

The Complex Framing of Feminism in Online Articles from The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation

Alex St-Pierre

A Thesis

In the Department of
Communication Studies

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of Master of Arts (Media Studies)

at Concordia University

Montreal, Quebec, Canada

October 2023

©Alex St-Pierre, 2023

CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

This is to certify that the thesis prepared

By: Alex St-Pierre

Entitled: The Complex Framing of Feminism in Online Articles from The Canadian
Broadcasting Corporation

and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts (Media Studies)

complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to
originality and quality.

Signed by the final examining committee:

_____ Chair
Dr. Fenwick McKelvey

_____ Third Reader
Dr. Stella Chia

_____ Second Reader
Dr. Fenwick McKelvey

_____ Thesis Supervisor
Dr. Kim Sawchuk

Approved by: _____
Dr. Elizabeth Miller, Chair of the Department

Dr. Pascale Sicotte, Dean, Faculty of Arts and Science

On the date of: 26 February, 2024

Abstract

The Complex Framing of Feminism in Online Articles from The Canadian Broadcasting

Corporation

Alex St-Pierre

This study investigates how CBC frames feminism in their online news content. Two research questions guide this inquiry. First, when does feminism become newsworthy to CBC? Second, how is feminism framed in online news articles from CBC? Both content analysis and critical discourse analysis are employed to answer these questions. The analysis is conducted using framing theory as the primary theoretical approach. This research builds upon the foundational work of Kaitlynn Mendes on the framing of feminism in print newspapers that largely assessed whether coverage was positive or negative in nature. While drawing inspiration from this literature, this project adds a novel perspective by examining both an online and Canadian context. One hundred and fifty news articles relating to feminism were collected from CBC's website for analysis. Results reveal the overall theme of complexity and the frames of controversy/containment and diversity/intersectionality which define how CBC represents feminism. These results demonstrate the positive-negative binary does not accurately summarize how feminism fares in CBC News content. Instead, we are left with both a complex image of feminism as a social movement and a complex framing of feminism by CBC organised around the frames of controversy/containment and intersectionality/diversity. This framing characterises the manner in which CBC supports feminism but also contains it within certain boundaries. Overall, this work adds to the existing literature on feminism in the news and augments our understanding of how feminism is not only viewed by, but fashioned, shaped, and moulded in our society by trusted and powerful media sources.

Keywords: *feminism, online news, news websites, CBC news, Canada, discourse analysis, content analysis, complexity, controversy/containment, intersectionality/diversity*

Acknowledgements

I would like to extend my deepest gratitude, first and foremost, to my thesis supervisor Dr. Kim Sawchuk who has lent invaluable support not only to this project but to me, personally, throughout the entirety of my degree. Without her efforts, this project, and in large part my degree, would not have come to fruition. Kim, your knowledge, and expertise has always pushed me to go one step further, to think a little bit deeper, and to write just that much better. For that you have my heartfelt thanks.

I would also like to thank my committee for the time and effort they have put into polishing this work and making it the best it could be, Dr. McKelvey and Dr. Chia, you have my thanks for lending your expertise to my project.

Finally, I would like to thank my family for convincing me not to quit the many times I was ready to throw in the towel, and my wonderful friends who supported me throughout this project, listening to me go on in confusion for longer than was perhaps fair. To you all, I am grateful, this work feels equally yours.

Dedication

To Kendall,

who never tires of the important conversation on human rights

and has kept me sane more than once during this process

Table of Contents

List of Figures	viii
List of Tables	ix
Chapter One – Introduction: Outlining the Research	1
Chapter Two - Literature Review: The Story of Feminism in History and News	9
Part 1: A Brief Overview of the History of Feminism.....	9
Part 2: Feminism in the News.....	19
Chapter Three - Theoretical Foundations and Methodology: Content Analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis, and How Framing Theory Brings It All Together	26
Theoretical Foundations.....	26
Methodology	34
<i>Data Collection</i>	34
<i>Data Analysis</i>	37
Chapter Four - Results: How Feminism Fared in CBC’s Coverage	46
Research Question #1.....	46
Research Question #2.....	54
<i>Level One Analysis</i>	54
<i>Level Two Analysis</i>	61
Intersectionality and Diversity.....	61
Controversy and Containment.....	63
Chapter Five - Discussion: Multiple Interpretations of CBC’s Complex Coverage of Feminism	68
Answering the Research Questions.....	69

Connections to Previous Literature.....	70
Interpreting the Results.....	74
Chapter Six - Conclusion: Final Thoughts About CBC’s Feminism and Where to Go	
Next.....	79
Works Cited.....	84
Appendix A - Coding Guidebook	100

List of Figures

Figure 1. Inductive and Deductive Content Analysis Process.....	38
---	----

List of Tables

Table 1. Example Codebook Entry for the Deductive Category ‘Type of Article’	39
Table 2. Excerpt from Note Taking Table for Deductive Coding Categories.....	40
Table 3. Excerpt from Note Taking Table for Inductive Coding Categories.....	41
Table 4. Excerpt from Critical Discourse Analysis Notes.....	44
Table 5. Frequency of “Type of Article”	47
Table 6. Frequency of “Length of Article”	48
Table 7. Frequency of “Role of Feminism”	49
Table 8. Frequency of “Type of Mention”	50
Table 9. Frequency of “Direct and Indirect Mentions”	50
Table 10. Main Topics of the Articles.....	52
Table 11. Main Feminist Issue of the Articles.....	52
Table 12. Type of Mention Coding Guide.....	100
Table 13. Role of Feminism Coding Guide.....	100
Table 14. Length of Article Coding Guide.....	100
Table 15. Type of Article Coding Guide.....	101
Table 16. Main Topic Coding Guide.....	102
Table 17. Main Feminist Issue Coding Guide.....	103

Chapter One

Introduction: Outlining the Research

Where do we get our news? Unsurprisingly, perhaps, we often get it online. “Each week, 70% of Canadians access news from any online platform, including digital only news outlets, social media, or newspaper, magazine, radio or TV websites or applications” (Sethi). When looking explicitly at news websites, the most recent *Maru Public Opinion Report* on Canadian news consumption states that adults in Canada turn to news websites between 24-35% of the time for their news (1). Numbers depend on their age and the type of news website (1). Other recent studies on news consumption in Canada corroborate these reports, stating that 27% of individuals access news on news websites or apps (Charlton et al. 3). During the pandemic, 22% of Canadians surveyed on their news media consumption said they were reading more online news than they did in 2019 (“Canadian News and Information Sources”). CBC News was the number one online news source for Canadians, as of 2019, with 27% saying they used it weekly and 17% saying they use it at least 3 times per week (Newman et al. 125). This figure has been staying relatively stable with 23% of Canadians saying CBC News is their most accessed source in 2022 (Charlton et al. 7).

These numbers demonstrate the relevance of online news in contemporary Canadian society. They illustrate both the pervasiveness and ubiquity of online news sources, especially CBC News, in Canadians’ everyday lives. While these numbers point to the importance of online news media for Canadians, another area of literature concerning the impacts of news media lends the investigation of news additional qualitative significance, namely media effects. There exists a breadth of literature on news media from a media effects perspective; looking at how consumption of specific news content impacts audiences, especially their beliefs (see Scheufele and Tewksbury; Tewksbury and Scheufele; and Scheufele for a few examples). While my research does not focus

on the effects of news upon audiences, it is important to understand the present stakes and why we should bother studying news media at all. These studies argue that the news that individuals consume influences the way they think about a topic (Scheufele and Tewksbury; Tewksbury and Scheufele; Scheufele; Tuchman). They state that newsmakers have some control over how their readers come to understand and conceptualise any given topic (Scheufele and Tewksbury; Tewksbury and Scheufele; Scheufele). Much of this literature is referenced in framing theory studies, such as Pan's work, which are often closely tied to media effects research.

While I am interested in framing theory from a media or content-based perspective, framing theory from an audience (or media effects) perspective demonstrates the importance of examining the news. If we know from the literature on media effects that traditional news content (print and television) influences readers, and that a large amount of people are now consuming online news in growing numbers, then we have an obligation to study online news content. This is the only way to understand what is being communicated to readers, and how online news content frames pertinent and high-stakes issues in today's society. Political topics quickly come to mind when considering the high stakes that news content may have in a contemporary Canadian context. In particular, the societal impacts of altering how readers understand social movements, their definition, membership, beliefs, and goals, could be beneficial or detrimental to those movements in the long run. Considering what is communicated to readers' is the first step in understanding the effects that communication might have.

Accordingly, this project is concerned with how feminism is represented and depicted in the online Canadian news arena. Feminism, as with all social movements, has always occupied something of a controversial position in society. There are many definitions and practices of feminism and there doesn't seem to be much agreement in terms of what feminism is, and its value,

or place, in society. In this research, I will not try to determine what is feminist or not. Rather, I will examine feminism as a social movement, meaning a combination of both its beliefs and the activism done in the name of those beliefs. There are two definitions of feminism that outline my understanding of the movement, and which support this conceptualisation of feminism. The first comes from Karen Offen who states that “feminism emerges as a concept that can encompass both an ideology and a movement for sociopolitical change based on a critical analysis of male privilege and women's subordination within any given society” (151). The second is a simple dictionary definition which described feminism as “belief in and advocacy of the political, economic, and social equality of the sexes expressed especially through organized activity on behalf of women's rights and interests” (“Feminism”). While I prefer the wording of the second definition given its focus on belief and action towards equality rather than privilege and subordination, the two definitions reach the same goal - describing feminism as an inseparable mix of beliefs and actions. There are many definitions of feminism in existence which are more complex. However, they too heavily, or solely, focus on the belief system of feminism at the expense of the activism which is implicit in all social movements. These two definitions are simple and by no means reflective of the many feminisms which exist, but they function to combine the joint beliefs and actions which I see as fundamental to defining feminism as a social movement. These definitions are a starting point for how I understand feminism and provides the view of feminism that I will base my analysis on in this work.

Given the prominent position of CBC News among Canadian consumers both online and offline I am particularly interested in news articles from CBC News’ website relating to feminism. I will be investigating both when and how feminism makes the news and how feminism is depicted or framed. Two specific research questions are of particular interest. First, what news stories

emerge when searching for feminism on CBC News' website? This question examines when feminism is considered newsworthy and what kind of articles CBC journalists are writing about feminism. The main topic, primary feminist issue, frequency of intersectional themes, the type and number of mentions of feminism, the role feminism plays in the article, the length of the article, and the types of the article will be of particular importance here. Whether feminism can be considered a prominent news topic or is undergoing an erasure from news content will also be examined under this question. The second research question is, how is feminism framed in online news articles from CBC News' website? This question examines how feminism is depicted when it does become newsworthy. With this question, I am specifically concerned with how feminism is depicted as a social movement, in other words, as a whole.

The research questions for this project build upon previous literature from Kaitlyn Mendes on the framing of feminism in newspaper articles from US and UK sources (Mendes "Reporting"; Mendes "Framing Feminism"; Mendes "Feminism Rules"; Mendes *Feminism in the News*). In her most comprehensive work to date, Mendes examined 555 articles pertaining to feminism from popular UK and US newspapers between the years 1968 and 1982 ("Reporting The Movement"; "Framing Feminism"). Generally, Mendes described the frames in binary terms, as either positive or negative, with only a small number coded as mixed or contradictory in nature. Mendes concludes that even though positive frames are more frequent, negative frames actually remained hegemonic during this period due to the specific nature of the positive frames and their legitimisation of feminism only under certain conditions ("Reporting The Movement"; "Framing Feminism").

In a newer study, Mendes compared the 555 newspaper articles from 1968-1982 to the 443 articles that she collected in 2008 to assess changes over time. She found "an erasure of feminist

activism” from the newspapers she examined and a de-politicisation and de-radicalisation of feminism (“Feminism Rules” 554). She then published a book in 2011 on the entirety of her research called *Feminism in the News: Representations of the Women’s Movement Since the 1960s*. Consequently, I am intent on evaluating any changes that may have occurred since Mendes’ last piece on this topic in 2011. I am particularly concerned with whether the framing of feminism as either positive or negative and the trend towards the erasure of feminism from the news observed by Mendes are still relevant in current online news content.

While my project builds upon that of Mendes there are several aspects of this project that make this a unique contribution to the area of feminism in the news. Most importantly, I am operating within a decidedly Canadian and online context. This is a considerable departure from Mendes’ work, which focused on print newspapers from the United States and the United Kingdom. More and more, news content consumption is shifting from print and television formats to an online format. Examining feminism in an online context is the next logical step in understanding how the newsmakers of today depict feminism. Examining the Canadian context will help to fill a gap in our cross-national understanding of feminism in the news. Moreover, while attentive in Mendes’ valence framing and its potential relevance to an online Canadian context I question this binary in my work. I did not, by default, code my analysis based on positive and negative categories simply because these frames exist in Mendes’ work and do not necessarily see the division into these categories to be the best way to understand news content about feminism in the current context. This is partially why critical discourse analysis was included in my methodology, as it allows for a novel and detailed reading of new discourses surrounding feminism.

The final contribution of my research comes from my interest in feminism as a social movement in the current context, as a combination of beliefs and activism instead of solely as a belief system or as activism. I am operating within an entirely different cultural and societal context concerning feminism than the years when Mendes published her work. The stakes feel high, as feminism fights a number of battles we thought may have been a part of the past. Over the past several years we have witnessed an explosion of feminist issues. #MeToo, #YesAllWomen, to #TimesUp, HeForShe, and the recent reversal of Roe vs. Wade in the United States are just a few examples. More recently in Canada we have witnessed this in the discussion and debate over gender pronouns in schools (Saskatchewan), the attacks on feminist pedagogy on Universities like Wilfrid Laurier, and the rise of Incels movements - not to mention the trolling over the Barbie movie. These debates put modern feminism back in the spotlight and perhaps are commensurate with the explosion of second-wave feminism between the '60s and '80s. When Mendes was writing there was a decline in interest and participation in feminism, third-wave feminism saw a global decrease in people calling themselves feminists, believing in the necessity of feminism, and participating openly and actively in feminist activism (Nicholson; Braithwaite). It has been argued that we are moving into, or already squarely in, a fourth wave of feminism where feminism is once again evolving its beliefs, goals, tactics, and strategies (Rivers; Munro; Zimmerman). These changes indicate that we are living within a different feminist context than that of Mendes. This new context not only lends uniqueness to my work but needs to be, and was, considered in the analysis and discussion of the results.

In summary, this research, and the questions I pose, add to the existing literature on feminism in the news and augments our understanding of how feminism is not only viewed by, but fashioned, shaped, and moulded in our society by trusted and powerful sources - online news.

While drawing inspiration from the literature on the framing of feminism in news content, this study adds a novel perspective by examining both an online and Canadian context.

I investigate the presented research questions using framing theory as my foundation. Specifically, I look to the Erving Goffman and Gregory Bateson sociological tradition which has inspired framing theory literature from individuals like Zhongdang Pan, Dietram Scheufele, Paul D'Angelo, and, of particular interest to me, Gaye Tuchman. I deploy Tuchman's classic work, *Making News*, in which she outlines the interpretive approach to framing theory and links it to feminist issues in the news. Tuchman describes the interpretive approach as concerned with newsmakers' and news organisations' ability to define what is considered newsworthy and actively define and shape the topics they cover (183-184). This approach is similar to the interactional or social construction approach to framing. In addition to the theory on framing, which acts as the main foundation of this project I look to a handful of other theoretical traditions including theories of representation and discourse. Methodologically I turn to content analysis and critical discourse analysis (CDA). Content analysis was employed to code the articles based on a number of inductive and deductive categories such as type of article and main topic. I then was guided by the work of Klaus Krippendorff and Norman Fairclough as I dove deeper into the content I initially coded. While content analysis has some implications for my discussion of frames, critical discourse analysis is used to examine the framing of feminism more explicitly. This process is carried out using Norman Fairclough's three-step method for CDA: description, interpretation, and explanation.

This work consists of six chapters. The first, this introduction, was written as an overview of the research topic and questions, background literature and information, theory and methods, and the justification and context of the research. Chapter Two is a comprehensive literature review

covering the history of feminism as well as feminism in the news. Chapter Three further outlines the theoretical foundations of this research, looking more in-depth at framing theory, social constructionism, and post-structuralist theories of representation and discourse. This chapter also describes my methodological process from the selection of CBC News to the data collection and analysis processes. Chapter Four covers the results of this research, looking at the outcomes of content analysis and discourse analysis. The final two chapters, Chapters Five and Six, cover a discussion of the results in relation to previous literature, the research questions, and the current conjunctural moment, and concluding remarks to bring this project to a close.

Chapter Two

Literature Review: The Story of Feminism in History and News

Part 1: A Brief Overview of the History of Feminism

Before providing an overview of feminism's history, as a social movement, it is important to discuss the wave metaphor which I use here. The metaphor of feminism's history as waves has received both criticism (Nicholson, Rivers, Bailey) and praise (van der Tuin). Criticisms include that it has outlived its usefulness, that it implies feminism is more unified than historically accurate (Nicholson), that it is too linear (Rivers), and that it might not demonstrate the complexity of feminism from the third wave onwards. I don't entirely agree that the metaphor itself needs to be jettisoned. Poor historical accounts that only focus on mainstream feminism and occlude the diversity of ideologies, groups, goals, and tactics that have characterised feminism from its inception are somewhat to blame. More diversity could add nuance to the metaphor. Despite its limitations, as others argue, it is a useful metaphor given that it suggests "both continuity and discontinuity" and is therefore "eminently suitable for characterizing developments in feminism" (van der Tuin 10). Despite its debated nature, the wave metaphor offers a collective and largely agreed-upon historical rendering. Since this metaphor is the convention, I will use it, but add date ranges when appropriate to create accuracy about the time periods being discussed, as there is often not a definitive and agreed-upon date range for each wave.

Another important point to note is that the majority of academic articles written on feminism's history are based on the United States context. Very few articles discuss the history of feminism in the United Kingdom and even fewer cover feminism in Canada. I attempt to focus on those sources which do concentrate on Canada but given the lack of an academic Canadian historical context much of what is written here comes from the history of our neighbours to the

south. There are a few reasons for this lacuna, none of which are a lack of a vibrant feminist history in Canada. First, Canada has a small population spread over a large area so organising broadly across Canada was difficult before the Internet. Second, the federated political system, with both provincial and federal governments, means that women in separate provinces/territories have faced different issues at different times. Therefore they often lobbied for changes individually and on separate timelines and saw those changes come to fruition years or decades apart. Both our geographical makeup and regional differences, including between Quebec and the rest of Canada, and between Indigenous women and White settler women, make the history of feminism in Canada incredibly complex. (Luxton 65-66). *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, which is referenced here several times, provides the most in-depth timeline of women's emancipation in Canada starting in the 1700s and continuing to the present.

Feminism in Canada, and throughout the Western world, is commonly divided into four waves. It is common to position the start of modern feminism in the early 20th century. However, many centuries prior, women had been mobilizing for many different causes concerning women's inequality, especially regarding changing the hegemonic view of the time that women were inferior to men (Hodgson-Wright 4). Arguably, these women were early feminists. The terms feminism and feminist, however, did not exist at the time and when they came into existence these women did not use the term for themselves. Some academics argue we should not use the term for women who did not choose it for themselves (Goldberg Moses, LeGates). However, these women worked towards many of the same goals as feminists who did use the term, as they focused on arguing that women's inferiority was "culturally imposed rather than naturally derived" (Hodgson-Wright 5).

Mary Wollstonecraft's 1790 book *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* is often used as the traditional beginning of first-wave feminism. During this time women were still fighting to change

sexist hegemonic ideologies (Sanders 15). Many significant feminist texts were written long before women mobilized for the vote. These texts focused on beliefs about women but also on making changes to the education of girls, expanding employment opportunities for women, and the legal subordination of women (Sanders 15-20). The activism of the time was largely focused on child custody and property laws, and education and employment opportunities for women (Sanders 18-20). According to Malinowska “public gatherings, speeches, and writing” were all common tactics during this time. In Canada, liberal, radical, and socialist feminism were all popular during the first wave (LeGates 31).

When looking specifically at what we conventionally think of as first-wave feminism, suffrage and the right to vote, Valeria Sanders states that “the issue of women’s suffrage was raised from the 1830s onwards, and more frequently from the 1860s” (23). “The first Canadian suffrage organization was founded in Toronto in 1876” (Adamson et al. 30). However, despite numerous other impactful legal changes won by women before the 20th century, the right to vote was only won federally in Canada in 1918 (The Canadian Encyclopedia). It is important to note that not all women received the right to vote in 1918. Indigenous women, for example, only received the right to vote in Canada throughout the 1960s depending on the province (The Canadian Encyclopedia). The winning of the vote in 1918 traditionally marks the end of the first wave (Adamson et al. 30). This time period in feminism can be summarised as the fight for equal rights under the law and was largely successful in accomplishing many advancements for women (Whelehan, Mohajan, Rampton). Modern feminism owes much to the early theorists and activists who fought women’s legal and ideological subordination whether or not they were themselves feminists or employed the term.

The second wave is often thought to have emerged after the Second World War in the 1960s in part from the societal changes made during the war which saw more women in the workforce (Mohajan 11). In Canada, there was an explosion of feminist movements and organisations during this time (LeGates 37) “The second wave shook the world [...] with radical positions on, mostly, the female body, sexuality, and relationships” (van der Tuin 10). Also of importance during this time was the personal sphere, or “social/familial relations” (Whelehan 8; Malinowska), hence the popular motto of the era “The Personal is Political” (Whelehan 13). Education and employment opportunities, reproductive rights, and violence against women were also fundamental issues (Mohajan 1; Rampton; Thornham). Liberal (institutional) feminism was popular in Canada during this wave with its focus on equal rights for women through legal means (Whelehan 29; Adamson et al. 71) but more grassroots feminism, such as radical, socialist, and Black feminism also found some footing before eventually being de-legitimised in favour of liberal feminism (Banet-Weiser 152; Adamson et al. 70-71).

It is often argued that second-wave feminism, while successful in advancing many of their causes, was essentialist and exclusionary to women facing multiple concurrent types of oppression, such as Black or working-class women. Sangster argues this is a consequence of how the history of feminism was constructed in the media and is not entirely reflective of the complex Canadian context which, while sorely lacking in attention to problems faced by certain women, did focus on more diverse issues than mainstream historical accounts suggest. Smith supports this notion by arguing that there is a Black feminist history, just as there is a White feminist history, and that the latter receives the bulk of media and academic attention. She states that “decades before the rise of the modern women’s liberation movement, Black women were organizing against their systemic rape at the hands of White racist men. Women civil rights activists, including Rosa Parks, were

part of a vocal grassroots movement to defend Black women subject to racist sexual assaults.” There were strong Black, Indigenous, and Latina movements occurring in Canada, and throughout the West, during the second wave (The Canadian Encyclopedia). While there is debate about when the second wave ended, most put the end of this feminist era between the 1980s and 1990s.

The third wave, which began around the 1990s still focused on reproductive rights and violence against women but expanded the movement's mandate to include LGBTQ discrimination and body positivity (Mohajan 13-14). According to Adamson et al., this wave can be

characterized by the demise or consolidating of many local women’s political groups and the struggle to preserve our gains and services in the face of widespread economic conservatism and cutbacks, conservative governments, and the growth of the right-wing. It has also seen minority women, especially women of colour, black and disabled women, challenge the extent to which the women’s movement represents their issues. (83)

During this time, mainstream feminism in Canada began to accept that the movement needed to be more diverse. This evolution needed to not only recognise the diversity already existing within the movement, and the important differences between women, but also make feminism a movement for all women, that organises for a broader set of problems/goals/solutions (Backhouse 9; Adamson et al. 79). Even with this change in ideology, feminism did not always “withstand the challenge of women of colour, immigrant women, and women of the First Nations” (Backhouse 6-7). Springer states that third-wave feminism was still exclusionary to women of colour. She argues that Black feminists are not so much entering feminism in the third wave but are continuing a long tradition of women of colour fighting their subjugation and oppression. That they are “building on the legacy left by nineteenth century abolitionists, antilynching crusaders, club women, civil rights organizers, black nationalist revolutionaries, and 1970s black feminists.”

(Springer 1079) Thornham similarly argues that the biggest inspiration for the women's movement was the civil rights movement (27).

A common theme during the third wave was criticism of the second wave and a desire to distance the movement from the pitfalls of their predecessors. New third-wave feminists recognised “the racist, heterosexist, classist and other implications of the erasure of difference” between women (Lotz 5-6). Three types of feminism; reactionary feminism (anti-feminism), women of colour feminism, and postfeminism, all grew out of different responses to second-wave feminism and its successes and failures (Lotz 5). Postfeminism quickly became the dominant ideology in the media during the third wave. It can be seen as an anti-feminist ideology which actively undermines feminism and its achievements through one of two means. Either by suggesting that feminism is no longer necessary as gender equality has been reached (McRobbie 255) or by claiming that feminism has failed women and made their lives worse (Faludi; Ging 50). As critics of the term postfeminism argue, it attacks “feminism as a necessary politics”, positioning feminism as outdated (Banet-Weiser 153, Gamble 36). This has caused many women to adopt “a ‘no, but...’ version of feminism” which over time was damaging to the movement (Rampton; Hall and Salupo Rodriguez 878). Rampton explains that,

in addition to the sense that many women's needs had been met, feminism's perceived silence in the 1990s was a response to the successful backlash campaign by the conservative press and media, especially against the word feminism and its purported association with male-bashing and extremism.

Many argue that postfeminism was never a reality and that feminism is still necessary to this day well into the fourth wave (Gamble; Hall and Salupo-Rodriguez 899).

There is quite a bit of debate about when the third wave ended and the fourth wave began. Different sources place the end of the third wave anywhere from 2000 to the mid-2010s. Not much has yet been written on the fourth wave as there's still debate about whether the changes we have witnessed are substantial enough to warrant the title of a new era (Munro). The fourth wave, however, does mark a departure from postfeminism thought maintaining hegemony. We have also witnessed a massive change in tactics, namely the introduction and common use of online methods of activism, which have renewed feminist activism worldwide both online and offline. Munro argues that the internet, and increasingly intersectionality as well, does mark a shift to the fourth wave (23-24). This claim is supported by both Mohajan and Zimmerman as well in their respective works on the fourth wave.

The fourth wave is characterised best by this quote, toward the 2010s, feminism revived under actions that spread internationally across the web and in the streets to protest violence against women and children [...] social media became a real catalyst for the fight against women's harassment, professional discrimination, media sexism, and gender shaming. It also became a step toward a globally inclusive, participatory, and insightful feminism" (Malinowska 5).

During this time, hashtag feminism grew in popularity with many social media campaigns gaining incredible visibility and participation such as #MeToo and #TimesUp (Mohajan 15). In terms of the diversity described by Malinowska, intersectionality is quickly becoming a mainstream ideology during this era (St-Pierre; Zimmerman). Feminism is much more focused on inclusion without erasing the importance of differences between women. According to Rampton, "feminism is a part of a larger consciousness of oppression along with racism, ageism, classicism, ableism, and sexual orientation". Zimmerman supports this idea, saying that "intersectionality is the

dominant framework being employed by fourth wave feminists” and is demonstrated through online campaigns like #SolidarityIsForWhiteWomen (54).

Intersectionality is a term coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989 to describe the unique oppression faced by Black women on account of them being Black, women, and members of the working class (Crenshaw 1989; Yuval-Davis 195). Now it is often employed to explain “how women are simultaneously positioned as women and, for example, as black, working-class, lesbian or colonial subjects” (Phoenix and Pattynama 187). A more recent definition of the concept comes from Hill Collins and Bilge.

Intersectionality is a way of understanding and analyzing the complexity in the world, in people, and in human experiences. The events and conditions of social and political life and the self can seldom be understood as shaped by one factor. They are generally shaped by many factors in diverse and mutually influencing ways. When it comes to social inequality, people's lives and the organization of power in a given society are better understood as being shaped not by a single axis of social division, be it race or gender or class, but by many axes that work together and influence each other. Intersectionality as an analytic tool gives people better access to the complexity of the world and of themselves.

While we see the beginnings of intersectional theory in the 1980s, the idea existed long before then. For example in her 1981 book, *Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism*, bell hooks discusses the unique oppression faced by Black women due to combined sexism and racism they face and the failure of both the White feminist movement and Black civil rights movement to adequately attend to that uniquely compounded oppression. The 1982 anthology *All the Women Are White, All the Blacks Are Men, But Some of Us Are Brave*, brought together a number of scholars who argued the same point. However, it wasn't until the end of the third wave, into the

beginning of the fourth wave that we see the notion of intersectionality finding traction in mainstream feminism. Now, 50 years after the topic was first broached, it is well established in feminist theory that some individuals face multiple types of oppression at the same time. Feminism's actual ability to contend with the ideology of intersectionality in its inner workings is another story as we have seen numerous protests about mainstream feminism's lack of intersectionality in the last decade. In this case, theory does not always equate to reality.

Intersectionality is one facet of the diversity we are seeing emerge in current discussions within feminism. Women of colour, LGBTQ women, disabled women, etc. have now found a warranted stronghold in feminism. Mainstream feminism arguably still has a lot of work to do in terms of being fully inclusive, but within fourth-wave sources we see the intersectionality, diversity, and complexity of feminism growing instead of shrinking over time. In line with this trend, we see feminism taking an interest in other social issues such as environmentalism, climate change and animal rights. We can further see the complexity of feminism when we look at the contestation and controversy which commonly exists within the movement and also that which surrounds the movement throughout the entirety of its existence.

These tensions within, between, and outside of feminism(s) are often brought into the spotlight by mainstream media (Rivers 2; Gill 610) which have demonstrated their desire and ability to tear down feminism seemingly at every chance they get (Faludi). Inside the movement, we see disagreements and disputes between mainstream and fringe or marginalised feminism, White versus women of colour feminism and the exclusionary nature of mainstream White feminism, between the numerous different types of feminism, as well as about the origins of oppression, the role/place of men in the movement, and the existence of postfeminism. Contestation over goals, ideologies, and membership has led to numerous different types of

feminism emerging over time (LeGates 5). Delmar argues that it actually “makes more sense to speak of a plurality of feminism than of one” (9) given the fragmented nature of feminism (11).

These contestations, and the fragmentation it has led to, are not necessarily bad for feminism. Whelehan argues that “it is not always easy or desirable to divide up feminism into discrete strands; it is clear that feminist thought contains perspectives which sometimes hold polarized views on the origin and perpetuation of gender difference, and from thence wider theoretical disagreements can escalate” (2). She further argues that “the main strength of modern feminist thought is its interdisciplinarity, its resistance to easy categorization” (2-3) and that “it would be nothing short of offensive to suggest that such interventions have disrupted feminism’s putative unity; instead they remind us that to lay claim to the title ‘feminist’ is not to adhere to a certain orthodoxy’ (20). This is a sentiment backed by Marx Ferree and Hess who say that controversy is inherent in feminism and is not a negative trait but good for advancing the movement, by Lewis who argues that feminism is fractured but that this is positive because it leads to more, and much needed, diversity in the movement, and by Bailey who argues that “complexity, multiplicity, and contradiction can enrich our identities as individual feminists and the movement as a whole (Bailey 26). Taking it a step further Whelehan states that “there are of course dangers in foregrounding feminism’s conflicts without suggesting that they are positive and organic to the wider aims of feminist discourse, which constantly remakes itself in newer guises of resistance” (245).

Feminism has also received backlash from outside the movement. Freedman states that no “feminist movement has proceeded without opposition, including formidable backlash in every era in which women have gained public authority” (3). The most common example of this backlash would be anti-feminism or the men’s rights movement. Postfeminism would be another more

complex example as it is an ideology which began outside of the movement but eventually penetrated the movement. Both postfeminist ideologies and anti-feminism/men's rights ideologies have attacked feminism. As we saw in the description of the third wave, postfeminism is a best an "ambivalent perspective" and at worst an attack on the necessity of feminism by very convincingly arguing that women's equality has been achieved (Jordan 19) Anti-feminism ideologies, on the other hand, believe that it is men who suffer from gender inequality, gender inequality is good or natural, that feminism attacks men and their rights or that feminism is bad for women (Jordan 33). According to Ging, anti-feminism wants to retake the power that men believe they have lost and that they blame on feminism's advancements. Steuter states that there is "a dialectical relationship that has existed between these movements [feminism and anti-feminism] for the last century" and that "the struggle for dominance has intensified" (288).

Overall, the picture that emerges from this history of feminism is that of a complex movement with a vibrant, diverse, and contested history. A movement which is moving into a new phase with fresh goals, tactics, and beliefs while still handling many of the same themes we have seen throughout history.

Part 2: Feminism in the News

It has been clear since the early 20th century that the media plays an important role in constructing feminism, or in the "public's understanding of feminism" (Erdamn-Farell 645). News media shapes perceptions of a social movement based on which issues they choose to cover or ignore. A good example of this process would be the media's over-representation of abortion at the expense of many other important feminist issues, even other reproductive rights issues (Barakso and Schaffner 22). There is proof that frames in the news impact attitudes towards feminism. In one such study, the framing of feminism impacted audience attitudes toward gender

equality, support for women's rights/non-traditional gender roles, and the importance of women's issues with most of the common frames negatively impacting attitudes (Terkildsen and Schnell 879). There are two trends in the literature on the framing of feminism in news media. First, are the negative frames and second, are the neutral or mixed frames. These two categories appear equally in the literature. There is only one study which claims the framing was largely positive in nature.

Looking at the negative or non-existent frames, we can see that from its inception feminism was largely ignored by the mainstream media "with the exception of a few high-profile incidents such as a protest of the 1968 Miss America Pageant." (Baker Beck 142). This largely non-existent coverage continued during the second wave. Ashley and Olson claim that "the women's movement was rarely covered, and when it was, it was treated with humor and puzzlement [...] in particular the press delegitimized the feminists and legitimized the anti-feminists" (272). Even after the second wave and into the '90s the media continued to ignore feminism and declared its irrelevance claiming that equality had been reached. In the third wave, feminism was essentially over according to the media (Bradley xi-xii).

When the media wasn't outright snubbing feminism it was habitually treating it with derision. Countless studies have shown that in every era of feminism, the media has heavily relied on damaging frames in their constructions of feminism. Simpson states that the "mass media met it [feminism] with disbelief and ridicule" and while coverage improved slightly in the '60-'70s, becoming a little more serious, most significant events/issues/changes were still largely ignored (40). Loke et al. corroborate this trend with the frames they discovered in their examination of US news websites. Namely that only some people have the agency to define feminism, that old and new forms of feminism are in tension, and that feminism is an identity, not a social movement.

Overall they argue that these frames portray “feminism in general in a negative light” (129). This trend has even been witnessed in the news media in Europe as well. Van Zoonen revealed harmful coverage of feminism in newspapers from the Netherlands between the ‘60s and ‘70s. The three negative frames discovered were that feminism is deviant, that feminists are not normal women, and that feminism is anti-men (453).

This trend of negative framing carries well into the third wave as well. Barker-Plummer’s literature review of news media and feminism in the United States over a 40-year period shows “problematic public construction of 2nd and 3rd wave feminism” (146) and that forces such as “sexism, racism, masculinism, and liberalism” impacted how feminism was mediated during this time period (192). Others have found that many of the same frames used to undermine second-wave feminism, such as personalisation and trivialisation, were still present in news content during the third wave. However, some of the overtly damaging frames, like demonisation, were less common (Bronstein 783). Nonetheless, this does not mean that the third wave is depicted fairly, accurately, or positively. The third wave was employed to frame the second wave further undesirably and “was defined against the second wave in ways that disparage the second wave” (Bronstein 783). One frame unique to the third wave was feminism lite, in which newer forms of feminism were positioned as an agreeable version of feminism compared to second-wave feminism (Bronstein 789). Another way that news media negatively framed feminism was to create myths about the movement being problematic and the reason for women’s unhappiness. In reality, women claimed that the continued existence of gender inequality was the culprit undermining their happiness (Faludi 9-10). According to Faludi,

the truth is that the last decade has seen a powerful counterassault on women’s rights, a backlash, an attempt to retract the handful of small and hard-won victories that the feminist

movement did manage to win for women. The counterassault is largely insidious: in a kind of pop-culture version of the Big Lie, it stands the truth boldly on its head and proclaims that the very steps that have elevated women's position have actually led to their downfall. (9-10)

Unfortunately, the trend of negative coverage does not end with the third wave. As successful as the media campaign of backlash that Faludi describes was, the movement itself never ended and thus damaging coverage continued as well.

Into the fourth wave, we still see this framing trend endure. According to Sisco and Lucas, the news media's attention to feminism during the 2008 presidential election was not beneficial to the movement (502). This coverage simplified and trivialised the movement "by linking it to the non-traditional candidates in the race (Hillary Clinton, Barack Obama, and Sarah Palin), which resulted in feminism presented as a rivalry, both ideologically and generationally fractured" and through not taking "the opportunity to discuss how these candidates' issue positions might align with feminist goals" (Sisco and Lucas 502). Even as late as 2014 we see news coverage in the United Kingdom following this trend. Darmon demonstrated how coverage of SlutWalk commonly made use of a postfeminist frame when depicting feminism, which she argues is a negative frame when compared to coverage from online blogs (701). What is clear from the breadth and depth of this literature is that feminism is not well depicted in news media. While some advancements have been made, the general picture of mediated feminism being presented, even into the fourth wave, is still quite bleak.

There is another set of equally thorough and robust literature which demonstrates that some progress is being made. This type of literature falls into the second category of the mixed or neutral framing of feminism. This category can be further divided into two subthemes. First, studies that

illustrate a mix of positive, neutral, and negative frames. Second, those that claim a more complex mediated feminism that can be said to be neither fully positive nor fully negative. However, both of these arguments are often made in tandem. The work by Kaitlynn Mendes on the “fragmented and contradictory” framing of feminism in UK and US newspapers between 1968 and 2008 is probably the best-known literature in this area. It is also the piece that the current study is largely based upon (‘Reporting the Women’s Movement’ 483). In her work, she reported three types of frames common from the ‘60s to the ‘80s. The first was positive framing which included positioning feminism as effective, liberating, unified and necessary. The second was negative or oppositional framing in which feminism was seen as illegitimate, ineffective, unsupported, and deviant. The third was mixed or complex frames such as rejecting feminism but supporting its goals or discussing different types of feminism within the movement (like Black feminism), or feminism being “constructed as a grey area” (‘Framing Feminism’ 87-93). Mendes argues that despite there being more positive frames, general support for, and legitimisation of the movement, was only done within certain boundaries and that, overall, negative ideologies remained dominant, hidden under the guise of positive frames. These boundaries function to legitimise certain types of feminism while de-legitimising others (483). Non-radical, liberal, feminine feminists were legitimised while radical and non-feminine feminists were not (‘Reporting the Women’s Movement’ 494).

In her book *Feminism in the News*, Mendes further elaborates on the mixed frames from the ‘60s-80s. She claims that,

while most coverage could be said to support or oppose the movement, a smaller range of articles constructed it as complex and contradictory, demonstrating instances where

journalists did not merely report the movement in black or white terms but reflected the diverse nature of the movement, its actors and their desired outcomes (49-50).

There were two ways in which this complexity and contradiction were constructed, balance and diversity. Balance involved showcasing feminism alongside oppositional views such as anti-feminism and diversity often involved discussing different types of feminism. In her most recent work, she examined changes in coverage between her original second-wave sample from '68-'82 and a new sample from 2008. She found three new trends. The first is an erasure of radical feminism in the 2008 sample. The second was the depoliticisation of feminism by making it individual/personal and through covering more soft topics like fashion at the expense of serious political issues. The third was a deradicalisation of feminism through a rejection of the second wave as old and extreme. Overall she claims that coverage reflected neoliberal ideologies which were hegemonic at the time ('Feminism Rules' 564-565).

Several other studies support Mendes' findings. Askanius and Moller-Hartley examined Danish and Swedish news coverage of #MeToo and also found a complex mix of frames. In particular, they observed two neutral frames ("online campaign connecting individuals, part of a broader long standing social movement for gender justice") and two negative frames ("unnecessary campaign fuelled by cultures of political correctness, a witch hunt and kangaroo court") (19). De Benedictis et al. had similar findings for UK news coverage of #MeToo. They argue that the media attention gave visibility to the campaign but that there were still several problems with the coverage. It depoliticised and individualised the problem by only focusing on the experiences of White wealthy celebrities, only covering the campaign in line with each news provider's ideological alignment, and failing to discuss solutions (De Benedictis et al. 733-734). Lind and Salo observed the same trend in broadcast news in the US where the frames were mixed

but negative/ignored were still the dominant frames (222-224). In other studies, the specific source changed the type of coverage with many news sources providing overall positive attention while Fox provided a more complex picture of feminism (Nicolini and Hansen 3-4). Others support Mendes' idea of positivity towards feminism only within certain limits. Cancian and Ross argue that news coverage demonstrates acceptance and support of feminism within certain hegemonic ideological boundaries in line with their political leanings (24-25). Dean found that British newspapers provide visibility and support to feminism only within certain hegemonic boundaries, and calls this process the 'domestication' of feminism (391). Larrondo Ureta similarly argues that coverage of the women's movement in Spanish dailies during the second wave was ambiguous, providing visibility while working to obscure the movement's more radical side. This only allowed feminism to be "ground-breaking within certain limits" (Larrondo Ureta 70).

While numerous studies claim both negative and mixed coverage, what is blatantly apparent from this literature is that mediated feminism is not commonly framed in a positive way. The last published piece from Mendes was in 2012. Since then what we have generally seen are several case studies about the framing of specific feminist campaigns such as the Women's March on Washington, #MeToo, and SlutWalk for example. What is missing from this area of work is an up-to-date overview of how feminism as a social movement is framed in news content. Furthermore, literature on both the online and Canadian context is currently non-existent. This study hopes to contribute to the intersection of these lacking areas while building upon the breadth of literature which already exists on related topics.

Chapter Three

Theoretical Foundations and Methodology: Content Analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis, and How Framing Theory Brings It All Together

This project examines two research questions. First, what news stories emerge when searching for feminism on CBC News' website? In other words, when does feminism become newsworthy to CBC? The second research question considers how feminism is framed in online news articles from CBC News' website. This question examines how feminism is depicted when it does become newsworthy. Given these two questions several theories were considered important to apply along with a multi-methods approach. This chapter will outline the specifics of these theories and methods.

Theoretical Foundations

Framing theory is the primary theoretical foundation of this work. Framing theory has grown from a myriad of traditions including sociological, psychological, and anthropological. This project follows the sociological tradition; the primary text of which is Erving Goffman's *Frame Analysis*. In this work, Goffman positions frames as the "organization of experience" and frameworks as the way in which individuals organise or make sense of social experiences and events (11). Goffman was, in general, heavily focused on the individual or audience level of framing theory. In other words, how individuals might use frameworks to understand social events or, in relation to the current topic, how audiences use frames to understand news content. This is where Goffman's work becomes less relevant to this project. The legacy of Goffman, and to a certain extent Bateson, who wrote about frames alongside Goffman in the '70s, has allowed for researchers such as Zhongdang Pan, Dietram Scheufele, Paul D'Angelo, and, in particular, Gaye

Tuchman to emerge. All of these authors are more relevant to understanding the frames which occur in news content, and not in the minds of the news consumers.

For this project I rely upon the interpretive and interactional/social construction approach to framing theory, specifically examining news media frames, or frames which are created and distributed in news content. Before getting into the specifics of what that theoretical approach looks like, a definition of frames in relation to news media is necessary. According to Pan, “framing is a process of social actors using symbolic means to structure the social world” (1). In this way, frames are a type of theme within a news article which impacts *how* audiences think about a given topic (D’Angelo 873). In general, framing is considered a significant process in the study of news “based on the assumption that how an issue is characterized in news reports can have an influence on how it is understood by audiences” (Scheufele and Tewksbury 11).

The existing research on news media and framing can be separated among several lines which help to define what frames mean to each individual researcher. First, researchers are either examining media frames, audience frames, or a combination of the two. Media frames are those which exist within the news content itself while audience frames exist within the minds of the individuals consuming the news content. I will be working with the former. Another categorisation comes from Pan who states that, “news framing research to date can be roughly grouped into two broad categories: (1) identifying frames and framing devices in news, and (2) examining the effects of news framing” (2). According to D’Angelo, these two categories can be further separated into four groups. They are,

- (a) to identify thematic units called frames, (b) to investigate the antecedent conditions that produce frames, (c) to examine how news frames activate, and interact with, an individual’s prior knowledge to affect interpretations, recall of information, decision making, and

evaluations, and (d) to examine how news frames shape social-level processes such as public opinion and policy issue debates. (873)

As previously stated, my approach focuses on media frames, not audience frames and is specifically concentrated on identifying frames and framing devices in news (or identifying thematic units called frames, to use D'Angelo's terminology).

The interpretive approach to framing is situated squarely within analysing media frames and identifying frames and framing devices in news. This approach goes further than delineating the level of analysis and its specific interests. It also adds a particular theoretical perspective into the equation regarding what news does in society and how frames play into that process. I am most aligned with Gaye Tuchman's classic work, which provides an outline of the interpretive approach and links it to feminist issues in news content. In *Making News*, Tuchman describes the interpretive approach as one which,

emphasizes the activities of newswriters and news organizations, rather than social norms, as it does not presuppose that the social structure produces clearly delineated norms defining what is newsworthy. Instead, it argues, newswriters simultaneously invoke and apply norms, they define them. That is, notions of newsworthiness receive their definitions from moment to moment, as, for instance, newspaper editors negotiate which items are to be carried on page one. Similarly, this approach argues, news does not mirror society. It helps to constitute it as a shared social phenomenon, for in the process of describing an event, news defines and shapes that event, much as news stories construed and constructed the early period of the modern women's movement as the activities of ridiculous bra burners. (183-184)

While the interpretive approach is more focused on news content itself and less explicitly on frames, it is very similar to the interactional or social construction approach which is explicitly employed to study frames. This perspective stems from Bateson and Goffman's work and "views framing as a co-constructive process where language and other symbols are used by actors to fortify existing frames or invoke new ones" (Lacy G. McNamee 2). According to McNamee, an interactional or social construction approach depicts frames "as drawing our attention toward certain elements and away from others in ways that prompt particular interpretations of and responses to situations, relationships, and issues" (4). In this way, the intersectional approach argues, in much the same way as the interpretive approach, that news content shapes and constructs the topics it covers. Given the similarities between Tuchman's interpretive approach to news content and the interactional/social construction approach to frames, both are applied to construct my understanding of frames within news media, their importance, and their potential impacts.

In addition to the theory on framing presented here, which acts as the main foundation of this project, I also look to a handful of other theoretical traditions to build a theoretical context upon which my analysis is based. These include social constructionism and post-structuralist theories of representation and discourse. Post-structuralism is of particular importance for this project, as I will be working with the idea of conjunctural moments. Texts such as *Understanding Poststructuralism* by James Williams, *Poststructuralism: A Very Short Introduction* by Catherine Belsey and "Interpreting the Crisis" by Stuart Hall and Doreen Massey are relevant as they position context and conjuncture as paramount to successful research. They do away with structuralist beliefs in the existence of universal knowledge and our ability to discern them, bringing ideas such as limits on knowledge (Williams) and unavoidable changes in meaning over time (Belsey) into the spotlight. While Williams and Belsey concentrate on defining foundational post-structuralist

thought, “Interpreting the Crisis” focuses on a discussion of conjunctures which are given “a specific and distinctive shape” by a set of naturalised ideologies within a society (Hall and Massey 57). Hall and Massey treat these conjunctures as frameworks for the way people think, speak, and act during specific time periods and thus are foundational to understanding and analysing texts created during that time (62). Conjunctural moments then are significant time periods which bring about a new framework for thinking, speaking, and acting towards any given topic. Together these texts position interpretation as entirely context dependent. They demonstrate the impossibility of properly carrying out an analysis without considering the larger context(s) within which the texts were created, and the interpretation is taking place, whether that be political, economic, cultural, or some combination thereof.

The history of feminism was discussed in Chapter Two as a part of the literature review. What that literature does is illustrate the current context in which feminism exists and the defining aspects of the movement in contemporary culture. It provides us with feminism’s current conjunctural moment. In other words, it provides us with the necessary information, or context, to carry out an analysis on content about feminism. Keeping post-structuralism and conjunctural analysis in mind, I will consider when feminism has become particularly relevant over the past few years and what triggered that relevance. These include important moments such as the Roe vs. Wade overturning and the rise of intersectional feminism. Moments such as these create distinctive contexts in which feminism is discussed in a certain way within the media. Therefore, these conjunctures need to be considered during the analysis of the news articles. I will also consider changes in feminist ideologies and actions that we have seen in the last decade. Especially in comparison to earlier waves of feminism, as these changes also contribute to the conjunctural moment in which feminism exists in a way similar to important events or occurrences.

Social constructionism becomes relevant for this project when considering its main tenant that “reality is made, not found”. That it is the activities of society which create our reality, and just as importantly how we conceptualise that reality (Klaus Krippendorff “Social Construction”). In this way, social constructionism works in tandem with post-structuralism and interpretive/interactional framing theory as it does not believe in universal structures and truths. Specifically it does not believe they exist outside of society and thus outside of context. Social constructionism works from the tenants that our reality, and thus our way of thinking about any given thing, is created by our society. The thinking of Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann on the social construction of reality is of particular significance for my analysis. This text positions knowledge as socially constructed, and knowledge acquisition, as socially constrained. It places human activity, such as news creation and consumption, at the center of the creation, maintenance, and altering of discourses. In other words, discourses do not exist without the activities a society collectively partakes in which creates and maintains those discourses, sometimes to the point of making them appear naturalised, or as common sense. Using this theoretical perspective, news articles about feminism are positioned as socially constructing a specific reality, or set of discourses, about feminism.

When discussing discourse, both representation theory, specifically referencing Hall, and discourse theory following the Foucauldian tradition become relevant. In his book, *Representation: Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices*, Hall defines representation as “the production of meaning through language” (10). However, he uses the term language broadly, more along the lines of what would traditionally be considered a sign system, possibly written or spoken, but not necessarily written or spoken. Hall presents three different theories about how sign systems represent the world. The constructionist approach is particularly significant for this

project. This theory of representation argues that “meaning is constructed in and through language” and that “representations do not simply reflect the world, but construct it” (Stuart Hall 21; Rebecca Coleman 33). According to Hall,

The conventional view used to be that 'things' exist in the material and natural world; that their material or natural characteristics are what determines or constitutes them; and that they have a perfectly clear meaning, *outside* of how they are represented. Representation, in this view, is a process of secondary importance, which enters into the field only after things have been fully formed and their meaning constituted. But since the 'cultural turn' in the human and social sciences, meaning is thought to be *produced* - constructed - rather than simply 'found'. Consequently, in what has come to be called a 'social constructionist approach', representation is conceived as entering into the very constitution of things. (5)

Hall's theory of representation is closely connected to the interpretive/interactional theory of framing, post-structuralism, and social constructionism. This is because it is focused on how representation shifts meaning-making from an external process existing within the “natural world” to something that is constructed in the “social world”. Meaning then, becomes entirely dependent upon the various contexts in which it is created, and the processes engaged to maintain it, such as media depictions. Using this theory, online news articles can be thought of as representations of feminism which play a substantial role in how society conceptualises it as a social movement.

Moving onto the notion of discourse, in his book, *Representation*, Hall conceptualises of discourse as,

ways of referring to or constructing knowledge about a particular topic of practice: a cluster (or *formation*) of ideas, images and practices, which provide ways of talking about, forms of knowledge and conduct associated with, a particular topic, social activity or institutional

site in society. These *discursive formations*, as they are known, define what is and is not appropriate in our formulation of, and our practices in relation to, a particular subject or site of social activity. (6)

This is quite similar to the way that Michel Foucault understands the term in works such as *Power/Knowledge*, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, and *The Order of Discourse*. What is most thought-provoking about Foucault's theories, however, is not necessarily his conceptualisation of discourse, which I believe is neatly summarised by Hall, but his theories about how discourse and power function in tandem. Foucault positions discourse as power's main instrument. According to Foucault, discourse can be "understood as practices of meaning-making embedded in specific positions of power and producing specific versions of subjectivity from those positions" (Chouliaraki). Through discourse, knowledge and regimes of truth are created. Both of which function to produce and maintain certain power relations; usually about who has control over the discourse or who the discourse benefits (Foucault "Power/Knowledge" 115). From this theoretical perspective, the ways in which feminism is framed in online news articles can be considered to create discourses about feminism which are deeply embedded in power structures. What these theories accomplish when combined is positioning online news articles, and their creation, as socially created and constrained texts. Texts which are made up, not only of basic content, but also frames, which themselves play a role in developing representations and powerful discourses about a topic. Texts which can only be accurately studied and understood within the appropriate context(s). With the theoretical context of my analysis in place, the next section of this chapter covers the methodology applied to complete data collection and analysis processes.

Methodology

Data Collection

Current statistics concerning commonly accessed online news sources in Canada show that CBC is the most popular online news source among Canadians. Approximately 23% of English-speaking Canadians access CBC's online website for their news on a weekly basis. Among French speakers that number jumps to 32% accessing Radio-Canada weekly (Newman et al. 119). Given their prominence in the Canadian news market, CBC was the clear choice for a project examining the Canadian news arena.

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC/Radio-Canada) was founded in 1936 based on the recommendation made by the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Act in 1932 to create a publicly owned broadcasting company (Eaman). While CBC started as a radio broadcaster and regulator, it has since grown to offer services across radio, television, and online formats, striving to be available "how, where and when Canadians want it" ("Information About Programs"). Their current mandate is to,

inform, enlighten and entertain; to contribute to the development of a shared national consciousness and identity; to reflect the regional and cultural diversity of Canada; and to contribute to the development of Canadian talent and culture. To achieve its mandate, the CBC/Radio Canada produces, procures, and distributes Canadian programming in English, French and eight Aboriginal languages and broadcasts a selection of programs around the world. ("Organization Profile")

CBC is comprised of many divisions which help to achieve this mandate. CBC News is one such division. Founded in 1941 by The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, CBC News is responsible for its English-language news programming across radio, television, and several online formats

including social media, podcasts, their website, <https://www.cbc.ca/news>, and their app “CBC News” (CBC News).

Even in 2022, CBC News continues the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation’s publicly owned and government-funded financial model. While CBC does not publicly provide financial information for each of its divisions, we know from its annual report that, in their 2021-2022 fiscal year, CBC itself had a total revenue of 651M and relied on 1240M in government funding (*Annual Report 3*). Given this government-funded and publicly owned model CBC itself, and consequently CBC News is supposed to be a non-partisan and politically neutral source. However, since the early 2000s, there have been allegations of political bias in CBC News content. In particular, some have argued that CBC News television content is biased towards the left based on an “extensive Southam News/COMPAS national survey conducted in April, 2002” (Policy Options). The results of this study stirred considerable debate around whether CBC should continue to receive government funding. The results were ultimately shown to be inconclusive based on the methodological choices of the study which led to an inability to draw any conclusions about the actual political leanings of CBC News (Carafa). Nonetheless, in response to this controversy, CBC hired an external company (Ipsos Reid) in 2010 to investigate these allegations. They found that “there is little differentiation across the main Canadian news organizations in terms of their performance delivering against fairness and balance overall, and by platform and by types of news specifically” (*The News Report 4*). It should be noted, however, that all of these studies focus on the consumers’ perspective of political bias in CBC and other Canadian news organisations. They do not examine, or even consider, actual content published by these organisations. While audience experiences with news is an important aspect of studying perceived news bias, it is impossible to make convincing conclusions about the existence or nonexistence of actual news bias in Canada

without also examining news content itself. Irrespective of the controversy around perceived bias and, given the lack of convincing proof of actual bias, CBC News is the obvious choice when studying the Canadian news landscape due to its financial model and its ubiquity in Canadian consumers' news repertoires.

In terms of data collection, I specifically collected news articles from CBC News and not from Radio Canada or a combination of the two. Given that I speak English more fluently than French, undertaking an analysis of news articles written in French would have greatly decreased the quality of my analysis. Furthermore, a search for “féminisme” on the Radio-Canada website only yields seven results. This is not nearly enough to make any kind of reliable conclusions with the methods chosen for this project.

The data collection process involved four steps. First, I navigated to CBC online which can be found at this link, <https://www.cbc.ca>. Next, I typed the search query “feminism” into the search bar in the top right-hand corner of the screen. When results appeared I specified that I wanted only news articles by selecting “News” from the list of options under the search bar, this filtered the results and articles were collected from these results. In total, at the time of this search, it yielded 595 results.

Given that 595 articles would have been too large of a dataset for a project of this size the decision was made to collect 150 of those articles. The first 150 articles which met one specific criterion were collected. That criterion was having a substantial written component. Many of the results which appeared were videos or podcasts with a short caption. These did not qualify for collection. All of the 150 articles collected were published between 2010 and 2022 with the largest portion, 62.7%, being published between 2016 and 2019. January, March, September, and December were the most popular months for publication, holding 57.3% of the total articles. 47.3%

of the articles were written by news associations like CBC News or The Associated Press, while the remainder were written by a variety of authors, 72% of which were women. After data collection took place, data analysis commenced and both content analysis and critical discourse analysis were completed. This process will be explained at length in the next section.

Data Analysis

Data analysis occurred in a two-step process involving content analysis and critical discourse analysis. Content analysis is a method by which data is coded or otherwise catalogued in an inductive or deductive manner, grouped into categories, and eventually placed into themes which describe the examined text in a specific manner. Here, content analysis was used to answer the first research question: what news stories emerge when searching for feminism on CBC News' website? The goal was to describe the news articles presented and uncover when feminism becomes newsworthy.

Content analysis was carried out following Klaus Krippendorff's method in his book *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*. This method involves three steps: sampling, unitising, and coding. During sampling, content was chosen for analysis using the cluster tactic. This method of sampling is described by Krippendorff as a "technique of choice when analysts cannot enumerate all units of analysis but find lists or larger groups of such units, or clusters" (*Content Analysis* 120). In this case, there were a total of 595 online news articles. Given the scope of this project, not all of these articles could be included in the analysis. Therefore, a cluster of 150 articles was sampled from the entire 595 articles. The second step, unitising, involved breaking up the text in a meaningful way to create coding units. For this project, syntactical distinctions ("natural relative to the grammar of the medium") were how coding units were created (Krippendorff *Content Analysis* 108). The coding units for this portion of data analysis were the

individual news articles themselves. The final step, coding, can itself be broken up into different sequential processes depending on which type of coding is required. Satu Elo and Helvi Kyngas’ outlines of both the deductive and inductive content analysis processes were applied as guides when completing the analysis. Figure 1 provides an overview of both methods.

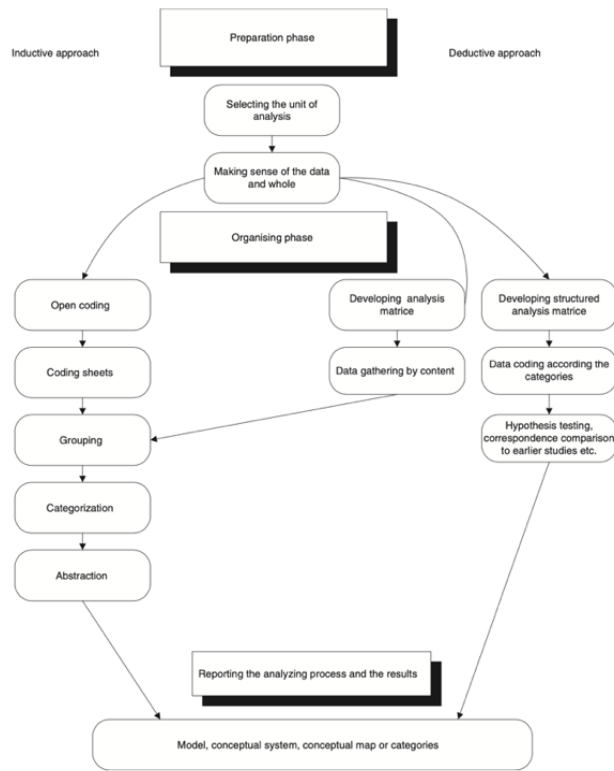


Figure 1. Inductive and Deductive Content Analysis Process from Satu Elo and Helvi Kyngas; “The Qualitative Content Analysis Process”; *JAN Research Methodology*, vol. 62, no. 1; 2008; p. 110.

The articles were examined for a number of different features and characteristics. Date published, author name and gender, type of article, length of the article, main topic, main feminist issue, the role of feminism in the text, number and type of mentions, and intersectional themes were all considered. Both inductive and deductive coding processes were used depending on the nature of the feature or characteristic being examined. Deductive content analysis, which can be seen on the right of the image above, was employed for categories in which it was possible to delineate, in advance, the parameters of the coding categories. The deductive process involves

developing an analysis matrix, more commonly referred to as a codebook, and coding the data according to the information in it, in other words, the coding categories in it. This was possible for the categories of: type of article, length of the article, the role of feminism in the text, type of mentions, and intersectional themes. For example, different types of news articles were researched in order to create the coding guide for the category of type of news article. As can be seen in table 1, seven types of articles were chosen and descriptions of each were provided. Guides like this were created for each of the categories viable for deductive coding. These guides can be found in Appendix A. The remaining categories were coded in an inductive manner. The main topic and main feminist issue were the two features of the articles which were coded this way. Notes were taken on the main topic of each article and from this main topic and main feminist issue were revealed through open coding, coding sheets, grouping, categorisation, and then abstraction.

Table 1

Example Codebook Entry for the Deductive Category ‘Type of Article’

Type of Article	Description
Opinion	Article providing the opinion of a specific writer on a news event/topic. Writer is considered qualified to write on the topic (ex: celebrity, important figure, politician, author, lawyer, etc.)
Editorial	Article which provides an opinion on a news event/topic from the editorial board of the source (ex: CBC reporter, or CBC itself)
Reviews	Article about books, films, exhibits, etc.
Obituaries	Article about a deceased individual
Features	Article meant for entertainment/information that does not fit another category
Columns	Article is part of an ongoing set of writing by a specific author that is published at regular intervals
General news	Article meant to inform readers about an event, includes who/what/where/when/why information

Tables were created for both the inductive and deductive processes. Originally one table was used to collect all data irrespective of whether it needed to be treated inductively or deductively. This caused a myriad of issues for later analyses and the data was eventually separated

into multiple tables. The deductive table, of which a section can be seen below (table 2) was quite simple. There was a row for each article and a column for each of the coding categories. Once all of the codes were compiled for these categories, abstraction took place. This was due to the fact that open coding, coding sheets, grouping and categorization had already taken place during the process of creating the codebooks or guides for each category.

Table 2

Excerpt from Note Taking Table for Deductive Coding Categories

Article Title	Type of Article	Length of Article	Role of Feminism	Type of Mention(s)	Intersectional Themes
Windsor Teens Set to March for Equality	Feature	Medium	Supporting	Direct and Indirect	Yes
Montreal Dads Step Up to New Challenges in Age of #MeToo	Feature	Medium	Supporting	Direct	No
Rise Up: Celebrating the 2020 Girls Conference in Halifax	News	Short	Non-existent	None	Yes
Take Back the Night March in Pembroke, Ont., Honours 3 Dead Women	News	Short	Non-existent	None	No
Female Genital Mutilation Should be Legal in its Mildest Forms: Gynecologists	Feature	Medium	Non-existent	None	Yes
Wikipedian-in-Residence Takes Up Post at Montreal's Concordia University	Feature	Medium	Supporting	Direct	Yes
Edmonton Group Promoting Elevation of Black Women Amid #MeToo Movement	Feature	Medium	Primary	Direct and Indirect	Yes
Teenage Girls Take to Social Media to Spread Messages About Feminism	Feature	Short	Primary	Direct	Yes
Mayfair Theatre Cancels Showing of Men's Rights Documentary The Red Pill	Feature	Medium	Indirect	Indirect	No
How the Way We Remember the Montreal Massacre has Changed 30 Years Later	Feature	Long	Secondary	Direct and Indirect	No
Asked About Trump, Trudeau Promises to Stand for Feminism and Diversity	Feature	Short	Passing	Direct	Yes

The inductive table was slightly more complex as more steps needed to be taken given the lack of a codebook. Each article once again received its own row. First, notes were taken on the main topic of the article. Once this was completed for all 150 articles those notes were coded for main topic and main feminism issue using the final two rows. This step can be seen as the open coding step in Elo and Kyngas' process. The codes from each row were then transferred to separate coding sheets where they were grouped and eventually categorised. Abstraction then took place.

Table 3

Excerpt from Note Taking Table for Inductive Coding Categories

Article Title	Notes on Main Topic	Main Topic(s) Code	Main Feminist Issue Code
Windsor Teens Set to March for Equality	Founding, reasoning, actions, and impacts of a feminist high school student club and their plans and preparations to attend a march for women's rights	Feminist Student Club	Women's Rights
Montreal Dads Step Up to New Challenges in Age of #MeToo	The thoughts and behaviours of fathers with daughters in the wake of the #MeToo movement, focused on the idea that fathers need to be more involved	Fathers Involved in #MeToo	Sexual Assault
Rise Up: Celebrating the 2020 Girls Conference in Halifax	Recap of the Rise Up conference which occurred in Halifax and its aim to empower young girls	Feminist Conference	Girls Empowerment
Take Back the Night March in Pembroke, Ont., Honours 3 Dead Women	Take Back the Night march in Pembroke had a big turnout after deciding to postpone the march after 3 women were killed in the community	Feminist Rally	Gender-Based Violence
Female Genital Mutilation Should be Legal in its Mildest Forms: Gynecologists	Views from both sides of the FGM debate (for in mild forms and against in any form)	Female Genital Mutilation	Violence Against Women/Girls
Wikipedian-in-Residence Takes Up Post at Montreal's Concordia University	Woman newly employed by Concordia University to teach about Wikipedia hopes to make the site more inclusive and representative	Making Wikipedia Inclusive	Representation
Edmonton Group Promoting Elevation of Black Women Amid #MeToo Movement	Black women are often ostracised by mainstream feminism which is largely dominated by White middle-class women	Protesting Mainstream Feminism	Black Feminism (Intersectionality)
Teenage Girls Take to Social Media to Spread Messages About Feminism	Young girls use YouTube to spread their feminist beliefs	Sharing Feminism	Representation
Mayfair Theatre Cancels Showing of Men's Rights Documentary The Red Pill	Opposing views on the men's rights movement and a controversial documentary film supporting it	Men's Rights Movement	Anti-Feminism
How the Way We Remember the Montreal Massacre has Changed 30 Years Later	Changes to the official way we remember the Ecole Polytechnique massacre over time, needs to be known as an anti-feminist attack since antifeminism is still prominent in society today	Polytech Massacre	Gender-Based Violence
Asked About Trump, Trudeau Promises to Stand for Feminism and Diversity	Trudeau's personal beliefs and stance about social issues in light of Trump's election in the United States	Trudeau and the Trump Administration	Politics

For both inductive and deductive processes part of the abstraction process involved calculating the frequency and relative frequency of the occurrences of the coding categories. For example, the frequency and relative frequency (frequency in relation to the entire data set) were

calculated for each type of article in table 1. Finally, date published, and author name/gender were not coded in an inductive or deductive manner, as it was not necessary to code them at all. Coding was not necessary to carry out content analysis for these categories, and it was possible to move right into abstraction. Like with the two processes above, frequency and absolute frequency of the month and year of publications as well as the name and gender of the author(s) were calculated. These numbers helped to draw conclusions about when and how feminism becomes newsworthy. This completed the content analysis portion of the data analysis process.

The second step of the data analysis process was critical discourse analysis (henceforth referred to as CDA). CDA was intended to answer the second research question: how is feminism framed in online news articles from CBC News? CDA was only carried out on those articles in which feminism was actually mentioned, whether in a direct or indirect manner. Therefore, CDA was carried out on only 86 of the 150 articles. This process was carried out following Norman Fairclough's three-step method for CDA. More specifically, I made use of his books *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*, *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*, and *Language and Power*. While his work is predominantly focused on the study of language, it is easy to adapt his general framework and main tenets to texts of all kinds, a process Fairclough himself argues in favour of in *Critical Discourse Analysis*. In this book, Fairclough defines CDA as “an analytical framework for studying the connections between language, power, and ideology” (*Critical Discourse Analysis* 23). However, he argues that texts need not be strictly linguistic in nature and that any “artefact” regardless of medium and modality can be a text. Therefore, a more accurate definition of CDA for the purpose of this research would be an analytical framework for studying the connections between texts, power, and ideology.

Fairclough presents a three-step process for CDA in his book *Critical Discourse Analysis* (97-100). Step one, which Fairclough calls description or text analysis, involves noting and describing relevant aspects of the text(s). Fairclough provides numerous examples of potentially relevant aspects of a text in *Language and Power*, many of which can be adapted to suit all kinds of texts, in addition to those of a linguistic nature. Given this project's focus on framing, I labelled relevant textual aspects as framing devices, terminology which comes from Pan's work on framing in the news. In particular, I was looking to examine both the content and format aspects of the articles which helped to frame feminism. These characteristics included, lexical choices, use of metaphors and similes, headlines or titles, image and quote use, number and position of mentions, main topic, and format of paragraphs or entire article.

Fairclough's second step which he called interpretation or processing analysis involves describing the meaning that the researcher has derived from those relevant aspects, in other words, the discourses, or in this case frames, created by those specific textual aspects. In reality, these two steps were often not completed in order but instead in tandem or in whichever order best suited each specific article. At times notable aspects of the text lead to certain interpretations while in other instances interpretations which jumped out of the articles lead to searching for specific aspects of the texts which created that interpretation. For this reason, in the CDA note taking table (table 4), description appears in the column after interpretation even though it is the first step according to Fairclough. These two steps were carried out by reading the article over once. The mentions of feminism were already highlighted from counting their occurrence during content analysis. Therefore, I returned to each instance that feminism was mentioned and examined the sentence it occurred in, then the sentences surrounding it, then the paragraphs surrounding the

paragraph feminism was mentioned in. Other aspects of the article like images were then examined to see if they played any role in framing.

Table 4

Excerpt from Critical Discourse Analysis Notes

Article Title	Framing - Interpretation	Evidence of Framing - Description
Emma Watson's HeForShe Speech Prompts Discussion on Modern Feminism	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Relevant 2. Modern 3. Evolving 4. Debatable/controversial (open for discussion) 5. Inclusive 6. Historical 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Relevant <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) Positioning: Position of the word feminism in the title b) Main topic: Feminism is the main topic c) Mentions: Number of mentions is high d) Vocabulary: questions what it means to be a feminist and whether feminism is still relevant today with the panelists at the event saying yes which points to feminism's continued relevance 2. Modern <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) Naming: feminism is called modern feminism, HeforShe, and #YesAllWomen movement, all of which are relatively new or modern names for feminism and activism done in the name of feminism. b) Vocabulary: words like meaning, feminism, and modern age appearing together point to feminism being modern because it exists in a modern age. Also mentioning past waves of feminism as old-fashioned implies feminism is moving beyond past waves of feminism, which again implies change and becoming or being modern 3. Evolving <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) Vocabulary: implies the evolution of feminism multiple times including implying that something is changing in feminism and it needs to be discussed, that feminism needs to change going forward to remain relevant, and that the tactics of feminism are changing 4. Debatable or Controversial <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) Vocabulary: words like debate, meaning, backlash, distancing, old school, dirty word, past, and shifting all imply feminism is controversial. Also, an entire paragraph in the text focuses solely on the controversy around the word feminism or calling oneself a feminist which stems from certain beliefs about feminism being outdated and how this is slowly changing. 5. Inclusive <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) Naming: calling feminism HeforShe, implies modern feminism is inclusive of men b) Vocabulary: stating that feminism is now focused on inclusivity of men and other groups who have been marginalised from mainstream feminism c) Quote use: there is a quote presented which functions to argue for the variety of feminism and how feminism fights many different types of oppression and social issues and that this makes feminism about inclusivity 6. Historical <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) Vocab: focus on the history of feminism through mentioning past waves of feminism and how they are now often seen as antiquated or old fashion. The idea that feminism is evolving past this but more important puts focus on the long and controversial history of feminism as a social movement

Step three of Fairclough's process is explanation (also called social analysis). This step involved making sense of the interpretations and connecting them to larger social and cultural contexts and discourses such as conjunctural moments. The first step in this process was to move the interpretations which were in list form, to a new document and group them into categories. Then, two levels of analysis were carried out on those categories. I've termed them first- and second-level analysis. In the first level of analysis, the goal was to understand the frames occurring in the individual articles. In other words, how is feminism being framed in the individual articles? For this analysis, the categories were left as is to understand which frames were occurring most often within the individual articles. In second level analysis, the goal was to understand the overall framing of feminism across all of the articles. In other words, how the articles as a whole unit were producing certain frames of feminism. For this level of analysis, the categories were further analysed for similarities and patterns. This made it possible for global themes to emerge. The final step in explanation was to make sense of the categories from first-level analysis, and the themes from second-level analysis, in relation to the literature and the current context of feminism. This was completed in the discussion chapter. This concluded both the critical discourse analysis portion of the data analysis process and the process as a whole.

Chapter Four

Results: How Feminism Fared in CBC's Coverage

The goal of this study is to explore the type of feminism CBC News is representing and creating in its online news content. Consequently, there are two main research questions. The first questions when feminism becomes newsworthy for CBC. In other words, what kind of news stories emerge when searching for feminism on CBC's website? This question is answered using data predominantly compiled from the content analysis. The second question asks; how does CBC News frame feminism in their online news articles? This question is answered using the data collected from the critical discourse analysis but is supported by the conclusions made from the content analysis. These two methods are employed to study a total of 150 news articles from CBC's online website. While content analysis was carried out on all of the articles, critical discourse analysis was only carried out on those articles that directly or indirectly mentioned feminism. This amounted to 86 (57.3%) of the total articles. In this chapter, the prevalent themes and frames that define CBC's representations of feminism will be reviewed.

Research Question #1: What news stories emerge when searching for feminism on CBC News' website?

Beginning with the first research question, it was clear that feminism became newsworthy for CBC in a variety of ways, and for a variety of reasons. Content analysis on the type and length of the articles, the role of feminism in the articles, the types and number of mentions of feminism, and the main topics/main feminist issue indicate that the representation of feminism in CBC content is complex as it demonstrates the diversity of feminism while still containing it within certain boundaries. While the diversity of feminism is apparent from the main topics and main feminism issues observed, there still exists a lack of depth in the coverage of these complex issues

associated with feminism. This lack of depth is revealed in the significant writing of feature articles coupled with the content often being short in length, not frequently mentioning feminism, and resigning feminism to an insignificant role. These results led to an analysis that while the coverage implies the complexity of feminism as a social movement, it does not succeed in demonstrating deeper discussions about feminism.

The two most common types of articles written are feature and news articles. Features are meant for entertainment/information purposes and news articles are stories meant to inform readers about an event that include who/what/where/when/why information that the reader needs to understand what has occurred. As illustrated in table 5, these types of articles occur 51% and 36% of the time for a total of 87% of the articles. This demonstrates two points. First, according to CBC, feminism, and certain topics related to feminism, are important news topics, with significant events worthy of news coverage. Second, CBC believes feminism is a topic of general interest that their consumers want to read about even when important events are not occurring.

Table 5

Frequency of “Type of Article”

Type of Article	Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
News	54	36
Feature	76	50.7
Opinion	5	3.3
Editorial	3	2
Review	7	4.7
Obituary	3	2
Column	2	1.3

Legend: Type of Article

1. Opinion – article providing the opinion of a specific writer on a news event/topic. Writer is considered qualified to write on the topic (celebrity, important figure, politician, author, lawyer, etc.)
2. Editorial – provides an opinion on a news event/topic from the editorial board of the source (CBC reporter)
3. Reviews – article about books, films, exhibits, etc.
4. Obituaries – article about a deceased individual
5. Features – articles meant for entertainment/information that do not fit another category
6. Columns – article is part of an ongoing set of writing by a specific author that is published at regular intervals
7. News – general news stories meant to inform readers about an event, includes who/what/where/when/why information

Most of the articles were short to average length with approximately 81% of articles falling in this range (see table 6). The 36% which were of average length, being 500-800 words long, tell us feminism is occasionally treated similarly to other news topics. However, the 45% that were short in length, being under 500 words, tell us something contradictory. This says that feminism, and associated topics, are often covered in a rather superficial or lite manner with little attention or depth being provided to them. We can already see the theme of containment forming here. CBC wrote and published many feature and news articles on feminism and connected topics. This can be interpreted as meaning CBC views feminism as a significant news topic to cover both in its important events and in a more general matter. However, the length of the articles tells a different story. The number of short articles published points to a superficial or shallow coverage of feminism within the articles written. While CBC appears to want to position feminism, and related topics, as significant, this does not necessarily translate into every aspect of the content being published, which is often of a more slimmed-down, basic, and bare-bones sort.

Table 6

Frequency of “Length of Article”

Length of Article	Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
Short	68	45.3
Average	54	36
Long	28	18.7

Legend: Length of Article

Short: less than 500 words

Average: between 501 and 800 words

Long: over 801 words

Table 7

Frequency of “Role of Feminism”

Role of Feminism	Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
Primary	19	12.7
Secondary	10	6.7
Supporting	31	20.7
Passing	20	13.3
Indirect	6	4.0
Non-existent	64	42.7

Legend: Role of Feminism

Primary: feminism is the main topic of the article

Secondary: feminism is one of two main topics in the article

Supporting: feminism supports the main topic of the article but is not positioned as a main topic

Passing: feminism is mentioned only in passing and is not considered significant to the main topic

Indirect: feminism is only mentioned indirectly

Non-existent: feminism is not directly mentioned in the article

The role of feminism in the articles supports the superficial coverage of feminism given that the vast majority of the time, approximately 81% to be more specific, feminism’s role is non-existent, indirect, passing, or supporting. In only 19% of the articles did feminism play a primary or secondary role, meaning that feminism is the main topic or one of two main topics (see table 7). In all other cases, feminism plays a more frivolous or insignificant role in supporting the main topic, is only mentioned in passing without being significant to the main topic, is only mentioned indirectly, or has no role in the article whatsoever, meaning that the article was written about a topic adjacent to feminism or of interest to feminists. For example, there are articles written about racism, which are likely to be of interest to CBC’s readers who are attentive to feminism, but that do not connect to feminism in any direct or indirect way in the article.

The type and number of mentions of feminism further support this contradictory picture forming about when and how feminism becomes newsworthy for CBC. Feminism is mentioned in 86 of the 150 articles for a total of 57% of the time. Of those 86 mentions, 61 have only direct mentions. Meaning there is at least one explicit reference to feminism as a social movement somewhere in the article. Examples would be “feminism” or “feminist movement”. Six articles

have only indirect mentions such as “women’s movement”, “equal rights movement”, or just “the movement” and nineteen have both direct and indirect mentions. This means that only 80 (or 53%) of the articles directly mention feminism. Table 8 summarises the types of mentions and their frequency. Direct mentions usually happen once or twice with 55 out of 80 articles (69%) following this pattern (see table 9). Many of the articles never mention feminism, only reference it implicitly, or even when directly mentioning feminism, only do so once or twice. Only a handful of articles directly mention feminism several times. These are the articles that cover feminism in the most depth, providing the most detail to readers. These statistics demonstrate that feminism as a social movement is not the main focus of most of the articles published online by CBC News which appeared under the search term feminism. They also demonstrate that feminism is not given the attention warranted to it, especially given the amount of feature and news articles CBC published about it.

Table 8

Frequency of “Type of Mention”

Type of Mention	Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
Direct	61	40.7
Indirect	6	4.0
Both	19	12.7
No Mentions	64	42.7
All Mentions	86	57.3

Table 9

Frequency of “Direct and Indirect Mentions”

Number of Direct Mentions	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Relative Frequency (%)</i>	Number of Indirect Mentions	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Relative Frequency (%)</i>
0	70	46.7	0	125	83.3
1	38	25.3	1	18	12.0
2	17	11.3	2	5	3.3
3	7	4.7	4	1	0.67

4	5	3.3	9	1	0.67
5	5	3.3			
6	1	0.67			
7	1	0.67			
8	2	1.3			
9	1	0.67			
10	1	0.67			
12	1	0.67			
14	1	0.67			

The main topic of the articles and the primary feminist issue being discussed support the impression that feminism as a social movement is not the main focus for CBC when writing about feminism or connected topics. Tables 10 and 11 provide a summary of the main topics and main feminism issues of the articles. Looking at these tables we can see that the two most prevalent main topics are sexism and feminist activism while the most popular feminist issues being discussed are violence against women, intersectional feminism, women’s representation, and sexism/gender discrimination. While all of these topics are profoundly linked to feminist beliefs and activism, with some of them even being directly about feminism, feminism itself is only the main topic in about nineteen (12.7%) of the articles. While this is problematic in terms of when and how feminism makes the news, the range of topics and issues covered does demonstrate the diversity of modern-day feminism. It also speaks to the diversity in what feminists are interested in and care about both beyond women’s rights and within women’s rights. This further supports the contradictory picture of feminism we see forming in the results. Seeing how feminism was pushed to the background in numerous articles and that this shove to the outskirts could demonstrate something positive about feminism (its evolution over time into an increasingly more diverse movement). In writing about this vast array of topics and issues CBC has demonstrated their representation of feminism to be complex and the feminism they create in their content to be diverse.

Table 10

Main Topics of the Articles

Topic	Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
Body Positivity	2	1.3
Anti-Feminism	4	2.7
Books/TV	8	5.3
Government	8	5.3
Feminists	7	4.7
Women's Empowerment	9	6
Feminist Events/Spaces	9	6
Activism	34	22.7
Sexism	20	13.3
Modern Feminism	8	5.3
Violence Against Women	11	7.3
Women in Politics/Power	5	3.3
Intersectional Feminism	10	6.7
Recognising Women	9	6
Patriarchy/Men	6	4

Table 11

Main Feminist Issue of the Articles

Topic	Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
Abortion/Parenting	3	2
Anti-feminism	5	3.3
Body Positivity	2	1.3
Extremism	4	2.7
Violence Against Women	22	14.7
Intersectional Feminism	24	16
Politics/Government	12	8
Representation	29	19.3
Sexism/Discrimination	30	20
Spaces for Feminism	4	2.7
Empowerment	2	1.3
Women's Rights/Emancipation/Suffrage	10	6.7
Not Applicable	3	2

The content analysis completed to answer the first research question shows us that the articles on CBC News related to feminism are only partially concerned with feminism as a social movement. Content is far more focused on the problems or challenges that feminism believes are

relevant or that feminism is working to change, in other words specific feminist issues or instances of activism that feminists might like to read about. Topics connected to feminism but outside of a specific focus on gender equality, like body positivity, anti-feminism, relevant books or television shows, intersectionality, racism, and the government and politics for example are also quite prominent here. It can be argued that these issues are key to feminism and cannot be separated from feminism itself. This is, of course, true, but there is still a difference between discussing feminism as a social movement and discussing what feminism is interested in working. A good example of this difference would be an article which discusses the future of feminism versus an article which discusses abortion and references it as a feminist issue. The former is directly concerned with feminism itself while the latter is concerned with an important feminist issue.

Thus, answering the first research question, when does feminism become newsworthy for CBC, the answer would be not all that often in a direct sense but when it does, it is showcased as diverse and complex. The types of news stories which emerge when looking for feminism on CBC's website demonstrate that feminism, as a social movement, often isn't covered directly, and when it is covered it is often only provided with superficial and shallow coverage. With that said, certain issues that are fundamental to, and inseparable from, feminism as a social movement do receive a fair bit of coverage. On that note, a vast array of diverse topics related to feminism are covered in the articles. Furthermore, on a more positive note, these trends or themes are perhaps unsurprising given that feminism is becoming more intersectional and diverse over time. The data collected here supports the evolution of feminism into the fourth wave as it demonstrates that CBC believes those readers attentive to feminism will also be interested in other social issues. It also shows that CBC thinks of feminist issues, and other social issues as important to cover even if not in great detail, directness, or depth. However, these articles do place feminism as a social

movement in the background of the conversation. This is accomplished by not mentioning it directly, or at all, giving it a superficial purpose in the article, often writing very short articles about it, and not using it directly as the main topic. However the nature of these decisions is not necessarily negative and can have multiple potential interpretations.

Research Question #2: How is feminism framed in online news articles from CBC when it is depicted?

With the first research question covered I will now shift to the second research question; how does CBC News frame feminism in their online articles? With this question we need to keep in mind that, of the 150 articles examined, only 86 have direct or indirect mentions of feminism, and thus discourse analysis was only carried out on this group of articles. Two levels of discourse analysis were carried out on the articles, primary, or level one, and secondary, or level two. In the primary analysis, the frames which are most common in the individual articles were of interest. In the secondary analysis, the overall framing of feminism taking into consideration all of the frames across all of the articles was the focus. Here the goal was to understand how the articles as a whole were producing certain frames about feminism. To elaborate further, in the primary analysis frames like necessary, valuable, successful as well as struggling, superficial, and dangerous were all seen in varying frequencies. When placed into categories in the secondary analysis we see a distinct pattern of framing feminism as a complex set of dichotomies taking place. In summary, the primary analysis was about individual frames while the secondary analysis was about grouping those frames into larger, more encompassing and descriptive, themes and frames.

Level One Analysis

In level one of the critical discourse analysis, the most common frames in the individual articles are feminism as relevant, feminism as intersectional, and feminism as controversial. CBC

wanted feminism to appear relevant in the online content, as if they were intentionally or unintentionally justifying their coverage of the topic. This theme occurs in approximately 36% of the articles and is accomplished through three subthemes: feminism as culturally relevant, feminism as topical, and feminism as contemporary. The first subtheme, feminism as a culturally significant movement, positions feminism as a movement that is significant to popular culture through books, television shows, recognitions such as “word of the year” and connections to significant people and events. Several individual articles focus on popular feminist books or television shows, feminist books being stocked in bookstores, and books about feminism being popular and influential. This frame is often accomplished through the main topic of the articles and specific vocabulary choices. An example from the data set of feminism being framed as culturally relevant comes from the article *“Feminism’ is Merriam-Webster’s word of the year”* (The Associated Press [link](#)). This article is an example of both methods, main topic and vocabulary, being applied in tandem. Feminism is, first and foremost, positioned as culturally relevant because it is the word of the year for a well-known dictionary, this is the main topic of the article at work in the framing process. Furthermore, the article discusses the prominence of feminism over the preceding year, the author demonstrating the many ways that feminism is significant in our society from politics, to community, to arts and culture. Vocabulary comes into play with words the author uses like “lookups increased”, “spiked”, “worldwide”, “popular”, and “blockbuster” which all function to solidify the idea that feminism is culturally significant (The Associated Press *“Feminism’ is Merriam Webster’s”*).

The second frame, feminism as topical, focuses on feminism as something that is of concern to readers, as something that individuals reading the news want to know about. This frame is accomplished in a few ways, through feminism being the main topic of the article, the position

of feminism within the article, and the number of mentions of feminism in the article. When feminism is given a prominent position in the text, for example in the title, mentioned many times, or is the main topic of the article, CBC frames feminism as relevant to their readers. An example comes from the many articles which use the term feminism in their title, giving it a position of prominence in the text, recognising it as something that will draw readers into the article. Some of these titles include,

- *'My **feminism** is weatherproof,' marchers say at 3rd annual Winnipeg Women's March (CBC News)*
- *'You can hear heartbreak': Jessie Reyez on **feminism**, the music industry (CBC News)*
- *Activists from Syria, Iran talk future of **feminism** at University of Winnipeg (CBC News)*
- *Anti-female tone was growing in Wildrose U of C group before '**feminism** is cancer' email, ex-member alleges (Anderson)*
- *Asked about Trump, Trudeau promises to stand for **feminism** and diversity (Wherry)*
- *Book explores parenting and **feminism** (CBC News)*
- *Counter rally to women's march highlights diverse **feminism** in Halifax (Patil)*
- *Emma Watson's HeForShe speech prompts discussion on modern **feminism** (CBC News)*
- *Essay collections explore empathy and bad **feminism** (Kelly)*
- ***Feminism**, modernism and scandal: Winnipeg's Ibsenfest celebrates 'father of modern drama' (Schmidt)*
- *Indigenous **feminism**: what is it and what does the future hold? (Monkman)*
- *International Women's Day: Young women talk **feminism**, Lise Thériault. (CBC News)*
- *Teenage girls take to social media to spread message about **feminism** (CBC News)*
- *Supportive posters respond to ad attacking **feminism** (Aghbali)*
- *Speakers explore **feminisms**, there's more than one, at upcoming panel discussion (CBC News)*
- *Social media users rage against Sophie, but the most powerful **feminism** is something much quieter: Robyn Urback (Urback)*
- *Six Nations exchange program exploring culture, **feminism** and reconciliation (Johnson)*
- *She Stoops To Conquer takes on 18th century '**feminism**' (Sharkley)*
- *Province's first **feminism** festival starts Thursday night (CBC News)*

What is even more significant is that many of these titles do not need to have the word feminism in them. Even without the word, they could have easily communicated a similar, if not identical, idea to readers of what the article is about. For example, among many others, “*My feminism is weatherproof,' marchers say at 3rd annual Winnipeg Women's March*” (CBC News [link](#)) could have easily been “*Marchers brave extreme cold at 3rd annual Winnipeg Women's March*”. Likewise, “*You can hear heartbreak': Jessie Reyez on feminism, the music industry*” (CBC News [link](#)) could have been “*You can hear heartbreak': Jessie Reyez on the music industry*”. Finally,

“International Women's Day: Young women talk feminism, Lise Thériault” (CBC News [link](#)) could have been “International Women's Day: Interviews with Young Women.” and *“She Stoops To Conquer takes on 18th century 'feminism'”* (Sharkley [link](#)) could have simply been “She Stoops To Conquer takes on 18th century gender roles”. In these last two cases, given the content of the articles, the replacement titles I have drafted can be argued to be far more fitting compared to the original title. In these instances, it is clear feminism is intentionally chosen as a hook word and placed in the title to draw in readers. This process frames feminism as topical or newsworthy.

The final theme, feminism as contemporary, speaks to feminism’s current relevance. This frame positions feminism not only as relevant in the past and present, but into the future as well. This frame involves positioning feminist issues, or the movement itself, as pertinent not only historically but in modern times, and thus to modern readers. This is often accomplished through naming practices (what feminism was called), vocabulary choices, quoting, and the main topic of the article. The main topic of several articles revolve around discussing past feminist events and how things have not changed over time. The sexism and discrimination that women and girls still face that were common in the past is also a hot topic. The general idea is to frame feminism as still necessary today and for the future. How feminism as a movement is changing over time and evolving to remain relevant in contemporary times is also a common topic.

There are several examples of this frame occurring in the articles. In *“Emma Watson's HeForShe speech prompts discussion on modern feminism”* (CBC News [link](#)) the main topic is applied in the process of framing. This article focuses on the debate around what modern feminism is and means, what it will be in the future, and what it means to be a feminist. Quoting is also a framing method for the frame of feminism as contemporary as quotes from panellists are used to show they all agree that feminism is still relevant today. In *“Gender discrimination still a problem,*

Winnipeg girls say on right-to-vote anniversary” (CBC News [link](#)) the naming practices previously mentioned, in tandem with the main topic, are observed. Mentioning women’s suffrage along with the problems faced by modern women draws a parallel between the feminism of the past and contemporary feminism. This demonstrates that feminism is still necessary today long after (some) women received voting rights. In another article, *“Montreal dads step up to new challenges in age of #MeToo”* (Enos [link](#)) naming practices are again detected. Feminism was outright called “modern feminism” in this article (Enos). This speaks for itself in terms of using vocabulary as a framing technique. The main topic was also exploited as the new challenges facing fathers raising daughters in an era of increasing violence against women and girls was discussed. Finally, in *“Social media users rage against Sophie, but the most powerful feminism is something much quieter: Robyn Urback”* (Urback [link](#)) main topic and naming practices are used in tandem in the process of framing. The whole article is a discussion on the feminisms of different generations, comparing old and new feminisms in terms of their strengths. Naming practices such as calling the current government’s commitment to feminism and gender equality “Trudeau’s feminism” solidified the relevance of feminism today in Canadian society (Urback).

The frames feminism as controversial and feminism as intersectional also appear quite regularly in the individual articles, 29% and 38% of the time, respectively. This is not entirely surprising given the nature of news and its general reliance on controversy as well as the content analysis results which demonstrated CBC showcasing the diversity of feminism. These two frames occur both at the individual level, in level one analysis, and at the group level, in level two analysis. While these frames did occur at the individual level, the explanation of how they occur is much the same as at the group level. Except for a pattern of dichotomies which becomes apparent when looking at the data set as a whole. The general idea with framing feminism as controversial at the

individual level is to make it appear as a hot topic, surrounded by much debate, contested as often as it is supported. This is often accomplished through the main topic, vocabulary choices, and quote use, but more interestingly the format of the articles. Main topics focus on heated moments in feminism which stirred debate or uproar and anti-feminism actions and beliefs. For an example see, *“Anti-feminism posters pop up in Saskatoon”* (CBC News [link](#)). Vocabulary often turned to specific words to frame feminism as controversial. Some examples include using words such as controversial itself, debate, backlash, negative, and cancer. Vocabulary choices are also used to demonstrate conflicting points within feminism itself, for example, opposing beliefs within one generation’s feminist belief system. For an example of obvious vocabulary use in action see *“Emma Watson’s HeForShe speech prompts discussion on modern feminism”* (CBC News [link](#)).

Quotes are also a method of framing feminism as a topic that incites controversy. Usually through one person’s differing views over time or two or more individuals or groups differing opinions and views. An example comes from *“Essay collections explore empathy and bad feminism”* (Kelly [link](#)). In this article, the following is written,

Gay is exploring the backlash on the word "feminism." In recent years celebrities from Lady Gaga to Katy Perry have declared they are not feminists. Many of them say they associate the word with hating men, as too strident, too negative. Gay, a writer, blogger and professor of English, says she disavowed the word when she was younger because when she heard the word feminism she also heard, "angry, sex-hating, man-hating victim lady person." But as she's matured, she embraces the label as a "woman who loves pink and sometimes dances her ass off to music she knows is terrible for women” and who loves trashy reality shows, and teen romances. (Kelly)

This section of text, along with the quotes from Gay, frame feminism as something controversial even for individuals who are fiercely pro-women's rights. It shows that there is complexity in doing feminism in modern times and finding ideological balance and happiness in being a feminist. It also demonstrates the stereotypes around feminism (man-hating, angry, etc.) versus the more complex and nuanced reality of feminism (liking sexist music and pink, etc.) (Kelly). As for the format, articles are often laid out in a one side versus the other format, or a for/against/neutral argument format. Examples of this method of framing come from articles like "*Barriers to women in politics 'socialist crap,' Heather Forsyth tells UCP meeting*" (Bellefontaine [link](#)) and "*I worked hard to raise a feminist daughter, but her racy online selfies make me feel I failed*" (CBC News [link](#)). Both present differing views on feminism, one focusing on whether feminism is helpful or hindering for women, while the other discusses differing viewpoints on what feminism is, and how we partake in it, from women of different ages.

Feminism as intersectional involves making feminism appear diverse, inclusive, and concerned with a wide variety of social issues. This frame occurs similarly at the individual and group levels. For this reason, a more in-depth explanation of feminism as intersectional will be provided in the following section on the level-two analysis. The only difference is that, at the individual level, intersectionality and diversity are seen in a number of the individual articles. These articles use framing techniques such as vocabulary choices and quote use to frame feminism in this way. Whereas with second-level analysis the frames of intersectionality and diversity, along with other frames that occur at the individual level in a lower frequency such as inclusivity versus exclusivity, came together to form a framing theme that ran throughout the articles as a whole.

Level Two Analysis

Level two analysis looked at the overall framing process, taking into consideration all the articles and all the individual frames. In other words, how the articles as a group were producing certain frames of feminism. One theme became clear when looking at the frames which occurred in the articles as a whole: complexity. Two frames supported this theme, (1) diversity/intersectionality and (2) controversy/containment. The first frame, feminism as diverse and intersectional is often accomplished through vocabulary choices, main topic, quote, and image use. Several frames that occur at the individual level contributed to this global frame including intersectionality, diversity, exclusive/inclusive, modern/evolving, and complex.

Intersectionality and Diversity

For CBC, feminism as intersectional means that the movement is not only invested in fighting oppression faced by women or compounding oppression faced by certain groups of women such as women of colour or LGBTQ+ women. According to CBC, feminism is also invested in other, potentially compounding and related, social issues and their eradication. When searching for feminism on CBC News, many of the articles presented are not directly about feminism as a movement but instead about social issues relevant to feminism (sometimes even inseparable from feminism). The sort of issues that people who want to read about feminism might find pertinent. Even some of the articles that mentioned feminism and therefore had discourse analysis carried out on them, were actually about other related social issues. Feminism only played a supporting or sometimes very passing role in these articles. This, in and of itself, frames feminism as a diverse movement involved in more than solely focusing on gender discrimination and sexism. Example articles which had discourse analysis carried out on them but that focus on oppression outside of sexism included: *“Murdered women's inquiry must confront barriers indigenous women*

face in Canadian society” (The Canadian Press [link](#)) which focuses on the compounding oppression of sexism and racism faced by indigenous women, *“Western University seeks court approval to rename scholarships honouring 'racist' professor”* (Butler [link](#)) which focuses solely on racism, and *“Women are leading the zero-waste movement. Here's why that matters”* (Bird [link](#)) in which the social issue on discussion is climate change.

Feminism is likewise framed as diverse in its interest not only with the rights and equality of middle- to upper-class White women but with women of colour, women living in poverty, LGBTQ+ women and beyond. This extended to anyone who faces oppression including men of colour, religious minorities, all LGBTQ+ individuals, and immigrants, even encompassing concern for animals and climate change. The article *“Counter rally to women's march highlights diverse feminism in Halifax”* (Patil [link](#)) is a good example of this framing taking place. The main topic here is the exclusivity of some types of feminism. In particular, those types which only seek to serve White, middle-class, cis-gender, heterosexual women who have a certain level of privilege compared to women who face compounding oppression due to their multifaceted and unique identities. The article discusses a rally, for people who feel they are excluded from mainstream feminism, which occurred at the same time as a mainstream feminism rally. The goal of the counter rally was to demonstrate that real feminism is for everyone. Articles which focused on how ethnic and racial minority women are doing and creating feminism in modern times also fell into this category such as *“Indigenous feminism: what is it and what does the future hold?”* (Monkman [link](#)) and *“Edmonton group promoting elevation of black women amid #MeToo movement”* (McMillan [link](#)). To be involved in feminism according to CBC is to be concerned with all human rights and freedoms and to fight for the rights of all oppressed groups and for the betterment of the world as a whole. This, overall, is a positive representation of feminism.

Another common theme which runs throughout this frame is the evolution of feminism over time and the changes it has undergone with each new generation of feminists. The desire here is to demonstrate how feminism is becoming more diverse over time and becoming a plurality instead of a singular and strict movement which only greatly benefits a very specific type of privileged woman. The article *“I worked hard to raise a feminist daughter, but her racy online selfies make me feel I failed”* (CBC News [link](#)) uses main topic, naming, vocabulary, and quotes to frame feminism as a movement changing over time with stark differences between generations. It discusses how the feminism of the past is not equipped to deal with challenges facing modern-day women, and how society has both changed and not changed regarding women’s rights and gender discrimination. Many individual frames, including intersectionality, diversity, exclusive/inclusive, modern/evolving, and complex work in tandem using a multitude of framing techniques to create the overall frame of intersectionality and diversity which characterises feminism in CBC News’ online content.

Controversy and Containment

There also existed the frames of controversy and containment which helped to create the global theme of complexity. As we have seen in level one analysis, feminism is framed as controversial in many articles through techniques such as main topic, vocabulary choices, quote use, and formatting. At the group level very little changes with this frame. What is more interesting at the group level is how dichotomies appear when analysing the separate frames from the individual level. Controversy plays back into this technique in that illustrating feminism in contested ways breeds an illusion of controversy, whether controversy exists or not. Feminism being presented in opposite ways in different articles is a hallmark of CBC’s complex representation of feminism. While the framing of feminism is largely positive with many articles

framing feminism as supported, necessary, valuable, and successful, there are still a few articles that frame it as struggling, superficial, and dangerous. For example, one article *“These British students are trying to ban school uniforms in sex shops, pornography”* (Mann [link](#)) hid the identity of feminist individuals for the sake of their safety. This choice portrays feminism as dangerous for women and girls due to potential backlash or repercussions from anti-feminist individuals and groups. Another article, titled *“Dozens march down Whyte Avenue in support of gender equality”* (CBC News [link](#)) used vocabulary choices, naming practices, and quotes to demonstrate that modern feminism is superficial, calling it “phoney baloney” feminism and stating that it could “go deeper” (CBC News “Dozens March”).

Other dichotomies outside of the positive and negative spectrum also exist. The historical versus modern comparison is common in this category. We have already seen how this occurred with the article on gender discrimination still being a problem 100 years after suffrage and in other articles pinning different generations of feminists against one another. See *“[Gender discrimination still a problem, Winnipeg girls say on right-to-vote anniversary](#)”*, *“[I worked hard to raise a feminist daughter, but her racy online selfies make me feel I failed](#)”* and *“[Social media users rage against Sophie, but the most powerful feminism is something much quieter: Robyn Urback](#)”* for a few examples. The general idea here is to compare the feminisms of the past and present. Either for positive reasons, such as demonstrating the encouraging evolution of feminism over time, or for negative reasons, such as putting down the feminism of today compared to the feminism of the past. Both of these intentions nevertheless demonstrate the controversy surrounding feminism through a historical versus modern lens. Feminism is at once a contemporary movement and a movement with a rich history that continues to be discussed and impacts how individuals in the 21st century do feminism.

Another dichotomy present in the data is feminism as political versus feminism as personal. Feminism is framed as personal through connections to personal matters such as parenting, for example. In the article “*Book explores parenting and feminism*” feminism is positioned as a “personal experience” (CBC News [link](#)). Feminism as political is framed through a focus on political parties, events, and individuals and linking them to feminism. Some articles focus on partisan differences in how the Conservatives are tackling feminism compared to the Liberals. Others look at Trudeau’s progress in terms of gender equality. One article, in particular, uses naming practices to get the point across that feminism is a political issue, and one that Canadian politicians need to be more invested in. This was accomplished by calling Trudeau’s efforts towards gender equality “Trudeau’s feminism” as a way of mocking what the article believes to be the PM’s brand of lite or fake feminism (Urback [link](#)).

Complex and diverse versus a problem of...(one thing) also appears in the data. Naming as a framing technique is witnessed in both of these cases. Feminism is often framed as a diverse and complex issue. We have already seen this occurring several times throughout this chapter. An example of a naming practice that frames feminism as complex comes from “*Speakers explore feminisms, there's more than one, at upcoming panel discussion*” (CBC News [link](#)). Here, naming is used to demonstrate the complexity of feminism, by calling it ‘feminisms’ in the plural (CBC News “Speakers Explore Feminisms”). This demonstrates that modern feminism is diverse and complex and that there is no one, singular, true feminism but many types which contribute to the tapestry of feminism as a modern movement. On the other hand, a problem of... frames feminism as a movement that only deals with one problem, usually sexual assault or women’s legal rights. This is also largely accomplished through naming practices. In particular, when articles refer to

feminism in a very specific and limited way such as Suffrage or the #MeToo Movement which are about women's right to vote and sexual assault, respectively.

Finally, framing feminism as both exclusionary and inclusive/intersectional is also present. While feminism is framed as inclusive of not only all women, including women of colour and LGBTQ+ women, but also of men, it was equally framed as exclusive of these same groups. The stance taken on this dichotomy varies largely depending on the author and the topic at hand. Sometimes opposing views are present in the same article as with "*Counter rally to women's march highlights diverse feminism in Halifax*" (Patil [link](#)). In this article, the main topic is a counter rally occurring in order to bring light to the exclusionary nature of mainstream feminism. However, the article itself covering the diverse counter rally demonstrates how inclusive feminism can be and how exclusionary it can be at the same time in the same place. One march being inclusive and the other exclusive. Articles such as this play into the frame of feminism as controversial as well.

Containment enters the picture through the frame of controversy and to some extent intersectionality and diversity as well. When put into comparison with one another what we see is yet again another dichotomy. On the one hand, CBC is framing feminism as intersectional and diverse, while on the other it is framing it as wrought with controversy, through the use of dichotomies. This framing tactic demonstrates a containment of feminism. In other words, framing feminism as something which requires containment. Within the boundaries of intersectionality and diversity, feminism is allowed to exist by CBC, yet it cannot escape the historical framing of controversy that has plagued feminism since its beginning. CBC must contain feminism within these boundaries. Their reasoning? Hard to know based on these results. As we will see in the

discussion chapter there are several ways to interpret these results, some good, some bad, some neutral.

In summary, feminism is framed in a complex way that defies the basic positive or negative dichotomy seen in Mendes' work. The range of topics and issues that emerge attached to the word feminism along with the interest in other and compounded social issues, increasing inclusivity and plurality, and feminism evolution over time demonstrate how CBC frames feminism as a diverse and complex social movement. However, at the same time, what emerges is a containment of feminism in at least 2 ways. First, while there are many feature articles that showcase the diversity of topics, many are short, do not frequently mention feminism, and resign feminism to an insignificant role. Second, many of the stories are made newsworthy by producing dichotomies to create or at least imply controversy. In the next chapter, we will discuss what these results mean. Specifically, in terms of the research questions, differing interpretations, as well as connections to, and departures from, previous literature on the topic of framing feminism in news content.

Chapter Five

Discussion: Multiple Interpretations of CBC's Complex Coverage of Feminism

As a reminder, this study is focused on examining how feminism is represented in the online Canadian news arena through the study of its biggest player, CBC News. Stemming from this goal, as well as previous literature, such as that from Mendes, two research questions were created. First, what news articles emerge when searching for feminism on CBC News' website? Secondly, how is feminism framed in those articles? Content analysis as well as critical discourse analysis were employed to study 150, and 86 of those 150, respectively, in an attempt to answer these questions. The results of these analyses were comprehensively covered in the last chapter.

To quickly recap the results. Content analysis showed that the type of articles that come up in a search for the word feminism on CBC's website leaves readers with a complex picture of feminism and of CBC's representation of it. The topic, main feminism issue, length, and type of the article along with the role and number/type of mentions of feminism all pointed in opposite directions in terms of the importance and significance of feminism to CBC News and in Canadian society. For example, the most popular type of article, Features, demonstrates that CBC News believes feminism to be a worthy topic to cover even outside of significant events while the length of the articles tells an entirely different story. Given that most were short this points to CBC not believing feminism to be a significant topic to cover in any true depth. This contradictory pattern ran throughout the content analysis. Leaving us with confusing results that can be understood in a few different ways. The critical discourse analysis brought more clarity and is what led to the discovery of certain frames that are emblematic of CBC's coverage of feminism. Within the individual articles, relevance, controversy, and intersectionality were the top frames. Among the

articles as a whole complexity was the main theme with the frames of intersectionality/diversity and controversy/containment working to support this theme.

Answering the Research Questions

To answer the first research question explicitly the articles which are presented when searching for feminism on CBC's website are usually short to average length, are very frequently feature or news articles, and are not always about feminism directly but are usually about topics related to feminism. They most often do not have feminism, as a social movement, playing a large or significant role in the text but do have more direct than indirect mentions of feminism when feminism is mentioned at all. This leads to a confusing picture forming about when feminism becomes newsworthy. A simple response to the second research question would be that feminism is framed as a complex movement through the frames of diversity, intersectionality, controversy, and containment.

Now let's get into what these results actually mean when examining connections to previous literature and to the current context of feminism as well as its history. Overall the view of feminism for CBC is, on the surface, fairly supportive. The articles published on feminism aren't an obvious or direct attack on feminism and do not berate or tear down feminism. However, as the content analysis showed, the emphasis and attention put on feminism as a social movement is lacking. The articles were, by and large, far more interested in specific issues relating to feminism than to the movement itself. They were also often about related topics but not directly about feminism.

While the total picture of feminism in the news throughout the literature was not a positive one, I do believe we are now seeing somewhat of a shift. It is clear from the literature that the media war on feminism of the third wave is over. To bring back those kinds of articles explicitly tearing down feminism would be news suicide in the societal and political context of Canada in

2023. Now the derision and disgust so common in the media of the past have been replaced with what could be seen as, on the one hand, carelessness, ignorance, and even neglect, or on the other hand, attempting to remain neutral or follow news norms. Most of the articles I surveyed were on the surface level positive or supportive. It is only the underlying features of the articles, and some of the common frames, which point to a more complex view of feminism and a general erasure, and containment, of feminism as a social movement, especially in a direct form, from news content in the Canadian context. While witnessing the diversity of feminism shine through, an intense focus on controversy, which leads to an overall containment of feminism within certain boundaries was still observed. This interesting structure which defies a positive-negative spectrum is still related to previous literature in fascinating ways and can be linked to several potential interpretations.

Connections to Previous Literature

Turning to feminism's ideologies and goals, my findings here are obviously in line with sources in the literature about the fourth wave and its increasing commitment to diversity, intersectionality, and inclusivity. This includes sources such as Munro, Mohajan, Malinowska, and Zimmerman which discuss the ideologies and goals of the feminism which has occurred since the 2010s onwards. Given that one of the main frames discovered was diversity and intersectionality it can be argued that CBC is working to shape feminism as a social movement which does care about the basic tenets of general anti-oppressive work. This also supports my idea, which will run through this discussion, that feminism is evolving towards humanism/egalitarianism, or a general anti-oppression resistance and that CBC is either playing a role in advancing this evolution or using it to its advantage to not do better with their content about feminism. Something that is also interesting here is that we can see a resurgence of attention being paid to second-wave feminism's

main battles and struggles (Mohajan; Rampton; Thornham). Especially its tendency to be exclusionary and the desire of feminists outside of the mainstream to move feminism in a new direction. We also see recurring topics such as women's reproductive rights and violence against women and girls which are popular themes now, in the fourth wave, but were also significant in the second wave (Mohajan; Rampton; Thornham). Thankfully, what we do not see repeating itself is the postfeminist nonsense so rampant in the media of the third wave (McRobbie; Faludi; Ging; Banet-Weiser; Gamble). It appears that has been put to bed, for CBC at least.

Something to discuss here is how diversity strengthens feminism. Obviously, intersectionality and inclusivity strengthen the movement and bring women together to fight for a larger cause, for more women, and for more people in general. This is a recognisably positive change. However, feminism taking an interest in other social issues that are not necessarily connected to gender does change feminism. How far can we push the limits of feminism until it isn't feminism anymore but a more generalised humanism or egalitarianism instead? And is this the goal to reach? I am not here to comment on how feminism should evolve but, personally, I do believe this would be a positive and impactful change for feminism. I am, however, here to question how feminism is evolving over time in relation to the literature and whether the trends we see as fundamental to fourth-wave feminism, and their existence within news content, point to feminism's evolution or its ultimate destruction. And whether perhaps they are one and the same. Feminism will continue to evolve in an effort to remain useful to those resisting oppression until it reaches a more general anti-oppression stance and simply renders itself somewhat redundant over time. This would be in line with the findings here which show that according to CBC feminism already is, to some extent, humanism and egalitarianism. To do feminism, or be feminist, is to care about a great many related and unrelated social issues and causes. This is shown in the sheer number of articles not directly

about feminism that appear when searching for feminism. It is also observed in the attributes of those articles about feminism (such as their lack of direct focus on feminism itself, in other words, their erasure of feminism by pushing it to the background of the articles).

The frames of containment and controversy are also connected to the existing literature on feminism. For example, in the work of Rivers and Gill we can see that controversy and contestation both within feminism, between different feminisms/feminists, and from sources outside of feminism have always been hot topics in the media. I see no difference in CBC's content which also highlights all of these themes quite heavily. However, while the media of the past was evidently attempting to undermine or tear down feminism with their attention to these themes, we cannot say this for certain about CBC given the multiple potential interpretations of the results. This contestation and controversy has often led to different kinds of feminism arising (LeGates) and we see that reflected in CBC's content as well with their focus on the growing diversity and intersectionality of modern feminism. As we saw in the literature "the main strength of modern feminist thought is its interdisciplinarity, its resistance to easy categorization" and that controversy is inherent in feminism and is not a negative trait but good for advancing the movement (Whelehan 2-3; Marx-Ferree and Hess). In this way, both the more positive and negative frames used by CBC could be seen as attempting to help feminism evolve and grow. More plainly we see a connection to Mendes' research. She often described her results as "contradictory and fragmented" given the mix of positive, negative, and neutral frames she discovered in news media at the time (Mendes 'Reporting the Women's Movement' 483). Her results demonstrated that their framing did not in fact have a positive goal but rather a negative one, to keep problematic ideologies hegemonic. This makes me inclined to believe that the same is likely the case here, but the results cannot support

this inclination as the values of CBC towards feminism remain unknown. The intentions of CBC do not seem to be explicitly or intentionally focused on positivity or negativity towards feminism.

This is a good moment to connect my research back to that of Mendes ('Framing Feminism'; 'Reporting the Women's Movement'; *Feminism in the News*; 'Feminism Rules'). One of the main questions here is whether valence framing is still the best way to categorise the common frames of feminism in news content? According to my findings, I would have to say no. While some of the frames were overtly negative or positive, the whole picture that CBC is forming regarding feminism is far more complex than a simple positive-negative spectrum can cover. Similar to Mendes' work we cannot say in this instance that negative frames are right out in the open anymore. Media creators have gotten better at hiding them under the surface and mixing them with positive frames to provide a guise of support over the true nature of their opposition. While it would be a far cry to say there is an absolute hatred of feminism hiding in CBC's new content, I would say that under the surface there is a slightly different picture than what is immediately visible when consuming their content as a regular reader. The elements of new articles that everyday readers might not consider do tell a more muddied story about feminism, certainly not entirely negative but also not entirely positive either. A more complex picture quickly forms when examining those elements. The containment and controversy frames demonstrate this well. While likely not immediately apparent to readers they nevertheless exist. Containment is another link to Mendes' work. While moving away from her valence framing, her idea that feminism was being contained using certain boundaries and only being legitimized under certain rules still applies here, albeit to a much smaller degree.

Another question that comes from Mendes' work is whether the erasure of feminism is still taking place. My answer to this would be that the results of the content analysis and discourse

analysis inarguably demonstrate an erasure of feminism. The results demonstrate that articles often did not discuss feminism as a social movement in a meaningful way. The question is how do we interpret that erasure? On that note let's turn to interpreting the results.

Interpreting the Results

Do we view erasure as an attack on feminism and as indicative of CBC harbouring negative ideologies about feminism? Or do we instead take these results as CBC recognising that feminism is evolving towards egalitarianism and general anti-oppression ideologies in order to remain relevant and useful in modern society? Is CBC working to create the next evolution of feminism, one that is in line with trends we are seeing from other media sources, from feminist icons and scholars, and individuals working within generalised anti-oppression groups/ideologies? The optimist in me wants to say it's the latter. The realist in me knows from the previous literature that it probably is not. I am not in a position to give an answer based on the results of this study. What I can say is that if major news players do hold mixed and negative views towards a topic like feminism, those ideologies could easily become intertwined and lost within the evolution of the cause, in particular, because of feminism's evolution towards one big intersectional resistance. Additionally, there is a third way to view this erasure - as a consequence of news content and formatting norms. The traditional news format is to focus on stories and individuals which, if followed, is likely to exclude feminism from the conversation, not due to negative organisational values towards the topic, but instead in an effort to attract and maintain readers.

Giving less "screen time" and "screen space" to feminism while removing direct mentions of it from the narrative, giving it only background roles in their texts, and framing it in complex ways are certainly not indicators of screaming support for feminism by any means. However, in so doing CBC is in line with how feminism is evolving. I cannot say if this is intentional or pure luck on

the part of CBC. Feminism is evolving to be more intersectional and in so doing is massively changing its ideologies and goals. The feminism of today is not the feminism of the early 19th century. This is common sense but the changes happening now are once again fundamentally altering the core meaning of feminism. This change lies in something of a destruction of feminism as we know it and have known it for centuries. While I believe this to be an immensely positive and necessary overhaul, it would be hard to say with any certainty whether CBC is playing a role in creating that change with good intentions or whether they are simply lucky that their online content can be interpreted this way in the current context of feminism.

The results could also point to an attempt on the part of CBC to remain fairly neutral. This would be in line with the requirements of their funding model and general mandate. This interpretation largely depends on your definition of neutrality and the morality behind staying impartial. Does showing both good and bad equate to being neutral? Is giving a mixed perspective what defines neutrality in today's media? Is there a better way to remain impartial on topics that are inherently difficult to remain unbiased on? Is it morally reprehensible to remain neutral on topics that impact the lives and well-being of millions of citizens in the country that pays your bills? I am inclined to believe that attempts to remain neutral are just an excuse to refuse to take a stance on a topic and potentially alienate a portion of readers. In particular, I am thinking of far-right news consumers. However, it is also common sense that CBC must follow certain rules in order to remain politically neutral as a consequence of their mandate and their funding source. CBC's organisational values towards a topic like feminism is one thing, their ability to communicate that, whatever it may be, is another. That aspect cannot be ignored or assumed to be unimportant.

Another potential interpretation of the results comes from literature on the structure of news, or news norms (Hartley). The lack of direct focus on feminism as a social movement but instead on its individual issues, as well as focusing on the more controversial stories or themes surrounding feminism is in line with news content norms. As John Hartley argues, news generally follows a certain structure or model. News content tends to focus on individuals, and on single issues, which my results corroborate. A movement in general does not frequently provide a good story or fit the mold of a good news piece. The common structure of news can also be taken into account when looking at the frequency with which I observed controversy. This may be CBC undermining feminism in an attempt to contain it, but it also may be CBC wanting to write a story that will grab the attention of readers. After all, they do need consumers to click on their articles and read them in order to bring in revenue and remain financially secure. Writing about controversy is a sure-fire way to accomplish this. Therefore, while I observed the frames of controversy and containment in their content surrounding feminism, it could be that these frames are simply common news frames used for all kinds of topics. What I am trying to demonstrate with these multiple analyses is that the results have multiple potential interpretations. While this is the nature of much qualitative research and the nature of working within post-structuralist theoretical foundations, I think it is particularly relevant here given the four potential interpretations I have provided.

Since CBC's organisational values surrounding feminism are not clear from the findings, given the multiple ways they can be interpreted, a good question to ask instead would be: Are the articles written about feminism and the framing taking place beneficial to feminism? In other words, is CBC's news content hindering or helping feminism? I do believe it to be problematic that I cannot clearly and with certainty state that the articles published by CBC are an entirely supportive representation of the movement. Especially given the current context in which feminism exists

which is highly volatile and is hindering advancements every step of the way. However, I do think the answer to this question is slightly clearer and also more optimistic. I do believe that the coverage CBC has provided to feminism is likely to be helpful to the cause more so than hindering. I believe the average person who reads these articles about feminism will not find the content to be a problem for feminism, and that it will not negatively impact their beliefs about feminism. They will not feel feminism is being attacked, belittled, or problematised. They will likely not recognise the features of the article which do not serve feminism in the best way possible as they are not there to analyse these features but simply to consume the information in the articles. In this sense, I believe the coverage is still amplifying feminism's ideologies, goals, and actions even if underneath the surface the content is not reaching its full potential in terms of supporting feminism without putting certain constraints on it.

One thing that I can say with certainty is that the uncertainty these results have produced is complicated. While recognising that my results fit into the positive changes we have witnessed in media coverage of feminism over time, these results do give me pause. I was not expecting a glowing tribute to feminism in CBC's articles given past literature, but I was hoping to uncover more clear advancements since Mendes' last work in 2011. I certainly did not expect an entirely positive picture, but I did expect less ambiguity than in reality, I have found. While it is a relief to have not found negative ideologies to be running rampant in CBC's articles there are a few things I would like to see CBC doing to improve their content about feminism overall. Including mentioning feminism more often, using it as the main topic more, and opening up discussions about the movement as a whole, including about the future of feminism and what feminism means for Canadians and in Canadian society. Furthermore, I wish to see the containment of feminism within boundaries decrease. I believe that we have witnessed this trend here, when compared to

previous literature, and I would like to see that trend continue until containment is no longer observed.

Given the conjunctural moment that feminism is currently in, in which women's rights are once again being stripped and attacked, I do believe that the media have a moral obligation to report on news events relevant to feminism and to keep the conversation going even when nothing of a newsworthy nature is happening. Especially given CBC's publicly funded model, I believe they should be putting particular care into their content covering the issues that deeply impact their readers. I most certainly do not wish for CBC to lose its public funding, but I do wish to see small changes in the content they are publishing in an effort to continue the positive change we have seen here. While I would like to see glowing support for feminism, I realise this would not always be the case if writers and editors were given free rein in terms of political leanings. Nearly 15 years after the final piece from Mendes on the topic I had hoped to see more improvements. While I'm disappointed that the results discovered here could not demonstrate that with confidence, I am, overall, not disappointed with the results or the progress they demonstrate. However, while these results do reflect some improvement compared to Mendes' work, CBC still has some work to do.

Chapter Six

Conclusion: Final Thoughts About CBC's Feminism and Where to Go Next

I would like the conclusion of this work to start with a quote from the dissertation of my first master's degree.

The setting of this study is 2020. The world is in uproar over systemic oppression occurring throughout its nations. Protests flood the streets on a weekly basis. Everywhere one turns social movements are at the forefront of visibility. Given the prevalence of this turbulent sociopolitical environment it is now, more than ever, incredibly important to understand the workings of present-day social movements. (St-Pierre 1)

While the setting of this study is 2023, not 2020, the rest of this quote could easily be copied word for word into the current project. In a time of heightened visibility for feminism, it is important to understand how feminism itself works; how feminists are doing feminism. This was the topic of my first master's dissertation. It is also equally important to examine how powerful sources understand and construct feminism, which is the focus of this work. All types of media, from feminists using Instagram to further the cause, to major news sources reporting on feminist work create the vision of feminism that modern media consumers hold in their minds.

The stakes are just as high now as they were in 2020, particularly after the many setbacks that the women's rights movement faced during the Trump presidency and in general over the last decade. Over the past several years we have witnessed an explosion of feminist ideology and activism and an equal explosion of backlash, counter-movements, and hatred. In this reality, I cannot think of a more important topic than how major media players are constructing feminism for their consumers. Especially given the proven power that media has to influence thoughts and actions. With Canadians turning in droves to online news sources, research must also turn in this

direction. That is what this research attempted to accomplish. While this research stems from that of Mendes on the framing of feminism in print newspapers, it evolves in an important way to cover a, thus far, understudied area of the topic, online news content. In doing so moved away from Mendes' dichotomic positive and negative results.

This study asked, when is feminism depicted in online news articles from CBC and how is it framed when portrayed? With two specific research questions being, what articles emerge when searching for feminism on CBC's website, and how is feminism framed in those articles? These questions were examined through the collection and analysis of 150 news articles. Both content analysis and critical discourse analysis were employed for analysis. Content analysis showed that the articles that return in a search for the word feminism on CBC's website leave readers with a complex picture of feminism and of CBC's representation of it. This image was created through, for example, the dichotomies which became apparent when analysing the results. This method also demonstrated that the subtle erasure of feminism is ongoing in news content. The critical discourse analysis solidified complexity as the main theme which structures CBC's representation of feminism with the frames of controversy/containment and diversity/intersectionality supporting that theme.

Overall, results are about as positive as one can realistically expect and reflect the history of slow and painful progress on the part of news sources in regards to how they portray social issues and causes. The results were highly ambiguous in terms of determining the intentions of CBC towards feminism as the results can be interpreted in several ways in the current social and political climate in Canada and North America/Western culture at large. CBC representing feminism in this complex way may be reflective of the nature of modern feminism and its evolution, in addition to helping to construct that nature of course. It may also be reflective of CBC

attempting to remain impartial on a polarising topic or stick to news construction norms and drive readership through controversy. It could also be seen as CBC hiding negative ideologies under the guise of coverage and support. Whichever way one chooses to understand the results, it is not the best use of CBC's immense ideological power. The cliché is unavoidable, they hold immense power to shape beliefs and therefore hold even greater responsibility to positively, clearly, and meaningfully report on social causes and issues that impact their readers. While I can admit my results are more positive than past literature, I still believe CBC is faltering slightly in that responsibility. There is room for them to grow and improve.

In conclusion, this research adds to our understanding of how major news sources in Canada not only view but also fashion, shape, and mould feminism as a news topic. In addition to expanding our knowledge on this topic, it adds an entirely new context to the previous literature on the topic of feminism in the news. Not only has this study examined an online news context, which is a very understudied topic, but it also investigates the Canadian context, which has yet to be studied at all, to my knowledge. Something else that I believe my project has also demonstrated is how much more work there is to be done and the value of future research in this area.

While this work has many strengths, such as its multi-method approach and novelty, there are still some limitations that were observed throughout the research and writing process. I feel that the greatest limitation of this study was the size of the data set. The data set was both slightly too small and far too large for the applied methods. A larger data set would have better suited the content analysis, although I feel the results from the content analysis did not suffer significantly for the smaller sample size. While I could not have done a significantly bigger sample size due to time and length restraints, I could have gone much smaller for the discourse analysis. I do believe the critical discourse analysis would have benefited from a significantly smaller sample size.

Instead of analysing each article that directly or indirectly mentioned feminism, it likely would have been better to randomly select a handful of these articles for analysis. This would have led to a deeper analysis and perhaps less ambiguity in the interpretation of the final results. Elements of the articles that were largely missed here, such as who exactly was being quoted and what role they played in the story, perhaps could have been given more attention. This limitation was largely due to the restraints of a master's dissertation in terms of time and length, but it nevertheless demonstrates the value of future researchers taking a different approach than that which was employed here. These limitations are more positive than perhaps initially apparent as they provide valuable insight into what may be useful for future researchers who decide to carry on with the topic.

With the results of my research in mind, along with its limitations, I have several ideas for directions in which future researchers can take this line of work. The first, and not at all surprising would be a recommendation to take a deeper dive into this current work. To accomplish this I would recommend taking a much smaller set of this data, or similar data (meaning online news articles from CBC about feminism) and doing an even more in-depth critical discourse analysis on it. This type of study would likely help to clarify some of the ambiguity surrounding my results and give a more certain outlook on CBC's organisational values when it comes to feminism. Looking back this method could have been interesting for the current research, and I do hope to see a similar piece written someday. My second recommendation would be to examine CBC News' Instagram account (@cbcnews). In this study, I would suggest searching for any posts, over the last several years, which mention feminism or are about the women's rights movement in general and analysing both the image posted and the caption, along with other elements. This would be a far more targeted method as it would not result in the collection of news content that is related to

feminism but not directly about feminism, as occurred here. It would also be a much more manageable sample as the content itself would be shorter and smaller than full news articles. Given the passing of Bill C-18 and the detrimental response of Meta, I am aware that a study like this may not be possible for quite some time, if ever again in Canada. I do hope this work can someday be carried out as I believe it would provide interesting and important results. Given that the snippets of a story CBC decides to share in choosing a specific, and very limited, photograph and caption, results would surely say much about their values towards feminism as well as their ideological beliefs about the movement.

My final suggestion would be to do a cross-cultural comparison of the Canadian context with both the American and British contexts. As evident from the literature review, much has been written on this topic from the American and British contexts and a cross-cultural examination would be very interesting but would likely produce unsurprising, but nevertheless important, results. I feel it would likely confirm that negative ideologies concerning feminism are still hegemonic across all three cultures, as has previously been shown in literature comparing American and British news sources. Irrespective of my predictions I believe this type of research is important and interesting work to carry out. It is my hope that researchers coming to this topic with interest can find some inspiration in this work, both from its strengths and its weaknesses, as well as my suggestions here. I cannot reiterate enough the importance of studying feminism in the current sociopolitical context from both within and outside of the movement. We are fighting what feels like a losing battle as feminists, and as researchers we have a duty to uncover the forces in society fighting against us and bring light to their actions. Now more than ever, research is activism, and activism is our power.

Works Cited

Primary Sources (CBC News Articles Mentioned in the Text)

Aghbali, Arman. “Supportive Posters Respond to Ad Attacking Feminism.” *CBC*, 18 Sept.

2015, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/trending/support-posters-ad-feminism-1.3235017>.

Accessed 5 Aug. 2023.

Anderson, Drew. “Anti-Female Tone was Growing in Wildrose U of C Group Before 'Feminism is Cancer' Email, Ex-Member Alleges.” *CBC*, 7 Mar. 2017,

<https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/calgary/wildrose-campus-group-uofc-calgary-red-pill-anti-female-1.4013804>. Accessed 5 Aug. 2023.

Bellefontaine, Michelle. “Barriers to Women in Politics 'Socialist Crap,' Heather Forsyth Tells

UCP Meeting.” *CBC*, 5 May 2018, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/edmonton/ucp-general-meeting-women-in-politics-1.4650388>. Accessed 5 Aug. 2023.

Butler, Colin. “Western University Seeks Court Approval to Rename Scholarships Honouring

'Racist' Professor.” *CBC*, 7 Sept. 2022, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/london/kenneth-hilborn-western-university-scholarship-1.6573668#:~:text=London-,Western%20University%20seeks%20court%20approval%20to%20rename%20scholarships%20honouring%20%27racist,he%20espoused%20radical%2C%20racist%20views>.

Accessed 5 Aug. 2023.

Bird, Lindsay. “Women are Leading the Zero-Waste Movement. Here's Why That Matters.”

CBC, 7 Sept. 2022, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/london/kenneth-hilborn-western-university-scholarship-1.6573668>. Accessed 5 Aug. 2023.

CBC News. “‘My Feminism is Weatherproof,’ Marchers Say at 3rd Annual Winnipeg Women's March.” *CBC*, 19 Jan. 2019, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/womens-march-winnipeg-1.4985354>. Accessed 5 Aug. 2023.

CBC News. “‘You Can Hear Heartbreak’: Jessie Reyez on Feminism, the Music Industry.” *CBC*, 14 July 2018, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/ottawa/jessie-reyez-interview-before-bluesfest-performance-1.4747255#:~:text=%22Like%20you%20can%20hear%20heartbreak,have%20that%20connection%20to%20people.%22>. Accessed 5 Aug. 2023.

CBC News, “Activists from Syria, Iran Talk Future of Feminism at University of Winnipeg.” *CBC*, 3 Oct. 2016, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/future-feminism-activists-human-rights-1.3789665>. Accessed 5 Aug. 2023.

CBC News. “Anti-Feminism Posters Pop Up in Saskatoon.” *CBC*, 20 July 2013, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/saskatchewan/anti-feminism-posters-pop-up-in-saskatoon-1.1344093>. Accessed 5 Aug. 2023.

CBC News. “Book Explores Parenting and Feminism.” *CBC*, 4 Dec. 2016, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/saskatchewan/feminist-parenting-book-1.3880449>. Accessed 5 Aug. 2023.

CBC News. “Dozens March Down Whyte Avenue in Support of Gender Equality.” *CBC*, 4 Mar. 2018, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/edmonton/international-womens-day-edmonton-rally-1.4561447>. Accessed 5 Aug. 2023.

CBC News. “Emma Watson's HeForShe Speech Prompts Discussion on Modern Feminism.” *CBC*, 24 Sept. 2014, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/calgary/emma-watson-s-heforshe-speech-prompts-discussion-on-modern-feminism-1.2776613>. Accessed 5 Aug. 2023.

CBC News. "Gender Discrimination Still a Problem, Winnipeg Girls Say on Right-to-Vote Anniversary." *CBC*, 28 Jan. 2016, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/gender-discrimination-still-a-problem-winnipeg-girls-say-on-right-to-vote-anniversary-1.3424423>. Accessed 5 Aug. 2023.

CBC News. "International Women's Day: Young Women Talk Feminism, Lise Thériault." *CBC*, 8 Mar. 2016, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/international-womens-day-lise-theriault-concordia-1.3480663>. Accessed 5 Aug. 2023.

CBC News. "I Worked Hard to Raise a Feminist Daughter, but Her Racy Online Selfies Make Me Feel I Failed." *CBC*, 20 Dec. 2019, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/i-worked-hard-to-raise-a-feminist-daughter-1.5391203>. Accessed 5 Aug. 2023.

CBC News. "Province's First Feminism Festival Starts Thursday Night." *CBC*, 25 Aug. 2016, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/fem-fest-nl-starts-thursday-1.3735502>. Accessed 5 Aug. 2023.

CBC News. "Speakers Explore Feminisms, There's More Than One, at Upcoming Panel Discussion." *CBC*, 13 Mar. 2016, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/saskatchewan/kim-tall-bear-feminism-discussion-panel-saskatoon-1.3489174>. Accessed 5 Aug. 2023.

CBC News. "Teenage Girls Take to Social Media to Spread Message About Feminism." *CBC*, 11 June 2019, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/social-media-girls-school-talk-show-feminism-1.5170723>. Accessed 5 Aug. 2023.

Enos, Elysha. "Montreal Dads Step Up to New Challenges in Age of #MeToo." *CBC*, 20 Jan. 2019, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/gillette-metoo-assault-prevention-1.4983254#:~:text=Some%20men%20balked%20at%20a,exist%20—%20and%20need%20to%20change>. Accessed 5 Aug. 2023.

- Johnson, Rhiannon. “Six Nations Exchange Program Exploring Culture, Feminism and Reconciliation.” *CBC*, 17 Aug. 2018, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/indigenous/six-nations-exchange-program-exploring-culture-feminism-and-reconciliation-1.4787918>. Accessed 5 Aug. 2023.
- Kelly, Joanne. “Essay Collections Explore Empathy and Bad Feminism.” *CBC*, 5 Apr. 2015, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/essay-collections-explore-empathy-and-bad-feminism-1.3021446>. Accessed 5 Aug. 2023.
- Mann, Victoria. “These British Students are Trying to Ban School Uniforms in Sex Shops, Pornography.” *CBC*, 18 July 2022, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/world/school-uniforms-sexual-harrassment-uk-1.6518484>. Accessed 5 Aug. 2023.
- McMillan, Anna. “Edmonton Group Promoting Elevation of Black Women Amid #MeToo Movement.” *CBC*, 29 Sept. 2018, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/edmonton/black-mee-too-rally-edmonton-1.4844465#:~:text=Edmonton,.Edmonton%20group%20promoting%20elevation%20of%20black%20women%20amid%20%23MeToo%20movement,%23MeToo%20movement%20—%20%23BlackMeToo>. Accessed 5 Aug. 2023.
- Monkman, Lenard. “Indigenous Feminism: What is it and What Does the Future Hold?” *CBC*, 1 Dec. 2017, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/indigenous/indigenous-feminism-facebook-live-panel-1.4428484>. Accessed 5 Aug. 2023.
- Patil, Anjuli. “Counter Rally to Women's March Highlights Diverse Feminism in Halifax.” *CBC*, 20 Jan. 2018, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/counter-rally-diverse-organization-halifax-women-s-march-1.4496892>. Accessed 5 Aug. 2023.

Schmidt, Joff. "Feminism, Modernism and Scandal: Winnipeg's Ibsenfest Celebrates 'Father of Modern Drama.'" *CBC*, 28 Jan. 2019, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/theatre-preview-ibsenfest-1.4995008>. Accessed 5 Aug. 2023.

Sharkley, Jackie. "She Stoops To Conquer Takes on 18th Century 'Feminism'." *CBC*, 6 July 2015, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/kitchener-waterloo/she-stoops-to-conquer-takes-on-18th-century-feminism-1.3139564>. Accessed 5 Aug. 2023.

The Associated Press. "'Feminism' is Merriam-Webster's Word of the Year." *CBC*, 12 Dec. 2017, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/world/feminism-word-of-the-year-1.4444111>. Accessed 5 Aug. 2023.

The Canadian Press. "Murdered Women's Inquiry Must Confront Barriers Indigenous Women Face in Canadian Society." *CBC*, 17 Jan. 2016, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/missingwomen-carolyn-bennett-inquiry-feminism-1.3407921>. Accessed 5 Aug. 2023.

Urback, Robyn. "Social Media Users Rage Against Sophie, but the Most Powerful Feminism is Something Much Quieter: Robyn Urback." *CBC*, 9 Mar. 2017, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/opinion/international-womens-day-1.4016014>. Accessed 5 Aug. 2023.

Wherry, Aaron. "Asked About Trump, Trudeau Promises to Stand for Feminism and Diversity." *CBC*, 12 Jan. 2017, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/trudeau-trump-feminism-immigration-muslim-1.3933742>. Accessed 5 Aug. 2023.

Secondary Sources

Adamson, Nancy, et al. *Feminist Organizing for Change: The Contemporary Women's Movement in Canada*. Oxford University Press, 1988.

Annual Report 2021-2022. CBC/Radio-Canada, 2022,

<https://site-cbc.radio-canada.ca/documents/impact-and-accountability/finances/2021-2022-ar.pdf>.

Ashley, Laura, and Beth Olson. "Constructing Reality: Print Media's Framing of the Women's Movement, 1966 to 1986." *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, vol. 75, no. 2, 1998, pp. 263-277.

Askanuis, Tina, and Jannie Moller Hartley. "Framing Gender Justice: A Comparative Analysis of the Media Coverage of #MeToo in Denmark and Sweden." *Nordicom Review*, vol. 40, no. 2, 2019, pp. 19-36.

Backhouse, Constance. "The Contemporary Women's Movement in Canada and the United States: An Introduction." *Challenging Times: The Women's Movement in Canada and the United States*, edited by Constance Backhouse and David H Flaherty, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992, pp. 3-15.

Bailey, Cathryn. "Making Waves and Drawing Lines: The Politics of Defining the Vicissitudes of Feminism." *Hypatia*, vol. 12, no. 3, 1997, pp. 17-28.

Baker Beck, Debra. "The 'F' Word: How the Media Frame Feminism." *NWSA Journal*, vol. 10, no. 1, 1998, pp. 139-153.

Banet-Weiser, Sarah. "Postfeminism and Popular Feminism." *Feminist Media Histories*, vol. 4, no. 2, 2018, pp. 152-156.

Barakso, Maryann, and Brian F. Schaffner. "Winning Coverage: News Media Portrayals of the Women's Movement, 1969-2004." *Press/Politics*, vol. 11, no. 4, 2006, pp. 22-44.

Barker-Plummer, Bernadette. *News and Feminism: A Historic Dialog*. The Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, 2010.

- Bateson, Gregory. *Steps to an Ecology of Mind: Collected Essays in Anthropology, Psychology, Evolution and Epistemology*. Chandler, 1972.
- Belsey, Catherine. *Poststructuralism: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Berger, Peter L., and Thomas Luckmann. *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. Penguin Books, 1966.
- Bradley, Patricia. "Introduction." *Mass Media and the Shaping of American Feminism, 1963-1975*, University Press of Mississippi, 2003, pp. xi- xviii.
- Braithwaite, Ann. "The Personal, The Political, Third-Wave and Postfeminism." *Feminist Theory*, vol. 3, no. 3, 2002, pp. 335-344.
- Bronstein, Carolyn. "Representing the Third Wave: Mainstream Print Media Framing of a New Feminist Movement." *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, vol. 82, no. 4, 2005, pp. 783-803.
- "Canadian News and Information Sources Face Trust and Credibility Issues Coming out of Pandemic." *Kaiser & Partners*, 1 Nov. 2021, <https://kaiserpartners.com/canadian-news-face-trust-issues/>. Accessed 30 Nov. 2022.
- Cancian, Francesca M., and Bonnie L. Ross. "Mass Media and the Women's Movement: 1900-1977." *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, vol. 17, no. 1, 1981, pp. 9-26.
- Carafa, Tiziana. "Is CBC Really Biased?" *Policy Options/Options Politiques*, 1 Dec. 2002, <https://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/kyoto/is-cbc-really-biased/>. Accessed 8 Dec. 2022.
- CBC News. "About CBC News." *CBC*, 31 Jan. 2012, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/about-cbc-news-1.1294364>. Accessed 8 Dec. 2022.

- Charlton, Sebastien, et al. *News Consumption Habits in Canada | Digital News Report 2022*.
Centre D'études Sur les Médias, https://www.cem.ulaval.ca/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/cem_digital_news_report_2022_habits.pdf. Accessed 30 Nov. 2022.
- Choularakis, Lilie. "Foucault., Michel." *The International Encyclopedia of Communication Theory and Philosophy*, edited by Klaus Bruhn Jensen, Robert T. Craig, Jefferson D. Pooley, and Eric W. Rothenbuhler, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2016.
- Coleman, Rebecca. "Inventive Feminist Theory: Representation, Materiality and Intensive Time.," *Women: A Cultural Review*, vol. 25, no. 1, 2014, pp. 27-45.
- Crenshaw, Kimberlé. "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics." *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, 1989, pp. 138-167.
- D'Angelo, Paul. "News Framing as a Multiparadigmatic Research Program: A Response to Entman." *Journal of Communication*, December 2002, pp. 870-888.
- Darmon, Keren. "Framing SlutWalk London: How Does the Privilege of Feminist Activism in Social Media Travel into the Mass Media?" *Feminist Media Studies*, vol. 14, no. 4, 2014, pp. 700-704.
- Dean, Jonathan. "Feminism in the Papers: Contested Feminisms in the British Quality Press." *Feminist Media Studies*, vol. 10, no. 4, 2010, pp. 391-407.
- De Benedictis, Sara, et al. "#MeToo, Popular Feminism and the News: A Content Analysis of UK Newspaper Coverage." *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, vol. 22, no. 5-6, 2019, pp. 718-738.

Delmar, Rosalind. "What is Feminism?" *Theorizing Feminism*. 2nd ed., Routledge, 2001, pp. 8-33.

Eaman, Ross A. "CBC/Radio-Canada." *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, 24 June 2015, www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/canadian-broadcasting-corporation.

Accessed 06 Dec. 2022.

Elo, Satu, and Helvi Kyngas. "The Qualitative Content Analysis Process." *JAN Research Methodology*, vol. 62, no. 1, 2008, pp. 107-115.

Erdman-Farrell, Amy. "Feminism and the Media: Introduction." *Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, vol. 20, no. 31, 1995, pp. 642-645.

Fairclough, Norman. *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*. Routledge, 2003.

---. *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*. Longman Publishing, 1995.

---. *Language and Power*. Longman Inc., 1989.

Faludi, Susan. "Introduction: Blame It on Feminism." *Backlash: The Undeclared War Against American Women*, Three Rivers Press, 1991, pp. 1-15

"Feminism." *Merriam-Webster*, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/feminism>.

Accessed 30 Nov. 2022.

Foucault, Michel. *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*. Translated by A.M. Sheridan Smith, Pantheon Books, 1972.

---. "The Order of Discourse." *Untying the Text: A Post-Structuralist Reader*, edited by Robert Young, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1981, pp. 48-78.

---. *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings*, edited by Colin Gordon, Pantheon Books, 1972.

- Freedman, Estelle B. "The Historical Case for Feminism." *No Turning Back: The History of Feminism and the Future of Women*, Balantine Books, 2002, pp. 1-13.
- Gamble, Sarah. "Postfeminism." *The Routledge Companion to Feminism and Postfeminism*, edited by Sarah Gamble, Routledge, 2006, pp. 36-45.
- Gill, Rosalind. "Post-postfeminism? New Feminist Visibilities in Postfeminist Times." *Feminist Media Studies*, vol. 16, no. 4, 2016, pp. 610-630.
- Ging, Debbie. "Bros v. Hos: Postfeminism, Anti-feminism, and the Toxic Turn in Digital Gender Politics." *Gender Hate Online: Understanding the New-Anti Feminism*, edited by Debbie Ging and Eugenia Siapera, Palgrave Macmillan, 2019, pp. 45-67.
- Goffman, Erving. *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. Harvard University Press, 1974.
- Goldberg Moses, Claire. "'What's in a Name?'" On Writing the History of Feminism." *Feminist Studies*, vol. 38, no. 3, 2012, pp. 757-779.
- Hall, Elaine J., and Marnie Salupo Rodriguez. "The Myth of Postfeminism." *Gender & Society*, vol. 17, no. 6, 2003, pp. 878-902.
- Hall, Stuart. "The Work of Representation." *Representation: Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices*, edited by Stuart Hall, Sage Publications, 1997, pp. 13-74.
- Hall, Stuart, and Doreen Massey. "Interpreting the Crisis." *Soundings*, no. 44, 2010, pp. 57-71.
- Hartley, John, editor. *Understanding News*. Routledge, 1982.
- Hill, Collins, Patricia, and Sirma Bilge. *Intersectionality*, Polity Press, 2016.
- Hodgson-Wright, Stephanie. "Early Feminism." *The Routledge Companion to Feminism and Postfeminism*, edited by Sarah Gamble, Routledge, 2006, pp. 3-14
- hooks, bell. *Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism*. Sound End Press, 1981.

- Hull, Gloria T., Patricia Bell-Scott, and Barbara Smith, editors. *All the Women Are White, All the Blacks Are Men, But Some of Us Are Brave*. Feminist Press, 1982.
- “Information About Programs & Information Holdings (formerly InfoSource).” *CBC/Radio-Canada*, <https://cbc.radio-canada.ca/en/impact-and-accountability/access-to-information/infosource>. Accessed 8 Dec. 2022.
- Jordan, Ana. “Conceptualizing Backlash: (UK) Men’s Rights Groups, Anti-Feminism, and Postfeminism.” *Canadian Journal of Women and the Law*, vol. 28, no. 1, 2016, pp. 18-44.
- Krippendorff, Klaus. *Content Analysis: An Introduction to its Methodology*. SAGE Publications, 2018.
- . “Social Construction of Reality.” *The International Encyclopedia of Communication Theory and Philosophy*, edited by Klaus Bruhn Jensen, Robert T. Craig Jefferson, D. Pooley, and Eric W. Rothenbuhler, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2016.
- Larrondo Ureta, Ainara. “(In)Visibility of Feminism in the Media: The Depiction of the Second-Wave Women’s Movement in Spain.” *Feminist Media Studies*, vol. 20, no. 1, 2020, pp. 70-85.
- LeGates, Marlene. *In Their Time: A History of Feminism in Western Society*. Routledge, 2012.
- Lewis, Helen. “Introduction: An Imperfect History.” *Difficult Women: A History of Feminism in 11 Fights*, Jonathan Cape [Penguin Random House UK], 2020, pp. 1-10.
- Lind, Rebecca Ann, and Colleen Salo. “The Framing of Feminists and Feminism in News and Public Affairs Programs in U.S. Electronic Media.” *Journal of Communication*, 2002, pp. 211-228.

- Loke, Jaime, et al. "Co-opting Feminism: Media Discourse on Political Women and the Definition of a (New) Feminist Identity." *Media, Culture & Society*, vol. 39, no. 1, 2017, pp. 122-132.
- Lotz, Amanda D. "Communicating Third-Wave Feminism and New Social Movements: Challenges for the Next Century of Feminist Endeavor." *Women and Language*, vol. xxvi, no. 1, 2003, pp. 2-9.
- Luxton, Meg. "Feminism as a Class Act: Working-Class Feminism and the Women's Movement in Canada." *Labour/Le Travail*, vol. 48, 2001, pp. 63-88.
- Malinowska, Ania. "Waves of Feminism." *The International Encyclopedia of Gender, Media, and Communication*, edited by Karen Ross, Ingrid Bachmann, Valentina Cardo, Sujata Moorti, and Marco Scarcelli, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2020.
- Maru Public Opinion Report: Canadian News Consumption*. Maru Group, 28 Sept. 2022, <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5a17333eb0786935ac112523/t/63334d42881dfa49e941264d/1664306498601/Release+Canadian+Newsies+28+9+22.pdf>. Accessed 30 Nov. 2022.
- Marx Ferree, Myra, and Beth B. Hess. "Introduction." *Controversy and Coalition: The New Feminist Movement Across Three Decades of Change*. 3rd ed., Routledge, 2000, pp. vi-xxvii.
- McNamee, Lacy G. "Frame/Framing." *The International Encyclopedia of Organizational Communication*, edited by Craig R. Scott, Laurie Lewis, James R. Barker, Joann Keyton, Timothy Kuhn, and Paige K. Turner. John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2017.
- McRobbie, Angela. "Post-feminism and Popular Culture." *Feminist Media Studies*, vol. 4, no. 3, 2004, pp. 255-264.

Mendes, Kaitlynn. *Feminism in the News: Representations of the Women's Movement Since the 1960s*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

---. "Feminism Rules! Now, Where's my Swimsuit?" Re-Evaluating Feminist Discourse in Print Media 1968-2008." *Media, Culture & Society*, vol. 35, no. 5, 2012, pp. 554-570.

---. "Framing Feminism: News Coverage of the Women's Movement in British and American Newspapers, 1968-1982" *Social Movement Studies*, vol. 10, no. 1, 2011, pp. 81-98.

---. "Reporting The Women's Movement: News Coverage of Second-Wave Feminism in UK and US Newspapers, 1968-1982." *Feminist Media Studies*, vol. 11, no. 4, 2011, pp. 483-498.

Mohajan, Haradhan Kumar. "Four Waves of Feminism: A Blessing for Global Humanity." *Studies in Social Sciences & Humanities*, vol. 1, no. 2, 2022, pp. 1-8.

Munro, Ealasaid. "Feminism: A Fourth Wave?" *Political Insight*, 2013, pp. 22-25.

Newman, Nic, et al. "Reuters Institute: Digital News Report 2019." *Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism*, https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/2019-06/DNR_2019_FINAL_0.pdf. Accessed 30 Nov. 2022.

Nicholson, Linda. "Feminism in "Waves": Useful Metaphor or Not?" *New Politics*, vol. 7, no. 4, 2010. https://newpol.org/issue_post/feminism-waves-useful-metaphor-or-not/.

Nicolini, Kristine M., and Sara Steffes Hansen. "Framing the Women's March on Washington: Media Coverage and Organizational Messaging Alignment." *Public Relations Review*, vol. 44, 2018, pp. 1-10.

Offen, Karen. "Defining Feminism: A Comparative Historical Approach." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, vol. 14, no. 1, 1988, pp. 119-157.

- “Organization Profile – Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.” *Government of Canada/Gouvernement du Canada*, <https://federal-organizations.canada.ca/profil.php?OrgID=CBC&lang=en>. Accessed 8 Dec. 2022.
- Pan, Zhongdang. “Framing of the News.” *The International Encyclopedia of Communication*, 1st ed., edited by Wolfgang Donsbach, John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., 2008.
- Phoenix, Ann, and Pamela Pattynama. “Intersectionality.” *European Journal of Women's Studies*, vol. 13, no. 3, 2006, pp. 187-192.
- Policy Options. “CBC Television News Has a Bias Problem.” *Policy Options/Options Politiques*, 1 July 2002, <https://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/public-policy-2002/cbc-television-news-has-a-bias-problem/>. Accessed 8 Dec. 2022.
- Rampton, Martha. “Four Waves of Feminism.” *Pacific Magazine*, Fall 2008, <https://www.pacificu.edu/magazine/four-waves-feminism>.
- Rivers Nicola. “Introduction.” *Postfeminism(s) and the Arrival of the Fourth Wave: Turning Tides*, 1st ed, Palgrave Macmillan, 2017, pp. 1-6.
- Sanders, Valeria. “First Wave Feminism.” *The Routledge Companion to Feminism and Postfeminism*, edited by Sarah Gamble, Routledge, 2006, pp. 15-24.
- Sangster, Joan. “Creating Popular Histories: Re-interpreting “Second Wave” Canadian Feminism.” *Dialectical Anthropology*, vol. 39, 2015, pp. 381-404.
- Scheufele Dietram A. “Framing as a Theory of Media Effects.” *Journal of Communication*, vol. 49, no. 1, 1999, pp. 103-122.
- Scheufele Dietram A., and David Tewksbury. “Framing, Agenda Setting, and Priming: The Evolution of Three Media Effects Models.” *Journal of Communication*, vol. 57, 2007, pp. 9–20.

- Sethi, Rahul. "Research: 48% of Canadians Consume Online News Several Times Daily." *Vividata*, 6 May 2019, <https://vividata.ca/research-48-of-canadians-consume-online-news-several-times-daily/>. Accessed 30 Nov. 2022.
- Simpson, Peggy A. "Covering the Women's Movement." *Neiman Reports*, Winter 1999 – Spring 2000, 2000, pp. 40-45.
- Sisco, Tauna, and Jennifer Lucas. "'Flawed Vessels' Media Framing of Feminism in the 2008 Presidential Election." *Feminist Media Studies*, vol. 15, no. 3, 2015, pp. 492-507.
- Springer, Kimberly. "Third Wave Black Feminism?" *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, vol. 27, no. 4, 2002, pp. 1059-1082.
- St-Pierre, Alex Taylor. *Instagram Feminism: A Rhetorical Analysis of the Novel Feminist Phenomenon Through Popular Feminist Instagram Accounts*. 2021. The American University of Paris, Master's Thesis. *ProQuest Dissertations and Theses*.
- Steuter, Erin. "Women Against Feminism: An Examination of Feminist Social Movements and Anti-Feminist Countermovements." *Canadian Review of Sociology/Revue canadienne de sociologie*, vol. 29, no. 3, 1992, pp. 288-306.
- Terkildsen, Nayda, and Frauke Schnell. "How Media Frames Move Public Opinion: An Analysis of the Women's Movement." *Political Research Quarterly*, vol. 50, no. 4, 1997, pp. 879-900.
- Tewksbury, David, and Dietram A. Scheufele. "News Framing Theory and Research." *Media Effects: Advances in Theory and Research*, 3rd ed., edited by Jennings Bryant and Mary Beth Oliver, Routledge, 2009, pp. 17-33.

The Canadian Encyclopedia. "Timeline: Women's Suffrage." *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/timeline/womens-suffrage>. Accessed 11 Jan. 2023.

The News Fairness and Balance Report: What Canadian News Consumers Think About Fairness and Balance in News. Ipsos Reid for CBC English Services, September 2010, https://www.cbc.ca/news2/pdf/public-opinionreporteng-oct1_10.pdf.

Thornham, Sue. "Second Wave Feminism." *The Routledge Companion to Feminism and Postfeminism*, edited by Sarah Gamble, Routledge, 2006, pp. 25-35.

Tuchman, Gaye. *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Social Reality*. Free Press, 1978.

van der Tuin, Iris. "The Arena of Feminism: Simone de Beauvoir and the History of Feminism." *Doing Gender in Media, Art and Culture*, edited by Iris van der Tuin, and Rosemarie Buikema, Routledge, 2010, pp. 7-23.

van Zoonen, Elisabeth A. "The Women's Movement and the Media: Constructing a Public Identity." *European Journal of Communication*, vol. 7, 1992, pp. 453-476.

Whelehan, Imelda. *Modern Feminist Thought: From the Second Wave to Post-Feminism*. NYU Press, 1995.

Williams, James. *Understanding Poststructuralism*. Routledge, 2014.

Yuval-Davis, Nira. "Intersectionality and Feminist Politics." *European Journal of Women's Studies*, vol. 13, no. 3, 2006, pp. 193-209.

Zimmerman, Tegan. "#Intersectionality: The Fourth Wave Feminist Twitter Community." *Atlantis*, vol. 38, no. 1, 2017, pp. 54-70.

Appendix A - Coding Guidebook

Table 12

Type of Mention Coding Guide

Type of Mention	Description
Direct	Explicit references to feminism in the text such as feminism or feminist movement
Indirect	Implicit references to feminism in the text such as women's movement, equal rights movement, or simply the movement
Both	Text includes direct and indirect mentions
No Mentions	Text does not include direct or indirect mentions

Table 13

Role of Feminism Coding Guide

Role of Feminism	Description
Primary	Feminism is the main topic of the article
Secondary	Feminism is one of two main topics in the article
Supporting	Feminism supports the/a main topic of the article but is not positioned as a main topic
Passing	Feminism is mentioned only in passing and is not considered significant to the main topic
Indirect	Feminism is only mentioned indirectly and is not considered significant to the text
Non-existent	Feminism is not mentioned in the article and is not significant to the text

Table 14

Length of Article Coding Guide

Length of Article	Description
Short	Article is less than 500 words
Average	Article is between 501 and 800 words
Long	Article is more than 801 words

Table 15

Type of Article Coding Guide

Type of Article	Description
Opinion	Article provides the opinion of a specific writer on a news event/topic. Writer is considered qualified to write on the topic (ex. celebrity, important figure, politician, author, lawyer, etc.)
Editorial	Article provides an opinion on a news event/topic from the editorial board of the source (ex. CBC News)
Reviews	Article about books, films, exhibits, etc.
Obituaries	Article about a deceased individual
Features	Article meant for entertainment/information that does not fit into another category
Columns	Article is part of an ongoing set of writing by a specific author that is published at regular intervals
News	Article is a general news story meant to inform readers on an event, includes who/what/where/when/why information

Table 16

Main Topic Coding Guide

Main Topic	Description
Body Positivity	Encouraging women to love their bodies
Anti-Feminism	Anti-feminism and the men's rights movement
Books/Television	Book releases, bookstores, tv shows relating to feminism
Government	How the government is dealing with feminism and women's issues
Feminist Icons	Focus on a specific feminist
Women's Empowerment	Providing women with tools, resources, and encouragement
Feminist Event/Spaces	Spaces, places, and events with a feminist component
Activism	Protests, rally, marches, etc. related to feminism
Sexism	Experiences of discrimination based on gender and discussions of discrimination in certain areas of life (work, school, hobbies)
Modern Feminism	Discussions about the meaning of feminism today
Violence Against Women	Gender-based violence, domestic abuse, women's safety and security, and sexual assault/harassment
Women in Politics/Power	Women being represented in politics and women in positions of power
Intersectional Feminism	Intersection between feminism and other social issues that did not fit another category (only articles only about intersectional feminism and nothing else)
Recognising Women	The accomplishments of women, celebrations of those accomplishments, and the representation of women in all aspects of life
Patriarchy/Men	Discussions of men in relation to feminism (ex. their role) or patriarchal practices

Table 17

Main Feminist Issue Coding Guide

Main Feminist Issue	Description
Abortion and Parenting	Abortion, parenting, and motherhood
Anti-Feminism	Anti-feminist actions and the men's rights movement
Body Positivity	Encouraging women to love their bodies
Extremism	Fighting extremist groups, beliefs, and actions
Violence Against Women	Gender-based violence, domestic violence, women's safety and security, and sexual assault/harassment
Intersectional Feminism	Three areas (1) thoughts on intersectional feminism, (2) redefining modern feminism as more inclusive and intersectional (this includes discussions about Black and Indigenous feminism) and (2) feminism intersecting with other social issues, and discussion of racism/LGBTQ discrimination
Politics	How the government is dealing with women's issues, Trudeau's feminism, and women in politics
Representation	Showcasing women's work and accomplishment, talking about important feminist icons, and demonstrating representation of women, or fighting for equal representation for women, in areas traditionally considered masculine
Sexism/Discrimination	Experiences of discrimination based on gender, representations of sexism, sexist statements/behaviours, activism to fight sexism
Spaces for Feminism	Discussion about spaces and places for feminist events to occur
Women's Empowerment	Encouraging women/girls, teaching women/girls, and taking care of women/girls
Women's Rights	Suffrage, emancipation, and the fight for equal rights for women
Not Applicable	No feminist issue discussed