian, Bekas Naib Ketua Wanita UMNO Elak Bertemu Media, 21st April 2013, Sunday, pp.4.

Berita Harian, "Azam Rampas Semula Dun Port Dickson" 25th   April 2013, Thursday, pp.8 .

Berita Harian, "Calon BN Bersemangat", 21st April 2013, Sunday,   pp.22.

Berita Harian, "Tuntut Calon Pembangkang Tunai Janji". 28th   April 2013, Sunday, pp 21.

Berita Harian, "Shahrizat Kesal Tindakan Kamilia", 21st April   2013, Sunday pp.4

Berita Harian, Rafidah Yakin Menang Besar, 22 April 2013,   Monday. pp.18 .

Berita Harian. Ahli Dap Bantah Calon Payung Terjun, 20th April   2013, Saturday, pp.9.

Berita Harian, "Calon BN Kota Samarahan Mesra Penduduk", 20th   April   2013, Saturday   pp 19.

Berita Harian, "Tokoh Guru Azam Semula Hak BN**",** 4th May   2013, Saturday, pp 46.

Berita Harian, "Hoong Ling Derma Hati Tabur Bakti", 21st April   2013, Sunday, pp 26.

Berita Harian, Calon Barisan Nasional (BN) Parlimen Masjid   Tanah, 26th April 2013, Friday, pp.4.

Berita Harian, "Calon MCA Petaling Jaya Utara, Chew Hoong   Ling, 33", 26th April 2013,Friday, pp 5.

Berita Harian, "Ketepikan Soal Usia**",** 4th May 2013, Saturday, p. 2-3.

Bystrom, D. & Dimitrova, D. (2014). Migraines, Marriage and Mascara: Media Coverage of Michele Bachmann in the 2012 Republican Presidential Campaign. *American Behavorial Scientist*, 58, 9, 1169-1182.

Faizli, A.A. (2013). Who to vote for: A dummies guide to the manifesto. *FZ.com*. 3 May. Available at: http://www.fz.com/content/who-vote-dummies-guide-manifesto

Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) (2015). Women in National Parliaments. 20 January. Available at http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm

Khan, K.F. and E.N.Goldenberg (1991). Women candidates in the news: An examination of gender differences in U.S senate campaign coverage. *Public Opinion Quarterly*,   55: 180-99.

Norris, P. (Ed). 1997). *Women, media and politics*. Oxford : Oxford University Press.

Nurina Awanis. (2014). *Analisis Kandungan Akhbar Bahasa Melayu : Pilihanraya Umum ke-13 (PRU13) di Malaysia.* Universiti Utara Malaysia. Unpublished MA thesis.

Malaysiakini, "Newspaper sales dip post GE13", 29th September 2013, Available at https://malaysiakini.com/news/242432

Mogana a/p Subramanian. (2000). Penyertaan Wanita Dalam Malayan Indian Congres

(MIC).: satu Kajian Kes Batang Berjuntai. Academic Writing. Universiti Malaya, Kuala Lumpur.

Philips, A. (1998). The Politics of Presence. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Oxford Scholarship Online. Available at http://www.oxfordscholarship.com

Prime Minister Office. (2010). *Government Transformation Programme 1 Malaysia. The Roadmap.* Kuala Lumpur: Prime Minister Office.

Rashila Ramli & Saliha Hassan. (2009). Women and Political Development in Malaysia: New Millenium, New Politics. In Jamilah Ariffin (eds.). *Readings on Women and Development in Malaysia A Sequel* (pp.71-97). Petaling Jaya: MPH Group Publisihing Sdn. Bhd.

Shvedova, N. (2005). Obstacles to Women's Participation in Parliament. In J, Ballington., & A. Karam. (eds.), Women in Parliament : Beyond Numbers (pp.33-50). Stockholm: IDEA.

The Ministry of Women, Family and Community Development. (2007). *Women in Politics. Kuala Lumpur* : The Ministry of Women, Family and Community Development

Tremblay, M. (1998). Do Female MPs Substantively Represent Women? A Study of Legislative Behaviour in Canada's 35th Parliament. *Canadian Journal of Political Science,* 31(3), 435-465.

Ummu Atiyah Ahmad Zakuan (2014). *Representation of Women in the Malaysian Parliament, 1999-2007.* International Islamic University Malaysia. Unpublished doctoral thesis.

Uscinski, J.E., & Goren, L.J. (2011). What's in a Name?. Coverage of Senator Hillary Clinton during the 2008 Democratic Primary. *Political Research Quarterly.* 64(4), 884-896.

Usman, S. (2013). Where are the women candidates during elections?. A Fiji media case study. *Pacific Journalism Review*, 19(1), 148-166.

UN Women. Beijing Platform for Action. Available at.
        http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/

Who Makes the News. (n.d). The 2010 Global Monitoring Project (GMPP), 15 Nov.Available at http://whomakesthe news.org

World Economic Forum. (2015). The Global Gender Gap Index 2014, 20 January Available at http://reports.weforum.org/global-gender-gap-report- 2014/economies/#economy=ISL

Zaireeni Azmi. (2001). Gender dan Politik: Kajian Kes ke atas Wanita UMNO dan PAS di Terengganu dan Selangor. Master thesis, Universiti Malaya, Kuala Lumpur.