

Exploratory Analysis of Photographic Imagery
as used in Irish Printed Daily Newspapers

Abstract

The purpose of this study is to examine visual representation of our society in the news sections of Irish printed daily national newspapers and to analyse the power distribution that traverses these images for evidence of hegemonic tendencies. There are a small number of American studies of newspaper visuals similar to this one, but this study will fill a gap in the literature on Irish newspaper photography. Power is part of the fabric of our society and can be a destructive force when those without power suffer restricted freedom. The mass media play a pivotal role in the discourse of power relationships, in particular through visual representation, building up an impression in society's psyche about how to think about the other. When a group is repeatedly represented in a certain light, these images establish the dominant thinking on this group and may even sufficiently influence the group itself, compelling them into a particular pattern of behaviour. At the core of this study is the argument that, by portraying groups repeatedly in certain ways, either negatively or positively, the media may be advancing and normalising dominant ideologies which tend to benefit the already wealthy and powerful. Through an extensive content analysis of the photographs in the news sections of a cross-section of Irish daily newspapers, this study uncovers evidence that supports the hypothesis that press photographs in Irish printed newspapers support a dominant patriarchal ideology by collectively under-representing and marginalising females.

Introduction

According to Marxist theory, current hegemonic ideology originated in industrialisation and the commodification of labour, which has been naturalised and sustained by means of mass communication systems. Monogamy and patriarchy are examples of dominant naturalised ideologies promoted and driven for economic gain by the wealthy and powerful (Webster 1980, Fiske 1990). Many theorists believe that the media has hegemonic tendencies and unequal representation is a symptom of this (Len-Ríos et al 2005, Code 1991, Van Zoonen 1994, Harris and Clayton 2002, Newton 1997, Chomsky and Herman 1988). This study is concerned with representation and, in particular, photographic representation in Irish newspapers. A review of current literature shows that the effects of visual representations, in particular still images can be more potent and longer lasting than any other form of communication (Barry 1997, Gorham 2006, Sontag 1977, Newton 2001, Domke et al 2002, Adatto 1993, Paivio and Csapo 1973). Some theorists believe that images have a greater impact than words because they are interpreted faster than words and bypass the usual processing pathways and get fast-tracked straight to our emotions (Barry 1997, Webster 1980). Studies show that images improve recall

and therefore play a pivotal role in future thought processing and opinion formation (Domke et al 2002, Newton 2001, Paivio and Csapo 1973, Graber 1990). In addition to this, if the images are included in the news section of the newspaper then the impact is even greater, as our expectation is that whatever appears in this section is representing reality (Becker 2003, Bignell 2003, Kuhn 1985, Webster 1980). According to many theorists, despite knowing that images can be manipulated we still tend to believe what we see in a photograph (Sontag 1977, Chandler 2002, Wells 2004, Strauss 2004, Adatto 1993, Kuhn 1985, Krauss 1981, Bignell 1997, Becker 2003, Webster 1980).

Photographs in newspapers offer a visual confirmation of who is in charge and where different groups fit in society. The public's view of the world can be formed by the media's visual representations and what is crucially important is the cumulative effect of the repetitive appearance or omittance of certain photographic representations (Barry 1997, Walsh-Childers 1996, Beasley DeLouth et al 1995, Hall 1997). In essence these images, when printed repeatedly, create amongst the general public, a picture of what is acceptable and consequently what is deviant.

This study explores newspaper photography in an attempt to reveal any hierarchical relationships that might be present by examining and evaluating the use of photographs in the news sections of national newspapers, by means of a content analysis, involving representations of power and lack of power with a view to articulating the gender patterns that surface.

Literature Review

Mass media is a term used to describe a collection of mediums of mass communication including, among others, newspapers, magazines, television, radio, film and the Internet. Ideally the media should investigate and report the news with impartiality and give as accurate, balanced and diverse an account as possible. How objective can they be in their representations? Like it or not, we all carry around our own cultural baggage which undeniably affects our judgement and our perception of what we see and hear. Newton (2001) cites Goffman, Shoemaker and Reese, and Tuchman as agreeing that objectivity is

unattainable and Webster (1980) dedicated a whole chapter in his book to photojournalists' claims to objectivity and his own claim that this is impossible.

Habermas wrote about the public sphere and the role of the mass media as a tool for public debate. The ideal public sphere is a conceptual public space with free access for all, where open and independent political debate can take place, and where freedom of expression is guaranteed (McQuail 1994). It is suggested that the mass media are a forum for open public debate today, debating on behalf of the citizens of the country on political matters. McQuail says the mass media '... can be considered one of the most important intermediary institutions of civil society' (1994 p.158). However, what is possible and what is reality are poles apart according to McQuail and several other theorists that he quotes, agree that the mass media have failed in their role in democracy as facilitators of open public debate. The Internet was hailed as the ultimate public sphere, but according to Brants it has fallen short as 'the medicine for democracy in a midlife crisis' (2005 pp.143-146) and according to Devereux (2003), it too has succumbed to the powerful commercial influences of the media moguls.

The mass media are a recognised force in the formation of ways of thinking in our society and Marxist theory suggests that capitalism is based on domination and manipulation of workers and because the ruling classes own the means of production, it is the ideologies of the ruling classes that circulate via the mass media, which do not serve all of society equally. Chomsky and Herman (1988) believe that the mass media reflect the opinions of the elite. Webster recommends questioning the opinions of the powerful in society as it is the wealthy and powerful who benefit most from the status quo and 'economic power can buy the power to transmit attitudes and opinions' (1980 p.112). Gledhill explains this as naturalising and internalising the 'social relations of domination and oppression' so as to promote acceptance (1997 p.348). Webster (1980) gives several examples of these "naturalised" beliefs including monogamy and patriarchy. According to Fiske (1990), the myth of the family structure, where the man earns the money and the woman stays at home, originated in industrialisation and a capitalist system driven by the economic goals of middle-class men. Society becomes defined by these ideologies, which 'serves the interest of the dominant institutions' (Mitchel and Schoeffel 2002 p.13). Newton (1997) discusses the media's hegemonic role in society

and their propensity now to publish what are the accepted opinions of the dominant groups.

Many theorists believe that the media's inequitable representation is symptomatic of their hegemonic tendencies (Len-Ríos et al 2005, Code 1991, Van Zoonen 1994, Harris et al 2002, Newton 1997, Chomsky and Herman 1988). Thompson supports the idea that 'mass communication has become a major medium of ideology in modern society' (1990 p.20). Hegemonic ideology is about power and dominance, and promotes class systems, capitalism and materialism and anything that supports these systems. This constructed social power structure opens the doors to some, allowing them easy access to full participation in society, but closes the doors to many or at least places obstacles in their path.

According to Thompson, through 'concentration and diversification' a small number of media giants have emerged with interests across all forms of communication, with strong links to other industries such as banking (1990 p.198). Devereux says that these media conglomerates are also linked with industries such as cigarette, armament and car production and are 'inextricably linked with the promotion of the ideology of consumerism' (2003 p.35).

According to Bagdikian (2004), the ownership of the majority of media outlets in the US has reduced from fifty corporations to five in just over twenty years, and these five corporations operate 'more like a cartel' than separate companies (2004 p.3). People don't always automatically believe what they hear or read, but when the same message is heard from multiple sources then the credibility of the message multiplies exponentially. But in view of what Bagdikian says, in many cases these "different" sources are in actual fact the one source.

Bagdikian is concerned that concentration of ownership of the media is seriously endangering democracy, claiming that news reporting has become deprioritised in these gigantic multifaceted corporations and news worthiness is based more on what will serve the company rather than 'serve the traditional ethical striving of journalism' (2004 pp.xii-xiii). He goes so far as to attribute a large proportion of blame to these conglomerates for the huge shift in wealth distribution in the US (to the already wealthy). Berger (2003) suggests that perhaps we are living through the most tyrannical times ever, because profit is the ultimate goal of the power structure that governs the world.

There is evidence of powerful influences on the media. The mass media have a responsibility to frame the issues they report correctly by allocating the issue with the appropriate level of urgency and emphasis, and by contextualising it correctly (Schönbach 1999). Agenda-setting theory contends that the media can set the public agenda by deciding what receives emphasis in the news. McCombs and Shaw's studies (1972) found evidence to support the existence of agenda-setting in the American media. Schönbach (1999) discusses agenda-setting in the German media's treatment of the refugee issue of 1992 and 1993. Pollak (1999) writes about a similar example in Ireland in the late 1990s and Breen (1997) writes about another Irish example where the media created a considerable slant in their reporting of child abuse that portrayed all clergy as deviant based on the actions of this minority. The interpretational power of the "active" audience has been put forward as an argument against the power of the media, but the Glasgow Media Group has shown through their research and case studies that even though an audience may exercise some interpretational control when reading a text, this 'does not invalidate the concept of influence' (Kitzinger 1999 p.4).

We live in a media-saturated world where social meaning is shaped, particularly in the western world, not by religious beliefs or our education system or even our parents, but according to Barry by the 'media environment' (1997 p.335). The Glasgow Media Group support this idea saying that, '...the media are in fact a key source of information for many people' (Philo 1999 p.16). They go on to say that the media can shape people's understanding of what is legitimate or desirable. According to Wilkins (1973), what is unusual or deviant is determined from our store of information, which is derived in a small part from our personal experience, but in the main, from the mass media. Hall (1997) says that culture can be defined as the construction and exchange of meaning, and culturally produced meanings influence our behaviour and therefore exert considerable control over social practices and can be used by anyone who wants to regulate social practices. We need to understand how we give things meaning in order to understand the idea of a socially constructed reality. According to Hall, it is how we represent things that gives them meaning,

the words we use about them, the stories we tell about them, the images of them we produce, the emotions we associate with them (1997 p.3).

The meaning of things is not fixed. Representation is where we observe something and form a mental concept in our head, which we can then represent to others using sign systems. We can easily communicate the concepts in our head or transmit meaning by representation, if the person we are communicating with understands the world in a similar way to us. Language is a representational system using signs and symbols to represent concepts and ideas to others and '[r]epresentation through language is therefore central to the processes by which meaning is produced' (Hall 1997 p.1). When Hall refers to language he is referring to spoken, written and visual language. According to Moriarty (1996) visual communication is as important as the verbal system of communication but suggests that visual interpretation may be more challenging.

As a rule, we are not aware of the visual habits we form from a very early age to make sense of what we see around us. According to Chandler (2002), these habits are internalised at a very young age, and we are unaware of their existence. Chandler says that 'it takes deliberate effort to become more aware of everyday visual perception as a code' and 'its habitual application obscures the traces of its intervention' (2002 p.152). The media shape the way we think about ourselves and everyone else in the world by making us see things in a certain way and photography in the media presents a visual confirmation of who is in charge or who is important or not in our society or to quote Hall, newspaper photographs '[translate] the legitimations of the social order into faces, expressions, subjects, settings and legends' (Hall 1997 p.181).

Issues of difference and stereotyping are often considered as integral when considering representation. Hall (1997) says that it is through all our social interactions that we develop a sense of identity and belonging but also how we distinguish one group from another. Hall (1997) suggests that each photograph can be read on its own, but stereotypes are read inter-textually. It's not one image that creates a stereotype, but repeated images that are read in the context of each other and that gain meaning from each other. Walsh-Childers agrees saying that 'stereotypical images are most likely to have an effect on viewers' attitudes if the exposure to those images is repeated frequently' (1996 p.85). When negative stereotypes are repeatedly used in news discourse, the effects can be very harmful because we perceive news discourse as reporting reality. The repeated use of these representations inculcates acceptance of this

particular interpretation. We store these repeated images as schema, which as Gorham puts it, 'aid in parsing incoming information' and 'help structure expectancies' (2006 p.292). Repeated stereotypical representations in the media can develop a particular perception of a group that can affect the performance of that group and how members of the group are treated in society.

There are times when negative representation actually does reflect reality but Beasley DeLouth et al (1995) suggest that negative stereotyping can lead to proliferation of the problem because it can lead to self-esteem issues, negative expectations and diminished opportunities. According to Len-Ríos et al, 'equal representation is a precursor to greater equality' (2005 p.154). Hall refers to stereotyped groups as victims of stereotyping and suggests that they 'can be trapped by the stereotype, unconsciously confirming it by the very terms in which they try to oppose and resist it' (1997 p.263).

It is still a fact that women have less power and status in society than men and, on the surface the mass media's representation of women does nothing to help fix this. Hegemony is about those in power preserving their status and a study by Len-Ríos et al (2005) suggests that the news is hegemonic in nature and female under-representation is a result. Bern (1981) and Doane (1988) consider sexual identity to be a social construction that develops through social interaction and Coppock et al (1995) claim that the imagery associated with femininity in the media is taken for granted and sets the standard for the ideal female while denying them the independent, strong and powerful imagery associated more with men. Hall (1997) describes stereotyping as emphasising and naturalising difference, defining normal versus deviant, and occurring where power is unevenly distributed. Hall (1997) sees pornography as another aspect of stereotyping, which he describes as being obsessive about difference, and reducing the other to nature, or an object. In Jolliffe's 1996 media study there were far more full-body shots of females than males and Jolliffe says that traditionally it has been argued that the prevalence of female full-body shots concerns the objectification of women. Code describes stereotypes as 'judgments based on hasty generalisation' (1991 pp.189-2) and compares them to caricatures, but it is the accuracy of some of their elements that makes them difficult to undermine and 'lends them unwarranted credibility' (1991 pp.189-2), and conceals their prejudice. It is this degree of credibility, she

contends, lends them significant power to serve as dominant cultural indicators of how a group should behave and how they should be treated. Fundamentally, Code believes that these stereotypes are part of an inflexible dominant ideology of social construction that distributes power and oppression based on gender and 'ensures the superiority of (certain) men' (1991 p.196). She goes on to say that females are stereotyped from birth and these stereotypical representations serve to construct a female's own identity and function as a constraint to which they must conform or else experience feelings of misfit. Unlike caricatures, which everyone knows are exaggerations, stereotypes are presented as fact, making them inflexible and part of 'the authoritarian, dominant discourse' (Code 1991 p.192). According to Code, the female stereotype has shifted over time but what has persisted is the underlying hegemonic and patriarchal depiction of females as dependent, weak, emotional and more suited to bearing children and keeping a home than taking up professional positions in a man's world (1991 p.195). Women are typically portrayed in the media as 'happy, calm, and submissive,' whereas men more often portrayed as 'sad, excited, and dominant', suggesting underlying connotations of unequal power division (Rodgers et al, 2007 p.129). According to Van Zoonen, however much the meaning and representation of gender has been renegotiated in the media, inequality has not gone away, describing maleness in the media as 'a discourse of power and centrality' whereas femaleness is associated more with 'powerlessness and marginality' (1994 p.150). Code concludes by suggesting that the female stereotype is intrinsic in 'the theories, practices, and attitudes of the authorities and experts' (1991 p.203) that impact on their lives.

With a world population where the number of females is equal to the number of males, a similar allocation might be expected in the media, but this is not the case. Blackwood's study (1983) found that men outnumbered women across 46 issues of the *Washington Post* and 46 issues of the *Los Angeles Times* by more than three to one. The imbalance was particularly dire in the news sections where women were outnumbered by almost five to one. Under the heading public officials or professionals, 355 men were recorded versus only 45 women, and 171 women were identified as spouses versus 29 men. This study considered that the newspaper representations of women did not reflect reality. Luebke's study (1989) of 8960 representations from 184 newspapers found that men outnumbered women by more than two to one and found that

women are three times less likely to be pictured on the front page of the newspapers. When women did appear it was because of their relationship to others, or they appeared 'interesting', and Luebke suggests this is due to the controlling male perspective. Only 251 men (4%) were identified as a spouse whereas 909 women (32%) were identified this way, and 2140 men (35.5%) were identified as public officials or professionals versus only 444 women (15.7%). In a 1999 study of *New York Times* images and cutlines, it was found that images of men appeared more than twice as often as images of women, and on top of this, when women did appear, they were named far less frequently than men, with only 144 females named versus 385 males (King 1999). According to this study, not naming females devalues them. A study by Len-Ríos et al (2005) found that women were very much under-represented in newspapers where men appeared more than twice as often as women in the news sections, but also found that newspapers sustain gender stereotyping. A study by Beasley DeLouth et al (1995) found that women were far more likely to be portrayed as victims whereas men were far more likely to be presented as experts or rescuers. Joliffe's 1996 study revealed that male stereotypes in the mass media still portray men as powerful, strong and violent, and hardly ever display images of male victims even though statistics say men are more often the victims of crime. It also emerged that 'where a story contradicts these stereotypes, photographs will not be included' (Joliffe 1996 p.99), thereby presenting an alternative reality to the stories. Men were photographed five times more than women in three Californian newspapers, and when the sports section was included, men were twenty times more prevalent. Harris et al (2002) suggest the immense under-representation of female athletes in sports coverage in newspapers is a powerful daily reinforcement of masculine hegemony in sport. They further suggest that many of the images of female athletes that do appear support the ideology of femininity associated with weakness and desirability or eroticism. The under representation, negative stereotyping and objectification of women, and the repeated representation of women as different from the dominant group and somehow inferior, can lead to reduced expectations, self-esteem issues and diminished opportunities (Beasley DeLouth et al 1995).

Images can be read by anyone regardless of their age or education and can even break down language barriers. However, according to Newton, 'interpreting their content appropriately, can be just as culture specific as

viewing a painting' (2001 p.21). Webster (1980) says that a person may be emotionally stirred by an image and never realise that their reading of the image is not based on a natural occurring association, but on something learned and now so inbuilt, it appears as natural. Griffin sees visual communication as a 'transnational cultural currency' or 'currency of media control and power' (2001 p.455) promoting dominant cultural images globally. Similarly, Rose (2001) explores the idea of the artificiality of social classes and how they are constructed, contending that images promote and sustain the man-made class system. To understand the role of images in visual news discourse and meaning construction, we must consider how images represent reality and how the reader interprets them.

We have an inbuilt primal need to scan our environment for danger and, according to Shoemaker (1996), the mass media are an extension of this need. Photojournalist's role in fulfilling this basic need is that they do the scanning on behalf of multitudes of people. They witness the event, and capture it in a two dimensional form for the rest of us to see. We are attracted to visuals of people, as we are always comparing ourselves to others, looking for likenesses and differences (Mulvey 1988). We like to look at other people and judge ourselves against these images. How we look can have an important impact on how people react to us. Whatever 'look' we choose to outwardly display, says something about how we wish to be perceived and all have psychological and symbolic importance. The human body is a smorgasbord of code production through how it is presented, but also through gestures and facial expressions. Spoken words can be interpreted very differently depending on a person's facial expression or tone of voice.

In a world where we scan our environment through images created by others, and where we have more images in front of us than ever before, are we in a better position to understand our environment, and are we safer? According to a study by Pfau et al (2006), images of war produce more negative reactions than just text alone, suggesting that text allows for analysis and reasoning. Sontag argues that 'photography has done at least as much to deaden conscience as to arouse it' (1977 p.21). Newton discusses the potential dehumanising effects of human visual behaviour and how technology has rapidly enabled the proliferation of images that 'permit the oppression of women, people of colour, and other non-dominant groups through a hegemonic

and often brutally intrusive visual system' (2001 p.147). According to Ewen (1990), visuals are far more persuasive than words because visuals are instantly interpreted and can convey so much more in an instant.

In their article on the power of visuals, Domke et al contend that 'images most often interact with individual's existing understandings of the world to shape information processing and judgments' (2002 p.136). Adatto believes that images can activate a chain of ideas because they 'are bearers of meanings, enduring carriers of ideals and myths' and can tap into and make connections within our store of data (1993 p.167). According to Newton, we remember in visual terms and suggests that 'thought itself is visual' (2001 p.117). Research carried out by Paivio and Csapo (1973) consistently found that recall was far greater for pictures than words. A study by Domke et al (2002) agrees with this and says that visuals used in news coverage can influence audiences greater than narrative but the viewer's predispositions are not negated by the images. They go on to say that visual images can affect future judgements because they are more readily recalled. Graber's (1990) study of television news contends that an audience's recall is more than doubled when visuals are used. According to a study on the influence of photographs, reader's perceptions can be altered by accompanying photographs beyond what may have been intended by the journalist, particularly in the area of gender and ethnicity (Gibson and Zillmann, 2000). The audience will more than likely link the issue in the text with the person or group in the photograph, which may not always be correct. When we see a photographic image, we read the image so quickly with all its connotations, we bypass the translation from words to image, and the imprint on our consciousness is more automatic and immediate (Barry 1997). According to Barry's perception theory, when words are accompanied by an image, the image dominates and more importantly, images are 'processed along the same alternative pathways as direct experience' (1997 p.78) and engage our emotions before our intellect. However, Webster (1980) says photography is still often dependent on words to fix meaning. Newton cites medical research studies indicating that 'visual cognition stimulates the unconscious mind to motivate or guide behaviour before the rational mind is consciously engaged' (2001 p.112). Newton says that 'new work in visual perception indicates images have long-lasting effects on behaviour' (2001 p.93).

According to Graber, television audiovisual news can certainly influence our impressions of people but its presentation ‘...militate[s] against learning’ (1990 p.136) primarily because of the speed with which each story is covered, and the barrage of images which flicker past our eyes (images change on average every twenty seconds). Graber suggests there is no time to absorb meaning properly because of the brevity of image presentation and the complication of the simultaneous verbal reporting, hence the over use of stereotypical images which ‘contain comparatively little information that directly advances the storyline’ (1990 pp.152-4). However, Graber also contends that the audience’s view of the world and opinions of people are very much influenced by visuals. Print media, on the other hand, present each image to be scrutinised at the reader’s leisure, along with textual analysis. According to Sontag, ‘photographs may be more memorable than moving images, because they are a neat slice of time, not in a flow’ (1977 p.17). The fact that the observer is unaware of what went before or came after the captured image, can increase the power of the image, and also bring to bear the observer’s imagination and cultural imprint. The power of photography is to allow an instant in time, which would normally be immediately replaced by another, to be ‘kept open to scrutiny’ (Sontag 1977 p.111).

In relation to this study, we need to understand what effect photographs have on the newspaper reading experience. According to Garcia and Stark (1991), readers start off by scanning the newspaper, but stop and read at various entry points. Photographs were the main entry points and the study revealed that the majority of photographs were scanned but the readers did not always read the accompanying article. An eye-tracking study by Holsanova et al (2006) also revealed that readers scan the newspaper searching for something of interest, and when this entry point is located they stop and read and then continue scanning. They found pictures and headlines to be the most common entry points. Zillmann et al (2001) also found that readers are attracted to pictures first, and the larger pictures get reader priority. Readers did not show any preference for colour photographs over black and white.

There are many ways of analysing photographs but content analysis is the chosen method of analysis selected for this study due to its scientific and methodological approach and its suitability to large numbers. It facilitates the consistent, unbiased application of a set of measurements to large volumes of images allowing patterns to emerge. Kolbe and Burnett describe content

analysis as 'an observational research method that is used to systematically evaluate the symbolic content of all forms of recorded communications' (1991 p.243). Neuendorf describes it as a 'summarising, quantitative analysis of messages that relies on the scientific method' (2002 p.10). It is less about interpretation and more about following a clear set of procedures for gathering reliable and replicable data about the frequency of particular visual elements in large quantities of visual texts. Because of its quantitative and methodological approach, the results are perceived to be more 'rigorous, reliable and objective' than other methods (Rose 2001 p.54). According to Neuendorf (2002), content analysis is capable of being more scientific in its approach to data analysis than other methodologies if emphasis is given to an a priori design, intercoder reliability and duplicability, coding integrity and validity, generalizability and hypothesis testing. Rose (2001) does raise an issue about the lack of concern for reflexivity and audience reception in a purely content analysis driven study, but suggests this can be overcome by a content analysis with a carefully devised coding system with a theoretical foundation that incorporates interpretive and qualitative categories. Riffe et al (1998) endorse this idea, and used in this way, content analysis is not just a quantitative analysis tool, but incorporates qualitative characteristics. The content analysis coding categories in this study are formulated from an extensive foundation of pertinent theories from a variety of current studies, developed using various qualitative and quantitative methodologies.

Theorists caution against code overlap and coder ambiguity, particularly where there is more than one coder, suggesting a pilot run is necessary to check intercoder reliability (Rose 2001, Hornig Priest 2005). The coding system needs to be as clear and unambiguous as possible to ensure accuracy between coders. The actual coding of images, according to Rose, is tedious, but must be carried out with great attention to detail as it is imperative that this is done correctly. In the case of this study, the coding was carried out in total by the researcher, but according to Neuendorf (2002), even if the coding is performed by one individual in total, a reliability check is still necessary.

Methodology

Research Question: From the review of literature, it is widely believed that the American mass media support a dominant hegemonic and patriarchal ideology, and this study is interested in whether the same is true in Ireland. Based on the theories already explored, the following hypothesis was developed for this study along with eleven sub-hypotheses:

1. H1. Press photographs in Irish printed newspapers support a dominant patriarchal ideology.

H1a. Males appear more frequently than females.

H1b. Photographs of males receive more prominent placement than photographs of females.

H1c. Females are associated with positions of power less than males.

H1d. Males are named more often than females.

H1e. Male's occupational details are provided more often than female's.

H1f. Females are identified more often as spouses and sexual partners than males

H1g. Females are associated with family and the home more often than males.

H1h. Females' dress and appearance are referred to more often than males'.

H1i. Females appear as victims more frequently than males.

H1j. Females are objectified more than males (revealing clothing, nudity, full-body shots).

H1k. Males are portrayed as more serious than females.

Sample Selection

To test the hypotheses, a selection of Irish daily printed newspapers is collected. The two most popular Irish broadsheet newspapers, according to ABC's circulation figures, *The Irish Times* and the *Irish Independent*, and the best-selling Irish tabloid newspaper, *The Irish Sun*, are chosen because of their substantial share of the market and their diverse ownership. These three newspapers together make up over 54% of the national papers consumed on a daily basis in Ireland (circulations figures from ABC). The *Irish Independent* is the best selling Irish newspaper and it is owned by a large Irish media company, Independent Newspapers, which has media interests outside Ireland. *The Irish Times*, with the second largest distribution in Ireland, differs from the *Irish Independent* in so far as it is run by a Trust, whose purpose it is to protect the paper from commercial and political pressures. *The Irish Sun* is chosen because it is the best selling tabloid in Ireland and it is owned by an international media conglomerate News International, which is a subsidiary of News Corporation, one of the largest media companies in the world. For this study, all three newspapers were collected each day except Sundays and bank holidays, every other week from 31st March 2007 to 29th June 2007 (n = 123). These 123 newspapers were all included in the content analysis. The sample covers three titles, which add up to 15,862,572 in total for the seven weeks, which is 47% of the total population. This is considered representative of the total population (circulation figures from ABC).

Only photographs are considered in this study. Illustrations or cartoons are not included. Small photographs are omitted if they measure less than 8.75cm² or where no person in the photograph measures greater than 4 cm². Photographs of the article authors are excluded. Photographs with no human content or where the heads are not visible or gender is indeterminable are omitted. Photographs where a large crowd is pictured and where there is no central subject and faces are not visible are not included. Advertisements are excluded. A newspaper's own adverts for 'what's inside' are excluded unless the photograph is large (greater than 40 cm²). All other photographs in the sections identified as the news sections are included in the content analysis from *The Irish Times* and *the Irish Independent*. The world report section on the back page of the *Irish Independent* is also included. Unlike the other two newspapers, *The Irish Sun* does not identify its news section clearly and presents a mixture of the daily events and reality, mixed with entertainment and

sport. The front section of *The Irish Sun* before the TV guide is chosen to analyse because it contains a greater proportion of news stories. The entertainment sections before the TV guide called “bizarre” and “TV biz” are not included. Full-page fashion spreads are also omitted, as is the “celebrity author section”. *The Irish Sun* yields 2286 photographs in total. *The Irish Times* and *the Irish Independent* yield 994 and 1439 photographs respectively. In total, 4719 photographs are included in the content analysis.

Content Analysis Procedure

In all, 4719 photographs are identified, numbered and coded as per the attributes outlined in the codebook. The unit of analysis is the person and from one to three people are coded per photograph, which results in 7099 people in total. The data are entered by the researcher into the statistical analysis package SPSS (v 15). The codebook is compiled from the various studies included in the research.

Coding Scheme

In total, 16 measures for each photograph are coded. Each photograph is given a unique identifier and then the following details are recorded:

1. The title of the newspaper
2. The date of the newspaper
3. The area of the photograph in cm²
4. The proportionate size allocated per person.
5. The section of paper the photograph appears in as follows: front page above the fold, front page below the fold, or inside.
6. The number of people in the photograph. A maximum of three representations are recorded per photograph.
7. The visual context as follows: media event, office or business, domestic or family, social event, sport, none or unknown, other.
8. The person's gender.
9. The master gender.
10. Where the person's body is cropped: head shot, head and shoulders, above the waist, legs cropped, full body shot.

11. How the person is dressed: business, business casual or formal; casual; sports; uniform/habit; glamorous/fashion; semi-undress (e.g. swimwear); some nudity; other; not applicable.
12. If the person is named in the caption or heading.
13. If the person's appearance is referenced in the caption, heading or first paragraph.
14. If the person's occupation is identified in the caption, heading or first paragraph, or if it can be visually identified e.g. police uniform.
15. What primary role is identified per person either visually or in the caption, heading or first paragraph. Occupation can be identified visually or in the text (headings, captions, or first paragraph). There are 10 role sub-headings as follows: celebrity/entertainer/sports person; authority figure; business or wealthy person; criminal/accused/suspect; victim of violence; socialite/model; spouse/romantic partner; family member; no role identified; other.
16. The person's facial expression.

A random sample of photographs in the news sections were analysed by two coders, one of these coders was the researcher, to establish intercoder reliability. This sample selection yielded 122 photographs and 188 representations. Cohen's Kappa statistic was used as a measure of crosscoder reliability between two coders and the results by variable ranged from .84 to 1.0. The results show a very high correlation between coders.

The Research Question: results

The research question concerned the belief that the American mass media support a dominant patriarchal ideology, and to what extent this may be the case in the Irish media and in particular the Irish daily printed newspapers. Are Irish newspaper readers being served up a visual diet of ideologically conformist press photography? Based on the theories explored, the hypothesis that press photographs in Irish printed newspapers support a dominant patriarchal ideology was developed along with eleven sub-hypotheses. Ten of the sub-hypotheses are numerically and statistically supported. H1j is partially supported with the data from one newspaper on one of the tests, skewing the overall figures.

The 123 newspapers collected for the study produced 4719 photographs from the news sections, and from these photographs, 7099 representations were recorded. Table 1 gives the breakdown by newspaper of the number of photographs, representations and the space allocated to photographs.

Table 1

Newspaper	Total no. of photographs	Relative Frequency %	Total no. of representations	Average no. of photographs per issue	Total area_cm ²	% area_cm ²
<i>The Irish Times</i>	994	21.1	1644	24	140797	26.49
<i>Irish Independent</i>	1439	30.5	2187	35	174080	32.75
<i>The Irish Sun</i>	2286	48.4	3268	56	216627	40.76
Total	4719	100.0	7099		531504	

4.3. Results H1: press photographs in Irish printed newspapers support a dominant patriarchal ideology

H1a argues that males appear more frequently than females. As can be seen from a binomial test, which tested against equal representation (Table 2), there are more photographs of males than females in all three newspapers with a ratio of 1.6 males to every female across the whole sample.

Table 2

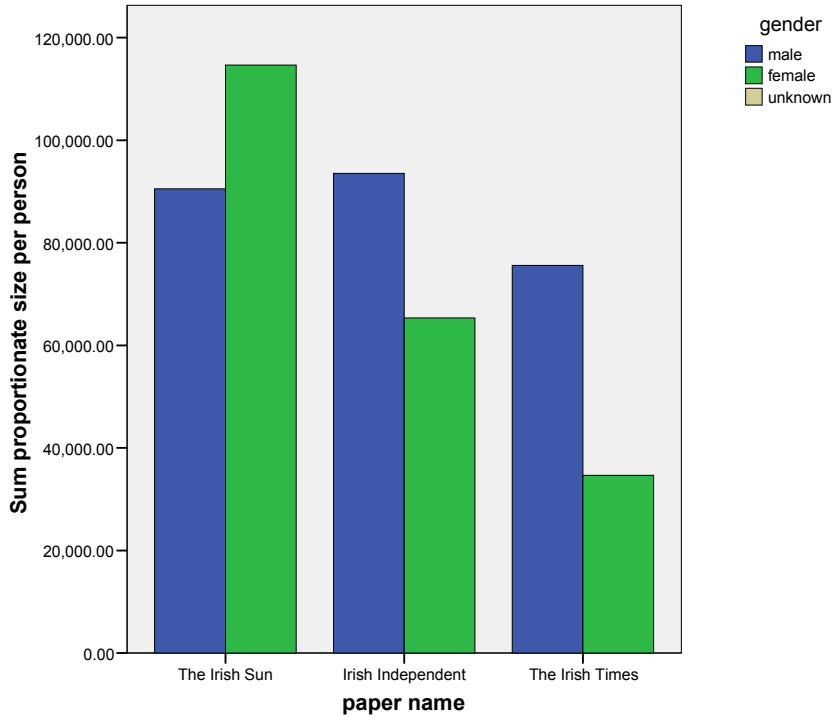
Binomial Test

		Category	N	Observed Prop.	Test Prop.	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)
gender	Group 1	male	4384	.62	.50	.000 ^a
	Group 2	female	2715	.38		
	Total		7099	1.00		

a. Based on Z Approximation.

When this is broken down by newspaper (chart 1), the figures differ significantly with *The Irish Times* displaying the greatest disparity with a ratio of 2.3 males to every female. *The Irish Sun* comes closest to equal distribution with 1.3 males to every female, and the *Irish Independent* comes somewhere in the middle with 1.8 males to every female.

Chart 1



H1a, which argues that photographs of males appear more frequently than photographs of females in Irish daily printed newspapers, is supported with a highly significant binomial test result.

H1b argues that photographs of males receive more prominent placement than photographs of females. As can be seen from a binomial test of front page photographs (Table 3), when it comes to photographs on the front page of all three newspapers, males are certainly more prominently positioned than females with a total of 208 males on the front pages of the selected newspapers and only 108 females, which is a ratio of almost 2:1 males to females.

Table 3

Binomial Test

		Category	N	Observed Prop.	Test Prop.	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)
gender	Group 1	male	208	.66	.50	.000 ^a
	Group 2	female	108	.34		
	Total		316	1.00		

a. Based on Z Approximation.

Table 4**section of paper * gender * paper name Crosstabulation**

paper name			gender	
			male	female
The Irish Sun	Front page	Count	57	42
		% within section of paper	57.6%	42.4%
	Inside/back	Count	1779	1390
		% within section of paper	56.1%	43.9%
Irish Independent	Front page	Count	78	38
		% within section of paper	67.2%	32.8%
	Inside/back	Count	1318	753
		% within section of paper	63.6%	36.4%
The Irish Times	Front page	Count	73	28
		% within section of paper	72.3%	27.7%
	Inside/back	Count	1079	464
		% within section of paper	69.9%	30.1%

It is worth looking at these results by newspaper. A crosstabulation by newspaper (Table 4), between section and gender, shows that *The Irish Sun* is closest to gender parity on the front page and *The Irish Times* is the farthest with 2.6 males to every female on the front page.

H1b, which argues that photographs of males receive more prominent placement than photographs of females, is supported.

H1c argues that females are associated with positions of power less than males. For this crosstabulation, two separate roles of authority figure, and business/wealthy person, are combined to reflect positions of power. A crosstabulation between role identity and gender (see Table 5) supports the hypothesis with 1530 males recorded in positions of power versus 302 females. This is a ratio of more than 5:1 males to females.

Table 5

role identity in caption/heading * gender Crosstabulation

		gender		Total
		male	female	
Authority figure/politician /business person/wealthy person	Count	1530	302	1832
	Expected Count	1131.4	700.6	1832.0
	% within role identity in caption/heading	83.5%	16.5%	100.0%
	% within gender	34.9%	11.1%	25.8%
	other	Count	2854	2413
	Expected Count	3252.6	2014.4	5267.0
	% within role identity in caption/heading	54.2%	45.8%	100.0%
	% within gender	65.1%	88.9%	74.2%
Total	Count	4384	2715	7099
	Expected Count	4384.0	2715.0	7099.0
	% within role identity in caption/heading	61.8%	38.2%	100.0%
	% within gender	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	495.034 ^a	1	.000		
Continuity Correction ^b	493.793	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	540.491	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	494.965	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	7099				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 70.65.

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.264	.000
	Cramer's V	.264	.000
N of Valid Cases		7099	

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

H1c, which argues that females are associated with positions of power less than males, is supported with a highly significant Fisher's Exact test result ($p < 0.001$) confirming a relationship and a Cramer's V showing a moderately strong relationship (0.264).

H1d argues that males are named more often than females in the captions and headings. As can be seen from Table 6, 2557 males are named in the caption or heading versus 1206 females, which is a ratio of 2.12 males to 1.0 females. The numbers themselves appear significant and even when the expected count is taken into consideration, because after all there are more males in the newspapers than females, the difference is still significant. *The Irish Sun* names 2.27 males to 1.0 females; the *Irish Independent* names 1.75 males to 1.0 females and *The Times* names 2.6 males to 1.0 females.

Table 6

named in caption/heading * gender Crosstabulation

		gender		Total
		male	female	
not named	Count	1827	1509	3336
	Expected Count	2060.2	1275.8	3336.0
	% within named in caption or heading	54.8%	45.2%	100.0%
	% within gender	41.7%	55.6%	47.0%
in caption or heading	Count	2557	1206	3763
	Expected Count	2323.8	1439.2	3763.0
	% within named in caption or heading	68.0%	32.0%	100.0%
	% within gender	58.3%	44.4%	53.0%
Total	Count	4384	2715	7099
	Expected Count	4384.0	2715.0	7099.0
	% within named in caption or heading	61.8%	38.2%	100.0%
	% within gender	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	130.158 ^a	1	.000		
Continuity Correction ^b	129.601	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	130.310	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	130.140	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	7099				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1275.85.

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by	Phi	-.135	.000
Nominal	Cramer's V	.135	.000
N of Valid Cases		7099	

- a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.
- b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

H1d, which argues that males are named more often than females, is supported, with a highly significant Chi-squared test ($p < 0.001$) and a Cramer's V test showing a moderate relationship (0.135). There are 2557 males named versus only 1206 females in the sample and the figure for males is moderately higher than would be expected if gender and naming were independent of each other.

H1e argues that male occupational details are provided more often than female occupational details. The results of a crosstabulation (Table 7) between gender and occupational identity supports this hypothesis with 2740 males being recorded with an occupation versus only 1192 females. Even when the overall male female breakdown is considered (1.6 males to 1.0 females), the figures are still significant with 2.3 males to 1.0 females recorded with an occupation.

Table 7

occupation identified * gender Crosstabulation

		gender		Total
		male	female	
no	Count	1391	1262	2653
	Expected Count	1638.2	1014.8	2653.0
	% within gender	31.7%	46.5%	37.4%
yes	Count	2740	1192	3932
	Expected Count	2428.0	1504.0	3932.0
	% within gender	62.5%	43.9%	55.4%
n/a	Count	252	261	513
	Expected Count	316.8	196.2	513.0
	% within gender	5.7%	9.6%	7.2%
Total	Count	4383	2715	7098
	Expected Count	4383.0	2715.0	7098.0
	% within gender	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	236.981 ^a	2	.000
Likelihood Ratio	237.016	2	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	55.898	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	7098		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 196.22.

Symmetric Measures

	Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal Phi	.183	.000
Cramer's V	.183	.000
N of Valid Cases	7098	

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

H1e, which argues that male occupational details are provided more often than female occupational details, is supported with a highly significant Chi-squared test ($p < 0.001$) confirming a relationship and a Cramer's V test showing a moderate relationship (0.183). In this sample, 2740 males are recorded with occupational details versus 1192 females and the figure for males is far higher than would be expected if gender and the provision of occupational details were independent of each other.

H1f argues that in Irish daily printed newspapers, females are represented as spouses and sexual partners more often than males. Table 8 is a crosstabulation between gender and role identity, where all roles other than spouse and romantic partner have been recoded to other. The crosstabulation shows more than three times as many females are identified as spouses or romantic partners than males. The gender breakdown of the overall sample is 1.0 females to 1.6 males versus a ratio of 3.2 females to 1.0 males identified as spouses or romantic partners.

Table 8**role identity in caption/heading * gender Crosstabulation**

		gender		Total
		male	female	
other	Count	4330	2542	6872
	Expected Count	4243.8	2628.2	6872.0
	% within gender	98.8%	93.6%	96.8%
spouse, romantic partner	Count	54	173	227
	Expected Count	140.2	86.8	227.0
	% within gender	1.2%	6.4%	3.2%
Total	Count	4384	2715	7099
	Expected Count	4384.0	2715.0	7099.0
	% within gender	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	143.119 ^a	1	.000		
Continuity Correction ^b	141.463	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	140.135	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	143.099	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	7099				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 86.82.

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by	Phi	.142	.000
Nominal	Cramer's V	.142	.000
N of Valid Cases		7099	

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

H1f, which argues that females are represented as spouses and sexual partners more often than males, is supported with a highly significant Fisher's Exact Test ($p < 0.001$) confirming a relationship and a Cramer's V test showing a weak to moderate relationship (.142). The figure for females is far higher than expected if gender and identification as a spouse or sexual partner were independent of each other.

H1g argues that in Irish daily printed newspapers, females tend to be associated with family and the home more often than males. Table 9 is a

crosstabulation between visual context and gender, where all categories except domestic or family have been recoded as other, shows more females visually identified in a domestic context than males. Considering the overall gender split of 1.6:1 males to females, this is significant as the expected count for males is 173.5 and is far higher than the actual figure of 134, and correspondingly, the expected count for females of 107.5 is far lower than the actual figure of 147. The figures support this hypothesis, and although the Cramer's V test shows a very weak relationship (0.059), the Fisher's Exact test is significant ($p < 0.001$).

Table 9

Visual context/surroundings * gender Crosstabulation

		gender		Total
		male	female	
other	Count	4250	2568	6818
	Expected Count	4210.5	2607.5	6818.0
	% within Visual context/surroundings	62.3%	37.7%	100.0%
	% within gender	96.9%	94.6%	96.0%
domestic/family	Count	134	147	281
	Expected Count	173.5	107.5	281.0
	% within Visual context/surroundings	47.7%	52.3%	100.0%
	% within gender	3.1%	5.4%	4.0%
Total	Count	4384	2715	7099
	Expected Count	4384.0	2715.0	7099.0
	% within Visual context/surroundings	61.8%	38.2%	100.0%
	% within gender	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	24.518 ^a	1	.000		
Continuity Correction ^b	23.902	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	23.781	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	24.515	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	7099				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 10.47.

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by	Phi	.059	.000
Nominal	Cramer's V	.059	.000
N of Valid Cases		7099	

- a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.
- b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Table 10

role identity in caption/heading * gender Crosstabulation

		gender		Total
		male	female	
other	Count	4219	2442	6661
	Expected Count	4113.5	2547.5	6661.0
	% within gender	96.2%	89.9%	93.8%
family member	Count	165	273	438
	Expected Count	270.5	167.5	438.0
	% within gender	3.8%	10.1%	6.2%
Total	Count	4384	2715	7099
	Expected Count	4384.0	2715.0	7099.0
	% within gender	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	114.641 ^a	1	.000		
Continuity Correction ^b	113.557	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	110.674	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	114.625	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	7099				

- a. Computed only for a 2x2 table
- b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 16.51.

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by	Phi	.127	.000
Nominal	Cramer's V	.127	.000
N of Valid Cases		7099	

- a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.
- b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Table 12 is a crosstabulation between gender and role identity, with all roles coded as other except family member. With a ratio of 1.0 male to 1.65 females

identified as family members, and considering the overall gender split is 1.6 males to 1.0 females, this shows significantly more females identified with family than males. With a Cramer's V test showing a moderate relationship (.127) and a highly significant Fisher's Exact test ($p < 0.001$), the hypothesis is supported.

H1g, which argues that in Irish daily printed newspapers females tend to be associated with family and the home more often than males, is supported. Both sets of figures support the hypothesis, as does the crosstabulation for the previous hypothesis H1f, which shows that females are represented as spouses and sexual partners more often than males. All the Fisher's Exact tests confirm a relationship and the Cramer's V tests shows weak to moderate relationships.

H1h argues that in Irish daily printed newspapers, female dress and appearance is referred to in the caption, heading or first paragraph of text, more often than male dress and appearance. Table 11 supports this argument with more than twice as many females than males whose dress or appearance are referred to.

Table 11

appearance referenced * gender Crosstabulation

			gender		Total
			male	female	
appearance referenced	no	Count	4197	2301	6498
		Expected Count	4012.9	2485.1	6498.0
		% within gender	95.7%	84.8%	91.5%
	yes	Count	187	414	601
		Expected Count	371.1	229.9	601.0
		% within gender	4.3%	15.2%	8.5%
Total	Count	4384	2715	7099	
	Expected Count	4384.0	2715.0	7099.0	
	% within gender	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	260.996 ^a	1	.000		
Continuity Correction ^b	259.581	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	253.167	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	260.959	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	7099				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 22.85.

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.192	.000
	Cramer's V	.192	.000
N of Valid Cases		7099	

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

H1h, which argues that in Irish daily printed newspapers females' dress and appearance is referred to more often than males', is supported with more than twice as many females than males recorded in the sample whose dress and appearances are referred to. The expected count for females is 230 and the actual count is 414, whereas the expected count for males is 371 versus an actual count of 187, suggesting a relationship exists between gender and whether or not a person's dress and appearance are referred to. A Fisher's Exact Test ($p < 0.001$) is highly significant confirming a relationship, and a Cramer's V test shows a moderate relationship (0.192).

H1i argues that in Irish daily printed newspapers, females appear as victims more frequently than males. Table 12 is a crosstabulation between gender and the role identified in headings, captions or the first paragraph of text, where all roles except victim, have been recoded to other. This crosstabulation shows that a greater proportion of photographs of victims are female; 53.4% of victims in the newspaper sample are female. When the expected count is considered based on the gender breakdown of the total sample, the representation is

significantly disproportionate. There is certainly a higher chance of a female being represented as a victim than a male.

Table 12

role identity in caption/heading * gender Crosstabulation

		gender		Total
		male	female	
victim	Count	192	220	412
	Expected Count	254.4	157.6	412.0
	% within role identity in caption/heading	46.6%	53.4%	100.0%
	% within gender	4.4%	8.1%	5.8%
other	Count	4192	2495	6687
	Expected Count	4129.6	2557.4	6687.0
	% within role identity in caption/heading	62.7%	37.3%	100.0%
	% within gender	95.6%	91.9%	94.2%
Total	Count	4384	2715	7099
	Expected Count	4384.0	2715.0	7099.0
	% within role identity in caption/heading	61.8%	38.2%	100.0%
	% within gender	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	42.598 ^a	2	.000
Likelihood Ratio	41.294	2	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	42.536	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	7099		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 58.51.

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.077	.000
	Cramer's V	.077	.000
N of Valid Cases		7099	

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

H1i, which argues that in Irish daily printed newspapers, females appear as victims more frequently than males, is supported. There are far more females (n = 220) identified as victims than males (n = 192) and the number of females

is far higher than expected if no relationship existed between gender and identification as a victim. Although the Cramer's V test does not show a strong relationship, the Chi-squared test is highly significant ($p < 0.001$) suggesting there is a relationship between gender and whether or not a person is identified as a victim.

H1j argues that females are objectified more than males in the photographs of daily Irish printed newspapers. From the research it was determined that nudity and full-body shots tend to be representative of the objectification of the person. Details of dress were recorded for each photograph and two of these categories apply to this hypothesis, namely semi-undress, and some nudity. Full-body shots are considered to be another form of objectification of females or where the legs only are cropped. Table 13 is a crosstabulation between gender and dress, where all other categories other than semi-undress and some nudity are recoded to other. This crosstabulation shows 70% of the representations in the semi-undress category are female versus 37% male and 94.3% of the representations in the some nudity category are female versus 5.7% male. The expected count is far lower than the actual for females and correspondingly, the expected count for males is far higher than the actual, which certainly suggests an association between gender and objectification. A Cramer's V test shows a moderate relationship (0.135), and a Chi-squared test is highly significant ($p < 0.001$), supporting the hypothesis. It is worth breaking down these figures by newspaper as, not unexpectedly, the tabloid paper has skewed the figures here. Nearly all the semi undress or some nudity shots are in *The Irish Sun* and 76% of these are female, whereas the broadsheets contain very few of this kind of photograph and contrary to the overall results, they are mostly male.

Table 13:

dress * gender Crosstabulation

		gender		Total
		male	female	
other	Count	4303	2533	6836
	Expected Count	4221.6	2614.4	6836.0
	% within dress	62.9%	37.1%	100.0%
	% within gender	98.2%	93.3%	96.3%
semi undress	Count	78	132	210
	Expected Count	129.7	80.3	210.0
	% within dress	37.1%	62.9%	100.0%
	% within gender	1.8%	4.9%	3.0%
some nudity	Count	3	50	53
	Expected Count	32.7	20.3	53.0
	% within dress	5.7%	94.3%	100.0%
	% within gender	.1%	1.8%	.7%
Total	Count	4384	2715	7099

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	128.578 ^a	2	.000
Likelihood Ratio	131.932	2	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	115.524	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	7099		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 20.27.

Symmetric Measures

	Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal Phi	.135	.000
Nominal by Nominal Cramer's V	.135	.000
N of Valid Cases	7099	

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Table 14

crop * gender Crosstabulation

			gender		Total
			male	female	
crop	full body shot	Count	684	478	1162
		Expected Count	717.6	444.4	1162.0
		% within gender	15.6%	17.6%	16.4%
	legs cropped	Count	650	590	1240
		Expected Count	765.8	474.2	1240.0
		% within gender	14.8%	21.7%	17.5%
	other	Count	3050	1647	4697
		Expected Count	2900.6	1796.4	4697.0
		% within gender	69.6%	60.7%	66.2%
Total	Count	4384	2715	7099	
	Expected Count	4384.0	2715.0	7099.0	
	% within gender	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	69.981 ^a	2	.000
Likelihood Ratio	69.076	2	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	51.789	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	7099		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 444.40.

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.099	.000
	Cramer's V	.099	.000
N of Valid Cases		7099	

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Table 14 is a crosstabulation between gender and the crop variable, where all crops have been recoded to other, except for full-body or legs-only-cropped shots. This table shows that there are more full-body and legs-only-cropped shots of males than females, but nearly 40% of females versus just over 30% of males are presented in this way. The expected count for females in both cases is lower than the actual, suggesting an association between gender and how a person's body is cropped in newspaper photographs. The hypothesis is

supported with a Cramer's V test showing a weak to moderate relationship, and a highly significant Fisher's Exact test ($p < 0.001$).

H1j, which argues that in Irish daily printed newspapers the style of visual representation objectifies females more than males, is partially supported. When the results are broken down by newspaper, *The Irish Sun* is definitely skewing the figures and the results suggest this newspaper objectifies females. When the dress variable is considered by newspaper, there is no evidence that the broadsheets objectify females by presenting them in semi-undress or partially nude. When the crop variable is considered by newspaper, there is some evidence to suggest that all three newspapers crop photographs of females in a way that objectifies them.

H1k argues that males appear more serious than females in Irish daily printed newspapers. Table 15 is a crosstabulation between gender and impression, where all impressions are recoded to other, except for happy, serious and sad. This shows that more than twice as many males appear serious as females, but equal numbers of males and females appear happy. When the overall gender breakdown of the total sample is considered, the expected counts show greater disproportion. The results broken down by newspaper are similar to the overall result, although *The Irish Sun* does tend slightly toward happier female photographs than the other newspapers.

Table 15

impression * gender Crosstabulation

		gender		Total
		male	female	
other	Count	505	222	727
	Expected Count	449.0	278.0	727.0
	% within gender	11.5%	8.2%	10.2%
happy	Count	1301	1286	2587
	Expected Count	1597.6	989.4	2587.0
	% within gender	29.7%	47.4%	36.4%
serious	Count	2567	1150	3717
	Expected Count	2295.4	1421.6	3717.0
	% within gender	58.6%	42.4%	52.4%
sad	Count	11	57	68
	Expected Count	42.0	26.0	68.0
	% within gender	.3%	2.1%	1.0%
Total	Count	4384	2715	7099

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	306.090 ^a	3	.000
Likelihood Ratio	305.309	3	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	29.883	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	7099		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 26.01.

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.208	.000
	Cramer's V	.208	.000
N of Valid Cases		7099	

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

H1k, which argues that males appear more serious than females in Irish daily printed newspapers, is supported with a highly significant Chi-squared test result ($p < 0.001$) suggesting a relationship exists and the Cramer's V test showing a moderate relationship. There are more than twice as many males ($n = 2567$) recorded as serious than females ($n = 1150$). The number of males portrayed as serious is higher than would be expected than if there was no relationship between gender and whether a person is presented as serious or not.

Overall Result H1

The overall results for H1, with ten sub-hypotheses supported and one hypothesis partially supported, which argues that press photographs in Irish printed newspapers support a dominant patriarchal ideology, is supported.

Summary of results

Hegemony is about those in power maintaining their position and constructing a discourse that encourages and normalises this inequitable power distribution so that the masses are compliant and fulfilled. Those who occupy the most powerful fiscal and decision-making positions in the world want to maintain their positions, and they are mostly male. Numerous studies of newspaper photographs have found that females are greatly under-represented

(Blackwood 1983, Luebke 1989, King 1999, Len-Ríos et al 2005, Beasley DeLouth et al 1995) and many theorists believe this is as a result of hegemonic tendencies in the media (Len-Ríos et al 2005, Code 1991, Van Zoonen 1994, Harris et al 2002). Disproportionate power distribution between females and males falls under the headings of marginalisation, powerlessness, weakness, inferiority, emotionality, dependence and objectification. Some may consider the media's portrayal of gender and its effect on society as insignificant, except perhaps when it comes to issues of sexual violence and pornography, thinking that mostly the media projects reality and represents the innate differences in the genders. But many theorists believe that it is from society's cultural narratives that we learn about gender differences and how we are expected to behave (Wilkins 1973, Barry 1997, Fiske 1990, Chandler 2002, Doane 1988, Hall 1997, Bern 1981, Webster 1980). Gender differences as represented in the mass media tend to be based on power, or lack of power. This imbalance of power is present in the Irish printed news media also. How a person or a group of people are represented in the media has important implications for how they are accepted and treated. If they are presented as important, serious and powerful, they will be treated with respect, but if they are depicted negatively, or in some way lacking in power and importance, then this will be reflected in how they are treated. If women are portrayed in a less serious manner, perhaps with sexual connotations or by portraying them in a manner that highly rates their physical appearance, this objectifies them and encourages society to see them in this way in reality. Traditional stereotypical representation can create a mould for accepted gender roles and modes of behaviour, resulting in different starting positions for males and females.

Several theorists believe that the media do not accurately reflect gender reality (Len-Ríos 2005, Blackwood 1983, Joliffe 1996). Hegemonic tendencies in the media support a patriarchal ideology by under-representing females and objectifying them and by portraying them as powerless, weak, inferior and emotional. This study found that Irish newspapers construct and maintain a social understanding of women that oppresses and devalues them. Like so many American studies, probably the most revealing finding was that of the simple under-representation of females in Irish newspapers. Numerous studies of newspaper photographs have found that females are under-represented. Blackwood's 1983 study reported a ratio of five men to every woman photographed; Beasley DeLouth et al's 1995 study reported the same ratio of

5:1; Luebke's 1989 study, King's 1999 study and Len-Ríos et al's 2005 study reported the same ratios of two men photographed to every woman. Regardless of the disparity of the results, the fact is that in all the studies men outnumber women. The breakdown of the population is almost evenly split between females and males but out of the 7099 representations recorded in the news sections of the three newspapers there are 2715 females, which is only 38%. Females are outnumbered by males by 1.6 males to every female across the three newspapers, which is more favourable than the results of the American studies. However, the difference between the three newspapers is interesting with *The Irish Times* displaying the greatest under-representation of all the papers with a ratio of 2.3 males to every female. *The Irish Sun* comes closest to equal distribution with 1.3 males to every female, and the *Irish Independent* comes somewhere in the middle with 1.8 males to every female. The result from *The Irish Times* is particularly disappointing, as a more equitable representation would have been expected from a newspaper with independent ownership and also from the only newspaper in the study with a female editor. Under-representation of females in Irish newspapers marginalises them and places males in a position of centrality. Centrality is emphasised even more by the prominent placement of male photographs in the three newspapers with 208 males recorded on the front pages of the sample versus only 108 females. This also compares favourably to an American study, which shows that women are three times less likely to be pictured on the front page of newspapers (Luebke 1989). A breakdown of this Irish study by newspaper again reveals *The Irish Times* as the most disparate of the three newspapers with 2.6 males on the front pages to every female.

The mass media play a pivotal role in social construction, and how a group is represented in the media, particularly the news section, affects their perceptions of themselves and the perceptions of others. More importantly, female stereotypes are intrinsic in 'the theories, practices, and attitudes of the authorities and experts' that impact on their lives, compounding the stereotype and its consequences (Code 1991). For the vast numbers of daily newspaper readers, the visual under-representation of females says loud and clear that when it comes to what is salient on any particular day, males are far more important than females. This becomes even more important in newspapers that contain a great deal of photographs because the message is reinforced by its repetition.

Nothing says more about power distribution than who has the decision-making occupations and in this study, as with many other studies, men come out on top in this category. Females are rendered almost powerless as the difference here is staggering with five times as many males identified in positions of power than females. The results are not that dissimilar to the findings of two American studies where Blackwood (1983) recorded 355 men as public officials or professionals versus only 45 women, which is a ratio of nearly eight males to every female. Luebke's (1989) study found that 2140 men were identified as public officials or professionals versus only 444 women, which is a ratio of nearly five males to every female. The result of visually under-representing females in decision-making positions is to create an expectation that this is normal and acceptable, and renders it even more difficult to break out of the accepted mode. There are strong connotations of inferiority here also that could result in self-esteem issues resulting in diminished opportunities.

Going hand in hand with the issue of unequal power distribution is the implicit superiority of males over females. Whether a person is named in a photograph or not has salience, as has the assigning of an occupation to each person in a photograph. In a 1999 study of *New York Times* images and cutlines, it was found that women were named far less frequently than men, with a ratio of one female named to 2.67 males (King 1999). According to that study people expect to be named. Naming a person contributes to the level of importance of the person. In this study of Irish newspapers 2557 males are named in the caption or heading versus 1206 females, which means that over twice as many males are named as females. This is far higher than the overall gender breakdown of 1.6 males to every female. The breakdown between newspapers shows *The Irish Sun* names males 2.27 times more than females; the *Irish Independent* names males 1.75 times more than females and *The Irish Times* names males 2.6 times more than females. Providing occupational details is a similar issue to naming and this study found that more than twice as many males' occupational details are provided as females'. The breakdown between newspapers shows *The Irish Sun* provides occupational details for males 1.65 times more than females, the *Irish Independent* provides occupational details for males 2.67 times more than females and *The Irish Times* ranks highest again with 3.5 times as many males recorded with occupational details as females. Surely everyone who appears in the newspaper should have the

same chance of being named or identified with an occupation and this should not be based on gender.

How a person is defined in the newspaper is an important aspect of power distribution and some theorists believe that women are only defined in relation to men (Kuhn 1985, Seiter 1986, Luebke 1989). Identifying a person's paid occupation, signifies independence, but when a person is identified purely as a husband or wife, girlfriend or boyfriend of another, this deems them dependent on the other for identification and there are connotations of fiscal dependence also. Blackwood's 1983 study found that a woman was six times more likely to be identified as a spouse, and Luebke's 1989 study revealed that there were 3.6 times more women than men identified as a spouse. In this study, more than three times as many females are identified as spouses or sexual partners as males in Irish newspapers, which is remarkable when you consider that the total sample contained twice as many males as females. The breakdown by newspaper reveals that the *Irish Independent* ranks highest with 3.6 women to every man identified as a spouse or sexual partner. Associating a person with family and the home is a similar theme and in this study more females are visually identified in a domestic context than males, and more females are identified as family members other than spouse or sexual partner than males also.

Theorists agree that in general, male stereotypes in the mass media portray men as powerful and strong, and women are portrayed as the opposite (Code 1991, Coppock et al 1995, Jolliffe 1996, Beasley DeLouth et al 1995). According to the Central Statistics Office of Ireland, male victims outnumber female victims by 3.5 to one. According to the results of this study, females appear as victims more often than males with 220 females versus 192 males. These figures are statistically significant as there are twice as many males in the sample as females, and as a percentage of gender, males account for 4.4% of victims whereas females account for 8.1%. The breakdown by newspaper shows *The Irish Sun* with almost equal male and female victims, whereas the *Irish Independent* shows slightly more female to male victims and *The Irish Times* shows 1.41 female victims to every male victim. Victim connotes weakness and dependence and this study found that females are associated more with weakness and dependence than males, supporting the hegemonic and patriarchal depiction of females.

As females are associated with being emotional in the media, males are associated with being cerebral and serious (Code 1991, Jolliffe 1996, Rodgers et al 2007). A recent American study of emotionality in news photographs, found that women are typically portrayed as happy whereas men tend to be frowning and serious (Rodgers et al 2007). Rodgers et al propose that these typical gender representations suggest underlying connotations of unequal power division. This study of Irish newspapers reveals that 2567 males are portrayed as serious versus only 1150 females, which is 2.23 males to every female. Almost twice as many males are portrayed as serious as are happy, but the figures are much closer for females with 1286 happy and 1150 serious. The results broken down by newspaper are similar to the overall result, although *The Irish Sun* does tend slightly toward happier female photographs than the other newspapers. Emotionally is associated with unpredictability and as Code says, this is symptomatic of a hegemonic inclination in the media to portray females as inferior to males and less suited to professional occupation.

As many theorists agree, another symptom of hegemonic treatment of females in the media is their objectification, which can be operationalised as firstly, equating more importance to how females look than males (Bruzzi 1997, Mulvey 1988, Berger 1972, Hall 1997), and secondly through representations with various levels of nudity and through pornographic imagery (Hall 1997, Kuhn 1985), and thirdly through the use of full-body shots (Jolliffe 1996). What is particularly worrying about sexualised images of females in mainstream media is the repeated audience exposure, which inculcates acceptance (Walsh-Childers 1996) and the inclusion of the images amongst news stories, which normalises the representation of women in this way. This study reveals that females are twice as likely as males to have their dress or appearance referred to in the news sections of the Irish newspapers, which is significant when the overall gender breakdown of the sample is 1.6 males to every female. The study also reveals that 70% of the representations in the semi-undress category are female versus 37% male and 94.3% of the representations in the some nudity category are female versus 5.7% male. When these figures are broken down by newspaper they reveal that the tabloid paper has skewed the figures with nearly all the semi undress or nudity shots contained in *The Irish Sun*, and 76% of these are female, whereas the broadsheets contain very few of this kind of photograph, and they are mostly male. In this case, the tabloid objectifies females but the broadsheets do not. On the final issue of the

cropping of a photograph, the study reveals that there are more full-body shots of males than females, but the gender percentages indicate that this type of cropping is far more lightly if the person is female. Nearly 40% of females are represented this way versus only 30% of males. When the figures are broken down by newspaper, *The Irish Sun* is the only newspaper that does present more full-body or legs-only-cropped shots of females than males.

To ensure an unbiased and comprehensive answer to the question of whether or not the Irish newspapers endorse a patriarchal ideology, the problem was approached from several aspects, but the same conclusion was reached each time. Irish newspapers present patriarchally ideological visual representations. The under-representation of females in these papers and the placement of the photographs in less prominent positions than males marginalises females. Under-representation of females in positions of authority and not providing occupational details and names, portrays females as having less power and being inferior to males. Identifying females as spouses and associating them with domesticity more often than males portrays them as dependent and lacking in power. Showing females as victims more than males when the opposite is true in reality, portrays females as weak and dependent. Representing females in full body shots disproportionately to males, and referring to their appearance more than males and presenting females in states of semi-undress disempowers females and objectifies them. Representing females as happier and more emotional than males portrays females as less cerebral. When half the population is under-represented or mis-represented in newspapers, which are a record of important daily events, newspapers are subordinating women and endorsing a patriarchal society. This is not a matter of minor irritation but a serious matter of oppression.

This critique of Irish newspaper photography has revealed how women are represented on a daily basis and is a useful comparison between three popular newspapers. This study examined the representations of our society in the news sections of the daily newspapers, and the interplay of power that transverses these representations with a view to uncovering any hegemonic inclinations in the Irish press, similar to findings in the American press. Although the results are more favourable than the results of the American studies, there is certainly strong evidence that a patriarchal ideology is endemic in the Irish press and a worrying level of hegemonic inclination.

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