THE DEPICTION OF EXPERT WOMEN

IN CANADIAN NEWSPAPERS

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Akram Kangourimollahajlou, candidate for the degree of Master of Arts in Social Studies, has presented a thesis titled, *The Depiction of Expert Women in Canadian Newspapers*, in an oral examination held on August 31, 2017. The following committee members have found the thesis acceptable in form and content, and that the candidate demonstrated satisfactory knowledge of the subject material.

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Abstract

This study focuses on gender inequality in representations of “expert” women in the media. Existing scholarly literature has demonstrated that, in general, women are underrepresented or portrayed as objects or victims in the media. Very little of this literature has examined depictions of “expert” women. The research is guided by this question: How are “expert” women depicted in contemporary Canadian newspapers? The methodological framework of the research is a mixed-methods approach using discourse analysis as methodology and content analysis as the concrete method. The data were collected from all news pages of the National Post and the Globe and Mail. Content analysis data were chosen monthly from the first day of each month of the year 2015 for both newspapers. Data for discourse analysis were selected from all issues in November 2015, since the event of Justin Trudeau’s selection of a gender-equal cabinet occurred in this period of time, putting gender, representation, and expertise at the center of a national conversation.

Drawing upon the content analysis, I examined the hypothesis of the existence of gender inequality in both national newspapers. The findings confirm that there is gender disparity in newspapers’ representation. Studying news stories about Justin Trudeau’s selection of a gender-equal cabinet through discourse analysis helped to identify some particular discourses that reinforce and reproduce gender inequality—not only in the news stories but also in society more broadly.

Keywords: Gender, Women, Representation, Expertise, Discourse analysis, Content analysis.
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Dedication

To Asghar

For making a woman happy

Like a dancing child who feels the wet sand on the shore.
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CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

Due to the constant presence of the media products in everyday life and ever-increasing consumption of these products by audiences, the effect of the media on people is unavoidable. These effects can be investigated both at social and individual levels. At the micro level, through the different messages sent to audiences, the media have an impact on individuals’ cognition of the world. At the macro level, some feminist scholars have argued that sexism and gender inequality are (re)produced by the media. Following this idea, many studies have found that the media do not present men, women, LGBTQ people, and other minority social groups equally. Gender discrimination in society can be a result of the representation of women depicted in the media. Under-representing women and sexist representation are two main concerns regarding TV programs, magazines, newspapers, movies, and video games. Often, the media products depict women as victims or sexual objects. There are many studies about the portrayal of women (e.g. women as sex objects, women as infantile, etc.). Reviewing the research literature concerning gender representation in the media, I can categorize the studies into four main groups: gender and representation (Dill & Thill, 2007; Galdi, Maass & Cadinu, 2014; Gill, 2007; Graff, Murnen & Krause, 2013; Heflick & Goldenberg, 2014; Moradi & Huang, 2008), gender and identity (Gauntlett, 2008; Grabe, Ward & Hyde, 2008), feminism and media studies (Coleman, 2008), and gender inequalities (Fenton, 2009; Kahlor & Eastin, 2011).

1.1. Key Concepts

Throughout this thesis I will employ several key concepts to examine gender disparity in the media. Symbolic annihilation appears in forms of omission, condemnation, and trivialization of women in media. Self-objectification and internalization refer to the effect
of media messages on the audiences. *Cultivation* refers to the impact of exposure to media on recipients.

1.2. The Importance of the Research

There are many studies focused on how women are portrayed in specific media areas, such as sport (see for example, Franks & O’Neill, 2016; Galily, Cohen & Levy, 2015; Lisle, 2011; Ponterotto, 2014; Sartore & Cunningham, 2007; Walton, 2005) and politics (see Campbell & Childs, 2015; Campbell & Cowley, 2014; Lal, Ojha & Sabharwal, 2015; Liebler & Smith, 1997; Plumb, 2016; Sjoberg & Whooley, 2105). It remains challenging to find some works on the representation of “expert” women in media, particularly in Canada. According to Statistics Canada (2015), the rate of women’s involvement in the labour force increased from 1953 to 1990 by 1.4% per year, reaching 82 percent in comparison to 91 percent for men by 2014. It demonstrates that almost half (47%) of Canadian workforce is women. Also, the rate of educated women in Canada has increased as well. “Between 1991 and 2011, women accounted for 27% of the growth in the number of workers in university-level scientific occupations, but for 75% of the growth in the number of workers in university-level non-scientific occupations” (Statistic Canada, 2016, p.1). This brief information demonstrates how women make up a great portion of the Canadian workforce. It endorses the importance of study on the representation of expert women in media and makes doing such a study timely and significant.

According to Cranney and Medovarski (2006), in many countries and cultures, women are disproportionately responsible for domestic and caregiving work. This wording acknowledges the trend while avoiding universalization of all times and places; women’s employment is the matter of time and space. According to Statistics Canada (2010), women
compared to men, generally do more unpaid work inside and outside the home. Examples of unpaid work at home include taking care of children, everyday domestic chores, and caring of seniors and unpaid work. Outside the home, women spend more time on average performing volunteer work. In these forms of unpaid work women, spend more time than men (Statistic Canada, 2010).

The contribution of expert women is often covered by misrepresentation and makes the existing inequality invisible. On the one hand, women deal with different barriers in proving their skills and abilities in the workplace. On the other hand, even when they are supposedly more visible and “equal” in society – such as the gender-equal cabinet – at the same time their expertise and contributions, and ongoing inequality, are still often invisible. The importance of this study is that it is not only focuses on examination of simple representation in the form of equal numbers but make a comparison between the media representation and the real world. The study supports the idea that simple representation, in the form of equal numbers, does not necessarily address substantial/structural inequality.

Regarding gender inequality it worthy to mention how women’s life is tied to the binary of public/ private. The public sphere, the world of politics, economics, etc., is a masculinised sphere which makes women’s contribution to the society difficult. Nancy Fraser (1990), in her article regarding the notion of public sphere, explains how the public is a male-dominated sphere and feminism had brought open debates about women’s issues to the public. She brings the example of domestic violence and describes how it was challenging for feminists to overcome the male-dominated approach and convince the public that domestic violence was not a private issue and needed public concerns. As a result, “the
interplay between women’s work and family and public policies” confirms that patriarchal system is still alive and it makes many barriers on the way of gender equality.

The current representation of women in media has the power to reinforce the existing inequalities in society in Canada and reminds us of the importance of continuing research on gender inequalities. In this work, I study gender inequality in media, specifically regarding the consultation of “experts” in Canadian newspapers.

1.3. Research Questions and Goals

The research will mainly focus on how, and to what extent, women compared to men are consulted as “experts” in media, and on what topics. How often are women and men interviewed as experts in Canadian newspapers? To what extent are they quoted? How are they addressed? Do media play a role in the reproduction of gender inequality for “expert” women and, if so, how? The research is guided by three main questions:

- How are “expert” women depicted in contemporary Canadian newspapers?

- To what extent are women compared to men interviewed by media as “experts” in their field?

- Do the topics on which “expert” men and women speak vary by gender? If so, do these trends reflect or challenge gender-stereotyped subject matter?

This study is an effort to empirically examine the existence (or not) of gender inequality in the representation of “expert” women in media using a mixed-methods approach that combines discourse and content analysis methods. Another aim of this study is to investigate what social discourses are effective in diminishing or reproducing gender disparity in the society.
“Experts” are known for their experience, titles and degrees along with acclamation by other experts (Weiss & Shanteau, 2003). People with practice-based knowledge (Jaffe, 2016) “have a great deal of knowledge or experience in a particular area, despite a lack of formal training or professional certification” (Cornwell & Cornwell, 2008, p. 856). The professional “experts” who have been trained to gain specialized knowledge and credentials (Cornwell & Cornwell, 2008) are the subjects of this study. I focused on formally recognized experts with expertise in some specific forms of knowledge (e.g., academics, scientists, business elite), which are supported by dominant discourse. The aim of this study is to explore the relationships of power through the dominant discourse of “expertise” and examine the functioning of gender dynamics through this dominant discourse. For this purpose, the term “expert” is placed initially in quotations to emphasize on that this word is not neutral and it contains the expertise discourse’s values.

1.4. Outline of Chapters

The next chapter, Chapter 2 (Literature Review), explores different studies on representation of women in media and the effects of media content on its audiences, with particular focus on women. The chapter has three main parts: firstly, a brief review of primary studies of women and representation, then, an exploration of studies with a focus on representation of expert women and leadership roles in media, and finally a description of cultivation theory and its extension for different types of media and the impact of representation on the perception of audiences towards social role models.
Chapter 3, Methodology, reviews content analysis and discourse analysis methods and discusses their differences within pluralistic methodology. Content analysis, a quantitative method, and discourse analysis, a qualitative method, both focus on text as a unit of analysis. In this research, content analysis is applied to gather quantitative data and discourse analysis provides a qualitative interpretation of the discourse. The key framework for doing discourse analysis is Norman Fairclough’s (1992) critical discourse analysis approach. His approach to discourse analysis is an efficient tool for studying social inequality, particularly in the context of media. The chapter finishes by describing the sampling process for both methods and the data coding approach for content analysis.

Chapter 4, results and findings chapter, contains two different parts: first, the descriptive level of discourse analysis for four selected articles with Fairclough’s critical discourse analysis; second, the tables and graphs that illustrate the result of content analysis on the articles of two Canadian newspapers. Chapter 5, Discussion, provides an interpretation of the discourse and content analysis results. The discourse analysis focuses on important discourses hidden in the texts. For content analysis, the discussion is about the quantity of consulted women compared to men in the frame of numbers and tables. Through an integration of the two methods, I identify and discuss three key themes from the data: (1) implications of the general under-representation of expert women in Canadian newspapers; (2) the particularly notable under-representation of women in business stories; and (3) the question of why women journalists do not consult women experts more frequently than men journalists do. The thesis concludes with a summary of the literature and this study. The Conclusion contains the final discussion about the issue and is useful
for presenting a better understanding of gender debates in context of media drawing on empirical data from the *National Post* and the *Globe and Mail*. 
CHAPTER TWO: Literature Review

Representation of Women in Media

Because I am a woman, I must make unusual efforts to succeed. If I fail, no one will say, 'She doesn't have what it takes.' They will say, 'Women don't have what it takes.'

- Clare Boothe Luce

Media is one the most influential cultural carriers in society and has the ability to shape societal and cultural norms while also mirroring them (Campus, 2013; Cukier et al. 2016; Gauntlett, 2008; Gill, 2007; Trimble, 2007). Many scholars believe that the most important function of media is its ability to construct and organize the world for its recipients (Bryant & Zillmann, 1993). Among different mass communication sources, newspapers are very important. The importance of newspapers is rooted in their daily interaction with audiences and their claim to show the “real world”. Bernard C. Cohen (1963) argued that, “the press... may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling readers what to think about” (p. 13). In recent years there has been a transformation in media industries from printed to digital format, but this has not had a significant impact on the content or consumption of news in traditional media (Mitchelstien & Bozkowski, 2010). In addition, the online newspapers and printed newspapers are empowering each other as the audience’s access has increased globally, nationally, and locally (Skogerbo & Winsvold, 2011). Therefore, newspapers’ ability to spread information makes them a major avenue for the reproduction of gender ideologies and discourses (Stanely, 2012). The combined influence of newspapers in
shaping ideas and the significance of gender equality issues in social life suggest the importance of studying representation of women in newspapers.

This chapter provides an overview of different studies on representation of women in media and the effects of media content on recipients, particularly women. It is divided into three main sections: early work on women and representation, feminist studies on representation of women’s expertise and leadership roles in media, and finally the explanation of cultivation theory and its extension for different types of media and the impact of representation on the perception of audiences towards social role models.

2.1. Key Concepts of Women’s Representation in Media

Although there has been significant progress in the depiction of women in media (Gauntlett, 2008), since Tuchman (1978) first studied the representation of women in media, there is still a noticeable difference in representation of men and women in media. Across different forms of media, under-representation and sexualization of women are well established (Dill & Thill, 2007; Galdi, Maass & Cadinu, 2014; Gill, 2007; Goffman, 1997). The difference between the male and female representation can be identified in two aspects: in interpersonal roles, women are represented as subordinate people who are characterized by emotion and dependency while men are represented as independent, strong, and reasonable personalities. In social roles, women are depicted in passive roles in the background and enact domestic or family-related roles while, in contrast, men frequently perform roles related to paid or “productive” work (Attenborough, 2011; Bartsch et al., 2000; Lauzen et al., 2008; Marcellus, 2006; Roller, 2013).
One of the fundamental works about the image of women in media is Gaye Tuchman’s 1978 text *Heart and Home*, in which she discusses the invisibility of women in media as symbolic annihilation. The concept of symbolic annihilation is applicable to media products that exclude or ignore specific social groups. Such invisibility includes the under-representation or non-representation of women in decision-making roles in society (Hetsroni & Lownstien, 2014). The invisibility of women in media carries the message to young girls and women that women’s ideas or experiences are not important (Aulette & Wittner 2012; Tuchman et al., 1978). Symbolic annihilation occurs in three different forms: *Omission, Condemnation*, and *Trivialization*.

**Omission** means refraining altogether from featuring women in media (Gill, 2007; Hetsroni and Lownstien, 2014). The Global Media Monitoring Project (GGMP) tracks women’s representation in news media among 114 countries (GMMP, 2015). The project is guided by indicators that present different factors regarding gender issues, such as the presence of women, gender bias, and stereotypes. The data have been collected every five years since 1995. Based on GMMP (2015) report, in Canadian media between 2010 and 2015, women were mostly represented in social and legal stories (40%), followed by celebrity, arts, media and sport (31%), and science and health (28%). Men, in contrast, were present six times more often than women in stories about politics and government (88%), five times more frequently in economic news (84%), and more than three times as often in stories about crime and violence (78%). The report argues that women are not depicted as they are in the “real world” (GMM, 2015).

**Condemnation** means presenting women in different roles and jobs as affective or emotional characters, which in turn are seen as inferior to male characters (Tuchman et al.,
Marcellus (2006) explains how secretaries in American magazines during the 1920s and 1930s, because of working with type machines, were depicted as sexualized machines and their independence was neutralized; their domestic roles were emphasized. There has been progress over time in how women are represented but Tuchman’s observations are still relevant because representation problems with respect to condemnation continue to exist (Heflick & Goldenberg, 2014; Hoxha, 2016; Moradi & Huang, 2008; Ward, 2003). For example, in Hoxha’s (2016) work, two main discourses are identified that represent women in Albanian media. Hoxha (2016) found that Albanian media used the existing stereotypes of women and strengthened them. The major realm of women’s representation was depicting them as a victim or relationally (i.e., as somebody’s wife or relative). In all images, women were portrayed as dependent and immature (Hoxha, 2016).

**Trivialization** is the portrayal of women as child-like and in need of support (Tuchman et al., 1978). Graff, Murnen and Krause (2013) identify an increasing amount of sexualizing characteristics (e.g., low-cut shirts and high-heeled shoes) and child-like characteristics (e.g., polka-dot print, Mary-Jane style shoes) in *Seventeen* and *Girls’ Life magazines* during the 1970s and 2000s. These magazines are good examples of trivialization and encourage young girls to have dependent and immature characters. In addition, many studies reveal that media, as one of the main tools for shaping people’s beliefs and attitudes, can shape women’s approach towards themselves and even other women (Huntemann, 2015).

### 2.2. Material Consequences of Gendered Media

There are some studies that investigate the gendered nature of printed media content (Darian-Smith, 2016; Devitt, 2002; Ross, 2007, Shor et al., 2015) and some studies
particularly address the link between representation and people’s behavior towards women. For instance, many studies suggest that there is a relationship between watching violent programs on television and aggressive behaviors towards women (Kahlor & Eastin, 2011; Galdi, Maass & Cadinu, 2013). Kahlor and Eastin (2011) argue that the consumption of violent television content is significantly related to acceptance of the rape myth\(^1\). They argue that media can cause women to believe in their subordination and men to believe in their domination and consequently. By watching violence against women on television, people find rape or any other aggressive behaviors towards women natural and normal. Kahlor and Eastin (2011) also indicate that objectification of women is a result of the internalization of subordination. Based on Heflick and Goldenberg (2014), research on objectification can be categorized into two following themes: first, early research on objectification was a direct response to the issue of the gaze on women’s body and appearance; later, research has focused on perceptual consequences of objectification, i.e., how focusing on women’s physical appearance “causes women to be perceived like, and act like objects lacking mind” (Heflick & Goldenberg, 2014, p. 225). The latter tradition is called literal objectification.

Fischer and colleagues (2011) conducted a meta-analytic review on the effect of risk-glorifying media exposure on risk-positive cognitions, emotions, and behaviors. Media exposure has an influence on audiences’ opinions, emotions, and behaviors in different areas such as changes in political standpoint, stereotype-shaping, and even learning

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\(^1\) Rape myth implies women fabricate rape when they regret sexual activity after the fact, and that women who claim rape are promiscuous, have bad reputations and dress provocatively (Kahlor & Eastin, 2011, p. 216).
aggressive responses (Fischer et al., 2011; Gerbner & Gross, 1976; Hetsroni, 2011). Fischer et al. (2011) also revealed that admiring risk in the media is significantly related to the spread of risk-taking behaviors, risk-positive cognitions, and risk-promoting feeling people in real life. Concisely put, media exposure affects individuals’ behavior and shapes their perceptions of reality.

According to the work of Galdi et al. (2013), there is a fundamental association between objectifying television and harassment. Their findings suggest that humiliating pictures of women plays a considerable role in both gender harassment and sexual oppression intentions, and gradually make them natural to the audience. In other words, objectifying television’s products give the impression that gender harassment is normal; moreover, the authors point out that an increase in aggressive behaviours toward women is an outcome of mass media (Galdi et al., 2013).

2.2.1. Self-objectification

It is almost impossible to find a woman who does not have the experience of being gazed at by men. That is, women frequently have the experience of a male gaze on their bodies. Women gradually, and socially, learn to observe their bodies through other people’s eyes and therefore to internalize others’ expectations consciously or unconsciously. Self-objectification is another aspect of objectification, which can be recognized as the female gaze turned toward herself. Some scholars have argued that the act of internalizing others’ gazes—self-objectification—can initiate problems for women, predominantly for young girls (Fardouly et al., 2015; Fox et al., 2013; Rollero, 2013). Body control and surveillance is an evident result of internalizing of others’ gazes on one’s body (Moradi & Huang, 2008). The process of internalizing others’ expectations is reinforced by media. For example, the
increase in depiction of a thin ideal in media can be recognized as an expectation of society, which may cause women to equate being thin with being attractive (Dohnt & Tiggemann, 2006; Gill, 2009; Slater & Tiggemann, 2016). Scholars have noted the negative effects of self-objectification on women’s mental health (Moradi & Huang, 2008; Fardouly et al., 2015).

2.3. Representation of Women’s Expertise and Leadership

The number of women in top positions and decision-making roles has increased over time. There are many studies that explore the media’s representation of high profile women, particularly in politics (Campbell & Childs, 2015; Campbell & Cowley, 2014; Childs, 2006; Lal, Ojha & Sabharwal, 2015; Plumb, 2016; Sjoberg & Whooley, 2015). In general, these studies show that women are less likely to be depicted as leaders or experts and when they are presented in media, they often are treated like celebrities with less acknowledgment of their expertise and abilities as politicians. Studies of representation of women as experts in other areas, such as science, art, health, and culture, show the same findings as representation of women in politics (Freedman & Fico, 2005; GMMP, 2005, 2010; Ross, 1995).

In other expertise fields, women are under-represented in their field of expertise and sometimes their personal life or their appearance is considered more than their skills. Hetsonni and Lownstien (2014) conducted research on the gender differences in representation of experts in television talk shows to explore how gender stereotypes affect “expert” women. The study directly observed eight of the most successful US talk shows from the mid-1990s. The results reveal that, regardless of women’s expertise area, expert women who attend talk shows are treated in a similar way as movie stars; that is, their
appearance and their personal life stories are more important than their expertise (Hetsroni & Lownstien, 2014). Moreover, the researchers found that men experts were more likely to consult about “security, politics, and economy and less likely to give advice on beauty, fashion, and child care” than women (Hetsroni & Lownstien, 2014, p. 378).

Carlin and Winfrey (2009) in their analysis of media coverage of Senator Hillary Clinton’s campaign for the Democratic nomination for president and Governor Sarah Palin’s campaign for vice president reveals that sexism toward politician women is still alive. According to Kanter (1977), four common stereotypes of professional women can be identified: seductress or sex object, mother, pet, and iron maiden” (Carlin & Winfrey, 2009, p.327). In the case of Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin, the media coverage was larger than the category of representation as a sex object; both candidates are portrayed by sidestepping qualifications. “Palin’s attractiveness resulted in frequent and varied references to her ‘‘sexiness’’; whereas, Clinton was viewed as not feminine enough in pantsuits that covered her ‘‘cankles’’ (thick ankles)” (Carlin & Winfrey, 2009, p.330). Carlin and Winfrey (2009) admit that describing women in stereotypical terms, mostly in sexist terms, make them less reliable in the public and even “may cause them to be seen as less human” (p.327).

A few articles have investigated the representation of expert women in media (see for example Collaway, 2010; Desmond & Danilewicz, 2009; Ross & Carter, 2011). Cukier and colleagues (2016) conducted a study about the substantive representation of women in leadership roles in Canadian broadcast news. Substantive representation is the tendency of selected politicians to support policies which are aligned with their party affiliations. The
authors discuss the “backwards and in high heels2” phenomenon, i.e., that women in high profile positions must work harder than men to achieve the same level of accomplishment. Moreover, they are simultaneously expected to be “nice” and “good looking”. This is more critical for women in political positions because “power is heavily influenced by their personal image, brand and appearance” (Cukier et al., 2016, p. 375). However, these expectations do not apply only to women in top positions. Rosalind Gill, in her 2007 book Gender and the Media, discusses how women reporters deal with a double standard: they are expected to perform in their job as well as a man does while, at the same time, they may be expected to use sexuality or perform emphasized femininity to “get the stories” that men cannot.

Many studies in the U.S. have found that there is a tendency in news programming to depict men more frequently than women as “experts” and leaders. Also, “in news broadcasts, men mostly report ‘hard’ topics such as politics, technology, and global issues, while women frequently report ‘soft’ subjects such as lifestyle and culture” (Cukier et al., 2016). According to GMMP (2015), women are the central focus in 36% of news stories related to celebrity, arts, media, and sport. In subjects of science and technology, women are the focus 33% of the time. Further, 26% of stories on social/legal issues and 27% of crime/violence content focused centrally on women. Only 4% of “air time” in economic stories belonged to women. GMMP (2015) results also reveal that women are not seen in

2 American cartoonist Robert Thaves, in his comic strip book Frank and Ernest (1982), wrote about Fred Astaire as a film star and graceful dancer: “Sure he was great, but don’t forget Ginger Rogers did everything he did backwards...and in high heels!”
stories with the subject of politics and government properly and it reflects the lack of their representation in these areas (Sikka, 2015).

Women have less opportunity to perform as leaders or experts and are less likely to hold news host or anchor positions as well (Bystrom et al., 2001; Cukier et al., 2016; Ross & Carter, 2011). Women who are guests on broadcast news are more likely than men to be quoted off-screen and their contribution is often paraphrased (Cukier et al., 2016). As a result, Cukier and colleagues (2016) in their analysis reveals that women not only are under-represented generally in news broadcasts but also in having key roles and platforms. They also add that female politicians are frequently infantilized by reference to their first names (e.g. Hillary Clinton and Olivia Chow) and their contributions trivialized by news media because their appearance and dress become the centre of attention (Cukier et al., 2016).

2.4. Theoretical Framework: Cultivation Effects

Media can be considered one of the main sources of internalization of social and cultural norms. The process of internalization of social norms through the media can be explained by cultivation theory, developed by Gerbner and Gross (1976) on the topic of television. Cultivation theory’s foundation is the assumption that television content misrepresents social reality systematically (Arendt, 2010). For example, “people who belong to powerful societal sectors (e.g. rich people, men) not only appear in the media more frequently, but are also portrayed as more reasonable and more rational than persons of weaker strata” (Hetsroni & Lownstien, 2014, p. 377). Some specific occupations such as doctors, police officers, or businessmen are frequently presented in media content more than in the social body. Even in the news sections, news is presented in an attractive manner instead of an informative way. This means distortion of reality to entertain viewers, which
can twist their opinion of societal life. As a result, we live and learn “in a symbolic environment in which certain types of institutions with certain types of objectives create certain types of messages, tends to cultivate (support, sustain, and nourish) certain types of collective consciousness” (Morgan & Shanahan, 2010, p. 339). Many studies have focused on the effects of mass media on audiences (Arendt, 2010; Bauer, 2005; Grabe & Drew, 2007; Brown, et.al, 2006).

Cultivation analysis explores the relationship between television viewing and audiences’ perceptions of social reality. A central tenet of this theory is that viewers perceive the dominant depictions in television content as a true reflection of social “reality” (Morgan & Shanahan, 2010). In other words, viewers feel, understand, and integrate the various aspects of “reality” based on what they watch on television. Cultivation theory argues that exposure to mass media produces a distorted reality for audiences.

2.4.2. Theoretical Extension of Cultivation

Although Gerbner and Gross’s initial effort was to investigate cultivation effects of television content, the idea has been developed further for different types of media. The effects of mass media are not limited to the perception of life for recipients and there are several areas that scholars try to explore regarding the cultivation effects of media. Since cultivation theory posits that “different media realms should have different cultivation effects” (Arendt, 2010, p. 148), it leads us to accept the hypothesis that news media are correspondingly able to produce specific cultivation effects as well. One of the most obvious effects on media recipients is a distorted understanding of the real world, or fantasizing world, which does not match with the real world. Examples of cultivation theory
at work include Chung’s (2014) investigation how viewers of medical dramas tend to overestimate a chronic illness such as cancer for themselves.

Lee and Niederdeppe (2011) also found a significant association with watching medical programs and health concerns in viewers. It means the viewers of medical programs in television have a tendency to find symptoms of diseases in their bodies. The effect of mass media on body dissatisfaction and disordered eating is another effect of exposure to mass media (Moradi & Huang, 2008; Levin & Murnen, 2009; Tiggemann, 2003; Ward & Hyde, 2008). Brown (2002) showed that portrayals of sexuality affect sexual belief or behavior and even relationship norms. And, there are many studies about the connection between watching violence on television and aggressive behaviors of viewers (Behm-Morawitz & Mastro, 2009; Hetsroni, 2011).

2.4.3. Social role models

Socialization begins at an early age and the media play an important role in shaping young people’s identities and personalities. Feminist scholars and activists express concern about the lack of social role models in the media for the next generation of women. Lack of female role models, from those attempting to climb higher on the academic ladder to those becoming successful business women, can be a cause of women’s unfulfillment in their social lives (Hetsroni & Lownstien, 2014).

The overwhelming tendency for the media to focus on women’s physical characteristics instead of their knowledge has implications for role modelling. Women are more likely to be represented in entertainment genres instead of in real-world roles. Linda Trimble (2007) studied the visibility of women political leaders through the Globe and Mail coverage of women in the Conservative Party of Canada. Trimble argues that women are

Trimble (2007) presents evidence that female politicians, indeed, become more visible than male politicians in media. She explains that their existence as experts in a male-dominant field like politics makes them unusual, and the uniqueness of this phenomenon becomes a cause of increased attention. In other words, when a woman is depicted as a candidate for politics, the gender difference becomes a crucial point for the new stories. This happens because the novelty of being the first woman to compete for a masculine role is an interesting topic for the front page of newspapers (Trimble, 2007). As coverage of Kim Campbell demonstrated, when a woman as a leadership candidate is known and introduced as the first woman to have an opportunity for a high position job, the novelty of her achievement attracts attention. However, women are still represented in gendered ways: “Belinda Stronach’s extraordinary visibility during the 2004 leadership contest confirms the importance of news values other than the capacity to win. In this context, gender-based difference did heighten media attention, albeit in a manner that situated Stronach outside the game by referencing her appearance and family life” (Trimble, 2007, p. 990).

The example of Belinda Stronach confirms the idea that if a woman is shown in media news her personal life and physical appearance are emphasized over her expertise. That is to say, “if news media fail to report the views of women judges, women parliamentarians, or women business leaders, but always report on violent crimes against women, then it is hardly surprising that the public fail to realize that women do in fact occupy significant
roles in society” (Byerly & Ross, 2006, p. 40). By cultivating the dominant portrayal of them in media, women and girls may internalize the idea that they cannot be independent professionals and experts. For example, Hetsroni and Lownstein (2014) discuss the hidden cultivation effects on women because of their exposure to the media’s depictions. They suggest the notion of *skirt syndrome* as a tendency among female scholars to stay away from masculine knowledge domains such as business and engineering to avoid personal mockery and criticism.

### 2.5. Conclusion

Although a wide range of studies have been done on gender portrayals in media over the past few decades, the depiction of women in media remains problematic. Women are still portrayed mostly as sexual objects, victims, nurturers, or even immature and dependent personalities in media. Feminist analysis has demonstrated that shifting from the representation of women as passive victims and sexual objects to real individuals with strengths and weaknesses is beneficial. Accordingly, the existing stereotypes of women, as one of the major sources of gender inequality, can be identified in media and replaced by more realistic depiction of them. The subject of gender inequality in major topics such as politics, public policies, legal issues, business and investment, and science and technology in many forms of media are rarely discussed. Even when women are represented in positions of power, media still highlight the personal life and appearance of female politicians, CEOs, professional, and expert women, instead of focusing on their achievements and potential. Misrepresentation or under-representation of expert women, as well as over-representation of women in domestic and victimized roles in media, could restrict the image of women as social role models. As a result, the distorted depiction of
women in media can be a cause of women’s and particularly young girls’ unrealistic images of themselves. Cultivation effects explain how media’s messages are absorbed by recipients and how they are gradually internalized as audiences’ social and cultural beliefs.
CHAPTER THREE: Methodology

Content and Discourse Analysis

3.1. Introduction

To find the most reliable and valid method for a study is a challenging task for every researcher. There are many discussions about the superiority of one method over others; for example, the methodological “paradigm wars” of the 1980s saw the rise of interpretivist and qualitative research approaches to effectively challenge the previously dominant positivist-quantitative paradigm (Alise & Teddie, 2010; Biddle & Schafft, 2014; Matthias, 2012). Methodological pluralism and mixed-methods research have since emerged as a middle-way, providing a framework for the researcher to have the benefits of both quantitative and qualitative methods at the same time.

The choice of methodology and method is often guided by the researcher’s ontological and epistemological perspectives (Garner, et.al, 2009). Ontology allows the researcher to make hypotheses or to raise questions about the topic. Each approach toward the inquiry defines a different method. For instance, in quantitative methods, the researcher can make hypotheses and test them by statistical analysis. On the other hand, for qualitative data, the researcher should find an answer to the research questions by referring to the texts or discourses. This chapter reviews the two methods used in this study—content analysis and discourse analysis—and discusses their compatibility within a methodologically pluralistic framework. Content analysis, a quantitative method, and discourse analysis, a qualitative method, both focus on text as a unit of analysis. In this study, content analysis was used to examine the quantitative data, and discourse analysis provides an interpretation
of the qualitative data. This study employs Norman Fairclough’s critical discourse analysis method. His attitude toward discourse analysis (1992) fits with the study of social inequality in media. Considering the function of language in interpretation of discursive phenomena is practical and helps to gain a better understanding of gender inequality in printed media such as newspapers.

3.2. Content Analysis

Media studies literature indicates that content analysis is an adequate method for describing textual data and summarizing them in numbers and graphs (Feltham-King & Macleod, 2016). Content analysis provides visual images and numerical results, which are reliable and easy to understand. One of the main purposes of content analysis is testing whether media have some characteristics that might impact users’ point of view and behaviors, either negatively or positively (Collins, 2011). White and Marsh (2004) define content analysis as “a research technique for making replicable and valid inference from the text (or other meaningful matter) to the context of their use” (p. 23). Content analysis is only the study of the text; it does not directly investigate the relations between text and its context, the purpose of the author, or effects on the potential recipients (Hardy et al., 2004).

Content analysis has been used in a wide range of research. For instance, Graff, Murnen and Krause (2013) used content analysis to study changes in the frequency of sexualizing characteristics (e.g., low-cut shirts and high-heeled shoes) and childlike characteristics (e.g., polka-dot print, Mary-Jane style shoes) which are presented in the depictions of girls in the magazines Seventeen and Girls’ Life. Their proposal was that women are underrepresented in contrast with men in media, and when women are represented, they are frequently presented in a sexualized or childlike way (Graff et al.,
2013). Using content analysis, the authors showed that depictions of women and girls are sexualized in both magazines, that this sexualization is increasing over time, and that this might limit girls’ self-definition. Another example of gender research using content analysis is Desmond and Danilewicz’s (2010) work on the portrayal of women in local television news. They investigated 580 news stories in the top three local television news programs in North-eastern U.S. for two weeks. The content analysis determined that female reporters often present stories related to humanity and health while male reporters are more likely to present political news (Desmond & Danilewicz, 2010).

3.2.1. Content analysis steps

In The Content Analysis Guidebook, Neuendorf (2002) categorizes common approaches to content analysis, such as: descriptive, inferential, psychometric, and predictive. As a method of textual analysis, content analysis “is characterized by a concern with being objective, systematic, and quantitative” (Kassarjian, 1977, p. 9). Here, objectivity means to define each category precisely in a way that different analysts or coders obtain the same result (Kassarjian, 1977). Systematization means that the inclusion and exclusion of content or analysis categories is based on clear rules (Holsti, 1969; Kassarjian, 1977). Quantification is the most distinctive requirement of content analysis and it means the results of content analysis are susceptible to statistical methods (Hardy et.al, 2004; Kassarjian, 1977).

The first step in doing content analysis with Neuendorf’s approach is to formulate a hypothesis, which Neuendorf defines as “a statement of an expectation about empirical reality, based on a clear theoretic rationale or on prior evidence” (2002, p. 107). In other words, a hypothesis predicts a relationship among two or more variables in the study.
Therefore, in the process of writing hypotheses each variable must be carefully defined until they indicate the concepts of research precisely. The act of defining variables can be done through the process of coding. Krippendorf & Bork remind us that “testing the reliability of coding instructions before using them to generate the data for a research project is essential” (2009, p. 352).

Statistical analysis is a suitable method for examining hypotheses. There are two forms of statistical tests: descriptive and inferential (Babbie, 2010; Bryman & Bell, 2016; Neuendorf, 2002). Descriptive statistics refers to the description of the features of a sample or the relationship among variables in a sample (Babbie, 2010; Bryman & Bell, 2016; Neuendorf, 2002). It also summarizes the data set with tables and graphs. Inferential statistics presents the statistical measures applied for making inferences from results upon sample observations to a larger population (Babbie, 2010; Bryman & Bell, 2016; Neuendorf, 2002).

According to White and Marsh (2006), content analysis data can be summarized by the following steps:

1. Establish hypothesis or hypotheses;
2. Identify appropriate data (text or other communicative objects);
3. Verify sampling method and sampling unit;
4. Draw sample;
5. Establish data collection unit and unit of analysis in which the chance of each unit in the population being selected is equal;
6. Establish coding scheme that allows for testing hypothesis through operationalization of concepts. It also “should have clear definitions, easy to follow instructions and unambiguous examples” (White & Marsh, 2006, p. 32);

7. Code data;

8. Check for reliability of coding and adjust coding process if necessary;

9. Analyze coded data, applying appropriate statistical test(s); this includes summarizing the finding, identifying and articulating the patterns and relationships among the findings;

10. Write up results.

3.3. Discourse Analysis

According to Gee (1999), language is not only a communication tool; it also carries social practices, identities, and cultures. Gee (1999) distinguishes between the words “discourse” and “Discourse”. The former refers to “language-in-use” through social actions, while by the latter is the social and cultural context that influences individuals’ lives. Discourse analysis is not just a method, but also can be considered a methodology (Wood & Kroger, 2001): “Discourse analysis is a methodology to study social phenomena which is qualitative, interpretive, and constructionist” (Hardy et.al, 2004).

One of the main assumptions of doing discourse analysis is that discourse is not separate from its broader context; therefore, since the beginning of the study, the researcher should consider the social and historical context of discourses. Fierke (2004) uses an interesting example of “a tree branch” to clarify the relationship between text and context. She explains that a tree branch, aside from being part of a tree, can be used as a chair or a beam in the structure of a house, or even as a totem for religious aims. In all shapes,
objectively, they are still wood and come from a tree, but they are in different context and therefore they have different meanings. Totem carries out a religious meaning while chair means something for sitting. Similarly, however, texts are created by words but in different context they have different messages and meaning.

Discourse should be considered both textually and contextually (Ruiz, 2009; Fierke, 2004). To this purpose, there are three levels of analysis: textual analysis, contextual analysis, and interpretation. This process should be performed in a circular manner rather than linear. In other words, the researcher considers these three levels simultaneously and none of these levels have any priority over the others. Ruiz’s (2009) summary of the procedure of running these three levels of analysis is presented below in Table 1.

Discourse contains two main components: articulation and interpellation. Articulation is the practice of creating meaning and then tracking the “connection of these meanings to institutions and social relations” (Weldes & Laffey, 2004). Interpellation refers to a “dual process whereby subject-positions are created” and then, the naturalization power relations involved in the created identity (Weldes & Laffey, 2004). Both practices can be investigated by a series of analytical steps. Articulation can be found by looking for main signifying elements of the discourse in text. For instance, the terrorism discourse can be identified with concepts such as violence, politics, and even Islamic fundamentalism. A deeper investigation of articulation may lead to discovery of the institutional power, which supports a specific discourse. The crucial functionality of interpellation is “the discovery of the subject positions-identities of subjects and objects and their position relative to others-constructed in discourse” (Wekles & Laffey, 2004, p. 29).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Analysis</th>
<th>View of Discourse</th>
<th>Level of Analysis</th>
<th>Methods of Analysis</th>
<th>Objective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Textual analysis</strong></td>
<td>As object</td>
<td>Utterance Level</td>
<td>Content analysis, semiotic analysis (structural and formal)</td>
<td>Characterization of discourse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Contextual analysis</strong></td>
<td>As singular event</td>
<td>Enunciation level</td>
<td>Frame analysis, analysis of discourse positions, conversation analysis, intertextual analysis</td>
<td>Understanding discourse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sociological interpretation</strong></td>
<td>As information ideology and social product</td>
<td>Social level</td>
<td>Inductive inference, Abductive inference (Sociological)</td>
<td>Explanation of discourse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Summary of levels and procedures of Discourse Analysis (adapted from Ruiz, 2009, p. 18)
3.3.2. **Approaches to discourse analysis**

In his book *Discourse and Social Change*, Norman Fairclough (1992) identifies two different approaches toward discourse analysis. The first is *non-critical discourse analysis*, which simply describes discourse practices. The second, *critical discourse analysis*, posits that discourse is not “natural”; therefore, discourse analysts seek the hidden aspects of discourse. Political conflicts and social injustice matters are frequently underlying the texts studied by discourse analysts (Bryman & Bell, 2016; Fairclough, 1992). Critical discourse analysis focuses on relations of power, ideologies, and beliefs. It examines “transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control manifested in language” (Wodak & Meyer, 2008, p. 10). The goal of the critical approach is to critically examine social inequality as it is naturalized and legitimized by language use (Wodak & Meyer, 2008).

The research question and the nature of the research define what type of approach is the most suitable for the project. Fairclough (1992) identified a range of approaches to discourse analysis: linguistic (study of how language works in text) (e.g., Fowler et al, 1979, Fairclough, 1992), Ethnomethodological (focuses on conversation analysis, e.g., Labov & Fanshel, 1977), Althusserian (considering the theory of ideology), Gramscian (applying the theory of hegemony), semiotic (framework for considering the non-verbal aspects of text, e.g., Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996), social constructionist, psychoanalytic (e.g., Potter & Wetherell, 1987), poststructuralist variations (textually oriented discourse analysis, e.g., Foucault’s archaeology of knowledge, 1972).

Each perspective has distinctive philosophical and theoretical foundations, which include “particular understandings of discourse, social practice and critique, which lead to
particular aims, methods and empirical focal points” (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p.2). The linguistic approach, with its focus on operation of language in the text, fits into this study. Since the data for this study consist of texts of newspapers and Fairclough’s approach provides a pervasive analysis of text in different levels of textual, intertextual, and interpretation, Fairclough’s linguistic approach fits into this research.

3.3.3. Discourse analysis steps

Wodak and Meyer (2008) summarize the steps of doing critical discourse analysis by following steps:

1. Find the theoretical frame for the subject of study
2. Operationalization of theoretical concepts
3. Selection of information (text/ discourse)
4. Interpretation of the text
5. Examination of assumptions
Figure 1: Diagram of doing critical discourse analysis (adapted from Wodak & Meyer, 2008, P. 24)
3.3.4. **Fairclough’s critical discourse analysis**

Fairclough and Chouliaraki (1999) developed the idea that critical discourse analysis is practical for revealing the discursive nature of social changes. Fairclough (1992) takes the dialectical-relational approach considering Marx and Foucault’s theory to apply his linguistic critical discourse analysis (Wodak & Meyer, 2008). According to Fairclough (1992), the aim of doing critical discourse analysis is dealing with naturalization. He believes that the study should consider the ideological function of language and make a distinction between common knowledge and the represented ideology (Fairclough, 1992). The main assumptions for doing critical discourse analysis according to Fairclough (1992) are itemized as:

- The understanding of a text varies person by person;
- There is no neutral text. Texts carry ideologies and discourses;
- Since each text is created in a particular social and historical context, then it has its creator’s characteristics;
- Each text is related to a power source (not essentially apolitical);
- Meaning not only comes from the text; it is also affected by social and cultural context.

Fairclough (1992) makes a distinction between the reporting or representative discourse and the reported or represented discourse in the text. According to him, a text not only has a voice but has multi-voices and is rooted in several discourses, and it is the analyst’s responsibility to recognize them (Fairclough, 1992, 1993).
The next step is identifying intertextual features of the text that connect the text to other texts. This happens through recognizing modals such as auxiliary verbs, adverbs, hedges, etc. Also, finding any metaphors, irony, negations and prepositions in the text is useful in analyzing the text. Fairclough goes further than describing and analyzing the text and tries to interpret the text by asking these questions:

- What happened?
- What are the causes of the event?
- What are the consequences?

Answering these questions leads the researcher to see the text out of its context and detect the hidden ideologies and discourses in the text.

3.4. Differences between Discourse Analysis and Content Analysis

Discourse analysis is distinct from most other qualitative methodologies because, whereas other methodologies recognize and interpret social reality as it is, discourse analysis attempts to make known the way that reality is created and constructed (Hardy et.al, 2004; Hardy, 2001; Philips & Hardy, 2002). In contrast to discourse analysis, content analysis is often viewed as a positivist approach, mostly because it involves quantitative methods such as testing hypotheses with statistical methods (Hardy et.al, 2004). Philips, Hardy, and Harley (2004) show the difference between these two methods, briefly summarized in Table 2. While discourse analysis and content analysis have different philosophical foundations, they can complement each other very well. The difference in the focus on reliability and validity for content analysis, and the sharp focus of discourse
analysis on interpretive accuracy and reflexivity can reinforce each other as a pluralist methodological philosophy.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Discourse Analysis</th>
<th>Content Analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ontology</strong></td>
<td>Constructionist—assumes that reality is socially constructed</td>
<td>Realist—assumes that an independent reality exists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Epistemology</strong></td>
<td>Meaning is fluid and constructs reality in ways that can be posited through the use of interpretive methods</td>
<td>Meaning is fixed and reflects reality in ways that can be ascertained through the use of scientific methods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Data Source</strong></td>
<td>Textual meaning, usually in relation to other texts, as well as practices of production, dissemination, and consumption</td>
<td>Textual content in comparison to other texts, for example over time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Method</strong></td>
<td>Qualitative (although can involve counting)</td>
<td>Quantitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Categories</strong></td>
<td>Exploration of how participants actively construct categories</td>
<td>Analytical categories taken for granted and data allocated to them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Inductive/Deductive</strong></td>
<td>Inductive</td>
<td>Deductive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subjectivity/ Objectivity</strong></td>
<td>Subjective</td>
<td>Objective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Role of context</strong></td>
<td>Can only understand texts in discursive context</td>
<td>Does not necessarily link text to context</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Reliability</strong></td>
<td>Formal measures of reliability are not a factor although coding is still justified according to academic norms, differences in interpretations are not a problem and may in fact, be a source of data</td>
<td>Formal measures of intercoder reliability are crucial for measurement purposes; differences in interpretation are problematic and risk nullifying any result</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Validity</strong></td>
<td>Validity in the form of “performativity” i.e., demonstrating a plausible case that patterns in the meaning of texts are constitutive of reality in some way.</td>
<td>Validity is in the form of accuracy and precision i.e., demonstrating that patterns in the content of texts are accurately measured and reflect reality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Reflexivity</strong></td>
<td>Necessarily high—author is part of the process whereby meaning is constructed.</td>
<td>Not necessarily high—author simply reports on objective findings.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Difference between Discourse Analysis and Content Analysis (adapted from Hardy et.al, 2004, p.21)
3.5. Methodological Pluralism and Multi-Strategy Research

There are many discussions about which method is the best method for doing social research. These debates are rooted in differences in the nature of inquiries. A specific epistemological and ontological position may be related to a particular method (Bryman & Bell, 2016). There are distinctions between quantitative and qualitative research. Bryman and Bell (2016) categorized the distinctions between qualitative and quantitative as following dichotomies:

- Behavior versus meaning
- Theories and concepts tested in research versus those emerging from the data
- Numbers versus words
- Artificial versus natural

Since the early 1980s, there has been a growing trend toward mixed-methods research (Bryman & Bell, 2016). The combination of two or more methods for solving a (research) problem is known as methodological pluralism (Hansson, 2010). Methodological pluralism, or mixed-methods research, has obvious advantages. In particular, the limitations of one method can often be overcome by applying other methods whose strength matches these limitations (Hansson, 2010).

There are some debates about using multi-strategy research. The first argument is the embedded methods argument, which is rooted in the idea that a particular set of epistemology and ontology defines a particular research. Since the integration of different methods and approaches to find a pervasive conclusion is not always achievable, some
scholars argue that multi-strategy is not practical (Bryman & Bell, 2016). The second argument is the paradigm argument, which maintains that quantitative and qualitative research approaches are based on incompatible paradigms (Bryman & Bell, 2016).

3.5.5. Approaches to multi-strategy research

Hammersley (1996) proposed three approaches to multi-strategy studies:

*Triangulation:* In sociology, triangulation of methods means a combination of various data sets and methods to shed light on a particular research problem (Hansson, 2010). Neuendorf (2004) argues that the triangulation of methods is ideal because when the results have the same point, the conclusions of the researchers become stronger. She states that although there are some differences between discourse analysis and content analysis, the combination of them seems a good fit for such triangulation (Neuendorf, 2011).

*Facilitation:* One research method facilitates the background for another method. For example, qualitative research, having open-ended data collection, can be a source of hypotheses and can aid measurements for a quantitative method. Then, the quantitative method can test those potential hypotheses and offer a better understanding of the social context. Quantitative approaches therefore can help to design more accurate surveys or structured interviewing questionnaires and prepare the ground for qualitative study (e.g., selecting people for interview) (Bryman & Bell, 2016).

*Complementarity:* by using two different research strategies different aspects of an investigation can be combined (Bryman & Bell, 2016). For example, content analysis can serve as the textual analysis phase of a broader discourse analysis project.
3.5.6. **Studying different aspects of a phenomenon**

Some scholars suggest that quantitative methods are suitable to study “macro” phenomena (such as social stability and change), while qualitative methods are useful to investigate “micro” phenomena (Bryman & Bell, 2016). Using both research strategies allows us to study different aspects of a phenomenon. In this research, discourse analysis is considered a qualitative method and content analysis is a quantitative method. At the same time that discourse analysis answers the questions about the text and its social and historical context, there will still be some questions that are beyond the scope of the discourse analysis. These questions can be raised about the role of a particular subject in the data set and to map out the bigger picture. The core idea for the incorporation of the methods and the research can be described as a procedure to achieve an integrative understanding within the data set.

Discourse analysis provides a rich source of contextual data and presents a “big picture” of a realm of communication activity, supposedly exploring every piece of text to discover all critical messages (Neuendorf, 2011). Conversely, content analysis provides the “clue” as to a critical pattern in the text that needs a deeper look. In other words, it focuses on details and examines assumptions, process, and findings. As a result, the exchanges between discourse analysis and content analysis help the researcher to take advantage of both techniques and approaches.

3.6. **Data Gathering / Sampling**

To address how expert women are represented in news, I selected data from two Canadian national newspapers: the *National Post* and the *Globe and Mail*. These two newspapers were selected because their national publication gives the opportunity to
investigate a wide range of ideas and thought about Canadian life. Since the study applies a mixed methods approach combining discourse analysis and content analysis, there were two sets of data for both methods, which are gathered and analyzed separately but at the end were integrated through the three major themes.

To do discourse analysis, data were gathered from all issues of both newspapers during the month of November 2015, since a major event concerning expert women in politics occurred in this period of time—i.e., Prime Minister Justin Trudeau’s selection of a gender-equal cabinet. Although the 2015 cabinet selection was not the first to have subject matter experts at the helm of each portfolio (Gatehouse, 2015), it was the first to ensure 50% female cabinet ministers, each of whom is an expert in the respective portfolio. Examples included Dr. Jane Philpott—a medical doctor—as the newly appointed Minister of Health and Dr. Kirsty Duncan, who holds a PhD in Geography, as Minister of Science. From both newspapers, there was a total of eight articles which had the subject and content related to gender-equal cabinet (four from each newspaper). The aim was to collect four articles out of the eight. Considering the gender of author of articles, I chose two articles from the National Post and two articles from the Globe and Mail with the feature of one male author and one female author from each newspaper. Thus, the first and the last articles related to the topic in the collection of four articles with the criteria of male/ female authors were chosen for discourse analysis. The articles from November 5th and 26th for the National Post and November 7th and 4th for the Globe and Mail were selected. For doing discourse analysis, I used NVivo to organize and code all articles concerning Prime Minister Trudeau’s gender-equal cabinet, thus assisting with analysis of the contextual level.
For doing content analysis, the goal was counting the numbers of quotes and mentions for male and expert women to compare how they are consulted in each newspaper. The year 2015 was selected because the selection of the 23rd Canadian Prime Minister happened on October 19, 2015. It was an important event because scholars from different areas are often consulted by newspapers about the election. Before conducting my thesis project, I designed a pilot project to find out the strengths and limitations of the research methods and to estimate the total time required to perform the final project. The pilot project consists of the content analysis of the news pages of the National Post and the Globe and Mail. I chose one day from each newspaper: Globe and Mail for October 4th 2016 and National Post for October 1st 2016. Based on the pilot study, I recognized four main themes of expertise: politics and policies, business and investment, art and culture, science (in different groups: natural sciences and human sciences).

For determining the sample size, since the minimum numbers for accepting the normality of distribution of a sample is 30, I picked 60 articles for each category per newspaper. For selection of 60 articles in each category, I generated random numbers because every category had different numbers of articles. The Globe and Mail in 2015 had 976 articles in politics, 9025 articles in business, 687 articles in art and culture, 151 articles in natural science and 226 articles in human sciences; these numbers for the National Post

3 In this study human science is considered as a study of social and cultural aspects of human life and it contains a broad range of fields such as history, sociology, and psychology while natural science is defined as a study of biological and physical aspects of natural phenomena. Physics, chemistry, biology, and health are examples of natural science in this study. It is worthy to mention that mathematics and engineering because of closeness to the positivist approaches are regarded as natural science.
for the same time period were 1232, 4849, 295, 213, and 247 articles respectively. Because there is no specific section in newspapers for science, it was difficult to recognize the related articles. Also, the small number of science articles caused me to mix both natural and human science together and make a sampling out of the total number of both categories for each newspaper. I produced a random number for each article separately. There was only one problem concerning the science category. At first, I separated the natural science articles and human science articles, but because the number of articles in these categories was too small, the sampling was not random in this case. Consequently, by repeating the act of generating random numbers, I picked 30 articles from natural science and 30 articles from human science. Overall, I collected 240 articles from each newspaper for a total sample size of 480 articles with equal numbers of articles in each of the four categories.

3.7. Coding

For the content analysis coding, I used NVivo and the following information was coded for each article: (a) the number of male and female quotations; (b) the number of mentions of a female or male expert; (c) the name of newspaper; (d) the expertise theme of the news (e.g., politics and policies, art and culture); (e) the gender of the journalist. Then, by importing the raw results from NVivo to SPSS, I did statistical tests to examine the association of variables with a 95% level of confidence. SPSS was helpful in summarizing the findings and demonstrating them with graphs and tables, and increasing the level of

4 Gender was identified primarily by the use of gendered pronouns. If pronouns were not present, the person’s name was used as an indicator of gender. Gender-neutral pronouns are uncommon in newspapers and coding therefore reflects the binary understanding of gender reflected in the newspaper discourse.
validity and reliability of the analysis. I made a comparison between the results of this study and the existing demographic information about the distribution of each occupation in Canada. Then, I used the information to examine my assumptions about the representation or under-representation of “expert” women in the news.

NVivo software was also used for the discourse analysis. For doing that, I defined some codes to describe the empirical meaning of words in the text such as negativity and positivity. Additionally, some key concepts were added as codes in NVivo to identify the hidden discourses in the text; for example, women or any related words to the group of women appointed discrimination, equity, and social change.

3.8. Research Reflexivity

My previous Masters degree in Cultural Studies has introduced me to the concept of representation. Then, as a Social Studies grad student, I became interested in work in the field of representation again. I was curious to know if there is any difference between the representation of expert women versus other women? How are Canadian women, particularly expert women, treated in comparison to expert men in media? And if professional women are not represented realistically, then, where is the gap? Considering these assumptions/questions directed my research toward exploring the role of media in the context of social inequality, precisely, gender inequality.

The choice of mixed method was the most exciting step of the research. The mixed methods that I applied in my work, as the combination of discourse analysis and content analysis, strengthens my insight quantitatively and qualitatively. It is fascinating
that mixed methods gives the researcher the possibility to integrate the result with the high level of validity and reliability.

As an immigrant in Canada I did not have a particular orientation toward one political party, but as a woman I was aware of the importance of the topic. The combination of these aspects helped me to analyze and interpret my research with a reasonable level of confidence. As a barrier, I had struggles with understanding the structural aspects of the issue. My home country has an individualistic culture which causes people to think that they are responsible for everything and the society does not have any responsibility for people’s life. The individualist culture sometimes led me to see the issues at the individual level (e.g., women’s “choice”), but through the analysis I learned to think deeply about structures that shape our lives in ways beyond the individual choices. I think that is an important part of my reflexive process in this project. Taking this more structural view helped me to develop my inquiry by asking questions such as, “how does it happen?” and “how often does it happen?”. Consequently, having multidimensional questions led me to the mixed methods approach. Discourse analysis, as a study of the “big picture” of the issue (e.g., deeper structural issues shaping representation), and content analysis, as an exploration of empirical details, was an outcome of this reflexivity process which enriched the research. This study as a journey, opened the door of a new world in which I can see everything not as binary of agent/structure but rather as a dialectic between agents and structures.
3.9. Conclusion

In this chapter, I described the two main methods used in this study: content analysis and discourse analysis. First, content analysis was defined and its implications for quantitative studies reviewed. Content analysis has some clear steps that are similar for every researcher but the way of doing them can vary from one researcher to another.

For discourse analysis, I tried to clarify that discourse analysis is not only a linguistic analysis, but also indicates the operation of deeper power dynamics in the social world. There are different approaches towards discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is not only a method; it is also a methodology. It involves different levels of analysis such as textual analysis, contextual analysis, and sociological interpretation.

The next section covered key debates about the differences between content and discourse analysis. Each is associated with different ontological and epistemological assumptions, which has produced different approaches to data and method. However, through a methodological pluralism framework, it becomes possible to consider the complementarity of these two approaches.

One of the challenging issues in this chapter was the pluralist methodological philosophy, which is rooted in mixing two or more methods together to gain a better understanding of the problem. The multi-strategy approach takes advantage of each method and uses its strengths for forming a good combination. Multi-strategy research has become a preferred approach to research among many scholars. Three approaches identified for multi-strategy research in social sciences include triangulation, facilitation, and complementarity.
Finally, taking a methodologically pluralist approach helped me to have a better understanding of my research. Using two different qualitative and quantitative methods equipped me to develop the comprehensive integration of the social phenomenon. Each method, by having different approaches to study the phenomenon, shed light on a particular aspect of the subject of study and built a pervasive understanding. Applying critical discourse analysis and content analysis simultaneously allowed me to have macro and micro level of gender equality in the context of media.
CHAPTER FOUR: Results and Findings

This chapter contains the results of the study. The first section of this chapter is a critical discourse analysis, using Fairclough’s method, of four articles published in the National Post and the Globe and Mail during the month of November, 2015. The second section presents a content analysis of 480 articles from the National Post and the Globe and Mail. The third section contains a statistical test of variables and the last section contains the comparison between the results of this study and women’s “real world” representation in key occupational categories.

4.1. Discourse Analysis
Some ministers are more equal than others

As Prime Minister Justin Trudeau promised, women make up half his cabinet, but five occupy junior seats at the table as ministers of state.

Gloria Galloway Ottawa

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau kept his campaign promise to appoint a cabinet in which half of the positions were to women but not all ministers are equal.

The Liberals say the members of the cabinet are of the same stature—at least in their eyes—and will be accorded the same treatment. But five of the 15 new female ministers have been given junior seats that support the work of other ministers, while all 15 men are full ministers in charge of their own departments.

On Tuesday, the day of his swearing-in, Mr. Trudeau was asked why he believes it is important to have a cabinet in which half of the 30 ministers are women. He replied, "Because it's 2015."

In demonstrating his commitment to gender equality, he has appointed more women to a single cabinet than any other prime minister in history.

In former prime minister Stephen Harper’s last cabinet, for instance, 12 of the 30 seats were to women—four of whom were ministers of state.

But, according to the orders-in-council appointing the ministers, both Science Minister Kirsty Duncan and Small Business and Tourism Minister Bardish Chagger are subordinate to Navdeep Bains, the Minister of Innovation, Science and Economic Development.

Patricia Hajdu, the Minister of Status of Women, and Carla Qualtrough, the Minister of Sport and Persons with Disabilities, are subordinate to Mélanie Joly, the Minister of Canadian Heritage.

And both Ms. Qualtrough and Maryam Monsef, the Minister of Employment, Workforce Development and Labour, are subordinate to Jean-Yves Duclos, the Minister of Families, Children and Social Development.

Although the Liberal government has referred to the five women as ministers in news releases, they are officially ministers of state.

Unlike other ministers, they are not in charge of their own separate departments. No government representatives would speak on the record about the fact that all of the junior posts have gone to women.

But Liberal sources said on background that the government will refer to the ministers of state as ministers and that the five women will attend all full meetings of the cabinet.

In addition, they said, the government is taking steps to ensure that they receive the full pay of a cabinet minister—ministers currently make $200,000 more annually than ministers of state.

They also said the five subordinate ministers will take the lead on some key Liberal priorities.

Those assurances were enough for Nancy Peckford, the national spokesperson for Equal Voice, an organization that aims to get women elected to political office in Canada.

"We are taking the Prime Minister's Office at their word that these women, regardless of portfolio, will have a full seat at the table and will be paid the same—thereby having an equal voice," Ms. Peckford said in an e-mail on Friday.

But New Democrat MP Niki Ashton said she was disappointed to learn that all of the secretary of state jobs went to women.

"It was such an important thing to have gender equality, real equity," Ms. Ashton said. "I am very sad about this because we were so optimistic. We thought, absolutely, this was an important step, an important statement."

"But it is a matter of once again relegating women into that lesser position."

Figure 2. The Globe & Mail, November 7th, 2015
4.1.1. “Some ministers are more equal than others” (The Globe & Mail, Nov. 7, 2015)

4.1.1.1. Text description

4.1.1.1.1. The empirical level of words

The text is a commentary on Prime Minister Justin Trudeau’s appointment of a gender-equal cabinet. At the level of words, the text has different types of words which have negative or positive meaning. Based on coding with NVivo, 1.86% of the text shows negative words while 1.62% of the text contains words with positive meaning. Words such as disabilities, subordinate, disappointed, sad, and relegating or other phrases such as unlike full ministers, junior posts hold negative connotations for readers. The writer uses positively connected words such as created, new, support, commitment, ensure, learn, optimistic, but they are not enough to change the theme of articles positively because the negative nature of some sentences neutralize their positivity. For example, “I am very sad about this because we were so optimistic”, New Democrat MP Irene Mathyssen said.

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Although each word has a specific meaning but its context, sometimes, gives the judgmental values to the word as well. According to Fairclough (1992), there is a context that explains why some words are identified as negative or positive within the text. At the empirical level of words, we can go beyond the superficial meaning of words to examine them in context. Regarding the context of the words, I categorized them in two different categories; positive and negative. It is based on my personal understanding from the text and context and it can be different for any other researcher. This is the beauty of the qualitative research that it is open to many possible interpretations.
Using different words such as *equal, real equity, gender equality, and equal voice* supports the discourse of equality and the idea that real equality or equal voice would only happen through gender equality. In the text, the words *woman* or *women* are mentioned several times, comprising 0.92% of the text; this specifies that Trudeau’s goal of a gender-equal cabinet seems mostly related to women rather than gender more broadly—i.e., gender is conceptualized as binary. Finally, the term *history* and the emphasis by the author on the uniqueness of the event in history states that keeping the campaign promise for gender equality, at least, is a big step.

4.1.1.1.2. The features of language of the text

The language of the text is formal, using political terminology such as *minister, state,* and *government, liberal,* and *democratic.* The requirement for understanding the text is being familiar with Canadian governmental laws and different ministry positions in the cabinet. Although there are some direct quotations from different politicians, the text can be identified as a written monologue of the author who tries to translate the official language to a version of popular speech. Statements such as, “the junior posts have gone to women” and “it is a matter of once again relegating women into that lesser position” are examples of the writer’s skepticism about Trudeau’s commitment to gender equality. These examples support the idea that the author wants to warn readers that achieving gender equality is not as easy as it is depicted in Trudeau’s campaign.

The dominant discourses in the text are the equity discourse, the political discourse, and the historical discourse. Equity discourse is exemplified in this phrase: “It was such an important thing to have gender equity, real equity”. The historical discourse is employed in discussion about the uniqueness of the event of gender-equal cabinet: “In demonstrating his
commitment to gender equality, he has appointed more women to a single cabinet than any other prime minister in history”. Similarly, when Trudeau was asked about the reason for selecting equal number of men and women he replied, “Because it's 2015”, connoting the need for historical change. In other words, the comparison of the event in context of its history identifies the history of gender inequality and its changes in the modern era. And political discourse is notable in the following: “New Democrat MP Irene Mathyssen said she was disappointed to learn that all of the secretary of state jobs went to women”.

There is some evidence that shows the negativity of the author’s approach to the event of gender-equal cabinet. Using “Although...but...” structure refers to the existence of some obstacles on the way to gender equality. Or, “Unlike full ministers, they are not in charge of their own separate departments”, points out that they do not have sufficient authority to run a ministry and therefore are still dependent.

4.1.1.2. Intertextuality

The intertextual relations of a text can be recognized through the representation of discourses and the voice of the text. The text is an articulation of different represented discourses such as historical discourse, political discourse as the controversy of political parties (Liberals, NDP, and Conservatives), social change discourse, and social equity discourse. The text has an ambivalent voice, since in most parts of the text it is difficult to discern if the statement is a report or the writers’ opinion. Additionally, in some parts of the text it is not clear whether it is the voice of the newspaper or the voice of a specific political affiliation such as the NDP. The first impression of the text can be identified as serious concerns about equality, but in some sentences the new Liberal government is targeted and its performance is criticized.
4.1.1.3. *Interpretation*

At first, it seems that the report describes Prime Minister Justin Trudeau appointing a cabinet of which half of the positions belong to women. However, the author goes further to explain that this is not a gender-equal cabinet and, in reality, five of the 15 new female ministers are subordinate to other ministers and therefore are not fully in charge of their portfolios. In other words, the author suggests that Trudeau’s cabinet is a step in the right direction, but that gender inequality still exists. The author argues that the gender-equal cabinet was primarily campaign propaganda to give confidence to people to vote for the Liberal party. The main discourse of the text is the political discourse, which includes critiques of the cabinet from other parties (i.e., the NDP). The text as opposition reveals voices that argue the gender-equal cabinet is a failure for the new Liberal government because women are relegated to the lesser positions; they are not Ministers but rather subordinate Ministers of State. Concisely, we can track the games of power through the debates of political parties, which on the surface say that they are considering Canadians’ wellbeing while perhaps ultimately thinking about their own political status.
Trudeau unveils diverse cabinet ‘that looks like Canada’

Analysis: Sense of possibility may not last long, but election victory seems to offer rare chance to step forward into a brave new era

ADAM RADWANSKI

Justin Trudeau’s strong suggestion he did not know why the question was needed to be asked but he was ready for it, and ready to respond with what would be the defining words of his first days as Prime Minister: “Because it’s right.”

He had been asked, specifically, about why he insisted on an equal number of men and women in his cabinet. He could also have been talking about the diversity of the newly sworn-in ministers standing behind him - a group that, among others, included several women wearing suits, tasked with Defence and Economic Development, a former Afghan refugee now in charge of democratic reform and an aboriginal justice minister.

Mr. Trudeau could have been talking about the more intangible sense of possibility that had swept over Ottawa on an unseasonably warm November morning and compelled thousands of Canadians many barely old enough to have voted or driven cars to line the road to Rideau Hall for half a day to catch a glimpse of history in the making.

For all the day’s pomp and ceremony, its most moving moment came after the official program ended.
Prime Minister Justin Trudeau congratulates Innovation, Science and Economic Development Minister Navdeep Bains on Wednesday.

FROM PAGE 1

Radwanski: Liberals promising a shift away from cynicism

For about 20 minutes, surrounded by a crush of media and police unaccustomed to such things, Mr. Trudeau walked the rope holding back those beaming spectators, shaking hands and posing for photos. Insular as signalling a shift from the more closed-off style of governance under Stephen Harper, there could scarcely have been a more powerful image.

The temptation, among those who have watched enough new governments enjoy brief honeymoon before losing their lustre when forced to actually govern, is to dismiss all this as easy and inconsequential. But that is only half right. While the hard part for Mr. Trudeau’s Liberals is yet to come, it matters a great deal how long they can make this mood last.

As much as it takes credit or blame for the state of the economy or our quality of life, the federal government’s capacity to influence most Canadians’ day-to-day existence is far less limited relative to provincial and municipal ones. But more so than a premier or mayor or just about anyone else, a prime minister is capable of embodying the country’s self-image and aspirations.

And so, too, to some extent, a cabinet such as the new one might signal to kids from a wide array of backgrounds that they might find themselves in that world one day.

The Liberals’ stunning election win is owed to an array of clever strategies and tactics and blunders by opponents. But the big, overarching theme was that Mr. Trudeau and his party were promising a cultural shift toward something more ambitious and less cynical than the tired government they were seeking to replace — an opportunity to seek relatively modest changes, rather than nervously guard the status quo.

There are moments, rarely more than once a generation, when an election seems to offer an opportunity to step forward into a brave new era. A look at the vastly increased voter turnout — including among younger voters barely expected to turn out at all — suggests we just went through one of them.

The catch is that capturing the rekindled en route to power (or in the early hours of wielding it) and managing a government are two very different things. As the aspirational shifts to the practical and frequently mundane, expectations suddenly need to be managed rather than raised.

In Mr. Trudeau’s case, the vast improvements to middle-class lives suggested by his rhetoric are somewhat at odds with the relatively modest changes to tax policy and infrastructure investment likely in his first budget. Realpolitik will get in the way of promises to improve Canada’s environmental record and place on the world stage. At least a couple of the many rookie ministers lauded on Wednesday will prove to be in over their heads, and set fires he has to put out. There will be much less time to go out and press the flesh, and practise the retail politics at which he excels.

Through all that, it will be tempting to give in to the weary cynicism that so often engulfs incidents — the belief that broken promises and overlooking the odd ethical violation are necessary to advance their agendas. But perhaps Mr. Trudeau has more incentive than most to avoid that trap.

No prime minister in Canada’s history entered office with more excitement about generational change than Pierre Trudeau. It took only one term for that promise to be lost to a combination of unforeseen events and Liberal complacency, and despite subsequent election triumphs, it was never recaptured.

Among the questions he was asked after his swearing-in, the one Justin Trudeau brushed off most quickly was about his father. He plans to escape that shadow, still.

There could be no better way to achieve that than by pushing against the bubble about to surround him. He could do a lot worse than reminding himself, at every opportunity and every low point, of the eyes that he looked into during that walk down the road outside Rideau Hall.

Figure 4 the Globe & Mail, November 5, 2015 (Part 2)

4.1.2.1.  Text description

4.1.2.1.1.  The empirical level of words

This text takes as a starting point the racial and ethnic diversity of Trudeau’s cabinet, ultimately arguing that the substance of Trudeau’s policies remain to be seen. Coding the positive words in the text reveals that 0.86% of the text consists of words with positive meaning. Words such as enjoy, lustre, aspiration, credit and brave, as well as phrases like vast improvement or clever strategies, have positive connotations. Negatively connected words comprise 0.39% of the text, such as losing, tired, ambitious, and blame. The text does not show any remarkable use of positive or negative words, and it seems the author does not show any judgement about the event of a gender-equal cabinet. Woman, women, and words related to gender are the most important in this study. The number of uses in the text can be a good indicator of the author’s commitment to (or focus on) gender equality. In this article, the word woman is used only once, suggesting that gender disparity is not an important focus for the article. Rather, the text focuses on the concept of diversity and cultural shifts.

4.1.2.1.2.  The features of language of the text

The language of the text is formal but not necessarily respectful. At times, the language may even be offensive for some social groups. For instance, when the author talks about the diversity in the new cabinet, cabinet members are referred to by their ethnicity or social status without any mention of their name: “turban-wearing Sikhs tasked with Defense and Economic Development a former Afghan refugee now in charge of democratic reform”.

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In doing so, the author emphasizes the cabinet members’ personal backgrounds instead of their abilities or expertise. The recognition of the boundary between the approach of the author and Justin Trudeau is clear. The author makes his opinion public when he talks about how the new ministers are unknown by Canadians and how Trudeau acts different from former Prime Ministers. The author compared Trudeau not only with Harper’s government but also with Pierre Trudeau, his father and the 15th Prime Minister in Canada. The author argues that Trudeau performed better than them in his first steps.

4.1.2.2. Intertextuality

The text is an articulation of different discourses and ideologies. The voice shows the hidden power relations involved in the text. One tangible discourse in the text is the discourse of social change; for example, “a cabinet such as the new one might signal to kids from a wide array of backgrounds that they might find themselves in that world one day”. Another discourse is the cultural discourse, which is shown through the cultural shifts concept. It includes focusing on diversity of cabinet instead of gender equity. The author is skeptical about the event, arguing that some ethnic or racial groups are not represented in the new government cabinet. The author contradicts expectations by not discussing gender equality.

4.1.2.3. Interpretation

The text argues that the most significant feature of Trudeau’s government is his promise to bring diversity into the new cabinet and to create a cabinet “that looks like Canada”. The author tries to predict pending social changes instigated by the new Liberal government. The gender-equal cabinet is only briefly mentioned; in fact, the main purpose of the article is to shift attention to Trudeau’s work after introducing his cabinet. In this
way, it has the effect of minimizing or ignoring the importance of gender. Indeed, it is interesting that the author does not mention the new female ministers at all.
Wynne wants ‘race lens’ on policy decisions

May set up mini-ministry or committee

BY Ashley Csanady

TORONTO • Ontario Premier Kathleen Wynne says it’s past time the province has a mechanism through which to consider its policies through a “race lens.”

She made the comments Wednesday at a breakfast hosted by Equal Voice, an organization that seeks to get more women of all backgrounds involved in politics, and pointed to recent events to highlight the fact equity issues in government and policy-making go beyond gender.

The recent focus on policing and black youth — especially men — in Toronto and across the province first got her thinking. Then the recent attacks on Muslim women wearing the hijab — one of which occurred outside a school in her riding when a mother was picking her kids up from school — put a renewed focus on the issue.

“I understand we haven’t used that lens, we haven’t used that race lens, we haven’t talked about it explicitly, and I think we need to start,” Wynne said at Queen’s Park.

“I believe that what we need to do is figure out what is a structure … that is going to allow us to filter the policies we put in place, to create new policies, to put protections in place.”

There is an established equity framework for education, but not across government, and that should change, she said.

Wynne has yet to discuss the idea formally with cabinet, but her office said an equity-based initiative could take several forms: a stand-alone mini-ministry, like the women’s secretariat, or a cabinet committee, similar to the one on “diversity and inclusion” Prime Minister Justin Trudeau recently created.

There is precedent in Ontario — the New Democratic government set up an equity task force, though it focused on employment.

“I think the moment may be right once again to introduce a more formal structure to say that, you know, this is how it has benefited from women’s ideas in cabinet: the provincial poverty-reduction strategy, which focused on children, helped create the Ontario Child Benefit and lifted thousands of kids out of poverty.

“The most recent example of a discussion that would not have happened if we hadn’t had a critical mass of women in the room is the one on sexual assault,” Wynne said.

The “It’s Never Okay” strategy to combat sexual violence and the accompanying government ads shared around the world likely would not have happened without women at the cabinet table.

“And, quite frankly, I think that the whole discussion around missing and murdered indigenous women has come about because … there were six of the 13 premiers who were women” when the Council of the Federation first backed the call in 2013, she said.

National Post

What is a structure … that is going to allow us to filter the policies

Ontario Premier Kathleen Wynne said Tuesday a renewed focus on race relations may help in developing policies.

Figure 5 the National Post, Nov. 26, 2015
4.1.3. “Wynne wants ‘race lens’ on policy decisions” (The National Post, Nov. 26, 2015)

4.1.3.1. Text description

4.1.3.1.1. The empirical level of words

The next article documents a speech given by Ontario Premier Kathleen Wynne, in which the Premier suggests the need for a “race lens” on policy. At the level of words’ meaning, the text contains 4.33% words with positive meaning and 1.76% words with negative meaning. Renewed, focus, start, create, benefit, established, and created are examples of positivity of the text while equity issues, attacks, critical mass, sexual violence, and sexual assault shows the negative words. Women and some related words (e.g., mother) are mentioned eight times, 0.68% of text, and specify how the author thinks about women’s issues. In the text, 0.38% words refer to equity and related concerns. The writer also mentions minority social groups such as Muslims and Indigenous people to emphasize the importance of inclusion.

4.1.3.1.2. The features of language of the text

The language of the text is formal but seems to try to reflect the voice of Ontario Premier, who speaks casually with the readers. She states her opinion regarding the existence of social inequalities and explains how diversity can improve policy-making.

4.1.3.2. Intertextuality

The most tangible discourses in the article are the racial and gender equity discourses, which are supported by the Ontario Premier. The social change discourse is also brought into the text. The text begins with Wynne’s thoughts about bringing the “race lens”
to policy, and the rest of the text is reflecting her idea about respecting social minority groups, diversity, and women’s representation in policy processes.

4.1.3.3. Interpretation

The text reflects Kathleen Wynne’s opinion about the crafting of a gender-equal cabinet by Justin Trudeau. She mentions that more effort is needed to establish gender parity in government. The consequences of gender parity are depicted positively. If the selection of gender-equality happens successfully, there will be benefits for women and the rest of the nation. Based on the experiences of Ontario’s government, women’s ideas were helpful in different areas such as poverty, raising children’s benefits, and taking action on sexual assault. The author clearly takes the stance that the new Liberal government is better than the former Conservative government. The text supports the new government and its ideologies about current issues in Canada. The dominant discourse for the new Liberal government is the social change discourse and the author of the article encourages the readers to respect the new government.
Day of firsts, filled with surprises

BY MICHAEL DENAND

John McCallum, the 85-year-old former defence minister and cabinet minister for the Royal Bank of Canada, is on the move – charged with the highly challenging, politically fraught, federally mandated job of bringing 35,000 refugees from the Syrian civil war to this country by year’s end.

In a day of firsts, filled with surprises, that was among the biggest. McCallum, who had been left off much of the pre-cabinet speculation, now becomes perhaps the most important figure, other than Prime Minister Justin Trudeau himself, in determining this government’s early trajectory.

That’s because, contrary to such speculation and some speculations over the past two weeks, the Trudeau government intends to move immediately to begin implementing the refugee rescuer and has every intention of delivering on its campaign promise, with proper security, health and other safeguards in place, by early next year.

As minister of immigration, refugees and citizenship, McCallum can be expected to work closely with Defence Minister Harjit Sajjan, Public Safety Minister Ralph Goodale and International Development Minister Marie-Claude Bibeau, among others, to bring this about.

In remarks to reporters Wednesday afternoon McCallum reiterated the government’s intention to meet its objective, adding it will reach out to other levels of government, including municipalities, as well as non-governmental organizations, for help in effecting the refugee rescue.

“I expect there will be a deep sense of people who want to help,” he said.

In Ottawa, meanwhile, the House of Commons will reconvene in early December, with Trudeau’s promised middle-class tax cut the first order of business.

Bill Morneau, the former C.D. Howe Institute chairman, is the finance minister charged with bringing that about. Veteran Liberals Scott Brison, meantime, gets the less glamorous post of president of the Treasury Board.

Left out of cabinet, in what has to count among the day’s least expected developments, was retired general Andrew Leslie, a former army commander and starched star candidate for his high-profile recruitment by Trudeau in September.

Also relegated to the backbenches were former Toronto police chief Bill Blair and high-profile Toronto-area progressive politician Adam Vaughan.

Former immigration and Liberal leader and candidate Marc Garneau, who had been considered a shoo-in for foreign affairs, defense or international trade, received the mid-level post of transport.

Voting into some of the most under-staffed in Canadian government are relative newcomers: Chrystia Freeland, international trade minister; Jody Wilson-Raybould, justice minister and attorney general; Jane Philpott, health minister; Bibeau; Cathie-Kay McMenamin, minister of environment and climate change; and Diane Lebouthiller, minister of national revenue.

Reform Leader’s elevation to minister of foreign affairs marks a major career triumph for the former Liberal leader, who had the party to defeat in 2006 in a plan to impose a carbon tax. He now oversees the highest-profile post in the government, aside from the prime-ministership itself. He also heads the cabinet committee on the environment.

There are 16 men in cabinet, including Trudeau, and 11 women – fulfilling a Liberal promise of gender parity among his ministers. Visible minorities figure prominently, including Navdeep Bains, minister of innovation, science and economic development; Amarjeet Sohi, minister of infrastructure and communities; and Bardish Chagger, minister of small business and tourism.

Asked soon after the swearing-in to explain the composition of his cabinet, Trudeau said simply, “It’s 2015.” He added he wanted the cabinet to look like the country.

The PM made a point of taking questions from reporters after the ceremony and briefly reiterated some of his main themes from the campaign trail: openness, transparency, accountability. He also stressed that the new government will operate in a legally.

Even the ceremonial aspect was different, and deliberately so. Ordinarily Canadians are treated inside the gates of Rideau Hall to watch as Trudeau and his new ministers arrive, and then left, after they were sworn in.

The crowd, three or four deep and stretching perhaps 100 meters back from the main building, observed as the ministers were announced.

On Wednesday afternoon, Trudeau met for the first time with his assembled cabinet. The ministers later emerged to take questions from reporters in the foyer of the House of Commons, a marked change from the scant media availability of the Harper years.

Minister of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship John McCallum answers a question from reporters after being sworn in to his post.
4.1.4. “Day of firsts, filled with surprises” (The National Post, Nov. 5, 2015)

4.1.4.1. Text description

4.1.4.1.1. The empirical level of words

This article documents Justin Trudeau’s 2015 selection of cabinet ministers. The article is framed by issues such as immigration and tax policy, and ends with a discussion of the atmosphere during the appointment ceremony itself. At the level of words’ meaning, the text contains 0.67% positive meaning while the portion of negative words is 0.19%. Transparency, health, and safeguards or expressions such as proper security are examples of the text’s positivity. Less glamorous is the only phrase from the text with negative meaning. Woman is mentioned once in the text, illustrating the weak importance of women’s issues to the author. Only 0.18% of the text relates to gender equality subject matter. The text is full of names of new ministers and explanations of their positions.

4.1.4.1.2. The features of language of the text

The language of the text is a formal, journalistic style. Referring to the new ministers with their professional background promotes a dominant discourse of meritocracy. There is no dialogue in the text. The author, in a predictive tone, provides a set of changes that will occur after the appointing the new cabinet. The reporter attempts to inform readers about a positive future and there is no contribution in the text from other voices.

4.1.4.2. Intertextuality

The most noticeable discourse in the text is a meritocracy discourse. The writer emphasizes the candidates’ credentials over personal backgrounds. Ironically, the author heavily emphasizes the candidates’ capacities and supports the discourse of social diversity more than gender equality. The article’s main focus is on the male cabinet ministers, their
experience and—by extension—their expertise. Also, it is framed by selecting certain policy issues, particularly immigration, but also tax policy, which then launches a discussion of the male cabinet ministers responsible for those issues. These cabinet ministers are endowed with an air of experience, which connotes strong expertise and capability. In contrast, the only women mentioned are lumped together as “relative newcomers”; their expertise is ignored and there is no interest in their skills and abilities.

4.1.4.3. Interpretation

The story is about selecting members of the new government’s cabinet, which is supposed to be a gender-equal one. The event is about appointing the most eligible candidates who can be successful in their posts. The cause of the event is portrayed as Canadians’ demands for gender parity or more acceptance of social diversity. The suggestion again reflects Trudeau’s statement that government should reflect the society. There are some advantages of having a gender equal cabinet: the balance it will establish among policy makers and the problems can be recognized from different points of view. Diversity and merit will be served not only in the government’s structure but in the rest of the institutions across the country.

4.2. Content Analysis

4.2.5. Descriptive level

Table 3 demonstrates significant differences in consultation with men and women as experts in both newspapers, based on the total number of mentions and quotes. I considered the average number of references as well, because it gives a better scale for comparing. Also, I converted the raw numbers of quote lengths to the average length of quote which describes the length of quote based on the number of words in each quotation by gender.
4.2.5.1. The comparison of the number of mentions by gender

Comparison among the numbers of mentions shows that, in total, men are mentioned more than women in both newspapers. Expert women were referred to 1804 times compared to 4910 mentions of expert men. In all categories, in the Globe and Mail, expert men are mentioned more than expert women. The most significant difference between the number of female and male mentions is in the Business category: 39 times for women and 368 times for men in all articles. In Human Science the frequency of female expert mentions is closer to the frequency of male expert mentions at 121 times for women and 167 for men.

According to the Table 6 in Appendix A, the review of gender of journalists states that the authors of 153 articles out of 240 articles are men and 75 articles have female authors. In all categories, male authors mentioned expert men more than expert women except in Human Science in which male authors mentioned expert women almost equally with expert men; 43 times for expert women and 45 times for expert men. In female-authored articles, same as male-authored articles, the frequency of reference to men is more than women. The only exception is Natural Science category in articles by female writers, expert women, are mentioned more than expert men, 44 times compared to 33 times.

6 There were 12 articles out of 240 articles from the Globe and Mail which did not have the name of author and this issue was on limitation of the research.
The average number of mentions for the female category is less than the male in all topic categories. Men, mostly, are mentioned in politics, 745 times out of a total 2174 mentions of men, and women are mentioned the most in politics as well, with 330 times out of 908 mentions. In other words, in politics, the average number of mentions is 5.50 for female and 12.42 for male, which shows that politics in the *Globe and Mail* is a male dominated area of expertise. Conversely, 0.65 as average of mention of women in each article in business category displays that women are not considered as expert in this category like men.

As shown in Table 3, there is a noticeable gap between the number of overall mentions for men and women in the *National Post*: 2736 for men and 896 for women. The difference between male consultation and female consultation is seen in Business, the number of mentions for men is 429 and the number of mention for women in this category is 80. The only category in which women are mentioned more than men is Human Science, 272 times for women and 229 times for men.

Of the 240 articles, there were 126 articles with male authors and 87 articles with female authors7.

In Table 6 in Appendix A, regarding the gender of journalist, I have found that in all categories, men referred to expert men more than expert women. Female authors mentioned men more than women as well; but in the Natural Science and Human Science categories, they referred to women as experts more than men, i.e., 60 mentions for women in

7 The authors of 27 articles are not written in the articles’ index.
comparison to 27 times of mentions for men in Natural Science. In the Human Science category the numbers are 212 mentions for expert women and 119 times for expert men by female journalists.

On the level of categories, Science is the most common expertise area for consultation with women. The Science category contained 357 out of 896 total mentions of women in the *National Post*. For men, Politics is the first category for consultation, with males mentioned in Politics a total of 946 out of 2736 total mentions of men in the *National Post*.

4.2.5.2. *The comparison of number of quotations by gender*

In both newspapers, the total number of quotations from women is 1008 and for men this number is 2759. The total average of words per quotation for expert women is 20.53 words per quotation and 20.44 words per quotation for expert men, indicating a slightly higher average length of quote for women than men.

Men are quoted more frequently than women in the *Globe and Mail*. Table 3 illustrates that men were quoted 1276 times while women were quoted 518 times. Additionally, the average length of quotations confirms that men are quoted at greater length than women, 21.19 words per quotation for men and 20.71 words per quotation for women. Business is a category where the difference between the number of male quotes and female quotes is the most significant at 31 quotations for expert women and 244 quotations for expert men. Conversely, however, considering the average length of quotations shows that in Business, the length of quotation of expert women is longer than expert men, 33.13 words per quotation for women and 16.78 words per quotation for men.
On the subject of the gender of author, there remains the fact that in all categories, the number of expert men’s quotations is more than the number of expert women’s quotations. However, in Business, Natural Science, and Human Science the lengths of quotation for expert women are longer than expert men when the article is female-authored. There is only one exception for male authors in which they quoted expert women at greater length than expert men: Politics.

The story for the number of quotations is similar to the number of mentions in the National Post; men are quoted more than women. The total number of quotes for men is 1483 times and 490 times for women in the 240 chosen articles from the National Post. The average length of men’s quotations is 19.79 words per quotation compared to 20.34 for women, which says that expert women are quoted longer than expert men in the National Post.

In all categories except Human Science, men are quoted more frequently than women. The greatest difference can be seen in the Politics category, where men are quoted 368 times and women only 54. In Human Science, expert women are quoted 209 times while expert men are quoted 146 times. Conversely, considering the average length of quotations illustrates that quotations from expert women are longer than those of expert men in all categories except Business.

Considering the gender of the journalist, I found that in all categories, with both male and female authors, expert men are quoted more than expert women and the gender of the journalist did not have a substantial impact on making a balance between the number of male and expert women’s quotes.
4.2.5.1. Comparison between the National Post and the Globe and Mail

Comparing the number of mentions for males and females in both newspapers shows that women, generally, are consulted less than men. The ratio of the number of females mentioned to males for the Globe and Mail is 0.42 and this ratio for the National Post is 0.33 (see Table 5 in Appendix A: Tables). This confirms that the variance between female and male mentions in the National Post is higher than the difference between female and male mentions in the Globe and Mail. Considering the number of mentions for both newspapers reveals that Business is a category in which expert men are mentioned much more than expert women. In the Globe and Mail, men in contrast with women are quoted more in Business. In the National Post, Politics is the most common subject wherein men are quoted more than women. In both newspapers, the frequency of mention for male and female in Human Science is nearly equal.

There is a difference between these two newspapers, the Globe and Mail and the National Post, in the length of quotation of experts. In the Globe and Mail, the average length of females’ quotation is shorter than males’ quotation, 20.71 words per quotation and 21.19 words per quotation, respectively while for the National Post, this number is higher for expert women, and it is 20.34 words per quotation for expert women and 19.79 words per quotation for expert men. Also, 32% of all articles in the Globe and Mail have a female author while this number for the National Post is 40% which it shows that the National Post hires more female journalists than the Globe and Mail. In both newspapers, male and female authors mentioned expert men more than expert women, in total. Similarly, the male and female authors quoted expert men more than expert women overall.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topics</th>
<th>Mention</th>
<th>Quote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td># Ref</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F  M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art &amp; Culture</td>
<td>312  602</td>
<td>180   319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>39     368</td>
<td>31    244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politics</td>
<td>330    745</td>
<td>123   362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sciences</td>
<td>227    459</td>
<td>184   351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural</td>
<td>106    292</td>
<td>85    182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human</td>
<td>121    167</td>
<td>99    169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art &amp; Culture</td>
<td>245  832</td>
<td>97    351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>80     429</td>
<td>62    329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politics</td>
<td>214    946</td>
<td>54    368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sciences</td>
<td>357    529</td>
<td>277   435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural</td>
<td>85     300</td>
<td>68    289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human</td>
<td>272    229</td>
<td>209   146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1804   4910</td>
<td>1008  2759</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: The gender distribution of mentioned and quoted people in different expertise categories in Canadian newspapers
4.2.6. **Statistical Tests**

Examining different variables to check how women are consulted compared to men in the Canadian newspapers supports the initial assumption about the existence of gender inequality in both national newspapers. Since the sample does not include all members of a population (i.e., all articles in all newspapers), there is a margin of error in estimating of the statistical features of a population. Therefore, testing the relationships between the variables does not make us 100% confident about the existence of gender inequality in these newspapers but the sample can provide evidence that there are some gender disparity issues in those newspapers or not. The interpretation of relations of the study’s variables is useful to find more facts about gender disparity.

Statistical analyses were conducted following two steps: first, checking the normality of the sample and, second, using suitable statistical tests. For the first step, I checked the normality of the sample by applying the central limit theorem\(^8\), which determined that the selected sample was normal. The size of the sample of articles for each topic category is 60—enough to accept the normality of the sample. For the second step, based on the nature of the database I examined them using a Chi-Square test.

\(^8\) A statistical proposition which states that when the sums or means of simple random samples are plotted, their probability distribution converges to a normal distribution as the sample size approaches infinity. This applies with sample sizes of 30 and more and even with skewed distributions (see skewness), like income (Elliot et. al, 2016).
Considering p-values, the probability of the result occurring by chance, in the chi-square tests\(^9\) confirm the existence of an association among the variables. The results of these statistical tests can be summarized as follows:

- The frequency of using direct quotes from female “experts” are affected by the topics; \(\chi^2(60, 480) = 83.90\) with P<0.05, also this association is significant for male “experts” as well; \(\chi^2(84, 480) = 104.50\) with P<0.05
- The topic of the article has an impact on the number of male ‘expert’ mentions; \(\chi^2(144, 480) = 204.720\) with P<0.05 while it does not have impact on the number of female “experts” mentions (P>0.05)
- There are preferred topics for journalists based on their gender; \(\chi^2(6, 480) = 17.86\) with P<0.05. Also, there is a difference in the type of newspapers and the gender of journalist; \(\chi^2(2, 480) = 9.27\) with P<0.05. In other words, each newspaper has different approach to using male or female reporters in their news section.
- The National Post and the Globe and Mail have different preferences for quoting the male “experts”; \(\chi^2(28, 480) = 41.43\) with P<0.05. This means the National Post has used more male quotations than the Globe & Mail. However, there is no significant relationship between the newspaper and female quotations (P>0.05).
- There is a remarkable association between the type of science (natural science or human science) and the frequency of female quotations, \(\chi^2(56, 480) = 64.49\) with P<0.05. In both newspapers women are consulted in Human Science significantly more than in Natural Science. Noticeably, there is no relationship between the type of science and the number of male quotes (P>0.05).
- The type of science is associated with the gender of journalist and the test shows there is a difference in the type of science when the gender of article, for example is female. \(\chi^2(4, 480) = 11.34\) with P<0.05. But there is no association between the type of science and the gender of experts who is mentioned in the article (P>0.05).

\(^9\) I used an alpha level of 0.05 for all statistical tests.
There is no significant association among other variables but it does not mean that they are not interesting for this study. For example, the type of newspaper (the *National Post* or the *Globe and Mail*) does not have impact on the number of mentions for both males and females. The gender of the journalist does not make any difference in the length of male or female quotations.

4.2.7. **Representation in media versus the social body**

The study has another aspect: the comparison between the amount of expertise in the social body and their representation in the newspapers. In other words, does the underrepresentation of women as experts in media reflect their actual underrepresentation in certain areas of expertise in the social body? For this aim, I used the statistics of National Occupational Classification (NOC) 2011 (see Table 7 Appendix A: Tables) as a database for occupation information in Canada. Based on the website classification, the main categories are stated in Table 4. Data from the *National Household Survey (2011)* allow us to compare the distribution of people by sex in Business, Politics, Art and Culture, Natural Science and Human Science fields.

Comparisons between the National Household Survey data and the results of this study show that, even in comparison to their “real world” representation in different occupations, women in all categories are still underrepresented in the news section of the *National Post* and the *Globe and Mail* (Table 4). The most significant gap belongs to the Art and Culture category in both newspapers; based on the information of NOC (2011), the ratio of women who have an occupation related to Art and Culture with different range of expertise, in comparison to men, is 11.30. The ratio of mentions of women to men is 0.52
in the *Globe and Mail* and 0.29 in the *National Post*. It clearly shows that women are underrepresented in this category. The story for the ratio of women’s quotations to men’s quotations is similar to their mentions: in the area of Art and Culture, the ratio of women to men quotes is 0.56 in the *Globe and Mail* and 0.28 in the *National Post*. Science stories in the newspapers come closest to accurately representing the ratio of women to men. However, still, there is a difference between the ratio of mentions in the newspapers and the ratio of occupations in Science. This means the amount of representation of women in newspapers as “experts” is close to their numbers in the real world.

The aim of the comparison was identifying the category in the news which is depicted more similar to the reality. All results clarify that newspapers do not depict women realistically. The newspapers reproduce inaccurate images of society. Even in female-dominated sectors, such as Art and Culture, the newspapers do not represent women equally.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topics</th>
<th>NOC 2011</th>
<th>Mention</th>
<th>Quote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ratio F/M</td>
<td>Ratio of Ref F/M</td>
<td>Ratio of Ref F/M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GM</td>
<td>0.94</td>
<td>0.42</td>
<td>0.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art &amp; Culture</td>
<td>11.30</td>
<td>0.52</td>
<td>0.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politics</td>
<td>0.94</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td>0.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sciences</td>
<td>0.89</td>
<td>0.49</td>
<td>0.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural</td>
<td>0.73</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>0.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human</td>
<td>1.98</td>
<td>0.72</td>
<td>0.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>0.94</td>
<td>0.33</td>
<td>0.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art &amp; Culture</td>
<td>11.30</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>0.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>0.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politics</td>
<td>0.94</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>0.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sciences</td>
<td>0.89</td>
<td>0.67</td>
<td>0.64</td>
</tr>
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<td>Natural</td>
<td>0.73</td>
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<tr>
<td>Human</td>
<td>1.98</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>0.94</td>
<td>0.37</td>
<td>0.37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Comparison of the ratio of Female/Male of NOC and the ratio of Female/Male of quotes and mentions in different expertise categories in Canadian newspapers
CHAPTER FIVE: Discussion

5.1. Discursive Aspect

Discourse analysis of the four selected articles from the gender-equal cabinet news issue shows that the patriarchal discourse remains dominant. All four stories focus on the event and the Prime Minister’s acts. There is no informative discussion about the appointed female ministers, their portfolio, professional background or experience. For this study, the event of appointing a cabinet with an equal number of male and female experts is important because it is historically unique in Canada. Before Justin Trudeau, no prime minister in Canadian history appointed more women to a single cabinet. Additionally, Trudeau’s interesting justification (“Because it's 2015”) implies that some changes have occurred since the past. Regarding the research questions, two main ideas are identified in these articles: one idea is supporting the event and calling it progress in women’s circumstances. It is time for moving on to gender equity and expert women can be depicted realistically. The other idea emphasizes that gender equality requires further effort and there should be more links to address substantive social inequalities through politics and policy-making. The equal number of men and women is not enough and does not make a big difference in diminishing of current gender inequality.

5.2. Content aspect

The content analysis results illustrate that Business in particular remains a male dominated area of expertise as depicted in the national newspapers. By mentioning and quoting expert men more than expert women, the texts strengthen the existing
discrimination against expert women in Business. There is an improvement in Human Science, the only category in which the number of expert women’s mentions and quotations is close to the number of expert men’s mentions and quotations. The gender of journalist does not make any difference in the issue of gender inequality in the newspapers. Female authors mention and quote expert men more than expert women in the same way as male authors do.

Based on the statistical analysis, the topic of news such as Politics, Business, Art and culture, Natural Science, and Human Science is important in terms of the number of expert women’s quotations, expert men’s quotations and the number of expert men’s mentions. Also, the significant association between the newspapers and the gender of the journalist shows that each newspaper has a different approach in publishing male- or female-authored articles. The data show that the National Post publishes more female-authored articles, in comparison to male-author articles, than the Globe and Mail. A relationship also exists between the gender of the journalist and the type of science, i.e., female-authors’ articles are more Human Sciences’ while the Natural Science articles often have a male author. Further, the comparison between the results of the study with the real world NOC database confirms that women are not represented in media to the extent they are in the real world.

5.3. Integration of critical discourse analysis and content analysis

The integration of discourse analysis and content analysis leads us to three main themes for discussion: (1) general underrepresentation of expert women in the news; (2) Business as a male-dominated area of expertise in representation of male and expert women in both newspapers; and (3) an explanation of why the presence of female journalists does not seem to counteract the sexism in the newspapers.
5.3.1. **General underrepresentation of expert women**

Early critiques of the representation of women in media identified the omission and underrepresentation of women and the concentration on masculine dominant sectors of social life (Turner, 1998). The evidence suggests that symbolic annihilation is still occurring for women in media content; it does not only happen for ordinary women, but also for expert women in high profile jobs as well. Female politicians, business women, doctors, etc., are omitted and trivialized in media and are not depicted as they are in the real world. Expert women are not represented in the news stories in the same way as expert men. According to the result of this study, even in the event of a gender-equal cabinet selection, women in high level jobs remain invisible in representation and lack power in the cabinet itself. The focus of these newspapers was on Justin Trudeau and additional issues around the event, instead of depicting the real picture of female cabinet members and their expertise.

In this study, expert women in the news stories were not depicted as sexual objects or victims, but in comparison to male experts, expert women are underrepresented in both national newspapers. There are different examples in this study that support the idea that professional women, particularly politicians, are trivialized and reduced to their physical features and personal life. Even female journalists focused on the women’s personal background rather than their expertise. Although national occupational statistics shows that women are still underrepresented amongst managers and leaders, this study has shown that media still do not depict even that small portion of society realistically. The media are still reproducing inequality between men and women in its context and do not deal with gender disparity neutrally. Research has demonstrated that the omission of successful women in
media can exacerbate a lack of self-confidence among other women and young girls who are looking for role models (McKenney & Bigler, 2016; Rollero, 2013; Slater & Tiggemann, 2016). Without accurate representation of women as leaders and experts, the sexualisation and objectification of women in media is not countered by more positive images of successful and independent women as powerful individuals.

Cultivation theory suggests that the cultivated values and beliefs, which are transferred from media to its recipients, do not contain equal respect for women’s expertise. Media scholars claim that exposure to media is not about learning something new but it is “the repeated instantiation of some stereotypes by their exemplars” (Hawkins et al., 1987, p. 575). Exposure to the particular clichés of women as domestic “housewives”, shopping ladies, sexual objects, and victims contributes to a problematic cultivation of social reality, particularly for young women.

5.3.2. **Business: a male-domined field**

Today the level of women’s education has improved and in many countries around the world, the rate of their graduation from high school and college is higher than men’s (Diprete & Buchman, 2013; Bobbitt-Zeher, 2007; Stier & Herzberg-Druker, 2015). Not only has the participation of women increased in high levels of education, but women also participate in male-dominated professions such as politics, medicine, business, and in the sciences more than the past (Diprete & Buchman, 2013; Stier & Herzberg-Druker, 2015). Based on this study’s findings, Business is the category with the most significant gap between the consultations of expert women in comparison to expert men in both Canadian newspapers. This is no surprise, since Business remains a male dominated area of expertise and, as a sector marked by an
emphasis on competition, makes women work harder to prove their capacities (Cukier et al., 2016).

Boone and colleagues (2013) bring the example of the 2011 “Time 100” list of the most influential people in the world. They mention that only 29 percent of the list is made up of women and only two were in the top ten positions, neither of them representing women in business. The current research shows that women are, by far, the minority in top leadership status (Barr, 1996; Boone et al., 2013; Daily & Dalton, 1999; Fogliasso, 2011); in fact, “Catalyst (2013) found that twenty of the Fortune 500 chief executive officers (CEOs) are women, and in 2011, women held approximately 14 percent of C-level positions at these companies” (Boone et al., 2013, p. 230). Why, despite women’s advancement in private and government sectors, does the lack of women in executive leadership persist? The glass ceiling, a well-known feminist term for workplace barriers for women, can be considered a potential answer for this question. The glass ceiling can be identified through some factors such as counterproductive behaviors of male colleagues, uninviting workplace culture, stereotyping and the social exclusion of women (Boone et al., 2013).

Ceci and Williams (2011) conducted a study about the causes of women’s underrepresentation in science and mathematics. They explained that the existing underrepresentation of women as experts in science fields is caused by “sex discrimination by grant agencies, journal reviewers, and search committees” (p. 3161). They found that although workplace barriers restrain women from participation in science careers, gender socialization prevents many women from getting into these fields in the first place:

Women choose at a young age not to pursue math-intensive careers, with few adolescent girls expressing desires to be engineers or physicists, preferring instead to be medical doctors, veterinarians, biologists, psychologists, and lawyers. Females
make this choice despite earning higher math and science grades than males throughout schooling (Ceci & Williams, 2011, p. 3161)

Women’s ongoing and disproportionate responsibility for domestic and caregiving work also serves as a barrier to workplace advancement. Based on Statistics Canada’s General Social Survey (2010), the weekly time spent on housework for women is 13.8 hours and for men it is 8.3 hours. Also, the time spent on unpaid care of a child in the household for women is 50.1 hours and for men is 24.4 hours. Additionally, time spent on caregiving for seniors living in the household in the case of more than 10 hours per week, is 48.9 hours for woman caregivers, for man caregivers it is 25 hours (Stat Canada, 2010). These numbers show the ongoing relevance of not only workplace barriers, but also domestic barriers for women. As Tai and Treas (2016, p. 495) pointed out, “Housework continues to be stereotyped as largely women’s work. In spite of the rise in their labor force participation, women still do most of the household labor”. Many women struggle to balance work and family.

When these more deeply rooted structural factors are considered, the notion of the glass ceiling fails to explain the entire phenomenon. The “invisible obstacle course” is a new notion that refers not only to the work environment, but also individual circumstances and structural barriers as well. Baumgartner and Schneider (2010) identified some of these “invisible obstacles”, including: negative attitudes toward women in certain workplaces; the necessity of life sacrifices to obtain the upper level of management; the role of mentoring does not necessarily assure women of success and in some cases creates challenges; the lack of role models for women; the contradiction between career and family expectations.
One solution that has been suggested for eliminating women’s barriers in the workplace and helping them to reach to the top status of management is the idea of gender quotas, i.e., policies that require organizations to hire a specified number or percentage of women. Although useful for opening opportunities for women and other marginalized groups, quotas do not fix the problem completely. Gender quotas are sometimes used to perpetuate a sexist discourse of doubt in women’s abilities (i.e., “she only got the job because she’s a woman”). In the case of Justin Trudeau’s selection of a gender-equal cabinet, there was little emphasis on the capacities of appointed female ministers; the following quotation from the November 5, 2015, National Post article:

John McCallum, the 65-year old former defence minister and chief economist for the Royal Bank of Canada, is the man on point - charged with the hugely challenging, logistically fraught, politically tendentious job of bringing 25,000 refugees from the Syrian civil war to this country by year’s end... Vaulting into some of the most senior jobs in Canadian government are relative newcomers: Chrystia Freeland, international trade minister; Jody Wilson-Raybould, justice minister and attorney-general; Jane Philpott, health minister; Bibeau; Catherine McKenna, minister of environment and climate change, and Diane Lebouthillier, minister of national revenue.

This example illustrates how media discourse often presents men with their history and background in comparison to introducing new women ministers as newcomers without acknowledging their expertise and experience in their fields. Critics from a more progressive perspective noted that the new female ministers were appointed for junior positions and the gender quota did not guarantee that women could achieve to the top level of leadership. Further, gender quotas do not effectively address deeply rooted issues of gender socialization and women’s ongoing responsibility for domestic and caregiving work.

Gender quotas cannot solve gender inequality completely and there is a need for more practical solutions. Boone et al. (2013) adds that “gender quota does not address the underlying issue, which is lack of leadership development for executive minded
individuals” (p. 236). She suggests that the solution is making “invisible obstacle course” challenges visible, which is not achievable unless women receive help to navigate obstacles themselves and to have access to the mentor programs to learn how they can make a balance between their work and home. However, we should consider that the existing gender inequality, because of its structural nature, would not be eliminated only by personal attempts and it needs the contribution of all sectors of society such as private and government sectors.

5.3.3. Why do female journalists support gender inequality?

Liberal feminism focuses primarily on the individual level and overemphasizes superficial solutions such as equality, rights, and promotion of women for social inequalities (Enslin, 2003). The critique of liberal feminism demonstrates that simply having equal numbers of men and women do not mean gender equality. For example, having an equal number of men and women in a workplace without equal payment, equal benefits, and the same opportunity for advancement for men and women, cannot be called gender equality in the workplace. There is a need to consider gender inequality as a structural issue. Although trying to bring liberation for women through legislative measures is important (Mackie, 1991), equality is something more than numbers.

The result of the study about the female authors of news articles reveals that the straightforward presence of women in certain sectors, such as journalism, does not necessarily lead to gender equality. Unexpectedly, female authors, similar to male authors, did mention and quote expert men more than expert women. The results reject the false assumption that women journalists will automatically “do better” in consulting and making visible expert women. This finding raises the question of why do female journalists or other
successful women not support other women? On one hand, female journalists are excluding and ignoring expert women since they are also constructed into special topics such as art and culture. Therefore, the female journalists themselves, are underrepresented in their field of expertise. In other words, they are still under pressure to perform their jobs in such a competitive male-dominated field journalism. The female authors not only trivialize and omit expert women in their articles, but they are trivialized in the context of media, as well. The patriarchal system of Canadian society makes two categories of expert women, the professional women and the female journalists, trivialized and omitted. According to Gerbner and Gross (1976): “Representation in the fictional world signifies social existence; absence means symbolic annihilation” (p. 182). In other words, the female authors while underrepresented as expert women, they also contribute to women’s overall absence or underrepresentation as well.

On the other hand, reviewing the existing literature provides the evidence that this phenomenon is not new. Derks et al. (2011) identified what they call Queen Bee (QB) Phenomenon or behavior. It refers to the finding that women – often senior women – in male dominated organizations who are successful in their career may defend the status quo (Derks et al., 2011). There is the tendency for some women who have devoted their personal life toward their career success to be more critical toward junior female co-workers, and less motivated to support other women (Derks. et al., 2011; Ellmers et al., 2012; Faniko et al., 2017). Moreover, women with high profile jobs in gender-biased contexts may deny the existence of sexism (Derks et al., 2011). The QB behavior can be described in three classes of characteristic behaviors: (a) making distance from other groups of women; (b) integration
into groups of men and being more masculine; (c) legitimizing of the current circumstances (Faniko et al., 2017).

However, the label of “Queen Bee” itself is one type of stereotype for successful women. Some studies reveal that being not supportive for some women is rooted in individual and social factors. Some have argued that women need to perform at work better than men to overcome additional obstacles associated with gender inequality. Also, women are expected to deliver the same result as men do, but in less favorable circumstances while they are struggling with gender discrimination in the workplace. Badgett and Folber (2007) argue that high-ranking women may see their success as the result of their own sacrifices and those other women should similarly sacrifice. The quote from a female senior manager summarizes this debate:

I’m against gender quotas. I can’t understand why we need to roll out the red carpet for young women and to make their life easy while I made a lot of sacrifices for my career success and I didn’t have such a privilege. (Faniko et al., 2017, p.638)

This situation exists for female journalists as well, since Gill (2007) mentions that female journalists also face double standards in their career. Consequently, female authors in this study may, by mentioning and quoting expert men more than expert women, legitimize the current status quo.

5.3.4. Conclusion

The integration of findings from discourse and content analysis confirms that the media reproduce gender disparity. However, there have been some changes in the real world such as an equal number of men and women in the cabinet. Expert women are not depicted as a true reflection of their level of representation in expert communities requires in the
media. In male dominate fields such as Business; gender disparity is more tangible than in other sectors. Feminist literature has identified both individual and structural factors such as workplace discrimination, gender socialization, and domestic/caregiving responsibilities as the cause of this underrepresentation. Successful women should support other women because gender inequality is their problem as well. However, the result of this study shows that female authors of news stories do not necessarily ensure representation of expert women.
CHAPTER SIX: Conclusion

This study was an effort to provide updated empirical data on the current state of gender and the representation of expert women in Canadian newspapers. The evidence of the study shows that, there is still such a long way to go to achieve gender parity in representation. Although many studies exist on the subject of women and representation, there are not many studies or scholarly works about the representation of expert women in the media. This research tries to shed a light on the issue of gender inequality in representation of expertise.

The main theme of the study is exploring the representation of expert women versus expert men in newspapers as printed media. The study was conducted with a mixed-methods approach considering quantitative and qualitative analysis. Methodological pluralism provided a framework to have the benefits of both quantitative and qualitative methods at the same time. Following a methodologically pluralistic approach, this study employed both quantitative content analysis and critical discourse analysis. Both methods equipped the researcher for different levels of analysis. Exploring gender inequality as a discursive phenomenon was done in the context of two national newspapers in Canada: the Globe and Mail and the National Post.

This research was both informed by, and informs, several key concepts pertaining to gender and the media: symbolic annihilation, omission, and the trivialization of women in media. Also, self-objectification and internalization are the consequence of exposure to sexist media, particularly for young women. The theoretical framework of the study is the
For critical discourse analysis, I analyzed four selected articles from November 2015, each documenting the appointment of a gender-equal cabinet by Justin Trudeau’s new government. For content analysis, I selected 480 articles in several different categories—politics and policies, business and investment, art and culture, and science (30 articles for natural science and 30 for human science)—equally from the news section of the *National Post* and the *Globe and Mail* during the year 2015.

The results confirm the existence of gender inequality in the representation of expert women in newspapers. There are some predictable frames such as depiction of their personal life more than their expertise, considering their physical appearance more than their skills, etc., for representation of women. Even when they achieve a high level of social and political status, they are represented by unrealistic images which reinforce the existing stereotypes of women. In other words, the result of the study supports the existing literature on the topic of misrepresentation of women, regardless of their social status. Also, investigation about the hidden discourses in context of these newspapers states the content of these newspapers is reproducing rather than reducing gender disparity. Through an integrative understanding of both methods, I found the fact that women are under-represented in all identified expertise areas, and mostly in Business. The dramatic underrepresentation of women in the media is indicative of deeper structural inequalities such as workplace barriers and family concerns. Gender equality is not achieved simply by equal numbers of men and women in the media or in occupational sectors; it calls for a pervasive consideration of all aspects of social life.
The next level is to think about the consequences of such representation for young women and men. It is obvious that some parts of their socialization process happen through the consumption of media products. The lack of positive women role models can be a big risk for the next generation and it could be a source of reproduction of gender disparity.

6.1. Limitations and strengths

The strength of this study is an investigation about the female expert’s circumstances, which are hidden in the newspapers’ underrepresentation. A key contribution of this study is the application of cultivation theory to an under-studied aspect of gender and representation. Media scholars often apply this theory in studies of television but there are few studies that consider the cultivation effects for newspaper readers. Using both quantitative and qualitative methods helped me to have a more integrated understanding of both the empirical and structural levels of this phenomenon.

The main limitation of this study is the sampling for each topic category. There was no access to the hard copy of newspapers in universities or public libraries. The online archive is poorly managed and the lack of precise key words for selecting the articles was problematic. Also, there was no particular section for science news in both newspapers and due to the low number of them, it was necessary to merge the natural science and human science categories into one sciences category. Therefore, some useful comparisons between these two categories were lost.

6.2. Suggestions for Future research

Social parity between men and women can open the window to other social minority groups’ rights. Similar works can be done beyond gender; for example, race. For example,
we have low level of representation of women of colour. An investigation about race and political representation would be a launching point for intersectional studies in gender, race and class.
Bibliography


Trimble, L. (2007). Gender, political leadership and media visibility: Globe and mail coverage of conservative party of Canada leadership contests. *Canadian Journal of*


Appendix A: Tables
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Table 5: Full table of the gender distribution of mentioned and quoted people in different expertise categories in Canadian newspapers
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Table 6: The gender distribution of quoted and mentioned people in different expertise categories in Canadian newspapers considering the gender of journalist.
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<td>0.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural and applied sciences and related occupations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health occupations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural resources, agriculture and related production occupations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupations in manufacturing and utilities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Human Science</strong></td>
<td>563,110</td>
<td>284,080</td>
<td>1.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional occupations in education services</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraprofessional occupations in legal, social, community and education services</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>7,904,390</td>
<td>8,439,348</td>
<td>0.94</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 7: National Occupational Classification (NOC) 2011*
Appendix B: Screenshots of NVivo and SPSS projects
Figure 7: Screenshots from the Sources, Nodes and Classifications of the Nvivo project
Figure 8: Screenshots from the Variable view, Data view and Results of the SPSS project