

Faculté de philosophie, arts et lettres

“Feminism is a dirty word”: The media representation of feminism in a corpus of British newspapers (1993-2013)

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Table of contents

List of tables	v
List of figures	vi
List of abbreviations.....	vii
Introduction	1
1. Feminism and the concept of representation: theoretical background	3
1.1 Introduction and definition	3
1.2. The waves of feminism: a brief overview	4
1.3. The concept of representation.....	6
2. Media coverage and portrayal of feminism and feminists: literature review	9
2.1. Introduction	9
2.2. Feminism in the media: review of previous studies	10
2.2.1. The framing of feminism	10
2.2.2. Negative image of feminism	13
3. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).....	17
3.1. Introduction	17
3.2. The notion of CDA	18
3.3. CDA and media discourse	21
3.4. CDA and Corpus Linguistics.....	24
3.5. CDA and feminism	28
4. Data and methodology	31
4.1. The corpus	31
4.1.1. The SiBol corpus of English Broadsheet Newspapers (1993–2013).....	31
4.1.2. The software.....	33
4.2. Data analysis.....	34
5. Frequency analysis	40
5.1. General frequency.....	41
5.2. Frequency across newspaper types	43
5.3. Frequency across time periods	45
5.4. Discussion.....	47
6. Collocation analysis	49
6.1. General representation	50

6.1.1. Feminism.....	50
6.1.2. Feminist.....	56
6.1.3. Feminist movement.....	60
6.1.4. Women’s movement	62
6.1.5. Women’s liberation.....	67
6.2. Representation of feminism over time.....	69
6.3. Representation of feminism across newspaper types	73
6.4. Discussion.....	75
7. Critical discourse and framing analysis	78
7.1. Demonisation frame	79
7.2. Opposition frame	80
7.3. Critical frame.....	81
7.4. Identification and/or defence frame.....	83
7.5. Historical frame	86
7.6. Discussion.....	88
Conclusion.....	91
References	95
Appendices	102

List of tables

Table 1. Number of words (tokens) in SiBol-GB sorted through newspaper types.....	32
Table 2. Number of words (tokens) in SiBol 93-GB, SiBol 05-GB, Port 2010-GB, SiBol 13-GB.....	33
Table 3. Phases of framing analysis (based on Halperin & Heath, 2012).....	36
Table 4. Raw and relative frequencies of the search items in SiBol-GB	41
Table 5. Relative frequencies (per million words) of the search items across British newspapers.....	43
Table 6. Relative frequencies (per million words) of the search terms in SiBol 93-GB, SiBol 05-GB, Port 2010-GB, SiBol 13-GB.....	46
Table 7. Collocates of the lemma <i>feminism</i> categorized into five thematic groups.....	50
Table 8. Collocates of the lemma <i>feminism</i> categorized into five thematic groups.....	56
Table 9. Collocates of <i>feminist movement</i> categorized into three thematic groups.....	60
Table 10. Collocates of <i>women's movement</i> categorized into five thematic groups.....	63
Table 11. Collocates of <i>women's liberation</i> categorized into four thematic groups.....	67
Table 12. Collocates of the search items in SiBol 93-GB, SiBol 05-GB, Port 2010-GB and SiBol 13-GB.....	69

List of figures

Figure 1. Relative frequencies of the search items in SiBol-GB.....	42
Figure 2. Relative frequencies (per million words) of the search items across British newspapers.....	46
Figure 3. Evolution of the search items' relative frequencies (per million words) in SiBol 93-GB, SiBol 05-GB, Port 2010-GB and SiBol 13-GB.....	45

List of abbreviations

Corpora

SiBol	SiBol corpus of English Broadsheet Newspapers 1993–2013
SiBol-GB	British subcorpus of the SiBol corpus of English Broadsheet Newspapers 1993–2013
SiBol 93-GB	British subcorpus of the SiBol corpus of English Broadsheet newspapers for the year 1993
SiBol 05-GB	British subcorpus of the SiBol corpus of English Broadsheet newspapers for the year 2005
Port 2010-GB	British subcorpus of the SiBol corpus of English Broadsheet Newspapers for the years 2010, 2011 and 2012
SiBol 13-GB	British subcorpus of the SiBol corpus of English Broadsheet Newspapers for the year 2013.

Other abbreviations

CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CL	Corpus Linguistics
DA	Discourse Analysis

Introduction

Various forms of feminism co-exist in today's society. Different definitions may thus be formed on the basis of people's and researchers' own opinion on the subject. A 'mainstream' feminist is "a person who believes in the social, political and economic equality of the sexes" (Adichie, 2014: 47). In other words, feminists seek to rectify gender inequities and achieve emancipation for all (Mills & Mullany, 2011: 2). The feminist movement experienced different stages or 'waves': it began in the late nineteenth century and feminists started campaigning in the early twentieth century for the right to vote, work, study and earn equal pay. Other principles included - and still include - fighting sexual harassment, domestic violence, and gender stereotypes (Feminist Majority Foundation, 2014). Since then, feminists have pursued their dream of changing an unfair system and have continued to "oppose discrimination on the basis of sex, gender, race, sexual orientation, sexual identity, socio-economic status, religion, ethnicity, age, marital status, national origin, size, or disability" (Feminist Majority Foundation, 2014). In 2017, the movement seemed to have grown stronger, with the emergence of the #MeToo movement and Women's Marches in the United States. The online dictionary Merriam-Webster even recognized the term *feminism* as "Word of the Year 2017" (Merriam-Webster, 2017). However, since the early 1980s, some news media have claimed that feminism is dead or dying (Aronson, 2003: 904). On the other hand, some researchers argue that the meaning of the term had simply changed over time, and therefore tried to create another definition of feminism which would be more flexible and more inclusive than the previous ones (Offen, 1988: 120).

Various studies on the media portrayal of feminism have suggested that the majority of peoples' attitudes towards the movement are based on stereotypes and misinterpretations (Aronson, 2003: 916). Jaworska & Krishnamurthy (2012: 1) argue that these attitudes result from the negative image of feminism created by the media. The media representation of feminism is indeed particularly important since mass media are known to shape peoples' opinions (Barker-Plummer, 2010: 145). Other previous studies have claimed that feminism is

often linked to negative terms such as *raging* or *radical* (Lind & Salo, 2002). In addition, Rhode (1995: 693) has shown that different strategies may be used to frame the concept of feminism in the media, such as demonization, trivialisation, polarisation, and the emphasis on individuality. Various references are also made to the physical appearance of feminists, which trivialises the movement and reduces feminists to unfair stereotypes (Rhode, 1995: 693). The theoretical background of the present study is presented in Chapter 1 and Chapter 2 presents the literature review of previous studies on the media coverage and portrayal of feminism.

However, some of these previous studies on the subject were limited to short text samples. Therefore, it seems necessary to analyse a larger corpus of British newspapers. Moreover, different ways of analysing the discourse around feminism are required, such as frequency analysis, collocation analysis as well as critical discourse and framing analysis. As this thesis makes use of Critical Discourse Analysis (or CDA) to supplement the quantitative analysis, the concept of CDA is presented in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 presents the data and the methodology used in this study. Analysing frequencies of the search terms *feminism*, *feminist*, *feminist movement*, *women's movement*, and *women's liberation* (in Chapter 5) enables us to observe the general trends across newspaper types and over time. Collocation analysis (in Chapter 6) provides us with the most frequent collocates of the terms analysed in this thesis, which determine the general representation of feminism in the media. Lastly, the critical discourse and framing analysis (in Chapter 7) allows for the elaboration of a more detailed representation of feminism: this can be done through the critical analysis of the various framing techniques used by the media on the basis of a rather large number of text samples. In that regard, the present study addresses the following research questions:

- Is feminism a frequent subject of discussion in British newspapers (1993-2013)?
 - Are there differences between broadsheets and tabloids in terms of frequency?
 - Are there changes over time?
- How was feminism linguistically constructed and represented in British newspapers?
 - What are the most frequent collocates of the search items and what do they say about the media representation of feminism?
 - Which framing techniques are used by journalists?

Chapter 1

Feminism and the concept of representation: theoretical background

1.1 Introduction and definition

Feminism is generally defined as a political and social movement which supports the “belief and aim that women should have the same rights and opportunities as men” (Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary, 2010: 565). However, this definition seems rather simplistic and requires further explanation. Gamble (2006) provides a more detailed description of feminism in her introduction: the author writes that the notion of feminism involves the fight against the idea that women cannot be treated equally to men because they are women. This involves the fact that society would be built on gender discrimination and that priority is being given to masculine ideas and perspectives (cf. patriarchy). Women are thus seen as opponents to men because they represent everything men cannot be or “do not want to be seen to be” (Gamble, 2006). Feminism also seeks to eradicate stereotypes based on gender, especially women (e.g. men are strong and powerful, women are weak and defenceless), and attempts to give women effective access to equal representations in all areas of society. In other words, the feminist movement wants to turn the tide on this unfair situation and seeks to create a world without patriarchy (Gamble, 2006).

The feminist movement began in the late nineteenth century and started campaigning and marching in the early twentieth century for the right to vote, work, study and earn equal pay. Other principles already included fighting sexual harassment, domestic violence and gender stereotypes (Feminist Majority Foundation, 2014). In 2017, the movement seems to have grown

stronger, with the emergence of the #MeToo movement and Women's Marches in the United States. The online dictionary Merriam-Webster even recognised the word *feminism* as the "Word of the Year 2017" (Merriam-Webster, 2017). The Merriam-Webster dictionary provides two different definitions for the word *feminism*, the first one being "the theory of the political, economic, and social equality of the sexes" and the second one being an "organized activity on behalf of women's rights and interest" (Merriam-Webster, 2019). The word was used for the first time in 1841, but its meaning was then linked to the former definition (Merriam-Webster, 2019). In that respect, the word *feminism* seems to be polysemous. The various interpretations of this term might be due to the fact that its connotation and meaning have evolved throughout the different waves of the movement, which are described in the next section.

1.2. The waves of feminism: a brief overview

Feminism can be divided into four waves, each defining four important eras in the history of the movement. The first wave (1840-1920) was mostly characterized by the approval of the right to vote for women, but also by the property rights, equal rights in marriage, etc. (Dicker & Piepmeier, 2003). New Zealand (in 1893), and Australia (in 1902) were the first nations to be in favour of women's vote. After the First World War, women in the United States (1920) and Great Britain (1928) were also given the right to vote (Harrison & Boyd, 2018: 297). On the European continent, however, it was only accepted after the Second World War (which was the case for France in 1944, for instance), and sometimes even later, as was the case for Switzerland (i.e. in the 1980s) (Harrison & Boyd, 2018: 297). The right to vote was only a first step towards political equality, but it was not sufficient because the place of women in society remained almost unchanged.

The second wave (1960-1988) was, according to Batkin (2018: 19), "largely influenced by liberal theory which claimed women's entitlement to basic rights and opportunities as individuals, and was occupied with access to employment and education", as well as "suppressing violence against women" (Batkin, 2018: 19). In addition, women still needed real changes (socially and politically), since the first wave's claims were not fulfilled (Harrison & Boyd, 2018: 298). Indeed, other countries kept on fighting for women's right to vote and for political equality. This wave also involved gender equality and tried to put an end to all forms

of discrimination based on gender (Harrison & Boyd, 2018: 298): women, especially feminists, “wanted to be ‘liberated’ from thousands of years of male oppression”.

Third-Wave Feminism, or “‘new’ feminism” (Harrison & Boyd, 2018: 299), started in the 1990s. Some feminists claimed that the second wave had failed and that they should try to improve it. This wave was characterised by important advances in terms of civil and legal rights (Harrison & Boyd, 2018: 299). Other major changes included “technological developments, such as the contraceptive pill and household labour-saving devices”, which “had liberated women from the burdens of unplanned childbearing and the grind of housework that had held back earlier generations” (Harrison & Boyd, 2018: 299). However, third-wave ‘feminists’ have claimed that these “struggles are more individual: ‘We don’t need feminism anymore.’” (Rampton, 2015). In other words, the idea of a “collective movement” had not emerged in their minds yet, and they seemed to focus more on equal rights rather than gender equality (Rampton, 2015). This implies that third-wavers rejected the idea of creating common goals and collective objectives.

Nowadays, some activists argue that a fourth wave has emerged around 2010. Indeed, people (especially young women as well as young men) now understand that feminists of the third wave were too optimistic (Rampton, 2015): “Feminism is now moving [...] into the realm of public discourse.” The struggles and issues that were described as ‘individual’ are now highlighted by (inter)national mass media and politicians (Rampton, 2015): these include sexual assaults and abuse, rape, underpayment, slut- and body-shaming, and a better representation of women in the political life and arena. *Feminism* also seems to be a problematic word to include in this fourth wave, for two reasons: firstly, because the connotation of the word was closely related to radicalism in the past, and secondly, because it supports the idea that gender is a binary concept (i.e. it excludes one gender in favour of the other: it is not for men, but “for women only”) (Rampton, 2015). This would also mean that non-binary people (i.e. people who do not identify themselves as being male or female) could not be included in the principles of feminism. This seems quite problematic, but it demonstrates that the concept of gender is more complex than it seems. Rampton (2015) adds that fourth wavers realise that, today, a great deal of problems are caused by the gendering of our society, and that a stronger, even provocative, word is required to tackle and remedy these problems. Yet we continue to use the word *feminism*: perhaps the meaning of the term has simply evolved, because it “no longer just refers to the struggles of women; it is a clarion call for gender equity” (Rampton, 2015).

1.3. The concept of representation

‘Representation’ generally refers to how aspects of social life, such as social inequalities, age, gender or events, are presented to (and perceived by) people, viewers, auditors, etc. Media texts can be very influential in this respect since they are known to shape people’s opinion and understanding about the various aspects of society they portray (Richardson, 2007: 1). ‘Representation’ refers thus to the “portrayal of someone or something in a particular way” (Anushiravani & Khademi, 2015: 1). This means that when we communicate a message, this may form a specific mental image in return. In other words, it can be seen as “an internally generated knowledge structure used to store and manipulate information” (Encyclopaedia of the Sciences of Learning, 2012, in Anushiravani & Khademi, 2015: 1). This implies that media representations do not always mirror the real world, but they ‘re-present’ a new reality, or they may take part in the creation of it. Anushiravani & Khademi (2015: 1) further explain that, according to some philosophers, artists and even historians, representations are indeed supposed to illustrate real-life events, but that this theory received strong criticism in the past and continues to be discussed. Baldonado clarifies that: “representations then can never truly be real or objective; instead, they are constructed images, images that need to be interrogated for their ideological content” (Baldonado, 2012, as cited in Anushiravani & Khademi, 2015: 1).

Representations may indeed create or be based on stereotypes (Kidd, 2016: 28). A stereotype can be a “simplified representation of a person, groups of people or a place, through basic or obvious characteristics - which are often exaggerated.”¹ There can be stereotypes about gender roles, race or even about a country as a whole, by saying, for instance, that *all* Americans are overweight, lazy and stupid. A prime example of this stereotype has been personified by Homer Simpson from the TV series ‘The Simpsons’. Stereotypes can be quite harmful since they can create (false) generalisations and negative views on someone or something². Representations can also be based on ideologies. These refer to the opinions and beliefs which may be presented in some media texts; these opinions and beliefs are often supported by the producer of such texts. In newspaper articles, for example, the ideology which is held by the writer may influence the content of the article (the story, the events, etc.): if the producer of the article supports a specific political figure, for instance, he or she may influence the representation of the article as a whole (Richardson, 2007: 10-11). Interestingly enough, it is

¹ Source : <https://www.bbc.co.uk/bitesize/guides/z9fx39q/revision/1>

² Source : http://www.softschools.com/examples/grammar/stereotypes_examples/189/

widely known that journalists are normally trained to be as objective as possible in their texts (Schudson, 1978). However, some scholars do not believe in genuine objectivity or neutrality (Calcutt & Hammond, 2011). Calcutt & Hammond argue that objectivity should not be considered as a norm in journalism because journalists generally seem to take a certain point of view, whether to cover an event or appear on the cover page, and so on. In that respect, it seems to be of great importance to examine the representation of feminism and feminists in the media. Indeed, their representations can be based on ideologies, stereotypes or biased information, which may create misunderstandings about what feminism is and about feminists' role in society.

Despite the growing importance of the feminist movement from the 1960s onwards and the major achievements they made, the representation of women in mainstream media was and is still radically different to the portrayal of men. According to UNESCO, in 2018, only 10% of newspaper articles / (TV) news focussed on women. It was also discovered that only 20% of women were interviewed and a very small percentage (4%) of newspaper articles suggested some thought-provoking ideas about gender stereotypes.³ At the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, many feminists had already started to criticise biased views and unequal representations of women, as well as gender, in magazines (Collins, 2011: 290–298). Indeed, Collins (2011) argues that media texts can often lead to various forms of inequalities based on gender: they sometimes tend to emphasise (biased) expectations about gender roles. Such expectations may also be based on stereotypes and ideologies. There are indeed different stereotypical ways of representing women in the media, such as *sexualization* (Collins, 2011: 290-298) (i.e. women wearing less clothing, being thin, blonde, tall and white, etc.) or *objectification* (Galdi et al. (2014) (i.e. women being seen as objects to men, media commenting and joking on their physical appearance, etc.).

The UN organisation 'UN Women' aims to achieve gender equality, as well as the emancipation and the 'empowerment' of women across the world. However, UN Women writes the following:

Yet gender inequalities remain deeply entrenched in every society. Women lack access to decent work and face occupational segregation and gender wage gaps. They are too often denied access

³ Source: "Women Make the News 2018". UNESCO. 14 February 2018. Retrieved 29 October 2019.

to basic education and health care. Women in all parts of the world suffer violence and discrimination. They are under-represented in political and economic decision-making processes.⁴

UN Women⁵ also supports media studies about the representation and portrayal of women in the media: many media experts were asked to raise awareness about discriminations, violence against women, the objectification of women, the sexualisation of young girls, as well as many other issues. As a general rule, media need to improve their representations of women and feminism in order to empower women, end discriminations based on gender and end violence against women across the globe (UN Women, 2012). This means that their representations need to be fair. Another organisation, known as ‘Global Priority Gender Equality’ and developed by UNESCO, would like to attempt to achieve gender equality in the media landscape by 2030 (UNESCO Priority Gender Equality Action Plan, 2014-2021: 6). The organisation has established an action plan, which focusses on various areas such as the ‘Gender-sensitive Indicators for Media (GSIM)’ (i.e. assessing the perception and the representation of gender in the various media corporations, with special emphasis on their journalistic content (UNESCO Priority Gender Equality Action Plan, 2014-2021: 42)) or the ‘Global Alliance on Media and Gender (GAMG)’, which is

A multi- stakeholder group of partners agreeing to combine efforts and resources to promote gender equality in and through media and to promote citizens’- media dialogue. It will have multiple strands and include a donor framework; media partnerships on gender, partnerships on gender mainstreaming in journalism education globally and endorsements of governments. (UNESCO Priority Gender Equality Action Plan, 2014-2021: 42)

So far ‘Global Priority Gender Equality’ has been supported by many governments, as well as by many journalistic and media organisations. Moreover, UNESCO strongly believes that media can challenge social norms by encouraging equal representations of people regardless of their gender.

⁴ Source: <https://www.unwomen.org/en/about-us/about-un-women>

⁵ Source: <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/in-focus/end-violence-against-women/2014/media>

Chapter 2

Media coverage and portrayal of feminism and feminists: literature review

2.1. Introduction

Over the last few years, some scholars have been interested in the representation and the framing of feminism in the media. Ashley and Olson (1998), Rhode (1995) and Bronstein (2005), for example, have provided useful (non-corpus-based) reference studies on the framing of feminists and feminism by using content analysis. Content analysis is a method used to do research about “the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication” (Berelson, 1952: 263, as cited in Richardson, 2007: 16). This means that it does not study the “latent intentions” or the “latent responses” that may be expressed or produced by the content of a text (ibid. 262) (see Chapter 3). On the other hand, more recent studies, such as Lind & Salo (2006), Jaworska & Krishnamurthy (2012) and Batkin (2018), have been conducted on the basis of (specialised) corpora. The use of corpora has proven to be particularly successful in analysing aspects of language that are not visible and that might say something about writers’ (sometimes hidden) beliefs and attitudes towards the subject matter Krieger (2003). In other words, these aspects of language can be analysed from a critical perspective (Baker, 2006). It appears that both ‘traditional’ content analyses and corpus-based studies show some overlap: the negative image of feminism and the framing techniques used by mass media are the most prominent results of these studies. However, the use of corpora represents a considerable advantage since corpora provide a more objective account of how language works (through frequency and collocation analysis, for example). ‘Traditional’ content analyses, on the other hand, are based on intuition and subjective views. John Sinclair

(1998) pointed out that this is because speakers do not have access to the subliminal patterns which run through a language. (see Chapter 3). Nevertheless, most corpus-based research papers on the subject refer directly to previous non-corpus-based studies in order to use them as references, and to compare or supplement their results. Thus, this chapter reviews the previous (corpus-based and non-corpus-based) literature addressing the media coverage and portrayal of feminism.

2.2. Feminism in the media: review of previous studies

2.2.1. The framing of feminism

There are many ways in which stories or news reports can be built and ‘framed’. The notion of ‘framing’ has been widely used by scholars, especially those who investigate the portrayal of social movements. Framing analysis can be defined as a theory or method that can be used to explore how meaning is produced and how it may be used by political and social leaders, news media, to influence the public (Allen, 2017): “a frame is a socially shared organizing principle that works symbolically to shape democratic discourse and influence public opinion by creating and promoting particular vocabularies. Frames appear most vividly in media coverage” (ibid.). Moreover, Mendes (2015) writes that the analysis of framing techniques can help expose the underlying ideologies present – or absent – in some newspaper articles. The author suggests asking the following questions in order to understand how an issue (such as feminism) is framed in media discourses: “how is a particular issue constructed?”, “whose voices are present or absent?”, “which, if any, feminist discourses or critiques were used in relation to [...] the movement [...]?”, “what are the problems or solutions to the issues at hand?”, “what is the overall narrative on the movement?” (ibid. 88), and “is the movement supported?” (ibid. 48). Framing analysis can be considered as a tool of Critical Discourse Analysis. Both can be used as part of a qualitative content analysis, which would provide a wider view of the media coverage of the feminist movement. In Mendes’ (2015) study on “SlutWalk”, frequency analysis is also required to supplement the qualitative analysis and, if necessary, to detect any inconsistencies or potential phenomena that have been missed or left out.

Most studies on the representation and coverage of feminism were non-corpus-based (i.e. content analyses): Rhode (1995), Ashley & Olson (1998) or Bronstein (2005) submitted

important research works related to the framing and portrayal of feminism. Rhode (1995: 693) identified four framing techniques: demonisation, trivialisation, polarisation, and emphasis on what is more individual and more personal. These framing techniques are generally used by various forms of media and may undoubtedly influence the way people understand feminism and its issues. They can also be seen as ‘strategies’ which are used by the media to cover matters related to feminism. The first strategy developed by Rhode is *demonisation*: feminists are depicted as “radical members of a fringe movement and as ‘unsexed’ harpies with deviant lifestyles” (Rhode, 1995: 693). This suggests that feminists cannot be considered as ‘normal’ women since they are *deviant* and *radical*. This provides us with a very pejorative view of feminists, which could entice us to stay away from the movement rather than try to join it. Rhode (1995) suggests a second strategy: *trivialisation*, which means that media undervalue and trivialise feminists by, for example, reducing them to stereotypical views or by making frequent references to their physical appearance. In this manner, they perpetuate hostile images of them. Some media may indeed portray feminists as unfeminine or unattractive, for instance. *Polarisation* (i.e. conflict) is the third strategy developed by Rhode (1995): feminists are perceived by the media as “antagonistic, polemical, and different to ‘regular women’” whereas “their opponents appear in more contemplative settings, conducive to more ‘reasoned’ responses” (Rhode, 1995: 701). The final strategy used by media coverage is the focus on what is ‘individual’ (i.e. ‘self-transformation’) rather than on social transformation (Rhode, 1995: 701). Indeed, Meghan Murphy, the creator and editor of Feminist Current, argues, “If you look at the feminist discourse that’s most prominent on the surface and in mainstream media, it’s very focused on the individual and the superficial” (Global News, 2017). This view implies that women who consider themselves feminists actually prefer to improve themselves first. They arguably try to challenge the norms of modern life by focussing on their own personal development instead of a collective one. Rhode notes that it would indeed strongly discourage people from supporting the feminist movement or any other social and collective organization of that sort.

In another content analysis carried out by Ashley & Olson (1998: 263), the most used framing technique was the *delegitimation* of the feminist movement (i.e. it disregards and harms a person or a group by construing a series of value judgments which are meant to withdraw legitimacy from this person or group). The newspapers analysed by Ashley & Olson sometimes used this technique to refer to the physical characteristics of women, but not solely, because they also used quotation marks around specific terms such as *liberation*, which highlighted a

possibility of discord between the members of the feminist movement. On the other hand, women who were described as anti-feminists in these articles were portrayed as *well-organized* and *attractive*. Ashley & Olson (1998) also discussed another issue: the lack of coverage that feminism receives in mass media. This might lead to the belief that the feminist movement is of minor importance in our society. The authors suggested that feminism should receive fair and unbiased public attention because the movement is firmly committed to establishing an equal and fair position for all women in modern society. In addition, with regard to the aims of the feminist movement, these were hardly ever acknowledged or cited. However, it is important to note that there are possible differences over time. Indeed, what Rhode and Ashley & Olson discovered about the framing of feminism in 1995 and 1998 (respectively) is likely to differ from what could be found nowadays, that is to say more than 20 years later.

Bronstein's (2005) study focussed on the demonisation frame by comparing its use during the second wave and the third wave of the feminist movement. The results of her content analysis demonstrate that media see third-wave feminism in a more positive light. The second wave is, on the other hand, portrayed in a much more negative way (cf. Section 2.2.2). Bronstein explains that third-wave feminism is about embracing young women who are gifted with "an exhilarating sense of entitlement based precisely on their gender" (Shugart, Waggoner & Hallstein, 2001: 194, as cited in Bronstein, 2005: 790). Shugart et al. (2001: 194) write that, during that period, this has been labelled as 'brand-new feminism'. This phenomenon failed to take into account gender equality, which would be taken for granted, and appeared to be more self-centred and selfish; it focusses more on the celebrity cult and on "sexual self-revelation" than on social transformation (ibid.). In Bronstein's (2005) study, twenty-seven percent of the articles about the second wave have applied the demonisation frame, whereas only two percent depict the third wave of the feminist movement "in unflattering terms or depicted them as social deviants" and as "revolutionizing an unfeminine, out-of-date movement" (ibid. 790). Media have indeed used more positive terms to portray third-wave feminists: *approachable, open to differences, media friendly, smart, spirited, diverse and powerful* (Bronstein, 2005). Bronstein states that the positive representation of third-wave feminists was probably due to the negative contrast between the second wave and the third wave (2005: 790). She does not really agree with this shift in attitude: she claims that "a favourable portrayal constructed through demonization of second wavers is no win for the women's movement" (2005: 790).

One of the only corpus-based studies on the media representation of feminism is Lind & Salo's (2002) study. There is however very little information related to the framing of feminism

in the media based on corpora. Their corpus (135,759,087 words) contained transcripts of 35 hours of American public affairs radio broadcasts between 1993 and 1996. The main search items were *feminism*, *feminist*, *feminists*, *woman* and *women*. Lind & Salo (2002) managed to identify six frames which are related to the media coverage of feminism: “personalisation (roles)”, “trivialisation (appearance, style)”, “goals (civil rights, equality)”, “victimisation (weak, vulnerable)”, “agency (strong, capable)” and “site/location (work place, education, home, etc.)” (ibid. 211). The authors describe demonisation as ‘deviance’, which confirms Rhode’ results. Feminists are thus portrayed by the media as different from ‘regular’ women since they are ‘deviant’, and their appearance is often reduced to false stereotypes. Feminists are also never linked with activities within the private domain (such as the household or taking care of the children), but they are strongly associated with large public events such as demonstrations and protest marches. Compared to ‘normal’ women (i.e. women who are not considered as ‘feminists’ and who do not identify with the movement), they are often labelled as *radical* or *militant*. Lind & Salo (2002) add that the framing of feminism can have an effect on its connotation (good or bad). In addition, the social issue of feminism in itself is often not regarded as something relevant in women’s daily lives: they do not seem to share these feminist values since media usually like to make them believe that feminists are strange and focus 100% on themselves. ‘Normal’ women are thus unlikely to be familiar with the actions and practices of ‘real’ feminists (i.e. those who do not fit social and media stereotypes).

2.2.2. Negative image of feminism

Second-wave feminism was thus the most criticized period in the history of the movement (Barker-Plummer, 2010: 162). Even though various media, including broadsheet newspapers, radio stations and the television, started to give the movement more attention, the movement was represented rather negatively (Rhode, 1995: 693; Bronstein, 2005: 790). Such attitudes towards the movement continued during the following wave (1992-2010). Even when some media portrayed third-wavers in more positive terms, *feminism* was also seen as the *F-word*: this means that it was “perceived to be an empty dogma which brainwashed a whole generation of women into false consciousness of their relationship to power” (Whelehan, 2000: 16). Schaffer (1998: 321) also writes that the term *feminism* has been transformed into a very pejorative word: *feminazi*. In this manner, Schaffer (1998: 322) says that feminism has become a “scare word”. Jaworska & Krishnamurthy’s (2012) corpus-based study “on the F Word”

provides us with a more detailed account of how feminism is portrayed in the media. The authors write that all previous studies on the subject (even the non-corpus-based ones) appear to corroborate Mc Robbie's (2009) claim that media marginalise or trivialise the feminist movement, therefore creating a negative view of it, as well as a lack of interest in feminism in the British press.

Jaworska & Krishnamurthy (2012) compared the discourse of the British and German press in order to study the image of feminism in two different cultural backgrounds. They started by investigating the distribution surrounding the word *feminism* through the various categories and registers found in the Bank of English corpus (which was used as a reference corpus). The analysis revealed that the term *feminism* is relatively more frequent in American academic books, in Canadian and British writing and in British broadsheet newspapers (The Guardian, The Independent or The Times, for instance). It is however less frequent "in business and scientific texts (such as the Economist or New Scientist) and in spoken media covering international affairs (BBC World Service radio broadcasts and American national public radio or NPR)" (Jaworska & Krishnamurthy, 2012: 9). This means that the feminism movement is not a very frequent subject of discussion in tabloids, nor in the various spoken genres found in the Bank of English corpus. Tabloids tend to address less 'serious' subjects such as celebrities, sports, and scandals (Fritz, 2009: 6), as opposed to broadsheets. Tabloids are also the most popular form of newspapers in the UK, especially The Daily Mail, which has a daily circulation of 1,169,241 newspapers. The Daily Mirror, however, has a smaller daily circulation of 451,466. Broadsheets, on the other hand, refer to standard newspapers which focus on more serious headlines, news stories and politics (ibid.). Broadsheet newspapers have a much smaller daily circulation: 368,929 for The Times, 132,341 for The Guardian, 645,108 for The Sunday Times, 278,558 for The Sunday Telegraph and 308,015 for The Daily Telegraph⁶. The Sunday Times is thus the most popular broadsheet in the UK. Consequently, Jaworska & Krishnamurthy (2012: 9) conclude that because "broadsheet newspapers have a much smaller circulation compared to tabloids; we can assume that the impact of feminism (if any) is restricted to a small section of society."

While examining the collocates of the search term *feminism* (i.e. the words co-occurring most frequently with the search term), Jaworska & Krishnamurthy (2012) produced a list by means of the t-score statistic. The t-score produces the most important collocates, i.e. the ones

⁶ Average numbers of daily circulations were calculated in 2020 by the Audit Bureau of Circulations.

that occur more frequently than others (Paquot, 2018-2019). This means that it has to consider “the actual number of observations of the pairing to assess whether we can be confident in claiming an association, so that we can be confident that there is a real association” (HarperCollins, 2008). Jaworska & Krishnamurthy (2012: 10) listed the 50 most frequent collocates and put them into six different thematic categories. Firstly, they discovered that the term *feminism* is generally connected to political movements: this forms the first category, which contains words such as the adjectives *radical*, *political* or *socialist*. While some terms imply a form of extremism, such as *radical*, other collocates from the same category suggest a whole other attitude: the adjectives *liberal* and *equality*, for instance, suggest a more “progressive stance” (Jaworska & Krishnamurthy, 2012: 10). The second category contains frequent collocates which are strongly associated with sex, gender, and homosexuality, such as *lesbian*, *gay* or *gender*. The authors argue that such stereotypical collocates explain why people tend to have negative attitudes towards feminism. The other categories involve the past, with collocates such as *1970s* or *post-* (which suggests that the feminist movement is a thing of the past and does no longer exist), and the connection with the Western part of the world, with the collocate *Western*; the authors were indeed not able to find frequent collocates representing other places in the world. Then, they used the same method to analyse a more specialised corpus: the British Press Corpus (or BPC). They were able to retrieve the most frequent collocates of the pattern *of feminism*. Most of them are associated with time, which includes words such as *years*, *history*, *days* or *age* (Jaworska & Krishnamurthy, 2012: 16). *Of feminism* is also more strongly related to the word *failure(s)* than to the word *achievements*. The results for the pattern *Feminism is* show that the most frequent collocate is the word *dead*: “Overall, there is a stronger tendency for the pattern to occur with words evoking a negative evaluation” (Jaworska & Krishnamurthy, 2012: 16). This collocate would also suggest that feminism is now over.

The final stage of their study was to find out whether feminism occurs more frequently with “negative associations” (2012: 16) or not. They found out that the most frequent adjective is *new*: this could mean that there is an invention or an evolution in the feminist movement (2012: 16). Nevertheless, Jaworska & Krishnamurthy (2012: 16) clarify that the majority of the concordances refer to a book called ‘The New Feminism’, published in 1998 and written by Natasha Walter: this book is indeed often mentioned in book reviews, which were then added to the corpus used in Jaworska & Krishnamurthy’s study. However, “more than 30 instances of the word *new* and *feminism* were surrounded by scare quotes and written in lower case, hence

not referring to the aforementioned book” (Jaworska & Krishnamurthy, 2012: 16). As suggested by the presence of scare quotes, the notion of ‘new feminism’ is not being taken seriously. Indeed, scare quotes may indicate irony or may cast doubt on the possibility of a concept called ‘new feminism’ (Jaworska & Krishnamurthy, 2012: 17). Another frequent adjective (or, in this case, modifier) is the prefix *post-*. The notion of ‘post-feminism’ was, as pointed out by Jaworska & Krishnamurthy (2012: 17), created by Faludi (1991) in reference to “a backlash against feminism and feminists during the Reagan era”. The authors seem to be worried about the concept of ‘post-feminism’, which would refer to the denial of feminism and the belief that equality would presumably be achieved, and this would mean that we do not need feminism anymore (Jaworska & Krishnamurthy, 2012: 17). The prominence of the term *post-feminism* in the British Press Corpus suggests that the movement is now outdated and useless.

All things considered, Jaworska & Krishnamurthy’s (2012) corpus study demonstrates that there is a lack of interest in feminism in the British press and that the majority of the collocates are negative. Jaworska & Krishnamurthy also suggest that this still needs to be explored in more details: “it would be important to see whether there has actually been a change in the representation of feminism between the 1990s and 2000s by performing more rigorous comparative analyses” (2012: 24). They also propose analysing other terms related to the search term *feminism*. These terms have to represent the feminist movement itself (2012: 24). Consequently, conducting a more comprehensive analysis of the immediate (lexical and syntactic) environment surrounding the lemmas *feminism*, *feminist*, and the terms *women’s liberation*, *feminist movement* and *women’s movement* seems appropriate. Indeed, these search terms perfectly represent feminism as a whole.

Chapter 3

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

3.1. Introduction

Although content analyses offer a quantitative and systematic description of the apparent content of any form of communication, this technique has been considered as insufficient when it comes to offering “*interpretations of the meanings of texts*” (Richardson, 2007: 15) (his emphasis, not mine). Similarly, content analysts do not consider textual meaning as being constructed on the basis of interactions between the producer of a text, the text itself and the reader (ibid.); they view textual meaning as “being ‘read off’ the page by all readers in exactly the same way” (ibid.: 15-16). Berelson (1952, as cited in Richardson, 2007: 16-17) assumed that the quantitative aspect of content analysis was significant. This meant that the frequency of words occurring in a text was meaningful. However, Richardson (2007: 18-19) argues that this assumption seems rather controversial: firstly, the frequency of ‘negative’ topics and words in the coverage of minority and marginalised (social) groups is an interesting aspect to study, but it is “perhaps not as important as the *agency* of this negative action” (p. 18, his emphasis, not mine). The aspect of ‘agency’ has been examined by suggesting that it is perhaps better to know ‘who’ is ‘violent’ or ‘threatening’ in situations where negative references are made⁷ (ibid.). Richardson argues that there are, nevertheless, some advantages to use content analysis, because it helps to see the bigger picture. It seems, however, highly beneficial to understand *how* this meaning is produced by using a more qualitative approach (his emphasis, not mine).

⁷ Richardson (2001) investigated the representation of Muslims in British broadsheet newspapers, where a lot of negative references including ‘violence’, ‘threat’ or ‘terrorism’ were found in articles citing the word ‘Islam’.

Richardson (2007: 20) also writes that this process developed from “summarising *what* newspapers write” to examining “*how* newspapers write” about a certain topic (his emphasis, not mine): “in short, it became CDA” (ibid.).

Critical Discourse Analysis (or CDA) refers thus to a general approach in the study of any type of discourse involving social issues, such as social and gender inequalities, racism or colonialism (Van Dijk, 1995: 17). CDA can be characterized by various criteria (see Section 3.2); these are not only descriptive of critical analyses, but they are also “programmatic” (ibid.). This implies that the criteria themselves refer to the aims of Critical Discourse Analysis: they are precisely what CDA wants to achieve. The notion of Critical Discourse Analysis is further explained in Section 3.2. Moreover, since this thesis focusses on newspapers, Section 3.3 deals with the application of CDA on journalistic discourse - by explaining *why* and *how* it can be analysed from a critical perspective. Section 3.4 presents a small number of studies discussing the use of CDA in combination with the tools of Corpus Linguistics. The use of corpora in CDA studies may indeed be a crucial step in the critical analysis of discourses since it employs concordance analysis; the collection of the most suitable collocations for the study is then possible. Lastly, Section 3.5 focusses on the particular case of feminism and explains why this is a legitimate subject of study, using the approach of Critical Discourse Analysis.

3.2. The notion of CDA

Before explaining Critical Discourse Analysis, let us take a look at the concept of Discourse Analysis. Discourse analysis (DA) is a method that can be used to analyse written and spoken (or even sign) language. DA deals with “language above the sentence” (Cameron, 2001: 10-11 as cited in Richardson, 2007: 22), which means that discourse analysts “look at the features which link sentences together” and “the [...] features that make two sentences ‘a discourse’ rather than just two unconnected phrases” (Cameron, 2001: 10-11 as cited in Richardson, 2007: 22). However, Heather (2000: 18) argues that discourse analysts cannot continue to use DA in an ethical way “without moving onto CDA”. Indeed, Critical Discourse Analysis addresses other issues such as structure, genre, interactions between forms of discourses and social semiotics. CDA views discourse as a form of social practice involving all sorts of visual, musical and gestural representations. Indeed, Fairclough (1995: 4) discussed the fact that “a text may be ‘multi-semiotic’” (Fairclough, 1995: 4). This implies that language (i.e. the

“primary semiotic form” of a text (ibid.)) can be associated with one or more semiotic forms. The author gives the following example: while watching television, we are often confronted to a combination of language and visual images, music and many other semiotic forms. In the same manner, Fairclough emphasises the fact that printed texts can also be ‘multi-semiotic’ since they generally imply a “combination of language, photographs, diagrams” (ibid.), and so on. The fact that texts can be ‘multi-semiotic’ has indeed led to challenges in the critical analysis of discourse: linguists then developed a ‘social semiotics’ (Hodge and Kress, 1988, Kress and van Leeuwen, 1990, as cited in Fairclough, 1995: 4). Social semiotics is the analysis of the various social aspects of meaning: it focuses on all types of social signification-making procedures (i.e. visual, verbal or acoustic) (Thibault, 1991). It also refers to the analysis of how individuals shape and understand meanings, the examination of texts and the study of how semiotic practices can be produced by ideologies, and how these can be altered when there is a change or shift in our society (Hodge and Kress, 1988).

Critical Discourse Analysis is founded on the belief that any form of discourse can participate in the creation and legitimisation of various forms of ideologies and discrimination in society: the aim of CDA is thus to show how this can be performed (Van Leeuwen, 2009). The motivation of CDA is therefore to focus on specific social issues and to understand them by analysing the discourse around the issues in question. Furthermore, texts are generally conceived by “socially situated speakers and writers” (Elsharkawy, 2017: 10). As mentioned above, this implies that the idea of ‘discourse’ is ultimately defined as a social operation (in which ideologies can be both shown and produced) (ibid.). Moreover, in Critical Discourse Analysis, the *context* in which language is used is of great importance (Fairclough, 1989, 1995; Van Dijk 1995, 2005; and Van Leeuwen, 2009). Fairclough (1989) also demonstrated that critical discourse analysts are mainly concerned with studying the interactions that exist between various forms of discourses, as well as the social contexts in which they occur. This implies that, in CDA, the concept of ‘discourse’ includes both “social conditions of production (e.g. text) [and] social conditions of interpretation” (Elsharkawy, 2017: 12):

“It is the linguistic form of social interaction that is either embedded in social context of situation or that it interprets the social system that constitutes the culture of institutions or society as a whole. It is a product of its environment and it functions in that environment through the process of interaction and semantic choice. Text is the realization of such environment.” (p. 12).

In short, the critical study of any form of discourse – and in any discipline – relies on the social environment, which plays an essential role in the production and the interpretation of

discourses (Fairclough, 1989, 1995; Van Dijk 1995, 2005; Van Leeuwen, 2009; and Elsharkawy, 2017). A particular social context can thus cover ideologies and (unequal) power relations: CDA seeks to interpret and describe these interactions between language, individuals, ideologies, power and opinions (Van Dijk, 2008).

In addition, CDA is multidisciplinary: while discourse analysts study discourse across various scopes (lexicon, meaning, etc.), critical discourse analysts examine discourse across various disciplines (Richardson, 2007: 11). The critical dimension of CDA is also of great significance as far as the type of discourse (or genre) is concerned. Indeed, as mentioned above, this approach refers to a criticism of discourses and genres which produce any forms of injustice in modern society (Van Leeuwen, 2006: 290). CDA is a derivative of a movement called ‘Critical Linguistics’, which has been established and developed in the mid-1970s (Kress & Hodge, 1979). Critical Linguistics involved the interpretation of “grammatical categories as potential traces of ideological mystification” (Van Leeuwen, 2006: 291-292). While some claim that Critical Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis can be used interchangeably, others, on the other hand, argue that the term ‘CDA’ is widely preferred since it (almost) denotes the same theory than Critical Linguistics, the latter being the former name of the approach (Wodak, 2006). To sum up, the term ‘critical’ implies that some interactions or connections are hidden: it refers to the uncovering of these aforementioned power relations and ideologies since they are shaped by social and cultural beliefs (Calkin, 2014). However, this does not mean that critical discourse analysts seek to eradicate all types of ideologies; instead, academics investigate what they mean and to what extent this meaning has to do with the issue(s) investigated, and, inevitably, with society (Heather, 2000).

The following section (Section 3.3.) aims to illustrate why journalistic discourse should be considered as an important genre in CDA. This section also focusses on how CDA perceives the various textual features of newspapers, as well as the connections with potential ideologies and social understandings.

3.3. CDA and media discourse

Different types of discourses can thus be analysed through CDA. Since this thesis focusses on newspapers, the context of journalistic discourse should be considered. Indeed, both journalism and language are social instruments: this means that they fulfil specific functions in the social system in which they are used. Language is unquestionably a crucial element of journalism, and journalistic discourse is also of great significance in our civilisation since it operates both at social and linguistic level. In addition, according to Richardson (2007: 1), journalistic discourse presents specific textual features, which are undoubtedly linked to a CDA framework. He describes three aspects that characterise journalism: (1) its language, (2) the way it is produced and consumed and (3) its “relations [...] to social ideas and institutions” (Richardson, 2007: 1). The author further argues that the way news is obtained and created is closely related to people’s opinions. In his book, Richardson (2007) suggests analysing newspapers through Critical Discourse Analysis (Richardson, 2007: 1). He describes CDA as “a theory and a method” for the analysis of how people (as well as organisations) actually use language. The first step that needs to be completed is the selection of a social issue to tackle. The second step consists of analysing - from a critical perspective - the function of the discourse in the (re)production of dominance (Van Dijk, 2001: 96 in Richardson, 2007: 1). The social issue in question needs to be presented from the viewpoint of “those who suffer the most” in order to criticise “those in power”, “those who are responsible and those who have the means [...] to solve” these social issues (Van Dijk, 2001: 96 in Richardson, 2007: 1).

Richardson (2007: 6) also discusses his own view of journalism, which is essential to understand why newspapers and Critical Discourse Analysis can be associated. First, he looks at the function(s) of journalism. It may seem entertaining, but journalism is not always entertainment: “such a view is highly simplistic” (Richardson, 2007: 6). Nor is it a question of propaganda because if it were the case, then it would not be considered as journalism. The author aims to see beyond that. His book on analysing newspapers and CDA is “founded on the assumption that *journalism exists to enable citizens to better understand their lives and their position(s) in the world*” (Richardson, 2007: 7; italics in the original). However, it seems difficult to know if journalism can really enable us to understand the world around us and our place in this world. Think of bias, for instance. Most of us cannot really tell whether an article is biased or not. It is also difficult to identify the reasons that make us think that an article is biased: *why* and *how* do viewers or readers come to this conclusion? That is why Richardson

adds that we should not only question the function of journalism, but we should also look at the “form and content of the messages that [it] conveys”, as well as the “discourse processes” (Richardson, 2007: 8). In doing so, we will be able to study the way “arguments are made and [...] supported” and the way newspapers may (re)produce social discriminations. Thus, Richardson (2007: 9) argues that we need specific methods to analyse the language of newspapers from a more critical point of view. His own view of language can also be helpful to better understand the effects of newspaper discourse; he describes “five fundamental assumptions about language” (2007: 10).

The first assumption made by Richardson (2007: 10) is that “language is social”: this means that language is partly responsible for the (re)production of social reality/life and it also represents the way we act in society. This means that language can reflect certain expectations as to how people should speak, for instance, or as to how newspapers are written (since journalists have their own genre of writing). However, when we are engaged in a conversation, we do not only have specific expectations, we also “hold assumptions and presuppositions about the world” (Richardson, 2007: 11): some journalists’ arguments, for instance, may be based on their own suppositions and they may leave gaps so that the reader would have to fill them in to retrieve a coherent argument.

The second assumption derives from the fact that “language use enacts identity” (2007: 11): this implies that the way we speak corresponds to the type of person that we are. For example, we would not speak to a friend in the exact same manner we would to our parents, because the way they (parents and friends) see us is not exactly the same. This means that the way we speak is closely related to our identity. In the same manner, when a journalist produces a text, the meaning of his or her text is also linked to his or her identity since he or she is responsible for the meaning of the argument, the content of the text and the context in which it appears. Richardson further argues that “our understanding of a communicative act is shaped [...] by who is speaking/writing and the context” and that “in order to fully appreciate communication [we] have to recognise these identities and the activities that are being acted out” (Richardson, 2007: 11).

The third assumption is based on the fact that “language use is always active” (2007: 12): “it is always directed at *doing* something” (2007: 12; emphasis in the original). This means that the essence of a communicative act is dynamic: people are performing specific actions when they speak or write, such as informing people, describing facts, arguing for or against

something, complimenting other people, criticising something or someone, and so on. The use of language should not only be regarded as ‘talk’, but “as an activity or as a social action” (2007: 12). Holtgraves (2002: 1-2) adds that language use is indeed an action including other people. This aspect of language use means that when we use language, we perform a “meaningful action, with consequences for the speaker, the hearer, and the conversation of which it is part” (2002: 5). These consequences may involve either showing a behaviour influenced by other people or affecting the behaviour of others.

The penultimate assumption is that “language use has power”: inequalities can also be found in language use; Richardson (2007: 13) argues that “some people’s speech is more powerful than others”. This means that some opinions may be more or less reliable than other opinions, or that some arguments may be more or less plausible than others. Journalism is a prime example of a powerful genre, and the power of journalistic discourse impacts on society (Richardson, 2007: 13): “it can shape people’s opinions not only of the world but also of their *place* and *role* in the world; or, [...] it can at the very least influence what you have opinions on”. This means that it may shape social life, since it shapes “our views of social reality” (Richardson, 2007: 13; emphasis in the original).

Finally, in the fifth and last assumption, Richardson suggests that “language use is political”: since language use can be social and can have power, then language use is ultimately political. Richardson (2007: 13) quotes George Orwell (2004 [1946]) – in an essay Orwell wrote in 1946 titled ‘Politics and the English Language’: “ugly and offensive thoughts corrupt language” and “language can corrupt thought”. This means that language can be used as an instrument of power and to produce inequalities in the political world, as well as justify some political actions (ibid.).

In short, all of the assumptions developed by the author can be seen as the starting point for journalistic discourse analysis. They also provide us with significant questions to raise, as well as useful tools to apply to the critical analysis of newspapers. Journalism is thus a powerful form of language and the impact of this power on society should not be disregarded (Richardson, 2007: 13). Indeed, when dealing with CDA, all kinds of issues related to the influence of language use (i.e. creating ideologies, power relations, social inequalities, etc.) on people’s attitudes and opinions are of considerable interest. CDA seeks to define and critique social power and how this is depicted and (re)produced in newspapers, whether it be implicit or explicit (Richardson, 2007: 29). However, it is important to note that, in CDA, language

itself is not powerful: it becomes powerful when people use it in a certain manner, as can be the case in media discourses (Wodak, 2004, as cited in Baker et al., 2008: 280). In addition, the methods of CDA can support the study of “deeper meanings”, which seem to be embedded in the layers of newspaper language. Biases created by some journalists or “ideological groups” can also be examined (and eventually uncovered) to see if they “maintain power and construct reality in a desired manner” or not (Sajid et al., 2019: 46):

“There is power within and behind print media discourses. Print media on one hand serves the purpose of controlling ideological groups and on the other hand highly politicized language (mis)represent an event to propagate desired ideology. Usually, it is observed that in order to disseminate different ideologies to the readers, different discursive techniques are used by print media. These discursive techniques are used as persuasive tools to disseminate particular ideology to the target readership (Phillips et al., 2004). [...] The [ideological] group, which is aware of these discursive techniques, subjugates those who are unaware of these. Hence, they shape the mindset of the people and maintain their dominance and hegemony.” (p. 46).

In that regard, this thesis aims to critically analyse the coverage of feminism across different newspaper groups. Hypothetically, different newspapers may carry certain ideologies about the same event or issue (e.g. events involving the feminist movement or issues related to social and gender inequalities). The idea that everything that is written or said regarding society has to do with a specific ideology also applies to the present paper (Fowler, 1991). To sum up, for all the reasons provided in this section, CDA seems to be an essential approach for the analysis of media discourse; Chapter 4 presents the methodology of the present thesis in greater details.

3.4. CDA and Corpus Linguistics

It is possible - and even useful - to combine Corpus Linguistics (or CL) and Critical Discourse Analysis. Gabrielatos & Duguid (2014) note that CDA does not refer to a specific methodology. Rather, it is usually seen as a qualitative approach. CL, on the other hand, can be considered as a methodology and it is strongly oriented towards a more quantitative approach, even though corpus compilers apply qualitative methods prior to the quantitative study (i.e. annotation): Gabrielatos & Duguid explain further that this aspect is “mostly unacknowledged” and that “CL blurs the distinction between ‘qualitative’ and ‘quantitative’ analysis”. However, the status of

CL seems debatable: Teubert (2005: 4) notes that “corpus linguistics is not in itself a method: many different methods are used in processing and analysing corpus data. It is rather an insistence on working only with real language data taken from the discourse in a principled way and compiled into a corpus”. Nonetheless, corpora are generally beneficial to analyse frequencies, to show language in context (broader sense) and in cotext (i.e. in its limited or immediate linguistic environment) or to examine collocations (i.e. the “preferential lexical company kept by a word” (Stubbs 1995)). As mentioned earlier, it is also advantageous to combine quantitative and qualitative approaches in a corpus approach (Semino & Short, 2004). Indeed, in discourse analysis, the corpus can be used as a tool to uncover the organisation of different types of discourse (Gilquin, 2018-2019). Similarly, corpora can be used with CDA and media studies in order to focus on the discourse organised around social issues (ibid.).

A prime example of this CL/CDA combination is Baker & McEnery (2005): their corpus-based study on discourses of refugees and asylum seekers investigated the concordances of the search terms *refugee(s)* and *asylum seeker(s)*. These terms were categorised according to thematic groups showing linguistic indications of discourses: refugees were represented and framed as *invaders* or *pests* in various newspapers, which in turn could reveal the general attitudes of journalists towards the subject matter. Another study combining CL and CDA is Baker et al. (2008). The authors investigated discourses of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK press on the basis of “a 140-million-word corpus of British news articles about refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants (collectively RASIM)” (2008: 273). To do so, they also combined both approaches, examined the collocations of the search terms and conducted a concordance analysis in order to categorize the representations of RASIM, which resulted in a qualitative analysis (ibid.). Moreover, Baker & Levon (2015: 222) conducted a study on news articles about masculinity which makes use of the same procedures. Interestingly, the two researchers “worked independently of each other, one using corpus-based techniques, the other focusing on a qualitative analysis, in order to address the same research question” (ibid. 222). Baker analysed a rather large corpus which contained about 44.1 million words of newspaper articles, whereas Levon conducted the qualitative analysis by examining 51 articles which were down-sampled from the corpus (ibid. 222). Their approach is quite interesting since it would stimulate possible collaborations between scholars with different competences. In their research, they managed to discover complementary findings based on these two approaches. The corpus analyst could identify frequent collocates in the whole corpus which indicated recurring representations of masculinity, while the qualitative analyst could expose discourses

around the subject matter, as well as other more complex linguistic realisations of these discourses: for example, the researcher was able to expose how some journalists “attempted to explain or imply certain representations” (ibid. 222). This demonstrates that both approaches can be successfully combined: Baker & Levon (2015) demonstrated that CDA can be used to specify the findings of CL studies, and vice versa. In addition, both CL and CDA can be applied as starting points, with CL providing a general idea of what the data suggest, usually in terms of frequencies, keywords, collocations or the diachronic development of the subject matter. Research papers using the techniques of CDA can also highlight specific linguistic patterns that need to be analysed through CL for ‘triangulation’ (ibid.) (e.g. the use of absurd, negative terms related to the topic or issue under investigation).

Another advantage is that CL generally provides us with a certain degree of neutrality. In other words, CL researchers’ approach to the text being analysed is not usually based on predetermined ideas and beliefs regarding the “linguistic or semantic/pragmatic content” of that text (Baker et al., 2008: 277). It is, however, inevitable that some subjective involvement from the researcher is developed at some point during the analysis. Indeed, Baker et al. (2008: 277) clarified that “the analyst, informed by the quantitative aspects mentioned earlier, has to decide what texts should go in the corpus, and what is to be analysed”. In any discourse analysis which is supported by a corpus, the analyst is faced with “hundreds of lines of concordance data” to examine, “in order to identify wider themes or patterns in the corpus which are not so easily spotted via collocation, key word or frequency analysis” (ibid.). The following step is thus to bring meaning to the different linguistic patterns which emerge from the corpus, with the help of the frameworks of collocation and keyness, for example.

In Corpus Linguistics, the notion of ‘collocation’ involves two words which frequently co-occur (i.e. they co-occur more than expected) within a pre-defined span, which typically corresponds to five words on the left and five words on the right of the node (i.e. the word being examined) (Gilquin, 2018-2019). The computation of collocations goes through the following processes or “measures”: (1) “the frequency of the node”, (2) “the frequency of the collocates” (i.e. whether a term collocates with the node or not), and (3) “the frequency of the collocation” (Baker et al., 2008: 278). It is important to note that a *collocate* refers to a component of a *collocation* (e.g. the word *heavy* in the word group *heavy rain*), whereas a collocation is the group of words occurring together (e.g. *heavy rain*). Another previous study conducted by Baker et al. (2007) on the use of collocations to reveal the representation of minority groups

has shown that collocates can provide us with the “semantic analysis of a word” (Sinclair, 1991: 115-116, as cited in Baker et al., 2007: 1) and “they can convey messages implicitly and even be at odds with an overt statement” (Hunston, 2002: 109, as cited in Baker et al., 2007: 1). Moreover, collocates can carry out the “discoursal presentation of a group” (Baker et al. 2007: 1). To put it simply, collocation analyses enable us to understand the meaning of words and to determine the representation of specific groups.

The notion of keyword is used “for a word that is statistically characteristic of a text or set of texts” (Culpeper & Demmen, 2015: 90). Thus, the concept of ‘keyness’ of a keyword illustrates “the value of loglikelihood or Chi-square statistics; in other words, it provides an indicator of a keyword’s importance as a content descriptor for the appeal. The significance (p value) represents the probability that this keyness is accidental” (Biber et al., 2007: 138). In Baker et al.’s (2008) RASIM project, for example, a key word analysis has been carried out to see if there were differences in terms of representation in tabloids and broadsheet newspapers:

“[T]he examination of the strongest key words [...] in the two sub-corpora, combined with concordance analysis, provided helpful indications of the respective stance towards RASIM of the two types of newspaper. However, it may also be beneficial to examine the keyness not only of word-forms, but also of lemmas, word families, and [...] semantically/functionally related words (Baker, 2004b, 2006). By grouping together key words relating to specific topics, metaphors or topoi (as ascertained through concordance analysis), it was possible to create a general impression of the presentation of RASIM in the broadsheets and tabloids.” (Baker et al., 2008: 278).

In addition to these CL techniques, the authors also used concordance analysis to support and supplement their study. Concordance analysis provides all the occurrences of a linguistic item in context (i.e. keyword in context or KWIC). There are several advantages: concordances make it possible to observe regular patterns of use in language and they serve as a basis for other techniques such as collocations, word clusters, etc. Furthermore, some researchers have argued that concordance analysis also provides examples of words (or word groups) which appears “in [their] immediate co-text” (Baker et al., 2008: 279). Co-text refers to “the linguistic environment in which a word is used within a text” (Faracha, n.d.). It should not be confused with the notion of ‘context’ which includes “additional information about the nature of the text” such as the period of production, the genre used, the age, the origin of the author, and so on: it is the external information of the text (ibid.). Concordance analysis would thus provide the analysis of linguistic elements found in the co-text. Nevertheless, this does not mean that the context is less important: it has to be considered by researchers since they need to be aware of

it. More importantly, the context can be assumed and deduced from the co-text itself (Baker et al., 2008: 279). Indeed, Baker et al. (2008: 279) also noted that CL is frequently criticised because it tends to neglect the context. The authors also suggested that ‘expanded concordances’ (i.e. not only keywords in context, but also keywords alongside and out of context) can be examined in order to assist the analyst in the reconstruction of the initial context (on the basis of the contextual components of the text under investigation). In other words, Baker et al. suggested that the examination of lexical patterns, including key words and collocates, should normally lead to the analysis of the ‘expanded concordances’, and to some extent, the analysis of the entire text (if necessary).

More importantly, Baker et al.’s RASIM project (2008: 296) also proved that the boundary between ‘quantitative’ and ‘qualitative’ analysis is unclear. The authors demonstrated that the combination of CDA and CL techniques is advantageous for both CDA and CL. Indeed, CL and concordance analysis “can be positively influenced by exposure and familiarity with CDA analytical techniques, and the theoretical notions and categories of [CDA] can inform the quantitative CL analysis” (2008: 297). Similarly, CL studies require the supplementation of a closer examination of the (manually) selected texts by using CDA. Accordingly, CDA seems to benefit from the integration of a more objective and quantifiable methodology proposed by CL. Having summarized all the different aspects and principles of CDA and CL that serve as the basis for the present study, we now turn to address the issue of feminism itself and its link to Critical Discourse Analysis.

3.5. CDA and feminism

As mentioned above, there has been an increase in the use of CL in critical discourse analyses, particularly when analysing discourses around gender issues (Hunt, 2011), refugees (Baker et al., 2008) and many other social or environmental issues. Critical Discourse Analysis suggests that it is feasible to uncover ideologies and ‘hidden’ power relations in society, and to show how they work (Lazar, 2005: 6). Furthermore, CDA seeks to uncover the power used in media discourses (Blommaert, 2005: 25) and to suggest ways to change the negative discourses which have been revealed by the analysis (Van Dijk, 2001: 96). In addition, Barker-Plummer (2010: 145) claimed that “news media and social movements” (such as feminism) are strongly related to each other and that they may shape “our understanding of social change”, as well as our own

beliefs and attitudes. Davies (2005) added that, in this particular case, the journalist's or the writer's language is of great importance when reporting certain events, especially events that are linked to specific social movements and issues.

CDA is helpful for the present study on feminism since it can help identify different representations of it in British media. According to Lazar (2005: 2), "CDA is known for its overtly political stance and is concerned with all forms of social inequality and injustice". This may ultimately lead to an understanding of how feminism is represented in British newspapers. Indeed, the previous studies mentioned earlier discovered that a considerable amount of newspaper articles provided negative representations of feminists. It is thus of great importance to consider all aspects and techniques of CDA when analysing the different representations of feminism in media discourses. For this reason, a previous master's thesis on the representation of feminism in Estonian journalism (Berendsen, 2015) proposed to identify essential elements such as the tone, wordings (e.g. expressions, analogies, etc.), the rhetoric and the story of the article, as well as the genre and/or the subsection of the article (e.g. entertainment, essay, opinion articles, society, etc.) to provide a complete (critical) discourse analysis.

Another thesis (Payne, 2018) analysed the representations of contemporary feminist protest in Germany and the UK: the author selected online articles from four newspapers (for each country), as well as the discussion forum comments of these newspapers. This selection provided a general view of the public's discourse. The aim of Payne's study was to understand how feminist protests were linguistically constructed and how these protests were either supported or excluded in the media and in the comments below the articles. To do so, she also used the tools of CDA. Moreover, Payne (2015: 65) stated that her "main source for critique" in her thesis was that she was a feminist and that she strongly believed that "there are deep-rooted problems between the relations between women and men": she also noted that feminism was a rather controversial concept in society and that using an approach such as CDA could help us challenge these problems. More importantly, she concluded her study by suggesting that, since this qualitative study was carried out by one researcher only, the total number of texts (which have been analysed) was relatively small: it would perhaps be better to use CDA with CL approaches, as has been done by Baker et al. (2008) or Jaworska & Krishnamurthy (2012), for example.

Indeed, as mentioned earlier, Jaworska & Krishnamurthy (2012) conducted such a study on feminism by combining CDA with the methods of CL. The authors noted that both CL and

CDA were employed to examine the discourse surrounding feminism, especially on the grounds that the feminist movement is often trivialised and disregarded by the media sphere. This point goes back to previous studies' findings which confirm this tendency to portray feminism in negative terms. That is why the authors suggest conducting more detailed analyses on the same topic. Indeed, further empirical evidences are required to support some of these findings. Moreover, Jaworska & Krishnamurthy suggested to use both quantitative and qualitative approaches to produce a more reliable and academic study on the representation of feminism.

Jenkins et al. (2019) further argued that it is crucial to study feminism and to stimulate feminist principles in all aspects of academic investigation. Once again, the aim would be to uncover power inequalities and to challenge the constant marginalisation and demonisation of feminists. Jill & Baker (2019: 1) also argued that "it is essential to improve unnecessary negative portrayals" and oppose deep-rooted stereotypes since media narratives tend to be "societally ingrained". In view of this, the present thesis explores representations of feminism and feminists by using both qualitative and quantitative approaches, in the hopes of debunking negative images of feminists on one hand and recommending critical thinking on the other.

Chapter 4

Data and methodology

This chapter introduces the data that has been used for the analyses, as well as the methodology that has been adopted with regard to this corpus-based and CDA study. Section 4.1 presents the corpus and the software used in this thesis (i.e. the SiBol corpus of English Broadsheet Newspapers). The next section (4.2) describes the methodology that has been applied to the data.

4.1. The corpus

4.1.1. The SiBol corpus of English Broadsheet Newspapers (1993–2013)

Newspaper corpora which cover a certain period of time usually provide us with an overview of possible changing attitudes regarding a given issue or theme. The data in the present study comes from a large corpus of English newspapers: *the SiBol corpus of English broadsheet newspapers* (SiBol; Duguid et al., 2005). The SiBol project started in 2005 and was developed by English linguistics researchers from the Universities of Siena and Bologna in Italy – hence the creation of the portmanteau word ‘SiBol’, referring to these two universities. Linguistics researchers included Alison Duguid, Anna Marchi, John Morley, and Charlotte Taylor in Siena, as well as Alan Partington and Caroline Clark in Bologna (ibid.). The authors of the corpus coined the term ‘Modern-Diachronic Corpus-assisted Discourse Studies’ (or MD-CADS) to refer to ‘Corpus-assisted Discourse Studies’ (or CADS) (ibid.). MD-CADS make use of unique

and creative methodology and issues. Partington (2010: 1) writes that “large corpora of a parallel structure and content from different moments of contemporary time” are used (i.e. SiBol) in order to analyse and explain recent changes in language use, as well as “social, cultural and political changes as reflected in language” (ibid.)

This corpus contains 1.5 million articles coming from 14 newspapers written in the English language and published between 1993 and 2013. There are around 650 million words in the corpus. It is made up of four subcorpora: SiBol 93 (representing the year 1993), SiBol 05 (2005), Port 2010 (2010, 2011 and 2012) and SiBol 13 (2013). The distribution of articles per year is presented in Appendix 1. However, despite its name, the corpus does not merely include broadsheet newspapers. The first version was made up of UK broadsheet newspapers only. The corpus then included broadsheets from other countries (China, Egypt, India, the USA, Nigeria, and the United Arab Emirates) and UK tabloids (Sketch Engine, 2017) in the other versions. The distribution of the articles per newspaper title for the whole corpus is presented in Appendix 2. As this study is limited to British newspapers, a subcorpus (SiBol-GB) has been created on the basis of the following newspapers: Daily Mirror and Daily Mail (tabloids), and The Times, The Guardian, Sunday Times, The Sunday Telegraph and The Daily Telegraph (broadsheets). Table 1 presents the number of words (tokens) found in the subcorpus, SiBol-GB, which serves as the main basis for the present study.

Newspaper type	Newspaper	Number of tokens
Tabloid	Daily Mail	23,192,074
	Daily Mirror	14,402,006
Broadsheet	Daily Telegraph	136,567,370
	Guardian	147,117,443
	Sunday Telegraph	17,331,032
	Sunday Times	52,255,948
	Times	152,142,606
	TOTAL	543,008,479

Table 1. Number of words (tokens) in SiBol-GB sorted through newspaper types

A diachronic approach is also required to analyse the representation of feminism in British newspapers over time. To do so, four subcorpora (which include British newspapers only) were created on the basis of the four mentioned-above subcorpora of the SiBol corpus. SiBol 93-GB includes all British newspaper articles from the year 1993. SiBol 05-GB contains British newspapers from 2005, Port 2010 includes articles from the years 2010, 2011 and 2012 and SiBol 13-GB from the year 2013. Articles from the year 2014, which are also present in the SiBol corpus, were not taken into consideration because none of the search items were found in these texts.

Subcorpus	Number of tokens
SiBol 93-GB	107,486,072
SiBol 05-GB	159,240,564
Port 2010-GB	116,327,713
SiBol 13-GB	159,954,130
TOTAL	543,008,479

Table 2. Number of words (tokens) in SiBol 93-GB, SiBol 05-GB, Port 2010-GB, SiBol 13-GB

4.1.2. The software

The data from SiBol-GB were extracted and examined through Sketch Engine: it is a corpus query system and text analysis tool in which language researchers can observe and analyse concordances (i.e. examples of use in context), wordlists (i.e. frequency list), keywords, N-grams (i.e. multiword expressions), as well as ‘trends’ in the case of diachronic analyses (Kilgarriff et al., 2004: 5). Sketch Engine’s most original function consists of word sketches, which are “one-page automatic, corpus-based summaries of a word’s grammatical and collocational behaviour” (i.e. collocations and word combinations) (Kilgarriff et al., 2004: 2). The word sketch and concordance functions are both particularly useful and necessary in the framework of the present thesis.

4.2. Data analysis

As far as the first step of the analysis is concerned, a frequency analysis of *feminism*, *feminist*, *feminist movement*, *women's movement*, and *women's liberation* was carried out. The aim was to analyse the difference between these search items across a period of 20 years and across different (types of) British newspapers. These search items have been chosen on the basis of the literature. Indeed, there are various ways of denoting feminism, hence the choice of the following synonyms, which represent best the idea of feminism: *feminist movement*, *women's movement* and *women's liberation*. Moreover, to analyse the representation of the members of the feminist movement, it seems to be of great importance to analyse the term *feminist* as well. Further, the lemmas of each search term were analysed since they include all the inflected forms of these items (e.g. *feminist*: *feminist*, *feminists*, *feminist's*). Since the different newspapers found in the corpus do not contain the same numbers of words, only relative frequencies were taken into account (expressed per million words). The results from this analysis have been tested statistically: the aim was to determine whether there were significant changes between tabloids and broadsheets, as well as over time (between 1993 and 2013). Jaworska & Krishnamurthy (2012) had already identified differences in terms of coverage and frequency between broadsheets and tabloids (see Section 2.2.2.). Since SiBol-GB includes both tabloids and broadsheets, it seemed essential to try to confirm this observation, and to try to explain the differences between these two newspaper types in terms of coverage. Similarly, this analysis attempted to notice potential changes over time in terms of frequency, coverage, and representation, by using the four subcorpora mentioned in Section 4.1.1. All search items were thus investigated across these four subcorpora to observe their development between 1993 and 2013 and to try to explain this evolution. To achieve that, the application of a chi-square⁸ test⁹ was required to see if there were significant differences between the 'observed' or 'actual frequencies' and the 'expected frequencies' (i.e. the ones that are usually expected, without being influenced by other factors than 'chance'); the threshold value of this 'significance' has been set at 0.05 (McEnery & Wilson 2001: 84). For example, when a given difference is statistically significant, the *p* value (i.e. determining the significance of the results obtained in relation to the null hypothesis) is smaller than 0.05 ($p < 0.05$). On the other hand, when the *p*

⁸ It is important to note that there are some limitations to this test: several cases may not be very significant, while some pairs may in fact be significant.

⁹ The chi-square and the *p*-value were calculated in Microsoft Excel.

value is higher than 0.05, the difference in question is not statistically significant ($p > 0.05$) (ibid.).

The second step of this analysis involves the study of the immediate environment surrounding the search items through a collocation analysis (Chapter 6). To do so, a classification has been made on the basis of the 50 most frequent collocates of each search item (see Appendix 8). These 50 most frequent collocates (range -5 +5; attribute: lemma, lowercase) have been extracted through sketch engine and sorted by logDice, which is “a statistic measure for identifying collocations” (typically used by Sketch Engine) and which “expresses the typicality of the collocation”¹⁰. Rychlý (2008: 9) further explains the principles of the logDice, which include the following characteristics: firstly, the “theoretical maximum is 14, in case when all occurrences of X co-occur with Y and all occurrences of Y co-occur with X. Usually the value is less than 10”, secondly, “value 0 means there is less than 1 co-occurrence of XY per 16,000 X or 16,000 Y. We can say that negative values means there is no statistical significance of XY collocation”, and lastly, “comparing two scores, plus 1 point means twice as often collocation, plus 7 points means roughly 100 times frequent collocation” (ibid.). LogDice is thus generally the ideal statistic measure that can be used for the analysis of large corpora since it is “not affected by the size of the corpus and, therefore, can be used to compare scores between different corpora”¹¹.

Explaining the direct environment of the search items allows for a better description of their media representation. This collocation analysis provided several thematic groups¹² which only include a selection of these 50 most frequent collocates (i.e. the ones that fit into a specific thematic group). Other collocates, on the other hand, did not necessarily fit into any thematic group; these were thus not taken into account in the analysis. The context in which the selected collocates occur serves as evidence for the representation of the search items. Some of these thematic groups were not always clear-cut, because some collocates may belong to one or more group: one collocate could thus be classified into one group for some of its occurrences and into another one for the rest of its occurrences. When this was the case, the most prominent theme was selected. Without context, the word *radical*, for instance, may appear to belong to the thematic group of ‘political movements’, as well as the group of ‘attitudes towards

¹⁰ Source: https://www.sketchengine.eu/my_keywords/logdice/

¹¹ Source: https://www.sketchengine.eu/my_keywords/logdice/

¹² These categories were formed on the basis of Jaworska & Krishnamurthy’s method of classification based on general themes/ideas in which several collocates fit.

feminism’. In cases such as this one, the choice was made on the basis of the context in which such words are used (i.e. political movements, for instance).

The third step of this study involves critical discourse and framing analysis (Chapter 7). A total of 100 random samples of newspaper articles from SiBol-GB concerning feminism were downloaded. However, the corpus does not give access to the full articles¹³. In that regard, only extracts of articles (i.e. samples) could be obtained for the analysis. Moreover, a random selection was required due to the multitude of articles in SiBol-GB. Sketch engine could provide randomized samples which have been downloaded in excel format. These random samples are presented in Appendix 8. The framework of this analysis consists of an in-depth analysis of the content of these samples, particularly in terms of framing techniques since framing is a tool of CDA (cf. Section 2.2.1). Indeed, it seems necessary to describe, interpret and criticise the meanings and motives around the representation of feminism which might be embedded in these texts. Drawing from the literature, this analysis seeks to address and expose these frames. In that regard, different categories/frames were established: some of them were based on framing techniques which had already been identified in previous studies, while others were specially created on the basis of what has been observed during the analysis. Table 3 presents the main stages for the creation of these frames:

1. The selection of samples of texts from articles which are intrinsically related to feminism and feminists and which include all forms (i.e. lemmas) of the search items.
2. The identification of words, collocates, sentences, themes, topics, etc. which indicate a certain attitude towards feminism: e.g. <i>radical</i> , <i>failure</i> , <i>I hate feminism</i> , <i>feminism is a dirty word</i> , <i>I am a feminist</i> , etc.
3. The creation of frames related to each collocate, theme, topic, etc. and the labelling of the extracted text samples with these frames: i.e. opposition frame, demonisation frame, critical frame, identification and/or defence frame, and historical frame.
4. An in-depth examination of the context in order to explain the main frame of an article, as well as other themes and interactions which might be present in the text: e.g. in the defence frame, journalists tend to defend the feminist movement in various ways, which can only be explained on the basis of the context.

Table 3. Phases of framing analysis (based on Halperin & Heath, 2012)

¹³ This can be seen as a limitation of the corpus. The analysis had to keep pace with the data extracted from the corpus.

The next stage, based on CDA, consists of examining the various practices by means of which the topic is conceived and received, as well as the tone (e.g. negative, positive, mixed, unknown and neutral), the voice (e.g. who is speaking? journalist or other people, passive vs. active voice, modal verbs, etc.), etc. (Fairclough, 1989, 1995). The tone is required to determine whether the framing of feminism shows a similar pattern to other studies (in Sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2). The samples were thus coded according to the overall tone of the text sample and its stance on feminism and feminists. These samples were coded either as *positive*, *negative*, *mixed*, *unknown* and *neutral*. In cases where the text showed approval, respect, appreciation and/or recognition towards the feminist movement, its members and its issues, it was coded as *positive*. When the text illustrated or included significant criticism, mockery and/or scepticism, it was coded as *negative*. If the tone of the text involved both positive and negative attitudes, it was coded as *mixed*, and as *unknown* when no specific attitudes were shown in the text. Lastly, *neutral* tones imply that the viewpoint that is presented in the article is not that of the journalist him/herself. It refers to another person's viewpoint.

Mode and modality are of great importance as well: the use of modals can influence the reader. For instance, the use of *might* expresses a possibility, meaning that the author of the text is not sure about a claim or is deliberately expressing uncertainty to influence the reader into doubting about the subject matter (Boston, 2002: 10). Similarly, Boston (2002: 10) writes that “the use of the passive voice, the declarative, and the lack of modals are in keeping with the text's overall tone of being, in part, presented as a rational and objective report”, here, on feminism and feminists. He further explains that, for instance, “the use of passives over active sentences is typical of objective academic reports” (ibid.). However, it is important to note that the context also needs to be taken into account. Indeed, the choice of the passive voice, for instance, is not always arbitrary since it can be used strategically (Söğüt, 2018): it could play a role in the creation and the presentation of ideological representations of feminism in the press. For example, there are some cases where the use of the passive voice suggest that the feminist movement is not the most important subject of the sentence and does not perform the action.

Lastly, the vocabulary used by journalists also needs to be examined since some word choices are meaningful and may implicitly create hidden opinions. For example, feminists are often referred to as *radicals* or *extremists*. However, these words are generally associated with terrorism or far-right and far-left political movements, which does not seem to correspond to the mainstream definition of feminism. The use of such words may thus hide certain opinions and ideologies.

Chapter 5

Frequency analysis

As previously stated, the amount of coverage that feminism receives in the media is relatively small (Ashley and Olson, 1998). Furthermore, the word *feminism* is not frequently used in a variety of written and spoken media (Jaworska & Krishnamurthy, 2012). *Feminism* is also quite infrequent in tabloids (ibid.). In addition, Jaworska & Krishnamurthy (2012) concluded that broadsheet newspapers seem to have a poorer circulation than tabloids, which could mean that the power of feminism is limited to a small part of our society. In that regard, this chapter aims at answering the following research question and two sub-questions:

Is feminism a frequent subject of discussion in British newspapers (1993-2013)?

- Are there differences between broadsheets and tabloids in terms of frequency?
- Are there changes over time?

This chapter thus focusses on the frequency of the search items *feminism*, *feminist*, *feminist movement*, *women's movement*, and *women's liberation* in a subcorpus representing British newspapers (broadsheets and tabloids), i.e. SiBol-GB. Section 5.1 presents and compares the frequency of these terms in the whole subcorpus. Section 5.2 analyses their frequency across different newspapers / newspaper types. Section 5.3 examines their frequency across time periods on the basis of four subcorpora: SiBol 93-GB, SiBol 05-GB, Port 2010-GB and SiBol 13-GB, and Section 5.4 discusses the findings of these three sections.

5.1. General frequency

Table 4 below presents the frequency of the search items in the general subcorpus, i.e. SiBol-GB. Relative frequencies are indicated per million words, given the fact that the corpus size is expressed in millions of tokens (words), as can be seen in Table 1.

	Raw frequency	Relative frequency (per million words)
Feminism	2,884	5.31
Feminist	3,240 ¹⁴	5.97
Feminist movement	151	0.28
Women's movement	262	0.48
Women's liberation	165	0.3
Total	6,702	12,34

Table 4. Raw and relative frequencies of the search terms in SiBol-GB

First of all, it can also be seen that there is a lack of coverage of feminism and related topics in British newspapers. For example, the lemma *woman*¹⁵ is far more frequent and its media coverage is higher than that of *feminism*: *woman* has a high frequency of 539.8 occurrences per million words (there are 293,116 occurrences of the lemma *woman* in SiBol-GB). The most frequent lemma amongst the search items is *feminist*, with 3,240 occurrences in SiBol-GB, which amounts to a relative frequency of 5.97 occurrences per million words. It is followed by the lemma *feminism*, with 2,884 occurrences and a relative frequency of 5.31 occurrences per million words. The other items are, by contrast, less frequently used, with a low relative frequency of 0.48 occurrences per million words for *women's movement* and 0.3 occurrences

¹⁴ Including the 151 occurrences of *feminist* in *feminist movement*

¹⁵ Jaworska & Krishnamurthy (2012) proposed to analyse the lemma *woman*. However, this lemma has not been chosen in the framework of this analysis because it does not necessarily represent the feminist movement as a whole. As can be seen from the frequency analysis of *woman*, this lemma is extremely frequent and it appears in a great variety of contexts.

per million words for *women's liberation*. Finally, the lowest frequency goes to *feminist movement*, with only 151 occurrences in the whole subcorpus, which amounts to a low relative frequency of 0.28 occurrences per million words. The difference between these items is statistically significant ($p < 0.05$)¹⁶. The visual representation of these results is presented in Figure 1.

It is important to note that different (types) of newspapers and different time periods are involved in this subcorpus. The overall frequency of the subcorpus therefore does not entirely reflect the use of these search items. That is why it appears to be necessary to analyse them in terms of newspaper types (i.e. broadsheets and tabloids) (see Section 5.2) and across time periods (see Section 5.3) to explore possible differences and changes.

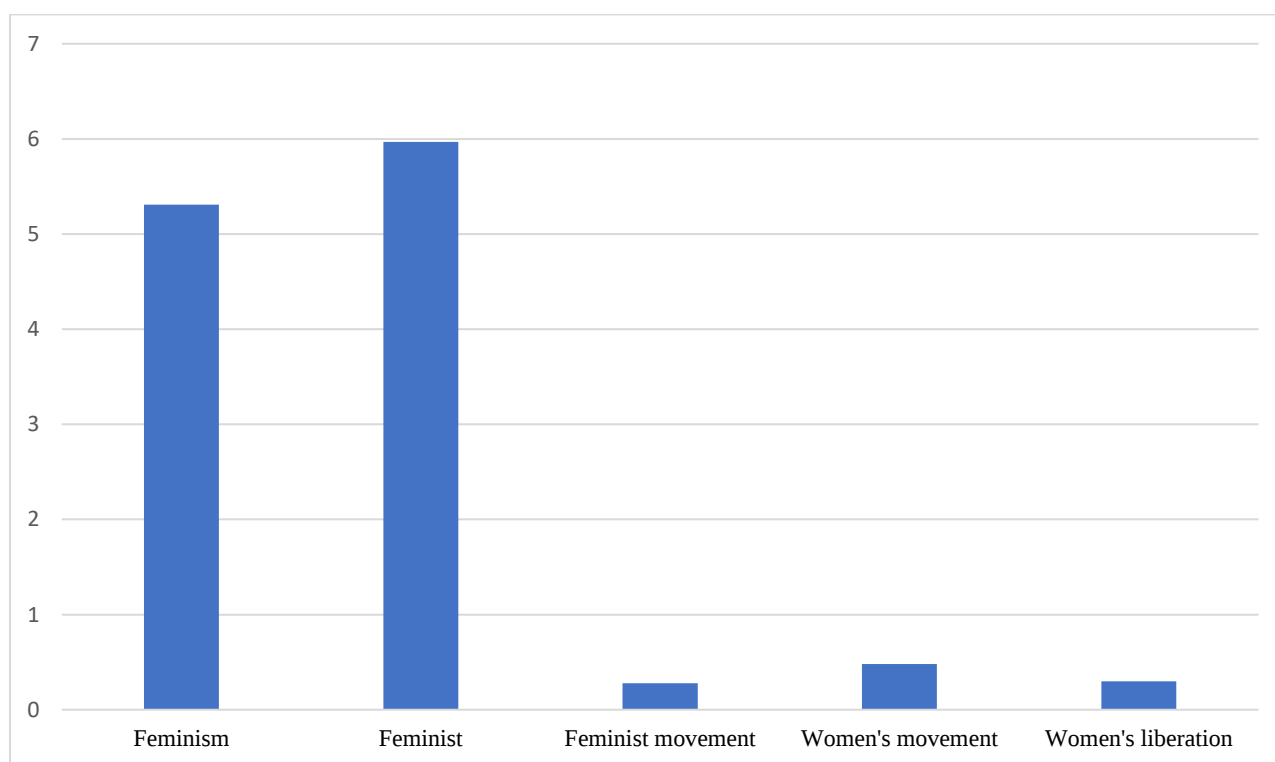


Figure 1. Relative frequencies (per million words) of the search items in SiBol-GB

¹⁶ $p = 0.00836231$

5.2. Frequency across newspaper types

As previously mentioned, two different types of newspapers are included in the subcorpus of British newspapers: broadsheets and tabloids (see Section 4.1.1). The aim of this section is to determine whether there are differences in terms of frequency and coverage of feminism between these two newspaper types.

Newspaper type	Newspaper	Feminism	Feminist	Feminist movement	Women's movement	Women's liberation
Tabloid	Daily Mail	5.52	6.3	0.22	0.13	0.26
	Daily Mirror	0.9	1.39	0.07	0.14	0.14
Broadsheet	Daily Telegraph	2.71	3.1	0.12	0.15	0.14
	Guardian	8.95	9.71	0.5	1.02	0.6
	Sunday Telegraph	6.46	9.81	0.35	0.75	0.35
	Sunday Times	6.49	7.27	0.31	0.55	0.21
	Times	3.98	4.41	0.21	0.3	0.21
	Total	35.01	41.99	1.78	3.04	1.91

Table 5. Relative frequencies (per million words) of the search terms across British newspapers

Table 5 presents the relative frequencies of every search item in all the different British newspapers which are available in the corpus. This frequency analysis reveals that the lemma *feminist* stands out as the most frequent term in all the newspapers, directly followed by the lemma *feminism*. *Feminist* is frequently used in broadsheets, particularly in the Sunday Telegraph (with a relative frequency of 9.81 occurrences per million words) and in the Guardian (with 9.71 occurrences per million words). It is followed by another broadsheet, the Sunday Times, with a relative frequency of 7.27 occurrences per million words) and a tabloid, the Daily Mail, with 6.3 occurrences per million words. It is also often used in another broadsheet, the Times, with a relative frequency of 4.41 occurrences per million words. The second tabloid of the subcorpus (the Daily Mirror) has a relative frequency as low as 1.39 occurrences per million words, as compared to the other newspapers and the other tabloid (the Daily Mail).

It can also be observed that the lemma *feminism* is more frequently used in broadsheet newspapers, especially in the Guardian (8.95 occurrences per million words), followed by the

Sunday Times (6.49 occurrences per million words) and the Sunday Telegraph (6.46 occurrences per million words). However, it is also interesting to note that the Daily Mail, which is a tabloid, uses the lemma *feminism* quite often, with a rather high frequency of 5.52 occurrences per million words. The other tabloid of this corpus, the Daily Mirror, does not frequently use *feminism*, with a low frequency of 0.9 occurrences per million words. Furthermore, the lemma *feminism* has a relative frequency of 3.98 occurrences per million words in the Times and 2.71 occurrences per million words in the Daily Telegraph. It can thus be noted that the Daily Telegraph and the Times have the lowest relative frequencies among all broadsheets, but the use of the lemma *feminism* is less frequent than in the Daily Mail, for instance. The lemmas *feminism* and *feminist* are, as a general rule, more frequent in broadsheets. However, they are also quite frequent in the tabloid the Daily Mail, but very infrequent in the other tabloid the Daily Mirror.

Feminist movement is quite infrequent in all the British newspapers under study. The broadsheet the Guardian uses it more often than the others, with a relative frequency of 0.5 occurrences per million words, whereas the tabloid the Daily Mirror uses it less often, with a very low frequency of 0.07 occurrences per million words. Indeed, there is only one instance of *feminist movement* in the recorded articles from the Daily Mirror, as can be seen in (1).

- (1) These are the same men who think the best thing to come out of the **feminist movement** was the right to go Dutch (Daily Mirror, 28 June 2013). <SiBol-GB>

Women's movement is also more frequent in The Guardian (1.02 occurrences per million words) than in the other newspapers, but it seems to be very infrequent in the Daily Telegraph (0.15 occurrences per million words), as well as in the two tabloids (0.14 occurrences per million words in the Daily Mirror and 0.13 in the Daily Mail). Lastly, as for *feminist movement*, *women's liberation* is more frequent (0.6 occurrences per million words) in the Guardian than in the other broadsheets and tabloids.

However, the relative frequencies of these three items (i.e. *feminist movement*, *women's movement*, and *women's liberation*) are exceptionally low compared to the lemmas *feminism* and *feminist*. This means that, overall, newspapers tend to use these two lemmas a lot more often than the three other terms. The differences between these five search items are indeed

statistically significant ($p < 0.05$)¹⁷. To sum up, it can be observed that, since all search terms refer to feminism, the coverage of feminism is somewhat higher in (most) broadsheets than in tabloids, even though the Daily Mail stands out. These findings are also visually represented in Figure 2.

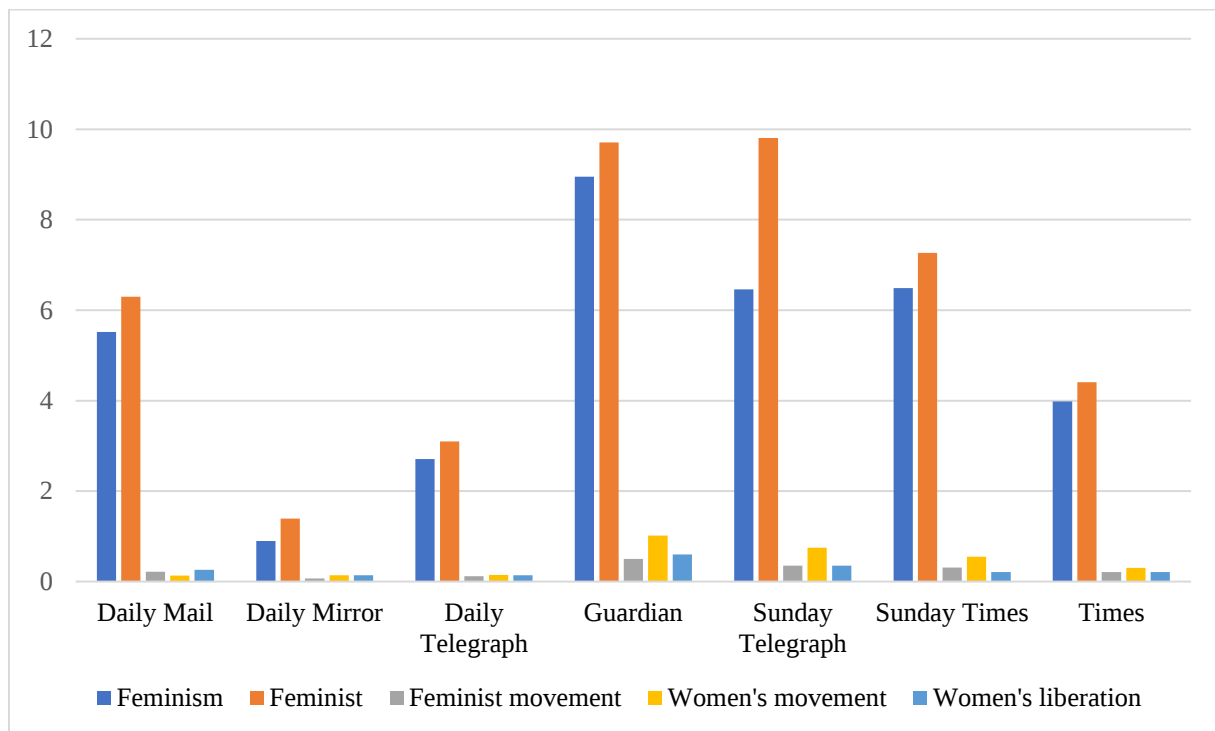


Figure 2. Relative frequencies (per million words) of the search items across British newspapers

5.3. Frequency across time periods

The aim of this section is to determine whether there are changes over time in terms of frequency for each search item under investigation. Table 6 presents the relative frequencies of the search terms per million words. Figure 3 shows a visual representation of the evolution of these terms on the basis of the results presented in Table 6.

¹⁷ $p = 0.00323341$

	Feminism	Feminist	Feminist movement	Women's movement	Women's liberation
SiBol 93-GB	6.6	8.72	0.4	0.91	0.29
SiBol 05-GB	3.03	3.77	0.19	0.42	0.16
Port 2010-GB	4.76	5.27	0.28	0.39	0.38
SiBol 13-GB	3.94	4.27	0.27	0.43	0.24
Total	18.33	22.03	1.14	2.15	1.07

Table 6. Relative frequencies (per million words) of the search terms in SiBol 93-GB, SiBol 05-GB, Port 2010-GB, SiBol 13-GB

It appears that, in a majority of cases, the most frequent uses of these terms occurred in 1993. In the cases of the lemmas *feminism* and *feminist*, it can be observed that there is a strong decline from 1993 to 2005, followed by a modest increase in 2010, which is again followed by a mild decrease in frequency in 2013.

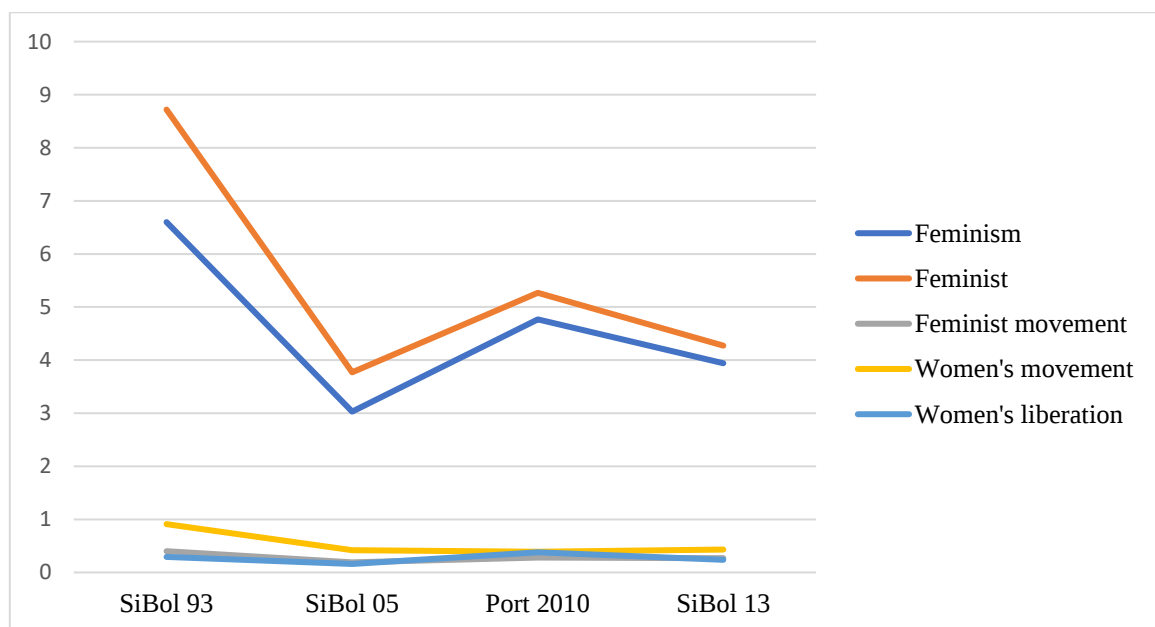


Figure 3. Evolution of the search items' relative frequencies (per million words) in SiBol 93-GB, SiBol 05-GB, Port 2010-GB and SiBol 13-GB

As can be seen from Figure 3, *feminist movement* and *women's liberation* show similar results in terms of frequency: it was more used in 1993, then there was a major decline between the 1990s and 2005, followed by a mild increase in 2010 and decreased again in 2013. *Women's movement*, on the other hand, increased slightly between 2010 and 2013, as opposed to the other items. In addition, it can be noted that, given the low frequency of these search items, the media coverage of (the idea of) feminism is also quite low.

5.4. Discussion

This general frequency analysis demonstrated that the lemma *feminist* is the most frequently used amongst all search terms, followed by the lemma *feminism*. The other items (i.e. *feminist movement*, *women's movement* and *women's liberation*) are a lot less frequent in the subcorpus of British newspapers, but they are occasionally mentioned. The frequency analysis across newspaper types has revealed that, once again, the lemmas *feminist* and *feminism* also stand out as the most frequent terms, particularly in the subcorpora of the Guardian and the Sunday Telegraph (i.e. broadsheets). The other three items are also more frequent in these two broadsheets. In short, it can be noted that broadsheet newspapers seem to use these terms quite frequently, with the exception of the Daily Telegraph and the Times, which mention them less frequently than the other three. It can also be observed that feminism and feminists are subjects of discussion in the Daily Mail, which is a tabloid. It is however quite infrequent in the other tabloid of the subcorpus, the Daily Mirror. In other words, some tabloids seem to mention feminists and feminism more frequently than other tabloids. Nevertheless, this distinction between broadsheets and tabloids is not as relevant as was expected: the search items appear in both newspaper types, but with varying degrees of frequency. While some previous studies on the media coverage of feminism have demonstrated that there were differences between both newspaper types, this does not appear to be the case in this analysis. With the exception of the Daily Mirror, which does not mention feminism as often as the other newspapers, tabloids also frequently mention feminists and their movement.

The frequency analysis across time periods has revealed that there was a strong tendency for all newspapers to use the search terms more frequently in 1993 than in 2005, which have undergone a major decline. A possible explanation for the frequent uses of these terms at the beginning of the 1990s may be that Third-Wave Feminism (or “new feminism”) was emerging (Harrison & Boyd, 2018). Their decline between 1993 and 2005 may imply that feminism was

not a ‘preferred’ subject of discussion during this period: some women said that they did not want feminism anymore and the idea of a “collective movement” had not been developed yet (Rampton, 2015). This might also explain why the terms *feminist movement* and *women’s movement* were rather infrequent. On the other hand, from 2010 onwards, there was a modest increase in use. This appears to correspond to the emergence of the fourth wave of the movement, which occurred around 2010. However, as mentioned earlier (cf. Section 1.2), the word *feminism* had been considered as problematic because of its connotation which was related to radicalism, and also because of its assumption that gender is a binary concept (Rampton, 2015). This might explain why the use of these terms is less frequent between 2010 and 2013, since feminism was seen as a problematic idea.

Chapter 6

Collocation analysis

The aim of this section is to carry a more detailed collocation analysis to determine the representation of the search items in SiBol-GB. The main research question and sub-question are:

How was feminism linguistically constructed and represented in British newspapers?

- What are the most frequent collocates of the search item and what do they say about the media representation of feminism?

Section 6.1 provides the general representation of the different search items, that is to say across all the British newspapers and the time periods which are covered by SiBol-GB. Section 6.2, on the other hand, describes the evolution (of their representation) over time and Section 6.3 presents the representation across newspaper types. Previous studies have demonstrated that the image of feminism in the media is generally negative (Rhode, 1995; Bronstein, 2005; McRobbie, 2009 and Jaworska & Krishnamurthy, 2012). The following sections focus on collocates, which were classified into various categories based on thematic groups. This enabled the identification of the recurrent linguistic and discourse patterns which occur around the search items *feminism*, *feminist*, *feminist movement*, *women's movement* and *women's liberation* in British newspapers. For each item, a list of its 50 most frequent collocates was automatically extracted from SiBol-GB. A span of five words to the left (-5) and five words to the right (+5) of the node (i.e. the search item) was chosen to provide a reliable analysis and the collocates are sorted by logDice (as explained in Section 4.2).

6.1. General representation

6.1.1. Feminism

Table 7 presents a selection amongst the most frequent collocates of the lemma *feminism* (the full list is presented in table form in Appendix 3), which were categorized into five thematic groups. Drawing on Jaworska & Krishnamurthy's study, these categories were formed on the basis of their method of classification which involves general themes in which several collocates fit together.

Category	Collocates
1. Time/waves	<i>Second-wave, third-wave, fourth-wave, seventies</i>
2. Political and social issues/ideologies /movements	<i>Marxism, radical, equality, activism, militant, communism, racism, egalitarianism, environmentalism, liberate</i>
3. Attributes/attitudes	<i>Dirty, backlash, victim, strident, fear, bra-burning</i>
4. Gender, sexuality	<i>Motherhood, sisterhood, lesbianism, homosexuality, femininity</i>
5. Feminist issues and figures	<i>Germaine Greer, Natasha (Walter), patriarchy, misogyny, emancipation, liberate</i>

Table 7. Collocates of the lemma *feminism* categorized into five thematic groups

As Table 7 shows, the word *feminism* co-occurs frequently with words related to time and waves (of feminism), such as *second-wave*, *third-wave* and *seventies*. Most of these terms might suggest that feminism is a historical concept and belongs to the past and some of these articles may refer to the history of the movement; for example when mentioning feminist figures (e.g. Germaine Greer¹⁸). However, this appears to be contrasted by the term *fourth-wave*, which

¹⁸ Germaine Greer is an Australian writer and feminist. She is regarded as one of the prominent figures of the second-wave feminist movement.

could suggest that a new wave is emerging, therefore showing that feminism is still present in current times.

The second category involves ideologies, political and social issues or movements, with words such as *egalitarianism*, *radical*, *militant* or *activism*. The majority of these terms may imply that feminism is closely associated with extremism and radicalism. However, it can be observed that important political and social issues related to feminism are mentioned, such as *equality* and *liberate*. In this respect, journalists seem to mention important issues related to feminism, but they seem to see feminism as a radical and extreme movement (as can be seen in (2)). Indeed, the context frequently suggests that feminism is a problematic concept, especially in terms of liberation, as illustrated in (3).

- (2) The feminism coming out of America is consistently that kind of **radical feminism**, that is not attentive to issues of class, doesn't really care about general improvements other than in the most rhetorical sense. (The Guardian, 08 March 1993) <SiBol-GB>

- (3) Unfortunately, **feminism** has failed utterly to **liberate** women from these chores. The (Daily Telegraph, 10 November 1993) <SiBol-GB>

Another thematic group involves journalists' or other people's¹⁹ general attitudes towards feminism: they use negative words such as *victim*, *dirty*, *strident* and *backlash*. Indeed, the word *strident* suggests a rather negative stance since it occurs in a pejorative context, as demonstrated in (4):

- (4) Later Mrs Clinton's campaign role was diminished when her liberal views and **strident feminism** began to grate on voters, [...]. (The Times, 27 January 1993) <SiBol-GB>

However, by looking at the background in which the other 'negative' terms occur, it can be seen that the context may sometimes be positive: for example, the word *victim* is used in

¹⁹ This refers to quotations found in the articles: other people's and interviewees' attitude towards feminism has been taken into account in this analysis. However, when this was the case, it has been made clear that this refers to an external point of view and not that of the journalist.

articles which mention a woman suggesting to move away from the concept of “victim feminism”²⁰, as illustrated in (5):

- (5) She wants us to move away from “**victim feminism**” to “power feminism”, a feminism that is more flexible, less puritanical, more ideology-lite, something that many of us have been arguing for many years. (The Guardian, 08 November 1993) <SiBol-GB>

Further, the term *dirty* refers to the word *feminism* itself: journalists report the fact that some women consider *feminism* as a dirty word that needs to be avoided because of its negative connotation. In other words, this does not refer to the personal opinion of journalists, but it refers to that of some women, as illustrated in (6), (7), and (8):

- (6) This week, TV cook Mary Berry described **feminism** as a **dirty** word. (Daily Mail, 30 January 2013) <SiBol-GB>
- (7) It does, however, raise fascinating questions about why “**feminism**” is such a **dirty** word – “I’m not very clued up about feminism. It’s never been part of my life,” says one mum. (The Guardian, 15 March 2010) <SiBol-GB>
- (8) Vivienne Hayes, chief executive of the Women’s Resource Centre, which campaigns against domestic violence, said **feminism** was seen as a **dirty** word only because it had been “hijacked and represented as something aggressive, manhating and dangerous. Feminists simply believe women should have equal rights and privileges to men”, she said. (Sunday Times, 27 January 2013) <SiBol-GB>

In example (8), the journalist reports a feminist’s (Vivienne Hayes) claim that feminism could be seen as a dirty word. However, this does not refer to Hayes’ personal opinion, which would be in conflict with her views. Rather, this example shows that there is a general attitude towards feminism, which is often associated with an aggressive behaviour, and that some feminists could be aware of this attitude. The journalist also reports Hayes’ definition of feminism so that readers are reminded that feminism should not be considered as a dirty word. There seems to be some ambivalence with regard to the use of the collocate *dirty*: it occurs in both positive and pejorative contexts. This implies that feminism is a movement which is

²⁰ “Victim feminism” is a concept developed by some liberal feminists to criticise other feminists’ idea that women are the weaker gender and hence need to be protected (Cole, 1999).

criticized, but at the same time, it needs to move away from these pre-determined negative views and opinions.

The term *backlash* is used by journalists to either report other people's claims (as can be seen in (9)) about feminism, or their own opinion about a possible backlash against feminism (in (10)). The idea of backlash occurs in different contexts which are not necessarily negative.

- (9) "We, as women, are oppressed by all these religions". It is religious extremism, she believes, that is the biggest threat to women's liberation today. "There is a **backlash** against **feminism** all over the world today because of the revival of religions," she says. (The Guardian, 16 April 2010) <SiBol-GB>

- (10) While women's equality and **feminism** is suffering a cultural **backlash** with new forms of violence against women (for instance: the current Twitter misogyny), brides finding their voice is surely an idea whose time has come. (The Times, 12 August 2013) <SiBol-GB>

Another frequent collocate is the term *bra-burning*, which, in some negative contexts, assumes that feminism is a dangerous movement associated with lesbianism and extremism, as can be seen in (11) and (12).

- (11) She added: "We should be encouraging people to be happy to declare themselves as feminists. "And I think in some sections of the media there is a tendency to associate **feminism** with **bra-burning** extremism. (The Guardian, 5 October 2013) <SiBol-GB>

- (12) This will certainly make noted modern thinker Geri Halliwell happy, as she once posited: " **Feminism** is **bra-burning** lesbianism. (The Guardian, 13 November 2013) <SiBol-GB>

This third category involves a rather negative attitude towards feminism but there is a certain ambivalence in terms of usage: both positive and negative attitudes towards feminism emerge from the collocates, especially *victim* and *dirty*, which do not always suggest a negative stance. The fourth thematic group includes gender and sexuality, with the use of various collocates such as *motherhood*, *sisterhood*, *lesbianism* and *homosexuality*. It appears that feminism is closely associated with femaleness and maternity (cf. *motherhood* and *sisterhood*).

The use of the word *homosexuality*, on the other hand, seems to recognize that there is a strong correlation between the fight for acceptance of homosexuality and feminism: they are both considered as social issues which are of great importance in the late 20th century, as well as in the 21st century (as illustrated in (13)). The context in which these words co-occur does not suggest that all members of feminism are homosexual, as it was often suggested in previous studies (e.g. Jaworska & Krishnamurthy, 2012).

- (13) The answer lies in the two big social trends of the 1980s and 1990s: **feminism** and acceptance of **homosexuality**. (The Sunday Telegraph, 11 April 1993) <SiBol-GB>

However, as in example (12), (14) could suggest that feminism and lesbianism are closely connected and form one concept:

- (14) In many men's and women's minds, **feminism** and **lesbianism** were one dull, unsexy concept. (The Times, 06 November 1993) <SiBol-GB>

This may demonstrate that there is a certain ambivalence between the collocates *homosexuality* and *lesbianism*. The former suggests that they are separate concepts and issues which may sometimes complement each other in the fight against discrimination. The latter, however, could mean that there is little or no difference between feminism and lesbianism.

The fifth category contains specific feminist issues and figures such as *Germaine Greer*, *Natasha (Walter)*²¹, *emancipation*, *misogyny* and *patriarchy*: these last two words refer to issues feminism has been fighting against (i.e. freeing women from male oppression and fighting for gender equality and the empowerment of women across the world). The term *misogyny* can be opposed to the word *feminism*, as illustrated in (15):

- (15) In its simplest terms this story becomes one of **misogyny** versus **feminism**. (The Times, 8 April 2013) <SiBol-GB>

Moreover, the words *patriarchy* and *feminism* also co-occur with the idea of “issues of power”, which demonstrates that these words are also opposed to one another, as can be seen in (16):

²¹ Natasha Walter is a British writer, feminist, and human rights activist. She wrote *A Quiet Life* (novel, 2016), as well as two feminist non-fiction works: *Living Dolls: The New Feminism* (1998) and *The Return of Sexism* (2010).

- (16) Money in marriage is incendiary. It involves issues of power, **feminism**, **patriarchy**, trust and much besides. (The Guardian, 13 July 2013) <SiBol-GB>

The word *emancipation* frequently occurs in articles involving “girl power” and the liberation of women, but the context suggests a very negative stance, as demonstrated in (17). This example demonstrates the negative image of feminism.

- (17) In the end, however, what we got was **feminism**, girl power and **emancipation** all preached by women dressed as cheap hookers in a dominatrix theme park. (Daily Mail, 5 June 2013) <SiBol-GB>

As far as the feminist figures are concerned, it can be observed that Natasha Walter's name only occurs in articles dealing with the publication of her book “The New Feminism” (2005). Germaine Greer, on the other hand, is frequently mentioned in articles describing feminism's history in order to emphasise Greer's claims about the relevance of the movement in modern-day society, as can be seen in (18):

- (18) For, says **Greer**, **feminism** is far from dead, the battle is not over. (The Guardian, 08 June 2005) <SiBol-GB>

The frequent use of *Greer* also occurred in a specific context: in 2005, many articles dealt with a TV series called “Big ideas that changed the world: Greer on Feminism”, in which she was described as a prominent figure of the movement.

6.1.2. Feminist

Table 8 presents a selection of the most frequent collocates of the lemma *feminist* (the full list is presented in Appendix 4), which were categorized into the following thematic groups:

Category	Collocates
1. Time/waves	<i>Second-wave, 1970s, modern-day</i>
2. Political and social ideas/movements	<i>Militant, ecologists, Marxist, liberals, radical, communists</i>
3. Attributes/attitudes	<i>Strident, ardent, enrage, faint-hearted, dungarees, fat, old-school, humourless</i>
4. Gender, sexuality	<i>Lesbian(s), herself, gays, anti-pornography, feminine</i>
5. Feminist figures	<i>Greer, Dworkin, Steinem, Wolf</i>

Table 8. Collocates of the lemma *feminist* categorized into five thematic groups

The first category (i.e. time) is similar to the one described for the lemma *feminism*. The collocates *1970s* and *second-wave* also co-occur with *feminism*. Here, these modifiers are, once again, used to refer to either the history of the movement or the life (or story) of feminist figures (e.g. Mary McIntosh who was a prominent figure of second-wave feminism). This historical view also seems to be contrasted by the use of the collocate *modern-day*: feminists are still present today and they frequently call themselves “modern-day feminists”, as illustrated in (19).

- (19) But a feminist? “That word can be very extreme,” Beyoncé tells Vogue. “But I guess I am a **modern-day feminist**. I do believe in equality. (The Times, 3 April 2013)
<SiBol-GB>

As in Section 6.1.1, the second thematic group involves specific (leftist) political and social ideas or movements, with words such as *militant*, *radical*, *ecologists*, *Marxist* and *communists*. The words *militant* and *radical* also occur in negative contexts. The term *Militant feminist(s)*, for instance, occurs in extremely negative contexts, as can be seen in example (20), where militant feminists are compared to Nazis:

- (20) The Nazis talked about *gleichschaltung*, the need to co-ordinate mainstream thinking with Nazi ideology. **Militant feminists** are doing that in America with their political correctness. (Sunday Times, 02 May 1993) <SiBol-GB>

Example (20) shows how some journalists' opinions on feminists can be quite extreme and dangerous for some readers, who might be influenced by such interpretations. Similarly, the term *radical feminist(s)* often co-occurs with the term *man-hating*, as illustrated in (21). However, this attitude does not seem to correspond to the definition of feminism mentioned in Section 1.1.

- (21) It is a glimpse of a black thatched armpit or calf, however, that can lead to instant pigeonholing: you are clearly a **radical** lesbian **man-hating feminist**. (The Guardian, 11 May 1993) <SiBol-GB>

It also appears that some feminists are not represented in positive terms. The feminist figure Andrea Dworkin is also frequently described as an "American radical feminist", as demonstrated in (22):

- (22) ANDREA DWORKIN, the American **radical feminist** who has died aged 58, campaigned ferociously against pornography and the abuse of women for almost 40 years; the author of several controversial feminist texts, she dismissed men as moral cretins, [...]. (The Daily Telegraph, 13 April 2005) <SiBol-GB>

This example shows how powerful some journalists' words can be: Dworkin "campaigned ferociously" and wrote "controversial feminist texts". It can thus be noted that the way this feminist figure is represented is not truly thoughtful. The third category contains various terms that are used to describe feminists: these include words such as *dungarees*, *strident*, *ardent*, *fat*, *old-school* and *enraged*. However, some of these words do not refer to all feminists. For example, the term *dungarees* (or sometimes *dungareed*) only occurs in a reference made about feminists of the 1970s, as can be seen in (23). This term is not used to describe 'modern-day' feminists.

- (23) The Seventies **feminists** braved mockery for their **dungarees** and hairy legs, defying the dolly-bird ideal, dared to be angry, "unfeminine", loud and ugly (The Times, 4 March 2013) <SiBol-GB>

The collocate *enrage* does not appear in positive contexts: it indicates that feminists are bad-tempered and aggressive individuals, which would generate a rather negative image of feminists, who are furious at every opportunity, as demonstrated in (24):

- (24) STEPHEN FRY has **enraged feminists** with a bizarre outburst in which he claimed that women are incapable of enjoying sexual intercourse. (The Daily Telegraph, 2 November 2010) <SiBol-GB>

The word *fat*, on the other hand, does not refer to feminists. Rather, it refers to the title of the book “Fat is a Feminist Issue”, which was written by Susie Orbach and published in 1978: reviews of this book are included in various newspapers between 1993 and 2013, hence the frequent use of the word *fat* in the subcorpus. Further, the context in which the word *strident* occurs does not always imply that journalists describe feminists as *strident*, although it may occur (e.g. “[...] Of the two, Wolff is definitely the more strident feminist”). Rather, journalists report the fact that feminists often depict themselves as “strident feminists” (e.g. “Myleene Klass describe[s] herself as a ‘strident feminist’”). In that sense, it does not appear to have a negative connotation. Lastly, although the word *ardent* might suggest a more positive connotation²², it appears in negative contexts, as illustrated in (25):

- (25) Though an **ardent feminist**, she earns part of her living by sleeping with wealthy old men. (The Times, 29 July 1993) <SiBol-GB>

In example (25), a critical view of a woman who identifies as an *ardent feminist* is taken. In this context, the author suggests that this woman is a ‘bad’ feminist because she sleeps with “wealthy old men”. She is therefore seen as a ‘hungry’ person who does not correspond to feminist values. In the fourth category (i.e. sexuality), there is a reference to homosexuality, which is indicated by the frequent use of the word *lesbian*. This may perhaps seem to corroborate the various stereotypical claims that the feminist movement only contains lesbian women, which is precisely what causes the negative image of feminism (Jaworska & Krishnamurthy, 2012). Indeed, the context in which this collocate occurs frequently suggests that feminists are a (radical) group of lesbians, as can be seen in (26):

²² Definition of Ardent: feeling or showing a particular emotion very strongly, especially in support of someone or something (Macmillan Dictionary).

- (26) Mary Daly²³ was one of the first American women to train as a Roman Catholic theologian. She became a controversial philosopher of religion, criticised for her audacity and creativity as “a radical **lesbian feminist**”. (The Times, 10 February 2010) <SiBol-GB>

However, this can sometimes refer to past references, as can be seen in example (27), which describes feminists of the 1970s:

- (27) In those days, if you were a truly radical **feminist** you were a **lesbian**. (The Guardian, 1 January 2010) <SiBol-GB>

Further, as far as the word *anti-pornography* is concerned, it is only used to depict one kind of feminists, i.e. British anti-pornography feminists, which campaigned in the 1970s against extreme and violent pornography and included famous figures such as Julie Bindel (whose name is also a frequent collocate of the lemma *feminist*) (Taylor, 2008). In addition, as mentioned earlier, the lemma *feminist* is also strongly associated with femininity and female figures, as suggested by the collocates *feminine* and *herself*. There is no (or little) reference to male figures. The last thematic group consists of various feminist figures such as Andrea Dworkin, Gloria Steinem, Germaine Greer or Naomi Wolf. These women are often cited in articles relating historical facts about the movement. However, as mentioned earlier, the representations of these women are not always positive, as is the case with Dworkin (in example (22) above), but the fact that they are often referred to shows how important they were and still are.

²³ Mary Daly (1928-2010) was an American feminist, academic, and theologian. She described herself as a “radical lesbian feminist”. Source: www.britannica.com/biography/Mary-Daly

6.1.3. Feminist movement

As demonstrated in Section 5.1, *feminist movement* is rather infrequent in SiBol-GB, compared with the lemmas *feminist* and *feminism* which are more frequent. That is why the number of collocations surrounding *feminist movement* is quite small. Indeed, some collocations which were retrieved from the subcorpus consist of function words or punctuation marks (see Appendix 5). Table 9 provides a selection of the most frequent collocates, which were categorized into three thematic groups.

Category	Collocate(s)
1. Time/waves	<i>Second-wave, 1970s, early, years</i>
2. Gender	<i>She, women, her</i>
3. Attributes	<i>New, British, French, growing, burgeoning</i>

Table 9. Collocates of *feminist movement* categorized into three thematic groups

As was the case for the collocates of *feminism* and *feminist*, the first category contains words related to time and waves (of feminism). A particular wave is recurrent across the three search terms?: the second wave of the feminist movement, which also happened during the 1970s (hence the frequent use of both collocates). The majority of the articles referring to second-wave feminism include historical facts and events linked with the movement, as illustrated in (28) and (29):

(28) In 1963, Betty Friedan published *The Feminine Mystique*, uncovering the frustration of a generation of US women, and helping to start the **second-wave feminist movement** that soared in the 1970s. (The Guardian, 8 January 2013) <SiBol-GB>

(29) These were the early days of the **second-wave feminist movement** in Britain (the first wave was the suffrage campaign). (The Guardian, 26 February 2010) <SiBol-GB>

This may imply that the feminist movement is still relevant today, hence the emphasis on its history. However, previous studies have demonstrated that the second wave of the feminist movement was the most criticized one (Barker-Plummer, 2010: 162) and that various media

started to focus more on feminism and represented it rather negatively (Rhode, 1995: 693; Bronstein, 2005: 790). In that regard, it can be noted that these frequent references to its second wave may be used to criticize and undervalue the movement.

The second theme includes words associated with gender: *she*, *women* and *her*. The use of these terms might suggest that women (or individuals who identify as a ‘she’) are at the heart of the feminist movement. However, the context demonstrates that this is only the case for example (30):

- (30) Fonda morphed from sex kitten to serious actress to anti-war activist to fitness queen to symbol of the global **feminist movement**. Along the way **she** has won two Oscars [...]. (Sunday Times, 10 April 2005) <SiBol-GB>

The other instances of *she*, on the other hand, show that journalists report what some women said about the feminist movement, as can be seen in (31):

- (31) A third explanation is the contemporary American **feminist movement**, which, **she** says, has made the mistake of trying to feminise the world in the hope of turning it into more a compassionate, tolerant and peaceful place. (The Times, 23 March 2010) <SiBol-GB>

Lastly, the third thematic group includes words that describe the attributes of the feminist movement, particularly in terms of location or nationality, with words such as *British* and *French*. The frequent uses of these terms seem to demonstrate that there are different types of feminism, depending on the country in which it developed: i.e. the French feminist movement (in example (32)), as well as the British feminist movement (in example (33)).

- (32) FRANCOISE D'EAUBONNE was one of the most influential and best-known leaders of the **French feminist movement**. She took a leading part in every human rights battle over four decades. She led the feminist movement in France to its rapid success and scored hard hits in all her other battles by the power of her language and the drama of her gestures. (The Time, 17 August 2005) <SiBol-GB>

- (33) Marys to Hairy Marys: the history and future of Irish women is under discussion in Manchester on Saturday, July 3 at “We are a River Flowing”, a conference organised by the Irish In Britain Representation Group. Sessions include Irish women and the

British feminist movement; and women in the six counties. (The Guardian, 28 June 1993) <SiBol-GB>

Other words that are attributed to the feminist movement are associated with its evolution: *new*, *growing* and *burgeoning*. These words are used in a specific historical context as well; these collocates refer to the new, growing or burgeoning feminist movement of the 1960s and 1970s. On the other hand, the use of these collocates also suggests new aspects or growing interests in the feminist movement, not only in the 1970s but also during the 2000s and early 2010s. For example, in 2013, a journalist from the Guardian suggested that the American singer Beyoncé should become the *new face* of today's *feminist movement*, 50 years after Frida Kahlo²⁴, as can be seen in example (34):

- (34) And so, 50 years on from Friedan, it pleases me to announce that we have a **new** face to the modern-day **feminist movement**. That face belongs to none other than Beyoncé Knowles. (The Guardian, 16 January 2013) <SiBol-GB>

Moreover, the word *new* is also a frequent collocate of *feminist movement* because it appears in the title of Catherine Redfern and Kristin Aune's book called "Reclaiming the F Word: The New Feminist Movement" (2010). Indeed, this book is mentioned in various newspaper articles from 2010. In short, the majority of the collocates surrounding *feminist movement* refer to specific eras and forms of the feminist movement. This means that they do not represent the whole movement in general.

6.1.4. Women's movement

Like the term *feminist movement*, *women's movement* is not very frequent in SiBol-GB (see Section 5.1). Consequently, the number of its collocates is also quite small. Table 10 presents some of its most frequent collocates, which were categorized into the following thematic groups:

²⁴ Frida Kahlo was a Mexican painter (1907-1954). In the 1990s, she had been recognized as a prominent figure in art history and for Chicanos, feminism, and LGBTQ+ (Broude & Garrard, 1992).

Category	Collocates
1. Time	<i>70s, 1970s, 1960s, early, late, modern</i>
2. Political and social issues/movements	<i>Rights, movement, leader</i>
3. Gender	<i>Woman, mother, she</i>
4. Attributes	<i>Strong, achievement, kick</i>
5. Places, nationalities	<i>American, America, international, country</i>

Table 10. Collocates of *women's movement* categorized into five thematic groups

Once again, the collocates in this first category are associated with time. There are, however, more references to the past of the women's movement than to its contemporary counterpart. The terms *1960s*, *(19)70s* or *early* may assume that the women's movement is a thing of the past, as illustrated in (35):

- (35) For those of us who were born in the **60s** and came of age in the **70s**, and remember the **women's movement** - I mean, my God, birth control wasn't legal in the US until 1965, I think. That's insane! And there are girls today who don't know that. (The Guardian, 28 October 2010) <SiBol-GB>

The women's movement is frequently considered as a very prominent association which soared in the late 1960s and early 1970s; hence the use of the words *early* and *late*, which do not necessarily suggest that there are specific forms of 'early' or 'late women's movement', as can be seen in (36):

- (36) Here was a book that pre-dated the **women's movement** of the **late** 60s and **early** 70s and pre-dated the gay liberation movement. (The Guardian, 10 October 2010) <SiBol-GB>

Although the term *modern* could appear to characterise today's movement, it actually refers to the women's movement from the 20th century. In other words, there are no references to a modern-day version of this 20th-century movement, as demonstrated in (37):

- (37) "Women, you owe her everything!" So read the headline announcing Simone de Beauvoir's death in April 1986. It was a phrase repeated over and over at her funeral, where some 5,000 mourners gathered to pay tribute to the writer many consider the

greatest French woman of the 20th century, author of *The Second Sex*, mother of the **modern women's movement**. (The Guardian, 10 June 2005) <SiBol-GB>

The second thematic group involves political and social issues, with words such as *rights*, *movement*, and *leader*. The word *movement*, for example, emphasises the fact that the women's movement was associated with other movements in the past, including the 'lesbian movement', the 'Labour movement' in the UK or the 'gay rights movement', for example. However, there is no evidence to imply that the women's movement and the lesbian movement, for instance, were the same, or to say that all members of the women's movement were lesbians. Nothing seems to confirm that there is a stereotypical tendency to portray the women's movement as a movement for lesbians. The reason why these movements were frequently mentioned together may be that they were (and still are) social and political matters, as illustrated in (38):

- (38) Later their attentions turned towards creating bridges between the **women's movement** and the **lesbian** movement.

The use of the word *rights* also suggests that the women's movement is linked to several social issues including *human rights* or *civil rights*, for example. However, as opposed to the use of the word *movement*, the context in which *rights* appears implies that the association between the women's movement and human and civil rights did not only occur in the past, but also in recent years. In other words, the women's movement seems to continue to include the fight for human and civil rights in modern-day society. Consequently, this would mean that the objectives of such movements have not been achieved yet and must still be addressed. In addition, the use of the word *leader* does not refer to specific well-known leaders of the movement, as can be seen in (39):

- (39) Madame Blavatsky²⁵ was a richly absurd woman, whose grotesque obesity required her to be winched on board ship with rope and pulleys. More or less asexual, funny, vulgar, impulsive, warm-hearted, completely fearless, she would make a more amiable **leader** of the **women's movement** nowadays than Andrea Dworkin. (The Sunday Telegraph, 25 April 1993) <SiBol-GB>

However, as can be seen from the context in example (38), the portrayal of Blavatsky is quite ambivalent: the author of this article uses both positive and negative terms to describe her.

²⁵ Helena Petrovna Blavatsky (1831-1891) was a Russian philosopher and occultist. She co-founded the Theosophical Society (1875). Source: Burger, M. (2014) Marge ou centre ? Où chercher la vérité ? L'orientalisme d'une Russe en Inde : Helena Petrovna Blavatsky. *Études de lettres*, 2-3. 297-322.

Consequently, it is not clear whether the author uses irony or suggests that she would have been a great leader. Nevertheless, given the fact that this woman died a long time ago (in 1891), irony could be present in the text. Moreover, by describing a leader with words such as ‘vulgar’, ‘impulsive’ or ‘asexual’, the author makes use of various stereotypes which provide a rather negative image of what a leader of the women’s movement should be. In addition, the word *leader* can in fact be used interchangeably with the word *mother*, which belongs to the next thematic group (i.e. gender): leaders of the movement can sometimes be referred to as ‘mothers’ of the women’s movement, as illustrated in (40):

- (40) In spite of her profound ideological disagreements with a younger generation of feminists, she²⁶ is widely regarded as the **mother** of the American **women’s movement**; if she was able to devote even a fraction of her energy to this new cause, the rapidly expanding population of old people would have found a doughty champion. (The Guardian, 18 October 1993) <SiBol-GB>

This reinforces the fact that motherhood and femininity are very strongly related to the movement. Indeed, the use of the lemma *woman* also suggests that the women’s movement has been created by and for women, and is led by women, which excludes other genders from their agenda (i.e. they would seek to empower women only), as can be seen in (41):

- (41) The great achievement of the **women’s movement** is that **women** (in the West at least) have the right to choose what kind of life they want to lead. (Sunday Times, 4 August 2013) <SiBol-GB>

The fourth category consists of a small number of words which are attributed to the women’s movement to characterise it, such as *strong* and *achievements*. Although these words seem to appear in positive contexts, in reality, there is a distinct feeling of ambivalence. The movement is often seen as strong, but at the same time, it still needs to be strong (i.e. implying that it is not strong yet). Similarly, the women’s movement contributed to many achievements (as can be seen in (42)), but it also needs to make more progress regarding the various goals that must be achieved, as illustrated in example (41) above, where the author suggests that only women from the West have benefited from these achievements, as opposed to other parts of the world.

²⁶ She = Betty Friedan (1921-2006), American feminist and journalist.

- (42) The most important **achievement** of the **women's movement** is the triumph of choice. (The Times, 5 February 2010) <SiBol-GB>

The last category involves places such as *America* and *country*, as well as nationalities such as *American*. *America* and *American* are indeed frequent collocates of the phrase *women's movement*: they both imply that the movement was and still is quite prominent in that part of the world. On the other hand, it can be observed that the collocate *international* is sometimes used, which may suggest that an international wave is possible. However, the context in which this collocate occurs portrays the feminist movement in a negative way. Overall, the representation of the international women's movement is thus ambivalent: both negative (as in example (43)) and positive connotations (as in example (44)) emerge from the various instances of that collocate.

- (43) Femen²⁷ describe themselves as an **international women's movement** of brave topless female activists painted with slogans and crowned with flowers'. That's nice. I would describe them as a bunch of silly girls waving their boobs about'. In the serious fight for equality, Femen are about as credible as a troupe of Playboy bunnies. What they do isn't feminism: it's self-serving political pornography. (Daily Mail, 5 November 2013) <SiBol-GB>

- (44) With the current US administration, a lively **international women's movement** with a good strong kick couldn't be needed more. (The Guardian, 8 March 2005) <SiBol-GB>

In example (43), a specific feminist group is depicted by the author of the article as “a bunch of silly girls waving their boobs out”: this undoubtedly creates negative connotations surrounding the search item. In (44), on the other hand, the author suggests that an international women's movement would be required, which suggests a more positive stance towards the movement and reinforces this ambivalence.

²⁷ Femen is a Ukrainian feminist activist group.

6.1.5. Women's liberation

As mentioned earlier (Section 5.1), *women's liberation* is rather infrequent in SiBol-GB. Therefore, the number of its collocations is quite small, as is the case for Sections 6.1.3 and 6.1.4. Table 11 provides a selection of the most frequent collocates of *women's liberation*, which were categorized into five thematic groups:

Category	Collocates
1. Time	<i>1960s, year</i>
2. Political and social movements	<i>Movement, liberation, feminism</i>
3. Gender	<i>Woman, man, she, her</i>
4. Attributes	<i>Died, equal</i>
5. Places, nationalities	<i>National, British</i>

Table 11. Collocates of *women's liberation* categorized into five thematic groups

In the first category (i.e. Time), *women's liberation* is often associated with the 1960s, which seems to correspond to its emergence. It can also be noted that all the other search words strongly collocate with words related to that period (e.g. *second-wave*) too. This means that the movement is frequently historicised through various references to its past decades or waves. Similarly, the collocate *year* is used in sentences mentioning “Forty years of women's liberation”, which, once again, takes us back to the 1970s. Hence, we can assume that the movement is frequently considered in its historical dimension. Indeed, there are more references related to its past than its current or future state, as demonstrated in (45):

- (45) G2: Women: **Forty years of women's liberation:** In 1970, a handful of students organised a national conference on women's issues - it was a defining moment in British history (The Guardian, 26 February 2010) <SiBol-GB>

In the second category, it can be seen that the phrase *women's liberation* is frequently accompanied by the word *movement* (i.e. *Women's Liberation Movement*). In that sense, it can be considered as a variant of the term *women's movement*, with special emphasis on the aim of the movement: the liberation of women. However, different ways of writing the term have been

observed: (1) *women's liberation movement* and (2) *Women's Liberation Movement*. It can be seen that, generally, newspaper articles that acknowledge and identify with the movement make use of the latter. On the other hand, articles that criticise the movement seem to use the former. The orthographic representation of the women's movement thus seems to shape its representation in the media.

Further, the use of the collocates *woman*, *she* and *her* in the third category also shows that women (or individuals who identify as women) are still at the heart of the movement. In short, women occupy a central part of the women's liberation movement. Men are occasionally mentioned alongside women (hence the use of the collocate *man*). The context in which the lemma *man* occurs involves both the approval of men in favour of the women's liberation movement and the inclusion of men in it, as can be seen in (46) and (47), respectively:

- (46) Opinion polls also found more **men** approving of the **women's liberation** movement than women. (The Guardian, 11 June 1993) <SiBol-GB>
- (47) Gloria Steinem's famous declaration that “**women's liberation** aims to free **men**, too” is true. (Sunday Times, 11 August 2013) <SiBol-GB>

The fourth category presents two different words that are frequently attributed to the phrase women's liberation: *died* and *equal*. The latter is always used with the words *pay* and *rights*, which are considered as two central issues addressed by the movement, as illustrated in (48):

- (48) Just take that first **women's liberation** demand: **equal** pay. (The Guardian, 26 February 2010) <SiBol-GB>

Although the collocate *die* could suggest that the women's liberation movement has died, this does not seem to be the case. Rather, it refers to a feminist magazine (i.e. *Spare Rib*) which ‘died’ in 1993, as illustrated in (49):

- (49) SPARE RIB feminist magazine was closed down by the liquidators two weeks ago. The once loud, widely-read unifier of the British **women's liberation** movement **died** secretly and furtively. (The Guardian, 15 March 1993) <SiBol-GB>

The last category involves places and nationalities, with words such as *national* and *British*. The latter also reveals that the movement is strongly associated with the Western part of the world. The word *national*, on the other hand, could suggest that various national versions of the movement have emerged (e.g. the British counterpart of the Women's Liberation Movement).

In this particular context, both *national* and *British* refer to the same aspect, because all articles from SiBol-GB are British, as demonstrated in examples (50):

- (50) This is a big year for feminist anniversaries. It was 40 years ago that the first ever **National Women's Liberation** conference was held in the **UK** [...]. (The Guardian, 8 January 2010) <SiBol-GB>

There are thus no references to other forms of national women's movements in the subcorpus. Moreover, example (50) refers to a specific conference (i.e. the National Women's Liberation conference) which took place in Oxford in 1970, which is once again, a reference to a past decade.

6.2. Representation of feminism over time

The aim of this section is to determine whether there have been changes in terms of representation over the four different time periods of SiBol-GB. To do so, Table 12 presents a selection of the most frequent collocates of all search terms (i.e. *feminism*, *feminist*, *feminist movement*, *women's movement* and *women's liberation*).

Subcorpus	Collocates
SiBol 93-GB	<i>Sisterhood, victim, backlash, strident, radical, militant, women, modern, contemporary, homosexuality, lesbian, seventy, movement, extreme, herself</i>
SiBol 05-GB	<i>Germaine Greer, liberation, equality, 70s, women, radical, dirty, Dworkin, second-wave, enraged</i>
Port 2010-GB	<i>Girl's, Greer, racism, equality, radical</i>
SiBol 13-GB	<i>Rebranding, second-wave, fourth-wave, dirty, emancipation, environmentalism, strident, radical, modern-day</i>

Table 12. Collocates of the search items in SiBol 93-GB, SiBol 05-GB, Port 2010-GB and SiBol 13-GB

In the 1990s, there was a strong tendency to portray feminism as a radical or leftist political movement. Various references to the past of the movement were also frequently made; the word *modern*, for instance, was used to describe older forms of feminism rather than a current form (as described in Section 6.1.4). Moreover, feminists were often seen as radical lesbians, which, once again, seems to confirm the stereotypical views that people tended to have on the feminist movement: this created a rather negative image of the movement. On the other hand, feminists considered that the idea of “victim feminism” (described in Section 6.1.1) should be disregarded since it did not represent ‘real’ or ‘power’ feminism, according to the author, as demonstrated in (51):

- (51) **Victim feminism** is a drab hangover of 1960s leftiness, and obsolete; power feminism is unashamedly capitalist and market-led. Power feminism accepts that in a free society women will be competing against other women as well as against men. (The Times, 25 November 1993) <SiBol 93-GB>

The findings from the 1993 subcorpus demonstrate that the feminist movement had a negative connotation and that, perhaps, very few women wanted to identify with feminism, even though they were considered as the heart of the movement. Being a *feminist* was probably a strong and extreme statement to make. However, this was an ambivalent feeling among women: while some describe themselves as feminists, others did not, as can be seen in (52) and (53), respectively.

- (52) She describes **herself** as a **feminist** and says that women tend to be very supportive of her. (The Daily Telegraph, 17 July 1993) <SiBol 93-GB>

- (53) Lady Mancroft does not see **herself** as a **feminist**, but on the subject of childbirth her views are distinctly women-oriented: she believes that the predominantly male obstetric profession is preventing women giving birth naturally. (Sunday Times, 17 October 1993) <SiBol 93-GB>

The collocates *homosexuality* and *lesbian* might suggest that there was a stronger tendency to portray feminists as radical lesbians in the 1990s (see example (54)). However, it appears that, in some cases, feminists and lesbians are considered as two separate perceptions, as demonstrated in (55). This could mean that there was also an ambivalence in terms of attitude towards feminists in the 1990s.

(54) "Write about what you know," your English teacher always tells you, and Winterson is actually sitting on a great story, how a **radical lesbian feminist** came to rule a harem of compliant women, and justified it in the name of Art. (The Times, 03 May 1993) <SiBol 93-GB>

(55) And increasing numbers of **feminists** and **lesbians**, particularly in America, are beginning to advocate pornography and even prostitution. (The Sunday Telegraph, 29 August 1993) <SiBol 93-GB>

The collocates found in SiBol 05-GB show that, once again, there were various past references. Feminism was still seen as a radical movement with enraged female members. Moreover, the collocate *dirty* suggests that feminism was seen as a dirty word, as illustrated in (56): this seems to reinforce the negative image of the movement. The collocates *liberation* and *equality* seem to demonstrate that there was a slow and gradual evolution, with growing interests for these issues. The context in which these collocates occur shows that most articles suggests moving away from the idea of 'equality feminism' and adopting 'liberation feminism' which appears to be more appropriate in 2005 (see example (57)).

(56) On the eve of the 21st century, **feminism** is a **dirty** word. Old-guard feminists have gone gah-gah, obsessed with the rapist in every man, and the rights and wrongs of lipstick. (The Guardian, 25 October 2005) <SiBol 05-GB>

(57) Her essential argument was that the **equality feminism** of the past 100 years, which merely sought parity with the sickening world of men, must now be replaced by **liberation feminism** that can challenge the destructive body images of global capitalism and much else. (The Daily Telegraph, 11 June 2005) <SiBol 05-GB>

In this respect, it can be noted that there may be an evolution in the very concept of feminism, and this can only be explained on the basis of the context. This also seems to demonstrate that the concept of feminism is flexible and adapts to changes in society.

Newspaper articles from 2010 also tended to present feminism as a *radical* movement, which was strongly related to other social issues such as *racism*. Once again, individuals who identify as women represented the most prominent part of the movement. There were some

references to important feminist figures such as *Germaine Greer*, particularly in articles relating past events and historical facts about the movement, as can be seen in example (58):

- (58) Trilogy's middle section is a response to Town Bloody Hall, a documentary made about a 1971 debate at New York's Town Hall between Norman Mailer and four leading **feminists**, including **Germaine Greer**. (The Guardian, 14 January 2010)
<Port 2010 -GB>

The word *equality* was also very frequent, which could suggest that more individuals were concerned with feminist issues and wanted to defend the movement. However, the context suggests that, as in 2005, there was an evolution from the concept of 'equality' to that of 'liberation'. Surprisingly, present-day definitions of feminism still include the word 'equality', which could mean that this evolution is continuous. While example (57) suggested that 'equality feminism' should have been replaced by 'liberation feminism', example (59) seems to imply that there is in fact a continuity: the fight for equality is not the only issue of the movement, but liberation can also be at the heart of the fight.

- (59) The original, wonderful promise of **feminism** was not just **equality** with men, but also a liberation from social constraints. (The Times, 30 January 2010) <Port 2010 -GB>

In 2013, although the words *dirty*, *radical* and *strident* remained frequent collocates of the search items, there was a tendency to debate about a potential *rebranding* of feminism, as well as a *fourth-wave*. However, the context suggests a rather negative stance towards this *rebranding* (60). In example (60), it can be seen that the rebranding of feminism is being criticised since it has been suggested by the magazine *Elle*. In this article, it can be observed that this *rebranding* involves stereotypical views of present-day feminists and a negative attitude towards the (previous) women's liberation movement.

- (60) In order to be "relevant to young women today" it needs to shave its legs and get a haircut. Elle seems to think so too. The fashion and beauty magazine has weighed in with a spread on "**rebranding feminism**", asking three advertising agencies to give gender politics a nip, tuck and polish. The result is flowcharts and a lot of hot pink equivocation that airbrushes out the ugly, uncomfortable bits of **women's liberation**. (The Guardian, 08 October 2013) <SiBol 13-GB>

Although the collocate *radical* is present in all subcorpora, which could prove the negative image of the movement in the media which remains the same over time, it actually occurs in articles dealing with the past of the movement, as can be seen in (61):

- (61) After studying English at Cornell University, she moved to San Francisco and found herself not only in the boom of computing, but also in the midst of **radical feminism** (she was already deeply political, having briefly joined the Communist party). (The Guardian, 19 March 2013) <SiBol 13-GB>

Consequently, example (61) demonstrates that 2013 was a big year of the portrayal of feminism, which was less (or not) regarded as *radical* since a great deal of the occurrences of this collocate are located in the past. Generally speaking, there appears to be no-in between: the representation of feminism is either strongly negative or slightly positive: what is meant by this is that the positive image of feminism is often suggested when journalists (or interviewees) defend the movement or display historical facts. To put it another way: defenders (often women) of the movement can be accounted for the positive representation of feminism, as can be seen in (62). The negative representation, on the other hand, may be created by individuals²⁸ who do not identify with the concept of feminism and/or by those who see the word *feminism* as *dirty*, as demonstrated in (63).

- (62) “What?” she says, in that half-interested way I’m convinced pre-teens practise in front of the mirror. **Feminism. Equality.** “It’s important, you need to know about it,” I reply. (Daily Mail, 09 October 2013) <SiBol 13-GB>

- (63) “I love it when someone says, ‘I’ll get your coat’, or, ‘I’ll look after you’, or offers you a seat on the bus. I’m thrilled to bits. I’m not a **feminist**, no.” Does she think **feminism** has become a **dirty** word? “‘I think feminism is a dirty word,’ she nods. (Sunday Times, 27 January 2013) <SiBol 13-GB>

6.3. Representation of feminism across newspaper types

As far as the distinction between tabloids and broadsheets is concerned, it can be observed that tabloids have an ambivalent attitude towards the feminist movement. Tabloids use the word

²⁸ Whose claims are either reported by a journalist or the journalist’s own claim(s).

dirty quite often with the lemma *feminism*. However, all the occurrences of *dirty* appear in a specific context: in 2013, a British TV presenter, Mary Berry claimed that she perceived the word *feminism* as *dirty*, as can be seen in example (64):

- (64) And now Mary Berry has made her traditional views on gender equality absolutely clear, with the pronouncement: “**Feminism** is a **dirty** word.” The star of The Great British Bake Off said she does not want women's rights and is thrilled to bits' when men offer to look after her. (Daily Mail, 27 January 2013) <SiBol-GB>

However, this does not reflect the personal opinion of the journalist. It is presented from the point of view of Mary Berry. Indeed, other article's title suggests the opposite, i.e. *feminism* should not be regarded as a *dirty* word and Mary Berry's claim is criticised, as illustrated in (65):

- (65) **FEMINISM ISN'T A DIRTY WORD. THE GIRLS I'VE MET NEED IT MORE THAN EVER. AS MARY BERRY ATTACKS FEMINISM, AN ACCLAIMED AUTHOR HITS BACK ... BY NATASHA WALTER.** (Daily Mail, 30 January 2013) <SiBol-GB>

In that respect, it can be noted that *feminism* being a *dirty* word does not reflect the overall attitude of tabloids towards the feminist movement. Rather, they mention what a celebrity has said about feminism and, as can be seen in (65), Berry's claim is, in turn, refuted. Various articles from the tabloids present in SiBol-GB include Mary Berry (whose name is a collocate of the word *feminism* in the subcorpus). In example (66), it can be seen that she does not see herself as a feminist:

- (66) There was an example of that last week, when television cookery expert Mary Berry said she thought **feminism** was a **dirty** word. “I don't want women's rights,” she said. “I love to have men around, and I suppose if you're a true feminist you get on and do it yourself. I'm not a feminist”. (Daily Mail, 2013) <SiBol-GB>

Similarly, other articles from tabloids present the opinions of some celebrities towards feminism, as is the case with Mary Berry and British actress Diana Rigg, for instance, as can be seen in (67):

- (67) I'M NO **FEMINIST**, SAYS DIANA (AND I LOVE **MEN** WHO OFFER ME A SEAT!) (Daily Mail, 2013) <SiBol-GB>

In this example, the collocate and lemma *man* is not used to include men in the movement. Rather, it suggests that these celebrities claim that *feminism* means ‘hating men’, which is not the case according to the definition which suggests that men and women should have the same rights and opportunities (i.e. equality). However, once again, this attitude towards the movement does not represent journalists’ opinions in tabloids. There is only an ambivalence between the opinion of the above-mentioned celebrities and the opinion of journalists, who seem to defend the feminist movement.

Broadsheets, on the other hand, tend to mention the past of the movement more often than tabloids (which focus on contemporary issues and celebrities), as illustrated in (68):

- (68) **Second-wave feminism** in its early incarnation was notoriously bad at looking beyond the white middle classes and clearly greater representation is a positive development. (The Guardian, 13 March 2013) <SiBol-GB>

Moreover, most of the examples cited in Section 6.1 come from broadsheets. These examples demonstrated that feminism is still present and evolves in today’s society, although some references are made to its past and history. Feminism is thus an ambivalent movement which both belongs to the past and to the present time. This might indicate that feminism is a growing and changing movement: in short, today’s feminists are not the same as yesterday’s feminists. There are other forms of ambivalence across the collocates of the search items: feminism seems to be both a problematic and an essential concept. Further, feminism is often related to left-wing politics and extremism in broadsheets, which creates a rather negative view of it. This negative connotation is also reinforced by the use of collocates such as *radical* and *enrage*. Lastly, as opposed to tabloids, most opinions (towards feminism), which are presented in broadsheets, include journalists’ as well, and not only other people’s opinions. In that sense, it can be said that tabloids mention people’s attitudes without including the journalist’s personal view, whereas broadsheets mention both views. However, it is important to note that the authors of broadsheet newspaper articles hold diverging views on feminism and feminists: some criticise the movement and others defend it.

6.4. Discussion

The collocation analysis of the search items has shown how feminism was linguistically constructed and represented in British newspapers between 1993 and 2013. The collocates of

the search items illustrated the media representation of feminism and feminists, which is generally negative - although in some cases, feminism may be portrayed in more positive terms. The majority of the articles, written between 1993 and 2013 were repeatedly using words to ridicule and reduce *extreme*, *militant* and *radical* feminists to stereotypical views. However, the analysis also demonstrated that there was a slow change over time (see Section 6.2). For instance, in articles from 2013, the collocate *radical* was not used to depict present-day feminists. Rather, it was used to denote past forms of feminism, where the emphasis on radicalism was, previously, stronger.

As far as the connotation of the movement is concerned, it can be either negative or positive: the positive image is frequently created by journalists (or interviewees) who defend feminism or present historical facts about the movement, whereas the negative image (which is stronger) is often created by those who feel offended or those who do not identify with the movement. Over this 20-year period (between 1993 and 2013), the feminist movement has constantly been considered as a radical movement. As for the use of the words *lesbian*, *strident* or *dirty*, it can be seen that these opinions often rely on stereotypical views that live on, especially between the early 1990s and the early 2000s. However, in recent years, there has been a gradual evolution towards a more positive view on feminism. As mentioned earlier, feminism is an ambivalent concept which is, at the same time, both problematic and necessary, both negative and positive and both criticised and defended.

Nevertheless, it is important to note that different point of views are presented in these articles: in broadsheet newspapers, for instance, both the viewpoint of the journalist and other people (which have been mentioned in the analysis) are integrated. This is not surprising given the fact that broadsheets “attribute considerable space to in-depth analysis, evaluation, opinion and feuilleton” (Kutter, 2020). According to the results, tabloids do not seem to present the personal view of the journalist. Indeed, they tend to focus more on “revelation”, “local news media”, celebrities and so on (ibid.). Consequently, personal opinions may take up little place. Although the frequency analysis has revealed that the distinction between broadsheets and tabloids may not be relevant, this collocation analysis has shown that both may in fact reveal different attitudes and viewpoints which might be appropriate for this kind of analysis.

Chapter 7

Critical discourse and framing analysis

As mentioned earlier, framing analysis examines how meaning is created and how it can be used by news media to influence the public: frames generally provide for a better understanding of the subject matters covered by a text and they can also either encourage specific interpretations or suppress others. This chapter aims at analysing the linguistic construction of feminism in British newspapers in terms of framing techniques and from a critical point of view. The main research question and sub-question are:

How was feminism linguistically constructed and represented in British newspapers?

➤ Which framing techniques are used by journalists?.

Since feminism is a contemporary societal issue, it seems to be of great importance to determine whether journalists might manipulate or influence their readers or not, particularly when addressing feminism. The way in which a text is written may thus have an impact on the representation of the feminist movement. As described earlier, words can be powerful, especially in journalistic discourse. That is why this section focusses on the frames in which the search items occur, that is to say on the techniques used by journalists to depict feminism. To do so, this chapter analyses random samples of newspaper articles concerning feminism and feminists (described in Section 4.2).

The analysis brought to light five recurrent frames: demonisation, opposition, critical, identification and/or defence, and historical frame. However, some samples did not have a

specific frame²⁹ because it was not clear enough what they referred to. Moreover, some samples received several frames. For example, a news story about “nasty feminists” saying “crazy things” such as “no means no”³⁰ received three frames: demonisation, critical and opposition. In this case, the demonisation frame was identified as the primary frame, while the others were considered as additional frames. Furthermore, this analysis revealed the mode, tone and voice used in these news articles. Descriptions of each frame are based on previous studies (Rhodes, 1995; Lind & Salo, 2002) on the media framing of feminism, as well as on the interpretation of the findings.

7.1. Demonisation frame

The demonisation frame implies that feminists are portrayed by the media as radical, aggressive, and violent activists who refuse to tolerate other people’s views in their pursuit of gender equality. The majority of news stories that fit the demonisation frame include the voice of the journalist him/herself. In other words, these portrayals of feminism and feminists are presented from the journalist’s own point of view, and not that of another person or interviewee. Indeed, journalists assume that feminists are radical: for example, the feminist Andrea Dworkin is referred to as a ‘radical feminist’ and ‘the author of several controversial feminist texts’. It is also mentioned that ‘she dismissed men as moral cretins’ (25)³¹. Other feminists are portrayed as ‘arch’ individuals who ‘rage’ when they read sexist comments, for instance. Moreover, a journalist compares feminists to ‘deviants’ (38), which reinforces the demonisation of feminism by implying that they are opposed to ‘normal’ women since they seem to adopt a ‘deviant’ way of life, as illustrated in example (69). Moreover, in this example, the word *punishment* is used to emphasise this demonisation and the verb *claim* is also used to express a strong statement.

- (69) After September 11, American evangelical preachers even claimed that the events were a punishment for the behaviour of **feminists** and other **deviants**. (38)

The tone used in this example is thus negative. In turn, this seems to produce a negative view of feminists, which could persuade the public to stay away from them. Indeed, previous

²⁹ They were thus coded as *neutral*.

³⁰ Quotes from *The Guardian*, 22 October 1993.

³¹ This number refers to the 25th sample in Appendix 8. Generalise the note to say that the numbers between brackets refer to the number of the sample... I would suggest adding a symbol like “#” or “no.” before the numbers, e.g. (#25), (no. 25).

studies (Rhode, 1995; Lind & Salo, 2002; Bronstein, 2005) have demonstrated that the demonisation frame is frequently used by the media to depict feminists in that way (cf. Section 2.2.1). The findings from this analysis seem to confirm this tendency.

Feminists are also represented as aggressive and violent members of a militant group: for example, feminism is described in an article as a movement which “generates an immense amount of illogicality and hysteria - even cruelty and aggression” (78). Generally speaking, it can be observed that feminism is seen by some journalists as the ‘arch enemy’ of society. In addition, women’s liberation is represented by a journalist as a movement that is largely to blame for the breakdown of a marriage in India, as demonstrated in example (70):

(70) “[When] Anil Srivastav, a financier, faced his wife in a New Delhi court yesterday for the final hearing to end their seven-year marriage, he knew where to pin the blame for the breakdown: **women's liberation**” (81).

However, in this example, it is unclear whether these are the journalist’s or Anil Srivastav’s own words. Hypothetically, the viewpoint that has been taken in this article might be intersubjective: this would imply that the journalist’s viewpoint would also take into consideration the viewpoint of the other person (e.g. Anil Srivastav’s point of view) in his/her own reasoning (Dancygier, 2012). When such a statement is made (i.e. “he knew where to pin the blame for [...]”), a ‘metaperspective’ is being produced (Zappavigna, 2018), which could refer to the journalist’s perspective on Anil Srivastav’s perspective on the breakdown of his marriage. Moreover, the journalist does not seem to oppose Srivastav’s opinion and may agree with his idea that the Women’s Liberation Movement is to blame for this marriage breakdown. Consequently, both the author and Srivastav demonise the movement by implying that it exerts a negative influence on married couples and family life.

7.2. Opposition frame

The opposition frame suggests that there is a conflict between feminists and women/men who do not consider themselves as feminists. Feminists are mentioned in negative and polemical contexts, whereas other women and/or men (i.e. those who do not identify with the movement) appear in a more positive light. As mentioned earlier, feminism is not regarded as something relevant in ‘non-feminist’ men and women’s everyday lives. The tone used in most of the

articles that fit the opposition frame can be either negative or more neutral, as demonstrated in examples (71) and (72), respectively:

(71) Personally, I hate **feminism**. (7)

(72) IS THIS THE DEATH OF FEMINISM? MOST young women strongly object to being called a feminist - and say that they like men, say state-funded researchers. In fact, they believe that the aims of the **feminist movement** have all but been achieved in the Western world. Rather than supporting a movement for new rights and equality, they admire the notion of femininity. (56)

Neutral tones thus include facts that are reported by the journalist but do not take into account his/her own opinion on feminism. Moreover, mass media usually tend to persuade people that feminists are odd and extreme. ‘Non-feminists’ are also unlikely to participate in public actions and events, as opposed to feminists (cf. Section 2.2.1). The analysis of the news stories revealed that some journalists use their own voice to express themselves openly and freely, by stating that they are not feminists: for example, a journalist writes, “I’m not a feminist, quite the contrary, because it seems to me it’s not feminism we need, it’s the feminine, it’s the woman.” (23). In this example, it can be seen that there is a two-fold opposition: firstly, the author of the article does not consider him/herself as a feminist, and secondly, he/she addresses the opposition between feminism and femininity (and ‘regular’ women). This conflict seems to strengthen anti-feminist ideas and opinions. Once again, this implies a refusal to participate in feminist actions, which are frequently criticised. Another journalist writes, “It takes a feminist to offend women” (35), which suggests that some women and feminists are, therefore, opposed to each other: this confirms the tendency to oppose feminists and women in the media, as Rhode (1995) described in Section 2.2.1.

7.3. Critical frame

The critical frame implies that journalists promote critical thinking about feminism. In doing so, they try to persuade readers that their own way of thinking is truthful. While the demonisation frame depicts feminists as the evil or enemy, the critical frame includes journalists (both male and female) who openly criticise feminism and share and express an essentially

negative (personal) opinion on the (aims of the) movement in their texts. They also criticise other individuals' opinions and views on feminism, as illustrated in example (73):

- (73) Her excited vision of power **feminism** in operation does have just a touch of Never-Never-Land. (3).

In this article, the tone is negative and the author uses the imaginary place of “Never-Never-Land”, which implies that feminist actions and practices would be impossible to achieve in the real world. This also suggests that feminist ideas are utopian and idealistic. Furthermore, this critical frame includes journalists who remind the reader that the aims of feminism are doubtful and bound to failure, as can be seen in example (74):

- (74) Unfortunately, **feminism** has **failed** utterly to liberate women from these chores. It isn't feminism that has lightened the domestic burden; it is technology. Hooray for dishwashers, duvets, microwaves, convenience foods, washing machines, tumble-driers, freezers, non-iron clothes and sheets. (14)

In example (74), the tone is also negative since the author criticises the movement by implying that it has not contributed to women's liberation in the household: the author suggests that technology has helped women by reducing their domestic burden. However, this by no means reflects the actual main goal of feminism, that is to say gender equality, which must also take place in the household: feminism seeks to eradicate stereotypes based on gender but this article is a prime example of a journalist contributing to the promotion of such stereotypes (i.e. women are still in charge of the laundry, house, and kitchen despite the emergence of new technologies). Similarly, example (75) indicates other ‘failures’ of feminism:

- (75) Through it black feminists have been able to point out the **failures** of the wider **feminist movement** - which lie in its continual failure to capture and reflect the extreme differences in how women live their lives. (48)

Here, the journalist takes the perspective of ‘black feminists’ by opposing them to mainstream feminists³² since they may exclude them and may not take into consideration the way of life of black individuals, which would be different than that of others. This example demonstrates that various debates around feminism exist (here: black feminism vs. mainstream feminism). As opposed to the previous example, this seems to be an appropriate and well-

³² The opposition frame is also present in this example.

founded criticism. Indeed, feminism should aim to be intersectional and achieve gender equality in all aspects of an individual's life and identity, which includes his/her race, ethnicity, culture, social class, size, religion and so on (Feminist Majority Foundation, 2014).

7.4. Identification and/or defence frame

The identification and/or defence frame implies that some authors of newspaper articles identify with feminism, respond to its issues, and defend the movement. Female writers represent the majority of these 'supporters'. It can be seen that a great deal of the samples that have been analysed maintain a positive tone. Indeed, these journalists acknowledge that feminism is, according to them, still needed and requires more attention. They also emphasise that feminism is not dead or has revived, as can be seen in example (76):

- (76) I was delighted to read that **feminism** is finding its voice again ('It's not finished, it's not uncool')" (5).

Moreover, it can be seen that some journalists use powerful verbs and phrases in support of their argument: in example (77), they write that young women "*have never needed feminism as much as they do now. [...] they need a new modern feminism [...]*" (9) (emphasis mine).

- (77) Women particularly those from the younger generation have never needed **feminism** as much as they do now. In a world where our daughters are bombarded with the message that they are primarily valued as sex objects, they need a new modern **feminism** to reverse the attitude that their looks are the most important thing about them. (9)

The use of the phrase *have never needed X as much as now* emphasises the importance of feminism in this context: it is, according to the author, needed more than ever before. In addition, some journalists state that the aims of feminism have not been achieved yet: for example, a journalist writes that "Politics [...] remains a macho environment" and that the UK was ranked "60th in the world when it comes to women at the top in public life the law, the city, the civil service, parliament and education. Only one in five MPs is female." (17). Consequently, the author argues that it is for this reason that "feminism is still relevant today" (17). Moreover, the use of the word *still* implies that feminism did not die since it indicates that it continues to exist.

The analysis also revealed that some newspaper articles which fit into this frame tend to produce feminist discourses in which the emphasis is on women. The authors of such articles acknowledge the actual position of these female subjects. For example, the former President of the United States of America, Bill Clinton, was referred to as “Hillary Clinton's husband”, as can be seen in (78):

(78) At the same time, with Hillary Clinton's husband in the White House, a powerful and contagious wind of **feminism** started blowing from America. (10)

The focus is thus very much on Hillary Clinton, instead of Bill Clinton, as would normally be the case in mainstream newspaper articles following the patriarchal logic. In this article, Hillary Clinton is also seen as the reason why “a powerful and contagious wind of feminism started blowing from America” (10) at the time her husband was in the White House. Consequently, she is depicted as a prominent feminist figure in the US. Whether this is the case or not, the author of this article holds this belief and represents feminism as a strong feeling that can be spread among individuals (hence the use of the words *powerful* and *contagious*). The author also uses the verb *start*, which might suggest that feminism had never existed before Hillary Clinton became First Lady of the United States. Moreover, the wind metaphor may indicate a change or transformation: feminism is thus compared to a movement (wind) which was sent out (blown) from America.

While the collocation analysis demonstrated that the word *feminism* frequently co-occurs with the adjective *dirty* (cf. Section 6.1.1), this critical discourse and framing analysis reveals another attitude towards feminism: for example, a journalist states that “the problem [...] is not that feminism is a dirty word, but that it's a forgotten word as is any notion of self-respect for some” (18), as can be seen in example (79):

(79) If Emily Wilding Davison could have known that, 100 years after her death, a woman would achieve all this, perhaps she would have felt her supreme sacrifice was worth it. This is why I wonder what she would make of Mary³³'s attitude towards **feminism**. Because the problem for young women today is not that **feminism** is a **dirty** word, but that it's a forgotten word as is any notion of self-respect for some. (18)

Here, the author suggests that feminism cannot always be seen as a “dirty word”. Rather, s/he implies that the word in itself is neglected by some individuals because they may not

³³ It refers to Mary Berry, British food writer, chef and TV presenter

understand it, as is the case with any other notions of “self-respect” (18). However, it is important to note that both attitudes towards the movement co-exist: in other words, some writers may see it as *dirty*, while others may not consider it as such. This, once again, shows that general attitudes towards feminism are ambivalent.

Lastly, writers who support the movement often cite and acknowledge the aims of feminism. They also seem to participate in the creation of a better image and understanding of feminism in the media, although only a small proportion of journalists is involved, as demonstrated in examples (80) and (81):

(80) The current crisis affords the chance to pick up its thread once more, reconnecting the dream of **women's liberation** with the vision of a solidary society. (85)

(81) In ridiculing the way women were portrayed in the media, the ethos of the blog could be said to be **feminist**, but I didn't really know anything about the modern **feminist movement**, what it entailed, and where my place in it might be; we just got on with it. Indeed, one of the great things about this new wave of female activism is that women no longer feel they have to subscribe to a whole checklist of ideas before becoming involved; they focus on what's closest to their hearts, whether that's Page 3 or everyday sexism or violence against women. (49)

In example (80), the journalist expresses his/her wish to reconnect “the dream of women's liberation with the vision of a solidary society”, which would correspond to one of the goals of feminism. Example (81) also illustrates this idea: for example, the author writes that modern feminists “focus on what's closest to their hearts, whether that's [...] everyday sexism or violence against women” (49). However, it can be observed in that article that the author does not know anything about modern feminism: the author refers to the idea of feminism suggested by a blog which “could be said to be feminist” since it criticises the negative portrayal of women in the media (49). Nevertheless, the article ends on a more positive note since she shows that modern feminism (“this new wave” (49)) takes into consideration issues that are closest to women’s hearts. A change or transformation can thus be observed: modern feminism could be seen as a better and friendlier version, compared to former forms of “female activism” (49). Lastly, the author of this article uses the modal *might* (line 3), which seems to express the possibility of being part of the feminist movement.

7.5. Historical frame

The historical frame can be used to historicize and describe feminism as a movement that may belong to the past. Indeed, the previous collocation analysis (cf. Chapter 6) demonstrated that, for each search term, there were more frequent references to its past and its own history than to its present or its emerging future. At first glance, this could perhaps imply that feminism is a movement that may be of lesser importance today. As mentioned earlier, the words *new* and *modern* were also frequently located in the past, which could indicate that these phases of feminism are now over. However, only a small number of the extracted samples (see Appendix 8) seem to reinforce this idea. Among these articles, other framing techniques may also be found, although the historical frame can be regarded as the primary one. For example, the “rise of radical feminism in the 1970s” is mentioned in an article: the use of the word *radical* may thus be understood in terms of demonisation, as can be seen in example (82).

- (82) Since the rise of radical **feminism** in the 1970s, Labour has been the **feminist** party; but only officially. (13)

In that regard, the author seems to suggest that radical feminism is a thing of the past. Yet today’s feminism is still intricately linked with radicalism, as was the case during the previous waves of the movement (cf. Section 1.2). This means that attitudes towards feminism which were formed in the past may still persist today, even though major changes were made over time. In other words, some newspaper articles could use this framing technique to depict feminism as a thing of the past, but the actual facts regarding attitudes towards the movement say otherwise.

In addition, consider the following example:

- (83) [...] the head of France's post-war **feminist movement** at a time, in the early 1980s, when feminists thought that they were on the point of overturning a patriarchal society. But then it all went wrong. Rather than continuing the struggle for equality, younger women have returned home to place themselves at the service of their children, she says.

In example (83), a (male) journalist writes that a woman³⁴ was named “the head of France's post-war feminist movement at a time, in the early 1980s, when feminists thought that they were on the point of overturning a patriarchal society” (45). Then, the author quotes this woman: “But then it all went wrong. Rather than continuing the struggle for equality, younger women have returned home [...], she says” (45). This seems to demonstrate that a rather critical stance is used alongside this historical frame. However, the latter is regarded as the primary frame because it is quite clear that this idea emerged in the past. Nevertheless, once again, instead of implying that feminism belongs to the past, the historical frame actually demonstrates how feminism has evolved over time. Moreover, it also demonstrates how the feminist movement is still referred to in order to recall the mistakes that were made, so that they can be avoided in current times. In that regard, the past and history of feminism could serve as a lesson. Consequently, this does not mean that feminism has definitely ended. As can be seen in Section 7.3, many journalists still support and defend the movement by arguing that it is still relevant in today's society. The majority of the extracted examples indeed show that the movement can also be historicized with the aim of emphasising the impact of past forms of feminism. For instance, prominent figures of the women's movement are regularly mentioned to remind us how important they were and still are: for instance, a journalist writes, “It is easy to see why Kahlo became the heroine of a burgeoning 1970s feminist movement” (41). This example is highly symbolic: firstly, Kahlo is portrayed as a ‘heroine’, which emphasises the impact of her achievements, talent, and own qualities (in other words, she is a role model), and secondly, feminism of the 1970s is described as a ‘burgeoning’ movement, and although this term means ‘to grow’, it can be associated with the symbol of a growing or flourishing plant.

Similarly, fictional female figures can also be depicted as popular ‘icons’ of feminism, as is the case for Wonder Woman in example (84):

- (84) It's hard not to read this 1963 Wonder Woman cover, included in Taschen's new DC Comics compendium, as an allegory for the **feminist movement**. (46)

The journalist seems to use the historical frame to suggest that this comic cover had and still has an impact on the movement (i.e. it is a metaphor for feminism). Other ‘real’ individuals, such as Eleanor Roosevelt, are depicted in articles using this historical frame: Roosevelt is seen as a woman who, according to an article, “might have become one of the first heroes of the new feminist movement as it emerged in the 1970s” (53). The author of this article uses the modal

³⁴ Not named.

might to express this possibility since s/he is not sure that this is the case. Indeed, the rest of the article suggests that it was necessary to find evidence that she was a prominent figure of this new feminist movement in the 1970s. Once again, the word *hero* is used to depict Roosevelt, which emphasises her (possible) importance within the movement, as can be seen in example (85):

- (85) Eleanor Roosevelt ‘might have become one of the first heroes of the new **feminist movement** as it emerged in the 1970s....’ To achieve this goal requires the author to claim new sources, unexplored documents and a broad conspiracy that has been hiding ER's secret life: ...works and words were in the hands of sons and surrogate sons who rarely sought to address or even recognize the complex relationships of very complex lives. (53)

Furthermore, other articles recall some of the aims of the women's movement in order to highlight the fact that they were significant and had a direct and positive impact on women's lives. Therefore, they should still be acknowledged, as can be seen in (86):

- (86) For those of us who were born in the 60s and came of age in the 70s and remember the **women's movement** – [...] birth control wasn't legal in the US until 1965, [...] And there are girls today who don't know that (62).

Moreover, the women's movement of the 1970s is also mentioned to show that some of its aims were to focus on “abortion rights and more political issues” (71). However, these issues are still on the table in current times. This demonstrates that feminism is a slow process since some of these goals have not been fully addressed and/or achieved yet.

7.6. Discussion

Instead of picturing it as a movement that could improve women's lives, feminism is frequently demonised in the media sphere. Journalists often represent feminists as radical, violent, and ferocious militants. Gloria Steinem once said, “[s]ince most women today embrace the goals of the women's movement, why are so many of them reluctant to embrace the feminist label? Women have two problems with the label. The first is that people don't know what it means... The second is that people do know what it means.” (Rhode, 2015). Through this, Steinem

assumes that the first problem is that, since the term feminism is demonised in mass media, many women are reluctant to support the feminism movement. The second problem she addresses is that feminism is synonymous with activism, which, once again, does not increase the chances of participating in the movement (ibid.).

There also appears to be a conflict between feminists and individuals who do not identify as feminists. The latter are frequently mentioned in polemical contexts, whereas other ‘regular’ women (in general) are mentioned in more positive contexts. Feminism is thus not important in ‘non-feminist’ men and women’s lives. There is another conflict between feminism and femininity, which seems to reinforce anti-feminist ideas and implies a refusal to contribute to feminist actions, which, in turn, are regularly criticised in the media sphere. Moreover, the aims of the movement, as well as feminism in itself, are often criticised. By promoting critical thinking about the feminist movement, journalists seem to influence the public into thinking that what feminists do is wrong, while what they say about the movement is true.

On the other hand, some journalists tend to defend the movement. Indeed, Mendes (2011) had already discovered that, when feminism and feminists were mentioned in such articles, the coverage was surprisingly positive. However, she noted that this support was seen as ‘defensive’, which means that journalists tended to contest and resist any backlash against feminism. The results from the present analysis seem to confirm this tendency. Further, feminism in itself is not effectively a thing of the past, even though some journalists might occasionally suggest this stance. Overall, it can be seen that when some journalists historicize the movement, they mainly do so to emphasise that the mistakes that were made in the past (by the feminist movement) should not be repeated, and to highlight the importance of some prominent figures, as well as the fact that the aims of feminism are still pursued. There appears to be a continuum between the past and the present of the movement, even if this is rather implicit. However, it can be noted that future forms of feminism are never or rarely mentioned, even though it is clear that some important feminist goals have not been achieved yet. Lastly, as mentioned earlier, the connotation of feminism is either negative or positive. There were little or no articles which were coded as *mixed*, *neutral* or *unknown*, apart from a few rare exceptions.

Conclusion

By analysing changing representations of feminism and feminists in a corpus of British newspapers between 1993 and 2013, this thesis has shown how media discourse can explicitly and implicitly shape people's attitudes towards the feminist movement. One of the aims of feminism is to give access to equal representations of women in all areas of society (Gamble, 2006). Additionally, feminists need to benefit from positive representations in order to spread the ideas of the movement and to encourage both men and women to participate in feminist actions. However, negative portrayals of feminism and feminists are more frequent than positive ones, and the framing techniques used by some newspaper writers are often damaging for the image of the feminist movement. Indeed, previous studies based on small samples of texts, such as Jaworska & Krishnamurthy (2012), have shown that *feminism* has become a dreadful word ('the F-word'). In that regard, the present study set out to investigate the discourse around this word and other related terms (i.e. *feminist*, *feminist movement*, *women's movement*, and *women's liberation*).

The use of a corpus allowed for a more objective and quantitative analysis of how feminism is linguistically constructed in British newspapers, especially through a frequency and collocation analysis. These analyses also looked into the broadsheet/tabloid distinction and the diachronic perspective that were made possible by the composition of the corpus. In addition, a CDA and framing approach was necessary to uncover the various techniques used by journalists to depict feminism. The frequency analysis revealed that the lemmas *feminist* and *feminism* are more frequently mentioned, compared to the other search items, which are only occasionally mentioned. Overall, there is a lack of coverage in the British press compared to other topics related to women in general. The frequency analysis across newspaper types indicated that the distinction between broadsheets and tabloids may not be very relevant since feminism and its related terms can be found in both newspaper types with varying degrees: there are differences between individual papers, that is to say within newspaper types.

The collocation analysis has revealed that the media representation of feminism is typically negative, even though it appears that, increasingly, feminism and feminists are also portrayed in more positive terms. Between 1993 and 2013 various terms were indeed used to demonise, ridicule and criticise the feminist movement and many stereotypical views were presented, but there has been a slow change over time towards more positive attitudes. The semantic prosody of feminism is generally negative and is created by those who attack the movement or by those who do not identify as feminists. Positive images can also be created by journalists (or interviewees) who defend feminism or present historical facts to legitimate the movement's ideas and prominent figures. Feminism is undoubtedly an ambivalent concept which can be both problematic and essential: on the one hand, the word *feminism* itself is still associated with radicalism and extremism, but on the other hand, *feminism* is defended, valued and recognised for what it is. The collocation analysis has also revealed that the distinction between broadsheets and tabloids may be relevant for this kind of analysis, since it might reveal different opinions, attitudes and viewpoints. Tabloids do not present the personal opinion of journalists, as opposed to broadsheets, which typically devote space to journalists' opinions and evaluations (Kutter, 2020). Consequently, it can be noted that tabloids include attitudes and opinions of other people/celebrities being mentioned in some articles, while broadsheets include various viewpoints (journalist, quotee, interviewee, etc.). The latter can be highly variable in terms of attitude.

The critical discourse and framing analysis has shown that various framing techniques can be used by journalists to portray feminism and feminists in the media. The demonisation frame is particularly common in articles dealing with feminism and feminists, in which they are portrayed as radical and violent militants. Because of this demonisation, many men and women could be reluctant to support the movement. Moreover, some journalists tend to influence their readers by constantly criticising the aims of the movement, by reducing feminists to stereotypical views, and by opposing them to other 'normal' people (cf. critical and opposition frames). However, the defence frame is also present in articles about feminism: some journalists seem to contest attacks on feminism and support the movement (both explicitly and implicitly). Lastly, the historical frame suggests that some journalists want to highlight the importance of some feminist figures, as well as the aims of feminism. In general, this does not necessarily imply that feminism belongs to the past, but a continuum between the past and the present of the movement is suggested by the different analyses across the various time periods.

The findings resulting from the present thesis could be further investigated in future research. This analysis was restricted to one country: England. It would be interesting to compare the other newspapers from the other countries present in the SiBol corpus, i.e. India, USA, Hong Kong, Nigeria and the Arab world. It should however been borne in mind that the corpus presents some limitations: it was not possible to extract the full versions of the articles present in it, which restricted the discourse analysis to short text samples. Another corpus would thus be required to conduct in-depth (critical) discourse analyses. Studying the representation of feminism in the media allows us to realise that the issues of feminism are complex and take time. It is however important to understand, without judgement, the exact meaning of the word *feminism*, which is not necessarily a bad thing after all.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: articles from the SiBol corpus by year of publication

Appendix 2: articles from the SiBol corpus by newspaper title

Appendix 3: Top 50 collocates of *feminism* extracted from SiBol-GB (sorted by logDice)

Appendix 4: Top 50 collocates of *feminist* extracted from SiBol-GB (sorted by logDice)

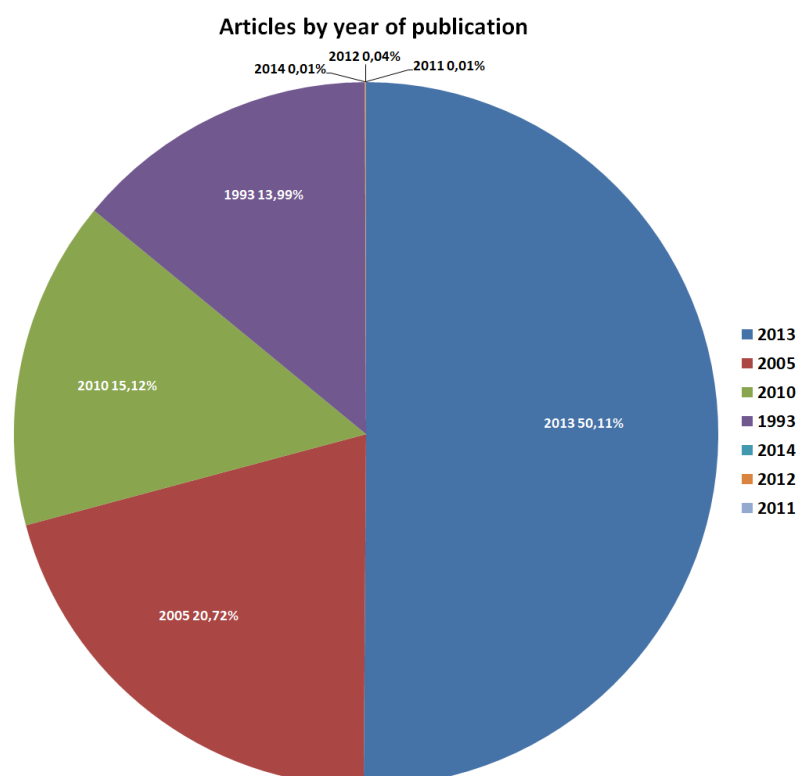
Appendix 5: Top 50 collocates of *feminist movement* extracted from SiBol-GB (sorted by logDice)

Appendix 6: Top 50 collocates of *women's movement* extracted from SiBol-GB (sorted by logDice)

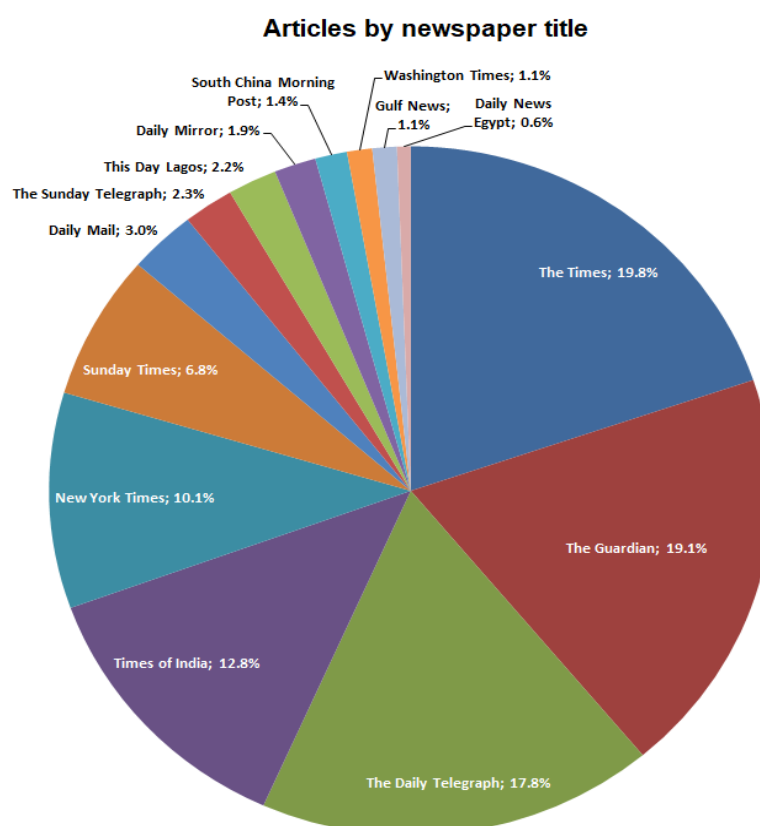
Appendix 7: Top 50 collocates of *women's liberation* extracted from SiBol-GB (sorted by logDice)

Appendix 8: Random samples from newspaper articles extracted from SiBol-GB (sorted by logDice)

Appendix 1: All articles from the SiBol corpus distributed by year of publication



Appendix 2: Articles from the SiBol corpus distributed by newspaper title



Appendix 3: Top 50 collocates of *feminism* extracted from SiBol-GB (sorted by logDice)

	Collocate	logDice
1	feminism	8.59
2	virago	6.96
3	greer	6.90
4	second-wave	6.81
5	sisterhood	6.76
6	shades	6.61
7	rebranding	6.49
8	noughtie	6.42

9	germaine	6.40
10	feminist	6.30
11	natasha	6.29
12	marxism	6.22
13	backlash	6.16
14	utopian	6.13
15	radical	6.08
16	dirty	6.06
17	critique	6.06
18	tenet	5.91
19	f-word	5.87
20	fourth-wave	5.83
21	bra-burning	5.82
22	correctness	5.79
23	egalitarianism	5.72
24	environmentalism	5.71
25	equality	5.71
26	lesbianism	5.70
27	patriarchy	5.69
28	motherhood	5.69
29	strident	5.59
30	activism	5.57
31	third-wave	5.50
32	fifty	5.50
33	seventy	5.47
34	femininity	5.45
35	misogyny	5.42
36	kira	5.41

37	sexism	5.39
38	homosexuality	5.34
39	socialism	5.34
40	wave	5.32
41	espouse	5.29
42	patriarchal	5.28
43	70	5.27
44	emancipation	5.24
45	berry	5.23
46	communism	5.16
47	consumerism	5.12
48	liberate	5.10
49	essentialist	5.09
50	structuralism	5.07

Appendix 4: Top 100 collocates of *feminist* extracted from SiBol-GB (sorted by logDice)

	Collocate	logDice
1	feminist	7.36
2	greer	7.23
3	dworkin	7.28
4	lesbian	6.91
5	strident	6.88
6	germaine	6.86
7	radical	6.86
8	steinem	6.85
9	second-wave	6.49
10	ardent	6.42

11	militant	6.33
12	feminism	6.33
13	herself	6.29
14	enrage	6.28
15	women@guardian.co.uk	6.13
16	faint-hearted	6.11
17	marxist	5.97
18	censorship	5.96
19	andrea	5.92
20	mumsnet	5.89
21	ecologist	5.88
22	gloria	5.84
23	old-school	5.80
24	dungaree	5.71
25	balk	5.67
26	self-identify	5.65
27	anti-pornography	5.64
28	denounce	5.63
29	committed	5.62
30	card-carrying	5.59
31	modern-day	5.52
32	1970	5.51
33	sociologist	5.48
34	feminine	5.46
35	humourless	5.43
36	feisty	5.42

37	theologian	5.42
38	prominent	5.41
39	armpit	5.37
40	naomi	5.36
41	pacifist	5.35
42	dungareed	5.33
43	womanist	5.33
44	bra-burning	5.33
45	self-styled	5.32
46	hippie	5.32
47	man-hating	5.32
48	hardline	5.30
49	anti-feminist	5.30
50	leftwing	5.27

Appendix 5: Top 50 collocates of *feminist movement* extracted from SiBol-GB (sorted by logDice)

	Collocate	logDice
1	second-wave	9.07
2	burgeon	5.34
3	icon	3.74
4	1970	3.36
5	f	2.63
6	within	0.93
7	word	0.67
8	aim	0.58
9	woman	0.30

10	french	-0.17
11	history	-0.19
12	early	-0.43
13	grow	-0.53
14	late	-1.04
15	head	-1.20
16	new	-1.26
17	she	-1.27
18	british	-1.33
19	never	-1.42
20	point	-1.49
21	lead	-1.56
22	become	-1.82
23	because	-1.83
24	her	-1.85
25	which	-1.93
26	its	-2.05
27	such	-2.09
28	well	-2.26
29	know	-2.30
30	give	-2.43
31	of	-2.53
32	:	-2.56
33	the	-2.58
34	like	-2.63
35	by	-2.67

36	also	-2.68
37	"	-2.72
38	an	-2.73
39	that	-2.78
40	as	-2.83
41	out	-2.84
42	first	-2.85
43	in	-3.00
44	year	-3.05
45	have	-3.08
46	there	-3.16
47	be	-3.26
48	if	-3.29
49	for	-3.31
50	a	-3.35

Appendix 6: Top 50 collocates of *women's movement* extracted from SiBol-GB (sorted by logDice)

	Collocate	logDice
1	feminism	4.97
2	70	4.56
3	lesbian	4.16
4	1970	3.76
5	feminist	3.73
6	achievement	2.75
7	activist	2.55

8	1960	2.53
9	movement	1.53
10	imagine	1.29
11	influence	1.22
12	american	1.09
13	kick	1.06
14	woman	0.92
15	remember	0.79
16	mother	0.69
17	involve	0.53
18	strong	0.52
19	modern	0.45
20	effect	0.24
21	history	0.22
22	america	0.11
23	international	0.06
24	sense	0.01
25	fight	-0.05
26	begin	-0.07
27	early	-0.11
28	speak	-0.19
29	issue	-0.27
30	leader	-0.51
31	right	-0.69
32	never	-0.69
33	here	-0.75

34	face	-0.76
35	book	-0.81
36	she	-0.85
37	turn	-0.89
38	far	-0.95
39	great	-0.97
40	late	-1.04
41	way	-1.15
42	country	-1.16
43	while	-1.19
44	still	-1.19
45	since	-1.22
46	start	-1.31
47	by	-1.39
48	become	-1.41
49	first	-1.43
50	long	-1.44

Appendix 7: Top 50 collocates of *women's liberation* extracted from SiBol-GB (sorted by logDice)

	Collocate	logDice
1	movement	5.21
2	feminism	5.01
3	liberation	4.74
4	workshop	3.64
5	1960	2.54

6	conference	2.36
7	equal	2.18
8	magazine	1.57
9	sexual	1.54
10	woman	0.65
11	national	0.51
12	feature	0.42
13	begin	-0.07
14	ever	-0.56
15	die	-0.60
16	first	-0.73
17	far	-0.95
18	hold	-0.96
19	group	-1.24
20	too	-1.35
21	change	-1.49
22	when	-1.63
23	thing	-1.63
24	right	-1.69
25	man	-1.74
26	british	-1.75
27	become	-1.82
28	go	-1.95
29	our	-2.22
30	no	-2.22
31	her	-2.26

32	us	-2.29
33	?	-2.31
34	back	-2.32
35	there	-2.35
36	she	-2.53
37	of	-2.55
38	by	-2.55
39	year	-2.57
40	for	-2.60
41	this	-2.61
42	like	-2.63
43	take	-2.70
44	the	-2.84
45	:	-2.85
46	in	-2.88
47	we	-2.90
48	do	-3.00
49	an	-3.14
50	that	-3.15

Appendix 8: Random samples from newspaper articles extracted from SiBol-GB

Feminism

1. The Guardian, 14 January 2010 - Now Trilogy - an intoxicating celebration of women, **feminism** and the power of nudity - is heading south.
2. The Times, 03 September 2005 - Le Guin was sufficiently careful in her handling of such Sixties issues as **feminism** and drug- taking for the themes not to scream out that they are dated.

3. The Times, 25 November 1993 - Her excited vision of power **feminism** in operation does have just a touch of Never-Never-Land.
4. The Daily Telegraph, 7 January 2013 - Over two decades she expanded the magazine's coverage to include advice about further education and careers, and articles about **feminism** and human rights.
5. The Guardian, 27 July 2010 - I was delighted to read that **feminism** is finding its voice again ('It's not finished, it's not uncool').
6. The Times, 09 January 1993 - That's another novelty in this part of the world, where **feminism** is an unknown factor.
7. Sunday Times, 19 December 1993 - Personally I hate **feminism**.
8. Sunday Times, 16 June 2013 - The 1990s were good for **feminism** because they reintroduced transgressive behaviour.
9. Daily Mail, 30 January 2013 - Women particularly those from the younger generation have never needed **feminism** as much as they do now. In a world where our daughters are bombarded with the message that they are primarily valued as sex objects, they need a new modern **feminism** to reverse the attitude that their looks are the most important thing about them.
10. The Guardian, 20 April 1993 - At the same time, with Hillary Clinton's husband in the White House, a powerful and contagious wind of **feminism** started blowing from America.
11. The Guardian, 16 January 2010 - She must be disappointed, surely, in **feminism** these days - what with all the women who reject the label, or those who interpret it as an excuse to learn pole-dancing, or emulate Katie Price as Jordan, or lose themselves in planning the most ornate of weddings?
12. Sunday Times, 09 January 2005 - But as **feminism** waned, so the programme mellowed, and it is rather less didactic than it was.
13. The Sunday Telegraph, 12 September 1993 - Since the rise of radical **feminism** in the 1970s, Labour has been the feminist party; but only officially.
14. The Daily Telegraph, 10 November 1993 - Unfortunately, **feminism** has failed utterly to liberate women from these chores. It isn't **feminism** that has lightened the domestic burden; it is technology. Hooray for dishwashers, duvets, microwaves, convenience foods, washing machines, tumble-driers, freezers, non-iron clothes and sheets.
15. The Times, 22 December 2010 - But more talking with my daughters about **feminism** became necessary.

16. The Guardian, 8 June 2013 - The plain-speaking **feminism** of Ono's music forms a contrast to her wry art, and here she has given room to Patti Smith (21 Jun), Siouxsie (15 Jun), and Marianne Faithfull (22 Jun).
17. Daily Mail; 10 March 2013 - Politics, in spite of Blair's Babes, remains a macho environment and a recent report entitled Sex And Power 2013: Who Runs Britain? reckons the UK has fallen 37 places internationally since 2001 to joint 60th in the world when it comes to women at the top in public life the law, the city, the civil service, parliament and education. Only one in five MPs is female. That's why **feminism** is still relevant today we haven't even won round one of the battle for true equality.
18. Daily Mail, 29 January 2013 - If Emily Wilding Davison could have known that, 100 years after her death, a woman would achieve all this, perhaps she would have felt her supreme sacrifice was worth it. This is why I wonder what she would make of Mary³⁵'s attitude towards feminism. Because the problem for young women today is not that **feminism** is a dirty word, but that it's a forgotten word as is any notion of self-respect for some.
19. The Times, 6 July 2013 - Do you know what the problem with **feminism** is, in 2013? Sadly, it's the feminists. Time and time again, these women just keep... screwing it up.
20. The Guardian, 25 October 2005 - On the eve of the 21st century, **feminism** is a dirty word. Old- guard feminists have gone gah-gah, obsessed with the rapist in every man, and the rights and wrongs of lipstick. But look closer, writes Walter, and you'll see that feminism is thriving - it just doesn't call itself feminism. And you know what? Men are welcome too. "Now, feminism belongs to men as well as women," she says.

Feminist

21. The Guardian, 14 May 2013 - The movement was actually very diverse, encompassing radical **feminists** and women who worked in traditional political movements, but we were all caricatured.
22. The Times, 3 April 2013 - Beyoncé tells Vogue. "But I guess I am a modern-day **feminist**. I do believe in equality".
23. The Guardian, 23 March 1993 - I'm not a **feminist**, quite the contrary, because it seems to me it's not feminism we need, it's the feminine, it's the woman.

³⁵ It refers to Mary Berry, a British food writer, chef and TV presenter.

24. Sunday Times, 27 January 2013 - I'm not a **feminist**, no.
25. The Daily Telegraph, 13 April 2005 - ANDREA DWORKIN, the American radical **feminist** who has died aged 58, campaigned ferociously against pornography and the abuse of women for almost 40 years; the author of several controversial feminist texts, she dismissed men as moral cretins.
26. The Times, 4 March 2013 - The Seventies **feminists** braved mockery for their dungarees and hairy legs, defying the dolly-bird ideal, dared to be angry, "unfeminine", loud and ugly.
27. The Times, 01 March 1993 - She will never be accused of being a "rabid" **feminist**.
28. The Guardian, 1 January 2010 - In those days, if you were a truly radical feminist you were a lesbian.
29. The Guardian, 8 January 2013 - In 1963, Betty Friedan published *The Feminine Mystique*, uncovering the frustration of a generation of US women, and helping to start the second-wave **feminist movement** that soared in the 1970s.
30. The Guardian, 31 August 2013 - After the achievements of **feminists** in the 1970s, she suggests, there was a period of profound disillusionment.
31. The Guardian, 26 February 2010 - These were the early days of the second-wave **feminist movement** in Britain (the first wave was the suffrage campaign).
32. The Guardian, 12 April 2005 - As Julie Bindel, **feminist** and Dworkin's friend of 10 years, says: "She was the most maligned **feminist** on the planet; she never hated men.
33. The Guardian, 23 February 1993 - I am a **feminist** and respect the right and understand the desire that many single women feel to have a child without the support of a man but that decision brings with it a need for maturity and a strong sense of responsibility.
34. The Times, 7 December 2013 - And later, when I interviewed Cyrus at home, she was no needy, screwed-up, ex-child star but a poised, professional little punk kid in Doc Martens and hoody who told me she was "for sure" a **feminist**, who rages when people assume her male PA must be gay because he works for a woman, and thinks "most music is sexist" with its "We're gonna go out, get drunk and bang a bunch of chicks" message.
35. The Sunday Telegraph, 21 November 1993 - It takes a **feminist** to offend women.
36. The Guardian, 20 June 2005 - It was only well after 1945 that a transformation of the way we look at rape in war began, spearheaded by **feminists** who dared to insist that women's rights were human rights.

37. The Times, 26 April 2005 - Good manners also prevailed at a potentially explosive meeting between the arch **feminist** Germaine Greer and an audience of gynaecologists, says Hospital Doctor (April 21).
38. The Guardian, 10 March 2005 - After September 11, American evangelical preachers even claimed that the events were a punishment for the behaviour of **feminists** and other deviants.
39. The Guardian, 22 October 1993 - But the whole point is that everyone was not happy. Some women were not happy at all. So those nasty **feminists** put a spanner in the works by saying such crazy things as "no means no" when everyone knows that girls always say no until you make them say yes.
40. The Times, 1 March 2010 – “When I used to be a **feminist**, I never dreamed that parameters of female beauty would actually get narrower,” she said. Used to be a feminist? “Ah yes,” she shrugged. “Nowadays there is no such thing”.

Feminist movement

41. The Times, 6 June 2005 - It is easy to see why Kahlo became the heroine of a burgeoning 1970s **feminist movement**.
42. The Times, 31 December 2010 - The image was picked up in the 1970s by the **feminist movement**, which transformed the former parttime factory worker into an icon who inspired generations of women.
43. The Daily Telegraph, 31 January 2013 - We are marking this year the 50th anniversary of Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique*, a book that's credited with launching the modern **feminist movement** in 1963.
44. Sunday Times, 18 December 2005 - Launched alongside it was *Are Men Necessary?*, by Maureen Dowd, who believes that the original **feminist movement** was a "cruel hoax" that did nothing to change the balance of power.
45. The Times, 23 March 2010 – [...] the head of France's post-war **feminist movement** at a time, in the early 1980s, when feminists thought that they were on the point of overturning a patriarchal society. But then it all went wrong. Rather than continuing the struggle for equality, younger women have returned home to place themselves at the service of their children, she says.

46. The Guardian, 17 August 2013 - It's hard not to read this 1963 Wonder Woman cover, included in Taschen's new DC Comics compendium, as an allegory for the **feminist movement**.
47. Sunday Times, 07 March 1993 - I do believe we are in a post-feminist period. "The **feminist movement** as it was is dead, is almost redundant.
48. The Guardian, 10 December 2013 - Through it black feminists have been able to point out the failures of the wider **feminist movement** - which lie in its continual failure to capture and reflect the extreme differences in how women live their lives.
49. The Guardian, 25 November 2013 - In ridiculing the way women were portrayed in the media, the ethos of the blog could be said to be feminist, but I didn't really know anything about the modern **feminist movement**, what it entailed, and where my place in it might be; we just got on with it. Indeed, one of the great things about this new wave of female activism is that women no longer feel they have to subscribe to a whole checklist of ideas before becoming involved; they focus on what's closest to their hearts, whether that's Page 3 or everyday sexism or violence against women.
50. The Sunday Telegraph, 7 February 1993 - The **feminist movement** generates an immense amount of illogicality and hysteria - even cruelty and aggression, being led, as it often is, by those least happy in the traditional female role, the ugly, the unpleasant, the rejected.
51. The Times, 13 March 1993 - "The problem with the **feminist movement** is that women were told to demagnetise their sexual power.
52. The Sunday Telegraph, 09 May 1993 - After the Senate hearings, Ms Hill went on to become a totemic figure of the **feminist movement**.
53. The Daily Telegraph, 30 January 1993 - Eleanor Roosevelt 'might have become one of the first heroes of the new **feminist movement** as it emerged in the 1970s . . .' To achieve this goal requires the author to claim new sources, unexplored documents and a broad conspiracy that has been hiding ER's secret life: . . . works and words were in the hands of sons and surrogate sons who rarely sought to address or even recognize the complex relationships of very complex lives.
54. The Guardian, 12 December 2013 - She had been a fiery socialist orator and the founder of Paraguay's first **feminist movement** in the 1940s.
55. Sunday Times, 6 June 2013 - In the process I noticed a curious parallel between the 1910s and modern times: the verve and resolve of Emily and her suffragette comrades

appear to have become talismanic of the new wave of women who are reinvigorating the **feminist movement** today.

56. Daily Mail, 8 March 2013 - IS THIS THE DEATH OF FEMINISM? MOST young women strongly object to being called a feminist - and say that they like men, say state-funded researchers. In fact, they believe that the aims of the **feminist movement** have all but been achieved in the Western world. Rather than supporting a movement for new rights and equality, they admire the notion of femininity.
57. The Times, 25 October 2005 - Exactly 30 years ago Icelandic women began a strike that became a milestone for the international **feminist movement**.
58. Sunday Times, 28 April 2013 - The golden age of the bicycle, the 1890s, coincided with rather than instigated the **feminist movement**, but it undoubtedly played a part in the long fight for women's emancipation.
59. The Guardian, 14 October 2013 - And I can remember being very aware of the feminist movement in the 80s; Andrea Dworkin, people like that, who were incredibly ferocious.
60. The Times, 22 January 2005 - And I wish that even a small number of those who chortled in many column-inches over Greer's misfortunes in the Big Brother house had instead picked up The Female Eunuch and rediscovered that critical moment in the history of the **feminist movement** and Greer's importance within it.

Women's movement

61. The Guardian, 29 January 2005 - Woolf would have read Cassandra when it was published in 1928 as an appendix to The Cause, the history of the British **women's movement** by Ray Strachey, a leading suffragist (and, ironically, sister-in-law of Lytton Strachey whose Eminent Victorians, a decade earlier, had rocked the sentimental, plaster saint, image of the "Lady with the Lamp").
62. The Guardian, 28 October 2010 - For those of us who were born in the 60s and came of age in the 70s, and remember the **women's movement** - I mean, my God, birth control wasn't legal in the US until 1965, I think. That's insane! And there are girls today who don't know that.
63. The Sunday Telegraph, 25 April 1993 - More or less asexual, funny, vulgar, impulsive, warm-hearted, completely fearless, she would make a more amiable leader of the **women's movement** nowadays than Andrea Dworkin.

64. The Guardian, 11 February 2013 - Mary and her then partner, Elizabeth Wilson, were active in building the UK Gay Liberation Front, [...] in the autumn of 1970. [...]. Later their attentions turned towards creating bridges between the **women's movement** and the lesbian movement. In the 1970s she was engaged in setting up the journals Economy and Society and Feminist Review.
65. The Guardian, 20 October 1993 - It's disheartening that, 30 years after the current women's movement began, this problem is still not being addressed.
66. The Sunday Telegraph, 30 October 2005 - Almost four decades after Betty Friedan helped to launch the modern **women's movement** with The Feminine Mystique, a strange reversal is taking place.
67. The Guardian, 21 June 1993 - Bill Clinton has nominated a woman, Judge Ruth Ginsburg, to the United States Supreme Court. At last women are taking the leadership roles fought for so long: three cheers for the triumphs of the women's movement. But, on closer inspection, should women actually be weeping, even screaming, in despair? Not one of these three women is a "feminist", and none is wedded to women's issues.
68. The Guardian, 12 February 2005 - Within academia, and in spite of the **women's movement**, the barriers against women have always been higher in science.
69. The Times, 08 September 2005 - At the same time I was influenced by the **Women's Movement** (this was in the early 1970s) and considering the possibility that having a man in one's life might not be such a great idea anyway.
70. The Daily Telegraph, 9 March 2010 - Somewhere during the Eighties and Nineties, the **women's movement** was driven into the ground by its own success and bossiness.
71. The Guardian, 08 January 2005 - In the 70s, the **women's movement** tried to put the issue of sexuality aside, because they were trying to get other things accomplished; things like abortion rights and more political issues.
72. Daily Mirror, 25 May 2013 - THE suffragette mown down by the King's horse at the 1913 Epsom Derby is an iconic image of the **women's movement**.
73. Daily Mail, 5 November 2013 - Femen describe themselves as an international **women's movement** of brave topless female activists painted with slogans and crowned with flowers'. That's nice. I would describe them as a bunch of silly girls waving their boobs about'. In the serious fight for equality, Femen are about as credible as a troupe of Playboy bunnies. What they do isn't feminism: it's self-serving political pornography.
74. The Guardian, 08 March 1993 - A blossoming **women's movement** was beginning to distinguish the line between liberation and manipulation.

75. The Times, 26 February 1993 - It was, she says, "joyous madness" to start on such a project, "which was borne out of a particular phase of the **women's movement** and my involvement in it," she says.
76. The Guardian, 8 March 2005 - With the current US administration, a lively international **women's movement** with a good strong kick couldn't be needed more.
77. The Daily Telegraph, 19 November 1993 - Jill wrote a vivid column in the Guardian in the Seventies, the high time of the **women's movement**, followed by the fictionalised Letters From a Faint-hearted Feminist that became a television series.
78. The Sunday Telegraph, 31 January 1993 - IN THIS wild and often very funny satire, Sidney Pyke, a sometime Sixties student activist, now Professor of Media Studies at a commercially-dominated provincial university, finds himself faced by the militant ranks of the feminist movement. Sidney is a lecher, seducing not unwilling students, and it comes as no real surprise that he is charged with rape by his most doughty female opponents. His cause is not helped by the fact that his wife is a glamorous television personality of the sort derided by parts of the **women's movement**.
79. The Guardian, 27 April 1993 - No matter how much women have achieved career-wise, and financially, and in terms of the **women's movement**, they still get girly and silly about a wedding dress.
80. The Guardian, 08 January 2005 - In fact, I'd go as far as to say this is, and always has been, one of the great flaws of the **women's movement**, a certain shyness about expecting individual women to account for themselves.

Women's liberation

81. Sunday Times, 27 February 2005 - WHEN Anil Srivastav, a financier, faced his wife in a New Delhi court yesterday for the final hearing to end their seven-year marriage, he knew where to pin the blame for the breakdown: **women's liberation**.
82. The Times, 26 October 1993 - So much that is good and right about **women's liberation** has still to anchor itself securely in popular thought.
83. The Guardian, 06 May 2005 - Celebrity feminism has not advanced but has greatly set back the cause of **women's liberation**.

84. The Sunday Telegraph, 17 January 1993 - Yet the gymslip was in the vanguard of **women's liberation**.
85. The Guardian, 14 October 2013 - The current crisis affords the chance to pick up its thread once more, reconnecting the dream of **women's liberation** with the vision of a solidary society.
86. The Guardian, 05 February 2005 - But there are passionate accounts here of all the life-saving campaigns of the Irish **Women's Liberation** Movement, on rape and abortion and domestic violence, and some wonderfully comic set pieces, such as her account of the historic "Contraceptive Train" into Dublin.
87. The Times, 22 December 2005 - In the first wave of **women's liberation**, Germaine Greer and her sisters defined consumerism as just another face of patriarchal oppression, a way of tricking the powerless housewife into servicing the capitalist machine.
88. The Guardian, 29 April 2013 - From the barefoot ecstasies of Isadora Duncan, whose free, expressive dancing struck a blow against the corseted rigours of classical ballet, to the collective "jazzing" of the 1920s, dance came to play a surprisingly emblematic role in the story of **women's liberation**.
89. The Guardian, 9 March 2013 - When we started the first **women's liberation** groups in 1969, we had a list of demands for abortion rights, equal pay, nurseries. But there was something deeper, a desire to transform daily life, personal relationships, and culture, which was much harder to express.
90. Daily Mail, 15 March 2013 - The man she accused of raping her, meanwhile, is understood to have been suspended from the party for two years for sexist and improper behaviour. He has apparently been encouraged to read up on **women's liberation** as part of his rehabilitation. His reading list is said to include the works of Lindsey German, a former Mayor of London candidate, and author of *Material Girls: Women, Men And Work*. Presumably, he will be eligible to return to the fold once he has completed his rehabilitation. Could anyone, if tasked, come up with a better way of trivialising rape?
91. The Guardian, 16 April 2010 - "It is religious extremism, she believes, that is the biggest threat to **women's liberation** today".
92. Daily Mail, 16 April 2013 - To clarify: of course, I'm beyond fiercely Girl Power. I believe women can do anything we want, just as well (if not - let's be honest - much better) than men. I believe in **women's liberation** and equal rights.

93. The Guardian, 15 March 1993 - SPARE RIB feminist magazine was closed down by the liquidators two weeks ago. The once loud, widely-read unifier of the British **women's liberation** movement died secretly and furtively.
94. The Guardian, 31 July 1993 - The effect of **women's liberation** seems to be to create a group of men whom women would want, but who wouldn't dream of chatting them up.
95. The Sunday Telegraph, 13 November 2005 - "The second for its cheek: **Women's liberation** is a-going to your head / Get your biscuits in the oven and your buns in the bed.
96. Sunday Times, 31 July 2005 - Senator Mary Robinson was one of the first to campaign for a change in the legislation while the Irish **Women's Liberation** Movement travelled to Belfast on "the contraceptive train" daring customs officers to arrest them for importing condoms.
97. The Guardian, 11 December 2013 - This movement follows the first-wave campaign for votes for women, which reached its height 100 years ago, the second wave **women's liberation** movement that blazed through the 1970s and 80s, and the third wave declared by Rebecca Walker, Alice Walker's daughter, and others, in the early 1990s.
98. The Guardian, 8 July 1993 - The politics of 1970s **women's liberation** was far more lesbian-centred in the US than in the UK.
99. The Daily Telegraph, 10 March 2005 - "Franklin's transcendent performance transformed Redding's demand for respect in the domestic arena into both an anthem for the nascent **women's liberation** movement, and a clarion call for black rights, leading Ebony magazine to declare the civil rights summer of 1967 as "the summer of 'Retha, Rap [Brown] and Revolt' ".
100. The Guardian, 26 February 2010 - This was the occasion of the first ever National **Women's Liberation** Conference, which took place at Ruskin College, Oxford, between 27 February and 1 March 1970.

