

**GENDER, RACE AND THE MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN THE
CANADIAN 41ST PARLIAMENT: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS**

A Thesis Submitted to the College of
Graduate Studies and Research
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement
For the Masters of Arts Degree
In the Department of Sociology
University of Saskatchewan
Saskatoon

By

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ABSTRACT

Media representations of diverse groups in Canadian society have been shown by researchers to influence their individual and collective sense of well-being and by inference their welfare (Fleras, 2012; Henry & Tator, 2002; Gist, 1990). Nevertheless, mainstream media continue to be racially and/or sexually biased in their representation of minority groups, especially racialized minority and Aboriginal women. Although efforts have been made by the government and various interest groups to promote the tenets of equality, impartiality and objectivity as advocated in the Multiculturalism Act of 1988, Canadian broadcasting Act and the Employment Equity Act, media bias persists. Existing research exploring media representation of diverse groups in the political sphere has not been very thorough. The myopic focus on either the gender or race of candidates and their campaign activities en-route to political offices, offers limited analysis of the intersected identities of office holders in terms of their race/ethnicity *and* gender. Given the centrality of Parliament in formulating and upholding the tenets of social democracy in Canadian society, this study aims to address this gap by interrogating media representations of women with multiple targeted identities in the Canadian 41st Parliament – specifically the House of Commons. Through Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), this study examines mainstream and ethnic media representations of racialized minority and Aboriginal women MPs relative to their white counterparts in order to evaluate bias in these portrayals. In addition, the portrayal of racialized minority and Aboriginal women MPs in mainstream and ethnic newspapers are compared to highlight their convergences and divergences. The study's findings reveal that while gender biased representations cut across both mainstream and ethnic media, ethnic media offer more positive portrayals of racialized MPs and their communities relative to mainstream media. The study also reveals that gender and race are not independent axes of oppression but operate simultaneously to compound oppressive misrepresentation of racialized minority women.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I offer my deepest gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Patience Elabor-Idemudia for her invaluable support, help and guidance with this thesis. Her patience, mentorship and encouragement provided me with the opportunity and determination to excel in the field of sociology, without which I would not have completed my degree. I also wish to thank my research committee member, Dr. Marie Lovrod, and Dr. Joseph Garcea for their insightful comments and suggestions. Without their extensive knowledge, contributions and guidance, this thesis would not be a success. I also want to thank the Department of Sociology, College of Graduate studies, and Nigerians in Diaspora Organization (NIDO) for their financial support during my period of study. Particularly, I want to thank Robert Igbesoko, Lilian Nneke, Ewere Idu, Adeola Igbalojobi, Bassey Bassey and Dr. Kingsley Iroba for their encouragement and support during the past few years.

DEDICATION

This thesis is primarily dedicated to my father, Pa Matthew Aiyamenkhue Iserhienrhien, who did not live to see its completion. Thank you for always supporting all of my endeavors, for always believing in me and the power of education that I would always succeed in whatever I did. I wish you could still be here with us to see the result of your prayers and sacrifices.

I also dedicate this thesis to my family. To my mother, Margaret, for her support and encouragement. To my siblings, Dr Ruth Iserhien-Emekeme, Sarah Ezenwa, Endurance Aiyamenkhue, Rebecca Ojobor, Rachael Izevbuwa and Amos Aiyamenkhue, for this thesis would not have been a success without their love, invaluable support, persistent encouragement and prayers. I would like to express my sincere gratitude specifically to Blessing Iserhienrhien for her care, tolerance and sacrifices to ensure that as a younger sibling I succeeded in my educational pursuits. Most importantly, my deepest gratitude goes to Jehovah for his provisions, protection and guidance.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Context of Study

The principles behind representative democracy require that individuals in the society are aware of political activities and performance. Since the media is a major source of information and awareness-raising, individuals tend to turn to the media as sources of information (Elenbaas, Boomgaarden, Schuck, & de Vreese, 2013). The growing diversity of the Canadian population prompted not just the national multicultural policy (1988) and the Canadian Broadcasting Act (1991) which directs that legally Canadian media organizations must comply with the tenets of Canadian Multiculturalism Act, but also the Employment Equity Act (1995). The rise of the knowledge-based economy, expansion of mass communications, technological innovation and improved access to political information via globalization all mean that, media news coverage of the political sphere is a critical tool for providing political information (Schaffner, & Gadson, 2004). As a social democratic society, Canada prides itself on its employment, multicultural and gender equity policies. Gender and racial inequalities, among others, are contradictory to social democratic principles; by definition, social democracy implies the entrenchment of fundamental freedoms and equality rights for all individuals (Li, 1995).

Despite the media's significance in the promotion of health/welfare of the Canadian society, scholars argue that the Canadian media is biased when it comes to political representation, specifically gender representation (Fleras, 1995; 2012; Trimble & Arscott, 2003). This bias persists despite efforts made by the government and various interest groups to promote the tenets of balance, impartiality and objectivity under the multicultural employment equity and broadcasting policies. Existing research exploring media bias in political representation has focused primarily on either the gender or race of candidates and their campaign activities en-route to political office, with little or no analysis of media bias in the presentation of office holders with intersecting targeted identities including race/ethnicity and gender. The few existing studies (such as Gerson, 2012) that have focused on media bias in the representation of office holders with particular reference to race and gender are mostly in the United States and have

explored media coverage of office holders with the “double minority” status of being a woman from a racialized minority. The results from Gerson’s (2012) study reveal that minority women in politics, specifically congresswomen, receive less frequent and more negative coverage than their peers. “Visible minorities” is a term legally used in Canada to refer to persons who do not report being Aboriginal and who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour (Statistic Canada, 2009; Chui, & Maheux, 2011). Therefore, in the Canadian context, racialized minorities include visible minorities and Aboriginals.

Given the centrality of the House of Parliament in formulating and upholding the tenets of social democracy in the Canadian context, this study explores and provides a detailed critical analysis of media representations and coverage of individuals with multiple identities¹ in the Canadian Parliamentary system. It investigates print media representation of office holders – specifically racialized minority and Aboriginal women – who are Members of the 41st Parliament (MPs) in order to examine bias.

1.2 Research Debates

Recognizing the growing diversity of the Canadian population, comprising over 250 ethnic groups, the Canadian Multiculturalism Act (1988) serves as a vehicle for acknowledging and promoting cultural diversity in Canada. The Act recognizes and promotes the understanding that diversity is a key characteristic of Canadian heritage and an important resource shaping Canada’s future. The Act also aims to promote the full and equitable participation of individuals and communities of all origins in the continuing evolution and shaping of all aspects of Canadian society (Department of Justice, 1985). Fleras (2012) notes that the passage of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act in 1988 obligated all government agencies and Crown corporations including the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) to improve minority access, equity and representation. This Act also extends to private media which are all required by law to reflect the cultures and multicultural contexts of Canada.

The Canadian Press (CP) - “a not-for-profit newsgathering co-operative owned by nearly all of the daily newspapers in Canada” (Canadian Press, 2005, p. 1) - as a federally regulated employer is also expected by law to comply with the Employment Equity Act. The CP is

¹ Gender and race are not the only identities in society. But this study focuses on both axes of intersected identities as they are so salient to the privileging mechanism of the nation state.

committed to reflecting Canada's rich diversity in its workplace as well as its news report². The mission of the CP is to share information with its member newspapers, radio and television stations, and cable television systems - amongst others. The Broadcast news is the primary subsidiary organization of the CP and its service is not limited to television but also extends to radio broadcasters (Canadian Press, 2005). Besides the Multicultural Act and Employment Equity Act (1995), there is the Broadcasting Act (1991). Broadcasters, like the Canadian press are also required to reflect Canada's cultural diversity, not just in terms of equal employment opportunities, but also in terms of programming and broadcasting.

Despite the implementation of the Multicultural, Employment Equity and Broadcasting Acts, researchers (Fleras, 2011, 2012; Trimble & Arscott, 2003, Fleras and Kunz 2001) have shown that individuals experience bias in the media as assigned to their race, gender and social class amongst others. This bias may take the form of under (limited) and mis-representation of racialized ethnic minorities, including both negative and positive portrayals. Race, as social construction, has continuing relevance in Canadian society and as Li (1995) argues, individuals and groups are often evaluated on the basis of their physical and social attributes which are used to gauge their social importance. Arguing further, Li explains that physical features, such as skin colour and hair texture, are used as "rational bases to socially demarcate individuals and groups such that people so marked would be subjected to differential treatment" (p. 7). Fleras (2012) notes that the media has the power to help articulate who is important, what is acceptable in society and whose voices are heard. Fleras further argues that the media also tends to construct images considered to be acceptable or important, and by extension, confers legitimacy on those who are mediated by selective exposure and positive reinforcement. The process thus fosters the reflection and advancement of the ideas and the ideals of the white dominant culture while negatively portraying non-white cultures often. Fleras (2012), contends that "the media frames information in ways that draw attention to some aspects of reality as normal and necessary, yet siphons attention away from other aspects of reality" (p. 338). In doing so, the ideological basis of reality construction by the media is in sharp contrast to the tenets of the Multiculturalism, Employment Equity and Broadcasting Acts. Besides the media framing of information, there is

² Diversity at the Canadian Press. Retrieved from <http://www.thecanadianpress.com/careers.aspx?id=106> on November 1st 2013

the underrepresentation of visible minorities in media organizations, a contradiction to the Employment Equity Act.

Negative depictions of racialized minorities as threatening, deviant or irrelevant to nation-building have paramount impact on their integration into the society and identity formations among Canadian citizens (Fleras, 2012; Gist, 1990). These portrayals are damaging as they tend to instill inferiority complexes in racialized minorities (Fleras, 2012). According to Gist (1990), the trend can also send a strong signal to racialized minorities regarding what they can aspire to become. Gist further explains that there are only a few token *positive* minority role models in media messages and images. This leaves minorities with feelings of exclusion and marginalization, thereby limiting their desire not only in relation to voting but, more importantly, to contest for political offices. Fleras (1995) argues that the marginalization of racial minorities in media supports the invisibility of ethnic minorities in the Canadian society. By implication media bias can simultaneously lead to a falsely inflated sense of superiority among dominant groups.

The under-representation of racialized minorities in the media, except in criminal activities where they tend to be over- represented, implies the domination of the majority and the fostering of whiteness as the norm, ideal and universal (Fleras, 2011; 2012). This creation of an “us” and “them” mentality in the media is contradictory in a country with a policy promoting multiculturalism. Fleras and Kunz (2001) argue that the exclusion of visible minorities in the media limits their power of public voice to discuss their future in Canada and by implication, undermines their sense of belonging. Henry (1999) argues that the use of subtle stereotypes and subsequent generalization of these stereotypes by Canadian media contributes to the development of negative images of racialized groups and as a consequence, they can be marginalized and faced with adverse legislation. The Eurocentric hegemony of “whiteness” in Canada (Fleras, 2012) is thus maintained by the mis- and under-representation of racialized and Aboriginal minorities in the media.

In terms of gender, Canada has also been shown to promote inequality. Although Canada prides itself as a world leader in the protection and advancement of women’s rights and gender equality – as evidenced by the ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1981, active participation in the Beijing

Declaration and Platform for Action (Beijing, 1995) and in the development of the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action (Foreign Affairs and International Trade, 2012), – gender inequality persists in Canada. Both the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and the Canadian Human Rights Act (CHRA) emphasize equal treatment of all Canadians without discrimination. All rights covered in the Charter apply to both women and men, yet many scholars argue that the media is gender biased in terms of political representation. Scholars like Gerson, (2012) Trimble and Arscott, (2003) and Robinson and Saint-Jean (1991), have argued that the media is seen as a major obstacle to the electoral/political success of female candidates/politicians, in view of the limited nature and low frequency of coverage given to female politicians.

In terms of nature of coverage, media portrayals of female candidates are wrought with sex-based stereotypes, evident in their tendency to emphasize personal characteristics such as hair, clothing, compassion/empathy and expertise in areas such as women/children, relationships, motherhood and educational issues, while stereotyping men as possessing different traits such as strong leadership, competence and expertise in defense and economic security issues (Everitt, 2003; Robinson & Saint-Jean, 1991). Examination of media coverage of politicians reveals a lack of neutrality when it comes to female or male politicians; in most cases women are given less time and space in coverage when compared with men (Gershon, 2012; Kahn & Fridkin, 1996). This low level of media coverage makes female politicians invisible and seemingly unpopular to voters, reducing their chances of getting votes. Scholars also argue that female candidates usually receive ‘horse race’ coverage when compared to men. This type of critical coverage focuses on who is ahead, or behind, who is gaining/losing, and campaign strategy, which influences campaign activities and the candidate’s chances of winning (Joslyn, 1984). This, according to Everitt (2003), presents women candidates in an unfavorable light and questions their viability as candidates, thus hampering their chances of getting into political office.

1.3 Objectives of Study and Research Questions

The debates surrounding media constructions of race and gender reflect a contradiction between Canada’s multiculturalism, broadcasting and gender equity policies. Highlighting inequality, the debates reveal how race and gender can act as independent axes of media bias.

However, research focusing separately on race and gender fails to identify how they both intersect in the media; it provides no explicit understanding of the portrayal of politicians with complex identities with respect to race and gender as represented in the Canadian media. This research study adds to the literature by focusing not on media representation of political candidates but rather on office holders –Members of Parliament– with “double minority” status by virtue of being a woman and a racialized minority. More specifically, this study aims to examine:

- First, mainstream media portrayals of visible minority and Aboriginal women MPs in order to determine whether they reflect sexual and racial discrimination relative to white women.
- Second, whether there are differences with respect to coverage, reflecting sexualized and racialized discrimination in the portrayal of visible minority and Aboriginal women MPs in mainstream and ethnic media.

Because print media still grounds issues presented in electronic media, this study, – with its focus on the 41st Canadian House of Commons in Parliament, aims to investigate the following two questions:

1. *Do print media representations of racialized and Aboriginal women MPs reflect discrimination with respect to limited coverage, sexism, and racism relative to white women?*
2. *Do the representation and portrayal of racialized minority and Aboriginal women MPs in mainstream newsprint carry more positive or negative messages when compared to ethnic newsprint?*

To address these research questions, this study interrogates debates on race and gender through an intersectional analytical lens in order to show how both factors can act simultaneously as axes of media bias. This, according to Collins (1999), constitutes a matrix of domination and as such, an intersectional experience of bias is expected to be greater than the sum of racism and sexism (Crenshaw, 1991). Answers to these questions will help unravel whether and how the media displays bias towards racialized minorities and Aboriginal women Members of Parliament, where equality is expected to prevail by virtue of existing legislated equity-oriented policies.

1.4 Thesis Structure

This thesis is divided into six chapters. Chapter 1 entails the introduction to the thesis. Chapter 2 provides an historical overview of the emergence of women as persons in Canada with the right to vote, their entry into politics, and highlights the racism that prevailed during that period. It is important to appreciate how patterns of bias in media presentations of political matters are foundational both to the nation state of Canada, and to its representation in the public sphere, as shaped by dominant and dominating media strategies. It is also vital to evaluate the impact of belated efforts to begin to correct for these biases. Therefore, a brief overview of Canadian multiculturalism Act and its shifts in focus over the years is provided. Chapter 3 reviews the literature on the media representation of race and gender, outlining several theoretical perspectives which include feminist theories and Critical Race Theory (CRT) that have been used to examine political representation of women and racialized minorities in Canadian politics. It synthesizes these theoretical frame works by adopting *Intersectionality* theory as the analytical frame-work guiding this study, and concludes with the statement of hypothesis.

Chapter 4 explains the methodological approach, how the data for the study was collected and analyzed. Specifically, it employs Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of print media, in the form of newspapers, to evaluate the data collected. Chapter 5 highlights the findings arising from my discourse analysis of print media. Chapter 6 also provides an analysis of the findings of the thematic issues identified in the study. Chapter 7 concludes this thesis by summarizing the main findings, articulating the limitations of the study and proposing recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORY OF CANADIAN WOMEN'S EMANCIPATION

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a brief history of Canadian women's positions before suffrage, a detailed overview of the Canadian women's suffrage movement and how some disenfranchised women came to be recognized as *persons* in the society. This chapter examines the challenges women face in Canadian politics as a product of historical structures supporting gender bias, while highlighting those faced by racialized and Aboriginal women, in particular. A detailed overview of Canadian multicultural policy is provided with particular reference to shifts in emphasis over the years, while examining scholarly debates about its strengths and weaknesses.

2.2 Women before Suffrage

The economic activities of most European settlers during the pre-1800s can be described as agrarian, with the family home as a place of both residence and work (Nelson, 2006). Relying on interdependent and collective labors of all members to ensure its survival, the family became an economic unit. According to Nelson (2006), the family structure was hierarchical and patriarchal in nature, with age having more importance than an individual's gender. However, division of labor within the family was sex-linked as mothers focused on the care of infants and socialization of the girl-child into engaging in household chores, while fathers raised sons by integrating them into farming activities. Within the agrarian setting, status was ascribed at birth on the basis of family standing, with little emphasis placed on a man's economic success (Rotundu, 1993; Nelson, 2006). Therefore, this emphasizes the high reverence placed on the communal contribution of men to the functioning of their community.

However, the early periods of industrialization and urbanization facilitated a shift in focus from agriculture to factory production. This created a separation of the work place from the home (into public and private space, respectively) and a redefinition of the meaning of work and its remuneration. This period, according to Nelson (2006), was characterized by "self-made" manhood – with emphasis placed on individualism, personal achievements, and possession of money (amongst other related criteria) rather than land – which resulted in conditions that affected the stability of the family and the society in general. With primacy placed on paid labor,

household work, according to Nelson (2006), was trivialized, and as such, paid labour overshadowed the family role in the construction of men's identities (Rotundu, 1993). The initial low wages characterizing the early years of the industrialization period, forced all working class family members (mothers, fathers, and children) to enter the labor market as a unit, thus relying on pooled wages rather than on their individual productive labor (Nelson, 2006). However, since women during the early stages of industrialization were not considered "persons" and independent under the British law, which governed all colonies at that time with an exception to New France (that is Lower Canada {eventually Quebec}), they had to "contribute their wages to the family financial pool" (Nelson, 2006, p. 72-73). The pooled wages, therefore served as a means of survival as the family became a unit of consumption.

Emphasis on self-made manhood according to Nelson (2006), led to a call for the virtues of *true womanhood*, emphasizing marriage as a career, encouraging women to restrict themselves to the domestic sphere and to care for others. Women were encouraged to be homemakers, providing full support for their children and making the home an escape from the hostility of the public sphere. Gee (1986) noted that "during this era, Canadian women – beginning in their mid-20s through their early 40s – gave birth to an average of 6.6 children" (as cited in Nelson, 2006, p. 73). According to Gaffield (1990), the rapid mechanization of the workplace and increase in immigrants and their young children resulted in a lot of idle youth. These conditions necessitated formal education as the solution to the problem of idle youth. Women's roles became compounded as they had to support and supervise the children including the provision of physical care and emotional support, while sustaining the family household. These circumstances firmly gendered the spheres of paid and unpaid labor with women primarily as housewives and men as bread winners concerned mainly with the economic sustenance of their families (Nelson, 2006). But it is paramount to note that most working-class families could not rely solely on the income of the men; thus women also had to search for jobs in the paid-labor force outside the home, creating a double burden that persists into the present.

In the context of an industrializing economy in the 1870s, the Canadian workforce was characterized by large numbers of women applying for paid employment and a concentration of these women in limited roles as factory workers, secretaries, nurses and teachers with small wages as compared to those of men. This had a great impact on their relative financial status and,

by extension, limited their financial independence from men. Most women had to rely on men for their sustenance, making marriage an attractive alternative (Nelson, 2006), or more or less compulsory. Married women working in paid employment had to remit their wages to their husbands, and could not legally control any inherited property or property acquired on their own. According to Nelson (2006), the late 1800s saw a change as legislation was developed by Canadian provinces to grant women the right to own and dispose of their property without their husband's consent. Wives in Ontario gained this right in 1872 while those in Quebec did not get rights to own their own property until the publication of the Dorion Report of 1929-30. Indigenous women unlike many Canadian women did not have access/enjoy property rights nor were they protected until June 19, 2013 under the Family Homes on Reserves and Matrimonial Interest or Rights Acts.

The Married Property Act of 1870, according to Nett (1993), gave Canadian married women the same rights that single women had to ownership of property, wages and inheritance, including not turning over their earnings to their husbands (p. 124). Despite this legislation, wives "were not entitled to a share of the property that they helped their spouse acquire during the marriage" (p. 124). McKie, Prentice and Reed (1983) noted that the ideology that women were fragile created an expectation that they were to be taken care of either by their fathers or husbands. For example, the Civil Code of Quebec of 1866 classified married women in the same category as "minors and feeble minded." This clearly shows how social constructions can be reflected in and sustained by prevailing laws.

Nelson (2006), citing Doyle (1989) and Rotundu (1993), explains that the late 1800s and early 1900s was characterized by a new model of masculinity – passionate manhood/he-man masculinity. This era saw "an increase in organized sports and a proliferation of all-male fraternal organizations (including Boy Scouts) and men-only clubs and drinking establishments as gathering places for the expression of masculine solidarity" (Nelson, 2006, p. 75-76). Furthermore, Nelson argues that middle-class female proponents of "*true womanhood*" later known as *maternal feminists* saw the need to extend their virtues to the entire society as a whole. Like the men, these women formed groups with a focus on addressing social issues - ranging from abolition of slavery and poverty to abstinence from alcohol. Reacting to the dominance of patriarchy in prevailing ideological constructions and legal codes, women saw the need to

improve their situations and take control of conditions that affected them directly such as child-care protection and most importantly, their political rights. This stimulated the need to fight for their right to enfranchisement.

2.3 Canadian Women's Suffrage Movement and the Person Cases

The political mobilization of the women's movement in Canada dates back to several decades of social involvement and traditions of feminist activism (Cleverdon, 1950; Kome, 1985; MacIvor, 1996). Kome (1985) sees Canadian feminism as influenced initially by events abroad, most notably the works of Mary Wollstonecraft "*A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*" (1792) and John Stuart Mill's 1866 petition to the English Parliament demanding universal suffrage. Kome (1985) further explains that most accounts set the beginning of feminism in North America at Seneca Falls, New York "when the women in the abolitionist movement realized that abolition meant men would be equal and women would not" (p. 10). However, given the typical misrepresentation of white and Indigenous women's histories, it is important to note here that Wagner (1996) in her work "*The Untold Story of The Iroquois Influence On Early Feminists*" highlighted that the Seneca Falls declaration arose from the European women learning about political access and freedom from the "lived liberated" lives of Indigenous women in their communities - Iroquois women.

Women in Britain, the United States and Canada began to campaign for the right to vote by the end of the nineteenth century. These "suffragists" were mostly white, urban and middle class women. Given that their fathers, husbands, brothers and sons had voted for a long period of time, they questioned the rationale behind their own exclusion (MacIvor, 1996). The right to vote was based on property and not on sex; thus women with enough property to qualify assumed that they were eligible to vote. However, MacIvor (1996) noted that all Canadian colonies passed laws specifically forbidding women to participate in elections at that period except in some provinces where women were allowed to vote for school trustees and municipal politicians by 1900.

The formal beginning of the movement for women's suffrage in Canada was spearheaded by Dr. Emily Stowe and the founding of the Toronto Women's Literary Society in 1876 (Cleverdon, 1950). This group was largely made up of well-educated professional women of the protestant classes who were able to disguise their suffragist inclinations until the 1880s (Bashevkin, 1993). Other activists alongside Dr. Stowe and her daughter (Dr. Augusta Stowe-

Gullen) established the Canadian Women Suffrage Association (1883) and other organizations with similar goals (Bashevkin, 1993). The rationale provided by suffragists in their pursuit of the vote varied between ‘hard core’ to socialist feminism. Hard-core feminists, according to MacIvor (1996), sought to challenge the discriminatory treatment of women in all sectors of life - such as education, employment, political rights and rights within the family – and asserted that females were entitled to the same degree of individual independence as males (Bashevkin, 1993; MacIvor, 1996). On the other hand, socialist feminists in English Canada adopted the moderate reformist path similar to their counterparts in the United States. Socialist feminists articulated social reform and the involvement of women in political processes. They elevated “protestant social reform above demands for legal emancipation and claimed that the granting of the vote to women was essential for general social improvement” (Bashevkin, 1993 p. 4). Arguing on moral grounds, some suffragists according to Bashevkin (1993), believed that women, if granted suffrage, would “free” political life from crime and corruption, because they saw women as morally superior to men.

Cleverdon’s (1950) historical account of the suffrage movement reveals that the main activity remained in Toronto which served as the headquarters to groups like the Dominion Women’s Enfranchisement Association (founded in 1889) and the Canadian Suffrage Association (MacIvor, 1996; Bashevkin, 1993). Although they claimed to be national, these organizations had few affiliates and less influence outside Toronto. Due to this manner of organization, the legislative success of the movement was first achieved outside Toronto. Western feminists, according to MacIvor (1996), were the first to win provincial ballots with three western provinces enfranchising women in 1916 – Manitoba in January, Saskatchewan in March and Alberta in April (See Table 1).

Women like Nellie McClung, Emily Murphy, Alice Jamieson, Louise McKinney and Irene Parlby caught public attention with the use of “Mock Parliament” (Cleverdon, 1950) as they theatrically portrayed men pleading for rights. Women’s focus of their political efforts upon their provincial governments hampered the successful formation of a nation-wide suffrage association (Cleverdon, 1950). The absence of such an organization, according to Cleverdon (1950), necessitated the suffragists to rely upon alliances with older, well established and conservative women’s groups – such as the Women Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), the Federal Women’s Institutes and the National Council of Women of Canada (NCWC). Such

alliances – particularly with the NCWC and its formal endorsement of enfranchisement in 1910 – contributed to suffragist national visibility and credibility. The consequence of the alliance (Bashevkin, 1993; Cleverdon, 1950) was a reliance on the moderate social feminist strategies utilized under the NCWC leadership.

The anti-suffragist position of the federal government resulted in procrastination toward women's suffrage that clearly revealed the depth of patriarchy embedded in the society. The yielding of the government in 1917 to allow women to vote by proxy – that is the appointment of female relatives to vote on behalf of male soldiers fighting abroad – indicated that women were not, in themselves, persons eligible to vote. According to MacIvor (1996), the federal unionist government led by Sir Robert Borden agreed to grant women the vote in 1917 under the rationale that the vote by proxy would make women support the issue of conscription, given their “personal stake in the conduct of the war” (p. 78). Since over half a million women were eligible to vote in 1917, it was generally assumed that their votes contributed to the re-election of the Union government (MacIvor, 1996). Due to its political expedience, this resulted in the passage of the Women's Franchise Right in 1918: Canadian women citizens over the age of twenty-one became eligible to vote in all future federal elections. In 1920, the Dominion Election Act granted women further rights to run for public office (Cleverdon, 1950), under the same unionist government then led by Sir Arthur Meighen.

However, it is important to note the racism/differential treatment inherent here because the dates of suffrage in Table 1 do not embody all Canadian women. Trimble and Arscott, (2003) note that although white, able-bodied women won the right to vote provincially and federally between 1916 and 1940, status Indian women, women of East Indian, Japanese, and Chinese origin, those with mental or physical disabilities, like their male counterparts, had to wait longer for the assertion of their political rights. It was not until 1948 that the Federal vote was granted to Canadians of Japanese descent. The vote, according to MacIvor (1996), was granted to the Inuit in 1950 and to status Indians in 1960. More specifically, Chinese and East Asian women did not receive full Canadian citizenship including the rights to vote until 1947, while Aboriginal women living on reserves could not vote in federal elections until 1960.

Table 2.1 Dates of Women's Suffrage and Eligibility to Run for Public Office

Jurisdiction/Ethnic Group	Date of Suffrage	Public Office
Manitoba	January 1916	January 1916
Saskatchewan	March 1916	March 1916
Alberta	April 1916	April 1916
British Columbia	April 1917	April 1917
Ontario	April 1917	April 1919
Nova Scotia	April 1918	April 1918
Canada	May 1918*	April 1920
New Brunswick	April 1919	March 1934
Prince Edward Island	May 1922	May 1922
Newfoundland	April 1925	April 1925
Quebec	April 1940	April 1940
Chinese and East Asians	1947••	
Japanese Canadians	1948••	
First Nations	1951, 1961••	

* Female relatives of Canadian servicemen on active duty were allowed to vote in the “khaki election” of September because the government believed they would support its policy of conscription. All women over the age of twenty-one were enfranchised the following year, and voted federally for the first time in the 1921 election (MacIvor, 1996 p. 86)

•• The racial exclusion against Chinese and East Asians were lifted in 1947 and for Japanese Canadians it was lifted in 1948. However, **Native women covered by the Indian Act** were not allowed by federal legislation to vote for band councils until 1951, and in federal elections until 1960³.

In light of the Dominion Act of 1920, only a few women ran for public offices. In 1921, four women campaigned to become MPs, but only Agnes Macphail was elected (Bashevkin, 1993). With a Parliamentary career lasting almost two decades, very few women joined her. Facing gender barriers to elite-level participation, including nomination among others, Agnes Macphail contended like many female candidates in a competitive riding and had to defeat 10 men to win an initial nomination, despite facing protest from both the constituency organization and the electorate because of her gender (Bashevkin, 1993). The Canadian press exhibited a persistent gender bias as her wardrobe and personal style were constantly scrutinized. She was a “curiosity,” frequently referred to as the *Woman MP* and treated like a “freak” (Bashevkin, 1993; Kome, 1985). Even the Parliament was not immune to the biases of males against females in politics. Bashevkin (1993) citing Macphail (1972) reveals how J.S Woodsworth, a labour MP

³ Retrieved from http://section15.ca/features/news/1997/05/30/women_take_right_vote/ on November, 11th 2013

from Manitoba at that time explained that he still didn't think a woman had a place in politics. Macphail's political experience as an MP clearly reflected the psychological and structural obstacles women faced/continue to face in politics both in Canada and other nations.

According to Cleverdon (1950), arguments by opponents of women's suffrage focused on the perception of women as too fragile to handle political strains; drew on biblical passages forbidding women to engage in political pursuits and the common fear that the vote would hamper the stability of the family, projecting increasing divorce and marital strains; treated women as people with no right to a voice in public affairs because they had no share in the national armed forces; and most importantly, portrayed women as not wanting the vote and as being unable to use it if they had it. Cleverdon's historical account reveals how advocates of women's suffrage used biblical study, statistics on men's low voting turnout and experiences from nations like New Zealand where women already had the vote effectively to invalidate these points. The injustices of the male-dominated Canadian political sphere were clearly obvious; arguments were made about the requirement of women to pay taxes and obey law, yet they were denied the right to vote. Thus, the suffragists re-echoed the cry of "No taxation without representation" (Cleverdon, 1950, p. 10). The suffragists posited that the state, like a home, needed a woman's input to create a more perfectly balanced way of life. This implied that as homemakers' women would take special interest in laws to protect their homes and families (Cleverdon, 1950) and would better exhibit their talents in such matters as health, education and child protection. It is important to note here though that health, education and child protection are not only women's issues but are significant to all members of society and key to a strong economy.

Despite winning federal enfranchisement in 1918, women were still not considered persons because of the judicial interpretation of the word *persons*. The issue of whether the term person referred to just men or to both men and women consumed a great deal of judicial and political energy in Canada and Britain in the first third of the twentieth century (MacIvor, 1996). Prior to winning suffrage, the first person's case in Canada was brought up in 1905 in New Brunswick. Although having the qualifications necessary to practice law in the province, Mabel Penery French was not allowed to do so because of her sex. The supreme court of New Brunswick argued that the practice of law is outside the sphere of activity ordained by nature for women (MacIvor, 1996). Objecting, the provincial legislature passed a law permitting women

into the legal profession. This was followed by two similar cases in British Columbia (1911) and Quebec (1915) by French herself and Annie Macdonald Langstaff, respectively (MacIvor, 1996). However, according to Kome, (1985), in Quebec it was not until 1941 that women were permitted to practice law.

The most significant all “persons” cases was launched in 1927 when the Montreal women’s club suggested that women be appointed to senate. Hiding behind section 24 of the British North American Act - now called the Constitution Act, 1867,- the federal government refused to take action. According to an article The Persons Case by the National Archives of Canada⁴, Section 24 of the *BNA ACT* explained that “The Governor General shall from time to time... summon qualified persons to the Senate... Properly qualified persons had to be at least 30 years old, hold property, be worth at least four thousand dollars and reside within the province for which they were appointed (p. 7). Although several women met this requirement, the phrase ‘qualified persons’ was interpreted as referring to men only (MacIvor, 1996). According to Bashevkin (1993), the obscure provision in the Supreme Court Act that permitted interested parties to request constitutional interpretation of sections under the BNA Act, also noted that the government would cover the cost of the petition. This provided a rationale for Judge Emily Murphy to enlist the support of four other suffragist colleagues – Nellie McClung, Henrietta Muir Edwards (an activist in the Alberta branch of the NCWC), Irene Parlby and Louise McKinney – and a prominent lawyer, Newton Wesley Rowel to present the case both in Ottawa and later before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London (Bashevkin, 1993). Until 1949, this committee of the law Lords in the British House of Commons was the final court of appeal for Canada. In October 1929 the judicial committee ruled that Canadian women were indeed “persons” under section 24 of the constitution and for all legal purposes (Bashevkin, 1993). This decision conferred full political rights upon eligible women in Canada.

In 1930, the first female senator, Cairine Wilson, was appointed by the federal government. The media’s response to this event echoed conventional views about women’s influence in public life. As Bashevkin (1993) reiterated, the senator was predicted to be a ‘charming and hospitable hostess’ in Ottawa and an adornment to the city and the national Upper House. Just like Macphail, emphasis was placed on her sex as she was presented as “first, last and always a woman – a wife and mother of eight children” (p. 16). This, according to

⁴ Retrieved from <http://www.chrc-ccdp.ca/en/timePortals/pdf/persons.pdf>

Bashevkin, was standard media fare, despite her political career, having led the Eastern Ontario Liberal Women's Association, the Ottawa Liberal Women's Club and the National Federation of Liberal Women, as well as having a father that held a Senate seat before her. Iva Fallis of Ontario, who had served on the executive of the Conservative Women's Association, was the second woman nominated to Senate in 1935 by the Tory Government of R.B Bennett. However, according to Bashevkin (1993), it was not until 18 years later that additional women were appointed to senate and not until the 1970s that Thérèse Casgrain and Florence Bird were named to the Senate on the basis of their contribution to improving the status of women.

These latter appointments, according to Bashevkin (1993), can be attributed to the second wave of women's rights activism in Canada. After winning the vote and the battle of the person's cases, the numbers of women elected to Parliament and to provincial legislature remained limited, but this does not imply the death of political movement. According to MacIvor (1996), a series of earth-shaking events – the Depression, the Prairie drought of the 1930s, World War II and the Cold war that followed, along with post war reconstruction and the baby boom of the 1950s and early 1960s – eclipsed Canadian women's political activities in the media and the public eye. American phenomena such as “the assassination of John F. Kennedy, the violent resistance of the civil rights movements, social divisions over the Vietnam war and the emergence of a massive generation of adolescents” (p. 81) also affected Canadians.

In the 1960s, the Voice of Women (VOW) was established to oppose nuclear arms testing and weapons proliferation. Bashevkin (1993) sees this as a ‘renewal of organized feminism’ in English Canada with the goal of uniting women over concerns for the future of the world. In 1963 Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson reversed his position on the stationing of Bomarc missiles in Canada, which split the VOW internally. This led to a loss of external credibility and internal unity of members of the organization (Bashevkin, 1993). Twenty five years after getting the vote, Quebec women celebrated the anniversary of women's suffrage in that province in 1965. The following year, a collection of women's groups came together to form the *Fédération des femmes du Québec*. With the purpose of lobbying for the establishment of a Royal Commission on the Status of Women (MacIvor, 1996), thirty-two women's organizations in English Canada formed the Committee for the Equality of Women (CEW). Uniting in September 1966, women making their cases in both English and French language media supported the need for a commission. Laura Sabia threatened Prime Minister Pearson that one

million women would march on Parliament Hill if he did not accede to women's demand for a commission. Whether responding to the threats of Laura Sabia or the work of Liberal cabinet minister Judy LaMarsh, Pearson finally set up the Royal Commission on the Status of Women (RCSW) in 1967 (MacIvor, 1996), with seven commissioners⁵ scheduled to report to Parliament in 1970.

According to MacIvor (1996), the RCSW raised awareness as representatives travelled across Canada for several months listening to women in shopping malls and church basements, hotel ballrooms, as well as the legislature. This, she said, helped to build a bridge between the older, more traditional feminists of the YWCA and the VOW and the younger, more radical feminists emerging from new social movements and from campuses. The report of the commission was based not only on statistics (Bashevkin, 1993) but also on women's experiences, which helped to define publicly the issues of women's status in Canada.

To ensure the visibility of the RCSW, Florence Bird, the first female Chairperson of the commission, with a background in journalism, juggled between protecting the Commission from negative media publicity on the one hand, and using the media to showcase the commissions' necessity on the other hand. As cited in Freeman (2001), the Commission and reporters engaged in "an external dance of secrecy and revelation"⁶ and Her examination of newspapers' initial responses to the commission revealed that:

There were a number of complaints that the commission was not only opportunistic, it was going to be a waste of taxpayers' money. These points were underlined either directly or indirectly, via coverage of comments made by high-profile women and men, who opposed having another federal inquiry, or were concerned about the cost.... The *Ottawa Journal* declared that 70 percent of the men and women its reporter spoke to, reacted negatively to the news that there would be a federal inquiry into the status of women. It extrapolated results to general disapproval, declaring 'Most in Ottawa Think Probe will accomplish little'. Since the newspaper never said exactly how many people it polled in what appeared to be a street survey, the headline could well have been misleading (p. 29)

⁵ Florence Bird, Elsie Gregory MacGill, Jeanne Lapointe, Doris Ogilvie, Lola Lange, Jacques Henripin and John Humphrey, who replaced Donald Gordon, Jr. after he left during the first year.

⁶ A common struggle for information control between official sources and journalist

The media not only questioned the purpose of the commission, but also brought under scrutiny the personal life of officials. According to Freeman (2001), a practical example is the pictorial illustration of Florence Bird in *The Windsor Star* of 14 February 1967. The caption showed that in carrying out the duties of the commission, Bird was asked in an interview “Madam, in the long race down the Road through Life, do you feel that you are competing on an equal footing with men?” (p. 32). Emphasizing that she is a career woman with no family responsibility, the media questioned her efficacy in understanding the challenges faced by a “normal” woman, i.e. a mother with children and family responsibilities. This undermined her academic and professional qualifications as necessary to understand the everyday challenges that women face. Four years after its establishment, the commission presented approximately 470 briefs. In early December 1970, 167 recommendations were listed and presented to Prime Minister Trudeau.

Media responses to the recommendations of the commission according to Freeman (2001) were initially a short-lived explosion that lasted for just two days. Reports were split along gender lines, with female journalists articulating support, while male journalist took a more doubtful stand. More important was that further media reiteration of the recommendations focused on the criticisms leveled against the commission, highlighting disagreements among commissioners over recommendations rather than agreements (Hampton, 1970; Freeman, 2001) – such as John Humphrey’s refusal to sign the report and the issue of his own 17-page report; Jacques Henripin’s separate seven page report; Elsie Gregory MacGill and Doris Ogilvie’s one page opinion on abortion and taxation..

Almost a century after the attainment of suffrage rights in 1918 and over four decades after the recommendations of the RCSW, women, who make up over 50 percent of the Canadian population, occupy 25 percent of cabinet seats, 20 percent of legislatures, and less than 10 percent of party leaders (Trimble & Arscott, 2003). Women are still “toeing the line” in the political sphere (Bashevkin, 1993) in the absence of equitable, fair and balanced democratic institutions which, according to Trimble and Arscott, (2003), questions the credibility and political legitimacy of today’s “representative” institutions.

2.4 Challenges of Women in Politics

Catherine Cleverdon’s optimism that women would attain greater political participation at the elite-level because of their increasing educational and employment opportunities since the

end of World War II, has seen little success as women are few and far behind in positions of decision-making and administrative leadership (Cleverdon, 1985; Bashevkin, 1993). Janine Brodie in Megyery (1991) argues that in contrast to the weak link between citizen's participation and the political representation of women, there is a strong relationship between gender biases within political parties and access to political representation. The importance of political parties in electoral politics cannot be understated as it ranges from the political socialization of the population, to the recruitment and selection of political personnel, to the formalization of a vision of political governance and competition within the electoral game (Trembley & Trimble, 2003). Given this role in a Parliamentary system of government like Canada's, political parties act as gatekeepers to both provincial and federal legislative offices and, according to Brodie (1991), the representation of women in Canadian legislatures depends on their experiences within political party organizations.

Canadian political parties developed within the context of deeply rooted ideologies about the separate/complementary spheres that "belong" to men and women. Treating politics as a public sphere rightly belonging to men but outside the private domain of women, Canadian political parties integrated women into the party structure in ways that reinforce political inequality and sexual differences. Women performed menial and housekeeping chores within the party organizations, while men remained at the top (Megyery, 1991). In Canada, this is evident in the establishment of women's auxiliaries as appendages to the main (predominantly male) political parties. The first women's auxiliary was established in 1913, while the first national organization, the Federation of Liberal Women of Canada – was established in 1928. This served as a large pool of volunteers during campaigns, providing labor power for the party at election times (Brodie, 1991), for the sole purpose of "assisting" in the election of the political party male candidates.

The rise of second wave feminism in the 1960s, according to Brodie (1991), defined women's auxiliaries as discriminatory and exclusionary, and made demands for their abolition together with women's increased political participation as candidates. Responding to this need in 1969, the National Democratic Party (NDP) established the Participation of Women Committee (POW), consisting of one woman representative from each of the provinces and territories with the aim of integrating women's concerns into party policies and increasing the number of women candidates for legislative parties of the NDP (Brodie, 1991). Similarly, the Liberal Party of

Canada responded to women's demands for political participation in 1973 by disbanding the Women's Liberal Federation of Canada and replacing it with the Women's Liberal Commission which was renamed in 1982 as the National Women's Liberal Commission with the sole mandate of not just encouraging active participation of women, but the representation and promotion of women's interests within the Liberal party (Brodie, 1991). Responding in the same vein, the National Progressive Conservative party in 1981 established a Women's Bureau in Ottawa, the party's headquarters. According to Brodie (1991), it combined the existing organizations of women within the Conservative party, keeping some elements of the old and new auxiliary functions.

Analysis of women's horizontal entry into partisan politics has focused on the sexual division of labor with women active in areas (such as health, education, the environment, childcare, welfare amongst others) traditionally defined as "feminine" and, therefore, less important. However, a critical assessment of the upper echelons of the political hierarchy reveals a vertical pattern which Robert Putnam (1976) termed the *law of increasing disproportions* which means that "the farther up you go in party hierarchies, the fewer women there are and, the more electorally competitive the party, the fewer women are to be found" (as quoted in Megyery, 1991, p. 29). Bashevkin (1993) explains that the few women at the top are tokens and symbols that usually perform pink-color jobs such as service and clerical positions in parties. Bashevkin's findings on federal party office holders show women's slow progress in moving up the political party's organizational ladder. In 1990, women held 38 percent of federal Liberal executive positions. Similarly, women held 43 percent of executive positions in the federal Progressive Conservative party. Adhering to the affirmative action resolution that guarantees gender parity, the NDP stood alone in 1993 with women occupying 58 percent of its federal national executive positions.

Tremblay and Trimble (2003) explain that party leadership in Canada has been dominated by men with minor exceptions for the Conservative party within the context of political disaster and the NDP, a party traditionally more open to women, although usually far removed from power. Both scholars note that "as of 2002, only 20 women had been selected to lead competitive Canadians parties holding seats in legislature. One such woman, Alexa McDonough, led two parties – the Nova Scotia NDP and later the federal NDP" (p. 9). Just as the business world and other sectors of society present barriers to women in male-dominated

professions, so does the political sector have its own version of the ‘glass ceiling’. This trend, according to Tremblay and Trimble (2003), presents an invisible barrier that prevents women from rising beyond a particular level on the political ladder, thus hampering women’s growth in the political setting.

Serving as gatekeepers to the political sector, political parties in Canada and elsewhere usually give women the opportunity to compete for political leadership when there are little or no chances of winning, thus presenting them as sacrificial lambs (Ryan, Alexander & Kulich 2010; Arowolo & Alokun, 2010). The basic rationale given is that there is a shortage of qualified women to actually contest for winnable seats (Tremblay and Trimble, 2003; Bashevkin, 1993; Megyery, 1991). This rationale lacks empirical backing as articulated in Brodie’s (1985, p. 113-114) study of women candidates competing for provincial and federal office in Canada between 1945 and 1975. Her multivariate statistical analysis indicates that a woman’s educational and occupational standing was not relevant to whether she got a party nomination in a competitive or lost cause riding. However, competitive ridings secured by women are usually won by women with a history of party service, who are in the party elite and/or seasoned women auxiliary group leaders. This according to Ryan, Alexander and Kulich (2010) in *Politics and the Glass Cliff*, indicates that women’s lack of success when cast in the role of sacrificial lambs is taken as an excuse to confirm stereotypes that women under-perform in political and organizational domains and are poorly equipped for meeting the challenges of pursuing electoral offices.

Brodie (1985) also notes that finances were one of the major constraints for women seeking political office, and that this limitation ranks above job or family related concerns. These findings were reiterated by Bashevkin’s 1993 examination of the challenges faced by women who contested for the 1988 federal election. The results showed that women candidates listed lack of funding, lack of public support, limited support from their party, lack of media coverage, family obligations, winning nominations, finding volunteers, party gender negativity and work obligations as important obstacles hindering their success in the political sphere.

These challenges, among others, can be said to explain the persistent domination of politics/legislatures by men, hence the underrepresentation of women in politics either as candidates or officials, and their concentration in community/informal organizations (Andrew, Siemiatycki & Tolley, 2008). This is reflected not just in Canada’s political sphere but also in the international community (Black & Erickson, 2001; Cool, 2010). Although 30% was the set

minimum bench mark for women in parliament, as of May 2010, the number of women parliamentarians stood at 19% worldwide. In 2008, women held 22.1% of the seats in the Canadian House of Commons, ranking 49th internationally (Cool, 2010). In the 2003 election, Quebec was the first among all the jurisdictions in Canada to meet the 30% minimum benchmark of women political representatives. In this election, women held 32% of seats in the national assembly. However, the numbers dwindled to 27.4% in 2007 election. The number of women holding seats in the Canadian senate stood at 35.2% making it more than the seats held by women in the House of Commons. Also, according to Cool (2010), representation of women in the Federal level was lower relative to both the provincial/territorial legislature (23.6%) and the municipal councils (23.4%).

Although various barriers are noted to explain the overrepresentation of women at the bottom rung of political process and their underrepresentation at the top, scholars such as Johnson & Oyinate (1999) and Omotola (2007) emphasize that although gender inequality is deeply embedded in most societies based on cultural norms with stereotypic discrimination against girls from birth, colonial experience did little to help. Women were not assigned political roles and education was limited only to men, neglecting women in the process.

In Canada, although all women face challenges in politics, research shows that Aboriginal and visible minority women experience exceptional differences in access. With particular reference to most First Nations cultures, the status of Aboriginal women has experienced a shift as a result of their contacts with European settlers. Centering on fishing/hunting and gathering activities, a high percentage of sustenance within First Nation culture (with the exception of the Inuit) was provided by women. The activities of men and women were based on an interdependent social fabric developed as a means of ensuring group and tribal survival (Nelson & Robinson, 1999). Many of the eastern First Nations peoples, for example, the Iroquois and Huron, according to Nelson and Robinson, (1999), existed within a social organization that was matrilocal (husbands moved in with their wives), matrilineal (descent was traced through the female line), and matrifocal (the central and strongest bonds within the community existed between mothers and their children). However, the introduction of European laws supported patrilineality and patrilocality, thus changing the decent rules and residence patterns among First Nations' people.

Grace Ouellette's (1999) work on *Indigenous Women and Colonization: Feminism and Aboriginal Women's Activism* clearly analyzes the role of Indigenous women prior to colonization. Interviews with informants reveal that "traditionally women always had a place in Aboriginal societies, before Europeans invaded our country. However, Native women have now been pushed into the background because of the laws imposed under the Indian Act which were made up by 'White Men' and the patriarchal system which the leadership has adopted" (p. 128). Another respondent explained, that "before European contact, women were the leaders. However, the European men did not want to deal with the women and preferred to talk with the men. So the women, who were supportive of their men, allowed this to happen, but continued to counsel" (p. 130). This clearly reveals how the colonial experience brought about a shift in women's status within Aboriginal societies and, by extension, the larger society.

Despite the limited representation of women in politics, racialized minority and Aboriginal women are even further underrepresented in all spheres of government. Although the inclusion of women in general is paramount to substantive equity, the inclusion of racialized minority and Aboriginal women in the House of Parliament is necessary to ensure that their interests are adequately represented, given the multicultural/diverse nature of the Canadian population. The exclusion of racialized minorities and Aboriginal women in politics could result in inadequate inclusion of their interests in policies (Godwin, 2010), which has certainly been the case to date. Even the RCSW report indicated that, at the time of their research, group-based identity politics were conceptualized as those ideas, behaviors and values that were primarily shaped by religion, region and language. Thus the "difference" question was focused on French and English cultures and little attention was paid to the ethnicity of women candidates and office holders. Over 8 decades of eligibility has seen mostly white, older, middle class women elected into political office in Canada.

According to Trimble and Arscott (2003), between 1965 and 1988 only 6 minority women served in the House of Commons and this comprised 5 percent of the total number of MPs of minority background who served during this period. Jerome Black's study of the 35th Parliament in Canada indicates that of the 53 women MPs, 33 were majority (British and/or French) while 8 had multiple origins rooted in majority and minority communities (majority-minority). Eleven of these women were members of visible minorities with only one Aboriginal woman elected (Black, 1997). His findings reflect not only the limited number of women but

also the underrepresentation of racialized minorities and Aboriginal women as members of Parliament.

The racial inequality noted above in the attainment of the franchise and the limited number of racialized minorities and Aboriginal women in politics, clearly indicates the importance of the race/ethnicity question in defining political participation within Canadian society. It becomes paramount to analyze this reality against the tenets of the Canadian Multicultural Act and the shift in meanings it has undergone over the years.

2.5 Canadian Multiculturalism Policy

Demographically, Canada, like most countries has never been ethnically homogenous but is rather made up of diverse racialized and ethnic groups with the predominance of the three founding people - Aboriginals, French and British. However, since the 1970s a combination of declining birth rate and an influx of immigrants has brought about a shift in the predominance of the founding people to include people from non-European countries (Li, 1999; Satzewich & Liodakis, 2010; Fleras, 2012; Dewing, 2013). Drawing from over 170 different countries, Canada is made up of more than 200 ethnic groups, with over 6.8 million people speaking languages other than English, French and Aboriginal (Kalbach & Kalbach, 1999; Dewing, 2013). Therefore, the need for multiculturalism as a policy began to define the nature of Canadian society (Fleras, 2012). The announcement of the multiculturalism policy on October 8, 1971 in the House of Commons by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau brought about a wide adoption of the concept (Li, 1999). As an ethnically diverse liberal society, Canada, according to Satzewich and Liodakis (2010) is argued to operate within a context of a form of multiculturalism that promotes the maintenance of the ethnic and cultural identities of Canadians.

As an ideology, multiculturalism consists of a range of ideals (Dewing, 2013; Fleras, 2012; Satzewich & Liodakis, 2010). Multiculturalism emphasizes a notion of pluralism that denotes at least the tolerance of cultural diversity – implying cultural relativism in contrast to ethnocentrism. By not judging individuals against the dominant norms, cultural relativism, to Fleras (2012), implies that all cultural practices are relative to a particular time and place, take their meaning from this context and must be understood as such. Arguing further, Berry, Kalin and Taylor (1977) posits that, ideologically, multiculturalism relies on the assumption that those who have confidence in their culture would have tolerance and respect for those of others.

Satzewich and Liodakis (2010) also see multiculturalism as a process of competition among different ethnic groups for economic and political resources. To them, Canadian multiculturalism emerges out of social and demographic pressures to be a mechanism of conflict resolution – the need for parties to acquire ethnic electoral support in urban centers; as well as to counterbalance western alienation and Quebec nationalism. The emphasis on culture covers the “structural sources of division and disadvantages in society” (Fleras, 2012, p. 308) thus, subtly advancing the dominant groups in Canadian society and showcasing a false sense of security extended to minorities.

Over four decades since its inception, Canada’s Official Multicultural Act has undergone a variety of shifts into overlapping policy stages; *ethnicity, equity, civic and integrative* (Fleras, 2012, p. 313). Arising after the publication of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1969), Canada’s official multicultural strategy was a response to dissatisfaction with this report. Concluding that Canada was comprised of other ethnicities although within the bicultural/binational framework of Britain and France (Fleras, 2012) stirred up controversies. Groups like Ukrainian and German Canadians argued that their contributions to nation-building were neglected (Fleras 2012). To them, this commission implied that some Canadians were more deserving than others. Multicultural policy also emerged as a strategy for the governing Liberals to capture the ever-increasing vote of non-English and non-French and as a mechanism for Trudeau and the federal Liberal party to undermine Québécois nationalism after the quiet revolution (Satzewich & Liodakis, 2010; Fleras, 2012). Based on a vision of Canada as a multicultural mosaic of equality seeking individuals rather than a colonial outpost, multiculturalism (Fleras, 2012) emerged as ideological glue for diverse Canadians.

Ethnicity-based multiculturalism, spanning 1971-1980, places emphasis on core principles such as equality of all cultures, diversity at the heart of Canadian identity, the right to identify with cultural traditions and the right to be free from discrimination. During this phase the government proposed four initiatives to achieve these principles:

- Assist those cultural groups that demonstrated a commitment to share and contribute to Canada.
- Assist the members of all cultural groups to overcome cultural barriers to full participation in Canadian society

- Promote creative encounters and exchanges among all Canadian cultural groups, in advancing national unity.
- Assist immigrants to acquire at least one of Canada's official languages to ensure full and equal participation. (Fleras, 2012, p. 310)

By respecting and protecting cultural diversity, ethnicity-focused multiculturalism emphasizes the integration of immigrants and other minorities into Canadian society while creating little room for challenging Anglo-Saxon ideologies. Bolaria and Li (1988) see this as emphasizing depoliticized 'song and dance' activities that do not threaten the status of British political, economic and cultural hegemony. To them, this policy created a façade of change without really providing the basis of racial and ethnic equality within Canada. Thus, overemphasis on cultural barriers neglects the structures that facilitate and prioritize inequality within Canada.

Equity driven concerns regarding racialized immigrants led official multiculturalism to shift its focus from emphasis on culture and ethnicity to equity in the early 1980s. Concerns over race relations emphasized the need for removing racial barriers to opportunities, a commitment to social justice, equity and institutional inclusiveness. Multiculturalism as a distinguishing feature of Canadian life was constitutionally entrenched in the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*. To Fleras (2012), the significance of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act in 1988 cannot be understated because it seems to finalize the Canada-building project associated with previous initiatives such as Official Language Act of 1969, the statement on Multiculturalism in 1971 and the Constitutional Acts of 1982. These initiatives, according to Breton (2001), converged to "create a distinctly Canadian society based on the integrative principles that individuals are self-defining and morally autonomous agents who should participate equally regardless of difference" (as quoted in Fleras, 2012, p. 311). According to Satzewich & Liodakis (2010) multiculturalism involved a shift from cultural pluralism to include a market driven economic approach where the image of Canada as an equal, tolerant and fair society served as an asset within the global economy. This was highlighted in the Multiculturalism Means Business Conference in Toronto 1986.

Equity-focused multiculturalism, however, began to experience decline in the 1990s in the era of the Liberal governmental cutbacks, regardless of its purported commitments to social justice, equality and cultural respect. This facilitated the rethinking of the multicultural agenda

and a shift to *Civic Multiculturalism* (Fleras, 2012). Focusing on full and equal involvement, equitable treatment and fostering a society where all Canadians can feel a sense of attachment and belonging regardless of their background, a restructured multiculturalism was formalized in 1996. To attain national unity this phase involved *breaking down the ghettoization of multiculturalism* (Satzewich & Liodakis, 2010; Fleras, 2012), a move from folkloric focus and a withdrawal from programs associated with that focus such as funding for cultural festivals.

Beginning from 2006 as a response to fears of social fragmentation and ethnic isolation, Fleras (2012) noted a shift to an *Integrative Multiculturalism*. Jason Kenney, the minister for Citizenship, Immigration and Multiculturalism, proposed a shift towards “immigrant integration and community cohesion in hopes of depoliticizing diversities and differences while de-radicalizing the threat of homegrown extremism” (as cited in Fleras, 2012, p. 312). This unity and diversity approach to multiculturalism, according to the *Annual Report on the Operation of Canadian Multiculturalism Act 2008 – 2009*, revolves around three themes;

“(1) to build an integrated and socially cohesive society by promoting civic literacy and engagement among all Canadians; (2) to make federal institutions more responsive to Canada’s diverse population through removing discriminatory barriers and fostering intercultural understanding and (3) to promote Canadian values abroad by engaging in international discussions on multiculturalism and diversity” (as cited in Fleras, 2012, p. 312).

Arguing from different conceptualizations of multiculturalism, scholars have provided positive and negative opinions, right from its inception. This criticism stems from academicians, political parties and social commentators amongst others.

Supporters of Canada’s multicultural policy suggest that by removing barriers to Canadian life, it promotes integration. When compared to other countries that do not have an official multiculturalism policy, Canada’s Multiculturalism has played a significantly positive role in the integration of individuals - immigrants, and religious and ethnic minorities - in the Canadian society (Kymlicka, 1998; Kymlicka, 2010). According to Hyman, Meinhard and Shields (2011), Kymlicka’s (1998; 2010) study provides evidence that there is a

“high level of mutual identification and acceptance among immigrants and native born Canadians, the high likelihood of immigrants in Canada becoming citizens ...and the fact that Canadian immigrants are more likely to participate in

the political process, as voters, party members, or even candidates for political office than the U.S., Australia, or any European Country” (Hyman et al., 2011, p. 8).

Additionally, with respect to the global surge of anti-Muslim sentiments Canada has been less affected. Moreover, the 2003 General Social Survey (GSS) shows that 84 percent of recent immigrants and a higher number of non-recent/more established immigrants noted a strong sense of belonging in Canada, compared to 85 percent of the Canadian born population (Statistics Canada, 2003; Hyman et al., 2011).

Critics, on the other hand, suggest that multiculturalism contributes to ghettoization and threatens national cohesion. According to Bissoondath (1994), multiculturalism reinforces stereotypes and in the process, devalues the very thing it is intended to protect and promote. As a result of manipulations of social and political utility, culture becomes folklore. Diminishing the roles and autonomy of individuals, Canadian society has become a cultural hybrid. Bissoondath (1994) explains that ‘we are as it were, of many colours, that are essentially colorless’ (p. 73). Arguing in the same light, Satzewich and Liodakis (2010) explain that there is no evidence to suggest that intercultural exchanges take place or have indeed helped in the harmonization of racial and ethnic relations in Canada. However, the little intercultural exchanges that occur are superficial and folkloric at best (Fleras & Elliott, 1996), without defining the problems of minority relations.

Hyman, Meinhard and Shields (2011), see inclusive citizenship as a goal not limited to multiculturalism but relevant to Canadian social policy as a whole. It focuses on “valued participation, valued recognition and belonging wherein citizens are nurtured to their fullest capacities” (p. 9). To them, inclusive citizenship redefines what it means to be Canadian and as such, integration should be a two-way process. This means therefore that, as newcomers are being integrated into the host society, the rest of Canadian society should also change to reflect this diversity (Hyman et al., 2011). However this is yet to occur as social, economic and political barriers that perpetuate inequalities still persist in the Canadian society, overtly or covertly.

Addressing this aspect of inequality, Li (2003) argues that multiculturalism is an avenue by which certain social groups in society, in their attempts to maintain their hegemony, keep other social groups in a dependent position through the accentuation of difference. This

dependency entrenches their second class status and reduces the challenge that they can pose to dominant groups (Hyman, Meinhard, & Shields, 2011). Therefore, although evidence shows that racial and ethnic differences are recognized in Canadian society, a closer look at Canadian institutions begs the question of the ‘value’ placed on such recognition. A case in point is the political realm of the Canadian society.

In an examination of the Canadian Parliament, Black (2008) reveals that although the presence of visible minorities in the House of Commons has increased over the years, “they have not achieved any corresponding gains when their growing share of the population is taken into account” (p. 31), thus exposing a representational deficit. Black’s data shows that despite representing 9.4 percent of the population, the 1993 national election saw only 4.4 percent visible minority MPs. Similarly, by the 2000 election a record of 17 visible minorities captured only 5.6 percent of the available seats in Parliament. Based on the 2006 census figures, there were 16.2 percent of visible minorities in the population, and it would have taken 50 visible minorities in parliament to attain a level of representation that is proportionate with their population indices. There were only 24 (7.8%), less than half that number.

Black’s (2008; 2011) findings also show that this underrepresentation starts at the candidacy stage. Between 1993 – 2000 federal elections, visible minorities were thinly represented among the ranks of candidates. However 2004 and 2006 saw an increase in visible minority candidates as political parties fought for the votes of the increasing numbers of immigrant and minoritized communities (Black, 2008). The predominance of whiteness in Parliament confirms the notion of the “dependent” position of some social groups and the hegemony of the dominant group as articulated by Li (2003) above.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the literature on the media representation of race and gender. Second, it reviews several theoretical perspectives that have been used to examine political representation of women and racialized minorities in politics. Third, it outlines Intersectionality as the theoretical framework guiding this study.

3.2 Media Representation of Gender and Race

Most sociologists and political scientists emphasize the importance of political parties as gate keepers to the political sphere. However, as already highlighted in the previous chapter, media institutions present challenges by way of biased coverage to women en-route to political life and even when they become office holders. The centrality of the media to the society is clearly reflected in conceptualization of a media *gaze*:

which refers to media's tendency to present a specific view of the world without announcing its intention or underlying bias. The 'gaze' entails a "process through which the media (and media actors) construct media-centric images of the world by framing social reality in a manner consistent with media values, norms, priorities and interests. In the process, information is framed in a way that draws attention to some aspects of reality and away from others by encouraging a preferred reading consistent with a prevailing media gaze (Fleras, 2011, p. 37).

Simply put, the media portrayal of social reality is divided into one that emphasizes dominant scripts on the one hand, while neglecting or treating as less important those who do not meet the norms of what is "acceptable" in society on the other hand. Despite women's efforts to achieve gender equality as persons and in their political careers as illustrated in the previous chapter, mainstream media in form and function have been gendered with the focus of portraying male interests, experiences and priorities as the norm in society. These androcentric views, according to Fleras (2011), tend to frame the media gaze on women from the expected male point of view. With particular reference to women in politics, the literature highlights that women are under and

misrepresented (Kahn & Goldenberg, 1991; Kahn, 1994; Gershon, 2012). Gingra's (1995) analysis of Ottawa-area newspapers shows that in 1991 less than one-fifth of political coverage focused on women. Also 38 percent of the political coverage of women presented them in negative ways. However, most of the women portrayed were usually those with little political power, with a connection always drawn to their family ties.

Although a social construction rather than a reflection of biological destiny, gender stills plays critical roles in mainstream media. Gender in media is sexualized as it tends to be construed to reflect a distinction between women and men and to promote stereotypical expectations for women and men. Thus, media "constructs gendered differences and reproduces gender inequalities by making these differenced inequalities seem natural rather than created" (Fleras, 2011, p. 82). Further, the media can be argued to be patriarchal, as it advances male interests and ideas, presenting women as the "second sex" with particular attention to their appearance and relationships within and to dominant structures. The patriarchal nature of the media is clearly highlighted both in their portrayals of women in general and perhaps most notably in their presentation of women in politics as playing in a "male domain."

Media portrayals of women in Canadian politics have experienced shifts in their focus over time. Given that from 1920 to 1970, there were a limited number of 17 women politicians elected to Parliament (Robinson & Saint-Jean, 1991), the conservative social attitudes that dominated that period were reflected in the ways that women politicians were portrayed in mainstream media. According to Robinson and Saint-Jean (1991), the "traditional" narrative style focused on biology as rational for discrimination, thus presenting women as biologically different beings while representing women within the political sphere as "first" women and "token" in the traditionally male domain of politics. This promoted the stereotyping of women's activities based on the assumption that women in politics are usually involved first with their household responsibilities and second with political duties. This period, according to Robinson and Saint-Jean (1991), restricted women's public involvements to topics usually assumed to be "women related:" social welfare, education and health. This narrow method of representation relegated the professional background and qualifications of women to a very limited scope. Judy LaMarsh explains:

Columnists ask me about anything and everything except about my job... My home, my cooking, my hobbies, my friends, my taste, my likes and dislikes, all became public property to a degree suffered by none of my colleagues, including the Prime minister [Trudeau] (as quoted in Robinson & Saint-Jean, 1991, p. 135).

Despite having similar levels of education with their male counterparts, in terms of professional experience in law, political science and management, (Black, 1997; 2000) women politicians are still identified as the “other” in politics making their *visible biological difference* and the social expectations attached to it the central focus of narration. Robinson & Saint-Jean’s study reveals how sets of stereotypes served as strategies for normalizing the perceived social contradiction between women’s biology and more socially responsible roles. The first set of stereotypes - such as “wife of,” and related family relationship designations - focuses on making women politicians gender-bound. For example, Martha Black (1935-40) and Cora Casselman (1941-45) were presented in the role of wife/widow and were not seen to have power in their own right but were simply presented as having inherited their husbands’ powers. Similarly, Golda Meir and Indira Gandhi were degendered as “grandmother” and “Nehru’s daughter” and thus their political status was viewed through a patriarchal family lens. The second set of stereotypes – spinster, femme facile and club-woman – according to Robinson and Saint-Jean, (1991) were constantly used to portray female politicians’ sexualities negatively. These stereotypes, by overemphasizing women politicians’ marital status, non-support for traditional social rules, and/or their opposition to male establishments, neglects their political competence and opinions within the political arena, entirely.

Robinson & Saint-Jean’s “transitional” narrative period spans the early 1970s to 1990, with a focus on revised constructions of women’s access to power. Stereotypes such as the political *superwoman* (women who are successful in both private and public life), *champion* (an accomplished woman in business, a profession or charitable organization), *one of the boys* (having learned/mastered the rules of political games and using them like men), are a little more positive because they are constructed around the realization that women as individuals and members of an interest group can make an electoral difference. Surviving the traditional style of narrative is the label “*wife of*”. This new set of labels took on a new twist, acknowledging that it is possible and appropriate for *both* spouses to have careers. Most times, according to Robinson

and Saint-Jean (1991), use of such labels emphasizes the advantages that women gain from their husband's position in politics.

However, recent studies have indicated that women are being treated more like their males counterparts, and overt gender-based biases have given way to a more subtle form of gender-differentiated coverage (Everitt & Gidengil, 2003; Trimble and Tremble, 2003; Norris 1997). Besides treating women in politics as outside their traditional roles, Everitt and Gidengil (2003) argue that women who do not adopt 'masculine' approaches in politics will be discounted as un-newsworthy and usually ignored. Everitt and Gidengil's (2003) study of news coverage of the 1993 Canadian leader's debate reveals how media coverage of politics is dominated by masculine metaphors of warfare and confrontation. Women politicians, who adopted masculine styles in order to compete, were portrayed in the media as being more aggressive than their male political counterparts. This occurs because of deeply rooted societal conventions or expectations concerning "appropriate" female behavior. Even when women candidates adopted an approach that was less confrontational, they were still portrayed as being more aggressive in comparison with their male counterparts. The result leads to a misrepresentation of the behavior of female leaders and, by extension, a reinforcement of conventional beliefs about women's roles. The double standards and double binds that sexualize women in politics (Fleras, 2011) are not peculiar to Canada alone. Appearance continues to matter, for example in the United States, as the presentation of Sarah Palin was associated with spike heels, designer glasses and glossy lipstick. Her fashion sense was clearly elaborated during John McCain's rally in Arizona. She was portrayed as "wearing a trim Black leather jacket and pencil skirt" (Halperin, 2010). Similarly, Tims Harper's (2008) article in the *Toronto Star*, *Michelle Obama softens her public image* illustrates how Michelle Obama's appearance was often articulated;

Harvard-educated lawyer, an American success story pulling down more than a quarter million a year as a university vice-president, but this week everyone was talking about her sundress..... she doesn't wear pantyhose, ... she shops at Target, a sort of upscale Wal-Mart, and that she relies on headbands for those bad hair days... the 44-year-old mother of twothe sleeveless \$148 cotton shift.
(p.A.3)

Carlin and Winfrey's (2009) analysis of the 2008 campaign coverage in the US reveals that Hillary Clinton's mature image was contrasted with Palin's youthful and feminine style.

They note that Hillary's physical appearance and preference of pantsuits over skirts and dresses was presented in a negative light since it revealed her desires to appear powerful, resulting in a negative representation of her feminine side (Carlin & Winfrey, 2009). Even reference to Hillary Clinton's body parts like her 'bottom' and 'cleavage' were made in the media. Most times, the media saw Clinton's political campaign as not feminine enough, describing it as overly ambitious and calculating (Carlin & Winfrey, 2009). Whether appearing feminine like Palin or tough like Hillary Clinton, media portrayal of both women revealed how a double bind exists for women.

It is important to note here the notion of 'performative acts' where the gendered body acts out received social scripts (Butler, 1988). Simply put, women are aware of cultural constructs and may use these constructs to advance their interests in the political sphere. Some of these acts may be deliberate performative acts of political organising that either challenge the category/cultural expectation of women itself or may comply and reproduce gendered cultural expectations.

With respect to women in public office, Carroll and Schreiber's (1997) study of the media coverage of women in the U.S 103rd Congress indicated that congresswomen are usually portrayed positively as agents of change with particular reference to women's issues such as women's health and reproductive rights amongst others. However, missing from the press coverage was any sense that women are key players on legislation other than so-called women's issues. There was barely any mention of women's involvement in issues such as foreign affairs, international trade and regulatory reforms among others. This is in contrast to the reality, as women in the 103rd congress according to Carroll and Schreiber (1997), played important roles in legislation as they were actively involved with crime bills and were key players in overdue health care reforms. Overall, little emphasis was placed on what congresswomen did individually; rather the press focused on what they did as a collective.

Similarly, the tendency of the media to exclude racialized minorities on the one hand and to problematize them on the other is a deviation from the tenets of multiculturalism in Canada. Canada's Multiculturalism Act of 1988 places greater onus on all institutions, both public and private, to be inclusive of all Canadians by creating workplace access, accurate representation and equity. Public institutions are charged with the responsibility of creating a workforce that reflects respect, is responsive to employees and also provides community-based services that are

available, accessible, and appropriate (Fleras, 2011). Print and electronic media institutions are not excluded from this commitment to “inclusivity.”

The disconnect between inclusionary principle and exclusionary practices can be attributed to a “systemic bias” that draws attention to some aspects of reality and away from others (Fleras, 2011). By giving limited coverage to an ethnic or racialized group on the one hand and by problematizing/negatively portraying their limited visibility on the other hand, media representation of diversity and difference, according to Fleras (2011), can be defined as racially biased. Arguing further, Fleras notes that even positive coverage can prove contaminated if the coverage constantly reminds readers that the community under coverage is “normally” affected by crime and social problems. Positive coverage of the success of a few minority celebrities (such as Oprah or Bill Cosby) can lead to the formulation of extremely high standards whereby failure of other minority members to measure up leads to a deviation from structural/systemic discrimination- to the practice of “blaming the victims.”

Racialization prevents media neutrality in terms of its values, operations, regulations, and priorities, but relates to a socially constructed activity through which negative racial significance is attached to groups of persons or their activities (Fleras, 2011). The problematic media portrayal of ethnic minorities is not a recent phenomenon, as earlier studies have pointed out. Anderson (1987) has clearly demonstrated how newspapers negatively portrayed the Chinese in the late 1800s for example.

The Greater Toronto Leadership Project (DiverseCity Counts 2, 2010) analyzes how leadership is represented in news coverage, local newspaper and news broadcast and reveals that visible minorities are underrepresented. Of the 66 boards of directors, 85 Newsroom Editors/Producers, and 138 senior management positions only 6.1%, 5.9% and 3.6% respectively were found to be visible minorities. According to Ojo (2006) the monopolization of the media industry in Canadian by a few white rich conservative men is a major factor in the unfair representation of individuals who are visible minorities in the media. This is a factor in the *homogenization of the media landscape* reproducing and enforcing the cultural/political ideologies and Eurocentric views of the traditional state elites (Henry, 1999; Miller, 1998; Ojo, 2006). White media owners and managers, by adopting a ‘white sells’ approach in terms of

particular reference to advertising (Ojo, 2006), assume that individuals who are white have more market share and can afford media products, thereby excluding visible minorities in the process.

In spite of the growth of the visible minority population, Canadian news media lags behind in its recruitment of minority journalists. According to Ojo (2006) a study of minorities in Canadian newsrooms carried out by Miller in 1994 for the Canadian Newspaper Association revealed that non-whites held 2.6 percent of the professional jobs in Canadian daily newspapers with more than 75,000 in circulation. Of the 41 Canadian newsrooms studied, there were 2620 professional journalists of whom just 67 were minorities. This under-representation goes beyond leadership positions and the newsroom and extends to their portrayal. The Greater Toronto Leadership Project (DiverseCity Counts 2, 2010) revealed that of the 2036 photos in print analyzed, just 476 were of visible minorities. Of 200 everyday life stories, just 46 were about visible minorities. This exclusionary feature of journalistic representation is not limited to Canada's visible minorities but can also be extended to First Nations people

Besides the under- representation or invisibility of racialized minorities, there is the issue of mis-representation. Fleras (2011) notes an invisibility of Aboriginals in the media. Despite this minimal coverage, when they are portrayed it is usually within the context of either marginalization or violence as evident in the coverage of the missing and murdered Aboriginal women ("unworthy" victims) in Canada. Fleras (2011) outlines the operation of stereotypes, whitewashing and the definition of racialized minorities as "problem" people. Because of the socio-historical structural entrenchment of whiteness, racialized minorities are usually portrayed in ways that fit into prevailing prejudices. Most often, people from the Middle East are portrayed as tyrants with a strong inclination to link terrorism with their religion. Asians are usually portrayed as sly mathematical whizzes or as cunning; Latinos are shown as hot-blooded. Blacks are similarly portrayed as athletes/superheroes, gangsters, sex-obsessed buffoons, outlaws and hipsters among other familiar tropes (Fleras, 2011; 2012). These stereotypes not only entail an overemphasis on and/or negative portrayal of certain aspects of any racialized group's realities, but also tend to facilitate generalization to all members within such groups, which does not accurately reflect their diverse and evolving circumstances and agency.

Henry's (1999) study of Asian gangs in the reportage of an unrelated Chinese restaurant slaying reveals the essentialization of the Asian population in news reports. Despite evidence that

the killing of one Asian by another in this story was not gang-related, the media continued to print articles about it as such. Additionally with respect to stereotypes, Li's (1994) analysis of the Asian immigrants residing in Vancouver revealed how the term "monster home" was a stereotype subtly used to describe the "white" perception of Asians residing in huge homes.

Fleras also explains that representations of First Nation's people ranges from "noble savages", "primitive romantics," "spiritual mystics," "environmental custodians" to their debasement as "villains", victims with the stigma of "problem people". Most important is the linking of stereotypes to criminal activities. The media tends to downplay most common white collar crimes committed by the dominant group but places an overemphasis on crimes committed by racialized minorities, thus creating fear of targeted racialized communities. Deploying a "blame-the-victim" mentality regarding crimes committed by members of racialized minorities, the social and economic basis of crime is often neglected (Fleras, 2011). White criminal behaviors, on the other hand, are usually "excused as an isolated and aberrant act for which the individual alone is responsible" (Fleras, 2011, p. 64). Media portrayals of ethnic minorities as threats to the Canadian society (Fleras, 2011) flout the tenets of Canadian Multicultural Act. The "us" and "them" mentality usually leads to the portrayal of ethnic minorities on issues that deal with cost and inconveniences.

Karim (2006) explains how immigrants are usually portrayed not just as "trouble makers" but as stealing jobs from Canadians, cheating the welfare state and lacking commitment to Canadian norms because of their refusal to discard their cultures and assimilate. Although most times their commitment to the Canadian economy is well articulated, negative portrayals of newcomers as troublesome people reinforce dominant biases (Fleras, 2012; 2011). The unflattering portrayals of racialized minorities reinforce the Eurocentric hegemony of "whiteness" as the normal, universal ideal. Scholars (Gist, 1990; Fleras & Kunz, 2001; Henry, 1999) have noted a variety of impacts on racial minorities: -instilling of inferiority complexes; feelings of exclusion; undermining their sense of belongingness; limited desire to participate in Canadian activities, particularly politics; and the un/underrepresentation of related needs or concerns in legislation. These effects can be detrimental to the social fabric of Canada's multicultural society.

In response to the invisibility, mis- and under-representation, of visible minorities in mainstream media, several ethnic media outlets of various kinds have been established. Operating within the multicultural fabric of Canada, Ojo (2006) explains that they provide news

and programs of interest to the people from and engaging with their respective ethnic communities. Ojo (2006), citing Meadows (1995), argues that the establishment of flourishing ethnic media is necessary in Canada because Aboriginal and visible minorities perceive mainstream media as inappropriate at best and racist at worst. Ojo suggests that they act as a 'sensitizing agent' in dealing with ethno-racial issues within the Canadian multicultural society.

Ojo's (2006) study of the *Montreal Community Contact*- an ethnic newspaper of the Black community in Montreal - establishes that its columnists and editorial writers normally provide:

critical voices to the issues presented in the mainstream media, especially the *Montreal Gazette*, *National Post*, and *Globe and Mail*. It critiqued news and perspectives that they (*minorities*) found to be unfair to their communities. Essentially, the paper presents an alternative discourse to the communication agenda set by the dominant, socio- political and cultural order (p. 356, emphasis mine).

Therefore, it can be deduced by extrapolation that ethnic media provide alternatives to the hegemony of the dominant culture affirmed in mainstream media. Although each ethnic group has appropriated media specifically for their own cultural use, ethnic media in general provide an avenue for critique of mainstream media, encouraging dominant representatives to be cautious of the construction of meaning in their work (Ojo, 2006) given that their inherent biases can be exposed by ethnic media.

Fleras' (2011) examination of media portrayals of racialized minorities reveals that the media misrepresentation of racialized minority women is no less punitive, as they are particularly vulnerable to stereotypes and definition as the "other." If women, in general, are confronted by the challenges highlighted above, minority women are "doubly challenged through racialized stereotypes that simultaneously pounce on their differences (if different, then inferior) or their sameness (if same, loss of authenticity)" (p. 86). For example, Fleras notes that although media coverage of Aboriginal women in Canada reflects mostly invisibility, they are usually characterized within the context of violence or marginalization. This phenomenon was clearly depicted in the documentary film 'Finding Dawn' by Métis filmmaker Christine Welsh. According to Fleras (2011), racialized women like South Asian women, usually invoke stereotypes of the 'other' that should be pitied or scorned, particularly in relation to honor killings, rather than domestic violence, which is somehow constructed as more "benign."

With regards to the political sphere, research on media representation of political officials and candidates in Canadian society is limited suggesting that sexism and racism operate independently of one another. The outcome is a failure to understand if or how race and gender can intersect in media portrayals of individuals in the political sphere. However, Gershon's (2012) study in the United States shows how minority women are under- and misrepresented with particular reference to politics. Gershon's (2012) analysis of media representation of congresswomen running for re-election in the United States reveals that gender or race alone do not significantly hinder a member's ability to capture favorable coverage. Her findings indicate that, faced with the "double barrier" of race and gender, minority congresswomen often receive more negative and less frequent coverage than all other representatives (majority women and men in general).

3.3 Existing Studies of Women in Politics

Although there is a rich body of literature examining the under-representation of women and minorities in politics, little research in Canada has looked at the underrepresentation of visible minority and Aboriginal women (Black, 2000). Most studies preoccupied with relations of power focus in large part on the inequality of power between men and women with emphasis on women's roles, knowledge and experiences as the non-dominant and/or subordinate group (Hoogensen & Solheim, 2006). Others studies have focused on either race or class as the fundamental axis of oppression that women face.

Divergent views of women in politics have been presented by scholars from social and political schools of thought. On the one hand are scholars who are primarily concerned with the advantages of the "politics of presence" who argue for *mirror representation* – that is, the characteristics of elected officials as similar to those of the constituencies that they represent. On the other hand are scholars who emphasize the *substantive representation* perspective that focuses on the "actions" of legislatures; that is, whether they adequately promote the interests of the diverse groups that they represent (Pitkin, 1967). Both perspectives, despite their strengths, do not address the endemic disadvantages that hinder minority women's access to office in the first place. Moreover, they fail to reflect adequately the challenges that women face within the political sphere overall. This means that both approaches are part of the problem I seek to investigate.

Politicians, international organizations and the media have often used the notion of “critical mass” as grounds for taking action to bring more women into politics. Rejecting “tokenism” of women in public office, this “critical mass” notion argues that the more women there are in public offices, the more representative of women’s interests they would be (Childs & Krook, 2008). In this light, it is argued that the mere presence of women in Parliament adequately represents all women. Brown (2010), however, argues that this “unitary politics” privileges women from the dominant group (in Canada, the Caucasians) over women from non-dominant groups (racialized minorities and Aboriginals). The notion of critical mass when applied to women does not take into account the heterogeneous nature of women’s lives and social positions but rather lumps all women together as a homogenous group, supposedly with the same interests, experiences, class status and even presuming race/ethnicity to be insignificant. It tends to silence or further marginalize the most vulnerable groups within the subaltern population. The “critical mass” notion, according to Hughes (2008), can be revised by focusing on representing women beyond token levels and by electing a larger number of racialized minority women into politics in order to reflect greater racial diversity. Women come from various generations and not all women share a single religion. It is important to acknowledge that representative governance will necessarily involve more racialized and Aboriginal women, as well as more queer, younger and older women, more women with disabilities and from different faith traditions, etc. This study focusing on gender and racial diversity, acknowledges that not all women have the same class status, sexual orientation or abilities amongst others.

Critical Race Theory (CRT) as a framework can be used to analyze the role played by race in media representations of minoritized women in politics. As an analytical tool, CRT frameworks arose in the 1970s from critical legal studies. It came as a response to the slow pace of racial reform in the United States (Brooks & Hébert, 2006). Its origins are based on the legal scholarship of Derrick Bell, Richard Delgado, and Kimberley Crenshaw who, according to Brooks and Hébert (2006) questioned the “philosophical tradition of the “color-blind” liberal civil rights approach to social justice” (p. 304). CRT discourse critiques the liberal notions of objectivity, meritocracy and color blindness and sees them as questionable constructs that tend to favor “whiteness” (Satzewich & Liodakis, 2007). Satzewich and Liodakis (2007) argue that race permeates a wide variety of social practices and policies often in non-racialized language in Canada. To them, a CRT lens focuses on how racial inequalities are engrained in all segments of

contemporary societies in the distribution of social goods, services and legal systems, amongst others. Simply put, CRT highlights how white supremacy and racial power persist in the Canadian society.

In relation to Canadian politics, a CR lens helps to explain the limited number of racialized minorities in Parliament on the basis of the entrenched power and dominance of white supremacy. The “whites” who are determined to maintain their hegemonic position, construct laws or policies often in race neutral language to exclude systematically racialized minorities from politics or legislation (Li, 1999; Satzewich & Liodakis, 2007). But, given the centrality of race and invisibility of gender in this so-called “liberal,” or worse, “objective” perspective, it cannot adequately address the inequalities faced by women in general and visible minority and Aboriginal women in particular, within the political sphere.

Using a gender lens, feminist theorists have focused on relations of power between the sexes and the different axes of women’s oppression. Feminist analysis is applicable to women’s lives in general with a focus on the political sphere. Feminist perspectives are, however, not homogenous, and are as diverse as the issues that arise in women’s lives. Thus, four dominant feminist approaches are highlighted for the purpose of this analysis.

The first is liberal feminism, which accepts the framework of existing liberal capitalism and assumes that the prevailing system can be influenced to accept women into centers of political and economic power (Whitaker, 1999). It presupposes that all humans are individuals who share the capacity of rationality, which is treated as gender neutral. However, Whitaker (1999) sees this notion of liberal feminism as illusory and idealist since its belief in freedom and equality is subject to persuasion from “rational individuals.” These individuals are assumed to be capable of using the existing political structure to bring about a more inclusive society that encompasses women and minorities in increasing numbers. By advocating legal equality and equal opportunities, Whitaker (1999) notes that liberal feminism assumes that women will eventually have equal access to resources and institutions (politics) on the same terms as men.

In the Canadian economic sector, ‘rational’ policies such as Human rights, Employment Standards and Pay Equity legislation have been made to address discrimination in the labour market. Yet, scholars (Ames, 1995; Fortin & Huberman 2002; Robb 1978) indicate that Canadian women still suffer discrimination in pay as a result of the gendered devaluation of their jobs. Similarly, the international community has made serious efforts to address the persistent

underrepresentation of women in politics as a form of inequality between men and women in positions of power and decision-making and as one of the 12 key areas identified in the landmark Beijing Platform for Action (Cool, 2010). The 1979 *United Nations Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women* (CEDAW) according to Cool (2010) also emphasized equal participation of women and men in public life as one of its cornerstones. Taking an individualistic approach, this paradigm is less concerned with finding social structural explanations for women's subordination. It is paramount to note that although these "rational" laws are continuously being made to ensure equal representation of women in politics, women's numbers in politics are still limited both internationally and nationally in Canada. Explaining the persistence of these barriers, Ackers (2006) argues that women and men do not enter organizations on the same footing, as such organizations are not gender-neutral spaces. As such, on most occasions, women are "made to fit" into these male-dominated spheres and not the other way round.

Despite its goal of enabling equality for women and men under the law and ensuring equal employment opportunities for all genders (Ranson, 2005), liberal feminism has assumed a position of strategic essentialism, treating women as a homogenous category. This rather essentialist approach has limited usefulness in accounting for the ways race, class and other differences affect women's access to/or in politics. As a result liberal feminism cannot be used to address the limited numbers of minority women in Canadian parliament relative to majority women, nor can it be used to examine whether minoritized women are subjected to targeted exclusionary treatment.

Marxist feminism, another stream in feminist movement interrogates the role of the state drawing on Marxist and neo-Marxist traditions to emphasize the primacy of social class relations. Marxist political economy focuses on capitalism and the class character of the state and of civil society (Ship, 1998). This focus ignores or treats as less important gender, race and ethnic inequalities. Ship (1998) noted that as a consequence of this negligence, the role of ethnicity and race, as well as the specific issues of First Nations peoples and non-Anglo, non-French minorities (and of women from these groups) have been under-explored by Marxist and political economic scholarship in Canada. The criticism against capitalism and class discrimination raised by Karl Marx has been taken up by a number of Marxist feminists and applied to women's under-representation in politics.

In contrast to the liberal viewpoint, Marxist feminists insist that the entire structure of society must be changed before real gender equality can be attained. They argue that one's relationships within micro and macro-economic institutions determine one's relationship to all aspects of social life (Nelson & Robinson, 1999). Nelson and Robinson (1999) explain that Fredric Engels, Marx's collaborator, argued that 'women's subordination was a consequence of the introduction of private property, which led property-owning men to institute control over women in an attempt to ensure the paternity of potential heirs' (p. 102). Women, thus, became the property of men and an oppressed group. Engels further posits that a restructuring of the private sphere was needed to achieve an equitable public sphere necessary for gender equality.

Marxist feminists argue that productivity has become segregated on the basis of productive (saleable) and reproductive (nonsalable, such as care-taking) tasks, and that individuals either own the means of production or are the means of production themselves, valued (or not) on the basis of their rank and position within society (Nelson & Robinson, 1999). Given the hegemonic domination of "whiteness" in Canadian society it becomes necessary to question this proletariat categorization of women and ascertain the position of racialized minorities within a Marxist or materialist analysis. The primacy of class divisions can be extended to the fact that although some women find *some* equality in the workplace, most are usually oppressed as workers as a result of the persistence of gendered division of labor – that is women and men are given different tasks according to their assumed abilities, based on their gender. This is consistent with the dual segregation of the labor market (Doeringer & Piore 1971), with concentration of women in the secondary sector and a predominance of (white) men in the primary sector.

The oppression of women goes beyond the public sector; in the private sphere women also contribute to unpaid labor in the home. With men generally dominating the world of business/industry and political spheres, women in politics experience a deeper sense of alienation and estrangement within their homes and society as they are objectified and alienated by men within the family and by society at large (Hoogensen & Solheim, 2006; Waylen, 1996). Therefore, according to Hoogensen and Solheim (2006), women's access to positions of power is limited because men (bourgeoisie) usually dominate the public sphere, own the means of production and determine the exploitative relations that produce their wealth.

Despite its emphasis on class, Marxist feminists also lump together the whole category of women as a homogeneous group - that is within the proletariat. It becomes critical to question which women constitute their focus of analysis: White upper or middle class white women, minority/Aboriginal women or women in general? Although Marxist feminism helps explain the small percentage of women in politics as a result of their restricted power and economic/class position in relation to men, its silence on race/ethnicity makes it less adequately equipped to explain why, among the women in parliament, there is limited representation of racialized minorities and Aboriginal women. Although Black's (2000) analysis of elite politics categorizes all women to be at least middle class, Marxist feminism's focus on class cannot adequately ascertain if these elite majority and minority women politicians (candidates and office holders) are treated equally within the political sphere, without reference to their race or ethnic origins.

Unlike Marxist feminists, radical feminists do not identify with the capitalist economic system as the primary source of female subordination in the society, but instead, suggest that women are subjected to conditions of inequality in all forms of economic production irrespective of whether they are capitalist, communist or socialist (Neilson & Robinson, 1999). To radical feminists, patriarchy predates capitalism (Neilson & Robinson, 1999). In contrast to Marxism, radical feminism argues that the abolition of class in society cannot eradicate women's oppression; it focuses on challenging the existing social gender construct (Hoogensen & Solheim, 2006). To radical feminists, the most fundamental oppressive force lies in exploitation of women's reproductive capacity, which increases their subordination specifically to men, who as a group, oppress women and benefit from that oppression (Waylen, 1996). Despite their consensus against capitalism as a fundamental factor in female subordination, individual proponents of this perspective tend to focus their attention on different aspects of patriarchy in need of social change.

Echols (1984) argues that the most apparent difference between men and women is not innate and immutable but rather is the product of a social construction process influenced by the patriarchal system. Rich (1980) in explaining the basic cause of female subordination, focuses on male's physical, psychological and social control of female sexuality. In response to this, radical feminists argue for androgyny and seek technological and social methods for the removal of biological differences. Arguing in this light, Firestone (1970) posits that women must be

liberated from the tyranny of their reproductive biology - the basis of discrimination against them which assumes that they are physiologically incapable of engaging in politics due to their inclination to succumb to their physiological “weaknesses” (menstruation, pregnancy, and nursing). Androgyny as achieved through social adaptation such as universal child, can help to provide an equal playing field for women and men (Neilson & Robinson, 1999) as women’s biology need not be a factor that can be held against them in the political sphere.

Radical feminists who over-emphasize the primacy of sex have been criticized on the basis of essentialism and biological reductionism as they claim that men are somehow destined to oppress women (Waylen, 1996). Also their emphasis on universal patriarchy as the primary structure of women’s oppression limits the accurate accounting for the key ways in which race and class/economic exploitation differentiate the experiences and the situations of women from diverse backgrounds (Holvino, 2008). Although women share similarities in terms of their biological makeup, radical feminists fail to acknowledge that the category “woman” is not a united class. Some women are more privileged than others on the basis of their sexual orientation, class, ethnicity, ability and age amongst others. For example, despite being in the same class, the life of a white upper class woman is significantly different from that of an upper class Black/minority woman (as the position of the former is closer to that of men in the social hierarchy compared to the latter on the basis of racial distinction). Most importantly, this paradigm fails to address how the simultaneity of these axes can serve as an added disadvantage (or advantage) to a woman on the way to Parliament or as a Parliamentarian. Although radical feminists generally aim to eliminate political inequality between the sexes, they need to address the ways privileged white women’s voices continue to dominate the political arena (Parliament) in comparison to racialized minority and Aboriginal women.

In analyzing the relationship between capitalist and human reproduction, socialist feminists present a serious critique of the notion of “genderless” class relations implicit within much of the works of Marxist feminists and the “classless” gender relations which had been a hallmark of a good deal of early feminist writing (Neilson & Robinson, 1999). Socialist feminism incorporates the ideas of radical feminists and the Marxist school of thought to argue that gender equality can be achieved by the elimination of both patriarchy and capitalism. Socialist feminists posit that a historical combination of capitalist political economy and

patriarchal ideology leads to the oppression of women both inside and outside the home (Neilson & Robinson, 1999). This perspective, by drawing on the work of Engels, examines the nature and importance of domestic labor, the nature and location of women's paid labor experiences and the interface between women's paid labor and domestic lives (Neilson & Robinson, 1999; Waylen, 1996). Despite its focus on class and gender, oppressions on the basis of intersected effects of race and other categories are not adequately addressed. Also the treatment of women as one homogeneous group assumes that it is possible and unproblematic to generalize about all women, using white middle-class and western women as a basis of extrapolation to all minority and Aboriginal women.

Despite the strengths of these highlighted paradigms and frameworks, a critical analysis of the under-representation of racialized minority and Aboriginal women in parliament cannot include gender, class and race etc. acting as single axes of oppression; they operate simultaneously. Collins (1999) argues that this interlocking system of gender, race and class constitutes what is referred to a "matrix of domination." Therefore, women can experience disadvantage or privilege (in case of white women in Canada) in a simultaneous manner (Browne, & Misra, 2003) through the combined status of gender, race and class amongst others.

3.4 Theoretical Framework

Given the limited abilities of the reviewed theoretical perspectives to address adequately the "special" circumstances that confront racialized minority and Aboriginal women in Canadian society and its politics in particular, this study uses an intersectional framework as an analytical tool for addressing its research questions. The concept of Intersectionality is increasingly used in gender studies, sociology, economics and other disciplines and has been applied in several ways. This theory arose as part of the critique of radical feminism and is vital to sociologists because it addresses the experiences of people who are subjected to multiple forms of subordination within society (McCall, 2005). It is important to also note that intersectionality critiques not only feminisms, but any analysis that fails to address multiple axes of diversity. As its epistemological foundation, intersectionality is rooted in the lived experiences of Black racialized women and men and posits that marginalized identities such as race, gender, class, sexual orientation, ability, age and others are mutually constituted and cannot be separated (Collins, 1999; Crenshaw, 1991; Brown, 2010). Given the focus of this research on "elite" racialized minority and Aboriginal

women MPs in the Canadian 41st Parliament, my study will examine the intersection of race and gender in related media representations. The exclusion of class is based on the fact that this study focuses on public office holders (Parliamentarians) who according to previous studies (Black, 2000) can be assumed as “elite” member of society.

Intersectionality theory as an analytical framework was introduced by legal scholar Kimberley Crenshaw (1991) as an interrogation of identity politics in jurisprudence. She draws on case law to denote the ways in which race, gender and other axes of oppression interact to shape the multiple dimensions of Black racialized women’s employment experiences (Yuval-Davis, 2006). Intersectional theorizing underscores the social reality of women/men and the dynamics of their social, cultural, economic and political contexts as multiple, simultaneous and interactively determined by several significant axes of social organization (Yuval-Davis, 2006). It is a response to the reductive tendencies of theories which inform key progressive social movements, suggesting that there is just one fundamental or primary axis of social organization and source of oppression (Stasiulis, 1990). However, the theory has been criticized for its endless axes of oppression in spite of the fact that most scholars utilizing it pay attention to different axes of oppression.

Despite the criticisms levied against it, this study adopts the intersection of race and gender to examine the representation of racialized minority and Aboriginal women MPs in the Canadian media. The advantage of employing intersectionality lies in the strength it brings to bear, resulting in a better understanding of the complex inequalities faced by the fusion of multiple mechanisms of marginalization. Race, class and gender intersect to influence media presentation.

Collins (2000) in her discussion of Black feminism shows how intersectionality provides a systematic treatment of the operations of race and gender in determining labor market outcomes. Relying on an experience-based epistemology, Collins reveals that Black women’s lives are shaped by both gender and race and as such, theories focusing just on race or gender alone do not adequately address the simultaneity of race and gender in lived experience. Within this matrix, individuals can simultaneously experiences disadvantages and privileges through the combined axes of gender, race, and class. The higher number of white women in Parliament can be explained as a “white privilege,” as white women have higher advantages when compared to

minority women and in view of the intersections of their “privileged” identities (McIntosh, 1988). Thus, intersectional perspectives argue that, although women in general, when compared to men, face challenges as a result of their positions in society, racialized minority women face multiple inequalities because of the simultaneous effects attaching to their race, age and class etc.

Using an intersectional framework, Settles (2006) emphasizes the unique experiences of 89 Black women’s racial and gender identities and the ways in which race and gender impact their lives. The study indicates that the intersectional identities of these Black women were more important than their individual identities as women and as Black persons. The results of the study showed that Black women place equal importance on both their race and gender and see themselves not just as Black people or as women but in terms of the more complex identity of “Black woman” (Whitehead, Talahite & Moodley, 2013). Acker (2006) argues that the identities of women, Black and working class all intersect to create an “inequality regime” for them, thus limiting their ability to effectively envision and precipitate substantive change in their lives (Whitehead, Talahite & Moodley, 2013). Weber (2001) argues that in the labor market, employers make decisions - with regards to hiring, promotions, training and wages - on the basis of the combination of a worker’s gender and race. As such, there is no gender or race perception that is neutral; that is these perceptions are neither race-blind nor gender-blind. The intersection of these and other factors help to explain the nature and extent of exploitation that targeted workers face in the labor market (Browne & Misra, 2003). Intersectional scholars posit that “gender and race are socially constructed categories that contain inherent power differences that are infused into every aspect of social life, from identities and self-concepts to interpersonal interactions, to operations of firms, and to the organization of economic and legal system” (Browne & Misra, 2003, p. 490). The same applies by extension to the political sphere.

Black (2000), in his study of racialized minority women as parliamentary candidates and MPs in Canada, found that, as a new social group seeking access to elite political positions, candidates faced the consequences of their “double minority” status. The main finding, using the 1993 Canadian survey of Parliamentary candidates and supplemented by information on MPs, reveals more support for the “compensation model” which indicates that inequality characterizes the process of gaining access to politics, and that nevertheless minoritized women must achieve more to overcome their subordinated status. Emphasizing their distinctive minority status as a

social category within a *social category*, his findings show that, although there are some instances where minority women share similar social background characteristics with majority women, there is evidence of the compensation perspective as indicated by the “greater accomplishments of minority women, relative to majority women and minority men” (Black, 2000, p. 164). Despite the fact that different individuals generally face hurdles in the pursuit of legislative offices, those for women are generally higher than those for men. However, racialized minority women, experience compounded disadvantages, in that they face far greater hurdles and must “compensate” for their differences by being profoundly exceptional in order to gain access to elite political classes of the Canadian society (Black, 2000). These “extra” prerequisites for minority women filter for those who can actually survive the inequality in recruitment processes to political offices, as most minority women must juggle how to compensate for their double minority status as women and as racialized minorities.

Intersectionality examines different kinds of lived experiences and social realities beyond the individual level, extending its structural analysis of individuated experiences to all segments of society. This difference in lived experiences can be illustrated by the variation in earnings among individuals. For example, the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics in the first quarter of 2005 reported that the average weekly income for white men was \$731, for white women \$601, for Black men \$579 and for Black women the average wage was \$506. The difference in income between white men and white women shows that despite being of the same race, gender matters in society. And this can be said for Black men and Black women. However, the fact that white women earn more than Black men and women (Browne & Misra, 2003) illustrates how race/ethnicity can supersede gender in society. Black women earning the least amount shows how the intersection of race and gender in the labor market can serve as a compounded disadvantage to them (double jeopardy) on the one hand and serve as an advantage to white women (white privilege) on the other hand. This clearly explains the connections and interdependency of race and gender and the relevancy of analyzing society from an intersectional perspective. Analysis of race and gender independently cannot accurately reflect the differences in experience and by extension the biased nature of contemporary North American societies. In Canada, Fleras (2012) noted that Canadian born and foreign-born visible minority women also earn less than minority and white men. Furthermore, she argues that racialized women of colour

find themselves ghettoized in occupations that are unprotected and dangerous. Enduring racism and sexism, most of these women experience overload in both paid and unpaid labour.

Although most of the existing literature has focused on the double marginalization faced by targeted women, some scholars have noted that, sometimes, multiple identities can be useful as well. Fraga, Martinez-Ebers, Ramirez, and Lopez, (2003) argue that belonging to multiple identities allows Latinas to build cross-group coalitions with allegiances and networks that help them to position themselves on certain issues. Arguing further, Fraga et al highlight that although Latina women belong to their racial/ethnic group and to their gender, they are more likely to utilize their double identities in achieving legislative consensus (Brown, 2010). As such, Latina women may be perceived in a more favorable or less hostile/confrontational way than their co-ethnic men, because of masculinist gender stereotypes. An assumed feminine nature and approachability compared to their male counterparts' increases their chances to form cross-ethnic coalitions (Brown, 2010).

Postcolonial scholar, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1987) coined the phrase “strategic essentialism” to refer to the ways in which social groups who are subordinate or marginalized can forge a sense of collective identity as they band together in political movements. This can be applied to racialized minority women in Parliament who can use their complex identities to build coalitions with both white women on one hand and with minority men on the other. However, the token numbers of non-white women in Canadian parliament contradicts and confounds the politics of hope inherent in these studies. The simultaneous effects of race, gender and class serve as a deterrent to minority women, not only in the recruitment process into political offices but also as office holders seeking to build coalitions.

3.5 Summary

This chapter has presented a review of literatures examining women's portrayal in the media over the past century. It has also highlighted how differences persist with respect to media portrayals of gender and race in the contemporary moment. A review of the strengths and limitations of evolving theoretical perspectives within various feminisms has been provided to affirm the adoption of Intersectionality as the primary theoretical framework guiding the study.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

My literature review highlights how mainstream media shapes the construction of minoritized Canadian gender identities as they impact political representation. In this chapter, the specific role of the media in shaping the construction of women in the 41st Parliament is explored. This research is undertaken in recognition of the centrality of the House of Parliament in formulating and upholding the tenets of social democracy in Canada. Given the arguments by scholars both in the reviewed literature on racism and sexism (and the media experiences of women in politics highlighted in the preceding chapter), this study aims to examine print media representation of visible minority and Aboriginal women in parliament, in order to test two hypotheses, as outlined below.

1: Mainstream print media in Canada tends to be biased – specifically with respect to coverage, including racism and sexism – in the representation and portrayal of racialized minorities and Aboriginal women MPs relative to white women.

Given the importance of ethnic and multicultural media in providing a critical voice to offset the discrimination against ethnic minorities in mainstream media as (articulated by Ojo, 2006), my second hypothesis follows;

2: Representation of racialized minorities and Aboriginal women MPs in ethnic media are more positive when compared to mainstream media.

4.2 Research Methodology

In order to test the stated hypotheses, this study will employ both quantitative and the qualitative techniques. Quantitative techniques provide descriptive information on the data collected in order to offer insight not just into the frequency but also the general trends and themes emerging across selected print media portrayals of female MPs (Henry & Tator, 2002; Dijk, 2011; Yuan, 2013). Specifically, this study will focus on newspaper portrayals of racialized minority women in parliament with the main objective of determining if bias and discrimination exist in terms of coverage, involving sexual and racial representation relative to white women. I

also consider whether there is difference in levels of sexism and racism in the portrayal of minority and Aboriginal women MPs in mainstream and ethnic media.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is adopted as a qualitative method that systematically analyzes/highlights the primacy of language use and meaning-making in selected text. This involves going beyond surface analysis to expose underlying/hidden meaning usually referred to as subtext. CDA provides the basic tools for “deconstructing the ideologies of the mass media and other elite groups and for identifying and defining social, economic and historical power relations between dominant and subordinate groups” (Henry & Tator, 2002, p. 72). CDA focuses on the role of discourse in the reproduction of power abuses (Dijk, 2011). It examines how dominance, social power and inequality are produced and reproduced in all of society.

This power abuse cuts across a wide spectrum of bias-producing structures such as sexism, racism, neoliberalism amongst others (Henry & Tator, 2002; Dijk, 2011). CDA challenges the abstract notion of ‘objective’ language to analyze how biases and their means of reproduction are used to convey social meanings and potentials for abuses of power in society.

Wodak (2001) explains that CDA regards language as a social practice that takes into consideration the context in which words and concepts are used. Taking into account the relation between language and power, CDA has been employed by scholars to show how “dominance, inequality and social power abuse are enacted by ‘text’ and talk within systems of representation reproduced in the media” (Henry & Tator, 2002, p. 35). CDA recognizes that discourse in the reproduction of inequality must be socially situated and as such discourse can be understood as “language use and communicative interactions in social situations” (Dijk, 2011, p. 52). Kaplan (1990) explains that “any text is layered like a sheet of thick plywood consisting of many thin sheets lying at different angles to each other” (p. 202). To Kaplan, these sheets entail syntax, grammar and lexicon. However, he also notes that until a text is ‘instantiated’ by a receptor it has no reality, thus there is a complex interaction between the intent of author and that of the receptor to actualize meanings layered into the text, by their presence and or absence.

According to Henry and Tator (2002) some key concepts/tools commonly used when doing CDA include an examination of: the choice of topic, the structure of news-making and the use of argumentation. To them, topical assessment is an important component of discourse analysis as topics express and reproduces concerns, priorities and agendas of the dominant ideology or culture. The choice of topic or the subject of the text is paramount as it affects the

impression created for readers and the ways in which the news story is understood. Henry and Tator have argued that the structure of news-making entails a process of *selection* and *combination* that precede newswriting. This process enacted by journalists and editors affects the way information is combined and how it is interpreted. Thus, in an effort to make news, some information is considered irrelevant or not important enough to include in the text and as such, the text becomes distorted.

Therefore, CDA ideally entails not only what is included but what is excluded or considered irrelevant, as this can affect not just the coherence within and between sentences but can lead to an emphasis on dominant ideological formulations. Within the context of news-making structures, Henry and Tator (2002) have argued that headlines analysis is essential as it gives the reader the general idea of the story in order to “activate the relevant social knowledge that the reader will require to understand and contextualize the story” (p. 75). However, the use of quotation, according to both scholars, is another strategy that is used in the media not only to state facts and enliven the news but more importantly, to favor a particular point of view while claiming to be reporting legitimate facts. Finally, argumentation style examines the use of overgeneralization or *Topicalization/Fronting* in the first sentence to set the tone of the article.

This study employs Wetherell and Potter’s (1992) macro-level analysis which focuses on the central theme, topics and argumentative statements used in print media to construct and reproduce inequality with respect to racism and sexism. The study also employs Van Dijk’s (1991) micro-level categories of analysis, which examines the organization of text, its structure, sentences and sentences-connections to determine the core ideas presented within the text. Simply put, besides examining hidden relations of power present within the selected text, this study, by employing CDA, can highlight key terms/themes, logics of specific languages and patterns used, thus, unraveling if and how (racial and gender based) stereotypes are used within selected text and also between different articles in the case studies selected for analysis. Therefore, the employment of CDA (with its focus on topics, language use, argumentation style and micro and macro analysis of connective tissues) can be justified as a tool in the examination of media portrayals as it can provide understanding of how racism and sexism are overtly or covertly constructed, practiced, normalized and reinforced in selected Canadian print media. The exposure of hidden meanings embedded in language can help to explain if and how media

portrayals of the racialized minority and Aboriginal women MPs entail intersected biases or shifts in representation, depending on media source.

Given that racism and sexism are the primary focus in this study, CDA will be used to examine data collected by determining if and how racial and gender discourses are mobilized in media representations of racialized minority and Aboriginal women MPs relative to white women. Studies on *racial normative* discourses emphasize the race of political figures and highlights how media coverage of politicians is not race-blind. For example, Terkildsen and Damore's (1999) study examines media coverage of African - American candidates in the 1990 and 1992 congressional election cycles, and it reveals that the media focuses on the race and constituents of Black candidates. This study therefore argues that the "underscoring of race reflects society's interest in racial differences, particularly when those differences counter the norm" – *white* (p. 696). Therefore, within the context of this study, racial normative analysis will entail sensitivity to any emphasis on the selected women MPs race/ethnicity, either as a visible minority⁷ – Chinese, South Asian, Black, Filipino, Latin American, Southeast Asian, Arab, West Asian, Korean, Japanese – or as an Aboriginal.

However, Li (2001), employing CDA, argues that "racism can be articulated in an elusive and covert manner in a democratic society precisely because the construction of race is not scientifically grounded and the absence of scientific standards provides flexibility in racial signification" (p. 79). Li also shows that in changing racial discourse racism is accepted as an everyday phenomenon and it is usually portrayed in a coded language. This form of racism, also termed *new racism*, is carried in coded language and does not only entail 'practices of exclusion, problematization and inferiorization of ethnic/racial other' (Dijk, 2011) but, according to Li (2001), "it carries messages about unbridgeable differences of people premised upon values, traditions and ways of life subsumed under skin color or other superficial features" (p. 81). Li further argues, however, that the users of racialized language sometimes are not even aware that they are using it because of well-versed rationale and assumptions.

This study employs CDA to examine whether and how stereotypes associated with racialized minority and Aboriginal women MPs are overtly or covertly present in their portrayals. Drawing on Fleras' (2011), racial stereotypes regarding Aboriginal people, they include, "villain,"

⁷ Statistics Canada classification retrieved from <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/concepts/definitions/minority01-minorite01a-eng.htm> Retrieved June 26th, 2014

“victim,” “problem people,” “noble savages,” “environmental custodians” and “spiritual mystics” amongst others. Although different ethnic groups have different stereotypes associated with them, Fleras noted that both racialized minority and Aboriginal people experience an over-emphasis on their criminal activities, thus mobilizing a “blaming the victims” mentality that refuses to assess social imperatives and incentives toward criminalization of minoritized groups. This framing helps this study to determine if and at what level, racialized minority and Aboriginal women MPs confront racism in their media portrayals.

With regards to gender-based analysis, Henry and Tator (2002) note how media discursive arrangements of nouns and verbs, and the choice of active and passive words can create a context in which existing patterns of gender inequality seem natural. With regards to *gender themes*, this study analyses keywords portraying sexism, as they relate to the gender identities of selected minority female MPs as subjects of this study. Drawing on Robinson and Saint-Jean’s (1991) work, the selected newspapers are analyzed with regards to stereotypes relating to visible differences among the women MPs with emphasis on their marital status, appearance/looks, femininity, nurturance and empathy. This study also analyzes whether and how the selected media portrayals of selected women emphasize stereotypical notions of “the first woman” of her constituency, “women related” topics, “family relation/wife of,” “political superwoman,” “one of the boys,” and “champion,” constructions, while placing little emphasis on their educational/professional qualifications and achievements. This framing helps me to determine if the media portrayals of racialized minority and Aboriginal women MPs reflect sexism.

4.3 Data Sources and Time Frame

Relying on the use of secondary data, this research focuses on women in the Canadian 41st House of Commons. Members of Senate who are appointed rather than elected are not considered. This study examines the media of selected women MPs in the top 2 largest circulating mainstream newspapers - *The Globe and Mail* and *The Toronto Star* - (English versions) in Canada during the first year of the 41st parliament. The justification for the use of print media (newspapers) rather than television news coverage is that, besides being cost effective, reliable data are readily available. Copies of newspaper articles are much more widely circulated both online and in microfilm formats than the transcripts of television news coverage.

This provides a broader and more systematic examination of print coverage of selected women (Gerson, 2012). Previous research by Milner (2002), while emphasizing the correlation between political knowledge and political participation, suggests that newspapers convey civic information more than any other source of information. Although there are other sources of mediated information, this study focuses on *The Globe and Mail* and *The Toronto Star*.

As of 2011, *The Toronto Star* and *The Globe and Mail* are the largest circulating newspapers in Canada⁸ with a weekly circulation record of 1,932,385 and 1,906,336, respectively. This study focuses on the selected MPs first year in office and examines 52 weeks of news coverage in both papers (spanning from June 2nd 2011 to June 1st 2012).

Ethnic media analysis is sourced from *Share*, *Epoch Times*, *Nikkei Voice*, *Asian Connection* and *Windspeaker* newspapers respectively. Selected from the National Ethnic Press and Media Council of Canada, and list of ethnic and multicultural newspapers in Canada⁹, these ethnic newspapers covers communities of selected racialized minority and Aboriginal Women MPs. They are available in English and have the highest levels of circulation. This selection's availability in English was necessary so as to facilitate easy cross-analysis and save time and financial resources otherwise needed for translation. Finally, in order to retrieve information in the selected ethnic newspapers, the names of the selected MPs were sought within each ethnic newspaper's websites (with the exception to *Windspeaker* which was accessed through an online database). All articles falling outside the period of study (June 2nd 2011 to June 1st 2012) and that did not refer to the selected MPs were excluded. The justification for searching the website directly and not using more databases for the specified newspapers is based on the availability of information. Most databases (such as PressDisplay) that include ethnic newspapers only carry the most recent two weeks of coverage and as such do not provide information for the selected period of study.

⁸ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_newspapers_in_Canada_by_circulation . Retrieved September 27th, 2013 with a last modification date of August 22nd, 2013

⁹ <http://nationalethnicpress.com/ethnic-press/newspaper/newspapers-yukon/> and http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_newspapers_in_Canada Ethnic_and_multicultural_newspapers retrieved on September 27th, 2013.

4.4 Selection of Subjects of Study

The Canadian parliamentary website was accessed to determine the number of women in the 41st House of Commons from June 2nd 2011 to June 1st 2012 (for a total of 76 women). This study determined the ethnic identities/races of all women MPs based on MPs photographs, Member of Parliament and media profiles, and their personal websites. Determining the ethnicity/race of women MPs was a necessary step in attaining the total numbers of racialized minority (16) and Aboriginal women MPs (2) for this study and the total number of white women (58). Previous research has shown that when carefully employed, these methods are effective in determining ethnicity (Black, 1997; 2000). To ensure that both re-elected and new women MPs from the white and racialized/minoritized categories were given an equal chance of being represented in the study, they were divided into sub-categories: those newly elected members and those re-elected to office (see Table 4.1). Simple random sampling was done using Excel to select 5 women from each category of the visible minority and white groupings while the 2 Aboriginal women were necessarily selected to constitute a total sample size of 22 selected MPs (See Appendix A for names of selected women MPs and newspaper coverage).

Table 4.1 Ethnic/Racial Distribution of Women MPs

Women MPs	Visible Minority	White	Aboriginal	Total
Newly Elected	8	28	-	36
Reelected	8	30	2	40
Total	16	58	2	76

To access articles from *The Globe and Mail* and *Toronto Star*, this study used the Canadian Newsstand database with the names of selected Women MPs and the period (June 2nd, 2011 to June 1st 2012) under consideration as key search parameters. The Canadian Newsstand database was accessed through the University of Saskatchewan Library with an exclusion of duplicate documents.¹⁰ The use of the Canadian Newsstand database for article collection for analysis was necessary to save time and financial resources. This prevented the manual review of all articles published in both newspapers within the selected period and reduced accidental

¹⁰ A published item may be represented in ProQuest by more than one record if that item appears in more than one of the databases/collections that make up ProQuest. The button 'Include duplicate items' will not be selected since this research does not want all instances of a particular item in ProQuest.

omission of some articles. Use of the names of the selected women as search parameters narrowed the search and made it easier to focus on the portrayals of the primary *subjects* of this study.

This database provided details about the publication titles, pages numbers, and sections where articles appeared amongst other key information. With regards to sections, there were wide ranges in both newspapers' coverage of the selected women MPs. For *The Globe and Mail* newspaper, there were 21 sections cited, with the majority of articles retrieved from the National News, resulting in a total count of 91 articles. In *The Toronto Star*, there were 14 sections cited with the majority of articles in the News section, for a total of 147 articles (See Table 4.2).

4.5 Coding

The retrieved articles were coded in an Excel Sheet. The newspaper names and general information about each article were collated under the section, month, date and year. The location of the articles within each newspaper was determined and categorized as to whether or not the MPs' names were mentioned in the headline of each article. Furthermore, each article was explored for key themes related to racism and sexism. The impression created about the MPs from each article was examined and the centrality of the MPs in each article was noted (See Appendix B for coding sheet). Each case study selected for CDA was based on how significant the issues identified were in terms of inequality and power relations (Henry & Tator, 2002) as they related to sexism and racism.

In all, the study analyzed 405 in-scope¹¹ full-text articles in *The Globe and Mail* and *The Toronto Star* retrieved from the Canadian newsstand database. These articles were coded along key themes (see Appendix B coding sheet) and articles in each of the coded themes are described in detail in both chapters 6 and 7 of this thesis.

¹¹ An in-scope article falls within the timeframe period of the study and refers to the selected women MPs. An out-of scope articles falls within the time period of study but does not refer specifically to the selected women MPs; it brings up words and/or individuals with similar names.

Table 4.2 Sections of Articles in Mainstream Newspapers

<i>The Globe and Mail</i>		<i>Toronto Star</i>	
Sections	Number of articles	Sections	Number of articles
National news	91	National news	1
International news	6	News	147
Comment	6	Editorial	23
Letter to Editor	11	Opinion	13
Column	19	Living	3
Review	1	Wheels	1
Globe life	17	Greater Toronto	16
Travels	1	Letter to Editor	3
Mega wheels	1	Entertainment	3
Focus	3	Business	2
British Columbia news	4	Feature	1
Business	1	Insight	3
Book Review	1	Special section	3
Comment Column	3	Sports	2
Report on Business	1		
Editorial	7		
The Globe Review	4		
The Globe Style	1		
Toronto News	1		
Obituaries	2		
Globe Toronto	3		
Total	184		221

4.6 Conclusion

This study focuses on the portrayal of women MPs as office holders within their first year in office and not as candidates en route to political office. The findings from this analysis helped to categorize the media portrayals of racialized minority and Aboriginal women MPs and to determine if the portrayals reflected sexual and racial discrimination relative to white women. This study also examines whether there are any differences with respect to sexualized and racialized discrimination in the portrayal of racialized minority and Aboriginal women MPs in mainstream and ethnic media.

This chapter presented an overview of Critical Discourse Analysis – which analyzes the primacy of language use and meaning making in selected text - as the methodology explored in this research. It also highlighted *The Globe and Mail* and *Toronto Star* as the mainstream media

used for analysis during the time frame of the study - June 2, 2011 to June 1, 2012. In addition, it provides details of how the collected data were coded and indicates that ethnic media analysis is sourced from *Share*, *Epoch Times*, *Nikkei Voice*, *Asian Connection* and *Windspeaker* newspapers - which cover communities of selected racialized minority and Aboriginal Women MPs.

CHAPTER 5

MAINSTREAM MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF GENDER AND RACE

5.1 Introduction

In line with most research employing CDA (Henry & Tator, 2002; Dijk, 2011; Yuan, 2013), this chapter and the next adopt a quantitative technique to provide an overview of media coverage, not only in terms of article frequency but also in terms of each subject's centrality in the articles and tone of coverage for racialized minority and Aboriginal women in Canada's 41st Parliament. It is important to note here that stereotypical characterizations are not independent categories but can be fluid and applied to diverse situations. This chapter uses CDA to provide in-depth analyses of texts portraying selected women MPs in relation to keys themes found in the mainstream articles collected.

5.2 Quantitative Analysis of Article Coverage for Selected MPs in Mainstream Newspapers

The total sample for this study consists of 22 women MPs. To ensure both newly and re-elected MPs are represented in the sample, simple random sampling was done for both. Of the 10 selected white women MPs, three – Alexandrine Latendresse, Patricia Davidson and Kerry-Lynne D Findlay – had no coverage in either national newspaper. However, while MP Judy Sgro had no coverage in *The Globe and Mail*, MPs Helene LeBlanc and Carol Hughes had no in-scope articles relating to them. The MP with the highest number of articles in both newspapers among the visible minority women is Ms. Olivia Chow with 51 in-scope articles in *The Globe and Mail* and 85 in-scope articles in the *Toronto Star*, each constituting 28 percent and 38percent of total articles analyzed, respectively. This is followed by Bev Oda with coverage of 32 and 24 in-scope articles, respectively. However, among Aboriginal Women MPs, Leona Aglukkaq had coverage of 48 in-scope articles in *The Globe and Mail* and 41 in the *Toronto Star*, respectively, compared to Shelly Glover whose coverage was 3 in *The Globe and Mail* and none in the *Toronto Star* (See Appendix A).

5.3 Textual Analysis of Gendered Mediation

Scholars note that women in the political sphere experience gender targeted portrayals (Fleras, 1995; 2012; Trimble & Arscott, 2003). With respect to gendered mediation, this study confirms that themes such as 'wife of' and other family designations, and emphasis on visible

biological differences, appearance and personality traits remain dominant in the portrayal of women in political life. This chapter uses CDA to explore case studies with respect to related themes found in the articles examined for specific women MPs in Canada's 41st parliament.

5.3.1 'Wife of' and Family Relationship Designation Stereotype

According to Robinson and Saint-Jean (1991), the stereotypical construction of women in politics as 'wife of,' portrays female politicians as a wife or widow and thus as appendages to their more powerful husbands. Thus, a woman's political status is typically viewed through a family lens. As example of this stereotype, the portrayal of MP Olivia Chow is examined. The total number of articles covering her in *The Globe and Mail* is 51, with 85 in-scope articles in the *Toronto Star*. Of the 51 articles for *The Globe and Mail*, MP Chow was the main subject in just 13 articles, while 28 articles portrayed her incidentally and 10 portrayed her as a secondary subject (See Table 5.1). However, there were 4 articles that made the front page in her entire coverage, of which 3 portrayed her as incidental subject, while only one portraying her as the main subject and an MP without making explicit reference to her family/spousal relationships/roles.

Scholars argue that a headline 'imparts to the reader an overall idea of the story that follows... to summarize the story's most important information' (Henry & Tator, 2002, p. 75). Thus, headlines not only emphasize the most important topic; they also activate the relevant social knowledge the reader needs to understand and place the story within a familiar context.

A critical analysis of articles portraying MP Chow showed that six had her name (either first or last) in the headline (See Appendix C). Of these articles three (3) had her name tied to Jack Layton in the context of their marriage and her role as his wife. For example, an article in *The Globe and Mail* published on March 24, 2012 the headline reads "Chow clear-eyed about life without Jack". This creates an impression that she is facing reality after her partner's passing. The article is one of the last articles covering her within the time period of this study and since previous articles had already portrayed her as an appendage to her husband, it activates a prevailing social knowledge of a "clear eyed" state in the absence of Jack Layton. Of 51 articles portraying Chow in *The Globe and Mail*, only 9 (18 per cent) portrayed her without reference to her family responsibilities or spousal ties but focused solely on her role as an independent person, exercising her right as a citizen to hold public office. It is important to note that in *The Globe*

and *Mail* there was no portrayal of Olivia Chow (from June 2nd 2011) in her political role or parliamentary duties before Jack Layton stepped down as leader of the New Democratic Party.

Table 5.1 Mainstream Newspapers Representation of MP Olivia Chow

Olivia Chow	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Mixed	Total	Headline	Front page
<i>The Globe and Mail</i>							
Main	9	1	1	2	13		
Secondary	8		2		10		
List	0				0		
Incidental	15		12	1	28		
Total	32	1	15	3	51	6	4*
*Three of these portrayed MP Chow as incidental and positive subject with the partner as the main subject							
<i>Toronto Star</i>	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Mixed	Total	Headline	Front -page
Main	8		2	2	12		
Secondary	19	1		1	21		
List	0		1		1		
Incidental	29	1	21		51		
Total	56	2	24	3	85	10	9*
*Only 2 of these articles portrayed MP Chow her purely in her Political roles without ties to her partner							

The first article on July 28th, 2011, entitled “Caucus pays tribute to its ailing leader” portrayed her within the context of her support of her ailing husband and related family responsibilities. This article explained that:

Despite the rushed nature of Wednesday's meeting, all but about a dozen of the 103 New Democrat MPs were able to attend. One of those who did not make it was Mr. Layton's wife, Olivia Chow, who was at home with her husband.

This article explains how unplanned the meeting was - a common characteristic of gatherings in the political sphere - and given its short notice “all but a dozen” were able to attend. Although noting that Ms. Chow was unable to attend, this article suggests that she was not the only one absent. However, it fails to provide the names of the others but rather refers to her absence in relation to being *at home with her husband*. This explains how a woman’s political and family responsibilities can intertwine and are presented in the media. Although she is presented as

absent from the meeting, there is a positive note here as she is recognized for providing care for her ailing partner. This is clearly shown in *The Globe and Mail's* August 25, 2011 article titled "A love Story and political alliance come to an end." Focusing on Jack Layton within the context of his illness and funeral, this article presents MP Chow as Layton's wife, the widow of Jack Layton and emphasizes Chow's new role as widow.

Ms. Chow is not only a political wife but also a Toronto MP. "They've always been side by side," Ms. McGrath said. "They were a political couple. "This summer, Ms. Chow was by her husband's side constantly as he became more ill, juggling both the politics and the private side of his life. "What I remember really well was I would go there to talk to him and she would be engaged in the political discussion that we were having at the same time as she was making tea, putting out food, giving medication, checking on his comfort levels ... dialing the phone," said Ms. McGrath who visited Mr. Layton every week during that time. "She was just multi-tasking in a way that was remarkable to watch because it was so seamless... Ms. McGrath described Ms. Chow as an organizer and a "doer"."

This article quoting Mr. Layton's long-time chief of staff to confirm the authenticity of the information explains how while being engaged in political discussions, Chow was also engaged with her wifely roles of "making tea, checking on his comfort levels and dialing the phone." This article reinforces how strong MP Chow is by carrying on with political business while doing caring work. There is a political message in this – an "ethics of care" message in that what she is doing is exemplary – being a caring political person. Although presented within the "wife of" stereotype, it is important to recognize that there can be positive reinforcement of gendered stereotypes as she is admired as a "super-woman" for conforming both to gendered expectations and to performing well in public life.

Outside the context of the illness and funeral of Jack Layton, the construction of MP Chow's political activities in relation to her family relationship designations reflects a persistent linkage to Jack Layton. For example, *The Globe and Mail* article published in the *National News* section on August 30, 2011, entitled "Calls grow for NDP-Liberal unity," enumerates the candidates for a leadership race within the NDP:

Other potential leadership candidates within the NDP caucus are Mr. Layton's long-time partner, Olivia Chow, as well as Paul Dewar of Ottawa, Joe Comartin of Windsor and Megan Leslie of Halifax.

This article identifies other candidates within the NDP caucus with respect to the constituencies they represent. Although it clearly shows that Olivia Chow is a candidate within the NDP caucus it refers to her as *Mr. Layton's long-time partner*. The fact that she is a Toronto MP representing the Trinity- Spadina riding was omitted. Although some concession to equity is evident here in the use of the term "partner," it also presents her through the family lens. In most articles where her riding is mentioned, there is the persistent portrayal of Chow through the family lens. For example, the front page of *The Globe and Mail* article published on August 31, 2011 in the *National News* section entitled "Merger talk threatens to bare NDP rifts," makes the following claims:

Other NDP caucus members who are considering a leadership bid include Ontario's Charlie Angus and Paul Dewar. British Columbia's Peter Julian and Megan Leslie of Nova Scotia are also reported to be thinking about running. There is also talk that Olivia Chow, a Toronto MP and Mr. Layton's long-time partner, will consider entering the race, although her lack of fluency in French could hinder her chances. The NDP has 59 of its 103 seats in Quebec.

Despite acknowledging Ms. Chow as a Toronto MP, she is also tied to Jack Layton. Moreover, emphasizing the fact that her lack of French would hinder her chances indirectly implies that being Mr. Layton's long-time partner is a plus to her if she engages in the leadership race. Although portrayed within the context of an MP performing her political roles, she is also tied to Jack Layton as explained in *The Globe and Mail* article published on October 12, 2011, entitled "School food programs lack unifying vision."

Olivia Chow, the New Democratic Party MP for the Toronto riding of Trinity-Spadina, helped her late husband, former NDP leader Jack Layton, sketch out the party's vision of a national school meals strategy. It calls on the federal government to provide \$25-million in seed money to make school meals universal in Canada. She plans to continue lobbying for it.

The use of the term *helped* emphasizes her “assistive” or supporting role to her “husband.” This positions Ms. Chow in the shadow of Jack Layton, a theme that was also clearly emphasized in *The Globe and Mail* article of September 2, 2011 titled “My wish for Olivia Chow.” It is important to note that this was published without confirmation that Chow was actually running in the leadership race. It reads:

Jack Layton's widow may have the talent to fill her husband's shoes, but better that she fulfill her own political destiny ... They always say with widows, don't sell the house that first year. What's the political equivalent? Don't lose your chance to lead the House?... By rights, Jack Layton and Olivia Chow, his vibrant wife, soulmate and political partner of 25 years, would have been gearing up together for their new roles in the fall session of the House of Commons, he as Official Leader of the Opposition, she as a three times-elected MP for Trinity-Spadina in Toronto, but also, let's face it, as wife of the leader of the opposition.

This article, by highlighting her *widow* status -and her *chance to lead the House*, suggests that Olivia Chow might use her widowhood to advance her political interests. Although Chow is portrayed in her political capacity as a “*three time-elected MP for Trinity Spadina in Toronto*,” she is also seen as “*wife of the leader of the opposition*.” This normalizes the notion that despite her political success she is still seen *just* a vibrant wife, soul mate and political partner to Mr. Layton. The article carries on in a similar vein:

"I hope the press doesn't turn this woman into a Canadian version of Jackie-O," ran one snide comment on *the Globe's* website. "She is not even close." Oh, give me a break. Olivia Chow, a strong, successful politician, did the whole country a favour by being as graceful as she was during this past week. But by week's end, people weren't turning her into Jackie O, They were turning her into a future prime minister. And that gave me pause. Hold on, Nellie. Aren't we missing a few steps here? At 54, Olivia Chow must find her own way forward. And not on the coattails of sympathy, or sentimental belief that she and Jack Layton were interchangeable. They are not. And besides, we don't do that kind of spousal political inheritance in this country." We don't, but this isn't that," insists Robin Sears, former NDP political player and now with the consulting firm Navigator.

"These are two people with political careers and capabilities who got married and combined their skills. She has the credibility and is enormously respected ... in her own right."

The use of the words "this woman" emphasizing her gender clearly sees her as a woman with something to prove in a leadership race. Although asserting that Chow is "a strong, successful politician," the article also indirectly implies that she operates in the shadow of her husband and is not similarly qualified, but must find her "own" way forward. The word "own" suggests that her political career and success is partially as a result of her partnership with her late husband. The idea that she should not rely on "the coattails of sympathy or sentimental belief" contradicts the assertion that "*she has her own credibility and is respected in her own right.*" This article goes on:

Hong Kong-born¹², she emigrated to Canada at 13, studied fine arts, was a sculptor along with making her own way in political life, first as a school trustee, then for 14 years as a city councillor championing the rights of the homeless, advocating for good public transit and being named by NOW magazine as Toronto's best city councillor. She's determined - she ran and lost twice before gaining her federal seat and keeping it through some very tough political battles. She is a politician through and through. I don't think she knows how to go off-message.

Although highlighting her ethnic origin, academic qualifications and political history, this summary contradicts the previous statement that says "besides, we don't do that kind of spousal political inheritance in this country." It is contradictory to assume *spousal politics* on the one hand and assert that Chow is "a politician through and through" on the other hand. This article clearly portrays Chow as an agent of change in that she is a *politician through and through* in her own right and does not go *off message*. The article's concluding sentence "*Here is what I wish for Olivia Chow: that she not get subsumed by her husband Jack Layton's legacy, and that she fulfill her own political and personal destiny*" confirms the potential that as a politician she may be viewed through the lens or in the shadow of her husband, rather than fulfilling her "own"

¹² This is referred to later in this study when analyzing racial identifiers

political and personal destiny. The persistent use of the word “*own*” emphasizes that although she has had a political career spanning many years, it is suggested that she was not fulfilling her political and personal destiny all this while but rather that of Jack Layton; hence the need for caution to not be “subsumed” or absorbed by Jack Layton's legacy.

With respect to the *Toronto Star*, there were 86 articles about Chow in total with 1 out-of-scope, making a total of 85 articles included in the analysis. However, it is important to note that unlike *The Globe and Mail*, the first two (2) articles published in the *Toronto Star* on June 11th and 17th 2011 involving MP Olivia Chow did not begin by tying her to the “wife of /family relationship designation” stereotype, but focused purely positively on her political roles as a secondary and incidental subject respectively. Of the analyzed articles, ten (10) had her name in the headline (See Appendix C), with five (5) of them linking her to Jack Layton.

Three of these articles made the front page; however, Chow was not portrayed purely with respect to her political roles but rather was linked with the role of wife. For example a Front Page *Toronto Star* article published on August 29, 2011 titled “Olivia Chow for NDP leader?: It's unprecedented and her French isn't perfect, but she hasn't ruled out carrying Layton's torch” uses the “*wife of*” stereotype but cites her lack of fluency in French as impacting her capacity to carry *Jack Layton's torch*. The use of the term “*unprecedented*” and *her French isn't perfect*” denotes ambiguity as it suggests that the idea of Chow as NDP leader is both “unheard of/ or never done” but this is coded with her limited fluency in French. The headline's use of “*but*” sets a negative tone of her carrying Layton's torch, given her seemingly limited fluency.

Like *The Globe and Mail*, the “*wife of*” stereotype is also a recurring theme in the *Toronto Star*. However, it is important to note that this stereotype is also tied to MP Chow's appearance. With respect to the media portrayal of women, studies reveal an emphasis on women's clothing. For example, a *Toronto Star* article of March 24, 2012, titled “Layton's legacy the life of the party: Bittersweet ceremony honours 'Le bon Jack'” provides the following details:

NDP MP Olivia Chow, Layton's widow, wearing a bright coral dress, addressed in her fiery speech the word on everyone's lips: Layton's legacy. She said the question is not what it is, but what it will be.

This article not only emphasizes Chow's role as "*Layton's widow*," a theme that cuts across most of the articles. It also highlights her appearance in a *bright coral dress* reminiscent of the NDP party colors. There is a linking of political appearance and wife of/family designation stereotype. This is clearly evident in a July 26th, 2011, article from the *Toronto Star* entitled; "Layton steps aside to battle cancer: NDP opposition leader hopes to return when Parliament resumes:"

"I suffered from some stiffness and pain," said Layton as his wife, Olivia Chow, the MP for Trinity-Spadina who has had her own battle with thyroid cancer, sat quietly by his side wearing a dress he had bought her.

This article, although highlighting Chow as the MP for Trinity-Spadina not only emphasizes the "wife of" stereotype, supplemented by her place "*quietly by his side*," but indicates that she is wearing a "dress" that was *bought* for her by Jack Layton. MP Olivia Chows' coverage portrays her in the context of her family designation both in the text and headlines of the articles reviewed. The theme of juggling between political and private life also appears. This shows that the traditional narrative style noted by Robinson & Saint-Jean (1991) is still present in modern media portrayals of women politicians.

The next section will explore how gendered mediation is not only reflected in the wife of/family relationship stereotype but also in the marginalization of women politicians' professional qualifications and an overemphasis of the "role strain caused by conflict between their political and family responsibilities" (Robinson & Saint-Jean, 1991).

5.3.2 Overemphasis of Role Strain and an Under Emphasis of Professional Qualification

Another aspect of the traditional narrative style according to Robinson and Saint-Jean (1991) is the focusing and framing of stories in a way that undervalues women politicians' professional backgrounds and wide ranging capacities. To the media, this style entails a restriction on topic assignment which marginalizes women politicians and their interests, while failing to illuminate their training and professional qualifications. This narrative style ties in with the media portrayal of Sana Hassainia, a visible minority MP. There are a total of 5 articles in *The Globe and Mail* while the *Toronto Star* had coverage in 4 articles. Of the 22 women sampled in this study, she is the only one that is not portrayed as an incidental subject but as the main subject throughout (See Table 5.2).

Table 5.2 Mainstream Article Representation of MP Sana Hassainia

Sana Hassainia	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Mixed	Total	Name in Headline	Article in front-page
<i>The Globe and Mail</i>							
Main	5				5		
Secondary							
List							
Incidental							
Total	5				5	Non	Non
<i>Toronto Star</i>	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Mixed	Total	Name in Headline	Article in front-page
Main	3	1			4		
Secondary							
List							
Incidental							
Total	3	1			4	Non	1

In both newspapers - *The Globe and Mail* and *Toronto Star* - MP Hassainia's portrayal started in February 2012, more than 7 months after June 2nd, the date of commencement of the 41st parliament, within the context of an "incident" of bringing her baby to parliament. *The Globe and Mail* has 5 articles all focusing on this "incident," emphasizing the context of "juggling between family responsibilities and political roles." The first article in *The Globe and Mail* portraying MP Hassainia was published on February 9, 2012 and is titled "Babies welcome in the House after all." This contextualizes the situation which created a great stir about how women politicians juggle family and political roles. This topic was reiterated in the remaining articles of *The Globe and Mail*. None of the articles portraying MP Hassainia made Front Page in *The Globe and Mail* nor did her name make the headlines. But, of the 5 articles portraying her in *The Globe and Mail*, the first 4 articles carried headlines (see Appendix C) that laid emphasis on her *mothering* role without mentioning her political experience or professional qualifications.

For example, *The Globe and Mail* article published on February 14, 2012, titled "Juggle/Struggle," created the impression of an imbalance between the home and Parliamentary function or political roles among female MPs, which is similar to the article on February 11, 2012, titled; "From the House to crèche, women are still juggling bébé and work." Hassainia

was portrayed as the main subject, and all the articles in *The Globe and Mail* carried a positive impression about her, but excluded any activities she did within her political role. The only parliamentary duties mentioned were her presence for a vote related to the abolition of the long gun registry – the same day that the issue of the presence of her son in parliament came up.

However, on February 21, 2012, an article titled: “A rookie MP's rough introduction” provides an interview of MP Hassainia. The interview appeared in the “Globe Life Column” of the newspaper. Focusing on addressing the “baby incident” It reads as follows:

Balancing the demands of child care and parliamentary responsibilities thrusts a new mom into an unwelcome spotlight.....It was a baptism by ire. Earlier this month, Sana Hassainia, 37, a rookie NDP MP and first-time mother from Quebec, got a taste of how the personal can become political. In news stories that went round the media, she said she felt pressured to leave the House of Commons because she had brought her three-month-old son, Skander-Jack, into the chamber for a vote (related to the abolition of the long-gun registry). The incident caused a commotion not just in the chamber, causing MPs to erupt in debate about the family-unfriendly nature of Parliament, where there are no maternity benefits, but also outside in a media scrum. Later, House Speaker Andrew Scheer issued a clarification, saying he had instructed the page not to bounce infant and mom, but to ask them to take their seats. Some MPs had been taking pictures of the baby, and photographs are not allowed. MPs should try to arrange childcare as best they can, he said, but in cases of emergency, babies are allowed. The *Globe and Mail* spoke to Ms. Hassainia, who represents Verchères-Les Patriotes (just east of Montreal), on the phone from her office in Ottawa.

The above write-up sets the tone for the interview by creating the impression of the challenges women politicians struggle with at work and in politics. It also shows an MP as “*new mom and first time mother*” creating a sense of opposition between her political and family responsibilities. This can be justified with the apparently feminist statement “*got a taste of how the personal can become political.*” Although highlighting the challenges women face, including the failure of parliament to provide maternity leaves, this was the only article that mentioned the

riding she represents “*Verchères-Les Patriotes (just east of Montreal)*” of all articles in *The Globe and Mail*. The questions (numbering mine) asked during the interview are provided below:

1. Was there anything in your life before you were elected to prepare you for political life?
2. Did the incident feel like a harsh introduction into the life of a politician?
3. Did you worry about taking on such a demanding job and having a young baby?
4. When did you return to work after having the baby?
5. What is your childcare and work balance like?
6. What happened on that day in the House of Commons?
7. Did you hesitate?
8. Was there commotion right away?
9. Do you feel as a woman who brings a baby to the office, you are seen as less committed to your work?
10. I understand that you gave your son a hyphenated first name, Skander-Jack, with the Jack being a tribute to Jack Layton.
11. Do you have a cradle for Skander-Jack in your office?

A critical examination of the interview questions shows a ‘restrictive assignment style’. This not only reflects how the media tend to overemphasize family related issues when engaging female politicians - in this case Hassainia’s motherly role and her baby - but also shows how her political roles as an MP and her professional qualifications – BA in Literature, a Master’s in French Literature and Language, and a certificate in Journalism from the University of Montreal¹³ - can be ignored or sidelined. This sidelining indicates what is considered important to the media. Although it was noted that the interview was condensed and edited, what was published is what is considered priority.

Questions focusing on roles -such as; “Did you worry about taking on such a demanding job and having a young baby? What is your childcare and work balance like? and Do you have a cradle for Skander-Jack in your office?” - are usually not asked of male politicians and as such create the impression that Hassainia is undergoing a great deal of role strain caused by the conflict between her political and family responsibilities (Robinson & Saint-Jean, 1991). This

¹³ According to her Personal websites <http://sanahassainia.ndp.ca/about> retrieved on February 20, 2014.

emphasis recalls the words of Judy LaMarsh that ‘Columnists ask me about anything and everything except about my job...to a degree suffered by none of my colleagues including the Prime Minister Trudeau...’... (quoted in Robinson & Saint-Jean, 1991 p. 135). This interview confirms the arguments made by Robinson and Saint-Jean (1991), that media framing undervalues the professional background of women politicians.

Similarly, this theme of “motherly role” is also recurrent in all articles in the *Toronto Star* on MP Sana Hassainia, particularly in the headlines. The headlines of three (3) of the 4 articles had the word “baby/babies” in them, activating stereotypical ideas of motherhood or motherly roles. With respect to headlines (see Appendix C), the first article in the *Toronto Star* published on February 9th 2012 is titled: “Baby boy ready for political comeback: MP's infant welcome in Commons, Speaker says after mom asked to leave.” This headline appeared on the front-page section of the newspaper and activated the relevant social knowledge of the readership necessary to understand the struggles of women in politics, still a male dominated field. The portrayal of MP Hassainia in all *The Globe and Mail* articles as the main subject and the appearance of the first article in the front-page of the *Toronto Star* both reveal how mainstream media can highlight women in relation to their expected gender roles with little emphasis on their professional qualification.

5.3.3 Portrayal of Personality Traits

The portrayal of the personality attributes of women is another key theme in gendered mediation. The media tends to emphasize personality traits in the description of women politicians. This is evident in the case of Maria Mourani, a visible minority MP. With a total of 4 articles in *The Globe and Mail* and 2 in the *Toronto Star* respectively, none of these articles made either headlines or the FrontPage (see Table 5.3).

Table 5.3 Mainstream Article Representation of MP Maria Mourani

Maria Mourani	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Mixed	Total	Headline	Front-page
<i>The Globe and Mail</i>							
Main	1	1			2		
Secondary							
List							
Incidental		1		1	2		
Total	1	2	-	1	4	Non	Non
<i>Toronto Star</i>	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Mixed	Total	Headline	Front-page
Main							
Secondary							
List							
Incidental		1		1	2		
Total		1		1	2	Non	Non

In *The Globe and Mail* portrayal, Maria Mourani is the main subject in 2 articles and an incidental subject in another 2 articles. The November 28, 2011 article from the *Globe and Mail* entitled: “Inexperience costs the NDP” says:

Both the New Democrats and the Bloc are in the process of choosing a new leader, but the Bloc's campaign, with three candidates competing for the top job, seems to have somehow revived the party, even though it remains a rump reduced to four seats in Parliament. Two of the contenders have a relatively high profile: Maria Mourani is the feisty, outspoken MP for Ahuntsic, and Daniel Paillé is an economist and a former industry minister in Jacques Parizeau's provincial government.

Within the context of party politics, MP Maria Mourani is portrayed as a contender in the party's leadership race. Although listed among the contenders with a relatively high profile, she is portrayed as *feisty* and *outspoken* without reference to her professional qualifications or her work experience, while her male competitor is described as an “*economist and a former industry minister*” in Jacques Parizeau's provincial government. Simply put, this article represents her as having a relatively high profile in relation to her boisterous personality traits while neglecting her qualifications – as a criminologist, educator, graduate assistant, parole officer, rehabilitation

counsellor, research officer, and a sociologist, reference to which experiential preparation for the role is freely available on parliamentary websites.

Another example is that of Glover Shelly, an Aboriginal MP covered in the December 17, 2011, article published in *The Globe and Mail* entitled “What you don't see after Question Period” which states:

And then there is Shelly Glover, the tough-talking Winnipegger and parliamentary secretary to the Finance Minister, who is now helping to build the 2012 budget.

Although the article presents MP Shelly Glover as the parliamentary secretary to the Finance Minister, it situates her only within the context of her personality with little emphasis on her professional/political background. MP Glover studied Justice and Law Enforcement at the University of Winnipeg and then went on to serve as a member of the Winnipeg Police Service for almost 19 years, prior to federal politics. Ms. Glover previously held positions as Parliamentary Secretary for Official Languages (November 2008), to the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (August 2010), and to the Minister of Finance (January 2011)¹⁴.

Describing bodily gestures and the personalities of women in politics is also evident in the media coverage of MP Laurin Liu, a visible minority MP. For coverage in both mainstream newspapers, MP Liu had no article making Front Page. However, she had one article with her name on the headline. Liu had a total of 2 articles in *The Globe and Mail* and 3 in the *Toronto Star* (see Table 5.7 for centrality in articles). Personality attributes and bodily gestures are evident in the *Toronto Star's* portrayal of MP Laurin Liu in the “Insight” column on June 19, 2011, entitled “MP 101: First thing on the agenda for a 20-year-old rookie NDPer with an intimidating to-do list? Find a mentor to show you the ropes. 'I have work to do,' says 20-year-old Laurin Liu.” It is important to note that this is the only article that portrayed her as the main subject in the *Toronto Star* and it appeared in a human interest column of the newspaper. This article situates a quote from Liu as follows:

"I think this is the only time I will get to hear Megan heckle, so I might as well seize that opportunity," Liu says, bursting into giggles before getting serious again

¹⁴ Retrieved from http://www.shellyglover.ca/main.asp?cat_ID=1 on July 30, 2014

as she ponders her first time in the spotlight..."I forgot my heels," Liu says sheepishly... Liu moves around the office, practically twirling as she shows off the space."

Besides the persist use of "giggling/giggles" and "twirling" in this article, there is a tone of novelty and intimacy in the use of terms like "sheepishly" in describing her statement about her shoes. Highlighting and responding to the major descriptors used in the portrayal of MP Liu, an article published on June 24th 2011, in the Editorial section of the *Toronto Star* entitled "Are they ballerinas or politicians?" stated:

I have been disheartened over the past few weeks with your journalists' portrayal of women in politics, namely Senate page ... and MP Laurin Liu. I am certain if their age or gender had been different, they would not have been described as "giggling" and "twirling" - descriptors more fitting for 7-year-old ballerinas than educated adults actively invested in Canada's government and politics. I expect more intelligent and insightful coverage from the *Star*.

This commentary responding to previously printed articles, clearly notes how women, despite being involved in government and political activities, can be portrayed with disrespect, attending only to their physical attributes or gestures.

5.3.4 Portrayal of Physical Appearance

The media emphasis on appearance is another aspect of gendered mediation. The analysis of MP Chow's portrayal discussed earlier shows how the media can link the appearance of a woman to the "wife of" stereotype. This section extends my examination of this theme in relation to the media portrayal of MPs Laurin Liu and Rathika Sitsabaiesan. For MP Liu, with respect to appearance, the article published in the "Insight" column of *Toronto* goes on to say:

Liu speaks slowly and carefully about her job, with a composure beyond her years that still betrays an eagerness to prove herself capable despite being unaccustomed to speaking like a politician... She is nonetheless comfortable and charming - eyes sparkling below her thick black bangs - when speaking from the heart..."All I wanted (to know) in the beginning was: what the heck do I do here?" says Leslie, as Liu perches on the edge of the couch, wearing her staple outfit of a Black blazer over a cream-coloured blouse.

This portrayal of MP Liu not only emphasizes how she speaks by using words like “charming” and “comfortably,” but also gives clear details about her appearance by using words like “thick black bangs.” Despite giving clear details about her “staple outfit of a black blazer over a cream-coloured blouse” it describes her position also by explaining that she “perches” on the edge of the couch, emphasizing her bodily gestures. Going into such detail to describe MP Liu’s appearance represents her more like a “model” than a politician with qualifications.

Table 5.4 Mainstream Article Representation of MP Rathika Sitsabaiesan

Rathika Sitsabaiesan	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Mixed	Total	Name in Headline	Article in front-page
<i>The Globe and Mail</i>							
Main				1	1		
Secondary							
List							
Incidental	1				1		
Total	1			1	2	None	None
<i>Toronto Star</i>	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Mixed	Total	Name in Headline	Article in front-page
Main	1	1			2		
Secondary							
List							
Incidental	1		2		3		
Total	2	1	2		5	None	None

With respect to mainstream newspaper coverage of MP Rathika Sitsabaiesan (see Table 5.4), none of the articles in either *The Globe and Mail* or the *Toronto Star* had any front page coverage or her name in the headline. Also it is important to note that she was portrayed mostly as an incidental subject (3 articles) in the *Toronto Star*.

The *Toronto Star* article published on September 23, 2011, in the news section is entitled “Blogger ‘busts’ NDP for photo,” and shows how the physical appearance of women in politics is emphasized. The word ‘busts’ in the headline creates a *double entendre* that invokes a woman’s bosom or a sculpture representing a person’s head, shoulders, and upper chest.¹⁵

¹⁵ <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/bust>

Moreover, use of the term in the context of the headline creates an impression of a slang of “being caught” by a photo raid. The article goes on to say that:

Savvy web searchers can view two very different versions of an official photograph of New Democrat MP Rathika Sitsabaiesan (Scarborough-Rouge River) - one showing a little less skin than the other. Nova Scotia communications consultant Parker Donham noted on his Contrarian blog Tuesday that one could find a smiling portrait of Sitsabaiesan, 29, showing quite a bit of cleavage through a Google image search of her name. Clicking on that image leads to her MP profile page on the Parliament of Canada website, showing the same smiling face above a more modest neckline. Sitsabaiesan has yet to respond to a request for comment.

Use of the words “showing *quite a bit* of cleavage” and “the same smiling face above a more *modest* neckline” shows that the media has standards of what is considered appropriate for women to wear in politics. The caption text of the illustration and the abstract of this article not only emphasizes the fact that she *was showing less skin* in the official photo, but also notes the nature of the dress:

DIFFERENT LOOKS MP Rathika Sitsabaiesan's revealing dress, right, has been extended electronically to cover her cleavage in her parliamentary photograph.

However, this portrayal of appearance is not limited to the *Toronto Star*. An example is *The Globe and Mail*'s article of August 20, 2011, entitled “why don't you wear a sari” published in the focus section:

In her orange blouse and mesh cowboy hat, Rathika Sitsabaiesan cuts a striking swath through the stalls at the 10th annual Scarborough Rotary Ribfest in northeastern Toronto.

The headline creates a stereotypical impression invoking relevant social knowledge about cultural dress required to understand and contextualize the story. This impression about appearance is confirmed by the description of what she was wearing. Reference to an orange blouse and mesh cowboy hat supplemented by the words “cuts a striking swath” implies that she created a great stir around the place as a result of her appearance. The article also provides insight into how portrayal of gender mediation can intersect with racialized mediation.

From the above analysis of gendered mediation - the wife of/ family relationship designation stereotype, the over emphasis of role strain/under emphasis of professional

qualifications, the portrayal of personality traits and physical appearance - this study reveals that gendered mediation is not limited to re-elected members of parliament but extends to newly elected and re-elected ones.

5.4 Textual Analysis of Racialized Mediation

The findings from this study's content analysis also reveal that racialized mediation is usually reflected within the context of the portrayal of MPs community or ethnic origin. A racialized theme was explored in the intersected media portrayal of MP Rathika Sitsabaiesan particularly in relation to her ethnic community. Racial themes are highlighted in the comparative analysis among visible minority, Aboriginal women and white women.

A previously analyzed article in *The Globe and Mail* published on August 20, 2011, entitled "Why don't you wear a sari?" published in the "Focus" section created an impression throughout the entire article that calls upon a particular or relevant social knowledge needed to understand and contextualize the story. However, the relevant social knowledge created to understand the story is not solely based on Sitsabaiesan's gendered appearance but also on her race and cultural heritage.

The headline creates an impression that the question is addressed to an individual of South Asian origin, as a 'sari' is the tradition outfit of individuals from that region. The question further creates an impression that the individual to whom it is addressed does not wear the "sari," as expected. First, this creates the impression of the individual deviating from the expectations of her heritage, as this question would not be posed to a white person. Although the question is asked by a volunteer working with MP Rathika Sitsabaiesan, its appearance in the headline sets the tone, implying that expected dress is the most important issue addressed in the article, as headlines are argued by scholars to summarize content (Henry & Tator, 2002). The first paragraph explains:

Rathika Sitsabaiesan, Canada's first Tamil MP, puts a new face on some old NDP values. Is she the kind of secret weapon her party needs to win over immigrant voters at the ballot box?

This idea that MP Sitsabaiesan is a "weapon" or part of the strategy used by the NDP to win over immigrants voters during elections creates the impression that she might not get votes without her community or that she is part of the strategy or weapon to bring in new demographics in

support of her party. Tying her to her community and therefore creating a “*them and us*” mentality, the article goes on to relate:

In her orange blouse and mesh cowboy hat, Rathika Sitsabaiesan cuts a striking swath through the stalls at the 10th annual Scarborough Rotary Ribfest in northeastern Toronto. It's a sweltering Saturday, and the MP for Scarborough-Rouge River is, like any good pol in the summer, where her constituents are - although for the two-thirds of them who are immigrants, the greasy, tangy Southern rib experience might be a relatively new one. After a bit of glad-handing on the lawn where a Patsy Cline tribute band is playing, Ms. Sitsabaiesan (pronounced SITS-a-bye-EE-sin) spots a familiar face.

Apart from her appearance which has already been analyzed as making her look like a good politician in the summer, the writer uses the words “two-thirds of them who are immigrants” to explain the demographic makeup of her constituents. This tie in with her purported use as a secret weapon to win votes of immigrants. However, the use of the term ‘immigrants’ here creates the impression of non-Canadians to whom “*the greasy, tangy Southern rib experience might be a relatively new one*”. Although acknowledging that Scarborough-Rouge River is made up of mainly immigrants and that this event is the 10th annual Scarborough Rotary Ribfest in northeastern Toronto, the experience is still relatively “*new*.” The implied rationale here is that after 10 years of the Ribfest, the rib experience is still different or relatively new to MP Sitsabaiesan’s constituents - made up of an immigrant majority in Scarborough-Rouge River. However, the use of “might” seems to suggest that some immigrants may be more assimilated to local customs than others.

The writer not only emphasizes her ethnicity by the consistent use of the term “first Tamil MP” but creates an “*us and them*” insider/outsider impression through choice of words. This difference is subtly re-emphasized by the writer’s attempt to make the pronunciation of her name easier for non-immigrants, in this case “white” English speakers with the use of the phrase “*pronounced SITS-a-bye-EE-sin*.” This phrase, however, recreates an impression of difference as none of the names of white MPs analyzed - such as Ablonczy and Alexandrine Latendresse (no coverage) was made easy to pronounce. Referencing the Tamil community, the article notes that:

For Ms. Sitsabaiesan might be the most compelling of the new crop of young NDP MPs. She's the first Tamil-Canadian MP, and so has become the de facto standard-bearer for thousands of Canadians who have felt defeated - militarily, in their country of birth, and politically, in their new home.....The May, 2009, defeat of Tamil Tigers in the Sri Lankan civil war, in which as many as 100,000 people were killed, raised the stakes in her candidacy, which she won by acclamation in December, 2009: "The Tamil community has gone through a very sorrowful last few years," Mr. Thiru says. "Two years ago, massive numbers of Tamil Canadians were standing in front of Parliament and on the streets of downtown Toronto, urging somebody to do something. ...They said, if we had a voice, it would be different." Ms. Sitsabaiesan's victory became a community celebration.

This explains the context of tension and war impacting the Canadian Tamil Community, portrayed as defeated in their home country where over 100, 000 people were killed. However, the writer notes that it is this event of "*civil war*" that raised the stakes of Sitsabaiesan's candidacy and the quotes from community members in this context seem to confirm the accuracy of this interpretation. However, although her professional qualifications are noted, her representation is tied to a negative portrayal:

Being at Carleton got me ready to be more in the public eye," says Ms. Sitsabaiesan, who served as chair of Carleton's New University Government. An attempt to impeach her, which was quickly dispatched, helped with that. She says the uproar was over her efforts to make the government more collaborative, although her tenure is also remembered by some students, and recounted in the university's newspaper, *The Charlatan*, for the \$3,000 her administration spent on lanyards, 10 per cent of their total budget.

Although she served as chair of Carleton's New University Government and was quoted as attributing her preparation for public life to that experience, emphasis on "*an attempt to impeach her, which was quickly dispatched*" reduces her experience in the role to one questionable budgetary decision. Her efforts to make the student government more collaborative becomes a throw-away clause that obscures how 90 percent of the budget was spent, given a focus on an

article in *The Charlatan*, - about *the \$3,000 her administration spent on lanyards, 10 per cent of their total budget*. There is incompleteness in presenting the story of the lanyard expense as it remains unclear if the expense was credible or not.

This case study of MP Sitsabaiesan, shows how minoritized racialized women are subjected to intersected portrayals, which compound the effects of racism and sexism. Besides focusing on her appearance and a pitying portrayal of her community as previously noted, this article shows the dominating ideology toward women's marital status. Attributing this concern to her community it notes:

Some members of her community inquire about her love life, hoping, for her sake, that someone can take care of her. However, Ms. Sitsabaiesan, who was once married ("It was a mistake"), says she is focused on her work for now. "My marriageability index is still good," she laughs.

This article ensures that its readership knows that MP Sitsabaiesan "was once married." It clearly portrays how women in general and more specifically in politics are constantly measured by their marital status, citing Tamil community members who are "*hoping, for her sake that someone can take care of her.*" This relates to the literature on how women are not viewed as persons in themselves but rather as individuals who need to be taken care of, and which implies that Ms. Sitsabaiesan, who probably needs care herself, might not be able to take such good care of her country.

5.5 Mainstream Media Portrayal of Misconduct

Another key theme in the study is the media portrayal of misconduct. The case study here is Bev Oda. With respect to coverage, *The Globe and Mail* had a total of 32 articles representing 17 percent of the total coverage of the sampled *Globe and Mail* articles covering her, with just one article on the front page and 7 of the articles with her name in the headlines (see Appendix C). Of the 32 articles covering MP Bev Oda, 66 percent focused on the reiteration of her misconduct in the context of scandal, while 34 percent portrayed her in her political roles. With respect to headlines, only one of the articles portrayed her outside the context of her scandal. However, of the 32 articles, she was the main subject in 18 of them with only 10 portraying her as an incidental subject (see Table 5.5).

Table 5.5 Mainstream Article Representation of MP Bev Oda

Bev Oda	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Mixed	Total	Headline	Front-page
<i>The Globe and Mail</i>							
Main	1	15	0	2	18		
Secondary	2	2	0	0	4		
List	0	0	0	0			
Incidental	2	5	3	0	10		
Total	5	22	3	2	32	YES(7) *	YES(1)
*Only 1 of these articles portrayed MP Oda without relation to the scandal							
<i>Toronto Star</i>	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Mixed	Total	Head line	Front-page
Main	1	2	0	3	6		
Secondary	1				1		
List	0	1			1		
Incidental	4	7	5		16		
Total	6	10	5	3	24	YES (3)	NO
Note : For the headlines one is mixed and main while 2 falls in negative and main							

As illustrated in Table 5.5, Bev Oda has 18 articles portraying her as the main subject. In this study, she has the highest number of articles portraying her as the main subject in *The Globe and Mail* and *Toronto Star* (See Table 5.7). *Toronto Star* had a total of 24 articles portraying MP Oda, representing 11 percent of the total in-scope articles for this newspaper, overall, in the period sampled. The *Toronto Star* includes 10 articles portraying Bev Oda negatively, of which only two present her as the main subject. This contrasts with *The Globe and Mail* which had 22 negative portrayals of Bev Oda, in 15 of which she was the main subject of the article (See Table, 5.5)

In some cases the exclusion of specific information was used to reemphasizes past articles. An example of this occurs in a *Globe and Mail* account of Oda's misconduct case, published on May 21st, 2012, in the column section entitled "A low-lying Harper usually signals major policy shift:"

The other sign that the prime ministerial mind is elsewhere is that the government becomes bogged down in scandals. Whether it's the F-35 procurement, Bev Oda's expensive tobacco habit, or the furor over the omnibus bill, the Conservative communications strategy is once again off the rails.

Noting that the government is bogged down in scandal that ranges from billions wasted on poorly led F-35 procurements to Bev Oda's expensive tobacco habit, it offers little detail on the *furor over the omnibus bill and the F-35 procurement*. However, when presented within the context of scandals within the conservative government, Oda's portrayal is different relative to others in the context. For example, an article published on May 4th 2012, entitled "Birthday zingers to celebrate Conservative majority" in the British Columbia News quips:

Happy birthday, Harper majority government. Orange juice all round! Nothing to do with Bev Oda, of course, but a grateful nod to the NDP's orange surge that swept away enough Liberal votes to wash the boys and girls in blue into their current, sheltered status, where never is heard a discouraging word about prorogation or stimulus spending or other irritants from those dark days of minority.

Setting the tone to "celebrate" or show both the Conservative majority and the victory of the NDP, this article subtly reinvigorates Bev Oda scandals by noting "Orange juice all round." This on its own suggests a celebration of the event. However, in an attempt to justify neutrality on one hand but subtly activating reader's knowledge of Oda's misconduct on the other hand, it uses the words "*nothing to do with Bev Oda of course*" to clarify the issue. Additionally in its attempt to review the highlights of the year, this article showed:

Prime Minister Stephen Harper: "The leader of the NDP, in 1939, did not even want to support war against Hitler."

* Foreign Affairs Minister John Baird: "Let us look at what the former leader of the NDP-CCF said: 'I would ask whether we are to risk the lives of our Canadian sons to prevent the actions of Hitler.' "(Mr. Baird was referring to CCF leader J. S. Woodsworth, whose Christian faith made him a life-long pacifist. The CCF caucus supported the war.)

* Natural Resources Minister Joe Oliver: "These [environmental and other radical groups] threaten to hijack our regulatory system to achieve their radical ideological agenda."

* Environment Minister Peter Kent, explaining why Opposition MPs were not included this time in Canada's delegation to the UN climate change conference: "We were in a minority government situation last year."

* Public Safety Minister Vic Toews: "[Liberal MP Francis Scarpaleggia] can either stand with us or with the child pornographers."

* Industry Minister Christian Paradis, on refusing to resign his post after scathing criticism from the federal Ethics Commissioner: "These reports are educational tools to help us understand how conflict of interest works."

* Treasury Board President Tony Clement: "The auditor general said she was concerned about the lack of documentation [regarding \$50-million for pre-G8 projects in his riding]. I take that to heart. The paperwork was not perfect."

* International Orange Juice Futures Minister Bev Oda, after the media uncovered her stay at an ultra-posh hotel: "The expenses are unacceptable [and] should never have been charged to taxpayers. I have repaid the costs associated with the changing of hotels, and I unreservedly apologize."

Oh, what a lovely majority.

The above synopses clearly show several major gaffs made by Conservatives during the previous year. However, it is important to note that with respect to MP Bev Oda, although she was then the minister of International Co-operation, the article refers to her as *International Orange Juice Futures Minister*, thus citing the orange juice incident already fronted in the opening paragraph. She gets slammed twice for expenses that were, in some cases, considerably less than errors made by male MPs.

5.6 Comparative Media Analysis of Visible Minority, Aboriginal and White Women MPs

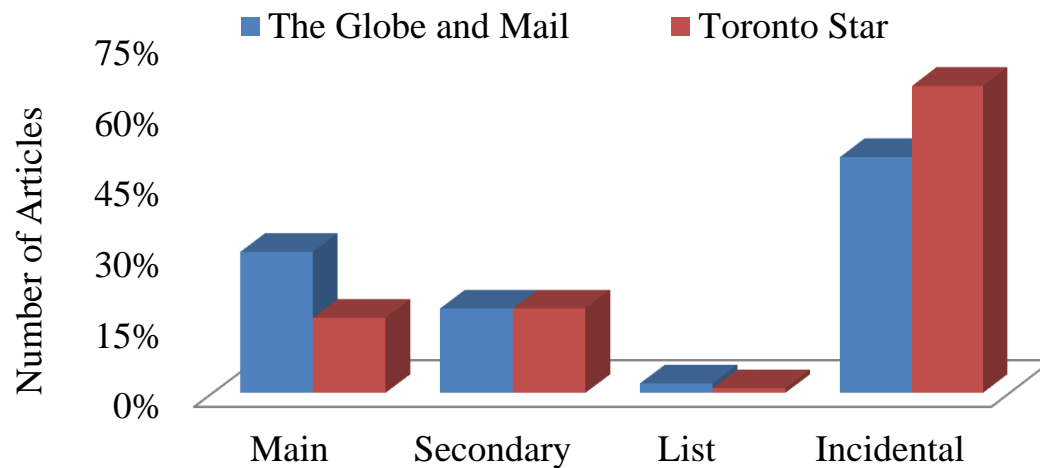
This section examines media portrayals of visible minority and Aboriginal relative to white women MPs in order to determine the accuracy of the first Hypothesis: *Print media in Canada tends to be biased – specifically with respect to limited coverage, racism and sexism – in its representation and portrayal of racialized minorities and Aboriginal women MPs relative to white women.*

Table 5.6 In-Scope Mainstream Articles on the Basis of Name Search and Timeframe

Women MPs	Globe and Mail	Toronto Star	Total
Visible minority	105	129	234
White	28	51	79
Aboriginal	51	41	92
Total	184	221	405

With respect to coverage, although a total number of 426 articles was retrieved from *The Globe and Mail* and *Toronto Star* - on the basis of the name of subjects and the period of study- 21 articles were out of scope (about other individuals with similar names). Table 5.6 shows that *The Globe and Mail* and *Toronto Star* had a total of 184 and 221 in-scope articles, respectively, with visible minority women having the highest counts of 105 and 129 respectively in both newspapers, constituting 57.8% of the total article coverage in this study. Visible minority women had the highest number of articles (234) analyzed in this study. Although visible minority women received more coverage than white women, it is largely because Olivia Chow – a Member of Parliament who had family ties in NDP party leadership received more coverage than any other visible minority woman. In general, all women had limited coverage with some not having any coverage at all in either newspaper (See Appendix A).

Figure 5.1 Centrality of MPs to the News in Mainstream Newspapers



The data collected shows that the focus on these MPs in both *The Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Star* was mostly incidental - 50 percent and 65 percent of the total articles for each newspaper respectively portrayed them as incidental subjects (see figure 1). Thirty per cent of *The Globe and Mail* articles portrayed these women as main subjects compared to just 16% in *Toronto Star*. However, individually, the centrality of women in these articles varied. For example, for *The Globe and Mail*, Table 5.7 on centrality of individual MPs indicates that MPs Kellie Leitch, Diane Ablonczy, and Rona Ambrose had 2 articles each portraying them as the main subjects.

With respect to media portrayal of MP Kellie Leitch, both *The Globe and Mail* and *Toronto Star* had limited coverage of 2 and 5 articles respectively. However, both portrayed her in her official roles with no mention of her appearance, personality and marital status. However, her professional qualifications were highlighted in a *Toronto Star* article published on May 28, 2012 entitled “Rookie MPs can make a difference” the following was indicated:

Kellie Leitch: The 41-year-old pediatric orthopedic surgeon and slayer of Helena Guergis in Simcoe-Grey will be front and centre beginning Monday on two hot files on her parliamentary secretary's docket - EI reform and potential back-to-work legislation at CP Rail.

Table 5.7 Centrality of Individual MPs¹⁶ to the News in Mainstream Newspapers

	<i>The Globe and Mail</i> Centrality				<i>Toronto Star</i> Centrality			
Names of MPs	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D
White women (New)								
Alexandrine Latendresse	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kellie Leitch	2	-	-	1	1	1	-	3
Kerry-Lynne D Findlay,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lise St-Denis	1	-	1	-	3	1	-	6
Helene LeBlanc	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
White women (Re-elected)								
Patricia Davidson	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rona Ambrose	2	5		9	1	2	-	9
Judy Sgro	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Carol Hughes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Diane Ablonczy	2	-	-	5	1	6	-	12
Visible Minority (New)								
Nina Grewal	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Liu Laurin	1	-	1	-	1	1	-	1
Sana Hassainia	5	-	-	-	4	-	-	-
Wai Young	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Rathika Sitsabaiesan	1	-	-	1	2	-	-	3
Visible Minority (Re-elected)								
Bev Oda	18	4	-	10	6	1	1	16
Alice Wong	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	1
Hedy Fry		1		3	1	1	-	3
Maria Mourani	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	2
Olivia Chow	13	10	-	28	12	21	1	51
Aboriginals (Re-elected)								
Leona Aglukkaq	8	11	1	28	3	6	-	32
Shelly Glover	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-
Total articles	55	34	3	92	35	40	2	144
Percentage	30%	18%	2%	50%	16%	18%	1%	65%

The reoccurring theme of Leitch’s professional qualifications cuts across her portrayal and as *The Globe and Mail* article published November 26, 2011 entitled “Confusion on the Hill over new protocols” explains, this would make MP Leitch one among the several doctors in the house to be “able to marry their expertise with their ability now to influence the public debate.”

¹⁶ A: MPs mentioned as main subject; B: MPs mentioned as Secondary Subject; C: MPs mentioned in a list; D: MPs mentioned as an incidental subject

The portrayal of MP Rona Ambrose shows the highest number of articles in coverage (16) of all the white women. 9 of these articles portrayed her as an incidental subject with only 2 portraying her as the main subject (see Table 5.7). However, none of these articles talked about her appearance, relate her with family responsibilities or personality traits. Also an article published on December 17, 2011, in *The Globe and Mail* entitled “What you don't see after Question Period” in a sub-section addressing: *The Women*, MP Rona Ambrose was placed alongside MP Shelly Glover, an Aboriginal woman. This article provides an overview of the experiences of MPs and explains:

“While many of the Harper men are under fire, the women on the front benches are faring much better. Labour Minister Lisa Raitt is keeping peace; Public Works Minister Rona Ambrose skillfully managed the \$33-billion shipbuilding contracts; and Candice Hoepfner is about to win her fight against the long-gun registry. And then there is Shelly Glover, the tough-talking Winnipegger and parliamentary secretary to the Finance Minister, who is now helping to build the 2012 budget. She says this is a "unique" budget because of the strategic review looking for waste, as well as effects of the global economy. The former police officer calls her work "fascinating" and marvels at a country where "a pregnant teenage girl becomes cop, [she was kicked out of her house in high school when her parents found out she was pregnant] becomes MP and now sits at a table with the Finance Minister. Who would have thought this? It's incredible."

This article, which makes a case for the positive performance of female MPs, describes Rona Ambrose's success in relation to her role of managing \$33 billion in shipbuilding contracts. The article highlights her efficiency by using the word “*skillfully*” implying that she brings experience, knowledge and training to her role. However, with respect to Shelly Glover, an Aboriginal MP –coverage is limited to 3 articles in *The Globe and Mail* and none in the *Toronto Star* (See Appendix A). Here, the selected article refers to personality traits or attributes, using the term “*the tough-talking Winnipegger*.” The quotation about Glover also introduces a potentially negative tone in relation to her teen pregnancy.

With respect to visible minority women, MPs Olivia Chow, Bev Oda and Sana Hassainia had the highest article count with respect to *The Globe and Mail's* portrayal of main subjects in

my study. As indicated, these women were presented within the contexts of the “wife of”/family designation stereotype (Olivia Chow), misconduct (Bev Oda) and juggling between political and family responsibility, respectively, without any reference to MP roles or professional qualifications (Sana Hassainia).

With respect to racial framing, scholars such as Terkildsen and Damore (1999) argue that the coverage of candidates is not race-blind and that race framing usually emphasizes the race of non-white politicians. Similarly, Tolley’s (2011) study of the media coverage of Canada’s 2008 federal election shows that candidates in high diversity ridings revealed a “decidedly minority race frame” involving keywords like *Sikh, Chinese, Indo-Canadian, Malay, Pakistan, Punjab, South Asian, visible minority, Hong Kong, minority, Black-* and a “nuanced minority race frame” - including keywords such as *immigrant, ethnic/ethno and variants of multicultural* - occurring more frequently with visible minority candidates’ names than white candidates’ names.

In this study, racial identifiers were not used in relation to white women but only with visible minority women. For example, with respect to Rathika Sitsabaiesan, both mainstream newspapers use the phrase, “Canada’s first Tamil MP” and “a 29-year-old woman from political cultures. Both “Canadian and Sri Lankan” were used to describe her South Asian origin. Besides the use of the “*decidedly minority race frame*,” Sitsabaiesan was also portrayed within the context of immigrant communities using a “*nuanced minority race frame*” to focus on newcomer status in Canada. For example, an article published on November 19, 2011, in *The Globe and Mail* entitled “The Canadian Dream” in the *Book Review* section places Sitsabaiesan’s life and career in relation to the text under analysis:

Adrienne Clarkson's Room for All of Us is a compilation of 10 discrete stories about a unique category of new Canadians for whom she was a trailblazer. Immigrants of this kind do not abide by the old model, which was far more gradual, more about second than first generation. Nor do such newcomers, whose live Clarkson lovingly traces, keep their heads down. On the contrary. Most of Clarkson subjects - including Tanzania-born Ismaili Nadir Mohamed, now president and chief executive officer of Rogers Communications, Naheed Nenshi, mayor of Calgary (born in Toronto to Ismaili Muslim immigrants from Tanzania) and Rathika Sitsabaiesan, the first Tamil member of Parliament - are wildly successful

This article clearly uses both “*Tamil*” and the loaded word “*immigrants*” in the racial framing in Rathika Sitsabaiesan’s portrayal. This account is not limited to the success of “immigrants” in Canadian society who do not “keep their head down,” but clearly distinguishes these individuals by explaining them as a “unique category of new Canadians.” However, it is important to note that Adrienne Clarkson, author of this cited book (and born in Hong Kong), is described as a trailblazer for new Canadians. Although emphasizing the successes of MP Rathika Sitsabaiesan, the columnist uses “*immigrants*” and “*unique category of new Canadian*” to mobilize a nuanced minority race frame - thereby subtly indicating differences, and minoritizing the subjects of the review in relation to dominant mainstream Canadians.

5.7 Conclusion

With respect to the first hypothesis, the findings do not support limited coverage for visible minority and Aboriginals as the total articles on visible minority and Aboriginal women MPs is relatively higher than that of white women MPs. This is evident in the fact that 3 of the selected white women MPs had no coverage in either newspaper (see Appendix A). The highest number of articles belonged to Olivia Chow, Bev Oda and Leona Aglukkaq, in both newspapers. However, of the total articles analyzed, 50 and 65 percent of *The Globe and Mail* and *Toronto Star* articles, respectively, portrayed all the sampled women MPs as incidental subjects. With respect to sexism, none of the white and Aboriginal women MPs selected for this study were portrayed in either newspaper with respect to appearance, family responsibility/relations and personality traits (with the exception of MP Shelly Glover). Rather, the emphasis was mainly within the context of their MP roles and duties. Only visible minority women MPs were portrayed both overtly and subtly with respect to racial identifiers and cultural differences.

CHAPTER 6

ETHNIC MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF GENDER AND RACE

6.1 Introduction

This section examines Ethnic media portrayal of visible minority and Aboriginal women in order to determine whether they are associated with more positive or negative messages relative to mainstream newspapers. This will help to provide clarification on this study's second hypothesis that: *Representation of racialized minorities and Aboriginal women MPs in Ethnic media are more positive when compared to mainstream media*. The information for ethnic media analysis is collected from *Share*, *Epoch Times*, *Nikkei Voice*, *Asian Connection* and *Windspeaker* ethnic newspapers. From the National Ethnic Press and Media Council of Canada and the list of ethnic and multicultural newspapers in Canada, these ethnic newspapers cover the communities of selected racialized minority and Aboriginal Women MPs. They are available in English and have the highest levels of circulation, which is why I have chosen them.

The *Epoch Times* newspaper, with a 41,000 weekly circulation, is analyzed here to examine the portrayal of MPs with Asian ancestry, specifically from Hong Kong, and China. The selected MPs are Alice Wong, Wai Young, Olivia Chow, and Laurin Liu. In order to examine the portrayal of Rathika Sitsabaiesan, Hedy Fry and Nina Grewal with South Asian ancestry, the *Asian Connection* newspaper with a weekly circulation of 32, 000 was selected. The *Nikkei Voice*, a national Japanese newspaper published ten times a year is selected to assess the portrayal of Bev Oda. *Share*, a weekly newspaper with 52,200 circulations is assessed to determine the portrayal of Sana Hassainia. MP Maria Mourani of Lebanese origin is not analyzed given that of the newspapers available in English none covers Lebanese communities. To determine the portrayal of MP Leona Aglukkaq and Shelly Glover, *The Windspeaker*, an Aboriginal newspaper was selected. The *Windspeaker* is accessed through the University of Saskatchewan Library using the ProQuest database.

6.2 Quantitative Analysis of Article Coverage for Selected MPs in Ethnic Media

With the exception to Maria Mourani, the portrayal of nine visible minority women in ethnic newspapers was analyzed. Table 6.1 shows that Sana Hassainia had no coverage in the *Share* newspaper, and the same is true of Bev Oda in *Nikkei Voice*. Although, Liu Laurin and

Table 6.1 Articles in Ethnic Media on the Basis of Name and Timeframe

Visible Minority Women MPs	Ethnic Origin of Women MPs	Ethnic Media	Number of Articles	Articles in scope
Sana Hassainia	Tunis, Tunisia	Share	0	0
			0	0
Olivia Chow	Hong Kong, China	Epoch Times	6	6
Liu Laurin	Hong Kong, China		0	0
Alice Wong	Hong Kong, China		0	0
Wai Young	Hong Kong, China		21	0
Maria Mourani	Lebanese	-	-	-
Rathika Sitsabaiesan	Sri Lanka/Tamil	Asian Connection	1	1
Hedy Fry	Trinidad		0	0
Nina Grewal	Indian Origin		0	0
Bev Oda	Japanese	Nikkei Voice	0	0
Total number of articles			28	7
Aboriginal Women MPs	Aboriginal Women MPs	Ethnic Media	Number of articles	Articles in scope
Leona Aglukkaq	Inuit	The Windspeaker	7	7
Shelly Glover	Métis		1	1
Total number of articles			8	8

Wai Wong had no article coverage in *The Epoch Times* during the timeframe of this study, Young Wai had 21 out-of-scope articles; the website highlighted all articles that mentioned the words “Young” and “Wai” respectively without specific reference to MP Young Wai.

For *Asian Connection*, only MP Rathika Sitsabaiesan had coverage in one article, and there was no coverage for Nina Grewal and Hedy Fry. For Aboriginal women MPs Leona Aglukkaq had a total of 7 in-scope articles. In terms of ethnic origin, five visible minority women are from Hong Kong, China and two are Inuit and Métis, respectively. Also, with regards to article coverage, there were a total of 36 articles from all the selected ethnic media with a limited number of 15 in-scope articles. However, with respect to articles for visible minority women, there are 28 articles in total with only 7 in-scope, while Aboriginal MPs had a total of 8 in-scope articles.

There was a difference in article coverage between mainstream and ethnic media in the portrayal of visible minority and Aboriginal Women MPs (see Appendix A and Table 6.1). In *The Globe and Mail*, all women MPs had coverage with Nina Grewal and Wai Young having the lowest article count of one (1). With respect to *Toronto Star*, Nina Grewal had no coverage as was the case in the selected ethnic media. However, Olivia Chow had the highest number of portrayals in both mainstream and ethnic newspapers among visible minority women MPs. The same is true for MP Leona Aglukkaq, with a total of 7 in-scope articles in the ethnic media, 48 articles in *The Globe and Mail* and 41 articles in the *Toronto Star*.

6.3 Comparative Textual Analysis of Mainstream and Ethnic Media Portrayal of Women MPs

The textual analysis of female MP coverage in the ethnic newspapers involving Olivia Chow, Rathika Sitsabaiesan and Leona Aglukkaq, was undertaken relative to their portrayals in the mainstream newspapers. Most of the articles from the ethnic media websites have no page specification of the location of articles; as such this will be excluded in the comparative analysis. Similar to mainstream newspapers, my ethnic media analysis also evaluates whether the names of the MPs are portrayed in the headlines of the articles.

The *Epoch Times* as shown in Table 6.2, had a total of 6 articles for MP Olivia Chow with 5 of them (83 per cent) portraying her as an incidental subject. In contrast to mainstream media, none of these articles portrayed her as the main subject with her name in the headline. However, of the six articles, four included her as an incidental subject in relation to Jack Layton. The incidental category had the highest number of portrayals of women MPs in ethnic media, similar to *The Globe and Mail* (28 articles) and the *Toronto Star* (51 articles). Only two (2) articles in the *Epoch Times* portrayed Chow mainly in relation to her parliamentary roles without any mention of Jack Layton.

Table 6.2 *The Epoch Times* Portrayal of MP Olivia Chow

Olivia Chow	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Mixed	Total	Headline
Main	-	-	-	-	-	
Secondary	1	-	-	-	1	
List	-	-	-	-	-	
Incidental	1	-	4	-	5	
Total	1	-	4	-	6	Non

It is important to note that the article published on July 24th, 2011 in the *Epoch Times* with the headline “Layton Steps Aside as NDP Leader to Fight New Form of Cancer” did not include Chow in the main story but showed her in a picture with the following caption:

NDP leader Jack Layton announced Monday he was stepping aside as leader to fight a new form of cancer. In this February 2010 photo he and his wife, fellow NDP MP Olivia Chow, announced he had prostate cancer during a press conference in Layton's riding of Toronto-Danforth

Although she is listed as a “fellow NDP MP”, she is not portrayed as the main subject in this article but within the ‘wife of’ context. Another example of an article that portrays her only in a picture and its caption text was published on August 29th, 2011. This article entitled “Layton’s Letter is Canada’s Gettysburg Address” responds to Jack Layton’s funeral. The caption for the accompanying photo reads:

Member of Parliament Olivia Chow (C), wife of Canadian opposition leader Jack Layton, and his children walk through the streets of Toronto on August 27, 2011, during Layton's state funeral.

It is important to note that although both articles that portrayed her only in the caption text did so within the context of Jack Layton’s stepping aside and funeral respectively, none of the 6 analyzed articles in the *Epoch Times* portrayed her as juggling between her parliamentary duties and her family responsibilities. Appropriately, none of these articles talked about her appearance, her ethnic origin or the possibility of using Jack Layton’s influence to acquire political position for herself as was suggested in one mainstream portrayal. In any case, it is important to note that during the timeframe of this study The *Epoch Times* had only two (2) articles portraying MP

Chow in her parliamentary duties/roles. These articles both addressed her role in relation to the government's action on "Citizens arrest legislation". Neither portrayal gave any adequate explanation of her engagement in other political realms, and emphasizes her relationship with Jack Layton. Ethnic newspaper representations of MP Chow had no mention of racial identifiers such as "Hong Kong" -to emphasize her difference from dominant group MPs.

The *Asian Connection* had only one article portraying Rathika Sitsabaiesan as the main subject. The article, published on March 17, 2012, and entitled "Voter fraud allegations dog east Toronto" is a special addition to *Asian Connection* newspaper with permission from CBC/Radio-Canada. MP Sitsabaiesan was portrayed as the main subject in the article with a mixed review. Within the context of electoral fraud the article reads:

Sitsabaiesan, in an interview with CBC denied she or the NDP were involved in voter fraud in Scarborough-Rouge River. Sitsabaiesan, whose election win made her the first person of Tamil origin to be elected to Parliament, said she has problems with the conduct of Conservative campaign workers during the election....." Elections Canada responded to complaint and said they found no evidence of any wrongdoing by scrutineers at the polling station. A CBC News investigation has uncovered allegations of electoral fraud concentrated in the Tamil community in the east Toronto riding of Scarborough – Rouge River. The allegations, which span both the federal and provincial ridings, centre largely on what appears to be a lack of oversight surrounding election-day additions to the official voters list.

This article clearly notes that there were allegations with regards to electoral conduct in Scarborough-Rouge River. Although this article presented MP Sitsabaiesan as the first person of Tamil origin elected to Parliament, it did not represent the community in relation to conflicts or the situation in their country of origin. Unlike *The Globe and Mail* (August 20, 2011) portrayal which emphasized that:

"She's the first Tamil-Canadian MP, and so has become the de facto standard-bearer for thousands of Canadians who have felt defeated - militarily, in their country of birth, and politically, in their new home.....The May, 2009, defeat of

Tamil Tigers in the Sri Lankan civil war, in which as many as 100,000 people were killed, raised the stakes in her candidacy, which she won by acclamation in December, 2009”.

However, it is important to note that although this article related the electoral misconduct to the Tamil community, these allegations were deemed untrue when “Elections Canada responded to complaint and said they found no evidence of any wrongdoing by scrutineers at the polling station.” Despite this confirmation from Elections Canada, the article noted that a “CBC investigation has uncovered allegations of electoral fraud concentrated in the Tamil community in the east Toronto riding of Scarborough – Rouge River.” This allegation does not emphasize the Tamil community as the only community that engaged in electoral fraud but it shows that this issue is seen to “span both the federal and provincial ridings.” It should be noted that *The Globe and Mail* article published on August 20, 2011 titled “Why don’t you wear a sari?” emphasized the Tamil’s “immigrant” community with unique political experiences in terms of civil war and for whom “*the greasy, tangy Southern rib experience might be a relatively new one.*”

The *Asian Connection* article made no mention of MP Sitsabaiesan’s appearance, relations to family responsibility or emphasis on personality traits; nor was there a negative portrayal of her community, or an impression of “difference.” However, this article fails to give adequate coverage in terms of her duties and roles as an MP during the time frame of this study.

With respect to the portrayal of MP Leona Aglukkaq, she has 48 articles in *The Globe and Mail* and 41 for the *Toronto Star* indicating the highest coverage for Aboriginal MPs selected (See Appendix A). For *The Globe and Mail*, none of the articles had her name in the headlines and only 2 appeared on the Front Page. Of these articles neither of the mainstream newspapers talked about her appearance, referred to family responsibilities or her family relationship designation. Emphasis was placed on her parliamentary duties or the activities of her office.

Table 6.3 Mainstream Article Representation of MP Leona, Aglukkaq

Leona Aglukkaq,	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Mixed	Total	Name in Headline	Article in front-page
<i>The Globe and Mail</i>							
Main	4		2	2	8		
Secondary	3	2	3	3	11		
List	-	1			1		
Incidental	6	2	19	1	28		
Total	13	5	24	6	48	Non	2
<i>Toronto Star</i>	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Mixed	Total	Name in Headline	Article in front-page
Main	1	1	-	1	3		
Secondary	5		1		6		
List	-						
Incidental	7	4	17	4	32		
Total	13	5	18	5	41	2	Non

With respect to racial identifiers and tying MP Aglukkaq to the Aboriginal community, *The Globe and Mail* article entitled “Small savings, severe crisis” was published on April 10, 2012, in an editorial highlighting that closing down the National Aboriginal Health Organization (NAHO) could be considered a serious misstep:

By almost every indicator, Canada's aboriginals are facing a public health crisis. They have abnormally high rates of diabetes, infant mortality, teen pregnancy and tuberculosis at a time when they are also the fastest-growing segment of the population. The suicide rate in Nunavut is 12 times higher than the national one. And research in the area of aboriginal health is still in its infancy... One would imagine that the federal Health Minister, Leona Aglukkaq, herself an Inuk and Nunavut's MP, would be perfectly positioned to recognize the severity of these problems. Instead, in a cruel irony, she has been unwilling to protect the only research organization of its kind dedicated to improving health outcomes for aboriginals. The closure of NAHO will reverse a decade of progress, and leave a gaping hole for those who are most in need.

Setting a critical tone, this article highlights several key issues facing Aboriginals in Canada, suggesting that Aglukkaq should have a better understanding of these issues. It is important to note that although this article highlights the importance of maintaining an aboriginal health research organization, there seems to be an over emphasis on the negative portrayal of the Aboriginal Community.

This pattern seems consistent even when there seems to be a positive tone in the article. *The Globe and Mail* article published on November 12, 2011 entitled “Beauty in a cold and troubled land” illustrates my point. This article portrays MP Aglukkaq in a neutral tone but as an incidental subject attending a celebration tied to her community of “Women Who Shape the North”. Setting the tone of the article - that is fronting it – the author states:

Kenojuak Ashevak, the matriarch of Cape Dorset, is the last remaining artist of her era. Over the course of her lifetime, the Inuit way of life has undergone a sea change, and her community has become plagued by domestic abuse, addiction and violent crime... Two weeks ago, Ms. Ashevak made the long trip south from Cape Dorset to join a celebration of "Women Who Shape the North" in Ottawa with Nunavut Premier Eva Aariak, Health Minister Leona Aglukkaq and other notables.

There is an emphasis on the deteriorating conditions of the Inuit way of life in recent decades, whether as the main or as an incidental subject, linking MP Aglukkaq to her community reflects an emphasis on “*the severity of problems*” facing the Inuit in particular or the Aboriginal community in general. This portrayal contrasts with the ethnic media- *The Windspeaker*- also selected for this study. With respect to coverage, the *Windspeaker* had only 7 articles portraying MP Leona within the timeframe of this study. Despite this limited coverage, none of the articles included MP Aglukkaq name in the headlines. In terms of centrality to the news in the *Windspeaker* articles analyzed, 3 included her as incidental subject (See Table 6.4). Similarly, majority of mainstream articles portrayed her as an incidental subject (see Table 6.3).

Table 6.4: The *Windspeaker* Portrayal of MP Leona, Aglukkaq

Leona, Aglukkaq	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Mixed	Total	Headline
Main	1	-	-	-	1	
Secondary	1	-	1	-	2	
List	1	-	-	-	1	
Incidental	3	-		-	3	
Total	6	-	1	-	7	Non

However, with respect to portraying the Aboriginal community, the *Windspeaker* usually used the word “Aboriginal” or “First Nations” issues without itemizing/emphasizing them and comparing them to national statistics. With respect to racial identifiers, this study found that of the 7 articles analyzed from *The Windspeaker*, 3 used racial identifiers. 6 of the articles contextualized her portrayal in relation to the Aboriginal community (without any negative portrayal of that community).

6.4 Ethnic Newspapers Offering Critiques of Mainstream Approaches

The *Windspeaker* article published on June 1, 2012 entitled “Page 5 Chatter” showcases how ethnic newspapers can provide an important critique for mainstream newspapers and highlights how portrayals are different between ethnic and mainstream newspapers. This article includes MP Aglukkaq as an incidental subject, and begins by giving an overview of issues covered in *Toronto Star*, *The Globe and Mail* and *The Ottawa Citizen*. With respect to *The Globe and Mail* it states:

THE GLOBE AND MAIL HAS BEEN MUSING

about the competition Shawn A-in-chut Atleo might face in the upcoming election contest being held by the Assembly of First Nations in July in Toronto... But that may not be the case. Popular blogger and scholar Pam Palmater, who has no previous political experience, said she'll throw her hat into the ring if nobody else will...

This article highlights the conclusion of *The Globe and Mail* about a supposed competition and attempts to correct it; the article states that “this might not be the case.” However, giving a step by step analysis of mainstream newspaper article to introduce the possibility of incompleteness

supports the work of Ojo (2006) who has argued that ethnic media serves as a critique to mainstream media portrayals of ethnic communities. By referencing an article from *The Ottawa Citizen*, this *Windspeaker* article also noted:

THE OTTAWA CITIZEN REPORTS THAT Olivier De Schutter, the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food, is telling Canada that it needs "to drop its 'self-righteous' attitude" and start dealing with the issue of food insecurity... He was snubbed by Cabinet for the most part, except for Health Minister Leona Aglukkaq, who spoke in the House of Commons about her meeting with the special rapporteur. She told the House that Indigenous people in Canada don't face food security issues because "they hunt every day" and she dismissed De Schutter's report, saying he was an "ill-informed academic."

This article, after stating the news from *The Ottawa Citizen*- about the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food – portrays MP Leona positively by noting that the United Nations Special Rapporteur was “snubbed by Cabinet for the most part, *except* for Health Minister Leona Aglukkaq”. MP Aglukkaq is explained to have dismissed the report by using the term an "ill-informed academic." This can be compared to a related article in the *Toronto Star*. This same issue – the UN report on the Right to Food - was addressed in an article published on May 19, 2012, titled “Governing from the kids' table” as follows:

One doesn't expect a senior government member to level a sneering character attack, as Health Minister Leona Aglukkaq did after she met this week with Olivier De Schutter, the UN's rapporteur on food policy. "He's ill-informed. I found it a bit patronizing and (just) another academic studying us from afar," Aglukkaq said, not once, but several times on Wednesday. Her slurs were echoed by Immigration Minister Jason Kenney and Foreign Affairs Minister John Baird

In contrast to the *Windspeaker* article, the more neutral term “dismissal” reverts to a “sneering character attack” in the *Toronto Star*. This is described as out of character for a “senior government member.” However, highlighting that her statement was made after a meeting, the author fails to note that she was the only member of the cabinet that met with the United Nations

Special Rapporteur. By implication the only one that did not “snub” the visit from the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food, found it wanting.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the second hypothesis, comparing media representations of selected MPs in mainstream with ethnic newspapers. This comparative analysis - with respect to Olivia Chow - shows that ethnic newspapers (*The Epoch Times*), similar to mainstream newspapers, emphasized the “wife of” stereotypes linking MP Chow to Jack Layton. Unlike the mainstream newspapers’ analyses for this study, *The Epoch Times* had limited coverage of MP Chow, particularly in her parliamentary role, within the timeframe of the study. Overall, this study found that there was no use of racial identifiers in ethnic media and that MP Chow was not linked to her ethnic origin/community issues.

This study found no portrayal of appearance, personality traits or linking with family responsibility/status for the MPs Leona Aglukkaq and Rathika Sitsabaiesan in ethnic newspapers. Although racial identifiers were used in both mainstream and ethnic newspapers, mainstream newspapers contextualize MPs Aglukkaq Leona and Sitsabaiesan Rathika within negative portrayals of both the Aboriginal and Tamil communities, respectively.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

This study aims to analyze print media representations of visible minority and Aboriginal women MPs, relative to their white women counterparts in the 41st parliament - House of Commons. Using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) with a focus on the textual analysis of print media representations, the study has explored a total of 405 in-scope mainstream articles - 184 and 221 for *The Globe and Mail* and *Toronto Star* respectively - and 15 in-scope ethnic articles – 6 from *Epoch Times*, 1 from *Asian Connection* and 8 for *The Windspeaker*. Specifically, media portrayal of racialized minority women MPs and their white counterparts were explored with a focus on identifying any bias in their representations in terms of their race/ethnicity and gender. The study also compared the portrayal of racialized minority and Aboriginal women MPs in mainstream and ethnic newspapers in order to highlight areas of convergence and divergence.

In employing a critical discourse analysis, this study was able to examine key themes, using the logic of specific language used to highlight how race and gender-based stereotypes are used contextually in print texts to portray women in selected newspaper articles. In line with methods developed by Henry and Tator (2002), the articles used as case studies for this research were selected on the basis of how much media coverage was available and the significance of the issues explored in terms of inequality and power relations - more specifically sexism and racism in the Canadian society. Employing CDA provides insight into positionality and the Canadian “media gaze” (Fleras, 2011), by revealing what the print media tends to emphasize or define as important in framing social realities.

7.2 Research Summary

Two research questions guided this study: The first entailed determining if print media representations of racialized and Aboriginal women MPs reflect discrimination with respect to limited coverage, sexism, and racism relative to white women MPs. The second question sought

to determine if the representation and portrayal of racialized minority and Aboriginal women MPs in mainstream newsprint carries more positive or negative messages when compared to ethnic newsprint.

In terms of coverage within mainstream newsprint, this study found that as a group, visible minority and Aboriginal women MPs had more print coverage than white women MPs. Despite receiving more print coverage, in terms of race/ethnicity, gender and intersected portrayal, racialized minority and Aboriginal women MPs had all negative coverage relative to white women MPs, as evidenced in the findings of this study. Individually, there was limited print media coverage for these women MPs with the exception for women who had spouses/partners in politics, or held cabinet posts and one minority woman engaged in misconduct. Mainstream print media portrayed both white and non-white women MPs mainly as incidental subjects in 50% and 65 % of articles respectively for *The Globe and Mail* and *Toronto Star*. An exception to such incidental subject portrayal can be found in the media representation of MP Bev Oda in the *Globe and Mail*. The findings in this study on MP Bev Oda revealed that the media tends to overemphasize misconduct among minoritized women. For example, in the *Globe and Mail*, MP Bev Oda had the highest number of articles portraying her as the main subject with a total of 18 articles, of which 15 involved negative portrayals. The write-ups portraying MP Bev Oda used the strategy of *over completeness* and *reiteration* to emphasize her misconduct.

The findings from this study reveal gendered racism as minoritized women are portrayed not only in a sexist manner, but also in relation to negative portrayals of their communities. Mainstream media portrayed MP Sitsabaiesan primarily in terms of her appearance. However, by employing quotations, loaded words in the headlines and argumentation/fronting, mainstream media activated the relevant social knowledge of the reader in contextualizing her community negatively within the framing of “civil war” involving the Tamil Tigers. Similar newspaper portrayals of the Tamil community were explored by Henry and Tator (2002) who found similar representations. To these scholars, the negative portrayal of the Tamil community resulted in the creation and dissemination of negative stereotypes about them. This negative portrayal can lead to a branding or ‘othering’ of this community when faced with important issues that get subsumed under the previously-invoked stereotypes.

With respect to the second research question, this study found that ethnic newspapers have a much lower level of article coverage for racialized women MPs compared to the mainstream media. For example, the *Epoch Times* had only 6 newsprint articles for MP Olivia Chow, while the *Globe and Mail* and *Toronto Star* had 51 and 85 articles respectively. Although the use of “decidedly racial identifiers” occurred in both mainstream and ethnic newspapers, the newsprint analysis from mainstream newspapers relating MPs Aglukkaq Leona and Sitsabaiesan Rathika to their communities contextualized them in terms of negative portrayals of both the Aboriginal and Tamil communities, respectively. This contrasts with ethnic media portrayals of these communities. With respect to MP Olivia Chow, ethnic media had limited article coverage on her compared to mainstream media, but the “wife of” stereotype cut across both forms of selected media as she is usually incidentally portrayed, linking her with –Jack Layton as the main subject.

Technological expansion has revolutionized the way people receive information. For a lot of people, print media remains a critical source of information, values, and beliefs from which their perception of the world is not only created but also continuously reshaped. People turn to the printed news to get in-depth information about political representatives with whom they rarely interact and, on the basis of the information gathered, they form opinions about them and shape their attitudes towards them. Thus, by constructing specific versions of reality “the media holds up a mirror in which society can see itself reflected” (Henry & Tator, 2002, p. 5). As with other scholars, (Henry & Tator 2002; Hebdige, 1993; Essed, 1990) this research does not intend to label any newspaper as racist or sexist, but has explored the subtexts of words and meaning codes, and by extension, has helped to reveal and examine critically what overtly/subliminally passes as everyday commonsense within society that is embedded in the dominant ideologies, grounded in the subcultures of media organizations (Henry & Tator, 2002). The findings of this research reiterate those of previous scholars on the key themes of sexism and racism.

Robinson and Saint-Jean’s (1991) generational analysis of gendered mediation focused on the narratives of the traditional (up to 1960s) and transitional periods (1970s and 1980s) in print media coverage of public political life. The traditional narrative style framed stories in ways that placed little emphasis on women’s professional qualifications and other “wide-ranging capabilities.” My study reveals a persistence of this narrative style as is clearly shown by the

media's emphasis on the personality traits of MP Maria Mourani, without indicating her professional qualification (which was not the case with her male counterparts), and the portrayal of role strain of MP Sana Hassainia, with no inquiry about professional qualification in the interview questions that she was asked. Additionally, this study's findings on the media portrayal of MP Olivia Chow - in both mainstream and ethnic media - confirm that the "wife of stereotype" persists well beyond the traditional and transitional narrative style phases to the contemporary moment. It also recognize that there can be positive reinforcement of gendered stereotypes as MP Chow is admired as a "super-woman" for conforming to both gendered expectations and performing well in public life.

Despite women's struggles over the years - the suffrage movement, the persons' case, the media representation of the RCSW and its representatives amongst others - the media still uses the androcentric gaze¹⁷ (Fleras, 2011, p. 77) to portray women and men differently in politics. Although progress has been made with respect to women's rights in general and their presence in male dominated fields like politics, the findings from this study show the persistence of a more covert gendered mediation, as the androcentric gaze is normalized in relation to the portrayal of women politicians. This confirms Robinson and Saint-Jean's (1991) position that the narrative focus and the evaluative criteria for both genders in the media reflect bias. According to these scholars, this will result in people having no knowledge of the stages in a woman's political career, without which they cannot determine her competence. These narratives styles and their exclusionary tendencies lead to an over-emphasis on the irrelevant, in the construction and normalization of particular ideas and ideals within Canadian society (Fleras, 2011). According to Fleras (2011), women are generally relegated to maternal - domestic stereotypes by way of mis-, over- and under-representations that objectify them. A case in point that emphasizes the maternal-domestic stereotype of women in this study is evidenced in the media portrayal of MP Sana Hassainia.

Like gendered portrayals, racialized representations were not homogeneous across the subjects of the case studies explored in this study. Simply put, intersectional biases varied across each of the sampled MPs and their diverse ethnic origins. However, this study's findings reiterate and confirm Li's, (2001) position that racialized portrayal emphasizes the differences between

¹⁷ According to Fleras (2011) androcentric views, tend to frame media gaze of women from the male point of view

“people premised upon values, traditions and ways of life subsumed under skin color or other superficial features” (p. 81). The findings of this study exemplify how difference can be created either with the use of “decidedly minority race framing” and “nuanced minority race framing.” The latter includes the negative framing of MP communities and the use of coded language such as “*immigrants*” or by emphasizing/‘otherizing’ the success of racialized MPs within the context of an unusual “*new category of immigrants*.” Although the word “immigrants” itself is non-exclusionary, it is socially constructed and used with embedded implications and values in the Canadian society (Henry & Tator, 2002; Yuan, 2013, p. 174).

This study reveals ways in which Aboriginal women MPs were linked to their communities as well. It shows how either positive or negative information about the Aboriginal community can be negatively contextualized by an overemphasis on the problems faced within the community, without critique of the colonial practices that produced them. This problematization of Aboriginal and racialized minority communities is in contrast to portrayals in ethnic media. The bias within mainstream media was evident in ethnic media not only by highlighting the incompleteness of information, but also by including information that was not considered relevant in mainstream media. This served as an alternative (Ojo, 2006) portrayal and confirmed the role of ethnic media as sensitizing agents in dealing with ethno-racial issues and Eurocentric ideology within Canada’s “multicultural” society. Despite the positive messages in the ethnic media explored, their limited coverage and incidental portrayal – of sampled, visible minority and Aboriginal women MPs – particularly in their parliamentary or political roles, would prevent members of ethnic communities in particular from being better informed about their representatives’ political activities in Parliament. This can be extended to the broader Canadian society, as incidental portrayal and limited article coverage restricts the kind of information available about political representatives to individuals in the society.

A striking finding in this study is the intersection of racism and sexism in the media portrayal of racialized women MPs. Employing CDA to deconstruct racist and sexist articulations also reveals how the simultaneity of both axes of oppression presents a double barrier to racialized minorities, thus supporting previous research findings about gendered racism (Dijk, 2011; Gerson, 2012). In the case studies explored, by placing emphasis on appearance and the creation of an “us and them” mentality in their communities, racialized women MPs face a double barrier of being a woman representing a racialized minority.

7.3 Conclusion and Recommendations

The debates on the media construction of race and gender and the findings of this study reflect contradictions and a deviation from the Canadian multiculturalism and gender equity policies as iterated in the Broadcasting Act. Highlighting inequality, debates in the literature reveal how race and gender can act as independent axes of media bias. However, focusing on either race or gender alone fails to identify how both intersect in the media and furthermore, provides no explicit understanding of the portrayal of politicians with complex identities with respect to their race and gender in the Canadian media. The findings from this research show the importance of examining media representation from an intersectional perspective, as office holders and female Members of Parliament – by virtue of being a ‘woman’ and a ‘racialized minority,’ experience biased media portrayal on the basis of their “double minority” status. By highlighting how gender and race can simultaneously act as axes of bias – this study confirms the tenets of intersectionality – thus reiterating that women are not a homogenous group.

Despite its findings on the media representation of women MPs in the 41st parliament, this study also has some limitations. Methodologically, the employment of CDA is usually based on personal interpretation and can be influenced by a researcher’s experience. Meanings in a text are layered with multiple interpretations, depending on the subjective point of inference of the researcher. While aiming toward objective interpretation, it is possible some elements of bias may have come into the research. In order to deal with the issues of researcher interpretation when applying CDA to analyze the case studies, this analysis, like previous studies employing similar techniques (Yuan, 2013; Gleason, 2013), began with research questions to guide the research. This contextualizes the study in terms of coverage of racism and sexism. Descriptive statistics were used to collate key themes found in print media to support findings from the textual analysis. This study supported findings using direct quotation from articles to provide evidence of bias in media representations of women MPs in the 41st Parliament.

With respect to the data collected and timeframes used for this study, there are other limitations that can serve as avenues for further research. First, the selection of newspaper articles was limited to English language mainstream and ethnic newsprint and this might be the reason why some women MPs had no coverage. Additionally, since the *Toronto Star* can be argued to be Toronto focused - although highly multicultural in its demographic composition - further research can examine portrayals/representations in other local provincial newspapers.

Second, although all Aboriginal women MPs (2) were selected for this study, the sample size of 10 white and 10 visible minority women MPs was limited which might explain why none of the white women MPs had any portrayal relating to their appearance, family responsibility, and personality traits. Third, the scope of this study is limited to the first year of these women's years in parliament. There might be emerging differences in portrayals of the women if a longer time frame was considered or if a more longitudinal study was done. Fourth, since previous research has focused on campaign activities, and this current study focused on women as office holders, further research is needed to compare if there are difference in portrayals of the same women MPs (both white and non-white) within the context of electoral campaign and as office holders with particular emphasis on sexism and racism. Fifth, this research did not include visible minority and Aboriginal male MPs, as it may be relevant to note if there is a similar linkage of male MPs to their communities along with issues affecting them. Sixth, by focusing on the House of Commons, visible minority and Aboriginal women, Members of Senate were excluded from this study. By exploring the public record of Members of Senate, further research can determine if there might be different media representations by virtue of having been appointed rather than elected. Seventh, further research can be done to examine the race/ethnicity and gender of media owners and journalists, to determine if there would be a difference in portrayal if women and/or racialized minority individuals own media organizations and write the news. Eight, given technological expansions and the call for brevity in the media, further research is needed to explore if and how the concepts of news "selection" and "combination" articulated by Henry and Tator (2002) affect the information presented about women MPs (white and non-white) on social media sites such as Twitter. Lastly, intersectional axes of oppression are not limited to just racism and sexism. As such, future research can explore the effects of age, ability and sexuality as other intersectional axes of oppression in parliamentary politics and their media representations.

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List of Newspapers Consulted

The Globe and Mail

Toronto Star

Asian Connection

Epoch Times

Share

Nikkei Voice

Windspeaker

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

NAMES OF SAMPLED WOMEN MPs AND IN SCOPE NEWSPAPER COVERAGE

Names	<i>The Globe and Mail</i>	<i>Toronto Star</i>
White women (New)		
Alexandrine Latendresse	0	0
Kellie Leitch	3	5
Kerry-Lynne D Findlay	0	0
Lise St-Denis	2	10
Helene LeBlanc	0	0
White women (Reelected)		
Patricia Davidson	0	0
Rona Ambrose	16	12
Judy Sgro	0	3
Carol Hughes	0	2
Diane Ablonczy	7	19
Visible Minority (New)		
Nina Grewal	1	0
Laurin Liu	2	3
Sana Hassainia	5	4
Wai Young	1	0
Rathika Sitsabaiesan	2	5
Visible Minority (Reelected)		
Bev Oda	32	24
Alice Wong	3	1
Hedy Fry	4	5
Maria Mourani	4	2
Olivia Chow	51	85
Aboriginals (Reelected)		
Leona Aglukkaq	48	41
Shelly Glover	3	0
Total	184	221

APPENDIX B

CODING SHEET

1. Newspaper
2. Year, Date, Month
3. Location of paper (FrontPage or not)
4. Newspaper section
5. Ethnic Origin of MP
6. Name of MP in headline (yes/no)
7. Impression created about MP from the Tone of article coverage
 1. Positive
 2. Negative
 3. Mixed
 4. Neutral
8. Centrality of MP to the News
 1. Main
 2. Secondary
 3. Just listed
 4. Incidental
9. Key themes
 1. Mention of Appearance
 2. Relate with family ties/responsibilities
 3. Emphasis of inadequacy
 4. Personality trait
 5. Mention of Professional Qualification
 6. Relate MPs to Ethnic issues such ethnic community problems like poverty, rape, unemployment
 7. Mentioning of Ethnic origin
 8. Relate MP to Criminal activities, fraud or misconduct
 9. Relate with ethnic culture such as ethnic dress, food, celebrations

APPENDIX C

ARTICLES AND HEADLINES REPRESENTATION OF MP OLIVIA CHOW AND SANA HASSAINIA AND BEV ODA

Name of MP	Newspaper and Publication date	Headlines	FrontPage
1. Olivia chow	<i>The Globe and Mail</i>		
	September 2, 2011	My wish for Olivia Chow	
	September 5, 2011	CHOW DECLINES RACE	
	September 6, 2011	Layton 'quite sick' at the end, Chow says	
	September 10, 2011	Chow says she won't endorse any candidate in leadership race	
	November 17, 2011	Jack Layton's story, with Olivia's blessing	
	March 24, 2012	Chow clear-eyed about life without Jack	
	<i>Toronto star</i>		
	August 23, 2011	A life filled with love and a message of hope: 26-year romance with Chow sustained Layton through political career and battle with cancer	Yes
	August 26, 2011	Hearts sink for Olivia after loss of Jack: Young widows draw strength from Chow's composure, calm	
	August 28, 2011	Chow a picture of stoic grief: Widow shows 'astonishing' strength at funeral as tearful mourners celebrate Jack Layton's achievements	
	August 29, 2011	Olivia Chow for NDP leader?: It's unprecedented and her French isn't perfect, but she hasn't ruled out carrying Layton's torch	Yes
	September 6, 2011	Exclusive At the home she shared with Jack Layton, Olivia Chow speaks to Linda Diebel about his final days: After Jack Layton died, Olivia Chow cried all day.	Yes

		She couldn't focus after his passing two weeks ago in the home they shared near Kensington Market.	
	September 9, 2011	Olivia brought him to tears: Exclusive interview with Olivia Chow, Sept. 6	
	October 24, 2011	Olivia Chow remembers mentor Dan Heap: His values sparked her activism, now she fills his shoes as MP	
	November 14, 2011	NDP urges use of truck side guards: These panels or guards between the wheels of the truck might have saved cyclist's life, Chow says	
	February 12, 2011	Recalling Jack, introducing Craig: Olivia Chow uses couple's annual party to boost an NDP hopeful	
	May 28, 2012	Keep on triking ... [Caption text only.]: MP Olivia Chow trails in race with her stepson, Councillor Mike Layton	
2. Sana Hassainia	<i>The Globe and Mail</i>		
	February 9, 2012	Preview Babies welcome in the House after all	
	February 11, 2012	From the House to crèche, women are still juggling bébé and work	
	February 14, 2012	Juggle/struggle	
	February 20, 2012	Babies, if necessary	
	February 21, 2012	A rookie MP's rough introduction	
	<i>Toronto Star</i>		
	February 9, 2012	Baby boy ready for political comeback: MP's infant welcome in Commons, Speaker says after mom asked to leave	YES
	February 10, 2012	Babies in Commons okay, cameras not so much: House rules on photography stringent	
	February 11, 2012	There's a baby on my desk	
	March, 24 2012	MP honours Layton with son's name	

	<i>The Globe and Mail</i>		
3. Bev Oda	January 7, 2012	On eve of visit to quake-ravaged Haiti, Oda cites moderate progress	
	April 24, 2012	Oda repays tab for stay in swanky hotel	
	April 24, 2012	No Stars for Oda	
	April 25, 2012	Oda apologizes for hotel-upgrade costs	
	April 26, 2012	Oda and out? [1]	
	April 26, 2012	Oda and out?	
	May 04, 2012	THE LIST / RIDING IN CARS WITH BEV	
	<i>Toronto Stars</i>		
	April 24, 2012	Oda pays part of hotel bill: Minister shells out for upgrade to famous Savoy - and a \$16 glass of OJ	
	April 28, 2012	Time's up, Ms. Oda: Oda apologizes over bill for luxury hotel, April 25	
	May 1, 2012	Time to get Bev Oda here: Saturday Star, April 28 edition	

APPENDIX D

LIST OF ARTICLES SELECTED FOR ANALYSIS

Mainstream Media	Publication date	Title
<i>The Globe and Mail</i>	April 10, 2012	Small savings, severe crisis
	May 4, 2012	Birthday zingers to celebrate Conservative majority
	May 21, 2012	A low-lying Harper usually signals major policy shift
	July 28, 2011	Caucus pays tribute to ailing leader
	August 20, 2011	why don't you wear a sari
	August 25, 2011	A love Story and political alliance come to an end
	August 30, 2011	Calls grow for NDP-Liberal unity
	August 31, 2011	Merger talk threatens to bare NDP rifts
	September 2, 2011	My wish for Olivia Chow
	October 12, 2011	School food programs lack unifying vision
	November 12, 2011	Beauty in a cold and troubled land
	November 19, 2011	The Canadian Dream
	November 26, 2011	Confusion on the Hill over new protocols
	November 28, 2011	Inexperience costs the NDP
	December 17, 2011	What you don't see after Question Period
<i>Toronto Star</i>	February 21, 2012	A rookie MP's rough introduction
	March 24, 2011	Layton's legacy the life of the party: Bittersweet ceremony honours 'Le bon Jack'
	May 19, 2012	Governing from the kids' table
	May 28, 2012	Rookie MPs can make a difference
	June 19, 2011	MP 101: First thing on the agenda for a 20-year-old rookie NDPer with an intimidating to-do list? Find a mentor to show you the ropes. 'I have work to do,' says 20-year-old Laurin Liu
	July 26, 2011	Layton steps aside to battle

		cancer: NDP opposition leader hopes to return when Parliament resumes
	September 23, 2011	Blogger ‘busts’ NDP for photo
Ethnic Media	Publication date	Title
Asian Connection	March 17, 2012	Voter fraud allegations dog east Toronto
<i>Epoch Times</i>	June 24, 2011	Layton Steps Aside as NDP Leader to Fight New Form of Cancer
	August 29, 2011	Layton’s Letter is Canada’s Gettysburg Address
<i>The Windspeaker</i>	June 1, 2012	Page 5 Chatter