Gendered and Heteronormative: An Examination of Media Coverage of Kathleen Wynne's Rise to Power in Ontario

by

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ABSTRACT

Kathleen Wynne's historic rise to power in Ontario, beginning with the 2013 Liberal leadership race and continuing through the 2014 general provincial election, presents a theoretically significant case study to examine media coverage of political candidates who fall outside of the archetype/norm of "the politician." Using content analysis and providing contextual examples to examine media coverage of both events, this project aims to capture gendered and/or heteronormative media coverage through the use of various manifest codes. The results of this project indicate that while media coverage of both events was gendered and heteronormative, the Liberal leadership race was proportionally more so than the general provincial election.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

On October 15, 2012, Ontario Liberal party leader and long-time premier of Ontario Dalton McGuinty stepped down after almost a decade of public service (Benzie and Ferguson, 2012). Following his resignation, the Liberal Party of Ontario launched into a leadership race while the legislature remained prorogued until a successor could be named. The leadership convention took place from January 27 to 29, 2013, at Maple Leaf Gardens in Toronto. At the start of the convention there were six candidates in the running for leadership of the party, with Glen Murray (a seventh) dropping out days before the convention launch to endorse Kathleen Wynne (Benzie, 2013).

In a first for Ontario, the third ballot saw a run-off vote between two female candidates, Kathleen Wynne and Sandra Pupatello, for premier of Ontario. Before the vote, both Pupatello and Wynne were given the opportunity to speak to delegates. While Pupatello vowed to run a Liberal agenda at Queen's Park, Wynne promised to listen and work with the opposition parties (*Toronto Star*, 2013). Wynne also directly addressed the question raised by many different media outlets of whether or not Ontario was ready for a female and self-identifying LGBTQ (Lesbian, Gay, Bi-sexual, Transgender, and/or Queer) premier. Wynne explained that she did not believe that the people of Ontario judged their leaders on the basis of race, sexual orientation, or ethnicity because "Ontarians don't hold that prejudice in their hearts" (Morrow and Howlett, 2013).

With the support of six of seven former competitors, Wynne won party leadership on the third ballot with a vote of 1,150 to Pupatello's 866 (Benzie, Brennan, and Ferguson, 2013). Making history, Wynne was recognized as the first female and openly gay premier-designate of Ontario. It is important to note that the electorate of Ontario did

not elect Wynne. In fact, less than two thousand card-holding Liberals at the convention were permitted to vote. As such, many commentators questioned her ability to maintain power in a general election given the novelty of her gender and sexual orientation. On February 11, 2013, Wynne was sworn in as the premier of Ontario in a minority government only two years old. Wynne's first budget, tabled May 2, 2013, received the support of NDP leader Andrea Horwath, allowing the Wynne government to stay afloat (Benzie, 2013).

The road leading to the introduction of Wynne's second budget was notably rocky, with a multitude of newspapers formally calling for an election (for example, the *National Post*, and the *Globe and Mail*). With both opposition parties calling press conferences to declare that they would not be supporting the Liberal budget, Premier Wynne scheduled an appointment with Ontario's lieutenant governor, David C. Onley, and a general provincial election was scheduled for June 12, 2014 (Gurney, *National Post*, 2014). The general provincial election saw its fair share of ups and downs and various polls suggested that it was truly a three-way race for the premiership of Ontario.

On election night, June 13, 2014, Wynne and the Liberal Party of Ontario were re-elected as government. Not only was Wynne given a mandate by being formally elected premier by the voting population of Ontario, but also she won a majority government gaining 58 of 107 seats (Morrow, 2014). As such, Wynne became the first woman to be elected premier of Ontario and the first openly LGBTQ premier in Canada's history.

Kathleen Wynne's historic rise to power in Ontario, through two major events—the 2013 Ontario Liberal leadership race, followed by the 2014 provincial general

election—presents an important case study for developing theoretical insights into media coverage of political candidates who fall outside of the typical (white, straight, male) archetypal norms of "the politician." As such, using content analysis to assess two major print news sources, this project sets out to examine whether or not media coverage of Wynne, during both events, was gendered and/or heteronormative.

The introductory chapter first gives a succinct but essential history of events leading up to Wynne's eventual provincial election win, provides a summation of the major literature reviewed and guiding case studies which frame the research question, outlines the overarching argument and methodological decisions made, presents a concise summary of data findings and analysis, and concludes by outlining the remainder of the project.

What We Know about Media Coverage of Political Candidates

This project is premised on the assumption that media matters because, even though, as John Zaller explains, citizens do form opinions about issues, events, and personalities for which they have no direct experience with political candidates, "it is hard to imagine where many of these opinions come from if not the mass media" (1996: 17). This is not to say that all opinions come from the direct influence of mass media, but more so that modern research focuses on indirect effects such as agenda-setting, framing, and priming (Goodyear-Grant, 2013:11). Notably, there is some academic debate on the causal direction—that is, whether it is the media or the voter that drives the agenda. That being said, this project accepts G. Ray Funkhouser's premise that the "average person takes the media's word for what the 'issues are,' whether or not [s/]he personally has any involvement or interest in them" (1973: 38).

Beyond setting the agenda of issue importance, media is able to shift attention to particular attributes of news topics (framing) and how these influence public opinion (priming) (Goodyear-Grant, 2013: 10). For political candidates who, understandably, aim to be as visible as possible, media often "provides the means" to do so (Fiorina, 1980: 30). Research suggests that media coverage can directly contribute to a candidate's victory, and as such, it follows that citizens may take salience cues from media, in terms of the importance of candidates' issues or even regarding the candidates themselves. Modern campaigns are largely fought through media coverage with candidates vying for visibility. The role of media coverage in modern political campaigns is significant as it is one of the main tools used to make contact with voters, coupled with the fact that it tends to cover what is deemed to be "controversial."

Media Coverage of Female Candidates

Early work on the subject of media coverage of female political candidates found that women were typically less visible in the news than their male counterparts, and further, that when women were visible, coverage tended to focus on their viability by framing their issue competencies and/or personality traits in stereotypically feminine terms (Everitt and Gidengil, 2003: 560). More recent work focuses on the "gendering" of news, which is rooted in the premise that gendering occurs when media coverage emphasizes a person's gender, regardless of its relevance to the news item (Lundell and Ekstrom, 2008; Mundy, 2013: 4). On this note, Joanna Everitt and Elisabeth Gidengil work which fleshes out previous work by Srebreny-Mohammadi on the concept of gendered mediation is important to review. The authors argue that "far from being gender neutral, conventional news frames treat the male as normative and regards women as

novelties" (2003b: 10). Women politicians or candidates are often treated as novelties by media because "there is an archetype of the Canadian elected official—male, White, middle-class, middle-aged…" (Biles and Tolley, 2008). Unfortunately, this archetype, with the addition of the heterosexual norm, is "unrelentingly confirmed" at all levels of government (Tolley, 2013a: 3).

Further, according to Elizabeth Goodyear-Grant, the news media often "reflect the culture in which they are situated, which is gendered, and further, the mechanics of the news industry, dominated by men, reinforce the masculine character of the news" (2013: 6). Scholars have also argued that Rosabeth Moss Kanter's ground-breaking work on corporations, which categorized four common stereotypes of professional women—sex object, mother, pet, and iron maiden—is applicable to media coverage of women political candidates (Kanter, 1977: 233–6; Goodyear-Grant, 2013: 58). Stereotypical coverage is also often a double-edged sword because even when women behave "counter-stereotypically, such as raising their voices, media tends to disproportionately emphasize this behavior" (Gidengil and Everitt, 2009a; Tolley, 2013a).

Most recently in the Canadian context, Goodyear-Grant (2013) finds that media often present gendered representations of women in politics, which can become arduous obstacles to women running for and attaining office. Gendered media coverage then can "negatively impact both the supply of and the demand for women politicians" (Goodyear-Grant, 2013: 1). These findings, in accordance with the gendered mediation thesis, form the theoretical framework and underlying assumptions of this project.

Media Coverage of LGBTQ Candidates

Compared to gender, there has been relatively little scholarly examination of media coverage of LBGTQ candidates. Those studies that do exist, however, have found that coverage tends to be heteronormative, focusing on LGBTQ candidates' "otherness" and pushing them to the corners of political discourse (Everitt and Camp, 2009a). A recent study finds that LGBTQ candidates are often depicted (as with women) as part of a "singular movement, or ideology, notwithstanding their party affiliations," with media coverage framing them as "single-issue politicians, driven by their devotion to the so-called gay agenda" (Golebiowska, 2002: 30). It is no surprise that media coverage, which frames LGBTQ candidates as activists above all else, creates significant challenges to face when running for and obtaining political office.

Relevant Case Studies

To gain a better contextual understanding of gendered and heteronormative media coverage, it is necessary to examine previous academic literature, particularly relevant case studies of female and LGBTQ political candidates. As such, two previous academic case studies of female LGBTQ candidates—Allison Brewer, the former party leader of the New Brunswick NDP, and Johanna Sigurdardottir, the former prime minister of Iceland—are examined. These studies provide critically important insight into how media tends to make specific characteristics about such candidates, which often highlight their "otherness," more salient in coverage than, for instance, that candidate's policy issue preference. The experience of Johanna Sigurdardottir and Allison Brewer, in terms of gendered and heteronormative media coverage, guide the underlying hypotheses of this project.

Research Questions

The existing scholarship sets up the following research questions in the context of

Kathleen Wynne's election campaigns:

1.) Was media coverage of Kathleen Wynne during both events gendered and/or heteronormative?
2.) Is the frame of "non-issue" used to describe Kathleen Wynne's sexual orientation and gender more than an "issue" frame?
3.) Is the proportion of articles mentioning the "non-issue" frame exceptionally high, causing some concern about the reality of that premise?

Hypotheses and Methodological Framework

The hypotheses guiding this research project, which emerged from an extensive

literature review and case study examination, are as follows:

1.) Media coverage of Kathleen Wynne during both the Liberal leadership race and the general provincial election was gendered and heteronormative as it

   a.) made reference to Kathleen Wynne's gender in instances where it was not contextually relevant;
   b.) made reference to Kathleen Wynne's sexual orientation in instances where it was not contextually relevant;
   c.) referred often to Kathleen Wynne's personal and family life;
   d.) framed Kathleen Wynne in Kanter's "mother" categorization, playing on female stereotypes of compassion and passivity;
   e.) used frames of novelty when describing Kathleen Wynne's successes as both openly gay and as a female, which placed her outside the male, heterosexual norm; and
   f.) used frames of viability, especially during the leadership race, to describe Kathleen Wynne's "un-electability."

2.) Media coverage more frequently referenced Kathleen Wynne's sexuality and gender as being "non-issues" rather than "issues."
3.) The high proportion of articles referencing gender and sexuality as being "non-issues" highlights the fact that these characteristics could have, in fact, been issues.

The main methodological approach used in this project is content analysis of two print media sources—the *Toronto Star* and the *Globe and Mail*—during both events, to determine the extent to which media coverage of the campaigns was gendered and/or heteronormative.

Data analysis suggests that media coverage of both events was gendered and heteronormative, but there were also important differences in media coverage, both across events, as well as across sources. Media coverage, particularly of the Liberal leadership race, focused heavily on the viability of a gay, female candidate, frequently referencing Wynne's family and personal life. In terms of gendering, Wynne was framed neatly into a stereotypically feminine "mother" frame, as media coverage made her appear to have, as well as focused on, a passive, agreeable, and compassionate nature.

While the above hypotheses are made credibly by the primary data collected, the issue vs. non-issue hypothesis does not hold up. Overall, while there were more references to gender/sexuality as "non-issues" rather than as "issues," the difference was not substantial enough to draw any meaningful conclusions. It is also important to keep in mind that due to the methodological limitations of this research project, not all gendered and/or heteronormative mentions were code-able, and therefore were not represented in the numbers. As such, one could safely assume that the numbers presented in this project underestimate the overall gendered and heteronormative nature of media coverage.

Overall, the data collected and subsequently analyzed provides evidence to suggest that media coverage of both events, the Liberal leadership race and the provincial general election, was significantly gendered and heteronormative.

Argument

The overarching conclusion of this paper is that media coverage of both events was heavily gendered and heteronormative. Further, this paper argues that coverage examined in this project lends weight to the gendered mediation thesis, as media clearly privilege the practice of politics as a male and heterosexual pursuit, with women and LGBTQ candidates—in this particular case study, Kathleen Wynne—being framed as a novelty on both accounts.

This project first provides an extensive literature review, highlights case studies that help frame the research question and hypotheses at hand, moves into hypotheses and methodological decisions, provides a visualization of data collected, analyzes the data in tandem with the initial hypotheses posited, and finally concludes by summarizing findings and noting implications for future research.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Media Coverage of Electoral Campaigns

Before conceptualizing the role of media in the case study of Wynne, it is necessary to examine previous academic literature, which focuses more generally on the impact of the mass media on electoral politics. To begin, it is important to clearly articulate that this research is premised on the idea that news matters and that media plays an important role in relaying information to citizens. There has been a swinging pendulum of disagreement on the effects of mass media throughout the history of scholarly research on the topic. According to David H. Weaver, there has been a change in scholarly view and thinking about media in the past years, "from a view of rather minimal influence to a view of fairly powerful but not unlimited, media effects" (Weaver, 1996: 22). That being said, some of the first research done on the impact of mass media found that media held significant powers of persuasion over values and positions (Goodyear-Grant, 2013: 9). During the First World War, the so-called success of wartime propaganda lead researchers to believe that media had direct and immediate effects on public values (Goodyear-Grant, 2013: 9).

The 1940s saw the first major swing of the media-effects pendulum as researchers began to consistently find that media had "minimal effects" on values and opinions. Many prior studies of media effects in elections were concentrated mainly on short-term changes in opinions, attitudes, and behaviours (Weaver, 1996: 35). An in-depth review of media-effects studies in 1960 led Joseph Klapper to conclude that "mass-communication ordinarily does not serve as a necessary and sufficient cause of audience effects, but rather functions among and through a nexus of mediating factors and influences" (Klapper, 1961: 8, cited in Weaver, 1996: 36). Klapper's findings suggested that the mass

media had limited or minimal effects on opinions and values. According to Goodyear-Grant, the core belief at this time was that political preferences "were extremely stable…leaving little room for change during election campaigns" (Goodyear-Grant, 2013: 9). Much of the work during this time suggested that media coverage tended to play a "re-enforcing" role in influencing political attitudes, given existing pre-dispositions and orientations (Robinson, 1976: 99; Goodyear-Grant, 2013, 9).

Due to the influence of Leon Festinger's work on cognitive dissonance theory, political preferences were widely thought to be static largely (Martin, 1976: 128). Cognitive dissonance theory is based on the idea that people are drawn to consistencies, and in order to reduce dissonance created by inconsistencies, "people expose themselves to facts, events, and judgments through communication or selectively shut out such communication to avoid dissonance" (Martin, 1976: 129). The idea is that mass media most likely had minimal effects due to a person's ability to simply "shut out" information contrary to their previously held thoughts, opinions, and values. The mass media then would have minimal effects on a political campaign because it is merely "preaching to the converted."

While the minimal-effects swing of the pendulum focused heavily on the lack of evidence to suggest direct and immediate persuasive effects of the mass media on attitudes, more current research has found that media effects tend to be "largely indirect, cumulative, and cognitive" (Goodyear-Grant, 2013: 9). As Weaver suggests, media contributes greatly to a "second-hand reality that is relied upon in making decisions about whether and for whom to vote for" (Weaver, 1996: 47). As few citizens have the ability to have direct experience with political candidates, media thus plays a mediating role in a

person's experience and understanding of the campaign process. Even though citizens do form opinions about issues, events, and personalities with which they have no direct experience, according to Zaller, "it is hard to imagine where many of these opinions come from if not the mass media" (Zaller, 1996: 17). This is not to say that all opinions come from the direct influence of mass media, but rather to say that modern research focuses on indirect effects such as agenda-setting, framing, and priming (Goodyear-Grant, 2013: 11).

In separating the persuasive from the informational elements of media's communication with citizens, it seems intuitive that there are often indirect effects. Focusing on the power of media to inform, rather than to change opinions or values, allows scholars to focus on and measure indirect effects. Agenda-setting is a prime example of a (now) widely studied area, in terms of the ability of media to inform opinions. According to Goodyear-Grant, agenda-setting occurs "through decisions of the media about what to cover and how much time and space to accord each issue" (Goodyear-Grant, 2013: 10). Bernard C. Cohen clearly articulated this theory in 1963, saying, "the press may not be successful in telling its readers what to think, but is remarkably successful in telling them what to think about" (1963: 13; Martin, 1976: 129). In other words, media can set the agenda in terms of what citizens think is, or is not, important. For example, McCombs and Shaw's 1972 study showed that undecided voters in the 1968 U.S. presidential election tended to "give the same priorities to issues in the campaign as was given by the news media" (Martin, 1976: 130). As studies show, media rankings of issues and importance have often been found to match those in the voter's mind.

While there is some academic debate about whether the media or the voter drives the agenda (Soroka, 2002), this paper accepts Funkhouser's premise that the "average person takes the media's word for what the issues are, whether or not he personally has any interest in them" (Funkhouser, 1973: 38; Martin, 1976: 128). The level of importance of an issue on a person's mind is generally referred to as the "salience" of an issue. McCombs and Shaw aptly note that the "salience of an item is one of the key attributes acquired from the mass media" (Martin, 1976: 130). A "salience transfer" happens, wherein "citizens mimic the media's decisions regarding the importance of events or issues" (Goodyear-Grant, 2013: 10). This salience transfer is of particular importance for political campaigns; as Weaver et al. note, the "press plays a major role in making some candidates, and certain of their traits more salient or prominent than others" (1960: 47). Further, by making some information more salient and thus more easily accessible, news reports can influence voter opinions and evaluations indirectly (Weaver et al., 1960: 47). Media coverage, then, sets the agenda and the salience of issues in the minds of citizens through their depth and breadth of coverage of a given issue.

Beyond setting the agenda of issue importance, media is able to shift attention to the particular attributes of news topics (framing) and how these influence public opinion (priming) (Goodyear-Grant, 2013: 10). According to David Snow, the term "frame" denotes a "schemata of interpretation" that enables individuals to "locate, perceive, identify and label occurrences within their life space and the world at large" (Snow, 2012: 50). Further explained by David Snow "framing" takes place when individuals consciously and unconsciously employ selective interpretive lenses that shape, in a very specific way, how events are understood by themselves and others (2012). Schuefele and

Tewksbury argue that framing occurs at both a micro- and macro-level. The macro-level perspective investigates how cultural systems frame issues in a way to suggest a particular societal interpretation. Conversely, the micro-level perspective looks at how individuals use personal views to influence an interpretation (Schuefele and Tewksbury, 2007). As framing happens at both a macro- and micro-level, it tends to emphasize news that is culturally bound and also illustrates the way in which media can shape an article to reinforce or diminish certain cultural ideologies (Mundy, 2013: 2).

In terms of the mediated power of media and interpretation, as Entman explains, "to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment" (cited in Goodyear-Grant, 2013: 10). In other words, media treatment of specific events or issues may have some impact on how citizens interpret information. It is argued, therefore, that journalists "wield a certain degree of power in terms of organizing an article in a way that increases or decreases the salience of a certain interpretation" (Mundy, 2013: 3). Framing is highly significant to the field of political science, and the sub-field of political behaviour in particular, with some scholars going as far as to argue that framing effects constitute "the essence of public opinion formation" (Chong, 1993, cited in Mundy, 2013: 3). It is also important to note that frames often depend on the availability of "verbal and visual symbolic resources" (Reese, 2001, cited in Mundy, 2013: 35). As such, frames heavily depend on the broader symbolic meanings that are "persistent over time" within a social structure (Mundy, 2013: 3). Frames, then, often play on societal norms, which are widely understood within the broader cultural context.

In contrast to framing, priming "makes particular cues accessible while inhibiting access to other issues that might also be worthy of attention (Blidook, 2008: 350). Priming influences public opinion through the "selective processes of agenda setting and framing" (Goodyear-Grant, 2013: 11). An important aspect of priming theory deals with accessibility bias, which is, simply put, the idea that citizens use accessible information disproportionally compared to inaccessible information (Goodyear-Grant, 2013: 11). Media coverage often makes certain information more accessible than other information, and as such, Shanto Ivengar et al. argue that "more accessible information is typically information that is emphasized more often or more extensively in the news" (cited in Goodyear-Grant, 2013: 11). The role of media in terms of framing and priming is empirically well-supported.

Media's Impact on Political Candidates and Campaigns

While the role of media in setting the agenda has been examined, it is also instructive to consider the impact of media coverage on political candidates and campaigns more specifically. In early research examining the influence of the media on political candidates and campaigns, conventional wisdom suggested that elections were primarily partisan affairs in which voters cast their ballots for the candidate of their preferred party with "little or no knowledge of the candidates" (Stokes and Miller, 1962, cited in Wattenburg, 1995: 217). However, over time scholars have found that, increasingly, voters are privy to "candidate-centered campaigns" (Agnoff, 1976, cited in Goodyear-Grant, 2013). In other words, while in the past candidates for public office had to depend heavily on their organizational strength to contact voters, it is now increasingly possible for them to gain direct contact through the vehicle of media (Wattenburg, 1995:

217). As Morris Fiorina aptly notes, "the media provides the means" (Fiorina, 1980: 30). Goodyear-Grant echoes this sentiment, saying that "modern campaigns are waged through the media" (Goodyear-Grant, 2013: 24). The importance of media in modern campaigns is undeniable as media often acts as a medium which provides many citizens with their only contact or experience with political candidates and campaigns.

It makes sense that one of a candidate's most important goals is to be visible in media's coverage of campaigns (Goodyear-Grant, 2013: 24). Literature suggests that in some contexts, visibility can contribute directly to a campaign victory, as media coverage enhances a candidate's recognition among citizens (Bartels, 1998; Mutz, 1997). Goodyear-Grant, 2013: 24). It logically follows that citizens may take salience cues from media focused on people just as they might from a media focused on issues and events. Therefore, if a candidate receives very little media coverage, the audience may assume that they are not a viable or top-quality candidate (Goodyear-Grant, 2013: 25). Research suggests that citizens pick up on salience cues from media coverage and tend to equate media visibility with candidate quality (Bartels, 1988; Goodyear-Grant, 2013: 25). As candidates aim to be as visible as possible in media coverage, it is important to note that the "magnitude, direction, and nature of candidate news coverage are governed by media norms and routines" (Flowers et al., 2003: 259). Previous studies using content analysis provide evidence to suggest that journalists often "seek the controversial and dramatic in weeding through potential stories" (Atherton, 1984, cited in Flowers et al., 2003: 259). As such, media's campaign coverage tends to cover issues like changes to field, attacks, scandal, and the horserace (Flowers et al., 2003: 259). As modern campaigns are often fought through the medium of media with each candidate fighting to be more visible than

the others, and coupled with the fact that media tends to cover dramatic and controversial issues, the role of media in political campaigns is clearly significant.

Media's Role in Gendering Political News

Now that the role of media in campaigns has been covered, it is important to examine the role of media in the gendering of political news. While it is widely recognized that women face various systemic barriers to entering the political arena, less is known about the role of the media in this process. Early work examining media coverage of women in politics showed that women were typically less visible in the news than their male counterparts (Everitt and Gidengil, 2003: 560). In a Canadian example, Gingras' (1995) study shows that female politicians received much less coverage in Ottawa-area newspapers than numbers warranted. To make matters worse, when women were visible, coverage tended to be focused, "dwelling on their viability and framing their issue competencies and/or personality traits in stereotypically feminine terms" (Everitt and Gidengil, 2003: 560). Alexander and Andersen's (1993) study finds that gender stereotyping of a female candidate often leads to a more positive evaluation of her ability to deal competently with issues such as education, poverty, and healthcare, but less competency in dealing with "hard" policy issues, which are linked with masculine stereotypes (Alexander and Andersen, 1993). Kahn and Goldenburg (1991) also find that coverage of female candidates tended to focus on "issues like education rather than the economy or foreign policy" (Everitt and Gidengil, 2003: 560). Evidence suggests that media have traditionally focused on specifically gendered aspects of female political candidates rather than qualifications linked to their candidacy (Devere and Davies, 2005; Major and Coleman, 2008; Mundy, 2013: 4).

Much of the research related to the study of media coverage of women in politics references the "gendering" of news. Gendering occurs when media coverage emphasizes a person's gender, regardless of its relevance to the news item (Lundell and Ekstrom, 2008; Mundy, 2013: 4). Gendered coverage then, refers to the ways in which women politicians are "systematically presented different than their male counterparts as a function of the fact that they are women" while also promoting a view of "visible-minority news subjects as novel, atypical, or exotic" (Goodyear-Grant, 2013: 4). In the context of this paper, gender is understood as a social construct, which includes a "continuum of norms and behaviours that are both socially perpetuated and alterable" (Mackie, 1991, cited in Bittner and Goodyear-Grant, 2013: 1). The focus of this paper, however, is on the way that media plays on traditional gender *norms* when women are covered. Culturally constructed gender norms link certain qualities such as "competence, assertiveness, and independence with maleness…and other qualities such as warmth, compassion, and dependence with femaleness" (Goodyear-Grant, 2013: 74). It follows that women or men acting outside of the socially constructed norm tend to receive different treatment in media coverage.

Coverage of female politicians has changed over the years, and there is far less open and direct sexist rhetoric employed by media. However, as Everitt and Gidengil note, "even when women are not being framed in stereotypically feminine terms, gender bias may still be present" (Everitt and Gidengil, 2003: 560). Modern coverage involves gendering news in a way that is "more subtle and insidious," which includes covering politicians "using ostensibly gender-neutral new frames that are, in fact, masculine" (Goodyear-Grant, 2013: 4). The gendered mediation thesis sets out an important

theoretical framework for analyzing contemporary media coverage. Gidengil and Everitt define gendered mediation as the idea that "far from being gender-neutral, conventional news frames treat the male as normative" (Gidengil and Everitt, 2003b: 10). For example, media coverage often positions female politicians as women first and politicians second, by "highlighting their marital status, sexuality, appearance and domestic roles" (Trimble, 2007: 979). Further, according to Linda Trimble, "when women are in the picture because they are women, their gender difference can become central to the story" (Trimble, 2007: 979).

The gendered mediation thesis is rooted in the premise that politics is significantly determined by a male-oriented agenda that privileges the practice of politics as an essentially male pursuit. The image and language of mediated politics, therefore, "supports the status quo (male as norm) and regards women politicians as novelties" (Ross and Sreberny-Mohammadi, 2000: 93; Everitt and Gidengil, 2003: 210). The second part of the thesis is related to the fact that the gendered nature of the news comes from the "gendered structure of news production," where men have dominated at every level, which is "reflected in the masculine norms and conventions that govern news production and affects how gender discourse is encoded into media texts" (van Zoonan, 1994: 43 cited in Everitt and Gidengil, 2003: 210).

As Goodyear-Grant succinctly summarizes,

The gendered mediation thesis is rooted in two core premises, which explain why gendered coverage occurs. First, the news media reflect the culture in which they are situated, which is gendered. Second the mechanics of the news industry, which is dominated by men, reinforce the masculine character of the news. (2013: 6)

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Therefore, the news does not simply reflect the fact that, perceptibly, men dominate politics; it actively perpetuates a stereotypical conception of masculine politics and politicians (Rakow and Kranich, 1991; Peake, 1997; Everitt and Gidengil, 2003: 211). Examples abound. A pertinent example of this phenomenon is seen in the application of masculine frames to describe female politicians, which may appear unnatural to audiences, "trigging a basic schema incompatibility…in which new information conflicts with deeply embedded gender schema" (Goodyear-Grant, 2013: 13). Therefore, when media coverage contains sports or war-related metaphors to describe a female politician's behaviour—which is at odds with culturally defined norms of femininity—this may further suggest to audiences that "women are alien to politics and do not possess the traits required to successfully compete" (Goodyear-Grant, 2013: 13). In terms of media reporting on women's behaviour in the political arena, "words and/or actions that would be perceived as merely assertive on the part of a male candidate may be reported as aggressive on the part of a female candidate" (Everitt and Gidengil, 2003: 235). As one British MP notes, "X makes statements and I make outbursts" (Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross, 1996).

Kanter's ground-breaking work on corporations identifies four common stereotypes of professional women: sex object, mother, pet, and iron maiden (Kanter, 1977: 233–6; Goodyear-Grant, 2013: 58). As gendered political news often corresponds to these types quite well (Goodyear-Grant, 2013), it is useful to briefly explain each category. The sex object frame, as one can assume, relates to the sexualized focus of media coverage of female politicians, which can come at the expense of appropriately covering such women's professional credentials and political experience (Goodyear-

Grant, 2013: 58). The mother categorization becomes apparent when media coverage

focuses on a women's martial status, children, or domestic situation more broadly

(Goodyear-Grant, 2013: 61). The role of pet in media coverage leaves women in a

dependent and passive position where their success can be derived from a stronger male

figure (Goodyear-Grant, 2013: 64). Finally, the iron maiden categorization for women in

positions of power is placed on those who are seen to challenge deeply embedded gender

norms and who are deemed "too masculine" (Goodyear-Grant, 2013: 64).

Some of the most recent and comprehensive work on gendered political news

suggests that media coverage of female candidates remains just that—gendered. Of much

influence to this research project is Goodyear-Grant's recent work, *Gendered News:*

Media Coverage and Electoral Politics in Canada, which finds that media coverage often

presents gendered representations of women in politics, which can become arduous

obstacles to women running for and attaining political office (Goodyear-Grant, 2013: 1).

Therefore, gendered media coverage can "negatively impact both the supply of and the

demand for women politicians" (Goodyear-Grant, 2013: 1). As the literature to date

suggests, women in politics typically receive gendered media coverage whether it be

explicit or subtle. This research project is guided by the gendered mediation thesis and

uses the theoretical framework to understand and examine the case study at hand.

Media Coverage of LGBTQ Candidates

As literature relating the gendered aspect of political news has been explained, it

is now important—given the case study at hand—to examine the particular way in which

the news media covers LGBTQ people in the political process. Firstly, it is useful to note

that there has been very little scholarly research done on this topic. Further, of the

literature available, most research examines individual case studies, meaning that findings are specific to the case at hand and are not appropriately generalizable. That being said, there are seemingly "remarkable parallels between the patterns of gendered coverage and coverage of other non-traditional politicians, such as gay and lesbian politicians" (Everitt and Camp, 2013a: 30). There are distinct differences between LGBTQ candidates and other underrepresented groups, however, some of which stem "from the fact that LGBTQ candidates have the option of being invisible" (Everitt and Camp, 2013: 227). In other words, LGBTQ candidates can conceal their sexual orientation until after they are elected or even out of political life, unlike many other marginalized groups. Everitt and Camp (2003) find that LGBTQ candidates are more likely to win at the polls when they have a pre-established reputation for community service before the public discovers their sexual orientation (Everitt and Camp, 2003: 226). Although this research is not focused on the success rate of LGBTQ candidates, it is focused on media coverage of these candidates, which may be significantly skewed depending on whether a candidate is "in or out."

Media coverage of LGBTQ candidates has traditionally been heteronormative in nature. Heteronormativity can be defined as the "normalization of heterosexuality which exists across multiple social domains…and is maintained and perpetuated by social institutions" (Harbath, 2008: 2). Put more simply, heteronormativity privileges heterosexuality in a way that creates social pressures to conform to such roles (Kitzinger, 2005, cited in Harbath, 2008: 2). The studies available on media coverage of LGBTQ candidates show that while those who are open about their sexuality are rarely subject to "blatantly hostile news reporting" like women, "they too are frequently presented in a

distinct matter, accentuating their otherness, limiting the perception of their abilities and interests and pushing them to the corners of political discourse" (Everitt and Camp, 2009a: 28). The parallels between media coverage of women and LGBTQ candidates in politics are evident in the "othering" of both groups.

According to previous research, media coverage may play upon stereotypes of LGBTQ candidates and draw the public's attention to particular aspects of an individual's personality while shifting it away from others (Everitt and Camp, 2003: 28). Stereotypes are "perceptual shortcuts in the process of impression formation" (Fiske et al., 1987, cited in Everitt and Camp, 2009a: 28). There is "complete agreement" in the literature that stereotypes of LGBTQ people can be particularly nasty, or hateful (Everitt and Camp, 2003: 29). The use of stereotypes by media coverage when covering LGBTQ candidates contributes to their "othering" and detracts from their potential to add to political discourse. On this note, Golebiowska's (2002) study found that the media tends to focus on a candidate's sexual orientation if it appears to have more news value than the individual's policy standpoints (Everitt and Camp, 2003: 28). As such, the zeroing in on only certain aspects of a candidate—in this case, their sexuality—has the potential to give those aspects further importance in voters' assessments of said politician than would otherwise be the case (Everitt and Camp, 2003: 28). There is still considerable debate in the literature over the extent to which voters' stereotypes shape their perception of female candidates and how that, in turn, influences election outcomes (Doan and Haider-Markel, 2010: 66). Scholars have previously argued that voters may use gender stereotypes when evaluating a candidate's beliefs, traits, and viability (Doan and Haider-Markel, 2010: 66). Therefore, the role the media plays in making some issues or characteristics more salient

than others may have serious consequences as this may reinforce any initial gender stereotyping on the part of the voter.

Everitt and Camp (2009a) point out that current academic literature has revealed a major, damaging characteristic of typical media coverage of LGBTQ political candidates, which is the depiction of LGBTQ candidates (as with women) as part of a "singular movement, or ideology, notwithstanding their party affiliations" (Golebiowksa, 2002, cited in Everitt and Camp, 2003: 30). Golebiowska's study suggested that one of the biggest challenges for LGBTQ candidates was fighting the observation that they were "single-issue politicians, driven by their devotion to the so-called gay agenda" (Golebiowska, 2002, cited in Everitt and Camp, 2003: 30). In other words, it usually does not matter what a LGBTQ candidate tries to focus on in his/her campaign literature; media coverage tends to imply that their "paramount concern" is fighting for "matters of specific importance to the gay community" (Everitt and Camp, 2003: 30). Being framed as a "gay-activist" first, and able to represent the interests of everyone second, can create enormous obstacles for LGBTQ candidates vying to be elected into public office. This type of coverage was particularly evident in Allison Brewer's run for, and eventual leadership of, the New Brunswick New Democratic Party, which will be examined in more detail below.

Allison Brewer and the New Brunswick NDP Leadership Race

Allison Brewer's 2005 run for leadership of the New Brunswick NDP is a very relevant and uniquely important case study that helps to guide the major assumptions of this research program. Brewer's case study provides a Canadian example of a female and LGBTQ candidate running for leadership of a major party and then guiding the party into

a general provincial election. The examination of Allison Brewer's media coverage, then, provides fertile starting ground for this research project. In their analysis of media coverage of both campaign events, Everitt and Camp find that media coverage used "stereotypical conceptions of lesbians, activists, and women and politics" to highlight the "unusual aspects of the race" (Everitt and Camp, 2003). Everitt and Camp's work also highlights that much news coverage described Brewer not as a lesbian, but as a "gay activist," which was made a central campaign issue (Everitt and Camp, 2009a). In interviews, Brewer speculates that being framed as gay activist first, and a politician second, most likely had negative impacts on her campaign. Everitt and Michael Camp argue that "the stereotypical framing and categorical description had the effect of limiting Brewer's ability to present herself as a political leader prepared to champion the diverse interests of her party" (Everitt and Camp, 2009a: 29). Further, by treating Brewer as a "novelty" in her leadership bid, media coverage defined her candidacy in terms of her difference from the heterosexual norm rather than by her platform and experiences (Everitt and Camp, 2009a: 29). Evidently, many of the same frames (e.g., novelty) are used to describe both women and non-traditional candidates, and in Brewer's case, both. The serious consequences of such media coverage go far beyond electoral wins or losses, as the authors note:

> Such coverage reinforces and legitimizes prevailing social structures, creates additional barriers to political equality and deprives gay and lesbian candidates of critically important opportunities to express their point of view and demonstrate their competence on a wider range of issues. (Everitt and Camp, 2003)

Johanna Sigurdardottir and Sexuality as a "Non-Issue"

The case of Iceland's first female and the world's first openly gay prime minister, Johanna Sigurdardottir, also presents useful information for examining gendered and

heteronormative news coverage of political candidates. Dean Mundy (2013) finds that media is more interested in reporting that sexuality is a non-issue in Iceland, rather than reporting on sexuality itself (Mundy, 2013: 17). The non-issue frame raises questions about the premise of writing a story about something that is not an issue. In other words, if it wasn't an issue, why was it talked about so much? Mundy's main finding, however, is that the most pervasive media frame was Sigurdardottir as symbolically female, and further, that "media ultimately juxtaposed the news of her sexuality with her gender being the more important qualifying trait for Iceland" (Mundy, 2013:17). In this case, as the newsworthiness of sexuality diminished, the discussion of gender as a defining trait did not.

Expectations of the Kathleen Wynne Case Study

The experiences of these two female and LGBT-identifying political candidates— in terms of the gendered and heteronormative nature of media coverage of their respective candidacies—serve to guide the expectations of the case study at hand. While context matters, these case studies provide the most relevant and timely information about the modern media's framing of party leaders who fall outside of the gender and sexual norm. The media's framing of Brewer as a "gay activist" above all else sets up the expectation that coverage of Wynne will be heteronormative and that she will have to make a concerted effort not to be framed as an activist. The persistence of the salience of Sigurdardottir's gender in media guides my expectation that coverage of Wynne will also be heavily gendered. In terms of whether coverage of Wynne will be more gendered or heteronormative—given the coverage of Brewer and Sigurdardottir— I expect that gender will be highlighted more in the coverage.

Intersectionality of Gender and Sexuality

One of the most interesting aspects of the case study at hand is that Wynne is both female and openly gay, which suggests that the intersection of gender and sexuality must be examined. There is no clear agreement in the literature about whether or not lesbian candidates face further marginalization for being both women and gay or if they benefit from being seen as competent on hard issues (the stereotypically masculine trait that might be associated with a lesbian candidate). While Everitt and Camp (2003) argue that lesbians are "doubly marginalized," as they face "othering" on the basis of being a woman and on the basis of being gay, other authors such as Doan and Haider-Markel (2010) have found that in some cases, "the masculine characteristics stereotypically associated with lesbians may interact to offset, and even compliment, the gender stereotypes associated with female political candidates" (Doan and Haider-Markel, 2010: 86). While it is beyond the scope of this research to examine which characteristics played most heavily on the minds of voters, it is important to consider the two different frames. It is possible—as is the aim of this project—to examine which characteristic media made most salient.

Even the stereotyping literature focuses primarily on discrete categories of identity because comparatively few political candidates have belonged to minority groups, and even fewer have shared membership in more than one (Howard, 2000). Here, M Eaton's definition of intersectional stereotyping is important to explore. Intersectional stereotyping is defined as "stereotyping that is created by the combination of more than one stereotype that together produce something unique and distinct from any one form of stereotyping standing alone (Haider-Markel and Doan, 2010: 71). Following Eaton's

understanding of intersectional stereotyping, this project finds while that stereotyping

based on sexuality and gender is intersectional and hard to untangle, it is rooted in

common culturally embedded gender-role norms. As such, it is appropriate to examine

media coverage of Wynne through the gendered mediation framework while keeping a

keen eye for heteronormative coverage.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

The literature reviewed above sets up the following research questions (and corresponding hypotheses), which serve to guide this research project:

1.) Was media coverage of Kathleen Wynne in the Liberal leadership race and during the general provincial election gendered?
   - *Media coverage of Kathleen Wynne during the Liberal leadership race and the general provincial election was gendered and heteronormative as it*
     o *made reference to Kathleen Wynne's gender in instances where it was not contextually relevant;*
     o *made reference to Kathleen Wynne's sexual orientation in instances where it was not contextually relevant;*
     o *referred often to Kathleen Wynne's personal and family life;*
     o *framed Kathleen Wynne in Kanter's "mother" categorization, playing on female stereotypes of compassion and passivity;*
     o *used frames of novelty when describing Kathleen Wynne's successes as both openly gay and as a female, which placed her outside the male, heterosexual norm; and*
     o *used frames of viability, especially during the leadership race, to describe Kathleen Wynne's "un-electability."*

2.) Is the frame of "non-issue" used to describe Kathleen Wynne's sexual orientation and gender more than an "issue" frame?
   - *Media more frequently referenced Kathleen Wynne's sexuality and gender as "non-issues" rather than as "issues."*

3.) Is the proportion of articles mentioning the "non-issue" frame exceptionally high, causing some concern about the reality of that premise?
   - *The high proportion of articles referencing gender and sexuality as being "non-issues" highlights the fact that these characteristics could have, in fact, been issues.*

The purpose of this section is to lay out the methodological framework used in this research project. This chapter proceeds with an explanation of the case study at hand, and moves on to describing data collection and analysis. The findings of this project rest

on data collected in an intensive content analysis and media study. The process, in terms of steps taken, is described below.

Kathleen Wynne Case Study

This research project examines media coverage of Wynne's rise to power in Ontario through two major events: the 2013 Liberal leadership race and 2014 provincial election. At the time of writing, the author is unaware of any other studies completed examining this specific case study. The case study was chosen as it presents a timely opportunity to examine the way in which modern political media coverage handles both gender and sexuality, and their intersection. While much recent scholarly work has been dedicated to testing the gendered mediation theory, this case study allows for the extension of this theory to examine heteronormative coverage, as has recently been done with race (Tolley, 2013a). This case study also parallels neatly previous academic scholarship examining media coverage of Canadian self-identifying LGBTQ politicians, such as Everitt and Camp's (2009a) study of the media coverage surrounding New Brunswick NDP leader Allison Brewer's candidacy during both a leadership race as well as during a general provincial election.

Admittedly, opportunities for systematically testing hypotheses are "far more limited" with the case-study method compared to other methods (Collier, 1993: 106). However, Arend Lijphart suggests that case studies do make an important contribution to testing hypotheses and building theory. Lijphart categorizes types of case studies as atheoretical, interpretative, hypothesis-generating, theory confirming, theory-infirming, and/or deviant (Lijphart, 1971). As such, according to Lijphart, it is possible to use a case study to test a theory. That being said, one should be diligent not to overstate the case

studies importance in the broader theoretical framework. In this specific case study, the examination of media coverage of Wynne during both events not only can be used to test the gendered mediation thesis, but also can contribute to further hypothesis-generating about heteronormative news coverage. The findings of this single case study should not be used for wide-ranging theoretical premises, and it should be noted that the time period of this study is different than that of other relevant studies, and it is likely that temporal variation may play some role in the results.

Print Media

The main source of data for this study is an examination of media coverage through content analysis. The scope of data collection is focused on two of Canada's most read major daily print newspapers, the *Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Star*.

The decision to use print media only was made for a variety of reasons. In a recent examination of media coverage of race in Canadian electoral politics, Erin Tolley argues that print media outlets are able to offer "more extensive news coverage because of less stringent space considerations," which provides "an opportunity for them to engage more fully in the framing of news stories" (Druckman, 2005, cited in, Tolley 2013a). Further, more in-depth stories in the print media provide more possibilities for "selective presentation by newsmakers" (Tolley, 2013a). The use of print media also allows for proper comparison of the two events by examining the same newspapers and media coverage.

Content Analysis

As this project relies almost entirely on content analysis, it is important to describe some of the major concepts related to this form of analysis. Content analysis

"entails a systematic reading of a body of texts, images and symbolic matter…which

includes an examination of manifest and latent content" (Krippendorff, 2004, cited in

Tolley, 2013a: 36). Manifest content refers to the "observable, surface properties of a

text, while latent content refers to deeper embedded meanings, codes or messages"

(Holsti, 1969; Neuendorf, 2003, cited in Tolley, 2013a: PP). As Harold Lasswell

suggests, "the stream of communication is made up of statements, and the key questions

to ask about any statement are: What is said? Who says it? Who is affected, how?

Symbol analysis is concerned with 'what is said'" (Lasswell, 1941: 1). According to

Holsti (1969) and Neuendorf (2003), manifest content "can be directly counted and

coded, while latent content is unobservable" (cited in Tolley, 2013a: 84). As such,

analyses of latent content are typically "operationalized using clusters of manifest

variables, which are constructed to represent the latent variable in question" (Tolley,

2013a: 84). For the purposes of this project, only manifest mentions were coded and

therefore included in the data presented. However, as latent mentions are prevalent in

modern media coverage, the analysis chapter identifies and examines an in-depth

example. This example also highlights how multiple manifest references can often

construct more subtle latent types of mentions, which may be just as, or perhaps even

more, gendered and heteronormative.

Population

This project analyzes all *Toronto Star* and *Globe and Mail* news articles that

mentioned Wynne during the Ontario Liberal leadership race, starting with Dalton

McGuinty's resignation on October 15, 2012, until the week following the leadership

convention. The reason for including articles written up until a week after the convention

is because of the large number that were written following Wynne's historic victory, where there was much talk of both her gender and sexuality. To be clear, this project examines articles in which there is a direct reference to Wynne in some form. As this project is only focused on the proportion of news coverage of Wynne that is gendered and/or heteronormative, it was not necessary to code all articles published on the topics of the leadership and election campaigns. Other authors have argued in favour of a substantially wider understanding of gendered coverage (e.g., women candidates not being allowed to speak for themselves, or not being asked to provide comment on particular issues as a form of gendered coverage), but such analysis falls outside of the scope of this project.

This project also examines all campaign-related news articles (which mentioned Wynne) from May 2, 2014, to June 19, 2014 (starting from the day Ontario NDP leader Andrea Horwath announced she would not be supporting the budget, thus causing an election, until one week after Ontario's June 12 election). In the interest of consistency, this project uses campaign-related articles from the *Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Star*. There are limitations to only using two national newspapers—in particular, this sample is probably not representative of all newspaper media coverage throughout both events. However, these are the two most read daily papers in Canada (and in particular, Ontario) and included coverage of Wynne during both electoral events.

Coding Scheme

The news articles are coded into a spreadsheet using (1) if the article contains a specific reference and (0) if it does not. Each article is coded for the following: reference to gender, reference to sexuality, reference to personal life, reference to "issue," reference

to "non-issue," reference to viability, reference to novelty, reference to stereotypical feminine traits or roles, and reference to LGBTQ activism.

In terms of references of viability, this categorization is used to code articles that questioned whether or not Ontario was ready for a female and/or LGBTQ premier. References to novelty involve articles that mention how Wynne could be the *first* female and/or LGBTQ premier.

References to stereotypical feminine traits and/or roles include descriptions of Wynne as, for example, being a grandmother, a mother, a cooperator, a listener, passive, compassionate, co-dependent, well-mannered, a "team player," mediator, calm, or weak.

Articles that referred to Wynne's gender or sexuality as something that did or could present an issue in voter's minds are coded as "issue," while articles describing that, on the surface, neither of these issues mattered to voters were coded as "non-issue."

It is also important to mention that articles were first coded on the basis of either (1) a substantive mention or (0) a non-substantive mention. Substantive mentions were differentiated from non-substantive mentions by classifying any article which made reference to anything more than Wynne's name, as substantive. The coding of articles in terms of substantive versus non-substantive was done in a systematic way, using only this one rule to differentiate. This decision was made because there is a significant difference between coverage that merely mentions Wynne as a candidate and more substantial coverage that could, for example, express her policy positions on issues. For clarity, 525 articles were coded in total, with 300 articles containing substantive mentions.

While this framework allows for quantification of manifest content, it also allows for the coupling of manifest references to explore latent content. For example, in one article there is a direct reference to Wynne's gender and sexuality, which could be coded. However, the interviewer also asks Wynne whether she or her partner "do the house work" (a stereotypically feminine/female role, which could also be coded into the spreadsheet). This article therefore presents an example wherein coverage can be coded for multiple different manifest references, but also highlights an example of a latent mention which is subtle but contains deeply embedded messages bound in cultural norms and symbols.

While representations of the personal (for example, references to the family life of Wynne) could have been presented in proportion to coverage of other leadership candidates and/or general election candidates, the presence of other female candidates makes this challenging. The research question at hand is not whether or not Wynne's media coverage was *more gendered* than other female candidates; quite simply, the goal is to answer the question of whether or not coverage of Wynne was gendered and/or heteronormative. Of course, this project is not led by the assumption that media coverage of male political candidates is not gendered and/or heteronormative. However, it should be noted that creating a hierarchy of gendered/heteronormative coverage is also not within the scope and/or goals of this project.

The scope of this project is a case study analysis of media coverage of Wynne's candidacy during both events. As such, it creates a starting point for future research, as before undertaking comparison of media coverage by candidate, it is essential that an in-depth case study of one candidate be completed, under the guiding assumption that

context matters. Future research should examine the coverage of Kathleen Wynne in comparison to other candidates for leadership and/or other party leaders during the general election.

Bias, Reliability, and Viability

Hammersley and Gomm (1997) describe bias as denoting "a particular source of systematic error: that deriving from a conscious or unconscious tendency on the part of a researcher to produce data, and/or to interpret them, in a way that inclines towards erroneous conclusions which are in line with his or her commitments" (1997: 1). Therefore, in the interest of full disclosure, I acknowledge that my employment with the Legislative Assembly of Ontario through the Ontario New Democratic Party Caucus may cause some readers to question whether or not partisan inclinations have interfered with the research at hand. While this research is intended to be non-partisan in nature, I took conscious steps to maintain systematic analysis and avoid the possibility of personal bias affecting results. Firstly, data collected for this project was captured through content analysis. The content analysis was completed in a systematic way with clear and transparent rules separating coding protocol.[i] Of course, in agreement with other feminist literature, I accept that full objectivity or neutrality is not possible. That being said, I undertook this content analysis in the most systematic way possible. It is hard to imagine how the simple counting of the number of times a specific reference is made within media coverage can, in any way, be biased, although the decision-making regarding the content of what is being counted, of course, can be. Secondly, I did not complete interviews with members of Wynne's campaign team(s) or media who covered these events, to avoid any subjective analysis of interviews. In the future, this research should

be complimented with qualitative research to add to its depth. As such, in good faith, the data collected and analyzed in this project will be made available publically for replication by other scholars in the future. It is also worth noting that if any person involved in the political process is deemed unable to objectively study and analyze certain political phenomena, it is not a far logical stretch to suggest that any female researcher cannot objectively study other females, or that a self-identifying minority cannot, and therefore should not, study other minorities. Since this seems false, it must also be false that any person involved in the political process ought to be barred from studying political phenomena.

Though some may raise concerns about the fact that the principal investigator coded all of the data collected for this research project, limitations at the master's level exist, making it necessary for me to code each article with no outside participation. While this explanation may not quell readers' concerns about the possibility of bias affecting the results of the project, I took many steps to make sure that coding was done as systematically as possible. I coded for a maximum of one hour at a time, at the same time of the day, to avoid fatigue or a change in environment affecting the results. In terms of reliability, I had ten different people from mixed academic backgrounds code a random selection of 5 percent of articles. The coding results were the same 94 percent of the time. As only one coder was involved in the full process, inter-coder reliability does not present an issue. Future research could use multiple coders to increase the reliability of the data collected. In terms of validity, content analysis is widely considered, and used, as an accurate and consistent way to measure different types of mentions in media coverage. In fact, in terms of measuring the "gendering" or heteronormativity of news, previous

scholarship has relied almost entirely on content analysis. Future research could include more than two major newspapers to ensure that the concepts being measured are both consistent and accurate.

Presentation of data collected from the content analysis will be provided in the next chapter of this project. Following an explanation and analysis of findings from the content analysis, this project will highlight a few different examples of gendered and/or heteronormative coverage that show the different types of coverage, and the ways this coverage can be presented, by media. Focusing on a few specific examples also allows me to demonstrate how one or more examples of manifest content together can present latent content that, as gendered mediation theory suggests, may be more subtle, but still insidious. To be clear, while Lasswell suggests that content analysis is concerned with "what is said," this question may further lead to a discussion of "who is affected and how" (1941: 1).

CHAPTER 4: DATA AND ANALYSIS

This chapter sets out to analyze the data presented throughout. It first focuses on the percentage of substantive mentions during the leadership race and provides some contextual examples. Second, this chapter moves into examining data collected from the general provincial election, while also providing specific examples for the purpose of adding context. The data is first shown in the form of tables, which include all relevant data. Following the tables, three-column bar graphs are presented and broken down first by each newspaper, with the third bar representing combined coverage. The second graph presents data from the provincial general election, displaying the percentage of substantive mentions. Third, this chapter examines examples of latent mentions not captured by the scope of this research project and draws conclusions about the overall coverage. Fourth, this chapter considers the impact of the intersectionality of gender and sexuality in the examined media coverage.

Analysis of the Liberal Leadership Race

Data collected through content analysis of the leadership race is presented, examined, and analyzed in this section. In terms of raw mentions in *Toronto Star* coverage, gender had the highest rate of mention at 38, with sexuality, novelty, and viability following closely behind with 27, 26, and 24 mentions, respectively. In contrast, raw mentions in *Globe and Mail* coverage were much lower. That being said, again gender had the highest rate of mention at 19, with novelty, feminine trait/stereotype, and sexuality following closely behind with 15, 14, and 11 mentions, respectively (see Table 4.1).

4.1 LEADERSHIP RACE – TABLE SHOWING ALL DATA

	Toronto Star: Raw	Toronto Star: Percent	Globe and Mail: Raw	Globe and Mail: Percent	Combined Raw	Combined Percent
Gender	38	55.8%	19	32.7%	57	45.2%
Sexuality	27	39.7%	11	18.9%	38	30%
Personal	10	14.7%	5	8.6%	15	11.9%
Issue	14	20.5%	3	5.1%	17	13.4%
Non-Issue	14	20.5%	1	1.7%	15	11.9%
Viability	24	35.2%	7	12%	41	24.6%
Novelty	26	38.2%	15	25.8%	41	32.5%
Stereotype	14	20.5%	14	24%	28	22.2%
Activism	1	1.4%	0	0%	1	.7%
Observations	N =68		N=58		N=126	

Table 1

N= Number of Substantive Mentions
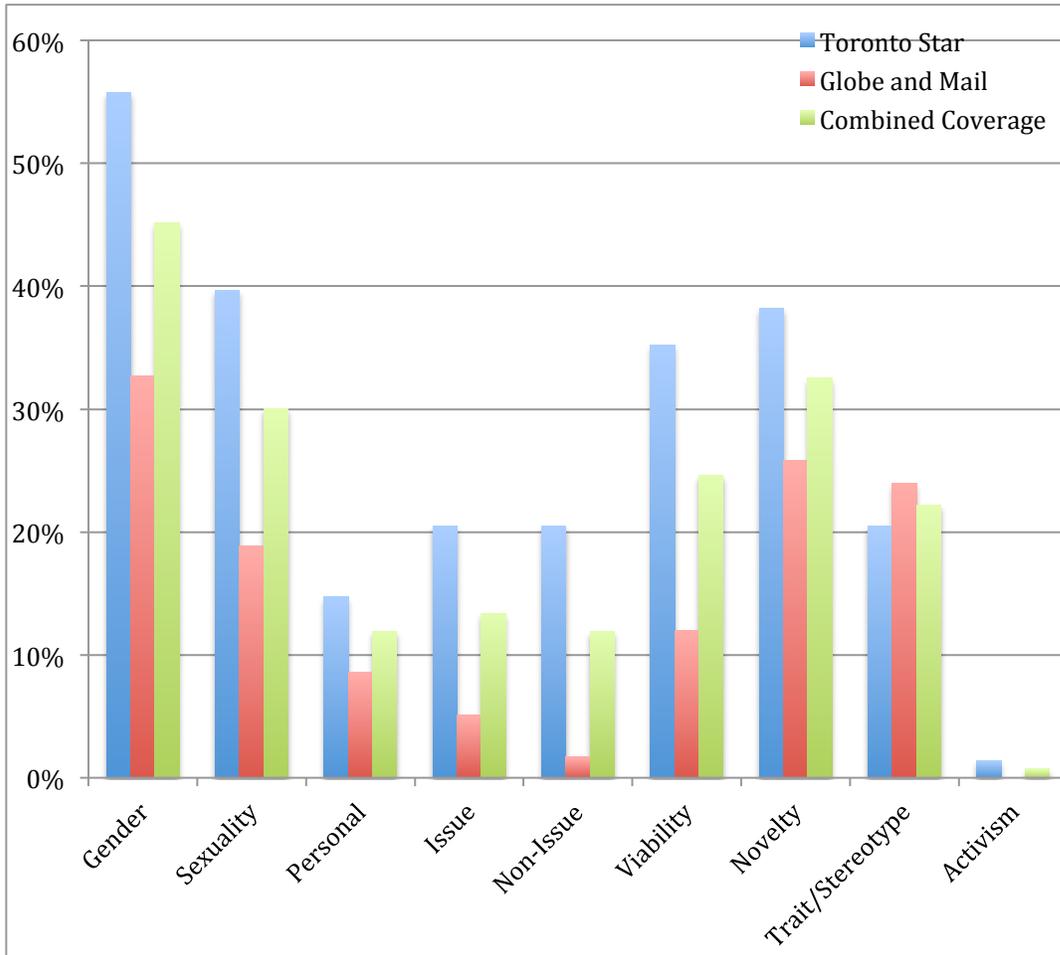
Figure 1

In terms of percentage of substantive mentions, the *Toronto Star*'s coverage presents striking results (See Figure 4.1). Wynne's gender was referenced 55.8 percent of the time, while her sexuality was mentioned less so at 39.7. These results were followed closely by novelty and viability at 38.2 percent and 35.2 percent, respectively. These results include much higher percentages than anticipated and provide support for the overarching conclusion of this project that much of the *Toronto Star* coverage was both

gendered and heteronormative. The *Globe and Mail*'s coverage, in terms of percentage of substantive mentions was, again, lower than the Toronto Star, with Wynne's gender being mentioned 32.7 percent of the time, followed by novelty and feminine trait/stereotype coded at 25.8 percent and 24.1 percent respectively.

The results presented above show that media coverage of the leadership race was heavily gendered, particularly in the *Toronto Star*, in which more than half of substantive mentions reference Wynne's gender.[ii] It is important to keep in mind that the results presented are simply manifest mentions, and therefore, the number is probably higher if we consider latent mentions. Examples of latent mentions will be examined later. The question, however, remains whether or not simply mentioning gender deems the coverage gendered? Therefore, this section is used to present some examples of the types of ways in which Wynne's gender was mentioned in the *Toronto Star*. While it is the opinion of the author—and further, the proponents of the gendered mediation thesis—that mentions of gender are rarely, if ever, contextually relevant, this remains a point of contention and therefore must be explored in detail using examples.

Gender

The data provided above indicates that there were many references to gender in coverage of the leadership race. More specifically, the *Toronto Star* coverage mentioned gender 56 percent of the time and the *Globe and Mail* coverage referenced gender 33 percent of the time. While the hard numbers provide quantitative information, it is difficult to get a full sense of the implications of these numbers without a deeper look at specific examples of such articles.

To begin, in an article entitled "Wynne Goes All In," written shortly after Wynne

announced her candidacy for Liberal leadership, her gender is mentioned in the context of novelty. The article opens with the statement, "Political pioneer Kathleen Wynne is launching her bid to become the first woman to govern Ontario" (Benzie and Ferguson, 2013). Making reference to Wynne as being both a pioneer and as trying to become the *first* woman to lead Ontario, the article highlights how her gender puts her outside of the "norm" for past previous premiers in Ontario. To be clear, media coverage of male political candidates rarely, if ever, mentions gender as an important characteristic, as it is not novel, or something newsworthy. Many mentions of gender are paired with novelty references as they play off of each other. These findings are, perhaps, not surprising given Trimble's argument that "when women are in the picture because they are women, their gender difference can become central to the story" (2007: 979).

Many other articles referenced gender in the context of novelty. For example, another article from the same time period states, "Ontario is on the brink of having a woman as premier for the first time in its history" (Benzie, 2013). While, undoubtedly, Wynne's rise to power in Ontario is historically significant, it is still reasonable to question whether the emphasis placed on the significance is really about her gender as controversial. In other words, because she falls outside the societal norm or politicians, media coverage focuses on what makes her different, aside from the fact that she would be the "first" female premier of Ontario. Examples of Wynne's gender being paired with novelty to create newsworthiness fit well into Goodyear-Grant's thesis about the gendering of news, which argues that media coverage of female candidates often uses some sort of novelty reference. In fact, for every *Toronto Star* reference to gender, there is a 50 percent chance that there was also a mention of novelty in the same article.

Articles that made specific reference to Wynne's gender also often made reference to a typical female trait/stereotype. Following previous scholarship by Kanter, I expected gendered coverage to fall into one of four categorizations: sex object, pet, mother, or iron maiden. During the leadership race, Wynne's media coverage fit quite well into the "mother" categorization. To clarify, the mother categorization is evident when media coverage focuses on a woman's marital status, children, or domestic situation more broadly (Goodyear-Grant, 2013: 61). While references to the personal were few and far between in comparison to other codes, almost all references mentioned that Wynne was a mother and grandmother. Furthermore, many articles included subtle inferences that her motherhood contributed to her mannerisms. For example, one article notes her grandmotherly status followed by describing her as a "passive listener, always taking others thoughts into consideration" (Benzie, 2013). While Wynne campaigned on making politics more of a conversation and less of a directive, media clearly used her motherhood as a way to frame her with traditionally feminine characteristics, such as being passive, a listener, and a caring politician. Media coverage also focused heavily on her past as a mediator, playing into her strong ability to listen: "She's a former mediator, which makes her someone who listens, is reasoned, is a team player and solves problems; we'll need all that in a minority government" (Jarvis, 2013). An example that highlights the use of more than one gender stereotype is seen in this *Toronto Star* article: "The best listener, best problem solver, best (Harvard-trained) mediator and a proven doer, Wynne is a 59-year-old grandmother who gets it. She also gets people onside" (Regg Cohn, 2013a). Here, her status as grandmother coupled with her skill to mediate and get people onside are made salient, which implies that these gendered characteristics are the most

important facts about her as a political candidate.

The coverage also tends to frame Wynne a front-runner *because* she has the skills to work with the opposition parties in a minority situation. Being willing to listen effectively and work with others was a highlight of much media coverage focused on her leadership bid. In contrast, her main competitor, Sandra Pupatello, was framed as an "iron maiden" that would present a Liberal hardline and probably lead the province directly into an election, given her inability to work with opposition. As a *Toronto Star* columnist explains,

> By her own account, Sandra Pupatello is the political gladiator who could trounce her Liberal rivals today—and, tomorrow, demolish "Hudak and Horwath" (pretty much spitting their surnames out from the podium). In the same breath, she vows to make the opposition leaders her first telephone call after winning power to find common ground. (Regg Cohn, 2013)

These examples provide interesting information about how the gendering of female candidates can happen in very different ways, with varying levels of subtly, while still remaining deeply sexist overall. These findings also seem to provide further evidence for Kanter's typology thesis. It is worth questioning whether or not coverage of a male candidate would contain such gendered overtones, whether in "aggressive" or "passive" language.

Interestingly, the Liberal leadership coverage often focused explicitly on whether or not Ontario was "ready for a female premier" (Hepburn,2013). To be more specific, 20.5 percent of *Toronto Star* coverage mentioned gender as being either an issue or a non-issue. Quite differently, the *Globe and Mail* only mentioned gender as non-issue, and only once. As such, much of this analysis focuses on the *Toronto Star* coverage.

In terms of context, it is important to note that both major candidates in the race spoke candidly about their gender and its impact on the race. For example, days before the convention, Wynne explained that there was "an added excitement about this leadership—that the province is ready to really endorse a woman premier and I think that's terrific" (Benzie, 2013). However, even with candidates mentioning the excitement of progress, it is essential to remain keenly aware of that fact that a woman's gender is "newsworthy" because she falls outside of the normal archetype of "the politician." These historical and contextual facts cannot be ignored and must always be considered when determining whether or not media coverage is gendered.

As noted, there were proportionally few references to the personal in media coverage of the leadership race. That being said, references to the personal often specifically mentioned the gender of Wynne's partner. For example, somewhat awkwardly, one article refers explicitly to "Wynne's female partner, Jane" (Diebold, 2013). The emphasis on the gender of Wynne's partner provides support for the argument that the most newsworthy, and therefore salient, parts of coverage often focus on what is deemed to be controversial. While these types of references are outwardly heteronormative, the gendered intersection is worth mentioning. The other most frequent reference to the personal involves the coverage of Wynne's status as a mother and grandmother.

Given what previous literature suggests, the high frequency of references to gender, coupled with viability frames, is entirely unsurprising. While there is some overlap between references to viability and the issue/non-issue code, contextual examples of viability will be explored here. Many mentions of Wynne's viability intertwined with

gender focused on her ability to deal with so-called "hard" policy areas, such as finance and treasury board. While such mentions may not explicitly mention gender, the subtle connections are not hard to see. For clarity, although Wynne was given positive media attention for her ability to listen well and work with others, her ability to deal with the "hard issues" typically associated with the masculine, and therefore, male politicians, was brought into question. For example, "because she's left of centre, there was concern she'd give in to public sector demands" (Hepburn, 2013). Here, while the explicit inference derives from her political leaning, it can be argued that there are also subtle, acute references to gender. It is essential, however, not to conflate party and gender stereotypes (even if they undoubtedly overlap in the case of women politicians).

Wynne's ability to be "tough on" unions is questioned because she is left-leaning, but also, perhaps because being "tough" is a masculine trait, and as a female, she does not (at least in terms of stereotypical coverage) possess these traits. Just a few years back, when Dalton McGuinty was Premier during a time of labour unrest, news coverage made references to the fact that he "has tough union medicine" (Jenkins, Toronto Sun, 2012). The "othering," and therefore, gendering of Wynne is clear in this example, particularly when compared with male Premiers in similar situations, even if thinly veiled in ideological rhetoric. Overall, Wynne's gender was salient in media coverage of the Liberal leadership race, particularly when coupled with other types of mentions.

Sexuality

Media coverage that made reference to Wynne's sexuality is examined in this section. Interestingly, Wynne's sexuality was mentioned in coverage about 15 percent less than her gender. Again, it is important to note that *Toronto Star* coverage mentioned

sexuality about 10 percent more often than *Globe and Mail* coverage, and therefore, many examples in the analysis below use contextual examples from the *Toronto Star*. Everitt and Camp's examination of media coverage of Allison Brewer in the 2005 New Brunswick NDP leadership race found that media tends to "use stereotypical conceptions of lesbians as activists" to highlight the "unusual aspects of the race" (2003: 28). In the case study at hand, the use of the stereotypes of lesbians as activists is not as prevalent. Instead, the data collected provides further evidence of Golebiowska's (2002) study showing that media will focus on a candidate's sexual orientation if it appears to have more news value than the individual's policy standpoints (Everitt and Camp, 2003: 28).

Code-able references to sexuality, framed in the context of novelty were plentiful in the data collected. In fact, almost all references to sexuality were framed in the context of novelty. For example, articles from the leadership race period often opened with statements describing Wynne as someone "who made history as an openly lesbian politician at Queen's Park," and was "Ontario's first openly lesbian MPP" (*Toronto Star*, 2013; *Globe and Mail*, 2013). By highlighting Wynne as being the first openly gay politician at Queen's Park, media coverage, again, focuses on what is considered newsworthy rather than opening with statements about policy or ideology. In some ways, media coverage tends to frame Wynne's sexuality as the most important thing about her, which could put her at a disadvantage if other candidates' policy positions are given more coverage. For example, an article from the *Globe and Mail* references the novelty of her sexuality before mentioning her long list of experience as a politician: "Ms. Wynne, the first openly lesbian politician at Queen's Park, has held several cabinet portfolios during her nine years in office, including transportation and education" (Howlett, 2012).

Given the previous experience of Allison Brewer in New Brunswick, it was expected that media coverage framing Wynne as a "gay activist" would be prevalent. However, there was only one mention of gay activism throughout media coverage. In fact, the only mention of gay activism was a quote from Wynne herself, who early in the leadership race made it clear that she was not an activist. Wynne states, "I'm not a gay activist. That's not how I got into politics" (Ferguson and Benzie, 2013). It is easy to assume that Wynne may have taken cues from Allison Brewer's experience with media coverage, and therefore, aimed to frame the parameters of the conversation early, to avoid losing control of the dialogue. However, this type of analysis falls outside of the scope of this research project. The lack of references to gay activism is both an interesting and unexpected finding, which should be further examined by future research. It is also important to highlight the fact that Wynne made a clear effort to frame herself as a non-activist, which she may have felt was necessary to avoid homophobic backlash from the public. The fact that she needed to make such statements does highlight the social environment in which she was running for leadership.

During the Liberal leadership race, 14.7 percent of *Toronto Star* coverage mentioned personal attributes of Wynne, whereas only 8.6 percent of *Globe and Mail* coverage did so. As has previously been mentioned, most references to the personal in media coverage made explicit reference to Wynne's "female partner," Jane; for example, "during her speech, Wynne was flanked by her female partner, Jane" (Benzie, *Toronto Star*, 2013). In a candidate profile, another article points out that, even though she and Jane are married, they "prefer the term 'partner' to 'wife'" (Diebel, 2014). While there are, undoubtedly, many heterosexual couples that prefer the term "partner" to

"husband/wife," it seems as though this is only newsworthy when an LGBTQ couple

decides to use such terminology, as it is deemed controversial.

Additionally, a significant portion of coverage focused on Wynne's "coming out"

story. In these articles, incredibly detailed attention was given to Wynne's previous

marriage to a man, and her late-in-life realization that she was gay. For example, as the

Toronto Star reports, "At 37, Kathleen Wynne came out as a lesbian and married Jane"

(Diebel, 2014. The article continues quoting Wynne as she explains feeling, "really

shocked that people would set me apart and see me as the 'other'" (Diebel, 2014). What

makes this aspect of the coverage noteworthy is how none of her opposing heterosexual

candidates are asked the same loaded questions. Further, in describing Wynne's

experience, media articles probe for significant personal details about the impact coming

out had on her family. In responding to questions of this nature, Wynne explains, "I'm

not going to pretend there wasn't turmoil and high emotion because there was, but there

was enough understanding that the kids were critical" (*Toronto Star*, 2013). One could

assume that many other politicians have experienced divorce—in fact, *Maclean's* reports

that "85 percent of MPs are divorced" (Smyth, 2013)—however, the recounting of

Wynne's marital life is unique. While there are certainly examples of exorbitant media

attention on the personal lives (and divorce rates) of politicians, the detailed play-by-play

analysis of Wynne's divorce, with a purposeful emphasis on the impact it had on her

children raises cause for concern about gendered coverage. This suggests that it was not

Wynne's decision to leave her husband that was newsworthy, but rather how she had left

him for a relationship with another woman. Overall, throughout the Ontario election,

when media articles discussed political private lives, the coverage almost always

interwove Wynne and sexuality. While subtle, this hints at a troubling underlying trend that, if not acknowledged and corrected, will continue to problematically impact Ontario's political culture and how it is reported.

In terms of issue vs. non-issue framing in media coverage, 20.5 percent the *Toronto Star* coverage mentioned Wynne's sexuality as being an issue/non-issue, while only 5.1 percent of the *Globe and Mail* did so. The split between issue and non-issue was quite lopsided, with much of the leadership race coverage focusing on how Wynne's sexuality was an issue. It is truly impossible to separate the issue code from the viability code in this section, because many of the references dealt with whether her sexuality would impact her ability to win a general election. Therefore, this section includes an analysis of both issue and viability references. In the most prominent example of the use of both these codes, a columnist from the *Toronto Star* pens an article entitled "Wynne Can Lead but Can She Win?" (Regg Cohn, 2013). Here, the implication is that although Wynne is a good fit for the job, questions remain about her electability, given her sexual orientation. Other articles opened with loaded questions, such as, "Is Ontario ready for a gay premier?" (Hepburn, 2013). In the article, the author clearly outlines why she is the best candidate for the job, but paints her sexuality as having a direct influence on her electability:

> Wynne is a savvy, gutsy, progressive, reflective politician. Stacked up against her rivals, she would arguably make the best premier…Oh, and she's a lesbian. From Toronto. A non-issue, says the politically correct crowd. A non-starter, says the politically canny crowd. (Regg Cohn, 2013)

In this particular example, there is no need to look for subtle heteronormativity, as it is upfront and clear that the author is framing the parameters of the conversation about electability directly around Wynne's sexual orientation.

The article continues by explaining the internal strife delegates to the Liberal leadership convention faced when considering Wynne:

> Liberal delegates aren't any more bigoted than the general population—these days. But like all politicos, they fancy themselves students of the human condition. Delegates never say *they* wouldn't support Wynne because of her sexual orientation. Instead, they tell me that *others*—out there—wouldn't vote for a lesbian in the next election: Rural Ontario. Religious Ontario. Ethnic Ontario. 905 Ontario. (Regg Cohn, 2013)

The conversation moves from whether or not Liberals themselves are homophobic into the bigger picture of whether "everyday Ontarians" would vote for a lesbian candidate. To say this coverage is heteronormative would be a drastic understatement, given the truly insidious nature of this column. The impact of Wynne's sexual orientation on her electability was, apparently, the most newsworthy part of Wynne's candidacy. It is important to note that Wynne's biggest competitor's sexual orientation seemed to pose no threat to her electability on the whole. As Wynne's sexual orientation falls outside of the societal norm, it is a point of contention and therefore newsworthy. If one believes that media coverage matters and can help inform voter's opinions on issues, articles like the one quoted above may have serious consequences for marginalized candidates. The examples provided, particularly, the above-emphasized article, show that references to sexuality were often coupled with mentions of viability or issue/non-issue during the Liberal leadership race.

Overall, the contextual examples provided above, coupled with the fact that 55.8 percent of *Toronto Star* coverage mentioned Wynne's gender and 39.7 percent referenced

her sexual orientation, provide empirical support for the assertion that media coverage of Wynne in the Liberal leadership race was both gendered and heteronormative.

Analysis of the Provincial General Election

Before beginning a discussion on media coverage of the provincial election, it is crucial to highlight that coverage of this event was far less gendered and heteronormative than coverage of the leadership race. Broadly, the conversation appeared to shift away from focusing on Wynne's gender and sexuality onto other political issues relevant to the campaign. More specifically, the parameters of the discussion moved away from being framed in the context of viability, such as "Can a woman/lesbian be premier?," into a conversation about broader policy issues and scandals at hand.[iii] Given that less than 11 percent of coverage mentioned gender, and less than 6.8 percent mentioned sexuality, there are only a few contextual examples to pull from, and as such, the discussion using examples from the coverage will be significantly shorter and less detailed than the section above.

4.2 GENERAL ELECTION – TABLE SHOWING ALL DATA

	Toronto Star: Raw	Toronto Star: Percent	Globe and Mail: Raw	Globe and Mail: Percent	Combined Raw	Combined Percent
Gender	20	15.6%	7	5.9%	27	11%
Sexuality	12	9.3%	6	5%	18	6.8%
Personal	7	5.4%	1	.8%	8	3%
Issue	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Non-Issue	8	6.2%	5	4.2%	13	4.9%
Viability	8	6.2%	6	5%	14	5.3%
Novelty	11	8.5%	6	5%	17	6.4%
Stereotype	7	5.4%	12	10%	19	7%
Activism	0	0%	1	.8%	1	.3%
Observations	N= 128		N= 118		N=246	

Table 2

N= Number of Substantive Mentions

4.2 GENERAL ELECTION – PERCENTAGE OF SUBSTANTIVE MENTIONS
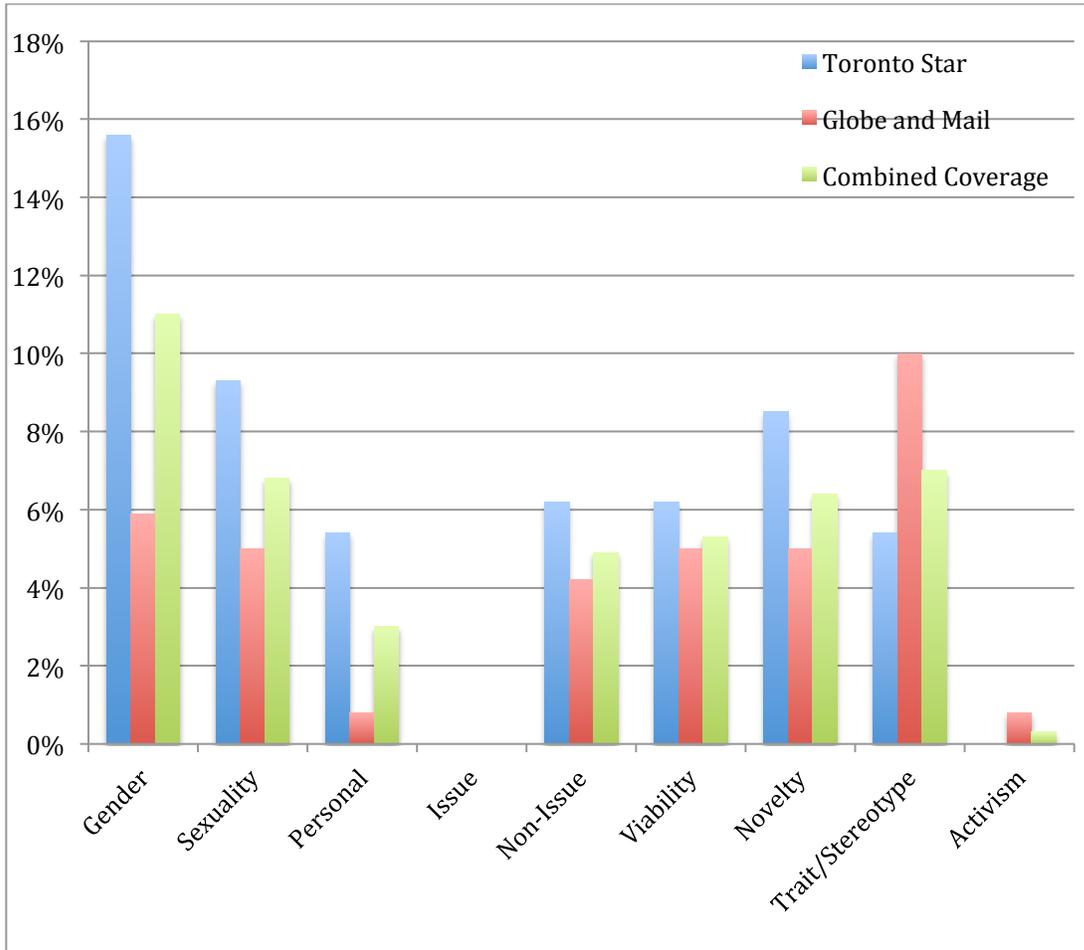
Figure 2

**Gender**

As was previously mentioned, coverage from the provincial election made reference to gender less than 11 percent of the time. In fact, almost all of the references to gender were made after Wynne's victory in the days following the election. As such, it makes sense that references to gender were framed in the context of the novelty after Wynne was formally elected the first female premier in Ontario. A glaring similarity in media coverage of both events was the use of female traits/stereotypes to describe Wynne. Media coverage continued to frame Wynne as a compassionate listener and

mediator throughout the general election.

Notably, there were zero references to Wynne's gender as being an "issue" during the provincial campaign, a remarkable contrast to the leadership race coverage. There were also zero references to Wynne's gender as being a "non-issue" for voters during the campaign. As described in the previous footnote, the reasons for the significant change in coverage are beyond the scope of this research.

Many references to the personal during the general election framed Wynne in her role as a mother and grandmother. For example, in a *Toronto Star* article from the morning after the provincial election, the author makes explicit reference to her age and status as a grandmother: "'Whoa, we did this!' the 61-year-old grandmother told cheering supporters at the Sheraton Centre in Toronto" (Benzie, 2014). One can reasonably question whether or not the same type of descriptive language would have been used to frame Tim Hudak—in his status as a father—had he been victorious. Contextually, this example clearly highlights the fact that gendered political media coverage is often subtle but still deeply sexist and problematic. The clearest indication of the dramatic change in coverage is evident in the complete lack of references to viability coupled with gender. Surprisingly, and in stark contrast to coverage of the leadership race, there were zero references to the electability, or un-electability, of Wynne given her gender.

Sexuality

Media coverage of the provincial general election did not frequently mention Wynne's sexual orientation. In fact, most of the coverage that referenced sexuality was merely quoting Wynne herself, in the days following the election. Similarly to gender, articles that referenced sexuality also frequently mentioned that Wynne was the first

openly LGBTQ candidate to be elected premier by the people of Ontario. For example, the *Toronto Star* reported that as "the first woman elected premier of Ontario—and Canada's only openly gay first minister ever—Wynne bested" the other candidates (Benzie, 2013).

In terms of issue/non-issue references, there were virtually zero mentions of Wynne's sexual orientation as being an issue. There were, however, multiple references to it being a non-issue. For example, a *Globe and Mail* article argued that "Kathleen Wynne's sexual orientation wasn't on voters' minds during the election campaign that saw her crowned Ontario's first openly gay premier" (Loriggio 2014). On this note, as there were so many articles published positing that Wynne's sexuality was a non-issue for the electorate, some columnists questioned the validity of those statements. The *National Post* published an article imploring media to stop talking about something that "isn't worth talking about." The column opens by arguing that "only in Ontario would pundits spend two weeks slapping themselves on the back and exchanging high fives for not talking about the thing they're talking about (Gurney, 2014). While there were many references to Wynne's sexual orientation as being a non-issue, in proportion to the coverage, this analysis finds that only around 5 percent of articles mentioned sexuality coupled with the non-issue code.

Many coded references to the personal during the provincial election mentioned the role Wynne's partner, Jane, played in her campaign. In comparison to the leadership coverage, very few articles went into specific detail about Wynne's home life and family. While coverage of the leadership race saw many references to sexuality coupled with mentions of viability, the provincial election coverage did not. In the articles examined,

there was simply no longer a discussion about the role Wynne's sexuality played in her electability or un-electability.

Overall, while the coverage of the provincial general election was, in terms of quantifiable manifest mentions, less gendered/heteronormative than the leadership race, some familiar patterns emerge from both events.

Latent Mentions

As has been previously explained, the coded, collected, and analyzed data presented above only captures manifest (or countable) references. It goes without saying that to truly understand the "full picture" of media coverage, one must also examine the role played by latent mentions. In the interest of avoiding repetition, only one contextual example will be explored. An example of the subtle but malicious nature of latent references is evident in an article titled, "Kathleen Wynne's Not-So-Ordinary Family" by the *Toronto Star*. The title of the article speaks to how media may emphasize gender/sexual orientation when it is the most "newsworthy," or out of the norm, characteristic of a political candidate. In this example, however, it is the content of the article which provides a powerful example of the insidious nature of multiple manifest mentions leading into a latent reference. The set-up of the article is an intimate, up-close-and-personal interview with Wynne and her family, which heavily emphasizes her role as a mother and grandmother, as well as her relationship with her female partner.

The article begins by spending a sizeable amount of time describing Wynne's life before she was elected to public office, highlighting the fact that she was previously married to a man and had three children with him. However, as the article explains in detail, at the age of 37 she left her husband for her current female partner, Jane. The

intricate detail of the article, and lines of questioning about how her children took the divorce and her "coming out," raises some concern about whether or not a heterosexual candidate would have been treated the same way. In a *Toronto Star* article, in a section entitled "An Unusual Arrangement," the author explains that "the children…were not happy with the situation" (Diebel, 2014). Focusing on how Wynne's living situation is outside of the societal norm—instead of focusing on other relevant details about how Wynne's life may have shaped her policy positions—the article, even if inadvertently, is both gendered and heteronormative.

In addition, during a video segment of the interview, the reporter asks Wynne and her partner Jane, "Who does the housework?" (Diebel, 2014). The gendered and heteronormative aspects of this question, frankly, are hard to miss and should not be ignored. This line of questioning seems to imply that because they are both women, the public will wonder which one of them does the "typically female role" of housework. It is hard to imagine that a heterosexual male candidate would be asked the same kind of question. Here, while this segment could not be coded for references to gender/sexuality or trait/stereotype, as it was taken from a video segment, the role of multiple manifest mentions added together provides an example of an overtly sexist and heteronormative latent mention which is embedded with hidden messages about societal norms. Such a mention gives significant weight to theclaim that media coverage of Wynne was gendered and heteronormative, as well as amplifies the secondary claim that the numbers presented in this project may drastically underestimate how gendered/heteronormative the coverage actually was.

Due to methodological limitations, this research could not accurately keep track

of latent references to gender/sexuality, and therefore exploring even one example can provide context to the big, perhaps more detailed, picture of media coverage during both events.

Intersectionality of Gender and Sexuality

This research project highlights that while gender and sexuality are two different concepts, they are often hard to truly untangle. As with other forms of oppression, heteronormativity is often solidly grounded in sexist societal gender norms; these two concepts often play off of each other, and their intersectional nature becomes clear.

For clarity, an example from coverage examined in this project is provided. A *Toronto Star* article from the leadership race stated that "with two female front-runners, delegates are destined to make history Saturday by crowning Ontario's first woman premier. The question of the hour is, how much history are they prepared to make?" (Regg Cohn, 2013b). The intersectionality of gender and sexuality is blatantly evident in this example. The columnist seems to be trying to highlight the fact that while Liberal delegates may be ready to make history by electing the first female premier, they may not be ready to elect the first openly LGBTQ premier of Ontario, as this may be making "too much history." Perhaps Wynne, who falls outside of both the gender and sexuality norm of the archetypical politician, may be too much of a risk for delegates to gain their support. While there is no agreement in the literature over whether or not lesbian candidates are doubly marginalized given their gender and sexual orientation, the case study of Wynne provides unique theoretical insights into how media coverage can "play up" the intersectional nature of these two separate identities by making them controversial and therefore exciting and newsworthy.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

Kathleen Wynne's historic rise to power in Ontario shattered a two-fold proverbial glass ceiling, as she became the first female and openly LGBTQ premier on the North American continent. The Wynne case study, focusing on two events—the Ontario Liberal leadership race in 2013 and the provincial general election of 2014—presents a unique opportunity to examine how modern mass media covers candidates who fall outside of the archetypal norms of "the politician." The aim of this research project is to answer the question of whether or not media coverage of Wynne, during both events, was gendered and/or heteronormative.

The theoretical framework of this project is guided by a few major assumptions, which are derived from previous academic work on media coverage of political candidates. The first major assumption is that media coverage matters, as it often plays a significant role in political campaigns and electoral politics more generally, whether in the form of agenda-setting, framing, or priming the electorate. The second guiding assumption of this research project is that media often tends to gender female political candidates in various ways, either by framing them in the context of novelty, and/or emphasizing certain feminine stereotypes over policy positions. The third assumption is that openly LGBTQ candidates are also "othered" by media, as they are often framed in the context of novelty and viability. All of this is to say that media tends to cover political candidates who fall outside of the archetype of "the politician" differently than the candidates who fit the norm, by focusing on characteristics that highlight their difference and novelty. Women, as well as openly LGBTQ candidates, are often framed as being part of one singular movement, regardless of party identification, based solely on their

gender identity and/or sexual orientation.

To answer the question at hand of whether media coverage of Wynne was gendered and/or heteronormative during both events, a manual content analysis examining two of the most read daily print newspapers was completed. The content analysis provided quantitative information supporting the main conclusion. In fact, 56 percent of *Toronto Star* coverage of the leadership race mentioned Wynne's gender, while 37. 9 percent made reference to her sexual orientation. Media coverage of the provincial election was far less gendered and heteronormative with 11 percent of articles, on average, making reference to gender, and 6.8 percent mentioning her sexual orientation. As mentioned, many of the initial hypotheses posited in the paper were made plausible with the results of the data collected and analyzed. Once again, the following hypotheses were made:

1.) Media coverage of Kathleen Wynne during the Liberal leadership race and the general provincial election was both gendered and heteronormative as it

   a) made reference to Kathleen Wynne's gender in instances where it was not contextually relevant;
   b) made reference to Kathleen Wynne's sexual orientation in instances where it was not contextually relevant;
   c) referenced to Kathleen Wynne's personal and family life;
   d) framed Kathleen Wynne in Kanter's "mother" categorization, playing on female stereotypes of compassion and passivity;
   e) used frames of novelty when describing Kathleen Wynne's successes as both openly gay and as a female, which placed her outside the male, heterosexual norm; and
   f) used frames of viability, especially during the leadership race, to describe Kathleen Wynne's "un-electability."

2.) Media coverage more frequently referenced Kathleen Wynne's sexuality and gender as being "non-issues" rather than "issues".
3.) The high proportion of articles referencing gender and sexuality as being "non-issues" highlights the fact that these characteristics could have, in

fact, been issues.

Given the evidence presented in chapter 4, it is fair to say that, overall, coverage of both events was significantly gendered and heteronormative. The analysis in chapter 4 provides countless examples of references to both gender and sexuality, sometimes intertwined with other types of mentions, made in completely contextually irrelevant situations. Media coverage, particularly of the Liberal leadership race, focused heavily on the viability and novelty of a female and openly LGBTQ candidate. This finding is not surprising given previous literature on the subject of the way that women, or other people who fall outside of the archetypical norms of "the politician," are covered by the mass media. Much of the story around Wynne, especially during the leadership race, was based around her electability, given her gender and sexual orientation. Media coverage also made frequent references to Wynne's family and personal life, almost always emphasizing her stereotypical role as grandmother/mother and her outside-of-the-societal-norm female partner. It is important to also mention the tendency of media coverage to describe Wynne in stereotypically feminine frames, particularly assigning her feminine traits, such as being passive and a good listener. Questioning Wynne's ability to deal with the "hard" issues, while using a thinly veiled party ideology frame, shows the subtle nature of gendering. If one accepts the premise that media matters, as it often plays the role of setting the agenda, priming, and framing, then the results of this project raise significant concerns about what type of cues voters were taking from coverage of the leadership race.

Wynne was also framed neatly into Kanter's "mother" frame, as coverage made her passive, compassionate nature more salient in coverage than her policy issue

positions. The Liberal leadership race media coverage was also far more gendered and heteronormative than coverage of the general provincial election.

While the above hypotheses are made plausible by the primary data collected, the issue vs. non-issue hypothesis does not hold up. While, overall, there were more references to gender/sexuality being "non-issues" rather than "issues," the difference is not substantial. That being said, as 15 percent of media coverage on the whole made reference to the "non-issue" frame, these findings should not be entirely ignored. Further, given the significant difference in the number of references between the two newspapers analyzed, it is hard to draw any major conclusions about media coverage more generally. Some may take the position that it is hard to accurately argue that the *Globe and Mail* coverage was significantly gendered and heteronormative. The drastic difference in coverage, in terms of the types of manifest mentions that could be captured through content analysis, presents an interesting theoretical challenge. That being said, in the opinion of the author, and according to proponents of the gendered mediation thesis, even a small amount of gendering or heteronormativity highlights the unique challenges facing candidates who fall outside of the traditional norms of "the politician" when entering the political process. Much of the coverage highlighted with contextual examples above shows the subtle and seemingly innocent mentions of gender and sexuality that, when examined critically, emphasize the deeply gendered/heteronormative frames used by media to describe female/LGBTQ candidates.

Gaps and Areas for Future Research

Given the methodological limitations of this project, its findings should not be overstated. The significant difference in coverage between the two print sources

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examined in this project highlights the fact that overreaching generalizations about the "big picture" of coverage are not appropriate. Further research on this subject should incorporate analysis of more print news sources as well as other types of media, as the larger the sample of media coverage, the more representative and accurate the results will be in describing the "big picture" of coverage.

As this research focused almost entirely on the quantification of media coverage through content analysis, its breadth is limited. Future research should include a qualitative approach, in the form of interviews, to add depth, context, and a more well-rounded approach to examining coverage. Interviews with Premier Wynne and her senior campaign staff would certainly shed light on any strategies they may have had in dealing with gendered and heteronormative media coverage. These interviews would also bring to light any specific efforts or strategies that were used to try to control the parameters of conversations within media coverage.

There is no doubt that this research would have benefitted from interviews with members of media who covered both events examined in this project, whether it be journalists, columnists, or editors, to gain a fuller understanding of why some decisions about coverage were made. Perhaps columnists who wrote about the viability of a female and openly LGBTQ candidate felt as though these were issues that played on delegates' and voters' minds. Further research should incorporate such interviews for a broader contextual understanding of the overall media coverage.

While this project was unable to fully capture latent mentions, further research should include a more sophisticated methodological framework that incorporates such

mentions into overall findings. As latent mentions are often subtle, they still constitute sexist and/or heteronormative coverage that should be explored.

In the near future, the Ontario Provincial Conservative party will launch into a leadership race. Thus far, two female candidates have announced their intentions to run for leadership. While neither of these candidates identify as openly LGBTQ, an examination of media coverage, in terms of gendered coverage, would present an interesting comparison to the finding of this research project. Questions emerge, such as whether or not media coverage of women candidates is different based on their party identification. In terms of the role of party identification, is a woman who runs for a conservative party gendered in different ways than a woman who runs for the Liberal or New Democratic Party? To broaden the scope, and for the full provincial picture of media coverage of female leadership candidates, the last Ontario New Democratic Party leadership race, and the coverage of Andrea Horwath in particular, would allow for further comparative insights.

As the case study guiding this research focused on a candidate who ran for, and successfully held, political leadership of a party, the findings should not be broadly compared to all women political candidates. In comparison to other political candidates, party leaders are often high profile, and more visible to the electorate (Bittner, 2011). As such, media coverage of general candidates versus party leaders is likely different. Further research should ensure that any comparisons are appropriate and not overreaching.

Final Thoughts and Observations
The high percentage of sexist and heteronormative references in the coverage

examined, coupled with the fact that is a study of very recent coverage, raises serious

concerns about the type of systemic barriers that women and openly LGBTQ political

candidates face, in terms of running for and attaining office. If one takes seriously the

idea that the mass media influences voters and the public at large via agenda-setting,

framing, and priming, then the results of this research project make it clear that media

coverage often participates in the "othering" of candidates who fall outside of the

archetype of "the politician." For an elected government in Ontario to truly represent the

diversity of the population, more non-typical candidates must be encouraged to run for

and attain political office. As such, members of media must consider the integral role

they play in shaping the thoughts and opinions of voters, and further, to take steps to

ensure that they are not perpetuating gender and/or heteronormative stereotypes. Overall,

this research project highlights the fact that even though people may assume progress has

prevailed as Ontario elected an openly LGBTQ and female premier, in fact, there has not

been a significant change in the frequent "othering" by the mass media of political

candidates who fall outside of societal norm.

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[i] Available from author upon request.

[ii] The fact that media coverage was substantially different by newspaper is an interesting finding and should be examined by future research. It falls outside of the scope of this research to provide hypotheses on why coverage from the *Toronto Star* was so much more gendered/heteronormative than the *Globe and Mail* coverage.

[iii] The reasons for the change in the parameters of the conversation surrounding Wynne's candidacy in the leadership race versus the provincial election are most likely complex and multifaceted. It is possible that Wynne's viability was simply "old news," or that the events were simply too close together for the media to re-cover all of these issues again. Perhaps, Wynne's time in office and the public eye may have offset, at least partially, the tendency of news media to draw on stereotypes to fill in the blanks. The exact reason is beyond the scope of this research project. As such, future research should work to fill this gap of understanding. That being said, what can assuredly be gathered from this finding, is that context matters, and that news coverage, even of a single politician, isn't static over time.

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