

Third Wave Feminism And Women's Invisibility In The Discourse Of Politics

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Abstract

This paper presents a conceptual review of the domain literature encompassing feminism and women's representation and invisibility in the discourse of politics. Tracing and interpreting the current third wave fundamentally require an overview of the three feminist movements since 1830 until today. For this purpose, the study reviewed theses and research articles published between 2010 - 2020 and examined how feminist movements are conceptualized and manifested in women's representation in the media. The article points at women's increasing participation over time, but also highlights their marginalization in media workforce leading to their invisibility in the discourse of politics. It was found that the third-wave feminism despite its focus on individuality against collective effort has failed to uplift women's image in various contexts as reflected in their symbolic annihilation and framing in the media. Women's objectification in advertisements has been widely debated. However, their marginalization in media workforce and political discourse needs to be considered and highlighted if the third-wave feminist ideals are to be fully achieved. The study adds to the developing literature on women's journey since the first wave until today with reference to their representation in the media.

Keywords: Third-Wave Feminism, Political Media Discourse; Power; Framing; Symbolic Annihilation.

تلخیص

اس تحقیقی مقالے میں عصر حاضر کے ادبی تناظر میں تحریک حقوق نسواں کے کردار اور سیاسی گفتگو میں خواتین کی نمائندگی اور عدم موجودگی کا جائزہ لیا گیا ہے۔ اس مقصد کے حصول کے لیے ۲۰۱۰ تا ۲۰۲۰ کے شائع شدہ مقالات و تحقیقی مضامین کا جائزہ لیا گیا نیز اس امر کی جانچ کی گئی کہ کس طرح سے میڈیا میں خواتین کی

نمائندگی کے ذریعے تحریک حقوق نسواں کا تصور پیش کیا اور دکھایا گیا ہے۔ یہ مضمون وقت کے ساتھ ساتھ خواتین کی بڑھتی ہوئی نمائندگی کی عکاسی کرتا ہے لیکن اس امر کو بھی نمایاں کرتا ہے کہ میڈیا میں خواتین کی افرادی قوت کا استحصال کیا جا رہا ہے۔ اس موضوع پر موجود ادب کی تحقیق سے پتہ چلتا ہے کہ حقوق نسواں کی حالیہ تیسری لہر جو کہ خواتین کے افرادی حقوق کی حامی ہے مختلف معاشروں میں خواتین کی ساکھ کو بہتر بنانے میں تاحال ناکام نظر آتی ہے۔ حقوق نسواں کی تیسری لہر کی کامیابی کے لیے ضروری ہے کہ میڈیا اور اس پر ہونے والی سیاسی گفتگو و بحث میں خواتین کے استحصال پر توجہ دی جائے۔ یہ تحقیقی مقالہ حقوق نسواں کی پہلی لہر سے موجود تیسری لہر تک خواتین کی جدوجہد اور میڈیا میں ان کی نمائندگی پر موجود ادبی مواد میں خاطرخواہ اضافہ ثابت ہوگا۔

کلیدی الفاظ: تحریک حقوق نسواں کی تیسری لہر، میڈیا پر سیاسی گفتگو، اقتدار، فریمنگ، علامتی بلاکت

Introduction

Discourse is language above sentence or clause involving structures beyond the text. According to Berger (2016), discourse in linguistics marks a shift in focus from sentence to conversation and considers language in use as a form of social practice crucial in social and political lives of people. Fairclough & Wodak (1997) perceived discourse as an instrumental factor in creating social identities and relationship between people (Santoso, 2018). According to Cap (2019), the study of discourse aims at drawing connection between language in use at the micro level and an analysis of the social situation at the macro level. On the other hand, media discourse refers to conversations happening through a broadcast platform and is defined as public, manufactured and on-record form of interaction (O'Keeffe, 2015). It remains open to public scrutiny especially after the advent of social media as people actively participate and contribute to media discourse by liking and sharing it in their immediate circles and also by posting their feedback comments. Moreover, media discourse, to discourse analysts, provides an insight into the prevailing social and power structures through a detailed inspection of recordings and transcriptions guided by the proponents of Critical Discourse Analysis - a widely used method to analyze media texts.

Fairclough (1985) was the first to use the term CDA and has so far been its most influential practitioner (Santoso, 2018). He has also been writing extensively on critical discourse analysis since 1980s. According to Haig (2017), when people talk about CDA, they have Norman Fairclough in their minds due to his major contributions to the field. According to Santoso (2018), Fairclough focused the social

importance of language by developing a multidimensional approach often referred to as the social theory of discourse. His view of language as a social practice involves power and ideology in discourse (Carvalho, 2008; Ramanathan & Hoon, 2015; Sari et al., 2018). His idea of discourse as social practice is based on three tenets (a) discourse shapes and reflects social structures; (b) Social practice is the key in constructing identities and in building relationship between different entities and classes in society; (c) social practice adds to the system of knowledge by leading to other functions of language like identity, relational and ideational functions (Ramanathan & Hoon, 2015). Fairclough's theory of critical discourse analysis has been exploited by various studies designed to gauge women's participation in political media discourse amid feminist activism.

Media discourse emerged as a popular field of research in 1980s with a great number of media discourse studies coming to the fore (Ofori, 2015). According to Cotter (2008), media discourse analysis is aimed at tracing and examining the presence of 'bias or ideology in language and the problematization of power relations' in a society. He views media discourse as interdisciplinary with a blend of discourse analysis, sociolinguistics and semiosis. The interdisciplinary of media research compliments CDA's multidisciplinary framework in revealing socio-political issues and agenda embedded in discourse (Abdullah, 2014). CDA has been widely used to unmask the underlying power politics in media discourse and an obvious glorification of the ones in power (Ramanathan & Hoon, 2015; Sahmeni & Afifah, 2019; Sari et al., 2018). According to Qadir & Riaz (2015), media plays an important role in constructing, reconstructing and deconstructing identities and social realities through representation, interpretation and evaluation. Apart from that, media has a strong capacity to influence and manipulate public opinion (Ofori, 2015). What appears on media is a construction of reality often in line with the existing practices. This shows a complex relationship between media and society; media constructs and represents reality while influencing it at the same time in an attempt to maintain hegemonic structures. According to Hassan (2018), the power of media in shaping mass perceptions, opinion and social structures is undeniable as media constructs reality through biased coverage to serve vested interests of news organizations. According to Ofori (2015), analysis of media discourse should also include an analysis of the context of communication, situation and the speakers involved in addition to a comprehensive analysis of language used. Whereas, the job of the researcher is to link the available pieces to make a coherent whole.

As Sheyholislami (2015) notes, Fairclough's CDA framework attends to a number of important aspects including the politics of the media and its relation to the state. Moreover, he also considers issues like access to the media and production and

consumption of media texts. These issues, according to Fairclough (2013), draw our attention to the issues of power as the ones with access to the media already possess some forms of economic, social and cultural power. This also suggests how media output is very much under professional and institutional control. Van Dijk (1993) views the access to discourse as a major but scarce social resource for people. Fairclough views media and its practices as being heavily influenced by commercial practices also as media like the other commercial institutions have to sell their products to masses (Sheyholislami, 2015). Commercial pressures play out in selection of news and the way it is published or aired.

According to the feminist theory, gendered hierarchy in a society serves to promote a system where roles associated with women are considered inferior than the ones associated with their male counterpart (Policastro, 2015). To discuss feminism unidirectionally is impossible as it involves varied ideological perspectives (Loke et al., 2017; Pande, 2018; Smith, 2007), diverse experiences of women and broader theoretical framework encompassing main schools of thought like; liberal feminism, Marxist feminism, social feminism, radical feminism and post feminism (Policastro, 2015). The other popular approach to defining feminism is through depicting it metaphorically in a form of wave that implies continuity and resurgence (Aune & Holyoak, 2018). A metaphorical explanation of feminist movement also serves to highlight the phases of accelerating activity and abeyance in particular contexts (Aune & Holyoak, 2018; Pande, 2018). Women's representation and invisibility in the discourse of politics happening on mediated platform amid feminist activism has been widely debated due to its relation to women's identity construction in a domain traditionally associated with their male counterpart. Women's participation, representation or invisibility in political media discourse highlight some age-old and deep-seated social problems perpetuating women's struggle even during the third-wave activism.

Feminist studies have often drawn heavily on CDA to examine the representation of women on mass media. CDA has been useful in investigating framing, symbolic annihilation and gender stereotypes in political media discourse. Studies such as Dragaš (2012) and Sriwimon & Jimarkon (2017) examine how media makes meaning and constructs ideologies through linguistic choices and perpetuates stereotypical images of women depicting them as passive, less influential and dependent on men in domain of politics. Ramanathan & Hoon (2015) assert the role of mass media in production of beliefs and ideologies by marginalizing others and misinterpreting an event. Media represents social context that determines production of discourse leading to the construction of social power. According to Ross (2014), culture is a commonly used

frame in the mass media indicating how and why women politicians are treated differently in political discourse. In addition to attributing roles to men and women, culture plays an active role in attributing roles to politicians which leads to framing and underrepresentation of women in media (Ross, 2014).

Review of Literature

Brief History of Feminism

First Wave: Advent of industries in the early nineteenth century revolutionized human life including the way gender was perceived (Moran, 2004). There emerged a clear distinction between the masculine and feminine spheres – now commonly known as public and private spheres (McGuirk, 2019). It was assumed that women belonged to the private sphere as they contributed to domestic comfort, while men belonged to the public space where political issues are worked out and decisions taken (Allen, 2017; Kinnard, 2016). The first wave spans over fifty years, starting from the middle of nineteenth century and subsiding in the first half of the twentieth century in the United States, Europe and United Kingdom (Okiriguo, 2016). Liberal feminists, around this time, actively and rigorously worked for their legal and constitutional rights – most importantly for their right to vote, education and employment (Johnson, 2017; Liu et al., 2020). They protested against women's limited participation in the public sphere due to traditional gender role socialization (Policastro, 2015) but were initially criticized for focusing middle class and white women only (Liu et al., 2020). The first wave resulted into women gaining the right to vote in 1920s (Smith, 2007), however, that did not mean women's immediate access to the parliament (Walby, 2000). In England, Women's confinement to the private sphere is also depicted in a conservative and stereotypical portrayal of women during the era of Queen Victoria (1837-1901) (Mcguirk, 2019). Gradually, women started building on the initial gains and challenged gendered practices aimed at trivializing women in the private sphere.

Second Wave: Period starting from late 1960s until 1980s marks the resurgence of the feminist movement (Pande, 2018), also known as Radical feminism built on the insight from Marxist feminism in raising concerns over victimization and exploitation of women in a capitalist society (Policastro, 2015). However, unlike Marxist feminism, radical feminists worked to dismantle patriarchy to end an age-old discrimination against women (Policastro, 2015). The second wave feminists exposed a strong link between political and cultural inequalities against women (Okiriguo, 2016; Pande, 2018) and perceived women as one group suffering from gendered oppression. The catchphrase coined by Carol Hanisch (1970) marked a close association between the public and the private facets of feminist struggles (Schuster, 2017) and became a slogan synonymous with the second wave feminism (Pande, 2018). The main goal of the movement was to challenge

the cultural politics at play in the private sphere leading to oppression and gendered practices (Imam et al., 2018) and to gain an insight from personal experiences and private thoughts of women. It was asserted that the individual problems of women, like social problems, are political in nature because they stem from 'structural disadvantage in patriarchal societies' (Schuster, 2017) and therefore require political solutions (Ackerly & True, 2010).

Third Wave: According to Karim & Azlan (2019), third-wave feminism was different from the earlier waves as it appealed and included non-stereotypical and marginalized women hailing from the developing regions of the world. More generally, third-wave feminism is about expanding women's opportunities in socio-economic sphere, acknowledging diversity, individual liberation, inclusion thus, marking a shift from binary politics to embracing difference (Thorpe et al., 2017). What set third wavers apart from the second wavers was not only the generational gap but the strong virility of modern technology allowing women to debate their feminist politics with a broader perspective than their predecessors (Gillis, Howie & Munford, 2007). Third-wavers tried to unveil a new face of feminism by keeping in focus the lives of the real women struggling with issues at job and their socio-economic freedom (Karim & Azlan, 2019). Explosion of research and rise of feminist activities resulted into various strands of third wave feminism (Krolokke, C., & Sorensen, 2006).

Post Feminism: Defining post feminism is complex as some see it entangled with feminism because of its simultaneous consideration and criticism of feminism (Gill, 2016a; Windels et al., 2020). The term was first used in 1980s (Pande, 2018), came to prominence in 1990s (Banet-Weiser et al., 2020; Imam et al., 2018) and became synonymous with the third-wave (Aune & Holyoak, 2018; Banet-Weiser, 2018). According to Leslie Heywood and Jennifer Drake (1997), post feminism refers to a group of young conservative feminists critical of the activism of second wavers (Braithwaite, 2002). For others, post feminism marks a shift in feminism – connecting the movement to a number of other anti-foundation list movements like Postmodernism, Post structuralism and Post-colonialism - referring to 'transformation and critical engagement with other or earlier forms of feminism' (Litosseliti et al., 2019). With varied theoretical and contradictory perspectives and approaches (Braithwaite, 2002; Papagianni, 2020; Schuster, 2017), post feminism signifies the rise of feminist activism led by the young women of 1990s in the US and women of 2000s in the UK (Aune & Holyoak, 2018). The other way of analyzing post feminism is through understanding post feminist sensibility, a term coined by Gill (2016a) to establish it as a critical object to be dealt with 'empirically as a way of analyzing popular culture' (Banet-Weiser et al., 2020). She proposes a productive use of the term across social, cultural, political and economic life (Gill, 2016b) in response to claims terming post feminism and the other branches of third-wave feminism as apolitical because of their concerns with the private rather than

the public sphere. Such claims sought to reduce the impact of third wave activism. However, it is argued that the third wave feminism, in all its forms and manifestations, seeks to empower individuals so as to enable them to participate effectively in the public sphere (Schuster, 2017).

Neoliberal Feminism

Neoliberal feminism is another strand of third wave feminism often linked with post and popular feminism because of its emphasis on individual freedom and the right to personal choice which Milton Friedan identified as the two essential traits of capitalism (Čakardić, 2017). According to Rottenberg (2019), neoliberal feminism is different from post feminism as it legitimizes gender inequality but renounces ‘the socio-economic and cultural structures shaping our lives’ (Banet-Weiser et al., 2020). Neoliberal feminism tends to ignore social issues and empower individuals to counter any threats to their freedom and sovereignty with positive mental attitude (Čakardić, 2017; Dabrowski, 2020). It is argued that the ‘neoliberal feminism resulted into the conversion of educated and mobile women into human capital’ (Banet-Weiser et al., 2020) as they accomplished production and care work while ensuring fulfilment of their entrepreneurial responsibilities.

Popular Feminism

Based on the post and neoliberal feminisms, the notion of popular feminism focuses the visibility of women on mediated platforms like on television, in films and on social media (Lazar, 2007). Neoliberal feminism with an emphasis on ‘gendered entrepreneurialism and individual enterprise’ created favourable condition for popular feminism to flourish ‘in popular culture and media’ (Banet-Weiser et al., 2020). For Sarah Banet-Weiser, popular feminism is corporate-friendly and seeks to highlight ‘gendered disparity by stressing the need to include more women in economic sphere (2018). What runs common in post, neoliberal and popular feminism is the provision that these feminisms make for ‘personal choice and women empowerment’ (Rutherford, 2018). This can also be seen in changed representation of women on mediated platforms.

Feminism and Media

There are two opposing views on women representation in media during feminist movements. The first view recognizes media having a profound effect on feminist movements (Ureta, 2020). The first wavers’ protests in the United States resulted in a major breakthrough for women as they started entering the media business. The trend started when the first newspaper ‘owned, edited and published’ by a woman Amelia

Bloomer came to the fore and garnered support from female readers (Johnson, 2017). Amelia's newspaper also worked to change mass perception on how women should dress, thus, resulting in dress reforms. Subsequently, more women-oriented papers were published that changed the feminist movement into a political one. According to some, media was patriarchal in the beginning and turned a blind eye to feminist activities during the first wave in an attempt to reinforce status quo. However, the movement picked momentum by means of the 'word-of-mouth and interpersonal connections' (Ureta, 2020). Media's interest was aroused when women took to streets to get their rights and media coverage of mass protests helped build a narrative in women's favour. The other view perceived second wave movement as a turning point for gender and media studies as the role of media in trivialization of women was discussed and highlighted in various contexts (Krijnen, 2020). It was argued that women were often shown to indulge in shallow duties that affected and curtailed their role in the public sphere. Activists noticed the problem with media representation of women, voiced their opinion and resorted to protests calling for workplace equality and equal wages for women (Johnson, 2017). Women's marginalized position in male-dominant society became the subject of manifestos and literary pieces. Today, in many parts of the world, the second wave of feminism is still continuing as women's fight against patriarchy is not yet over.

Post feminism, due to its transnational and intersectional nature (Gill, 2016b), has greatly been endorsed by the media as it advocates individuality and free choice (Coleman, 2009). During the earlier waves, the ones with money enjoyed an easy access to media. However, situation changed for the third-wavers after the rise of social media as they were able to assert their individuality by sharing their personal stories and highlighting social evils in a relative safe environment (Krijnen, 2020) without the fear of judgment (Johnson, 2017). This resonates with the defining features of the third wave including individuality, free-choice, entrepreneurialism, exploration and inclusion. However, the downside of media for the third-wavers has been the relegation of women to an object of pleasure and entertainment in advertisements. It is argued that the depiction of women in the media as mentally and physically weak than her male counterpart and her objectification would impact her individual success (Haraldsson & Wängnerud, 2019; Mendes & Carter, 2008). Some have referred to it as commodity feminism as 'feminist ideals became a way to brand or position a product' in the name of women empowerment (Windels et al., 2020). The other feared that commodity feminism would make women lose sight of their target and fall victim to a commodity culture prevailing in the mass media. Other problems related to women representation in the media amid third-wave feminism are stereotyping (Paek et al., 2011), their portrayal as either victims or consumers and their underrepresentation in the discourse of politics (James, 2005; Krijnen, 2020).

Methodology

This conceptual review is aimed at exploring the significance, quality and frequency of women's participation in discourse of politics in the backdrop of the third-wave feminism that perceived women as assertive, powerful and in control of their own sexuality. The findings gathered after reviewing domain literature answer questions relating to the concepts of the origin of feminism, its primary aim and focus in relation to discourse of politics, its development over the years through first, second and third wave feminism with comparison for its distinct foci and theoretical and methodological features across the three waves; the interconnectedness and multidisciplinary nature of the third wave, its strands; and women's representation in the media during feminist activism and women's identity constructed by the media across various contexts.

A systematic literature search of the standard databases and publications related to the disciplinary domains around fixed themes, like feminism, discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis and women's representation in journalism, media and politics, was performed to identify the studies for the conceptual review. The studies comprised journal articles, theses and dissertations accessible online from internationally recognized digital platforms like ProQuest, European Journal of Politics and Gender, European Journal of Cultural Studies, Feminist Media Studies, Global Regional Review, Journalism Studies, SAGE, Research Gate, the International Encyclopaedia of Journalism Studies and the Global Reports on the Status of Women in News Media. Articles were also collected from the HEC recognized local journals to gain an insight into women's representation in Pakistani media. Table 1. provides details of the studies included in the conceptual review reported in this article.

The collected studies were then sorted and analyzed keeping with the tradition of a theory synthesis paper aimed at summarizing and then integrating conceptual underpinnings to increase understanding of the phenomenon involved (Jaakkola, 2020). For analysis in conceptual review papers "the authors may inductively identify differing conceptualizations of that phenomenon, and then argue that the aspect of interest is best addressed in terms of particular concepts and theories" (Jaakkola, 2020, p. 19). It was ensured that the studies shortlisted for the review focused the key concepts being studied and the studies related with the third wave feminism reported latest trends about women's participation in the discourse of politics under the third wave in various contexts.

Table: 1

Theme-based presentation of research studies included in the conceptual review

Feminism	Ackerly & True, 2010; Allen, 2017; Aune & Holyoak, 2018; Banet-Weiser, 2018; Banet-Weiser, Gill & Rottenberg, 2020; Čakardić, 2017; Gill, 2016; Haraldsson & Wängnerud, 2019; Imam, Rahim & Raza, 2018; Karim & Azlan, 2019; Larrondo-Ureta, 2020; Litosseliti, Gill & Favaro, 2019; McGuirk, 2019; Okiriguo, 2016; Pande, 2018; Schuster, 2017; Windels et al., 2020;
Discourse Analysis	Berger, 2016; Carvalho, 2008; Haig, 2017; Lazar, 2007; O’Keeffe, 2015; Ramanathan & Hoon, 2015; Santoso, 2018; Sari, Putri, Herdi & Hamuddin, 2018; Sriwimon & Jimarkon, 2017;
Women’s Representation / Invisibility in Discourse of Politics	Adnan, Yousaf & Bilal Nawaz, 2019; Atchison, 2018; Bravo & Clark, 2019; Cvetkovic & Oostman, 2018; Howell & Singer, 2017; Johnson, 2017; Kinnard, 2016; Krijnen, 2020; Loke, Bachmann & Harp, 2017; Niemi & Pitkänen, 2017; Papagianni, 2020; Rahman, Eijaz & Ahmad, 2015; Ross, 2014; Sakha & Shah, 2019; Thomas, Harell, Rijkhoff & Gosselin, 2020; Windels, Champlin, Shelton, Sterbenk & Poteet, 2020;

Results

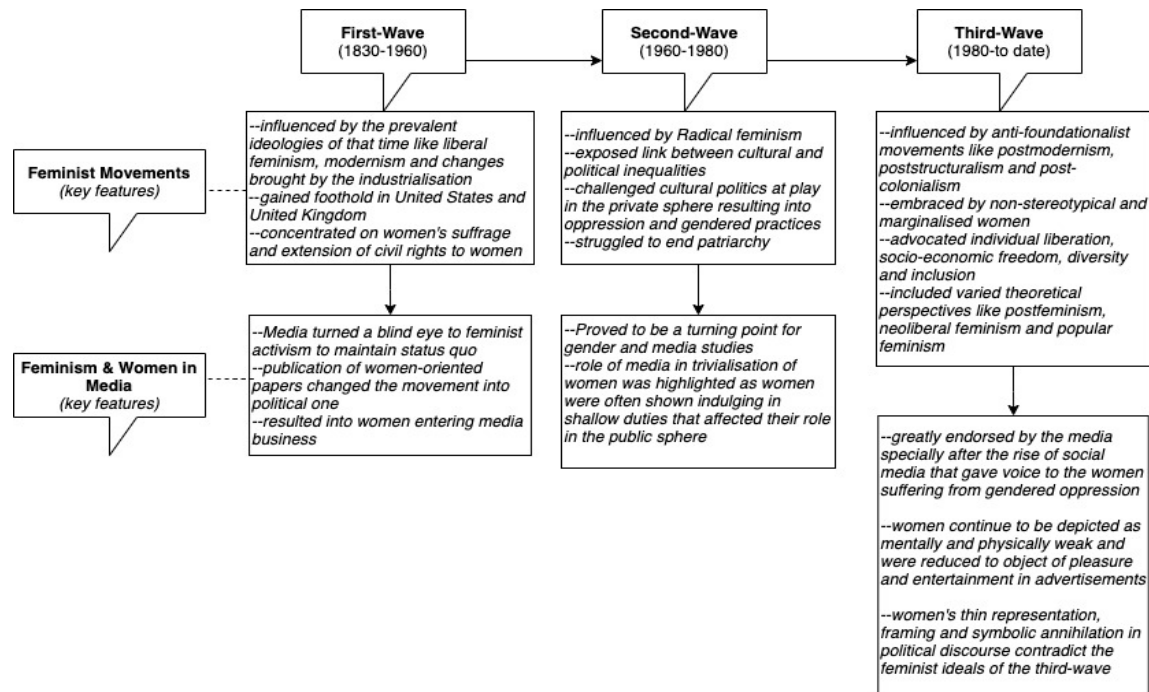


Figure 1: Feminism and Women's Representation in Media

Unequal distribution of power generates issues like gender inequality and invisibility of women in the key positions. Treatment meted out to women in patriarchal societies is also manifested in their representation by the media. Ross (2014) notes how women politicians in a progressive context like America face gendering and are treated differently due to 'framing' by means of culture that influences the overall representation of women politicians in the media. Another relevant notion used by Ross (2014) is 'symbolic annihilation' which refers to women's absence, trivialization and underrepresentation in the mass media. Her study analyzed how female politicians like Hilary Clinton and Sarah Palin were treated in the print media and concluded that the two were often addressed as 'mothers' – a frame used to infer how the two sought to win votes of women. Their emotions were exaggerated by the media in an attempt to question their credibility as future leaders. Studies conducted in Asian contexts like Thailand (Sriwimon & Jimarkon, 2017) and Indonesia (Santoso, 2018) also highlight trivialization of women by means of the media. The first female prime minister Yingluck Shinawatra was discursively constructed as a novice politician, the youngest sister of the former prime minister Thaksin, an inexperienced and incompetent politician in the print media (Sriwimon & Jimarkon, 2017). Whereas, in Indonesian politics, women are still perceived as less competent and subordinate to their male counterpart because of their traditional role in family context (Santoso, 2018).

There is a strong link between women's symbolic annihilation and their invisibility in media workforce and politics (Haraldsson & Wängnerud, 2019; Kassova, 2020). According to Barker-Plummer (2010), in pre-feminist news organizations in the USA, women were marginalized due to discriminatory policies of media houses. They were hired for less and were assigned fewer challenging tasks and softer issues. Moreover, there was no provision of maternity leave for pregnant journalists that often led them quit their work to raise a family. However, with the rise of feminist activism, many women journalists were able to connect their experiences with the voices raised and saw the movement as 'news' more quickly than their male counterpart (Barker-Plummer, 2010). Women's thin participation in news workforce is also linked to a popular notion terming news business essentially 'masculine' (Thomas et al., 2020). According to a study in the US context, it is revealed that women's research work in political science is rarely cited and included in syllabi and textbooks, leading to a misconception that 'women are not valid creators of knowledge in political science' (Atchison, 2018). American Association of News Editors revealed that newsrooms in the US have yet to allow diversity in their workforce by including more black people and women. Although, women constitute 40% of media workforce in the US newsrooms, men dominate when it comes to occupying top positions (Bravo & Clark, 2019).

All of the above comes down to women's minimal participation in political talk shows. Media organizations carefully select news experts seeking their contribution to framing, analysis and interpretation of newsworthy issues and women are often not trusted for the job. A study on Finnish media reveals women earning less and failing to obtain decision-making positions despite being more educated and hardworking than men in their society (Niemi & Pitkänen, 2017). Although Finland enjoys good ranking for press freedom and gender equality, women continue to remain invisible in news business as knowledge experts. This reflects an important social reality 'reinforcing women's lower social status than men' (Niemi & Pitkänen, 2017). UK is another example where women meet discrimination in news media discourse and are often underrepresented. On occasions where they appear as expert, they seem to lack confidence and are often hesitant in putting forth their argument forcefully in an attempt to align with societal expectations (Howell et al., 2017). Another study on women's participation in British news media (Karen Ross et al., 2018) states that women's input on political issues is not generally valued while older women are somewhat 'missing from the media scene'. Same is the case with the US women journalists who often complained about their marginalized position in the newsroom and about journalism as a 'male-constructed profession' (Cvetkovic & Oostman, 2018).

Media plays an important role in constructing women's identity in politics and also reflects how society views women in general. Situation for women journalists in different contexts reveal how women's marginalization in news media has become a global and political issue over time. In a conservative context like Pakistan, entering journalism for women is a challenge already as the field is considered more appropriate for men than women (Sakha & Shah, 2019). This shows an active role of society in producing and reproducing gendered practices. Like in other contexts, Pakistani women are featured less as political experts, enjoy lesser opportunities and insignificant duties in media houses (Adnan et al., 2019), receive lesser coverage and are often not shown as main contributors in crucial affairs of the country (Rahman et al., 2015).

Conclusions

This conceptual review brings out the position of women in discourse of politics amid the third-wave feminism and also exposes a stark contradiction between the ideals of feminist politics and women's representation in the media and discourse of politics. It is strongly observed that the women's marginalization in politics is not context-bound as their struggle for equal treatment and opportunities in progressive contexts like USA, UK and Finland is as real as it is in some Asian contexts like Thailand, Indonesia, Nepal and Pakistan. The defining features of the third-wave feminism like individuality, free choice,

personal & economic freedom and inclusion have failed to uplift women's position in a domain traditionally reserved and found appropriate for men. Women are subjected to framing, trivialization and symbolic annihilation due to the deep-seated patriarchy which also shows the relevance of the second-wave feminism coinciding with the third-wave in various contexts.

Recommendations

This study recommends the following:

1. To address women's underrepresentation and trivialization in discourse of politics, it is recommended that all stakeholders including men, women and media houses take necessary initiatives and work towards encouraging a society where women are valued for their potential and are given equal opportunities like their male counterpart.
2. More research studies are required on women's participation in political discourse to develop a public narrative in favor of their inclusion in crucial affairs of the state and society.

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