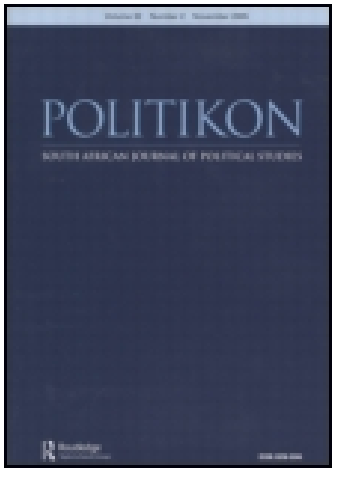
This article was downloaded by: [115.85.25.194]
On: 31 March 2015, At: 19:45
Publisher: Routledge
Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: Mortimer House, 37-41 Mortimer Street, London W1T 3JH, UK



Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies
Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:
http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/cpsa20

Pageant Politics: Framing Gendered Images of Women in Leadership

Yumna Laher[a]
[a] University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.
Published online: 27 Mar 2014.

CrossMark
Click for updates

To cite this article: Yumna Laher (2014) Pageant Politics: Framing Gendered Images of Women in Leadership, Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies, 41:1, 103-120, DOI: 10.1080/02589346.2014.885680

To link to this article: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02589346.2014.885680

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Taylor & Francis makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of all the information (the "Content") contained in the publications on our platform. However, Taylor & Francis, our agents, and our licensors make no representations or warranties whatsoever as to the accuracy, completeness, or suitability for any purpose of the Content. Any opinions and views expressed in this publication are the opinions and views of the authors, and are not the views of or endorsed by Taylor & Francis. The accuracy of the Content should not be relied upon and should be independently verified with primary sources of information. Taylor and Francis shall not be liable for any losses, actions, claims, proceedings, demands, costs, expenses, damages, and other liabilities whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with, in relation to or arising out of the use of the Content.

This article may be used for research, teaching, and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, redistribution, reselling, loan, sub-licensing, systematic supply, or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden. Terms &

Conditions of access and use can be found at http://www.tandfonline.com/page/terms-and-conditions

Downloaded by [115.85.25.194] at 19:45 31 March 2015

Politikon, 2014
Vol. 41, No. 1, 103–120, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02589346.2014.885680

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Pageant Politics: Framing Gendered Images of Women in Leadership

YUMNA LAHER*

ABSTRACT *Becoming the Head of State or Government remains an elusive goal for women who hold few such positions in the world today. Where women have ventured into politics be it formally by election or informally by virtue of the socio-cultural connotations associated with the position they hold, they have rarely been commended for challenging stereotypes but have, instead, faced a barrage of gender-based criticism. Across the world, images of women in leadership have been painted in social media and encapsulated in culture in a way that frames their contributions to decision-making, agenda-setting and social change. Drawing on a post-positivist feminist framework broadly based on the theses of constructivism and post-structuralism, this paper serves to frame global typologies of women in leadership through an analytical assessment of cultural knowledge bases. Framing the gendered pageantry of politics in this way is arguably an important means of understanding the role played by patriarchy in constructing the roles of women in 'real world' politics.*

Downloaded by [115.85.25.194] at 19:45 31 March 2015

> One simply has to maximise your appeal . . . bring out all your qualities and make you look and sound like the leader you can be—you've got it in you to go the whole distance but that hat has got to go, and the pearls... and the main thing is your voice—it's too high and has no authority. (Jones and Loyd 2011)

Introduction: women in 'Real world' politics

Becoming the Head of State or Government remains an elusive goal for women who, by 2010, held only 14 such positions in the world (United Nations 2010). Where women have ventured into the world of politics, however, they have rarely been commended for challenging manufactured divisions of labour but have, instead, faced a barrage of criticism often classing them as idealists 'lacking the toughness and practicality needed to operate in the "real world"' (United Nations 2010). Across the world, images of women in leadership have been painted in social media and encapsulated in culture in a way that frames their potential contribution to decision-making, agenda-setting and social change. Women's voices have been criticised for being too high, their hemlines too short and their necklines too revealing.

© 2014 South African Association of Political Studies

Be they entrusted with positions of leadership formally by election to a particular political office or informally by the socio-cultural construction of positions such as the First Lady, women have been subjected to strong stereotypes of their expected roles and behaviour within them. Similarly, knowledge traditions across various cultures have developed images of women in leadership that are rarely characterised by gender-neutral personality traits. From the First Ladies of the USA to the Iron Ladies of Europe and from the Veiled Servants of the Orient to the Storybook Characters of Africa, women have been characterised by their appearance and behaviour over their policy. Briefly developing these typologies through an analytical assessment of the ways in which these images have been developed, this paper will be accompanied by a post-positivist feminist framework drawing broadly on the theses of constructivism and post-structuralism. Framing the gendered pageantry of politics is, therefore, all the more important to understanding the role played by patriarchy in constructing the roles of women in 'real world' politics.

Conversations about knowledge: the interplay between theory and practice

Common to post-positivists, including critical theorists, post-structuralists and feminists is the understanding that knowledge seeking in international relations is an inherently political task and that theory is similarly attached to political practice (Viotti and Kauppi 2002). The interplay between theory and practice is, therefore, exemplified by the way in which we construct knowledge based on perception and cognitive processes influenced by culture (Viotti and Kauppi 2002). Understanding the exchange between theory and practice is particularly important to understanding our lived reality as there is a significant connection between knowledge and power (Viotti and Kauppi 2002). Attempting to detach theory and assess it independently of the culture it influences is, therefore, not only a careless decision but also one that will severely impact on our understanding of the world in which we live.

In order to understand the social and political construction of reality it is necessary to deconstruct it into the basic parts of words, texts and language that form our knowledge bases (Viotti and Kauppi 2002). Central to this post-structuralist philosophy is the theory of intertextuality that argues that the social world comprises texts built on previous texts that fashion our understanding (Baylis, Smith, and Owens 2011). The parameters of what can be considered under the theory of intertextuality have led post-structuralists to broaden the data sources traditionally available in international relations to include not only government, political and legal texts but also elements of popular culture such as relevant literature, journalism, music and academic analysis (Baylis, Smith, and Owens 2011). As a result, textual analysis has been supplemented by the interpretation of art, photography, film and theatre (Viotti and Kauppi 2002). Popular media without a doubt contributes to popular culture which, in an increasingly globalised world, often foreshadows events and provides us with complex understandings of reality (Baylis, Smith, and Owens 2011).

Downloaded by [115.85.25.194] at 19:45 31 March 2015

Downloaded by [115.85.25.194] at 19:45 31 March 2015

This understanding of reality, however, also acknowledges that certain things may be taken for granted. Simply because a chain of texts has consistently made the same point thus making it unnecessary to restate, this point may merely be a construct of existing knowledge bases (Baylis, Smith, and Owens 2011). Feminist post-structuralists, in particular, would note the inherent problem with such a structure of reality as those who hold power, most often men, are able to construct texts, meaning and knowledge in a way that sustains a gendered hierarchy of politics (Baylis, Smith, and Owens 2011). The pervasiveness of patriarchy in global political leadership is, therefore, a product of discourse and, consequently, of culture. Although feminist perspectives are linked to critical theory and other post-positivist traditions that also emphasise the relationship between power and knowledge, the distinct priority placed on using gender as an analytic tool requires that feminism be treated as a critical approach in its own right (Tickner 2001). For feminists, the way in which knowledge is generated pays attention to marginalised voices and attempts to break away from the security of gendered stereotypes (Tickner 2001).

This having been said, simply adding women to existing forms of knowledge and stirring is an insufficient means of ensuring that prevailing gender biases and dealt with effectively. The question of whether an increased number of women in leadership positions will serve to displace traditionally gendered power hierarchies is also up for debate. The issue of women and political power is often so far displaced from the lived realities of many of the world's women that it is argued to be a futile and valueless sphere for international relations feminists to spend their research energy (Tickner 2001). Instead, international relations feminists have often contributed to the very hierarchies they aim to deconstruct by focusing their attention solely on the feminised areas of environmental affairs, human security issues and development studies (Tickner 2001). Women in politics are often the focus of mainstream popular media and post-structural feminists would argue that once their images are repeated in a continued chain of texts, these become norms and inevitably influence our reality. Deconstructing these images of women in leadership is, therefore, as important to the project of feminist theory as is the understanding of traditionally feminist fields of study.

Since international relations feminists tend to be uncomfortable with statist and other boundaries that objectify certain societies and enforce dichotomous traditions of privileged and underprivileged societies based on geographical divisions (Tickner 2001), this paper has not been split into North-South, Occident-Orient and Agent-Victim binaries but has rather been fashioned on the images of women in leadership that manifest in historical and popular culture across the globe. These typologies are themselves constructed and should be considered a basis for assessment rather than an all-encompassing synopsis of women in leadership. The analytical section of this paper that follows, therefore, aims to deconstruct the pageantry of politics into images of women in leadership that have together shaped the way we view political reality.

Prim and proper: the first ladies of the USA

The image of America's presidential spouse has over time evolved into a perfect reflection of the First Lady. Historically thought of as exemplifying the characteristics of 'womanhood', the First Lady embodies the characteristics of wifehood, motherhood and of being an assistant advisor to the country's president (Whitaker 1999). This evolution has reinforced a gendered view of the American presidency that has been characterised by its maleness (Whitaker 1999). Often described as the 'second most powerful person in Washington', the term First Lady has also reinforced the unequal gender hierarchy present in American politics for centuries (Whitaker 1999).

It is interesting to note the way in which the term First Lady evolved through its use in discourse and popular media in the nineteenth century. Initially used colloquially in an unrecorded eulogy of Dolley Madison (The James Madison Museum), the term was only popularised and textually recorded by its use in mainstream media to refer to Lucy Hayes, the wife of then President Rutherford Hayes (Boyd Caroli 2010). Coined in the column *Woman's Letters from Washington* in the New York Independent by Mary C. Ames (Boyd Caroli 2010), the term First Lady has grown enormously in popularity not only in the USA but across many presidential democracies across the world. Although this increased attention in popular media has coincided with the conventional belief in American society that the First Lady holds considerable sway in the White House (Watson 2003), this role by its name and nature is still of peripheral political importance and continues to foster gendered hierarchies of power.

Otherwise invisible to politics, enormous interest has been paid to the appearance, behaviour and actions of First Ladies from the time of Martha Washington to Michelle Obama despite their role being informal and unpaid (Watson 2003). First Lady Jackie Kennedy, for example, had and continues to be lauded by journalists and fashion gurus alike for introducing the wider American public not to the plight of marginalised groups in their society nor to the country's tenuous standoff with the socialist Soviet Union but to fashion (*ABC News*). Characterised by sophisticated suits, sleeveless dresses, pillbox hats and lace mantillas (Shih 2010), the iconic style of Jackie O has become a benchmark for women in the White House. Michelle Obama, the newest addition to the list of First Ladies, has by no means been left unscrutinised when it comes to her style choices. Often compared to Jackie Kennedy despite explicit differences in background, the focus on Obama's dress choice speaks to the tradition of the First Lady that is the epitome of good style (Vanity Fair 2009). *The Huffington Post*, *TIME*, *Vogue*, *New York Magazine* and countless blogs have dedicated photo essays and style guides to Obama somewhat reinforcing the gendered pageantry of global politics (*New York Magazine* 2012; *TIME* 2012; *Huffington Post* 2014; *Vogue* 2011).

Michelle Obama has, however, been faced with the double stereotype of her gender and race making her contribution to the First Lady image all the more complex. An educated Harvard Law School graduate, Obama has sometimes reacted particularly strongly to the comments made on her appearance. In her

Downloaded by [115.85.25.194] at 19:45 31 March 2015

Downloaded by [115.85.25.194] at 19:45 31 March 2015

2012 novel *The Obamas*, *New York Times* journalist Jodi Kantor documents the First Lady's faceoff with presidential staff and advisors, including Robert Gibbs and Rahm Emanuel making her out to be a gremlin in the White House (Grose 2012). Obama has since vehemently opposed her portrayal as 'some angry black woman' who talks too much and seeks to emasculate her husband (*Huffington Post* 2012). To the contrary, however, Kantor has disputed the existence of this image in her book arguing the portrayal of Obama to be one of an 'impassioned and supportive if sometimes critical spouse, loving mom … and successful professional' (Lowder 2012). Although the imagery is disputed and there is argument that Obama may have poured wax into her own mould with the Kantor issue (Marsh 2012), her run in with racial stereotypes does not end here. Enormous attention has been paid to Obama's right, as a black woman, to bear literal arms (Sachs 2009). Derived from the 'rude, loud, malicious, stubborn and overbearing' image of the Sapphire Woman who is emasculating, strong-willed and often depicted with her arms on her hips (Ferris State University), the idea that black women baring arms may point to their physical as well as emotional strength draws significantly on their traditional stereotype (Cage 2009). It should also be noted that a number of First Ladies from Nancy Reagan to Jackie Kennedy have worn sleeveless dresses but none of them faced the wrath of their racial stereotype in doing so (Cage 2009). Given her already tenuous relationship with the image of the virtuous and supportive First Lady, it is no surprise that Obama's fashion-forward move of baring toned and muscular arms has mingled with her 'angry black woman' stereotype to create a somewhat threatening portrayal of feminine political power.

Michelle Obama has toyed with the ambiguous fate of being the wife of the President and, in the same way as many First Ladies before her, she has been faced with the many stereotypes of her gender. Unlike those before her, however, her race has opened the door to a whole new understanding of what it means not only to be a First Lady but to be a First Lady of colour. Defined by the parameters of popular culture, the First Lady tradition has been reinforced so strongly as a knowledge base in American and global political discourse that it has become a benchmark not only for presidential spouses but also for women at all levels of office. Hillary Clinton was arguably the closest thing to a female president that America has seen to date (Whitaker 1999). Despite this, media and public focus remains fixated on Clinton's style and behaviour. Google 'Hillary Clinton on the Palestine-Israel issue' and you get just over five million hits but Google 'Hillary Clinton parties in Columbia' and you get over twenty million.[1] The controversy around Clinton's post-meeting activities during the Summit of the America's in Cartegena, Columbia, where she was seen at Café Havana 'with her hands up in the air and swigging a local brew with friends' (Bruce 2012) speaks to the strict moral protocol by which women in leadership are expected to abide. Likewise, the public–private dichotomy that promotes so rigid a stereotypical framework for women in power that it often altogether excludes women from the political arena is brought into sharp focus as Clinton's behaviour, although past office-hours, has been frowned upon by the beady eye of popular media and

serves to strengthen a system of gendered social expectation from women who choose to lead.

In addition to this, the controversy surrounding Hillary Clinton's use of botox is also widespread. First noticed during the 2007 Democratic presidential nomination race, the extra attention paid to Clinton's appearance proved that different standards exist for the evaluation of male and female candidates (Shipman 2007). 'Men can get away with a few more wrinkles than women can' says Ben Shapiro, author of *Project President: Bad Hair and Botox on the Road to the White House*, and this has largely to do with the extent to which the media is willing to discuss appearance (Friedman 2008). The public perception of gendered appearances in the media consequently cannot be ignored as they contribute significantly to what is deemed acceptable by social standards. Popular public opinion has and continues to play an important role in American politics. That popular public opinion believes, by virtue of the title assigned to presidential spouses, that the presidency is gendered should not be taken for granted. It is partly on these grounds that women tend to fair better in political systems that are based more on merit and less on public opinion, such as those of the UK and Ireland (Whitaker 1999), however, this does not leave these latter systems unaffected by political pageantry.

Downloaded by [115.85.25.194] at 19:45 31 March 2015

Mimicking masculinity: the iron ladies of Europe

Margaret Thatcher never lost a war, she never lost an election nor did she ever lose the important debates on inflation, taxes and privatisation that shaped an unforgettable era of British history (Moore 2011). As the first and, to date, only female prime minster of Great Britain, Thatcher has set a formidable record for women leaders on the continent to follow. Unlike their American counterparts, however, the Iron Ladies of Europe from Maggie Thatcher herself to Christine Lagarde of France and Angela Merkel of Germany tend to be characterised less by their clothing and more by their stern demeanours that mimic masculinity.

It is interesting to note that the term 'Iron Lady' used to refer to Margaret Thatcher throughout her tenure at Downing Street and till today was not a product of praise but, in fact, of disapproval. The origin of the term has been traced back to its use in British media, most notably the *Sunday Times*, to refer to Thatcher's strong-willed demeanour and relentless opinion. Dubbed the 'Iron Maiden' in her own country after the medieval torture device (Hauptfuhrer 1979), it was a few years earlier in January 1976 that a column in the Russian newspaper *Krasnaya Zvezda* was titled *The Iron Woman Threatens* . . . in response to Thatcher's claim that Russia was driven towards world domination (Mackey 2012). Despite its treacherous undertones, Thatcher still latched onto the ravings of popular media in both Russia and Great Britain accompanying her 1979 electoral campaign with the slogan 'Britain needs an Iron Lady' (Stewart 2007). Turning a misguided attempt to smear her unfeminine mystique into a winning image (Stewart 2007), Margaret Thatcher is the epitome of the Iron Lady.

Downloaded by [115.85.25.194] at 19:45 31 March 2015

In possession of her own 'aristocratic beauty' (*The Guardian 2009*), there is notably little to say by way of Thatcher's fashion except that it bent to the needs of her formidable image. Janet Street-Porter, columnist for the London *Daily Mail*, notes that 'Mrs. Thatcher's whole look—always the same kind of bag, same kind of blouse, same kind of jacket—was designed to say, "I speak, you listen"' (Petkanas 2012). Despite this, Thatcher was arguably one of the first British politicians forced to change the way she looked in order to fit into the prevailing media age (Sawer 2012). Her hats, symbolic of her middle class upbringing, had to go and her image was transformed into one of an unthreatening housewife to widen her appeal across class and gender. But for Thatcher, who was one of the 'original power dressers', what was most important was her own character and defining her own style rather than being defined by it (*The Guardian 2009*). Although Thatcher was initially opposed to pouting dress in her public life, she learnt to use it as a tool in the pageant of politics creating various winning personas from Iron Lady to housewife and using it to build diplomatic relationships at home and abroad (Loughborough University 2012).

Dubbed not only in British tabloids but also in her own country's media as 'Frau Germania', 'Iron Vrou' and 'Maggie Merkel', the global popularity of Germany's Angela Merkel seems to be rising on the tide of Thatcher's legacy (*The Independent 2010*). Initially opposed to comparisons with Thatcher (Czuczka and Mangasarian 2012), Merkel since the beginning of her second term in office, has shown political robustness and strength reminiscent of Thatcherite doggedness (*The Independent 2010*). Particularly apparent with regard to the European debt crisis, Merkel has taken a tough stance on countries unable or unwilling to conform to the fiscal requirements of the European Union (EU) (*The Independent 2010*). Demanding debt reduction, tighter economic controls and playing a zero-sum game not averse to voluntary if not coerced exclusion from the EU, Merkel has shown a macho strain of leadership far disposed from the unity tradition of her predecessor and mentor Helmut Kohl (*The Independent 2010*). Claims that Merkel was boring and provincial as exemplified by her dowdy appearance during her first term in office have been proven wrong the second time around 'partly … because she spruced up her appearance, wearing bright colours and sporting more stylish hairstyles—but largely it is because few people think it matters' (*BBC World News* 2009).

Used effectively as a marketing tool for both Thatcher and Merkel, neither have been categorised by their dress over their policy but this is not always the case in Europe. Typically associated with the hottest household names in haute couture, including Yves Saint Laurent, Jean Paul Gaultier, Nina Ricci and Paco Rabanne, the French fashion scene is also home to one of the most coveted dates on the global fashion calendar—French Fashion Week. It is, therefore, no surprise that enormous attention is paid to what French women leaders wear rather than what they say. Christine Lagarde, former French finance minister, was named the first female director of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in 2011 (Deen and Rastello 2011). Within weeks of her appointment, she was placed on *Vanity Fair's* International Best Dressed List and posed for the cover

of *Vogue* in Chanel attire (Laneri 2011). Lagarde's preference for classic and classy choices—silk scarves, tailored suits, delicate accessories—has seen her criticised for being 'too elegant' and accused of being preoccupied with her look rather than the global community of people with whose welfare she has been entrusted (Laneri 2011). Argued by others to be 'an asset to the male-dominated world of world finance' (Laneri 2011), Lagarde's style has without a doubt sparked tangential media debate around what is appropriate attire for a woman leader to wear rather than what is appropriate policy for the IMF to consider.

Fulfilling the mandate of French dressing does not end with Lagarde, however, as the fashion model wife of former Prime Minister Nikolas Sarkozy, Carla Bruni, proved throughout her reign as France's First Lady (Carreon 2012). Despite the initial homage paid to her impeccable style, Bruni's elegance apparently waned along with Sarkozy's term in office and her legacy was soon to be replaced by the classic elegance of Valerie Trierweiler (Ostler 2012). Trienweiler, sometimes referred to as La Premiere Dame de Fer (the First Iron Lady), is said to have had her own office at the conservative party's headquarters during her partner Francoise Hollande's 2012 campaign but it was neither this nor the fact that she is the first French First Lady to be unmarried that got people talking (Ostler 2012). Instead, it was the 'eye—catching glimpse of thigh' revealed at Hollande's swearing-in ceremony at the Elysee Palace that gained considerable media focus (Ostler 2012).

Often branded by their Iron character over their dress, one would think the pageantry of politics reduced for women leaders in Europe, however, the pattern of categorisation contributes as significantly to a stereotypical image of what defines a woman leader. Despite this, the sticky issue of fashion so intrinsically linked with the feminine image of leadership whether used overtly as a topic of media chatter or as a strategic tool is present as a significant contributor to the continued pattern of political pageantry.

Keeping women in their place: the Veiled Servants of the orient

Tickner notes in *Gendering World Politics* that the tendency in international relations to objectify certain societies is often translated into seeing the women of those societies as victims of their geography rather than as agents in their own right (Tickner 2001). Edward Said draws on Tickner's logic in the third of a series of books in which he attempts to tread the modern relationship between the Islamic, Arab Orient and that of the West emphasising the impact of knowledge creation on the stereotypes time develops. In *Covering Islam*, Said (1997) notes that 'the media have … covered Islam, they have portrayed it, characterised it, analysed it, given instant courses on it, and consequently they have made it "known"'. It is this system of knowledge creation that continues to enforce the artificial hierarchies of power constructed and enforced by primarily European colonisers. In *Orientalism*, the first of his series of books, Said's fundamental thesis proposes that Oriental cultures have been constructed to work in oppositional terms to Western values in an attempt to develop an, albeit invented,

Downloaded by [115.85.25.194] at 19:45 31 March 2015

hierarchy of importance (Said 1970). The Orient is not merely a solitary geographical area defined only by its physical borders, rather it is a frame of mind managed and produced by European culture and knowledge bases that adds somewhat to the culture of victimisation (Said 1970).

Oriental women are, however, not just faced with the limitations of their Oriental stereotype as their own culture mingles with global perception to create a two-pronged stake of gender stereotypes with which women in the Orient must contend. The role played by Western feminists in fashioning the imperial project has led to third world feminists toying with the idea that their Western counterparts unwittingly perpetuate the same stereotypes they are trying to dissolve (Mohanty, Russo, and Torres 1991). By acknowledging that feminism cannot be a one-size-fits-all policy for all women in all places and at all times, post-colonial feminism realigns contemporary feminist theory with the dynamic and complex reality of international relations that returns agency to the formerly disowned women of the Orient.

One need only look so far as the headscarf, a simple cloth simultaneously spun with the blood of Western perception and the golden thread of Muslim piety, to recognise that culture is contentious when viewed from a static perspective. While mainstream Western feminism has generally equated the veil with oppression and servitude (Abu-Lughod 2002), the headscarf is acknowledged by post-colonial and Islamic feminists alike to represent the fact that Muslim women may have needs and wants different to what Western woman perceive are paramount to women's liberation. Discourse surrounding the veil is drenched in politics. Rooted in its cynical appropriation in the pursuit of empire, according to Chowdhry and Nair (2004), the politicisation of cultural practices—particularly veiling—has led to its contemporary significance in discussions seeking post-colonial identity. Indeed, in 'Reimagining the Burqa', Jessica Auchter notes how the politicisation of the burqa has both symbolised the anonymity of facelessness and oppression leading to the Western world's war in Afghanistan as well as the 'window of power' that served to symbolise Farkhunda Zahra Naderi's campaign for Afghan parliament in 2010 (Auchter 2012).

In Turkey, however, where the State assumed primary role in forwarding feminism—fusing it with modernity, secularism and Westernism—women tend to remain the receivers of a limited change (Badran 2001). Built on the ideals of secularism from the country's modern founding by Mustafa Ataturk in 1923, the de facto ban on the headscarf has been a prominent though contested feature of Turkey's political landscape for decades (Jiminez 2008). The ban applies to all sectors of public office, including the judiciary, parliament and army as well as to universities and hospitals (Ayman and Knickmeyer 2008). Since Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan took office in 2003, the country has seen cumulative changes to its headscarf policies. The ban on students wearing headscarves in universities was lifted in 2008 and the ban on women wearing headscarves in public office was recently lifted in 2013 (Arsu 2013). Despite indications of a shift towards tolerating Islamic conservatism in Turkey, some universities continue to favour strict secular policies and have

Downloaded by [115.85.25.194] at 19:45 31 March 2015

defied conforming to Constitutional amendments (*BBC World News* 2008). Indeed, the ban on headscarves still remains for members of the judiciary, military and police force (Arsu 2013).

Exemplified by the controversy surrounding the hijab on the head of parliamentarian Merve Kavakçi, the contentious role of women in leadership positions within the Orient has not been without contestation. The first woman to do so, Merve Kavakçi's entering the first session of Turkey's parliamentary sitting in 1999 was bound to cause a stir but it was the unlikely subject of the scarf adorning her head rather than her gender that caused unprecedented uproar (Kavakçi 2004). Amidst yelling to 'get out' and to be 'put in her place' (Kavakçi 2004), Kavakçi was prevented from taking her oath of office on that day, stripped of her citizenship and, along with the rest of her Islamic Virtue Party, was banned from political activity for five years (O'Toole 1999). Politically enslaved by the laws of her own country, Kavakçi has campaigned for women's rights in Islamic societies—particularly the right to wear the headscarf—ever since her effective expulsion from parliament (Kavakçi 2004). Although her citizenship is still in the process of being restored (*Sundays Zaman* 2012), the Kavakçi case proves that the supposed progressiveness of Turkey's feminist policies have, to date, resulted in a limited level of agency at the formal political level.

Indeed, even in Egypt where women have shaped their own feminism locating it both in the discourse of Islamic modernism and prevailing secular nationalist movements (Badran 2001), women have remained absent from formal political structures (Sholkamy 2012). The cultural norms that have prevented women from entering politics in Egypt cannot be ignored as they continue to leave women struggling for a spot in politics. Head of the Egyptian Centre for Women's Rights, Nehad Aboul Komsan, has the following to say about the cultural norms that effect women's participation in the country's political leadership:

> The culture that prohibits female political participation starts at home in many cases. Girls are not allowed to stay out late, though many protests, party meetings and other political events take place late in the day. Many girls complained during the revolution that they were prohibited from taking part in protests by their parents, because of the culture which holds that girls must be protected and kept away from harm. (Afify 2011)

Partly as a result of a contemporary gendered education system and partly as a result of history, the inability of women to lead is a stereotype started at home and that continues to shape the pre-determined role of women in Egypt. Symbolised centrally by the presidential election campaigns of Nawal el-Saadawi and Bothaina Kamel, Egyptian women have attempted to initiate their own feminist change but have continued to face serious opposition while doing so (Kristianasen 2006). When human rights activist, novelist and political critic, Nawal el-Saadawi planned to run in the 2005 presidential elections, she did so not with the intention to win but rather 'to symbolise the new assertiveness of Egyptian women' (Kristianasen 2006). Despite this, Constitutional amendments passed conveniently less than four months before the election heightening the entry-requirements for first

Downloaded by [115.85.25.194] at 19:45 31 March 2015

time candidates caused el-Saadawi to pull-out of the race before it had even began (AlJazeera 2005). The 2012 presidential campaign of Bothaina Kamel faired a very similar fate when she did not receive enough signatures to confirm her candidacy (Read 2012). Running as a woman in a traditionally conservative society, Kamel's withdrawal did not come as a surprise to many (Read 2012). After the world watched the chants of women standing side-by-side with men in Tahrir Square during the 2011 Egyptian Revolution, it was expected that women would take their rightful political place in the new dispensation (Kirkpatrick 2012). As noted by Mozn Hassan, executive director of Nazra for Feminist Studies, 'Changing the patriarchal culture [of Egypt] is not easy' and the fate of Bothaina Kamel has, without a doubt, proven this (Kirkpatrick 2012). When the women of Egypt—often viewed as proactive agents of their own change by Western interpreters—are constrained by the shackles of their own cultural heritage it comes to light that continued servitude to culture and not to man is what is restraining the success of women in leadership in the Orient.

Mythical tales of monsters and fairy godmothers: the fictional characters of Africa

The colonial discourse of artificial hierarchies of power underpinned by racial stereotypes is as pervasive a source of imagery for women in Africa as are the cultural shackles of Orientalism for women in the Middle East. The most prominent image of 'Flesh made Fantasy' in the colonial discourse is arguably that of the Hottentot Venus, irresistibly paraded across Europe as some sort of mythical showpiece (Holmes 2007). The legend of Saartjie Baartman, now forgotten in Europe (Holmes 2007), has continued to fashion the image of African women as objectified exhibits of caricature rather than as free-thinking subjects and speaks somewhat to the prevailing impact of inherited culture on the combined futures of Africa's women. It is, however, not so much the direct impact of imperial discourses left by various colonial legacies that threaten the role of women in leadership the most. Rather, it is the legacy of 'colonial mimicry' that paradoxically enhances the intellectual dependence of free states on colonial identities, silencing the language of individual liberty and reducing the image of African women in leadership by their own societies to historically and culturally acquired stereotypes (Bhabha 1984).

The consistent portrayal of South Africa's opposition leader, Helen Zille, as the destructive reptilian monster of fictional screenplay is a candid example of how South Africans have chosen to portray one of their own leaders as a mythical beast (Davis 2008). Part hero and part fiend, the image of Godzilla is nonetheless fantastical and, of course, nonetheless dragonish (Hood 2005). With emphasis on her spitting and outwitting tongue, Zille has been represented as a raging representation of the 1950s film-based monster Godzilla and is often dubbed 'God-Zille' by political commentator Jonathan Shapiro (Granger 2011). Zille has, indeed, become a formidable force on South Africa's political landscape. Despite this, the reality of her power grounded in fantasy is essentially gendered and she has

Downloaded by [115.85.25.194] at 19:45 31 March 2015

faced a number of reductionist stereotypes that have shaped her political image to date. Described as a 'white madam', 'colonialist' and 'imperialist', issues of race and class mingle with her gender in Zille's public characterisations (*Daily News* 2012). Perhaps, the most significant attacks on her gender were made by leaders of the African National Congress Youth League during her 2009 appointment of an all-male cabinet. Accused of being a 'little racist girl' and of appointing her 'boyfriends and concubines' to Cabinet, Zille faced the complete wrath of her cultural background and, indeed, of her country's (*Daily News* 2012). The Western Cape Cabinet appointment brought into sharp focus the issue of gender stereotypes in South African politics. Zille was not only accused of evading her Constitutional duty to promote equality by the ANC's shadow-premier for the Western Cape, Lynne Brown, but was also lambasted for not having enough confidence in women leaders (African National Congress Western Province 2009). Zille responded to her critics by noting that the use of quotas in government served only as an equity façade and that denial and political correctness are far easier to pursue than challenging deep-rooted cultural norms of patriarchal dominance that are the root cause of gender oppression.

In addition to this, Zille has also been faced with the stereotype of her age. Amidst popular culture's caricature of a slim, youthful, taut-skinned and -tanned version of the ideal woman, Zille along with her older counterparts in Europe and America have dressed up (or down), brightened up their wardrobes and revelled in the aesthetic use of botox to present more relevant versions of themselves to a voting public. When Zille confessed publically to her use of botox in 2008 she claimed to have 'thought about it a bit, looked at her … frown lines, and decided to give it a try' (*Mail and Guardian Online* 2008).

This series of events is perhaps no surprise if one uses the logic of Naomi Wolf that the 'terror of ageing, and dread of lost control' can contribute to the culture of a 'secret "underlife"' of physical insecurities inherited by some of the world's most powerful women (Wolf 1991). Wolf (1991, 10) notes the following about the physical liberation of women:

> We are in the midst of a violent backlash against feminism that uses images of female beauty as a political weapon against women's advancement: the beauty myth.

Indeed, the issue of age is not one contained in the southern-tip of Africa as the election of Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf—mother, grandmother and liberator—to office in Liberia in 2006 has since been exemplified by her image as 'mother of the nation' (Pailey 2011). Demanding respect by virtue of her age, a cultural symbol to be taken seriously in this part of the world, the image of Johnson-Sirleaf has evolved into somewhat of a fairy godmother ready to save Liberia from its past and the women of Africa from theirs.

It has been argued that by being elected as the first female president in Africa, Johnson-Sirleaf has dispelled the myth about women leaders as well as defied history and culture by defining a new era of African leadership (Munakiri 2009). The manufactured image of Johnson-Sirleaf in text and media as a pioneer for women's rights by virtue of her appointment to the presidency,

Downloaded by [115.85.25.194] at 19:45 31 March 2015

however, contributes to the fiction that patriarchy is an inherent tradition of African politics ((Re)Brand Africa 2011). Indeed, Johnson-Sirleaf followed on the short and unfinished paths of Ruth Perry in her own country, Burundi's Sylvie Kinigi, Guinea-Bissau's Carmen Pereira and Gabon's Rose Francine Rogombé but these women's short frolics on the pages of history have by and large been ignored by a global audience in favour of a pattern of African politics opposed to women leaders (Falola and Amponsah 2012).

Despite this, the tradition of patriarchy on the African continent is more of a myth than it is made out to be. Inherited from colonial discourse, the idea that African women need to be saved by their enlightened western counterparts has become the opening line of Africa's gendered political history (Chowdhry and Nair 2004). This rendition of the past, however, does not do justice to the matriarchies and gender-equilibriums that have proven to be particularly robust in the geographies of North and West Africa (Rigoglioso 2006). Not the reversal of fortune for men as is commonly believed to be its definition, matriarchies often exhibit a level of gender-egalitarianism unseen in traditional political systems (Goettner-Abendroth 2008). This, however, does not render the women leaders of these systems immune to gender stereotypes with the practice of matriarchy itself being clouded by default understanding. In addition to this, the representation of women leader's be it—in the case of Godzille—as a sharp-tongued dragon or—in the case of Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf—as a miraculous saviour of the nation, the myth of representation leads nonetheless to a pattern of interpreting the role of women leaders in Africa based on fictional bases of respect, fictional construction of gender disparities and sometimes even fictional aggregation of power.

Critical conclusion: it is a man's world

Although less attention has been paid to the clothing choices of women leaders in Africa than most other dispensations, a pattern of what women leaders look like has without a doubt been formulated. This pattern, based on the mythical and fictional constructs of popular culture and colonial history, places the political power afforded to African women leaders in an abstract category of theoretical non-existence. Similarly, the patters of imagery associated with women leaders in the Orient and derived from colonial legacies of victimisation have resulted in their limited formal political roles in reality. In the USA, the image of the First Ladies based on the clout of popular culture is such that exerting political sway is seen as uncouth and unbecoming of the stereotypical presidential spouse. Indeed, the Iron Ladies of Europe are equally defined by a pattern of austerity and form set in motion by Thacherite rigidity. Although differences exist in their strains, the commonality between all these typologies is that they are all essentially constructed by history, by culture and by people who often fail to acknowledge the incredible power of a popular word in setting unstoppable patterns of social expectation in motion.

Downloaded by [115.85.25.194] at 19:45 31 March 2015

The pattern is clear: wherever and whenever women choose to pursue careers in the public political sphere, they do not run without prejudice. Be it from the predetermined images of their own cultural background or from the historical knowledge base derived from global experience of what it means to be a woman in political leadership, women face the ghosts of their individual and collective past. Even the pattern of scandalous male leadership from Bill Clinton's office affair (Hossain 2011) to Silvio Berlusconi 'bunga bunga' parties (Hooper 2012) and from Swedish King Carl XVI Gustav's strip club sourezes (*CBS News 2011*) to Jacob Zuma's botched rape trial (Tshwaranang Legal Advocacy Centre) has not developed a transcendent image to bind all current and future male leaders. Where opposition has been faced, it has largely been individualised and men in political leadership simply do not face the rigid and unwavering stereotypes to which women leaders across the world are bound.

It has been argued that placing women in leadership positions to put a face to a supposed culture of gender equality, however, does little for women's issues on the ground (Tickner 2001). Despite the inherent truth in this claim, the media coverage of women in leadership and banter of popular expression based on often culturally loaded remnants of our past is likely to do enormous damage to the potential of women in leadership seeking to form their own individual identities unconstrained by determinist images. The gendered nature of this phenomenon cannot be ignored as male political leaders tend to be characterised less by the traits of their predecessors or collective past than by their individual personality traits.

Women in leadership are perhaps most amalgamated by their preference to practice in a man's world. A risk for their individuality, these women are subjected to the depth and breadth of stereotypes placed on their gender. Fashion, in particular, has been a consistent theme throughout most of the typologies, however, while media focus is spent on Angela Merkel's cleavage, Hilary Clinton's botox regiment and Merve Kavakçi's headscarf, the assumption is made—contemporarily and for the future—that there is nothing more important to talk about when it comes to women in politics. Women in leadership seem stuck between a rock and a hard place where their femininity is derived as weakness in a male-dominated world and where, to be taken seriously, they must exhibit masculine tendencies; the stereotypes and image patterns they create are rigid and unforgiving. This is, however, not to say that women cannot succeed in political leadership roles. Egyptian feminist and activist Karima al Hafnawy notes that although women constantly have to struggle for their place in politics this can motivate them further:

> When society keeps telling women they can't be judges or presidents, they try to prove the opposite and this gives them more motivation to excel. (Afify 2011)

Although the obstacles may seem daunting and the path never ending, it us up to every woman to defy the status quo, challenge constructed realities, live on the frontlines of their lives and snatch the rights to which they are humanly entitled.

Downloaded by [115.85.25.194] at 19:45 31 March 2015

Acknowledgements

The author would like to extend her sincere gratitude to Dr Jacqueline De Matos Ala for her consistent academic guidance throughout the writing of this paper and to Prof Pieter Fourie for his guidance throughout the publication process.

Note

* University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa. Email: yumnalaher@gmail.com

1. Results searched on 23rd April 2012.

Downloaded by [115.85.25.194] at 19:45 31 March 2015

References

ABC News. "Jacqueline Kennedy: Fashion Icon." Accessed April 22, 2012. http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/slideshow/jacqueline-kennedy-fashion-icon-world-politics-14475367

Abu-Lughod, L. 2002. "Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving? Anthropological Reflections on Cultural Relativism and Its Others." *American Anthropologist* 104 (3): 783–790.

Afify, H. 2011. "Egyptian Women Still Struggle for a Spot in Politics." Accessed April 24, 2012. http://www.egyptindependent.com/news/egyptian-women-still-struggle-spot-politics

AlJazeera. 2005. "Egypt Presidential Aspirant Pulls Out." Accessed April 24, 2012. http://www.aljazeera.com/archive/2005/07/200849135052424901.html

ANC Western Province. 2009. "Statement by the African National Congress Western Cape Provincial Parliament Caucus, on Sexist Comments by a DA MPL." Accessed November 15, 2013. http://www.polity.org.za/article/anc-wp-statement-by-the-african-national-congress-western-cape-provincial-parliament-caucus-on-sexist-comments-by-a-da-mpl-12082009-2009-08-12

Arsu, S. 2013. "Turkey Lifts Longtime Ban on Head Scarves in State Offices." Accessed November 21, 2013. http://www.nytimes.com/2013/10/09/world/europe/turkey-lifts-ban-on-head-scarves-in-state-offices.html?_r=0

Auchter, J. 2012. "Reimagining the Burqa." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 14 (3): 370–388.

Ayman, Z., and E. Knickmeyer. 2008. "Ban on Head Scarves Voted Out in Turkey." Accessed April 24, 2012. http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/02/09/AR2008 020900832.html

Badran, M. 2001. "Locating Feminisms: The Collapse of Secular and Religious Discourses in the Mashriq." *Agenda* 50: 41–57. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4066404

Baylis, J., S. Smith, and P. Owens. 2011. *The Globalisation of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

BBC World News. 2008. "Turkey Academics Defy Scarf Law." Accessed April 24, 2012. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/7263879.stm

BBC World News. 2009. "Profile: Angela Merkel." Accessed April 23, 2012. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/4572387.stm

Bhabha, H. 1984. "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse." 28: 125–133. http://www.jstor.org/stable/778467

Boyd Caroli, B. 2010. *First Ladies from Martha Washington to Michelle Obama*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bruce, M. 2012. "Hillary Clinton Dances the Night away in Colombia." Accessed April 24. http://abcnews.go.com/blogs/politics/2012/04/hillary-clinton-dances-the-night-away-in-colombia/

Cage, D. 2009. "The Right to Bare Arms." Accessed April 21, 2012. http://www.shewired.com/g-spot/right-bare-arms

Carreon, B. 2012. "A Look Back at Carla Bruni's First Lady Style." Accessed April 23, 2012. http://www.forbes.com/sites/bluecarreon/2012/05/09/a-look-back-at-carla-brunis-first-lady-style/

CBS News. 2011. "Sweden's King in Strip Club Scandal." Accessed April 28, 2012. http://www.cbc.ca/news/world/story/2011/06/06/sweden-king-scandal.html

Chowdhry, G., and S. Nair. 2004. "Introduction: Power in a Postcolonial World: Race, Gender and Class in International Relations." In *Power, Postcolonialism and International Relations. Reading Race, Gender and Class*, edited by G. Chowdhry and S. Nair, 1–32. London: Routledge.

Czuczka, T., and L. Mangasarian. 2012. “Merkel as Europe’s Debt Crisis Iron Lady Bucks German Street on Greek Aid.” Accessed April 23, 2012. http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2012-02-20/merkel-as-europe-s-debt-crisis-iron-lady-bucks-german-street-on-greek-aid.html
Daily News. 2012. “Malema, Shivambu File Papers in Zille Case.” Accessed April 26, 2012. http://www.iol.co.za/dailynews/news/malema-shivambu-file-papers-in-zille-case-1.1283073
Davis, B. 2008. “The Politics of Appearance.” Accessed April 26, 2012. http://sites.google.com/site/becdavisonline/publications/the-politics-of-appearance
Deen, M., and S. Rastello. 2011. “Lagarde Named First Female IMF Head.” Accessed April 23, 2012. http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2011-06-28/christine-lagarde-set-to-be-named-imf-chief-as-u-s-russia-offer-support.html
Falola, T., and N. A. Amponsah. 2012. *Women’s Roles in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Santa Barbara, CA: Greenword.
Ferris State University. “The Sapphire Caricature.” Accessed April 21, 2012. http://www.ferris.edu/jimcrow/sapphire/
Friedman, E. 2008. “Is Clinton Scrutinized About Her Looks Too Much?” Accessed April 21, 2012. http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/Vote2008/story?id=4193461&page=1#.T5qrO0WFlI
Goettner-Abendroth, H. 2008. “Matriarchies as Societies of Peace: Re-Thinking Matriarchy.” *Off Our Backs* 38 (1): 49–52.
Granger, L. 2011. “Of Showerheads and Freedom of Expression.” Accessed January 22, 2014. http://www.zapiro.com/Sponsored-by/DALRO-LECTURE-2011-Report/
Grose, J. 2012. “Michelle Obama vs. Rahm Emanuel: A History of First Ladies Feuding with Staffers.” Accessed April 21, 2012. http://www.slate.com/blogs/xx_factor/2012/01/10/the_obamas_by_jodi_kantor_michelle_obama_vs_rahm_emanuel.html
Hauptfuhrer, F. 1979. “Margaret Thatcher, the Tories’ ‘Iron Maiden’ Is the Betting Choice to Become Madame P.M.” Accessed April 23, 2012. http://www.people.com/people/archive/article/0,,20073510,00.html
Holmes, R. 2007. “Flesh Made Fantasy.” Accessed April 26, 2012. http://www.guardian.co.uk/books/2007/mar/31/featuresreviews.guardianreview12
Hood, R. 2005. “A Potted History of Godzilla.” Accessed April 26, 2012. http://www.roberthood.net/obsesses/godzilla.htm
Hooper, J. 2012. “Silvio Berlusconi: ‘Women Are Exhibitionists’.” Accessed April 28, 2012. http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/apr/20/silvio-berlusconi-women-are-exhibitionists
Hossain, A. 2011. “From Bill to Berlusconi: Politicians’ Sex Scandals and Women’s Movements.” Accessed April 28, 2012. http://www.forbes.com/2011/02/22/silvio-berlusconi-sex-scandal-women-forbes-women-leadership-politics_2.html
Huffington Post. 2012. “Michelle Obama Tired of ‘Angry Black Woman’ Stereotype.” Accessed April 21, 2012. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/01/11/michelle-obama-tired-of-angry-black-woman-stereotype_n_1198786.html
Huffington Post. 2014. “Michelle Obama Style.” Accessed January 22, 2014. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/news/michelle-obama-style
Jiminez, A. 2008. “Turkey‘s Headscarf Legislation: The Negative Impact on EU Accession.” Accessed April 24, 2012. http://www.rieas.gr/research-areas/global-issues/greek-studies-gr/641.html
Jones, D. (Producer), and P. Lloyd (Director). 2011. *The Iron Lady*. [Motion Picture]. UK: Pathé.
Kavakçi, M. 2004. “Headscarf Heresy.” *Foreign Policy* 142.
Kirkpatrick, D. 2012. “Egypt’s Women Find Power Still Hinges on Men.” Accessed April 24, 2012. http://www.nytimes.com/2012/01/10/world/middleeast/egyptian-women-confront-restrictions-of-patriarchy.html
Kristianasen, W. 2006. “Egypt: Islamic Sisters Advance.” *Review of African Political Economy* 33 (110): 744–747.
Laneri, R. 2011. “Christine Lagarde’s Power Dressing.” Accessed April 23, 2012. http://www.forbes.com/sites/raquellaneri/2011/08/25/christine-lagardes-power-dressing/
Loughborough University. 2012. “Margaret Thatcher—the Original Power Dresser.” Accessed April 23, 2012. http://www.lboro.ac.uk/service/publicity/news-releases/2012/03_Thatcher.html
Lowder, B. 2012. “As “Angry Black Woman,” Michelle Obama‘s Image Comes Full-Circle.” Accessed April 21, 2012. http://www.slate.com/blogs/xx_factor/2012/01/11/as_angry_black_woman_michelle_obama_s_image_comes_full_circle.html
Mackey, M. 2012. “Thatcher, “The Iron Lady,” Inspires GOP Candidates.” Accessed April 23, 2012. http://www.thefiscaltimes.com/Articles/2012/01/01/Thatcher-The-Iron-Lady-Inspires-GOP-Candidates.aspx#page1
Mail and Guardian Online. 2008. “Zille Gives in and Admits to Botox.” Accessed April 26, 2012. http://www.mg.co.za/article/2008-12-28-zille-gives-in-and-admits-to-botox
Marsh, T. 2012. “Jodi Kantor Refutes First Lady Michelle Obama on ‘Angry Black Woman’.” Accessed April 21, 2012. http://themoderatevoice.com/134599/jodi-kantor-refutes-first-lady-michelle-obama-on-angry-black-woman/

Downloaded by [115.85.25.194] at 19:45 31 March 2015

Mohanty, C. T., A. Russo, and L. Torres, eds. 1991. *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*. Bloomington: Indian University Press.
Moore, C. 2011. "The Invincible Mrs Thatcher." Accessed April 23, 2012. http://www.vanityfair.com/politics/features/2011/12/margaret-thatcher-201112
Munakiri, T. 2009. "Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf Election: What It Means for Africa." Accessed April 26, 2012. http://www.newzimbabwe.com/pages/opinion107.13670.html
New York Magazine. 2012. "The Michelle Obama Look Book 2012." Accessed April 21, 2012. http://nymag.com/daily/fashion/2012/01/michelle-obama-look-book-2012.html#photo=22×00043
Ostler, C. 2012. "The Fabulous First Lady: Leggy Rottweiler who Saw off Her Love Rival—and Carla." Accessed April 23, 2012. http://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-2145037/Valerie-Trierweiler-Frances-new-fabulous-lady-replaces-Carla-Bruni.html
O'Toole, P. 1999. "A Headscarf too Far?" Accessed April 25, 2012. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/337976.stm
Pailey, R. N. 2011. "Nobel Peace Prize Could Not Have Come at a Better Time for Liberia." Accessed April 26, 2012. http://www.guardian.co.uk/global-development/poverty-matters/2011/oct/10/liberian-women-nobel-peace-prizewinners
Petkanas, C. 2012. "Wearing Their Strength on Their Sleeves." Accessed April 23, 2012. http://www.nytimes.com/2012/02/09/fashion/in-the-margaret-thatcher-style.html?pagewanted=all
Read, C. 2012. "Bothaina Kamel Vows to Continue Her Fight Against Corruption in Egypt." Accessed April 25, 2012. http://www.alarabiya.net/articles/2012/04/10/206768.html
(RE)Brand Africa. 2011. "Johnson-Sirleaf: Transforming Liberia Through Traditional African Leadership Roles." Accessed April 26, 2012. http://rebrandafrica.blogspot.com/2011/10/johnson-sirleaf-transforming-liberia.html
Rigoglioso, M. 2006. "Matriarchy: An Answer to a World in Crisis?" Accessed April 26, 2012. http://www.universitadelledonne.it/english/matriarchy1.htm
Sachs, A. 2009. "Michelle Obama's Fashion Statement." Accessed April 21, 2012. http://www.time.com/time/arts/article/0,8599,1910577,00.html
Said, E. W. 1970. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books.
Said, E. W. 1997. *Covering Islam*. New York: Vintage Books.
Sawer, P. 2012. "How Maggie Thatcher Was Remade." Accessed April 23, 2012. http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/margaret-thatcher/8999746/How-Maggie-Thatcher-was-remade.html
Shih, C. 2010. "Fashion of the First Ladies: Jackie Kennedy." Accessed April 21, 2012. http://stylebinge.ocregister.com/2010/01/11/fashion-of-the-first-ladies-jackie-kennedy/15163/
Shipman, T. 2007. "Botox Rumours Put Spite into White House Race." Accessed April 21, 2012. http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/1554136/Botox-rumours-put-spite-into-White-House-race.html
Sholkamy, H. 2012. "Egypt's Women Missing from Formal Politics." Accessed April 25, 2012. http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/32349.aspx
Stewart, W. 2007. "Revealed: Red Army Colonel Who Dubbed Maggie the Iron Lady . . . and Changed History." Accessed April 21, 2012. http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-438281/Revealed-Red-Army-colonel-dubbed-Maggie-Iron-Lady—changed-history.html
Sundays Zaman. 2012. "Rights of Female Deputy Thrown out of Parliament to be Restored." Accessed April 25, 2012. http://www.todayszaman.com/newsDetail_getNewsById.action;jsessionid=15FE78C9C56A12AEDB346EF71E413863?newsId=272880
The Guardian. 2009. "Margaret Thatcher: Acceptable in the '80s?" Accessed April 23, 2012. http://www.guardian.co.uk/books/2009/apr/11/thatcher-and-the-arts
The Independent. 2010. "The Iron Vrou: Angela Merkel." Accessed April 23, 2012. http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/the-iron-frau-angela-merkel-1941814.html
The James Madison Museum. "Biographies: Dolley Madison." Accessed April 21, 2012. http://www.thejamesmadisonmuseum.org/biographies/dolley-madison
Tickner, J. A. 2001. *Gendering World Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press.
TIME. 2012. "The Fashion of Michelle Obama." Accessed April 23, 2012. http://www.time.com/time/photogallery/0,29307,1871199,00.html
Tshwaranang Legal Advocacy Centre. "Interview with Lisa Vetten: A Response to Jacob Zuma's Rape Trial." Accessed April 29, 2012. http://www.tlac.org.za/interview-with-lisa-vetten-a-response-to-jacob-zumas-rape-trial/
United Nations. 2010. "The World's Women 2010: Trends and Statistics." Accessed April 20, 2012. http://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic/products/Worldswomen/WW2010%20Report_by%20chapter(pdf)/Power%20and%20decision%20making.pdf
Vanity Fair. 2009. "Jackie and Michelle: The White House Wardrobes." Accessed April 21, 2012. http://www.vanityfair.com/style/features/2009/06/jackie-michelle-slideshow200906#slide=1

Downloaded by [115.85.25.194] at 19:45 31 March 2015

Viotti, P., and M. V. Kauppi. 2002. *International Relations Theory*. Boston, MA: Pearson.
Vogue. 2011. "Style File, Michelle Obama." Accessed April 21, 2012. http://www.vogue.co.uk/spy/celebrity-photos/2011/05/01/michelle-obama-style—3112008
Watson, R. P. 2003. "'Source Material': Toward the Study of the First Lady." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 33 (2): 423–441.
Whitaker, L. D. 1999. *Women in Politics: Outsiders or Insiders?* New Jersey, NJ: Prentice Hall.
Wolf, N. 1991. *The Beauty Myth*. London: Vintage.

Downloaded by [115.85.25.194] at 19:45 31 March 2015