Emilie Portås Anderssen

"FEMINISM FOR THE MIDDLE-CLASS WHITE WOMEN"

A quantitative media analysis on representation of feminism in Norwegian news media January – December 2019.

Bachelor's project in Sosiologi (BSOS)

Supervisor: Lisa Reutter

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Bachelor in Sociology SOS2900

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ABSTRACT

English:

The last few years, the feminist movement has become more active and attracted a lot of attention in the mainstream media, with global protests like the #metoo campaign and the 2017 Women's March. However, previous research on the representation of feminism in British and German newspapers show that articles about feminism is mainly negative (Jaworska & Krishnamurthy, 2012) as well as focusing on matters catering to middle-class white women (Jonsson, 2014). This dissertation will examine how feminism is portrayed in the two Norwegian newspapers *Aftenposten* and *VG* during the year of 2019. It will also look at how a majority of articles still use arguments based on Second Wave ideals, and thus differ to the general ideals of Third Wave feminism and Intersectionality.

Norsk:

De siste årene har feministbevegelsen blitt mer aktiv og tiltrukket seg mye medieoppmerksomhet, med globale protester som # metoo-kampanjen og den verdensomspennende kvinnemarsjen i 2017. Selv om feministbevegelsen har blitt mer synlig i media, viser tidligere forskning på representasjon av feminisme i britiske og tyske aviser at artikler om feminisme hovedsakelig er negative (Jaworska & Krishnamurthy, 2012) i tillegg til å fokusere på forhold som passer best for hvite kvinner i middelklassen (Jonsson, 2014). Denne bacheloroppgaven vil undersøke hvordan feminisme blir fremstilt i de to norske avisene *Aftenposten* og *VG* i løpet av året 2019. Den vil også se på hvordan artikler fremdeles bruker argumenter basert på idealer forbundet med "den andre bølgen" av feminisme, og dermed skiller seg fra de generelle idealene til den tredje bølgen og idealer forbundet med interseksjonalitet.

Key words: feminism, feminist theory, intersectionality, media content, representation

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Emilie, May 2020

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND & WHY IT MATTERS

The last few years, the feminist movement has become increasingly more active and attracted a lot of attention in mainstream media, with global protests such as the #metoo campaign and the 2017 Women's March. In Norway there have been several televised debates, TV-shows and discussion around feminism as well as protests during the international women's day. In the media, Ulrikke Falch has become especially prominent as a spokesperson for feminism in Norway, which in itself has sparked many debates. In 2019, Falch worked together with NRK to create a show all about feminism, where she tried convincing high school students at Mysen High School that they should call themselves feminist. Many students expressed that they did not want to call themselves feminist, often because feminism was seen as a movement which were only for the angry women and the lack of diversity of prominent voices (NRK, 2019). Falch's prominence in the media's portrayal of feminism, made several people more distrustful of the movement in itself as they did not always agree with her personally (NRK, 2019). Further debates have been held on this topic, with one article in the newspaper *Bodø Nu* sparking my interest, thus becoming an inspiration for this dissertation:

"Feministbevegelsen har ikke godt av at det kun er ett forbilde som styrer flokken på denne måten. Bevegelsen har behov for mangfold, representasjon, og ulike synspunkt. Et feminist-ikon kan engasjere, men et mangfold av sterke personligheter som på saklig måte oppfordrer til handling vil skape den positive endringen vi trenger." (Skaret, 2018).

This statement was especially interesting as it included a wish for a more diverse representation within the feminist movement, something that long has been a cause for the Third Wave feminist movement and Intersectional feminism. From a societal perspective it becomes interesting to look whether or not articles talking about diversity and change is something that is becoming more popular in the media, especially with the growing attention on feminism. The feminist movement has been an integral part of developing many of the aspects of our society today, but there are still changes within the movement that are not seen in the majority of the portrayal in the media, as will be seen in the previous research in chapter two of this dissertation.

It is also interesting to see how Norwegian news media have chosen to portray feminism in wake of the growing interest for feminism in the public. Again, looking at the show *F-ordet* (NRK, 2019) with Ulrikke Falch, makes it apparent that feminism in Norway here is portrayed as a mainly white centred movement. In one episode, Falch wanted to include more diversity in hopes of getting more of the high school students to see that feminism could be something for them, and decides to invite four other Norwegian celebrities to show more diversity. However, when in what was meant to be a diverse group of feminists, three out of the four invited were white women and the last person was a black man (NRK, 2019). This was an intriguing point of discussion and further fuelled the drive of this dissertation in the wanting to examine how other parts of the media choose to portray feminism as well.

The representation of feminism in the media is also interesting to look at from a sociological perspective as feminism is an important theory in social sciences that is still developing. Diversity has been one of the main focal points in third-wave feminism (Lengermann & Niebrugge, 2018:436), but is still not as present in media representation. Feminist activism like the protests in Latin America by the Ni Una Menos movement is virtually invisible in Norwegian media. This distinction between the focus on diversity in the Third Wave of feminism and the media image portrayed is something that was well put into words by Laurie Penny in her book "Unspeakable Things: Sex, Lies and Revolution":

"The feminism that has mattered to the media and made the magazine headlines in recent years has been the feminism most useful to heterosexual, high-earning middle-and upper-middle class white women. Public 'career feminists' have been more concerned with getting more women into 'boardrooms', when the problem is that there are altogether too many boardrooms, and none of them are on fire." (Penny, 2014:12).

Media content, such as newspaper articles, has a lot of influence on how people see certain things. An image of feminism built to fit the feminism most useful to a certain group of women, as mentioned by Penny, are thus damaging to the part of the feminist movement focused on intersectionality and diverse representation. This dissertation will therefore look at how Norwegian newspapers are either reproducing or challenging these images, and try to get an overview of some of the major trends related to portraying feminism in Norwegian news media.

1.2 THESIS STATEMENT AND PURPOSE

The purpose of this dissertation is to get a better understanding of how different newspapers in Norway works to represent feminism and the people belonging to this movement. Are we following the newer ideals of third wave feminism and intersectionality, or are the articles presented to us still focusing on second wave matters? This dissertation will look at how relevant feminism is to Norwegian newspapers, and whether or not the current media climate is giving a diverse and equal platform to intersectional feminist debates.

For this dissertation, the thesis statement is made up of two main questions regarding the Norwegian news media and the representation of feminism.

Q1: How is feminism portrayed in the Norwegian news media?

Q2: How does the representation in the news differ from the ideals of intersectionality?

To find answers to these questions one must look at the Norwegian news media through a quantitative media content analysis. For this dissertation, all relevant articles in *Aftenposten* and *VG* in the year of 2019 was coded and analysed in relations to the questions above. The proper explanation of this study will be given in chapter three, with the results and discussion following after.

1.3 ORGANIZATION OF THIS DISSERTATION

This dissertation is made up of seven main chapters. The purpose of this dissertation is to look at the representation of feminism in Norwegian newspapers, and seeks to answer the questions *How is feminism portrayed in the Norwegian newspapers* and *how does the representation in the news differ from the ideals of intersectionality?* These are complex questions, and is thus broken up into several hypotheses which are all presented in chapter two along with the relevant theory.

Chapter two presents both media theory about representation and theory about feminism as a movement and feminist theory. Following these two theoretical fields is a subsection about previous research done on feminism in the media, to explore how other people have looked at the matter of this dissertation. Chapter three seeks to explain the chosen methodology of this dissertation, as well as showing the codebook used to categorise each article used for this

dissertation. Chapter four then shows the results of the research process, and presents the most relevant tables to answer the hypotheses from chapter two. To answer the two main questions, we must look at chapter five and six, where each question is discussed in depth in their own chapter. The last chapter is the conclusion, which offers the concluding remarks of this dissertation as well as suggesting points for further research.

All references used for the dissertation is listed in chapter 8. As well as these eight chapters, there are two appendixes showing the complete codebook (appendix 1) and the coding of the whole sample of the study. These are included to show full transparency to the reader, and can be looked at to see how all the research for the dissertation was done.

2. THEORY

The goal of this dissertation is to get a better understanding of the representation of feminism in Norwegian media, and to see whether or not the representation we get follows the ideals of third wave feminism and intersectionality. To understand this, I have chosen to situate the paper within both media theory and feminism, as well as looking more in depth at previous research within the field of media theory about feminism. This will provide the theoretical background needed to discuss the results of the quantitative content analysis that will be conducted as well as help guide the process of creating a well thought out codebook.

2.1 MEDIA THEORY

When it comes to media theory, a lot has been done to show how creators of media content often create and maintain social inequalities that exists on the basis of cultural identity, such as race, gender, class and sexual orientation (Croteau & Hoynes, 2018:226). One reason as to why there is such a difference between media representation and the real world might be the overweight of white-middle class men in the controlling parts of the media business (Croteau & Hoynes, 2018:226). This sub-chapter will try to explain why media theory and content analysis is important, by showing the significance content and show how media has created and maintained sexist stereotypes.

2.1.1The significance of content

All media content has some potential social significance (Croteau & Hoynes, 2018:227) whether it is fiction or nonfiction. All media content is the result of several processes of selection where certain parts of reality are being highlighted while others are neglected, something that results in a specific point of representation for each piece of media (Croteau & Hoynes, 2018:226-227). There are five main ways in which the significance of media content can be assessed by linking the content to either producers, audience interests, society in general, audience effects or to the content independent of any context (Croteau & Hoynes, 2018:229). For this dissertation, the main focus will be on content as a reflection of the social world and its influence over the audience.

Media content, such as the news articles in this dissertation, might show different aspects of society in general. What is seen in the content can tell the researcher something about social norms, values and the current interests of our society, though much research must be done to

properly assess how the content reflects our society in general (Croteau & Hoynes, 2018:229). Thus, it is not possible for this dissertation to draw any generalisations about the links to our society as a whole, but it is possible to show how the sample used may show some possible tendencies of societal norms and values.

Researchers might also look at the links between media content and any potential effects on the audience that consumes said content (Croteau & Hoynes, 2018:230). If an audience is constantly being showed the same stereotypes and nothing to contest this view, the media content might affect the individual's perception to also maintain this stereotype (Croteau & Hoynes, 2018:230). This is again a difficult task, but is important to take into account when talking about why we should study media content.

2.1.2 Gender portrayal and symbolic annihilation

One example of representation in media content is the portrayal of women in mainstream media. Early media portrayal of women started off as simple and blatantly stereotypical (Croteau & Hoynes, 2018: 246). However, as the media industry and society in general started to feel the influence of feminism and the women's rights movement, media content started to change to include a wider array of women in the media (Croteau & Hoynes, 2018: 246). Nevertheless, studies show that there are still sexist practices in the media, where women are still less likely to be prominently featured in media products, and when they are featured the content still often lean on gender stereotypes (Croteau & Hoynes, 2018: 247). Whereas men are still more likely to be portrayed in powerful and in terms to their work-related activities, women are shown to be focused on family, romance and friendship (Croteau & Hoynes, 2018: 247-248).

Feminist media theory also highlights what is called "the symbolic annihilation of women" when looking at the representation of women in mainstream media. This theory speaks of how underrepresentation and stereotypical portrayal of women in the mass media symbolically capture women's lack of power in society (Tuchman, 1979:533). Tuchman explains this further by saying that "just as representation in the media signifies social existence, so too underrepresentation and (by extension) trivialization and condemnation indicate symbolic annihilation" (Tuchman, 1979:533). An example being used is how the media handled the increasing number of women in the workforce. Instead of increase the

media portrayal of women in the labour force, the media chose to discredit of undercut the coverage on this topic (Tuchman, 1979:533). This theory shows how important the lack of representation can be when looking at media content, and sexism can work in ways we do not expect at first when looking at media content. For this dissertation, it will be an interesting point to look at when analysing the results found in the process of data gathering.

2.2 FEMINISM AND INTERSECTIONALITY

Feminism as we know it today sprung up as a movement in the late 1960s and 70s. However, there are evidence of Feminist movements as far back as the late 1700s, with the French Revolution working as a basis of modern day feminism and inspiring the first modern feminist text *Vindication of the Rights of Women* written in 1792 by Mary Wollstonecraft (Osborne 2001:7, Sanders 2001:16).

Before delving deeper into the topic of feminism, it is important to draw the differences between "feminism" and "feminist theory" into attention. Whereas the term feminism is talking about the ongoing movement which we are doing research on, feminist theory is the established theoretical field that we use as a tool to do research with.

2.2.1 Overview and the waves of feminism

Feminist theory is a generalized and wide-ranging system of ideas giving a perspective on social life that is centred around the experiences of women ¹(Lengermann & Niebrugge, 2018:433). Feminism works to address the inequality between men and women, and the social world from the perspective of women (Lengermann & Niebrugge, 2018:433). To explain and understand how feminism has changed as a movement, different periods of feminist mobilization has been divided into the three "waves" of feminism.

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¹ One central discussion within Feminist theory, especially when pairing it up with sociology, is the discussion of the usage of the two terms "sex" and "gender" (Ritzer & Stepnisky, 2018:436-437). Here, "sex" refers to the biological traits you are born with and is categorized as "male" and "female", while "gender" is seen as a social construct and uses the categories "man" and "woman" (Giddens, Dunier, Appelbaum & Carr, 2014:259-260). It is important to be aware of the divide between the biological "sex" as something which you are born with, and the social "gender" as something you learn from the people around you and the norms and stereotypes present in our society. For this dissertation I choose to use the term "gender" as I believe that this term is more fitting when researching feminism and its portrayal.

The First Wave of feminism has its basis in the British and American suffragette movements (Lengermann & Niebrugge, 2018:434). This wave is often said to start in the 1830s and end with women getting the right to vote in the 1920s. First Wave feminism is said to be an offshoot of the antislavery movement, with main issues of the movement was the struggle women went through for political rights, especially the right to vote (Lengermann & Niebrugge, 2018:435).

Following this, the Second Wave encompasses many of the theories we know and think of when thinking of mainstream feminism. The timeframe of this wave is approximately from the 1960s to the 1990s, and focused much on translating the basic rights women got during the First Wave into more economic and social equality between women and men (Lengermann & Niebrugge, 2018:435-436). With this wave, the concept of gender became more prominent as feminist writing tried to reconceptualise the relations between women and men by using the concept of gender (Lengermann & Niebrugge, 2018:435-436). Main issues of this wave includes, but are not limited to, the education of women on the nature of their oppression (Curtis, 2018:355), sexual liberation and reproductive rights (Thornham, 2001:29-30) and equal opportunities, including legal and financial independence (Osborne, 2001). The reconceptualization of the word gender as a social construct also worked to include more focus on how men could be a part of feminism, however the differences between women were not fully discussed yet and did not become a central focal point until the Third Wave.

2.2.2 Third Wave feminism

During the Third Wave, identity became the basis for many of the issues discussed, and a new definition of the movement was offered by bell hooks (2000:33); "Feminism as a movement to end sexist oppression directs our attention to systems of domination and the interrelatedness of sex, race, and class oppression." One of the basic questions in modern feminist theory is one about inclusivity, and asks "What about the differences between women?" (Lengermann & Niebrugge, 2018:434). This question works to enlighten people about how the inequality and invisibility that is often present in a woman's life is affected by several social aspects, including but not limited to, class, race, age, marital status, religion, ethnicity or sexuality (Lengermann & Niebrugge, 2018:434). Bell hooks was a prominent voice during the Third Wave, who talked about the lack of inclusivity in the earlier feminist movements, and offered a new way to see race and gender in feminist theory:

"The assumption that we can divorce the issue of race from sex, or sex from race, has so clouded the vision of American thinkers and writers on the "woman" question that most discussions of sexism, sexist oppression, or woman's place in society are distorted, biased, and inaccurate." (hooks, 1981:12).

Hooks also ends this part of her writing in a wish for women to come together and form a collective feminist movement, where women could work together towards gender equality. Critical responses from several marginalized groups became the building blocks for much of the Third Wave (Lengermann & Niebrugge, 2018:436). Some years later, this would become a central part of third wave feminism, with terms such as "intersectionality" being introduced.

2.2.3 Intersectionality

Kimberlé Crenshaw first coined the term "Intersectionality" in 1989 to examine how different parts of your cultural identity can intersect and lead to multiple levels of discrimination (Crenshaw, 1989). Crenshaw focused especially on the intersection of race and gender in her work, to show how Black women often meet several levels of discrimination due to their identity in social justice causes. The term was also made as a reaction to how feminist theory saw race and gender as exclusive terms that did not overlap, thus resulting in the exclusion of black feminists (Crenshaw, 1989). Later she also learned of other causes that made her develop this term to include other socially marginalized people;

"I would go on to learn that African- American women, like other women of colour, like other socially marginalized people all over the world were facing all kinds of dilemmas and challenges as a consequence of intersectionality, intersections of race and gender, of heterosexism, transphobia, xenophobia, ableism, all of these social dynamics come together and create challenges that are sometimes quite unique" (Crenshaw 2016).

This meaning of the term, which includes more parts of one's cultural identity, is what is mostly used today when talking about intersectionality. While all women might experience some form of oppression due to their gender, women are also differentially oppressed by the varied intersections of other arrangements of social inequality (Lengermann & Niebrugge,

2018:457). To further illustrate this, Figure 2.1 has been included to give a visual explanation of how these different social aspects may overlap to create several layers of discrimination.

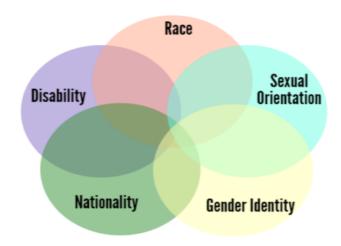


Figure 2.1 Intersectionality

Intersectionality is, as mentioned, an essential term to show inclusion and diversity when discussing the topic of identity. Thus, it has become a central focus of many third wave feminists debates and writings, especially in modern day debates. This dissertation wants to acknowledge this importance by looking at how Norwegian newspapers have implemented this term, and whether or not it has a central place in the representation of feminism in the Norwegian news media.

2.3 PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Several studies have looked at representation in media content, with a focus on feminism.

Two studies have been chosen especially for this dissertation, and will help guide the coding process as well as being relevant points of comparison in chapter five and six.

The first example of previous research is a paper by Terese Jonsson (2014) which conducted a close reading of articles from the left-leaning British newspaper *The Guardian*. Jonsson focuses on the issues related to race and whiteness in feminism, and show how the articles she analyses shape and reproduce the dominant trends of centring white women as the rightful subjects of feminism in British feminism (Jonsson, 2014:1013). In her research Jonsson found what she calls three "common sense" narrative. The first narrative pattern was an emphasis on the continuity of the contemporary feminist activism with those of the

Second Wave (Jonsson, 2014:1019). A second narrative shows how *The Guardian* prioritises feminism framed as a community, with a strong emphasis on unity and sameness over any mention or recognition of difference, thus erasing any narrative pointing out the exclusion of women due to their race or class (Jonsson, 2014:1020-1021). The last narrative is a tendency towards framing feminist activity as "happy" feminism, by showing an idealised representation of feminist activism, again erasing any possibility to name issues such as racism within the feminist movement (Jonsson, 2014:1022-1023).

With these three narratives, Jonsson shows how British newspapers such as *The Guardian* are still mainly using whiteness when defining feminism in the mainstream media, not focusing much on diversity, and trying to create a picture of feminism that will continue to cater to the white middle-class woman.

Another interesting article examines press discourse about feminism in German and British newspapers from 1990 to 2009 (Jaworska & Krishnamurthy, 2012). The study shows that the media tend to marginalise and trivialise feminism (Jaworska & Krishnamurthy, 2012:405). Jaworska and Krishnamurthy (2012:409) found that feminism was frequently used in British elite newspapers such as *The Guardian* and *The Times*, but was not an issue discussed much in the tabloid newspapers. It is highlighted that there has been a decline of articles posted on the subject of feminism, showing the significant marginalisation of the movement (Jaworska & Krishnamurthy, 2012:414). This study also emphasises how the discourse regarding the term feminism tends to be rather negative (Jaworska & Krishnamurthy, 2012:416, 424) or questioning what feminism really is (Jaworska & Krishnamurthy, 2012:416-418). As well as this, it is reported that feminism in terms of social activism, has moved over to the domains of academia, literature and arts (Jaworska & Krishnamurthy, 2012:424). Finally, an interesting quote mentions how articles often tend to criticise the feminists in themselves, rather than discuss feminist causes: "In both texts, feminism is depicted as a movement represented by quarrelsome women who criticise other women, while true feminist concerns, such as work-motherhood balance or pay gap, are only mentioned in passing, or not at all" (Jaworska & Krishnamurthy, 2012:423).

2.4 SUMMARY AND HYPOTHESES

To sum up, media content analysis is important as media content can say much about our society and the influence content can have on an audience. As the previous studies by

Jonsson (2014) and Jaworska and Krishnamurthy (2012) show, the ways feminism is portrayed in the media is often biased and based on certain stereotypes. Negative portrayal, or a portrayal that mainly centres white women as the subject of feminism, might affect the audience and result in a skewed image of feminism.

Some hypotheses were developed to break down the thesis statements from chapter one, and to make the research process more accessible. These hypotheses are all anchored in the relevant theory given and the previous research done in this field. Research question one, how is feminism portrayed in the Norwegian news media, has been broken down into three hypotheses (H1-H3). Research question two, how does the representation in the news differ from the ideals of intersectionality? has been broken down into one hypotheses (H4). These hypotheses and the relevant results found will all be discussed in depth in chapter five and six of the dissertation.

- H1: The media portrayal of feminism is mainly negative.
- H2: Mostly women write about feminism.
- H3: Articles on feminism focus mainly on equal pay or the sphere of arts and culture.
- H4: Most articles will not include an intersectional perspective.

These hypotheses were taken into account while planning out the design of the study, especially in the making of the codebook, as will be seen in chapter three.

3. METHOD

So far we have looked at the importance of media content and various theories on feminism. These theories were then used to create several hypotheses that would help form the research process and give guidance when it comes to the thesis statement questions. In this chapter, the focus is to show how all data material was gathered, and the different codes that were made to properly conduct the study.

3.1 DESIGN

The chosen design for this study is a quantitative content analysis, using articles from two different Norwegian newspapers. For this dissertation 48 articles were chosen for the sample, giving a picture of the media representation spanning the whole of 2019. The articles were taken from two newspapers; Aftenposten and VG, where all relevant articles from 1st January to 31st December 2019 was read and coded. All articles were coded by one person, and the coding process was done in Excel at first, then cleaned up and moved to Word.

The keywords used to find articles were the Norwegian terms "feminist" and "feminisme". These keywords were chosen to include both articles about people who are seen as being a feminist as well as articles about feminism as a movement. This will give a good overview of how Norwegian media sees feminism as a movement and some of those who belongs to this movement

3.2 THE NEWSPAPERS

The newspapers chosen for this dissertation are *Aftenposten* and *VG*. These two were chosen as they represent two different kinds of newspapers; *Aftenposten* being categorized as elite press and *VG* being categorized as popular press.

The webpage Medienorge (2020a, 2020b) was used to decide which newspapers would be most relevant by looking at the lists of readership for print and online newspapers. The readership for print is based on numbers from 2018 (Medienorge, 2020a), while the online newspapers are based on numbers from 2017 (Medienorge, 2020b). By looking at these numbers *Aftenposten* and *VG* stood out in both categories as the two most popular newspapers from each category. As two of the most popular newspapers, this choice will be interesting to get an insight into what most people in Norway see when it comes to

representation of feminism in the media, no matter if you read mainly elite or popular press papers.

3.3 THE CODEBOOK

The codebook for this dissertation is made up of six variables, which are all meant to make it easier to answer the thesis statements given in chapter two. To properly understand how the news articles have been coded, some explanation of the different variables will be given. This subsection does not include variable one, "Which newspaper" as this has already been discussed in the previous subsection.

3.3.1 V2: Gender of the journalist

Variable two talks about the gender of the journalist and includes two main categories, one being "woman" and two being "man". A third category called "other" has also been included, and correlates to any articles where there was no information about the gender, as well as if there was someone who specifically mentioned that they did not conform to either of the first two categories. The last category added was "mixed" and referred to any articles where journalists of each gender were present in the writing.

This variable is used both to look at who is actually writing about this topic, as well as examining if there are any differences between articles written by different genders. It also helps answer hypotheses two, "mostly women write about feminism", presented in chapter two and gives an important insight into how Norwegian news media handles the topic of feminism.

3.3.2 V4: Central topic

The variable "central topic" was included in the coding process, and looks at the issue that proportionally occupied the biggest part of each article. The chosen categories for this variable included "1: politics", "2: economics", "3: arts and culture", "4: debate/opinion piece" and "5: other". This variable was coded by reading through the whole article to see what is the main topic of the article. There was also some inclination to what the central topic was in the title and how the articles were marked in the newspaper, which could guide the coder, but overall the coding was done by looking at what took up most space in the actual text.

3.3.3 V4: What is the article about

This variable was more of an open category that was made during the time of analysis. This was done by noting down the most prominent thing each article was about, and then later forming these notes into different groups that would make up the categories. The categories that ended up being used were: "1: Problems with modern feminism", "2: articles about or interviews with known feminists", "3: men and feminism", "4: feminist causes and debates", "5: the need for feminism and/or intersectionality", "6: Other".

Some of these categories are big and encompasses several different types of articles, especially looking at categories like "feminist causes and debates". Category four included topics that are often debated or written about with a feminist point of view, and includes topics like abortion, the #metoo movement, women in boardrooms, marriage and parenthood. There were also some articles which were impossible to group up with others, and did then end up in the "6: Other" category. However, the goal was to have a small number of articles in this category, thus making more wide-encompassing categories.

3.3.4 V5: Tone

Variable five, "tone", is one of the more difficult variables of the codebook as it is coding the tone of each article. The categories for this variable includes "positive", "negative" and "neutral". The main reason why this is a difficult variable is that the tone of an article often is deemed more subjective to the coder. Having only one coder can result in a skewed result if the coder does not take this into account. The terms "negative" and "neutral" can be especially difficult and will thus be explained a bit more in detail, in an attempt to be as transparent as possible.

There are several possible factors to why an article could be put in the "negative" category. Often it can be found by looking at what the basis of the article is about, and if it is angled towards a negative aspect of feminism. This can often also be reflected in the main theme of the article, such as when the article talks about "feminism going too far" or "problems with modern feminism". Another factor is the wording, especially when looking at the presentation of feminists themselves including words such as "angry", "irritating" or "too loud".

An article was coded as neutral if the journalist did not have one specific standpoint in his/her article. This often occurred when the article mainly worked as a retelling of a specific event such as a demonstration, or when conducting interviews with known feminists. As well as this, articles with several points of view, and which presented both negative and positive standpoints were coded as neutral as there was not one prominent tone.

3.3.5 V6: Intersectionality

The last variable of the codebook looked at Intersectionality, and was used specifically for discussing thesis question number two. For this variable, the purpose was to see if any other parts of someone's cultural identity was included in the article and intersected with gender. The chosen categories were taken from the theory part of this dissertation and represented the parts of someone's identity that were shown to be things that could lead to multiple layers of discrimination. Category six "Several" and category seven "None" were also included in this variable to show how some articles either had several categories interesting with gender, or if they had no intersections at all. If an article was put into category six, the relevant intersecting categories were included in double brackets (as seen in Appendix 2, A22 and A40).

One category that was included for this variable was "1: race", a term that is controversial and much discussed. However, there was made a conscious choice to include this category as it is an integral part of the definition of intersectionality when looking at Crenshaw's own understanding of the term (Crenshaw, 1989).

3.4 THE QUALITY OF THE STUDY

3.4.1 Reliability, validity, transparency

Bertram Scheufele (2008:5) claims that there are four standards one has to meet when doing a quantitative content analysis; transparency, invariant application of the sampling criteria, reliability and validity. For this dissertation transparency, reliability and validity is especially important and will be discussed further in this subchapter.

Transparency comes in the research face and calls for detailed explanations and explanations of all details of the quantitative content analysis (Scheufele, 2008:5). This means that the person doing the study must explain everything that has been done as well as possible, so that

what has been done is clear to the reader. For this dissertation this has been done by including an extensive chapter on method, as well as a short introduction to what was the design of the study in the introductory chapter. By giving as much details and explanations as possible, this dissertation tries to be highly transparent about all the things that was done to complete this study. Later in this chapter and in chapter seven, limitations and possibilities for further research will also discuss some of the choices that were made in this research process, in hope of being as transparent as possible.

Reliability determines the quality and accuracy of the gathered data (Ringdal, 2013:96). When doing a quantitative content analysis, this means that the codebook has to be dependable (Scheufele, 2008:5) so that if the study were to be repeated, one would get the same results. Validity is often used along with reliability, and examined whether or not the instruments used, here in terms of the codebook, measures what it intends to measure (Scheufele, 2008:5). To have a high validity in your study, all codes in a codebook must be as accurate as possible.

One especially important thing to discuss when looking at reliability and validity for this dissertation is the small sample of the study, as well as there only being one coder. A sample of only 48 units from two chosen newspapers is quite small when it comes to a quantitative content analysis. Consequently, other researchers could end up with different results if they were to have a bigger sample. Having only one coder does also lower the reliability a small amount as it is not strengthened by inter-coder reliability where people can discuss articles and find different things for the same article. However, by having a detailed codebook and explanation of each code, it would still be possible for people to re-do the study and find the same results for the chosen sample. I believe that the chosen variables and keywords for finding relevant articles are scoring high on validity as they do measure what they are meant to measure. As well as this, the codes used for this dissertation is closely linked to the hypotheses in chapter two, making it easier to see why they are relevant as well as explaining what each codes should measure to be able to answer the thesis statements.

3.4.2 Limitations

One of the most prominent limitations with this study is the size of the sample, due to the sample only being 48 newspaper articles. 48 articles are not enough to show anything when it

comes to the general media portrayal, but it will give a good overview of the two newspapers that were chosen for this dissertation. For further research on this specific topic, there should be a bigger sample source, to give a better view of the whole of Norwegian news media. As well as the sample size being small, the fact that there is only one coder can lead to further limitations of the study. Having several coders would mean the coding process would be more secure, as there would be several people determining where articles would fall within the coding system.

Another limitation for this dissertation was the restriction of resources due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Because of the pandemic, some resources like the library and other benefits of being on campus became restricted in the early period of working on the dissertation. However, this has provided the challenge of thinking outside the box and make me use sources like journal articles more frequently, thus also making it a good learning experience for me as a student while giving some limitations to the original plan for the theory chapter.

4. RESULTS

This chapter shows an overview over the most important finds for the thesis statements of this dissertation. Most tables are made as cross tables where two variables are included for each table. However, Table 4 is presented as a frequency table and only counts one specific thing. Each table shows results as number of articles found during the data gathering. All tables are made in accordance with the hypotheses from chapter two, and will be discussed in detail in chapters five and six.

As well as the results found during the gathering of data, several articles were found that could not be coded as part of this dissertation. These are still interesting when it comes to looking at the media representation in Norwegian news media, and was thus counted and included in Table 6.

Table 1. Tone of articles in each newspaper.

	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Total
Aftenposten	6	13	13	32
VG	2	10	4	16
Total	8	23	17	48

Table one was made to show how many articles of each tone were found, as well as looking into any differences between the two newspapers. A quick view of this table shows that there was a larger number of negative articles when it comes to the portrayal of feminism, something that will be discussed further in chapter five. This table also shows the number of relevant articles in each newspaper, with double the number of articles in *Aftenposten*.

Table 2. Distribution of gender and tone of the article.

	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Total
Woman	6	15	11	32
Man	0	5	4	9
Other	1	2	1	4
Mixed	1	1	1	3
Total	8	23	17	48

Table 2 shows how many articles were written by the different genders, and helps answer hypotheses two. It also allows us to examine whether there are any links between the gender of the journalist and the tone of the article. As we can see above, there was a tendency for women to write more about feminism then men did in 2019, something that will be interesting to look further at in chapter five.

Table 3. Distribution of topic in each newspaper.

	Politics	Economics	Arts/Culture	Debate	Other	Total
Aftenposten	6	1	10	12	3	32
VG	8	0	3	5	0	16
Total	14	1	13	17	3	48

This table is the first of two tables which acts to answer hypotheses three. Here we see how the articles in each newspaper was distributed over different topics, with an overweight of articles in categories such as politics, arts and culture and debate or opinion pieces.

Table 4. What is the article about?

Problems	Known	Men and	Feminist	The need for	Other	Total
with	feminists	feminism	causes	feminism/		
modern			and	intersectionality		
day			debates			
feminism						
7	14	6	11	4	6	48

Table 4 was made to enable an even deeper discussion when it comes to hypotheses three. This table shows how many articles fell into each group of main themes presented in the articles, and will help to see if there is a focus on equal pay and culture such as predicted in chapter two.

Table 5. Intersectionality included

	Race	Sexuality	Disability	Socio-	Religion	Several	None	Total
				economic				
Aftenposten	6	0	0	1	6	1	18	32
VG	0	0	0	0	1	1	14	16
Total	6	0	0	1	7	2	32	48

The last table made from the gathered data presents statistics about how many articles included any intersectional perspective. Several of the categories added to the codebook was not included at all in any articles from 2019, and there looks to be a tendency to not include any intersectional perspective at all looking at the chosen sample.

Table 6. Cultural pieces not included in the chosen sample.

	Movies/series	Books	Theatre	Music	Total
Aftenposten	6	8	5	1	20
VG	2	1	0	0	3
Total	8	9	5	1	23

Table 6 worked to count all the articles which showed up during the research process, where the main purpose was to either recommend or review different cultural works. These were not included in the data sample; however, it is an interesting point of discussion. Results were divided up into categories to show which part of the cultural sphere it was part of. This find was especially interesting for hypotheses three, and will therefore be added to the discussion in chapter five.

5. FEMINISM AND MEDIA REPRESENTATION

By looking at the tables from chapter four it becomes clear that two out of the three first hypotheses from chapter two may be confirmed. In this chapter the H1-H3 will be discussed in depth, based on the results in chapter four and the previous research found in chapter two. Doing this will hopefully give some deeper understanding of feminism and media representation for two of Norway's most popular newspapers and works as an answer to thesis question one; *how is feminism portrayed in the Norwegian news media?*

Let us start with some points about the sample itself. Overall, there were 48 articles published in the year of 2019 that were seen as relevant when it came to talking about feminism. An interesting thing to notice at the start of this chapter is the division of articles over the two newspapers as seen in Table 1. While the elite press, *Aftenposten*, had 32 articles, *VG* which represents the popular press only had 16 relevant articles on feminism. Looking at these numbers it is apparent that feminism is not seen as an important or "hot" topic in these newspapers, especially not in the popular press. This is a result that matches the study by Jaworska and Krishnamurthy (2012), who pointed out that this decrease is a result of the significant marginalisation of the movement. We can also tie these results back to the theory of symbolic annihilation, where a lack of representation also shows the lack of power in society (Tuchman, 1979:533). The low number of articles on feminism in both papers, but especially in *VG*, shows how feminism as a movement might not have a prominent and powerful position in society. Using this theory, one could also claim that the Norwegian newspapers does not want to give feminism any more social power, by not printing more articles on feminist topics or feminism as a movement.

Now, let us start looking at the hypotheses from chapter two. H1 claimed that *the media portrayal of feminism is mainly negative*. This was based on previous research from Jaworska and Krishnamurthy (2012), that found that the majority of articles about feminism in both the British and the German newspapers were negative. With the results in chapter four, this hypothesis can be confirmed. Table 1 shows us that a total of 23 out of 48 articles had a negative tone, meaning almost half of the articles were mainly focusing on negative aspects of feminism or portrayed feminists by using negative words. However, comparing the two newspapers will show that *Aftenposten* is more balanced in terms of negative and neutral articles than *VG. Aftenposten* alone has the same number of articles with a neutral tone as

with a negative tone, both categories containing 13 articles, while VG has 10 negative and 4 neutral articles. This difference might be because of the different audience these newspapers are catering towards, Aftenposten being an elite press and VG being a tabloid. Another interesting remark is that when only looking at the articles either written by men or women, women are more positive than men in the chosen sample, with six positive articles written by women and none by men (Table 2).

Hypothesis *H2: Mostly women write about feminism* can also be confirmed when using the sample of this study. Table two shows us that 32 of the 48 articles about feminism were written by women. Having mostly women write about feminism, may result in further establishing feminism as a matter for and by women, with little or no regard to men within the movement. This might also be linked back to the previous research done by Jonsson and the narrative emphasising unity and sameness within the movement (Jonsson, 2014:1020-1021). Women may feel more inclined to write about feminism as they feel more a part of some aspects of the feminist movement, or because they feel pressured to criticise it because they do not feel that they fit into this unity. On the other hand, it might also be connected to the description Jaworska and Krishnamurthy found in their study, painting feminism as a movement represented by "quarrelsome" women who liked to criticise other women.

The last hypothesis for thesis question one, *articles on feminism focus mainly on equal pay or the sphere of arts and culture*, cannot be confirmed in its entirety. Whereas it is right to say that many articles on feminism focuses on arts and culture, there is a wider array of topics than expected that were not in the sphere of arts and culture nor about equal pay.

Interestingly, no article used equal pay as a main topic, however several articles chose to use it as reasoning for why one should care about feminism. The discussions around the need for feminism versus the problems of modern day feminism were more prominent than believed when writing the hypotheses, where they accounted for seven and eleven articles respectively. As seen in Table 4 there was also a focus on men's place within feminism that was not expected to be as prominent, most articles on this topic emphasising how feminism has gone too far and is damaging to young men. This tendency to focus on debates and critiques can also be linked back to Jaworska and Krishnamurthy's study (2012:423), where they found that it was more common to talk about criticism of feminism than actual feminist causes such as equal pay or home-work balance.

One other interesting thing that was found during the gathering of data is that the key words "feminist" or "feminism" often correlated to movie or book reviews or recommendations that were posted in the Norwegian newspapers that were chosen (table 6). During the data gathering process, there were 23 articles found which could not be coded in the chosen sample as they only used the keywords to explain a certain aspect of a cultural piece. However, this find is relevant to see how news media often use the words "feminism" or "feminist" to make a film or book about a female character or written by a woman sound appealing. This find can also be linked back to the previous research done by Jaworska and Krishnamurthy and their discussion on the place of feminism in the media;

"Moreover, feminism is not seen as a movement having wide social support, but is increasingly re-located to the domain of academia, literature and the arts, which are, essentially, spheres open to only a small number of middle-class women." (Jaworska & Krishnamurthy, 2012:424).

6. INTERSECTIONALITY

One of the purposes of this dissertation was to see if the media representation in Norway had any articles with an intersectional perspective, and answer the thesis question *how does the representation in the news differ from the ideals of intersectionality?* After coding all the 48 articles of the sample for this dissertation, it is apparent that there is still a tendency not to include an intersectional perspective when writing about feminism in Norway. Table 5 in chapter four shows us that 32 out of the 48 relevant articles published had none of the intersecting aspects of one's cultural identity present. When including intersectional perspectives, it is mainly either race or religion that is being discussed, with six articles in each category.

Thus, the next question to ask is has intersectionality arrived in Norway? Based on the results from this study, intersectionality has arrived in Norway, but it does not play a very prominent role in the media discourse on feminism. This might link back to the fact that Western media tend to still reproduce the dominant trends of centring white feminists as the main subjects within the feminist movement (Jonsson, 2014:1013). However, some articles show that there are people expressing a wish for a more inclusive and diverse portrayal of feminism. Some articles also specifically mention intersectionality in terms of gender and race, one example being an article who choose to quote Ljeoma Oluo to illustrate her own experience:

"For å sitere den amerikanske forfatteren Ljeoma Oluo fra boken So You Want to Talk About Race er det viktig å huske på at: «I'm not capable of cutting away my blackness in order to support feminism that views the needs of women of color as divisive inconveniences. I'm not capable of cutting away womanhood in order to stand by black men who prey on black women. I'm a black woman, each and every minute of every day - and I need you to march for me, too»" (Herz, 2019).

This shows that an understanding of intersectionality does exist in Norway, even though we do not see it reflected much in mainstream media. Therefore, it might be more relevant to ask whether or not the representation in the newspapers differ from the ideals of intersectionality because of how we see feminism as a movement? We may then ask what wave is represented in the news media which was analysed.

Based on the topics discussed, and the arguments used for why we need feminism, it would almost seem like we are still in the Second Wave of feminism. It is the difference between genders, and the need for equality between women and men that are being discussed, not one's identity as a woman or the differences between women. The low number of articles with an intersectional perspective, or regarding identity and diversity is also an indicator of the Second Wave being the more prominent perspective in Norwegian newspapers.

One interesting example of this argument, was found in an article in VG which talks about why people should call themselves feminist and why we need feminism:

"Vi trenger feminisme i dag fordi kvinner tjener mindre enn menn. Fordi presidenten i USA sier "grab them by the pussy" og nå bryr vi oss ikke lengre om det. Fordi vi trengte en kampanje slik at samfunnet skulle forstå at kvinner ikke kunne bli trakassert og voldtatt på arbeidsplassen. Men også fordi gutter sliter på skolen. Fordi gutter ikke viser følelser og tar mer selvmord enn jenter. Fordi kroppspress og psykiske problemer blant gutter er ikke nevnt i norske media. Du må ikke være jente for å stå litt rakere i ryggen når du sier du er feminist. Fordi vi er et fellesskap og problemene rammer oss alle" (Krohn-Dale, 2019).

Connecting this to the theory on feminism in chapter two, it becomes apparent that this reasoning mostly relies on second wave feminist arguments. As mentioned in chapter two, the second wave of feminism strongly focused on equal opportunity based on economic and social equality and the process of establishing gender as a core concept in sociology to also include men into feminist understandings (Lengermann & Niebrugge, 2018:436-437). This is not to say that Krohn-Dale's reasoning is not valid, but to show how the discussion being done in Norwegian newspapers is often based on second wave ideals. This quote also links back to Jonsson's study (2012), where she found that common narratives included framing arguments in the Second Wave and erasing any challenges due to race or class.

7. CONCLUSION

7.1 CONCLUDING REMARKS

This dissertation tried to answer the thesis statements how is feminism portrayed in the Norwegian news media? and how does the representation in the news differ from the ideals of intersectionality? By conducting a quantitative content analysis, several conclusions can be drawn about the way the Norwegian newspapers Aftenposten and VG portrays feminism.

First, the sample used in this dissertation shows that during the year of 2019, there were overall a small number of articles published in the chosen newspapers. One result of this might be a symbolic annihilation, where feminism as a social movement is given less power in society due to less recognition in the media. Another interesting find is the fact that most articles are written by women, deeming feminism as something that is still a cause for the women and not for the overall public. When written about, feminism is often portrayed with a negative tone, either pointing out problems with modern day feminism or having people critique certain aspects of feminism. Many articles are also focusing on the sphere of arts and culture, taking away the political and social aspects of the movement, and rather giving the term "feminist" to cultural works featuring or written by women.

Most of the articles in the sample differ from the ideals of intersectionality by not including any other aspects of one's cultural identity than gender. Only 16 out of the 48 articles did have an argument rooted in intersectionality, by including either race, religion or socioeconomic class (chapter 4). Looking further at the articles that were coded, many of them were based on Second Wave ideals rather than Third Wave and Intersectionality (chapter 6). However, some articles showed an inclination towards wanting more diversity in Western feminist writing, showing that some of the writers were aware of the need for intersectionality.

Overall, looking at the results found in this dissertation and the discussion done in chapter five and six, one could argue that the feminism that is portrayed in the Norwegian news media are still one that mainly caters to feminism for the white middle class women.

7.2 FURTHER RESEARCH

Crossing the theories of feminism and quantitative content analysis is absolutely something that could offer many points of further research. Feminism is still something that is important and present in our society, and hence an important thing to look at when it comes to media portrayal. There are however several parts of this dissertation that I would recommend doing differently in any further research on this topic.

The first thing in any further research would be including a bigger sample, both in terms of articles and which newspapers that are used. Having a bigger sample would make it possible to analyse and draw lines towards the general media image on feminism. One way to do this could also include looking at a bigger timeframe or choosing several different years to examine whether there have been any changes to the representation of feminism in the newspapers. Another interesting point of study would be to take newspapers from different countries to run a comparison between the different countries. This also opens up for a discussion on cultural differences, which could be an interesting factor in a study like this.

In doing any further research on this topic, it would also benefit to have more than one coder. This was something that was mentioned as a limitation of this dissertation. Having two or more coders would make the data gathering process a little easier and would open up the possibility of having a bigger sample. It would also help with the reliability of the study by creating inter-coder reliability, and create a safer platform for discussion during the coding of the articles.

Finally, it is also important to point out the privilege I have as a white, heterosexual middleclass woman. To properly discuss intersectionality and the intersectional representation in the news media, one should strive to have a group of researchers and coders which represents a more diverse group of people who actually live with different parts of their cultural identity being discriminated against.

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LIST OF TABLES, FIGURES AND PICTURES

Figure 2.1 *Intersectionality*. Available from: https://www.ywboston.org/2017/03/what-is-intersectionality-and-what-does-it-have-to-do-with-me/ https://www.ywboston.org/2017/03/what-is-intersectionality-and-what-does-it-have-to-do-with-me/ https://www.ywboston.org/2017/03/what-is-intersectionality-and-what-does-it-have-to-do-with-me/ https://www.ywboston.org/2017/03/what-is-intersectionality-and-what-does-it-have-to-do-with-me/ https://www.ywboston.org/2017/03/what-is- https://www.ywboston.org/2017/03/what-is-</a

APPENDIX 1: CODEBOOK

V1: Which newspaper?

- 1. Aftenposten
- 2. VG

V2: Gender of journalist:

- 1 Woman
- 2 Man
- 3 Other
- 4 Mixed

V3: Central topic:

- 1 Politics
- 2 Economics
- 3 Arts/Culture
- 4 Debate/opinion piece
- 5 Other

V4: What is the article about?

- 1 Problems with modern feminism
- 2 Articles about/interviews with known feminists
- 3 Men and feminism
- 4 Feminist debates and causes
- 5 Why we need feminism and/or intersectionality
- 6 Other

V5: Tone of article:

- 1 Positive
- 2 Negative
- 3 Neutral

V6: Intersectionality (Intersections with gender)

- 1 Race
- 2 Sexuality
- 3 Disability
- 4 Socio economic aspects
- 5 Religion
- 6 Several
- 7 None

APPENDIX 2: CODING OF ARTICLES

Table showing the finished result of the coding process.

Article	V1 -	V2-	V3-	V4- about	V5- tone	V6-
#	paper	gender	topic			intersectionality
A1	1	1	4	1	2	7
A2	1	1	4	5	1	7
A3	1	4	3	2	3	5
A4	1	1	3	5	2	7
A5	1	1	4	6	1	1
A6	1	1	4	1	2	7
A7	1	2	1	1	2	7
A8	1	2	4	3	3	7
A9	1	3	4	3	2	7
A10	1	2	5	3	3	7
A11	1	1	1	4	3	7
A12	1	1	1	1	2	5
A13	1	1	1	2	1	7
A14	1	1	1	6	3	4
A15	1	3	1	2	2	7
A16	1	3	3	2	3	7
A17	1	2	4	1	2	1
A18	1	1	4	2	1	5
A19	1	1	5	4	3	7
A20	1	1	3	2	3	1
A21	1	1	3	6	2	7
A22	1	1	4	5	3	6 ((1/2/5))
A23	1	3	5	6	1	7
A24	1	1	4	3	2	7
A25	1	1	3	2	3	1
A26	1	1	2	3	2	7
A27	1	4	3	2	1	7
A28	1	2	3	2	3	5

A29	1	2	4	1	2	1
A30	1	2	3	2	3	1
A31	1	1	3	2	3	5
A32	1	2	4	2	2	5
A33	1	1	1	4	2	7
A34	2	1	1	4	3	7
A35	2	1	3	1	2	7
A36	2	2	1	6	2	5
A37	2	1	4	6	2	7
A38	2	1	4	4	2	7
A39	2	1	4	4	3	7
A40	2	1	3	2	1	6 ((1/2/4/5))
A41	2	4	1	4	2	7
A42	2	1	4	5	1	7
A43	2	1	1	4	3	7
A44	2	1	1	4	2	7
A45	2	1	3	2	2	7
A46	2	1	4	3	2	7
A47	2	1	1	4	3	7
A48	2	1	1	4	2	7

