University of Alberta

"'Doesn't Anyone Want to Pick a Fight with *Me*?': Masculinity in Political
Humour about the 2008 Canadian Federal Election"

by

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DEDICATION

To my parents, Karen and Julian Raphael, for encouraging me to pursue a
university education and for their unwavering support throughout my
undergraduate and graduate degrees. Also, to my partner, Craig, for the
beautifully-cooked meals on days that I felt too busy to feed myself, for
reminding me that there is life outside of academics, and for his constant words of
encouragement throughout this process.

-Daisy Raphael

ABSTRACT

This study explores the relationship between masculinity and political leadership as it was constructed in political humour about the 2008 Canadian federal election. I used content and discourse analysis methods to examine gendered depictions of the two frontrunners in that election – Stéphane Dion and Stephen Harper – in editorial cartoons and on the popular television programmes the *Rick Mercer Report*, *22 Minutes* and the *Royal Canadian Air Farce*. Guiding this analysis is Connell's ([1995] 2005) theory of masculinities. Ultimately, I argue that political satirists constructed a hierarchy of masculinities in their portrayals of Dion and Harper by depicting Dion as submissive, weak, effeminate and devoid of masculinity, while portraying Harper as hypermasculine, dominant, aggressive and violent. In doing so, I argue, Canadian political humourists contributed to the normalization of the purported connections between masculinity, power, and politics and to the social construction of politics as a 'man's world'.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Opening Thoughts

The Liberal party fared dismally in the 2008 Canadian federal election. Earning just 26.2% of the popular vote and losing 27 seats, the Liberal party's showing in the 2008 election was only slightly better than the party's worst performance ever. Stéphane Dion, who resigned as leader of the Liberals in December 2008, took responsibility for the party's catastrophic showing saying, "If people are asking why [we lost], it's because I failed" (CBC, 2008b). He added that he faced difficulty combating Conservative Party attack ads (CBC, 2008b). Indeed, the Conservative party of Canada created an entire website devoted to criticizing Dion's leadership ability. Of the various attack ads posted on notaleader.ca, perhaps most notable is the infamous "pooping puffin", which featured a bird defecating on the leader's shoulder (Taber, 2008). In an attempt to counter the Conservative party's campaign to humiliate Dion, the Liberal Party created their own website, ThisisDion.ca, which portrayed the leader as "a rugged family man who loves fishing, spending time with his wife, his daughter and his dog" (CBC, 2008a). In response to the ad, moreover, the leader declared that he intended to "fight with Canadian courage" to beat Harper (CBC, 2008a). Meanwhile, the "pooping puffin" video only added to Stephen Harper's reputation as a cold, unfeeling bully. In fact, this harsh image of Harper is one that the party had been trying to counter for some time, with advertisements portraying him as a warm, kitten-loving "sweater-vested family man" (CBC, 2008a). In short, while Dion attempted to recuperate his masculinity after Harper had succeeded in undermining it, Harper attempted to soften his image from that of a hypermasculine bully to a warm, caring family man.

This story of the 2008 Canadian election illustrates the ways in which masculinity is often foregrounded in election campaigns. Indeed, politicians – male and female –emphasize their masculinity in order to portray themselves as 'man enough' for the job. While campaigning to be the President of the United States in 2008, for instance, Barack Obama shot hoops with college students,

vice-presidential candidate Sarah Palin shot moose, and Hillary Clinton talked about learning to shoot a rifle with her father. Similarly, in Canada – where hockey is the sport of manly men and the country's beloved pastime – the Liberal party of Canada released a video of its leader, Michael Ignatieff, donning a hockey jersey and strapping on his skates at an outdoor rink in London, Ontario just as Canadian political parties geared up for the 2011 Canadian federal election. At campaign stops in Kitchener and Ottawa, Stephen Harper put on his team Canada jersey to play ball hockey and pose for photos. Similarly, on the campaign trail in 1974, former Conservative party leader Robert Stanfield staged a photo opportunity involving him tossing a football. When he fumbled the football, however, images were captured that are said to have severely damaged his campaign (Cox, 2010: 109). Such examples illustrate why Duerst-Lahti (2007) argues that election campaigns are often about "[m]anly men doing manly things, in manly ways" (87).

At the heart of this lies the long-standing, deeply-entrenched and socially constructed link between masculinity and political leadership, which has been thoroughly documented in the American case. Nagel (1998), for instance, discusses Theodore Roosevelt, who was "subjected to humiliating attacks on his manliness early in his political career" (249). After reporters called Roosevelt a "weakling", "Jane-Dandy", and suggested that he was homosexual, "Roosevelt set out on a campaign to reinvent himself as a man's man" – a renegade "masculine cowboy" bent on conquering other countries and fulfilling desires for American imperialism (Nagel, 1998: 250). Scores of other presidential hopefuls throughout American history have set about to demonstrate "their own manhood and [raise] questions about their opponents' manhood" (Kimmel, 1997: 182).   This happened in the 2004 United States presidential election, Fahey (2007) argues, when George W. Bush's campaign constructed John Kerry as French and feminine, and therefore unfit to lead the country.

In the Canadian context, feminist political scientists have tended to demonstrate this deeply-entrenched connection between masculinity and politics indirectly through analyses of the ways in which women and femininity are

symbolically excluded and alienated from politics. For instance, feminist analyses of gender, politics and the Canadian news media reveal that when covering female politicians, the media tend to resort to gendered news frames – devices used to catch readers' attention, tell a story, and position ordinary events within a broader context, thereby making them newsworthy (Norris, 1997: 2; Street, 2001: 36). Gendered news frames such as the 'first woman' frame (Robinson and Saint-Jean, 1995: 180-81), which constructs female politicians as "women first, politicians second" (Trimble, 2007: 974), and the masculinist 'game frame', which compares politics to bloody battles or violent sports matches being fought between competitors (Gidengil and Everitt, 1999: 50; Sampert and Trimble, 2003: 213), contribute to perceptions of women as 'Others' in the political realm and construct successful female politicians as extraordinary cases or exceptions to the male norm (Trimble and Arscott, 2003: 20).

While such analyses are necessary and valuable for their ability to shed light on the media's role as a barrier to women's equal political representation, a focus on women and femininity in analyses of gender and politics can serve to reinforce the inaccurate but prevalent view of gender as synonymous with women and/or femininity. Moreover, feminist analyses that focus on women and femininity unintentionally reinforce the patriarchal view of men and masculinity as un-gendered and normative. A shift in focus to men and masculinity in feminist studies of Canadian politics thus assists in destabilizing the normative status that men enjoy and sheds more light on the sexist assumptions operating in elite Canadian politics and the resulting alienation of women and femininity from the political sphere.

In this study, I use a gendered lens to analyze the media's depictions of male politicians in order to provide an alternative perspective on, and a deeper understanding of, the male domination of Canadian politics and the notion that political leadership demands masculinity. Specifically, in this study, I ask: how was the relationship between masculinity and political leadership constructed in political humour about the 2008 Canadian federal election? In answering this, I focus on portrayals of the two frontrunners in that election, Stephen Harper and

Stéphane Dion. While previous studies of media constructions of gender and politics have focused on the news media, I choose political humour as the target of my analysis since, in humour, one often finds frank discussions of controversial and taboo subjects like sex and gender (Kotthoff, 2006: 16; Palmer, 1994: 60-61). I discuss the reasons for studying political humour further below. First, however, I will explore in more depth the reasons for studying men and masculinity.

Why Study Men and Masculinity?

Joan W. Scott (1986) argues that in order to truly understand patriarchy, feminist scholars must examine the lives of men as well as those of women (1054). When men and masculinity are erased from discussions of gender masculinity is rendered both "invisible and normative" (Gardiner, 2005: 36). Kimmel (1997) makes the admittedly "provocative" argument that men are actually invisible in academia (181). Though university courses tend to revolve around men's histories, experiences and accomplishments, discussions of gender tend to centre on women, promoting a false conception of gender as synonymous with women (Kimmel, 1997: 184; Nagel, 1998: 243). As such, Kimmel argues, men are invisible because there is a lack of discussion of men's histories, experiences and accomplishments *as men*. This invisibility, according to Kimmel, is not only evidence of men's privilege, but assists in sustaining it. While feminist scholars have "properly focused their attention on women, primarily on the 'omissions, distortions, and trivializations' of women's experiences", there is currently a need for analyses of gender that take into account men's gendered experiences (Kimmel, 1997: 184). Indeed, analyses of gender that "[make] masculinity visible" serve to problematize patriarchy (Kimmel et al., 2005: 1). Recognizing this, Gayle Letherby (2004) notes the need for "bringing men back in" to feminist research (184). Likewise, Nagel (1998) points out that "to limit the examination of gender in politics to an investigation of women only, misses a major, perhaps *the* major way in which gender shapes politics – through men and their interests, their notions of manliness, and masculine micro and macro cultures" (243). The field of the critical study of men

and masculinities has sought to "[bring] men back in" to feminist research (Letherby, 2004: 184) by investigating the social construction of masculinity and the ways in which masculinity is intimately linked to patriarchy.

There are several challenges when conducting feminist studies of men and masculinity, however. First, focusing one's attention on men "brings possible dangers in re-excluding women" (Hearn, 2004: 50) and may serve to "obscure" the reality of patriarchal power relations (Hooper, 1998: 30). In order to avoid re-excluding women and obscuring the reality of patriarchy, it is important to conduct analyses that account for power relations both among men and between men and women (Hearn, 2004: 50; Hooper, 1998: 29). Hooper maintains, moreover, that as long as the majority of feminist research "remains woman-centred" women will not be re-excluded from scholarship and the reality of patriarchy will not be obscured (Hooper, 1998: 28-29). Ultimately, after considering the risks and challenges of scholarship on men and masculinity, it remains important to "scrutinize men and masculinity in depth", meanwhile combining this with "our more sophisticated and nuanced understandings of women and 'the feminine'" in order to avoid "restrict[ing] our own critical analysis and understandings of the gender order" (Hooper, 1998: 28-29).

Studying men and masculinity, as in studying women and femininity, also poses the risk of reinforcing dualistic and binary conceptions of sex and gender (Hooper, 1998: 31). 'Gender' is not simply another word for 'sex', though it is often used as such, and – biologically and socially speaking – there are endless forms of sex/gender identity that cannot be captured by a simple men/masculinity versus women/femininity dichotomy (Carver, 1998: 20). Analyses of gender that associate men with masculinity and women with femininity, though seeking to expose the arbitrary and socially constructed nature of gender, can actually paradoxically reinforce dichotomous conceptions of gender (Hooper, 1998: 31). By focusing my analysis on men and masculinity, I do not mean to suggest that women cannot and do not embody masculinity. Nor do I intend to reinforce a dualistic or binary view of gender in which sex/gender identities are limited to male/female, masculine/feminine. Rather, that this study focuses on

representations of masculinity in depictions of men simply reflects the fact that Canadian politics remains a male dominated and highly masculinist realm.

Why Study the Media, Men, and Masculinity?

The media is a significant site of gender construction. Through news programmes, newspapers, magazines, advertisements, television programmes, and movies, individuals learn gender norms, or the 'proper' behaviour associated with one's sex. As in scholarship on gender in general, feminist studies of gender and the media have largely been concentrated on representations of women and the construction of femininity, leaving a large area of research – representations of men and masculinity – underexplored (Craig, 1992: 1; Hanke, 1992: 187).

In 1992, for instance, Fejes reported that, "In media studies, the topic of masculinity is only at the very earliest stages of emerging as a research area in its own right" (9).   Despite some growth in the field, "one finds few studies explicitly addressing the interrelationship between the media and social definitions of masculinity" (Fejes, 1992: 9). While the media's representation of women and femininity remains an important area of research, it is equally important to interrogate the construction of masculinity, or the ways in which "media institutions, through their specific representational forms and practices, are involved in the production and re-production of masculinity as a cultural category" (Hanke, 1992: 187).

Even R. W. Connell, a forerunner in the field of masculinity studies and the theorist who provides the theoretical underpinning for this study, pays little attention to the media's role in constructing masculinity. When discussing hegemonic masculinity – a concept I discuss in depth in chapter 2 – Connell ([1995] 2005) emphasizes its status as a "cultural ideal" portrayed by "exemplars" of masculinity "such as film actors, or even fantasy figures, such as film characters" (77). Connell, however, devotes little attention in her work to the media's role in constructing and reconstructing masculinity. Arguably, since most people do not experience cultural icons through face-to-face interactions, the

media, especially news, television and movies, provide the primary means through which individuals are exposed to such masculine exemplars.

As Fejes (1992) notes, much of the research on gender and the media addresses the construction of masculinity indirectly or inexplicitly with the subject of masculinity as a secondary or tertiary area of analysis and the topic of women and femininity tending to receive primary focus (10). Because of this, the literature on media representations of women and femininity is instructive when analyzing media portrayals of men and masculinity. Thus, along with a small body of literature dedicated to analyzing media portrayals of men, politics and masculinity, the literature on women, politics and the media helps guide my analysis of constructions of masculinity in political humour.

Why Study Political Humour? The 'Politainment' Phenomenon

Why study humour in the first place? Before answering this, it is necessary to answer the question: what counts as humour? This is difficult, as humour cannot be easily defined. Deciding whether or not something is humorous is largely a subjective and individual process (Little, 2009: 1242). In general, though, humorous communication is funny because it "establishes *incongruous* relationships […] and presents them to us with a *suddenness* (timing) that leads us to laugh" (Berger, 1976: 13). Forms of humour include joke telling, satire, parody, irony, sarcasm and sketch comedy, among others.

Why should we study political humour, then? Humour is by its nature social, and therefore can yield insights into important dimensions of social life. Indeed, humour is "an essential form of social communication" (Boskin qtd. in Goodman, 2001: 61). Humour, moreover, is an important dimension of culture: "what people laugh at, how and when they laugh is absolutely central to their culture" (Palmer, 1994: 2). In laughing, members of a group indicate their shared understandings of a particular subject; humour can thereby strengthen group solidarity and social cohesion (Goodman, 2001: 61; Little, 2009: 1237). Through humour, groups can also discuss otherwise unmentionable or taboo subjects, as well as subjects of social anxiety (Kotthoff, 2006: 16; Palmer, 1994: 60-61).

Political humour can serve as a way of releasing social tension, and can signal that social change is underway (Powell and Paton, 1988: xvi-xix). Political jokes may be used by subordinate groups as a form of dissent to those in power; political humour therefore often serves as an indicator of "the popular mood" (Benton, 1988: 33). As well as being subversive, political humour can serve to strengthen official discourse. For instance, political humour in Canada has contributed to nation building, uniting a country divided by regional, linguistic, cultural and economic differences (Rasporich, 1996: 85). Indeed, humour can affirm and enhance social cohesion, since a "successful joker is in complicity with the audience, reflecting the group back to itself" (Rasporich, 1996: 84).

Political humour has been around forever – as long as there have been individuals in power, there have been those who have made fun of them (Benton, 1988: 34). It seems to flourish, however, in today's media-saturated culture wherein politics and entertainment have become increasingly intertwined (Corner and Pels, 2003; Jones, 2010: 5-6; Street, 2011: 61; van Zoonen, 2005: 2). This growing phenomenon, whereby the so-called 'boundaries' between politics and entertainment are becoming "ever more porous" (Street, 2011: 61), is variously conceptualized as "discursive integration" (Baym, 2005) or as "entertaining politics" (Jones, 2010). Common terms for this phenomenon include 'politainment' and 'infotainment'. This blurring of boundaries between politics and entertainment is evidenced by the increasing popularity of 'fake' news shows, like *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart* and *The Colbert Report*, appearances by politicians on entertainment talk shows, television programmes that dramatize politics, such as *The West Wing* or *Commander in Chief*, sketch comedy shows like *Saturday Night Live* that feature comedic imitations of politicians, and even by reality television including, for instance, *Sarah Palin's Alaska*, a reality TV programme documenting the lives of the former US Vice Presidential candidate and her family (Gray et al., 2009: 4; Jones, 2010: 5-6; Morreale, 2009: 104). The blurring of boundaries between politics and entertainment is also evidenced by the traditional news media which, having to compete with entertainment programmes

for viewers, increasingly adopt a soft-news approach, reporting on news and politics in a manner which feeds viewers' desires to be entertained.

In fact, as political comedy programmes gain prominence, the traditional news media continues to "lose status (both culturally and politically) as the primary agents and venues for the conduct of politics through media" (Jones, 2010: 5). Thus, political humour has become a major source of political information for citizens, especially youth, who are increasingly trading in more traditional news sources for late-night comedy programmes, such as *The Daily Show* (Baumgartner and Morris, 2006: 344; Baym, 2005: 260). Geoffrey Baym (2005) argues that such trends towards 'infotainment' or 'politainment' are related to broadcast journalism's decline (259). In Baym's view, there is a "crisis in broadcast journalism" – while there is "more of it than ever before […] its quality has degraded" (2005: 259). Specifically, Baym argues that the "basic principles of good journalism – independence, inquiry, and verification" have given way to a focus on sensationalism in order to compete for profits and viewers (2005: 259). Following 9/11 and in the early years of the Iraq War, for instance, when American news outlets resisted critiquing the Bush Administration for fear of being viewed as unpatriotic, *The Daily Show* offered the "critical commentary" that was lacking in news reports (Bennett, 2007: 281).

While many critics lament entertainment's 'encroachment' into the political sphere (see for instance Postman, 1985; Putnam, 2000), others argue that politics and entertainment can coexist – that "politics can be pleasurable" (Jones, 2010: 15) – viewing political entertainment as an alternative, and amusing, form of information and critique (see for example van Zoonen, 2005). Certainly, political entertainment now plays a substantial and unique role as an alternative source of political information and critical commentary (Jones, 2010: 5). For instance, in the 2008 US federal election, when Sarah Palin, an inexperienced Alaskan Governor, became John McCain's running mate, the sketch comedy and news parody programme, *Saturday Night Live*, "became one of the most influential sites of public commentary on [her] embarrassing performances" (Jones, 2010: 4). In general, 'infotainment' shows "played an important role in

mediating the relationship between candidates and voters" in that election (Jones, 2010: 4). For example, appearances by John McCain on *The View* and *The Late Show with David Letterman*, daytime and late-night talk shows respectively, were some of the most challenging interviews he faced throughout the campaign (Jones, 2010: 3-12).

Certainly, political entertainment programmes like *Saturday Night Live*, *The Daily Show*, and *The Late Show with David Letterman* not only provide criticism of candidates and their policies, just like traditional news sources, but political entertainment programmes often provide *more* criticism and *more biting* criticism. Using humour, political satirists often say what journalists are afraid to say (Gray et al., 2009: 4; Meddaugh, 2010: 387). Because political entertainment programmes are free from the "structural norms and unwritten rules" characteristic of the traditional news media, interactions between television personalities and candidates can be "unscripted, more aggressive or critical than journalism, and often more far-reaching, moving from serious to humorous and back again in seconds", ultimately offering "alternative perspectives from which to assess candidates and their campaigns" (Jones, 2010: 5).

For instance, for their critical commentary of politicians and the press, Jon Stewart of *The Daily Show* and Stephen Colbert of *The Colbert Report* have earned the title of "the 'most trusted names' in news, fake or otherwise" (Meddaugh, 2010: 377). In his parody of right-wing pundit, Bill O'Reilly, Colbert "challenges authoritative claims to the 'centre' of discourse" whether by politicians or the press (Meddaugh, 2010: 379). *The Daily Show*, moreover, has been the site of "some of the most consistent and insistent questioning" of the Office of the US President (Jones, 2010: 8-9), "disrupt[ing] and challeng[ing]" the official discourse of both the US administration and the traditional news media by providing the "investigative journalism that is often missing in mainstream media" (Morreale, 2009: 110).

Their ability to critique politicians and their policies in an acerbic fashion is why the label of "fake news" is not adequate to describe shows like *The Daily Show* and *The Colbert Report*, in Baym's (2005; 2009) view. While Stewart

labels his show as "fake news" and "insist[s] that [his] agenda simply is 'to make people laugh'" (Baym, 2005: 260), the descriptor of "fake news" is problematic in two ways. First, "it fails to acknowledge the increasingly central role the show is playing in the domain of serious political communication" (Baym, 2005: 260). Second, Stewart's brand of 'fake' news is no less real when compared to so-called 'real' news (Baym, 2005: 261). In Baym's words, "Any notion of 'fake' depends upon an equal conception of 'real'" (2005: 261). But how does one define 'real' news? Delineating between 'fake' news and 'real' news requires "assumptions about some kind of authentic or legitimate set of news practices" that does not exist today, in Baym's view (2005: 261). Therefore, Baym conceives of *The Daily Show* as both "an old form of comedy" and a "new kind of journalism" (2005: 261). Beyond mere 'fake news', it is an "alternative journalism, one that uses satire to interrogate power, parody to critique contemporary news, and dialogue to enact a model of deliberative democracy" (Baym, 2005: 261).

Similarly, Day (2009) argues that the label of 'fake news' "obscures [*The Daily Show*'s] more complicated relationship to 'real' news programming" (85). *The Daily Show*, Day notes, blends parody or imitation with 'real' current affairs and people, thereby "recontextualizing and deconstructing" 'real' news (2009: 85). By demonstrating "the artificiality of real newscasts, press conferences, and other forms of public discussion" *The Daily Show* "actually comes closer to embodying the characteristics – like authenticity and truth – that we would normally associate with the real" (Day, 2009: 86). In other words, through its ability to parody and critique the traditional news media, and through 'real' coverage of current affairs that holds politicians and government to account in a way that the traditional news media has often failed to do, *The Daily Show* – as so-called 'fake' news – actually does 'real' news better than the 'real' news media.

Jones (2010) and van Zoonen (2005) point out that this blurring of boundaries between politics and entertainment is neither new, nor surprising – entertainment and politics go hand-in-hand, and they always have. Though entertainment has traditionally been considered to be at odds with serious

concerns such as politics (van Zoonen, 2005: 10), politics "has always had entertainment value" (Jones: 2010: 14). Indeed, politics on their own can be exciting, dramatic, and even comical (Jones, 2010: 15). Moreover, politics require performance, with stages, writers, audiences, and behind-the-scenes action: "Politicians are showmen [sic], and they depend upon similar rhetorical and performative tools and techniques" as those found in show business (Jones, 2010: 14). Therefore, the distinction that is often made between politics and entertainment has always been an artificial one (Jones, 2010: 6).

If politics and popular culture were ever separable, this is now no longer the case. Jones (2010), for instance, argues that to continue to define 'politainment' as a blurring of boundaries between entertainment and politics is inadequate and "makes little sense" in contemporary culture (13). Attempting the difficult task of distinguishing between political communication and entertainment, he argues, lacks recognition of the multiple ways that citizens actually interact with and experience various forms of political communication, which "cannot be captured by such limited categorization" (Jones, 2010: 13).

Likewise, Baym (2005) argues that what we are witnessing is more complex than "simply [a] move toward 'infotainment'" (262). He labels the phenomenon whereby politics and entertainment have become integrated as a process of "discursive integration", in his words, "a way of speaking about, understanding, and acting within the world defined by the permeability of form and fluidity of content" (Baym, 2005: 262; see also Baym, 2009: 126). Through this process of discursive integration, "[d]iscourses of news, politics, entertainment, and marketing have grown deeply inseparable; the languages and practices of each have lost their distinctiveness and are being melded into previously unimaginable combinations" (Baym, 2005: 262).

Since it is a form of information and critique that is extremely accessible, political humour has the ability to reach large audiences (Benton, 1988: 34). Indeed, political information may actually reach a larger audience through the presentation of politics as entertainment than through traditional news sources. Jones (2010) speculates, for instance, that during the 2008 US Presidential

election, political comedy shows provided political information to audiences "that may not regularly attend to the traditional venues of electoral politics and its narratives" (4-5). In fact, Baum (2002) found that audiences who consume 'soft' news – news that has been "repackaged" into entertainment in order to compete for viewers and increase profits – as opposed to traditional 'hard' news learn about politics, even if learning about politics was not their objective for tuning in (92). Individuals who are typically "politically inattentive", then, are exposed to political information when they consume 'soft' news (Baum, 2002: 91-92)

Today, political entertainment programming reaches larger audiences than ever before via the Internet. Through the Internet, users can access archived video content 'on demand' on television network websites and participate in user-sharing on websites like youtube.com and facebook.com (Jones, 2010: 12). Episodes of *The Daily Show*, for instance, are available on Comedy Central's website (Jones, 2010: 12), and the best clips from the *Rick Mercer Report* from the past eight seasons are available on the programme's own youtube channel. Through youtube.com, moreover, videos now have the ability to 'go viral' (Gray et al., 2009: 4). If more people have access to these "new forms of engaging politics" (Jones, 2010: 12) then more people are exposed to political information, even if this exposure to political information is an incidental by-product of their desire to be amused or entertained (Baum, 2002).

In sum, then, there are several reasons why political scientists should be interested in political humour. First, humour on its own is an important form of communication, with the ability to strengthen group solidarity, release social tension and deal with taboo subjects. Political humour, in particular, can be a tool of resistance against those in power, and can signal that political change is taking place (Powell and Paton, 1988: xvi-xix). Citizens, moreover, are increasingly turning to political humour – and forms of 'politainment' more generally – as sources of information about politics (Baumgartner and Morris 2006: 344). Arguably, political entertainment programmes like *The Daily Show* with Jon Stewart in the United States, and the *Rick Mercer Report* in Canada play just as substantial a role in providing political information and commentary as the

traditional news media (Jones, 2010: 5). Political entertainment programmes – far more than mere 'fake news' (Baym, 2005; 2009) – offer accessible and alternative ways of viewing the political people, events and policies of the day, and often provide stronger and more acerbic criticism than that of the traditional news media.

Long before *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart*, and *The Colbert Report*, however, it was Canadians who were successfully producing political sketch comedy and news parody programmes. In fact, the Canadian programme *SCTV*, which ran from 1976-1984, and Canadian Lorne Michaels' *Saturday Night Live* (1975 –), were the first North American sketch comedy programmes to feature news parody (Druick, 2008: 112), and undoubtedly influenced those that came later. This rich tradition of political humour has contributed to Canada's national identity.

Canadian Political Humour: The "Unofficial Opposition"?

Since around the 1970s, political parody, sketch comedy, and news parody programmes have flourished on Canadian television, underpinned by a strong and vibrant tradition of Canadian political humour (Rasporich, 1996: 84). The famous literary humourist, Stephen Leacock, a national icon and Canada's "unofficial 'official' humourist", helped establish the Canadian political humour tradition. Leacock fostered a distinctly 'Canadian' identity in part by poking fun at the United States and "Mother England" (Rasporich, 1996: 86-87). "Americans", Rasporich points out, "have […] been a constant comic butt in the humour of the nation" (1996: 85). Indeed, by defining Canadians through what they are not Canadian humour has helped develop a "national imagined community" (Tinic, 2009: 169-170). Through political humour, Canadians have also shown that they refuse to "take their leaders so seriously" (Rasporich, 1996: 85). From the tradition established in large part by Leacock sprang popular television humour programmes like the aforementioned *SCTV*, as well as *CODCO*, *This Hour Has 22 Minutes*, the *Royal Canadian Air Farce*, *Talking to Americans* and the *Rick Mercer Report* (Druick, 2008; Rasporich, 1996). Of the 'made in Canada'

programming produced by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), these news parody and political satire programmes have been some of the most popular, longstanding and successful (Druick, 2008: 107; Tinic, 2009: 168-69).

After *SCTV*, *CODCO*, which aired on CBC from 1988-1993, was "the next important sketch comedy show on Canadian television" (Druick, 208: 113). Founded by a theatre troupe from Newfoundland, the show featured satirical sketches about "American image politics and media", and small-town Canadian life (Druick, 2008: 113). In 1993, *CODCO* cast members Mary Walsh and Cathy Jones collaborated with Rick Mercer and Greg Thomey to create *This Hour Has 22 Minutes*. *22 Minutes*, which still airs on CBC under its new, shorter name, now features Cathy Jones starring alongside Geri Hall, Gavin Crawford, Shaun Majumder, and Mark Chritch. *22 Minutes* parodies the news "by combining a highly conventionalized reporting style […] with humorous juxtapositions in order to make a comment on either a major current event, the absurdity of some minor news footage, or something completely unrelated to news" (Druick, 2008: 116). The "trademark" of *22 Minutes* in the 1990s was the "ambushing" of politicians by 'fake' reporters in real media scrums (Druick, 2008: 116). Their 'fake' news reporters genuinely caught politicians off guard, at times "trapp[ing] politicians in the contradictions of their own rhetoric and actions" (Tinic, 2009: 171). Through these ambushes, *22 Minutes* implicitly called attention to "the good behaviour of 'real' journalists" (Druick, 2008: 116). In fact, *22 Minutes* became "so influential politically that the cast became known as the country's 'unofficial opposition' in Parliament" (Tinic, 2009: 171). As Druick (2008) points out, though, "[a]s the show became more and more well known through the 1990s […] the ambushes diminished and politicians became cooperative participants on the show", using the show as a way to highlight their personalities and show off their humorous sides (116). Following this shift, many criticized the show for lacking real social and political commentary and criticism, and instead simply promoting politicians (Druick, 2008: 116).

22 Minutes produced two spin-offs on CBC: *Talking to Americans* and the *Rick Mercer Report* (2004 –). *Talking to Americans* represented a continuation of

the Canadian humorous tradition of making fun of Americans, and featured host Rick Mercer showcasing real Americans' ignorance about Canada. The *Rick Mercer Report*, like *22 Minutes*, is a news parody programme, but also features Mercer travelling to various locations across Canada to spend time with "ordinary folks", as well as staging weekly 'rants' where he opines on political issues (Druick, 2008: 118). The show has been known to reach over a million viewers per episode, and reached a record high in its most recent eighth season with one episode garnering an estimated 1.5 million viewers (Brioux, 2011).

The sketch-comedy, political satire and news parody show, the *Royal Canadian Air Farce*, premiered on CBC television in 1993 and aired weekly until 2008. The *Royal Canadian Air Farce* – a Canadian comedy institution – featured "topical humour aimed at [Canada's] most newsworthy people and events" (Airfarce.com). According to cast member Don Ferguson, Air Farce aimed to "[provide] a mirror – slightly cracked – for the nation" (Airfarce.com).

Scholars disagree about whether or not Canadian political humour has really challenged official discourse. On one hand, Tinic (2005; 2009) argues that the marginalized Newfoundland identities of the creative forces behind *22 Minutes* and the *Rick Mercer Report* contribute to their expression of "resistance against the United States" and against "'official culture' imposed by the centre [of Canada]" (Tinic, 2005: 134). In fact, the creative forces behind *CODCO*, *This Hour Has 22 Minutes*, *Talking to Americans* and the *Rick Mercer Report* – some of "the most successful Canadian satirical television comedies over the past 15 years" – are all from Newfoundland, "one of the most marginalized provinces in the country" (Tinic, 2009: 170). Newfoundlanders' "sense of exclusion", Tinic points out, "has provided [them] with a keen and critical perspective of the country" (2009: 170-71). In the case of *22 Minutes*, this critical perspective has contributed to the construction of an alternative image of Canadian identity that includes their own "regional voice" (Tinic, 2005: 134). For instance, in Rick Mercer's 'rants' on *22 Minutes*, shot locally "on the wharves of Halifax", he "attacked current bids for power by institutions, politicians, and even provinces" (Tinic, 2005: 143-45). His identity "as an underdog Newfoundlander" made

Mercer's social criticism of Canada's "power centres" – Toronto and Ottawa – the British monarchy, and Americans all the more powerful (Tinic: 2005: 143). Tinic argues, in fact, that "*22 Minutes* attempts to serve the interests of middle- and lower-class Canadians and the social interests of those who are marginalized by race, gender, or sexuality, rather than of people in positions of economic and political power" (2005: 138-39).

Druick (2008), however, questions whether the marginal location of *22 Minutes'* creators actually results in the construction of an alternative view of Canadian nationhood: "Although the show's Newfoundland accent allows for subversive expressions, literal and figurative, unavailable to non-regional Canadians, the extent of the show's ultimate challenge to the national narrative is certainly debatable" (2008: 122). In terms of location at least, the *Rick Mercer Report* – filmed in Canada's main 'power centre', Toronto – represents a significant departure from his days on *22 Minutes*. In fact, Druick (2008) argues that as Mercer's location shifted from the periphery to Ontario – "the center of both Canadian media and Canadian politics" – his social and political satire has lost its "edge" (122). Tinic (2009) submits that, at times, it seems as if Mercer may have been "co-opted" by those in power (184). For instance, politicians appear willingly as guests and interviewees on his programme – suggesting, perhaps, that there is little risk, and in fact, some reward, in doing so (Tinic, 2009: 182). Moreover, unlike his American counterpart, Jon Stewart, Mercer's interviews with politicians take place not in his own studio, but on "neutral territories where he and politicians [appear] as friends casually chatting" (Tinic, 2009: 182). For instance, the programme has featured Mercer spending a day fishing with prominent Liberal MP Bob Rae, and having a slumber party with Stephen Harper (Tinic, 2009: 183). Such segments are pure entertainment, featuring little, if any, political satire. The slumber party with Harper, for instance, seemed "designed to merely humanize one of the least expressive federal leaders in Canadian history" (Tinic, 2009: 183). Because of this, some, like Druick, argue that Mercer's satire lacks bite. Tinic (2009) points out, however, that "in the same episode where Mercer pals around with politicians, he

will simultaneously rake them over the coals in the 'news' reporting segments" (184).

As for the other programme featured in this study, Druick (2008) argues that it is difficult to say whether the *Royal Canadian Air Farce* subverts institutionalized power, or whether it "merely provides a release valve for authorized laughing at authority" (Druick, 2008: 118). As with *Rick Mercer*, the fact that prominent politicians appeared regularly and willingly on the annual *Royal Canadian Air Farce* New Year's Eve specials throughout the 1990s lessened the show's subversive potential, according to Druick (2008: 118). Moreover, Druick notes that, rather than come across as ideologically biased and risk losing public funding, comedians working for the CBC must see it in their best interests "to apply the satire thinly and evenly across the political spectrum" (2008: 122). In attempting to be fair and unbiased, however, such shows "paradoxically reinforce the similar tropes of balance and objectivity upheld by the sober news" (123).

In sum, while scholars disagree about the potential of CBC political humour programmes to subvert dominant discourse, it is still safe to say that the reasons for studying political humour in general apply to studying Canadian political humour in particular. Though opinions clearly differ regarding how critical programmes like *Rick Mercer*, *22 Minutes* and the *Royal Canadian Air Farce* really are of authority figures, Canadian political humour remains a popular source of political information and commentary for Canadians. On top of this, Canadian political humour has played an integral role in fostering a national identity that is distinct from that of Britain and the United States (Rasporich, 1996).

Canada also has a "superior tradition of political cartooning" (Rasporich, 1996: 84). Editorial cartoons are a unique form of political humour that, like political humour on television, provide biting political commentary on politicians and their policies while entertaining their audiences. The study of political cartoons requires its own justification, as they are a unique phenomenon in themselves.

Why Study Editorial Cartoons?

Before delving into the question, "why study the editorial cartoon?" it is necessary to define the genre. The editorial cartoon, as its name implies, is normally featured prominently on a newspaper's editorial page (Koetzle and Brunell, 1996: 99). Today, however, editorial cartoons are not confined to newspapers, but also proliferate on the Internet on cartoonists' own websites and on sites like Artizans.ca, which are dedicated to showcasing the work of cartoonists. Editorial cartoons, like the other elements of editorial pages, provide subjective political commentary. The editorial cartoon is unique, however, in its visual nature, using images to convey arguments about the political actors, events and issues of the day (Feldman, 1995: 571).

Editorial cartoons use a variety of visual rhetorical tools to convey meanings surrounding various aspects of politics (Edwards and Ware, 2005: 468). "[L]ike fun-house mirrors", cartoonists exaggerate and distort political reality (Marlette qtd. in Buell and Maus, 1988: 847). Cartoonists often caricature the politically powerful, emphasizing George W. Bush's big ears or Tony Blair's teeth (Edwards and Ware, 2005: 468). Editorial cartoons are often, but not always, humorous, employing tools of contrast, paradox, pun and irony (Seymour-Ure, 2008: 81). Cartoonists also use visual metaphors, narratives, and allusions to convey their perspectives (Edwards and Ware, 2005: 468; El Refaie, 2003; Seymour-Ure, 2008: 81).

Perhaps because of its visual and humourous nature, the editorial cartoon certainly has not always been regarded as a subject worthy of academic inquiry (Harrison, 1981: 11). Certainly, many academics still doubt its relevance to social science. Even in the field of political communication research, "research on editorial cartoons […] exist[s] on the margins" (Edwards and Ware, 2005: 468-9). So, why is the editorial cartoon worthy of academic study? In short, scholars who study the editorial cartoon argue that its "prominence, potency, and socio-cultural significance" make it an important aspect of political communication (Trimble, Sampert and Way, 2010: 2).

Like political comedy programmes on television, editorial cartoons are at once humourous – a form of political entertainment – and informative – offering perspectives on important political issues and people (Trimble, Way and Sampert, 2010: 72). In Harrison's (1981) words, the cartoon is both an "educator and editorialist" and can "irritate, tickle or tease, inform or reform" (31). Voters, moreover, are increasingly turning to forms of political satire like the editorial cartoon to "supplement other sources of information and persuasion" (Conners, 2005: 480). While what often appears to be happening in political satire is a 'dumbing down' of complicated information, Worcester (2007) contends that political satire, including that of the editorial cartoon, actually produces complex meanings about politics (223). Ultimately, as sources of both political humour and information, "editorial cartoons […] are part of the composite of election-related messages that voters receive" (Conners, 2005: 480); thus, research on editorial cartoons should be part of the larger body of research on political communication (Trimble, Way and Sampert, 2010: 72).

Cartoons are almost invariably negative, criticizing politicians and their policies in blunt and biting fashion. Like political humourists in general, editorial cartoonists are unbound by journalistic norms of fairness and balance (Koetzle and Brunell, 1996: 96; Maggio 2007, 238), and have a "license to heckle" (Gamson and Stuart, 1992: 61). Indeed, Trimble, Sampert and Way (2010) found that cartoonists' depictions of Canadian party leaders in the 2004, 2006 and 2008 elections were highly negative, pointing out character flaws and campaign gaffes, criticizing their policy proposals, and undermining their integrity and competency. Likewise, Feldman (1995) found that cartoonists depicted Japanese prime ministers in a negative light during their first months in office (576). Buell and Maus (1988), moreover, found that cartoon depictions of US presidential candidates in 1988 were "unflattering" to say the least (856), and Edwards (2001) found that editorial cartoons of Bush and Gore during the 2000 US presidential election raised serious questions about their leadership skills (2149). Because the editorial cartoon offers such potent and potentially damaging assessments of

politicians, Koetzle and Brunell (1996) argue that editorial cartoons are a site upon which "a portion of the battle for image is waged, won, and lost" (97).

That politicians have long feared editorial cartoons is evidence of their potency. As Buell and Maus (1988) state: "As long as editorial cartoonists have caricatured politicians, politicians have feared for their public images" (847). Likewise, Danjoux (2007) states that the "history of the political cartoon is shadowed by attempts to silence their artists" (246). For example, in the United States, Pennsylvania and California have banned the production of political cartoons in the past, cartoonist Paul Conrad was put on former President Nixon's "enemies list", and a New Hampshire newspaper editor was fired after former Presidential Press Secretary Ari Fleischer condemned a cartoon that criticized former President George W. Bush (Danjoux, 2007: 246). These and other attempts to silence editorial cartoonists represent evidence of the cartoon's continued relevance, in Danjoux's view (2007: 246). Harrison (1981) points out that aside from the cartoon's "savage ability to depict in unflattering caricature", politicians have traditionally feared the editorial cartoon because of its accessibility "even to those who may not be especially literate or politically aware" (14).

Indeed, a large part of the potency of editorial cartoons lies in the "power of pictures" (Buell and Maus, 1988: 847). One advantage of using images to convey meaning is that, through images, one can "say the unsayable" (Seymour-Ure, 2008: 82). Certainly, the content of some political cartoons "might well be unacceptable if spelt out in words" (Seymour-Ure qtd. in Buell and Maus, 1988: 847). Moreover, through images, cartoonists can communicate complex meanings "in a much more immediate and condensed fashion" than a writer may be able to communicate with words alone (El Rafaie, 2003: 87). Arguably, cartoonists' criticisms of politicians may actually create a more lasting – and potentially more damaging – effect than criticism that takes the written form. In the words of Grofman:

> Certainly cartoon visual imagery is more readily retained than the equivalent information or ideas conveyed in a print medium. A picture, it has been suggested, is worth a thousand words. Sometimes, too, a political

cartoon of satiric tone may be worth a thousand daggers: or a thousand more votes. (qtd. in Koetzle and Brunell, 1996: 96)

Finally, editorial cartoons are interesting from a political science perspective because they are intensely ideological (McAllister et al., 2001). The media in general is a "site on which various social groups, institutions, and ideologies struggle over the definition and construction of social reality" (Gurevitch and Levy qtd. in Gamson and Stuart, 1992: 55). Editorial cartoons are no exception, as cartoonists put forth particular, ideologically-laden versions of reality (Edwards and Ware, 2005: 468-9). Gamson and Stuart (1992), for instance, analyzed Cold War era cartoons, arguing that a "symbolic contest" between those favouring militarization and those promoting the peace movement took place through the cartoons (84). Since cartoonists risk losing favour with their audiences if they "stray [too] far from the tastes of their readers" (Seymoure-Ure, 2008: 83), political cartoons often align with the views of dominant society. As McAllister et al. (2001) point out, though, cartoons can also be a tool of resistance to dominant ideology (3).

In sum, as a unique and "particularly outspoken and potent" form of political commentary (Seymour-Ure, 2008: 79) the editorial cartoon is deserving of attention from media scholars. Editorial cartoons, just like political humour programmes on television, at once amuse, criticize and inform. A prominent element of newspaper editorial pages and now featured extensively on the Internet, editorial cartoons continue to be an accessible and relevant form of political humour, information and critique, feared by politicians for their potential to inflict damage on their public images (Danjoux, 2007: 246; Harrison, 1981: 14). Indeed, through images, cartoonists often speak the unspeakable, making their criticism especially harsh. Because of their reliance on familiar and taken-for-granted images, symbols, metaphors, references and ideas, moreover, editorial cartoons hold the potential of illuminating a society's shared attitudes and beliefs. This makes them a particularly interesting medium when analyzing a controversial subject such as gender (Edwards, 2007: 249; Gilmartin, 2001: 53;

Goodman, 2001: 40; Miller, 1993: 359). Indeed, as I show in chapter 2, editorial cartoonists participate in constructing gender.

The Gender Dimension of 'Politainment'

Texts that fit under the broad category of 'politainment' are not gender neutral. In part because of 'politainment's' gendered implications, van Zoonen (2005) argues that scholars should avoid rejecting or celebrating 'politainment' as either the bane or the saviour of democracy; instead, they should subject the genre to critical and contextual analysis (4). In particular, the culture of celebrity politics – the combination of popularization and personalization inherent in 'politainment' – must be critically analyzed (van Zoonen, 2005; 2006).

In a culture of celebrity politics, the focus is on the individual politician; meanwhile questions of ideology, party affiliation, and policy platforms become less important, and one's ideological or political identity becomes more fluid (Corner and Pels, 2003: 6-7; van Zoonen, 2005: 69). Likewise, Street (2003) argues that, because of the naturally dramatic nature of politics, politicians are performers who must craft 'personas' in order to portray themselves in the most flattering light. In our contemporary entertainment- and celebrity-focused culture, this means that the politician must not only embody his or her own political identity, but also shape it into an identity that conforms to the requirements of celebrity culture (86). "What is at stake then," according to van Zoonen (2005), is "*persona*-lization understood as the performance of political actors operating at the intersections of politics and entertainment" (72). Personalization means that citizens evaluate politicians not only based on their policies, but also on their personalities and their "performance[s] on the stages particular to politics and entertainment culture" (van Zoonen, 2005: 72). As in celebrity culture, issues of "style, appearance, […] personality", and popularity, become central (Corner and Pels, 2003: 2).

Celebrity politics is not as easily navigated by women politicians as it is by men, because the "cultural model of politician is much closer to the ideas of masculinity than of femininity" (van Zoonen, 2005: 75). In fact, van Zoonen

(2006) argues that celebrity politics "seems to produce a stronger symbolic distance than before between hegemonic ideas of femininity and the political sphere" (298). Not only do female politicians contradict and disrupt the dominant feminine stereotypes of women produced and reproduced by the mass media and entertainment industry, they are also "'others' in the political sphere" (van Zoonen, 2006: 291; 298). To be successful in a culture of celebrity politics, then, female politicians must "mask their femininity and imitate men" (van Zoonen, 2006: 292). Male politicians, on the other hand, tend to make use of masculine archetypes, such as that of the 'hero', the "wise father", the "family man", the "ordinary man" who becomes politician, or the "uncontested winner" in their attempts to craft an authentic and likeable persona (van Zoonen, 2005: 75-76).

The news media, as I discuss in chapter 2, participate in this construction of political leadership as inherently masculine, and feminist scholars studying women, politics and the media have demonstrated the various ways in which the media do so. As Gidengil and Everitt (1999; 2000; 2003) show, however, gender bias in the media is not always blatant. There is a need, they argue, to account for the "more subtle, but arguably more insidious" forms of gender bias, including the framing of politics in stereotypically masculine terms, that currently persist in the media's coverage of politics (Gidengil and Everitt, 1999: 49). In this study, I am interested in the ways in which Canadian political humourists take part in perpetuating such subtle yet insidious forms of bias through their representations of politics and masculinity. Specifically, I am interested in political humourists' evaluations of male candidates' masculinities, their tendency to proclaim the masculinities of male candidates as somehow deficient, and their treatment of femaleness/femininity as undesirable in politics. Political humour represents an as of yet under-examined source for understanding the social construction of gender and political leadership. Since humour allows for the discussion of taboo subjects like gender and sexuality, meanwhile sanctioning 'deviant' behaviour (Palmer, 1994: 58-61), we are likely to witness frank discussions of a candidate's gender in political humour, providing a window into attitudes about sex, gender and Canadian politics.

Structure of the Thesis

In this chapter, I addressed the question of why political scientists should care about constructions of masculinity in political humour about the 2008 Canadian federal election. In short, studying the construction of masculinity in political humour about Canadian politics offers a new perspective on the media's role in (re)producing meanings surrounding gender, power and political leadership in which women and femininity are seen as alien, and maleness and masculinity are seen as necessary for succeeding in the political realm. Scrutinizing men and masculinity using a gendered lens destabilizes the normative status that men enjoy in the political sphere. Furthermore, analyzing the construction of gender in political humour – as opposed to traditional news sources – yields new information about a form of political communication that is under-studied yet increasingly popular.

In the following chapter, I present the theory guiding my analysis of constructions of masculinity in political humour about the 2008 Canadian federal election, specifically, Connell's ([1995] 2005) theory of masculinities. Since Connell's theory has been subject to academic criticism, I also address the various criticisms of Connell's work, and Connell and Messerschmidt's (2005) recent response to such criticisms. Next, I connect Connell's theory with the literature on gender, the media and political leadership through a discussion of feminist research on media constructions of politics as a masculine realm. Finally, turning my attention to political humour and its role in producing and reinforcing gender norms, I discuss the various ways in which meanings surrounding gender and political leadership are constructed through humour, and in particular, the role of the editorial cartoon in this regard.

In chapter 3, I outline the methodological approach employed in my analysis of constructions of masculinity in political humour. Specifically, I describe my use of content and discourse analysis, and the various benefits and challenges associated with these methodological approaches. In chapter 4, I offer the findings of my analysis of gender in political humour about Harper and Dion

and situate them within the broader discussion of gendered media bias as it pertains to elite Canadian politics. Finally, I offer my conclusions and suggestions for future research in chapter 5.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND EMPIRICAL FOUNDATIONS

Introduction

In this chapter, I present the theoretical framework guiding my analysis of constructions of masculinity in political humour about the 2008 Canadian federal election. I use Connell's ([1995] 2005) theory of masculinities to amplify the insights and findings of researchers who have explored gendered news coverage of women politicians. Connell's theory is original and important in that it views gendered power relationships as occurring not just between men and women, but within these sex 'categories', with socially constructed hierarchies privileging masculinity over femininity, and some masculinities over others. Recently, scholars have proposed the need for review and revision of Connell's theory and concepts, noting several problems with their application. In response, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) proposed a reformulation of the theory, though they maintain its core principles and concepts. After describing Connell's theory in detail, I review these criticisms and how Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) address them in their reformulation.

Following this, I discuss masculinity in the political realm, focusing on the many ways in which political leadership is socially constructed as inherently masculine. In doing so, I pay particular attention to the literature on women, politics and the media, illustrating the ways in which, through their representations of female politicians, the media reinforce the view that politics is a masculine pursuit. By integrating a discussion of politics and masculinity with the literature on women and politics, I pay heed to the argument of Hearn et al. (2003) that research on men and masculinity "should not be understood and developed separately from research on women" (175). Such an approach is necessary in order to avoid obscuring the reality of men's domination over women (Hearn, 1996; 2004; Hooper, 1998).

Finally, I turn my attention to political humour and its role in producing and reinforcing gender norms. I discuss the various ways in which gender is constructed through humour, and in particular, the role of the editorial cartoon in constructing meanings surrounding gender and political leadership. First, however, I begin with a brief discussion of the history of the study of masculinities.

A Brief History of the Study of Masculinities

Before discussing Connell's theory of masculinities in detail, it is useful to understand the origins of contemporary theory on masculinities. The contemporary field of the critical study of masculinity emerged from four fields of thought: Freudian psychoanalysis, the sex-role research of the 1950s and 60s, and feminist and gay and queer scholarship (Carrigan et al., 1985; Connell, [1995] 2005). Freudian psychology represented "[t]he first sustained attempt to build a scientific account of masculinity" making Freud's work "the starting-point of modern thought about masculinity" (Connell, [1995] 2005: 8). Through his recognition that gender and sexuality are not biologically fixed but constructed through one's interactions and experiences, Freud "made an enquiry into [masculinity] possible" (8).

In the 1950s, according to Connell, the "first important attempt to create a social science of masculinity" occurred ([1995] 2005: 21). This approach was based on the idea of a "male sex role" (Connell, [1995] 2005: 21). The concept of 'sex roles', or the idea that "being a man or a woman means enacting a *general* set of expectations which are attached to one's sex" – was coined by social psychologists in the mid-twentieth century as a new, supposedly more progressive, way of accounting for gender difference that avoided biological determinism (Connell, [1995] 2005: 22, emphasis original). Led by the work of Talcott Parsons, "sex-role theory dominated the western sociological discourse on women" (Carrigan et al., 1985: 554). Parsons saw sex-roles as socially produced as opposed to naturally occurring (Carrigan et al., 1985: 555). As Carrigan et al. (1985) point out, however, Parsons's sex-role theory did not contribute to a

feminist theory of sex/gender, as his theory failed to account for power relationships between men and women, instead seeing male and female sex-roles as complementary (556).

Second-wave feminist theory, with its critique of patriarchy, supplied the analysis of power relations that was lacking in sex-role theory (Carrigan et al., 1985: 564). The feminist notion, moreover, that gender is not innate or natural but socially constructed brought clarity to the study of men and masculinity (Carrigan et al., 1985: 565). Though a minority of scholars rejected this view, arguing instead that gender is a natural result of sex, the "more common view was that masculinity is the artificial product of conditioning, with biological differences of only minimal importance" (Carrigan et al., 1985: 565). Also, there was recognition in the new literature on masculinity that differences exist not only between masculinity and femininity, but also "within masculinity and femininity" (Carrigan et al., 1985: 566).

Along with feminist theory, the gay liberation movement has helped to lay the foundations for contemporary theory on men and masculinity (Carrigan et al., 1985: 583). Gay activists were the first to point out a hierarchy of masculinities existing among men (Carrigan et al., 1985: 583-84). They resisted their subordination by accepting and celebrating their perceived effeminacy and arguing that "the real problem lay in the rigid social definitions of masculinity" (Carrigan et al., 1985: 585-86). Queer theory, moreover, discussed the existence of power relations among men, arguing that "the homosexual/heterosexual dichotomy acts as a central symbol in all rankings of masculinity" and that "powerlessness" or refusal to embrace normative masculinity automatically becomes equated with notions of homosexuality (Carrigan et al., 1985: 587). It is from this rationale that the concept of hegemonic masculinity stems (Carrigan et al., 1985: 587), and from which contemporary theory on masculinities emerges.

In their landmark article, "Toward a New Sociology of Masculinity", Carrigan, Connell and Lee (1985) attempted to move beyond the shortcomings and inadequacies of early scholarship on men and masculinity – including the lack of attention to gendered power relations – and to propose ideas for a new

sociology of masculinity. In order to properly account for power relations, they argued, a theory of masculinity must utilize the insights provided by feminist theory (Carrigan et al., 1985: 552). Furthermore, they argued that power relations must not only be considered in terms of those occurring between men and women, but also "inside the sex categories" (Carrigan et al., 1985: 552). Along with this, they argued that "the question of what forms of masculinity are socially dominant or hegemonic has to be explored" (Carrigan et al., 1985: 552). Finally, a sociological theory of masculinity needed to move beyond "the dichotomies of structure versus individual [and] society versus the person, that have plagued the analysis of gender" (552). They envisioned their sociology of masculinity bringing a radical new perspective to theorizing on gender (Carrigan et al., 1985: 553).

Connell's Theory of Masculinities

In *Masculinities* ([1995] 2005), Connell develops the ideas articulated by Carrigan, Connell and Lee in their 1985 article by delineating a theory of masculinities and clarifying the concept of hegemonic masculinity. In keeping with the earlier work developed with Carrigan and Lee, Connell emphasizes the importance of power relations, both in terms of patriarchal relations between men and women and among men. Indeed, Connell argues that it is insufficient to merely describe differences between masculinities. Rather, it is necessary to "recognize the relations between the different kinds of masculinity: relations of alliance, dominance and subordination. These relationships are constructed through practices that exclude and include, that intimidate, exploit, and so on" (Connell, [1995] 2005: 37).

Connell's perspective on gender, more generally, provides a useful starting point to understand her theory of masculinities. Connell (2000) argues in favour of a relational view of gender, wherein gender is viewed as structuring all social processes (23-24). A relational perspective allows us to understand the structure of gender – which has multiple dimensions – but also, importantly, "the relationship between bodies and society" (Connell, 2000: 23-24). Connell breaks

down the structure of gender into four inter-related parts: first, power relations or the system of male domination known as patriarchy; second, production relations or the division of labour, namely, the economic benefits enjoyed by men from their unequal share of control of the capitalist economy, the wage gap, and women's unequal share of domestic labour, in other words, "the *patriarchal dividend*" (2000: 25, emphasis original); third, the structure of cathexis or desire, which is gendered and heteronormative; and fourth, symbolism or communication, which "is increasingly recognized as a vital element of social processes" and an "important [site] of "gender practice" (2000: 25-26). My research is concerned with the latter structure of gender – the structure of symbolism or communication.

As Connell notes, a theory of gender must not only account for the ways in which gender structures social relations, but must also provide a way to understand the interaction of the social with the biological (2000: 26). Connell rightly notes that accounting for this relationship has been "a sore point for theory" (2000: 26), with explanations of the relationship between bodies and society tending to be either biologically or socially determinist ([1995] 2005: 45-46). Connell attempts to move beyond a view of gender as either biological or social, or some combination of both, by conceiving of bodies as "entering into the social process" and thereby becoming historical and political ([1995] 2005: 56). In her view, bodies are "both agents and objects of practice" – neither passive receptors of social influence nor purely agentic (Connell, 2000: 26). Connell sees bodies as "*substantively* in play in social practices such as sport, labour and sex" ([1995] 2005: 58). Connell describes the relationship of bodies to the social as one characterized by what she terms "body-reflexive practices" (2000: 26; [1995] 2005: 61). Body-reflexive practices form "the structures within which bodies are appropriated and defined" ([1995] 2005: 61). Such a perspective of the relation of bodies to the social, according to Connell, acknowledges that the materiality of bodies – for instance, their ability "to give birth, to give milk, to menstruate, to open, to penetrate, to ejaculate" – matters ([1995] 2005: 64-65). Body-reflexive practices do not occur in isolation, but in wider "configurations of gender

practice" (2000: 28; [1995] 2005: 72). Masculinity and femininity, in Connell's view, represent such configurations of gender practice (2000: 28).

As configurations of gender practice, masculinities and femininities are socially constructed by individuals and at the collective level by institutions, such as the state, military, the media, and the education system (Connell, 2000: 28-29). Connell argues, for instance, that the state is a "masculine institution" ([1995] 2005: 73) that promotes "particular masculinities and regulates relations between masculinities in the gender order of society" (2000: 29-30). From a post-structuralist standpoint, masculinity and femininity are also produced and reproduced at the level of discourse (Connell, [1995] 2005: 72-73). Of course, not all individuals accept the particular version of masculinity or femininity being presented to them, choosing instead to resist and contest the social production of gender (Connell, 2000: 30).

In a patriarchal society, masculinity is socially constructed in opposition to femininity (Connell, [1995] 2005: 68; 2000: 31). Someone who is perceived to be "unmasculine", then, behaves in a stereotypically 'feminine' manner: "being peaceable rather than violent, conciliatory rather than dominating, hardly able to kick a football, uninterested in sexual conquest, and so forth" (Connell, [1995] 2005: 67). The term 'masculinity' is often used when referring to men. Masculinity, as Connell points out, however, is not "determined by male biology"; thus, women can be masculine and men can be feminine (2000: 29). Power relations are embedded in notions of masculinity and femininity; specifically, patriarchy – or the system of male domination over women – is intimately related to the privileging of masculinity over femininity (Connell, [1995] 2005: 74; 2000: 31).

Notions of masculinity and femininity are not only related to power relations between men and women, but also among men (Connell, [1995] 2005: 76). Multiple masculinities exist, and all are certainly not created equal (Connell, 2000: 10). Hegemonic masculinity, a concept derived from Gramscian theory, is defined by Connell ([1995] 2005) as "the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of

patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women" (77). Connell ([1995] 2005) is careful to note that hegemonic masculinity is not "a fixed character type, always and everywhere the same"; rather, it is the most "culturally exalted" – or most desired – form of masculinity in a certain social and historical context (Connell, [1995] 2005: 76-77; 164).

While hegemonic masculinity is not necessarily the norm among men, it is "certainly normative" (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005: 832). That is, though most men do not embody the standards of hegemonic masculinity – and the world's most powerful men may not even conform to its standards – men are encouraged by the cultural exaltation of hyper-masculine exemplars to strive to attain society's prescribed standards. Most men, moreover, are complicit in hegemonic masculinity's perpetuation because of the privilege it affords them in relation to women and other men (Connell, [1995] 2005: 79). Indeed, complicit masculinities are those that are "organized around acceptance of the patriarchal dividend, but are not militant in defense of patriarchy" (Connell, 2000: 31).

Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) note that hegemonic masculinity stems directly from "homosexual men's experience with violence and prejudice from straight men" (831). However, gay masculinity is not the only subordinated masculinity; indeed, the masculinities of straight men and boys are constantly called into question as well through culturally-sanctioned epithets like "wimp", "nerd", "sissy", "dweeb", and "geek" (Connell, [1995] 2005: 79). Of course, much more harsh terms also come to mind. As Connell points out, such pejorative terms are often associated with the feminine – thus, "[s]ubordinated masculinities are symbolically assimilated to femininity" (2000: 31). Connell also notes the existence of "marginalized masculinities", which exist among men who are not of the dominant, white majority (2000: 30-31). Marginalized masculinities do not necessarily vary greatly from hegemonic masculinity, though they lack its social legitimacy and authority (Connell, 2000: 30-31).

Connell is vague about what hegemonic masculinity actually looks like in practice, as many of her critics have noted (for example, Hearn, 2004; Wetherell

and Edley, 1999; Whitehead, 1999). This vagueness is due to the fact that hegemonic masculinity, as Connell notes, is always socially, culturally, and historically specific. Connell does offer some insight into current patterns of hegemonic masculinity, however.

Connell argues that because of globalization, Western culture – along with the "European/American gender order" – has been exported worldwide ([1995] 2005: 199), resulting in the emergence of "transnational" forms of masculinity ([1995] 2005: 263). Specifically, Connell argues that "transnational business masculinity" is the current global form of hegemonic masculinity ([1995] 2005: 263; 2000: 51-52). Transnational business masculinity is espoused by "the new capitalist entrepreneur" and the international politicians they interact with (Connell, [1995] 2005: 263). Men who embody transnational business masculinity are said to be "flexible, calculative, [and] egocentric", to possess limited loyalty and a "declining sense of responsibility for others " and exhibit a "growing tendency to commodify [sexual] relations with women" (Connell, [1995] 2005: 263; 2000: 52). Examples of notable men who embody transnational business masculinity, according to Connell ([1995] 2005) are Bill Clinton and Tony Blair (263). The power of transnational businessmen lies not in physical strength or "bodily force", but in their institutional power (Connell, 2000: 52). This is not to say, however, that physical power is no longer desirable; in fact, Connell argues that the elite businessmen who run global corporations frequently and "increasingly use the exemplary bodies of elite sportsmen" to sell their products (2000: 52).

According to Connell, transnational business masculinity "has had only one major competitor for hegemony in recent decades: the rigid, control-oriented masculinity of military command" (2000: 54; [1995] 2005: 263). Military masculinity continues to be exalted in the aftermath of 9/11, with the so-called 'War on Terror' taking place in Iraq and Afghanistan. However, Connell maintains that transnational business masculinity "holds the world stage" ([1995] 2005: 263; 2000: 54).

With little empirical evidence of transnational business masculinity's hegemony provided by Connell, it is difficult to accept that such a "clear hegemony exists" (2000: 54). It is unclear, for instance, how Connell came to determine that transnational business masculinity is *the* form of global hegemonic masculinity, and how she determined that military masculinity is probably the second-most hegemonic form of masculinity. How does one quantify and subsequently order these types of hegemony in order to say that one form is the *most* hegemonic, and another is the *second-most* hegemonic? With no way of proving which form of masculinity is *the* current global form of hegemonic masculinity, one could just as easily assert, for instance, that the athletic masculinity of amateur and professional sport is the most dominant global form. In short, though she may be correct in her argument, Connell offers insufficient evidence to support the claim that transnational business masculinity is the current global form of hegemonic masculinity. In fact, in their study of the life histories of Australian businessmen, while Connell and Wood (2005) do find some support for the notion that transnational business masculinity is achieving hegemonic status on the global stage, they submit that transnational business masculinity "accounts for only part of the picture of change in masculinity under globalization" (362-63).

Discussion of a so-called 'softening' of hegemonic masculinity is recurrent throughout the literature. MacKinnon (2003), for example, notes the emergence of the 'New Man' – who is sensitive, caring, and sympathetic to feminist ideas – around the 1970s (13). Similarly, Hooper (1998) argues that a 'softening' of hegemonic masculinity occurred in the 1990's, wherein traditionally feminine qualities such as the ability to communicate and cooperate have come to be required of men (38-41). Niva (1998) also identifies a 'softening' of hegemonic masculinity in the 1990s, occurring specifically during the Gulf War. This new masculinity "combined toughness and aggressiveness with some tenderness and compassion" (Niva, 1998: 110-11). The new American man, though willing to endanger his life to defend his country and international

law, eschews a "hypermacho" persona through a "slight feminization"; he is "tough and aggressive, yet tenderhearted" (Niva, 1998: 118).

This 'softening' of hegemonic masculinity can be understood as the adaptation of hegemonic masculinity in response to feminist critiques of men and masculinity. In the face of feminist criticism, it is through the incorporation of so-called 'feminine' qualities that "masculinity is enabled to go on being hegemonic" (MacKinnon, 2003: 10). In MacKinnon's words:

> Put simply, if hegemonic masculinity is a means for certain men to dominate women and other men, then as these latter categories change so must the former category […] Historical change among the subordinated seems to demand change in the dominant if that dominance is not to be radically destabilized. (2003, 10)

Since masculinity must continually "redefine itself" in order to remain hegemonic, the 'softening' of masculinity described above represents only superficial change in terms of gender relations: "Masculinity […] becomes less hegemonic precisely in order to stay hegemonic" (MacKinnon, 2003: 73).

Criticisms of Connell's theory

The above descriptions of hegemonic masculinity, including Connell's concept of transnational business masculinity, can paint a confusing picture. How, for instance, can the concept of hegemonic masculinity be operationalized? In part because of this, Connell's theory has been the subject of criticism. Critics have variously argued that the concept of masculinity, itself, is irrelevant or flawed (Hearn, 1996), that the concept of hegemonic masculinity is unclear (Beasley, 2008), that individual experience has not been adequately accounted for in theorizing about hegemonic masculinity (Coles, 2009; Lusher and Robins, 2009; Wetherell and Edley, 1999), that hegemonic masculinity is difficult to identify empirically (Donaldson, 1993; Hearn, 2004; Whitehead, 1999), and that the concept of hegemonic masculinity should be articulated using a more precise application of Gramscian theory (Demetriou, 2008; Howson, 2008). Connell has responded to many of these criticisms directly in her 2005 article with James Messerschmidt, "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept". Taking into

account some of the following criticisms, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) propose some minor adjustments to the theory, maintaining, however, the theory's core concepts and principles.

Hearn (1996) questions the usefulness of the concept of masculinity itself and identifies several problems with its usage. Hearn argues that the concept has been used imprecisely (1996: 203). For example, the concept is used variously to refer to one's "essential self", "deep center", or "gender identity", to "sex stereotype[s]" to "attitudes, institutional practices and so on" (Hearn, 1996: 213). As a result, "what is exactly meant by masculinity is often unclear" (Hearn, 1996: 213). Furthermore, Hearn takes issue with its use in referring to a variety of male behaviours, or as an all-encompassing term explaining men in general (1996: 203). Ultimately, Hearn argues that analyses of 'masculinity' should be replaced by analyses of 'men'. It is unclear, however, how the use of the concept 'men' as an all-encompassing category is more accurate or desirable than the concept of 'masculinity'.

Hearn also argues that analyses of 'masculinity' reinforce a dichotomous view of gender and gendered power relations (1996: 211-12). Assuming that masculinity exists, according to Hearn, reifies "the social construction of sex and gender" and naturalizes the connection between men and masculinity, and women and femininity (212). On the contrary, Connell (2000) emphasizes that women, too, can and do embody masculinity (29). A valid criticism can be made, however, that studies of masculinity tend to revolve around men, thereby potentially reinforcing the social construction of gender. It seems, then, that what Hearn (1996) identifies here is not a problem with Connell's concept of masculinity, but with the *application* of the concept.

Further, Hearn (1996) maintains that the concept lacks usefulness when studying the representation of men in the media, for example by stating, without providing any clear justification, that "an advertisement showing a man is not made more comprehensible by bringing in a notion of masculinity" (213). I contend, however, that the concept of masculinity can be extremely useful in studying representations of both men and women in the media. The concept is

useful for understanding the connection between not just sex, but also gender and political leadership. For instance, we know that the media tend to reinforce the notion that politics is a male domain, but how is politics also constructed as masculine, or requiring masculine characteristics? To gain insight into this construction the concept of masculinity is crucial.

Several scholars feel the concept of hegemonic masculinity is totalizing. Despite Connell's ([1995] 2005; 2000) use of detailed, micro-level, qualitative life history research in which she describes real men's experiences negotiating their own masculinities, Coles (2009), Lusher and Robins (2009) and Wetherell and Edley (1999) argue that Connell's theorizing about hegemonic masculinity has not adequately accounted for individual experience. Coming from the perspective of social psychology, Wetherell and Edley (1999) argue that Connell fails to address "the question of how the forms [of masculinity] he [sic] identifies actually prescribe or regulate men's lives" (336). Coles (2009) argues that greater attention needs to be paid to the lives of actual men and "the strategies men use to negotiate masculinities in their everyday lives" (30). Likewise, Lusher and Robins (2009) find difficulty connecting the individual to broader social structures in Connell's theory.

Others have found it difficult to operationalize the concept in order to apply it in empirical research. Hearn (2004), for instance, asks, "what is actually to count as hegemonic masculinity"? (58). He continues:

> Is it a cultural ideal, cultural images, even fantasy? Is it summed up in the stuff of heroes? Is it toughness, aggressiveness, violence? Or is it corporate respectability? It is simply heterosexist homophobia? Is it the rather general persistence of patriarchal gender arrangements? (Hearn, 2004: 58)

Likewise, Whitehead (1999) expresses difficulty in discerning, who, exactly, embodies hegemonic masculinity (58). From my understanding of Connell's theory, it may be any or all of the things described by Hearn (2004) depending on social, cultural, and historical context, and it tends to be exemplified by culturally-exalted masculine role-models. Connell is clear, moreover, that

hegemonic masculinity is not meant to be understood as a *fixed* set of personality traits, such as "toughness, aggressiveness, [and] violence" (Hearn, 2004: 58).

Nonetheless, Donaldson (1993) maintains that the concept is unclear. He notes, based on Connell's (2000) life-history research, that those who are considered to be exemplars or "role models" of hegemonic masculinity exhibit contradictions (Donaldson, 1993: 646-47). For instance, an Australian surfing champion, Steve Donoghue, whom Connell (2000) depicts as a masculine exemplar, paradoxically revealed to Connell the ways in which his strict athletic regimen prevents him from doing 'masculine' things like drinking, partying and fighting (Donaldson, 1993: 647). That cultural icons of hegemonic masculinity may experience deeply personal internal contradictions does not necessarily refute the notion that hegemonic masculinity is a powerful cultural force, however. For instance, if those who admire the athlete are unaware of his personal contradictions, his status as an athletic icon and exemplar of masculinity loses little of its symbolic power.

Further, Donaldson (1993) argues that difficulty in identifying examples of counter-hegemonic masculinities amounts to a theoretical flaw. Following Donaldson's logic, if one cannot identify counter-hegemonic forms of masculinity – and if "all good blokes" are not uniting to contest hegemonic masculinity – then perhaps hegemonic masculinity is not, in fact, the primary reason for the maintenance of patriarchy (1993: 644). To support his argument, Donaldson argues that gay masculinity is in fact, not a counter-hegemonic form of masculinity (1993: 647-49), an arguable assertion.

Beasley (2008) also takes issue with the concept of hegemonic masculinity, arguing that a slippage is evident in Connell's work as well as in the literature on masculinity as a whole. Connell ([1995] 2005) conceives of hegemonic masculinity as literally, *hegemonic* – the form of masculinity that provides the "cultural/moral leadership to ensure popular or mass consent" for the continuation of patriarchy (Beasley, 2008: 88). According to Beasley (2008), however, meanings shift from this conception of hegemonic masculinity as performing a hegemonic function to notions of hegemonic masculinity as the

most *socially dominant* form of masculinity, or in other words, the form of masculinity embodied by men who hold the most social power. This relation of hegemonic masculinity with notions of social dominance leads to a further slippage in use, Beasley argues, when hegemonic masculinity comes to be understood "even more fixedly as [referring to] *actual* particular groups of men" (2008: 89).

Certainly, one can find examples of this slippage Connell's own work, especially in relation to the concept of transnational business masculinity. For instance, in their article, "Globalization and Business Masculinities" (2005), Connell and Wood assert that "it is widely acknowledged that dominant forms of masculinity are associated with major forms of social power" (347). Here, Connell does seem to collapse the distinction she made previously between social dominance and hegemony when she noted that the world's most powerful men may not necessarily embody hegemonic masculinity. In Connell's own words: "This is not to say that the most visible bearers of masculinity are always the most powerful people" ([1995] 2005: 77). This slippage leads to a further slide in use, in Beasley's view, whereby hegemonic masculinity is used to refer to "*actual* particular groups of men" (2008: 89). This is problematic, according to Beasley, because hegemonic masculinity then comes to be associated with "*types* of men" who exhibit certain character traits (2008: 89). Likewise, Hearn (2004) argues that while Connell defines hegemonic masculinity as a "configuration of gender practice" and not "a type of masculinity", she and others often revert to conceptions of hegemonic masculinity as a character type (58).

Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) respond to the latter point. They, too, find the association of hegemonic masculinity with fixed character traits problematic, submitting that "early statements about hegemonic masculinity, when they attempted to characterize the actual content of different configurations of masculinity, often fell back on trait terminology – or at best failed to offer an alternative to it" (847). This "notion of masculinity as an assemblage of traits" has led to an association of hegemonic masculinity with "a fixed character type […] and is rightly criticized […] Not only the essentialist concept of masculinity

but also, more generally, the trait approach to gender need to be thoroughly transcended" (847). Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) also clarify that they do not intend the concept of hegemonic masculinity to be equated with socially dominant forms of masculinity (840-41). Moreover, they maintain that:

> hegemonic masculinity need not be the commonest pattern in the everyday lives of boys and men. Rather, hegemony works in part through the production of exemplars of masculinity […], symbols that have authority despite the fact that most men and boys do not fully live up to them. (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005: 846)

Howson (2008) argues that the problems identified by Beasley (2008) – the slippage in use and the association of hegemonic masculinity with fixed character traits – can be resolved by applying Gramsci's theory of hegemony (109). According to Howson, from a Gramscian perspective it is not necessary to distinguish between the political (or hegemonic) and social implications of hegemonic masculinity since hegemony is "the outcome […] of a dialectical process that synthesizes social, political, and economic ideas and practices promoted by the leading group" (2008: 110). In other words, hegemony is at once political, economic and social. Hegemonic masculinity, moreover, should not be defined by a list of character traits, Howson argues, but instead should be seen as adherence to hegemonic principles, which are, in the West, the principles of "*heterosexuality*, *breadwinning*, and *aggression*" (2008: 111, emphasis original). Most men, according to Howson, are complicit in some way with these principles.

Demetriou (2001), like Howson (2008), also argues that Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity would benefit from a more precise application of Gramscian theory. Specifically, Demetriou argues that the Gramscian concept of a historic bloc applies to Connell's theory. Gramsci makes a distinction between the leadership and domination of the ruling class; specifically, the ruling class leads its allies and dominates its enemies (Demetriou, 2001: 344). Through leadership, Demetriou asserts, the ruling class seeks to form a historic bloc, wherein the "allied groups" are united "under the umbrella of the group seeking hegemony" (2001: 344-45). Demetriou conceptualizes the concept of the historic bloc as a distinction between internal and external hegemony. In Connell's

theory, hegemonic masculinity's internal hegemonic function is its dominance over other masculinities, whereas its external hegemonic function is men's dominance over women, or hegemonic masculinity's function in legitimating patriarchy (2001: 343-44). The application of this concept to Connell's theory would allow for the possibility of practical alliances between hegemonic masculinities and those that are normally considered subordinate or marginalized, such as gay masculinities and black masculinities (Demetriou, 2001: 346-47).[1] Since, in Demetriou's view, Connell constructs hegemonic masculinity and non-hegemonic masculinities as diametrically opposed, Connell does not allow for the possibility of an alliance between them (2001: 347).

As Lusher and Robins (2009) attest, critics of Connell's theory generally "do not undermine the fundamental tenets of the theory that state the 'plurality' and 'hierarchy of masculinities' […] but rather seek to elaborate and expand the details" (389). Certainly, many critics are quick to state the theoretical significance of Connell's theories and concepts. Hearn (2007), for instance, finds strength in the theory's identification of "layers of multiple masculinities" as well as its account of gendered power relations at a structural level (qtd. in Coles, 2009: 32). Likewise, Whitehead (1999) finds strength in the theory's structural account of the prevailing "masculinist ethos that privileges what have traditionally been seen as natural male traits" (58). Demetriou (2001) notes the originality of Connell's theory, namely, its complex account of gendered power relations in which power is "hierarchically ordered" and divided not only between men and women, but also among men (343).

Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) maintain, moreover, that Connell's original theory remains not only relevant, but also sound. After addressing many of the above criticisms, they propose a relatively minor reformulation on four fronts. First, following Demetriou's (2008) reasoning, they note the need for a "more holistic understanding of gender hierarchy" wherein the agency of subordinated groups is recognized, and wherein it is possible for "incorporation and oppression" to occur at once (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005: 848). Second, to account for the context-specific nature of masculinities, they propose a

conceptual framework whereby "hegemonic masculinities can be analyzed at three levels" – local, regional and global (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005: 849). Third, they argue that more effort must be made to theorize men's bodies in order to address "the interweaving of embodiment and social context" (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005: 851). Finally, they propose a more complex understanding of masculinities, whereby the "layering" and "internal contradiction[s]" of masculinities are better understood, and wherein hegemonic masculinities are understood not just as having the power to reinforce oppression but also – more positively – to abolish patriarchy (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005: 852-53). Thus, as Lusher and Robins (2009) assert, the theory and its core concepts remain theoretically sound and empirically valuable.

Indeed, for the purposes of this study, Connell's ([1995] 2005) theory and the concepts developed within it are instructive. Specifically, the recognition of multiple masculinities and of hierarchical relationships between masculinities proves useful for understanding the construction of masculinity in political humour about the 2008 Canadian federal election. The concept of subordinated masculinity and its symbolic assimilation to femininity (Connell, 2000: 31) and homosexuality resonates in this study, as does the concept of hegemonic masculinity. In chapter 3, I discuss the manner in which I operationalized these concepts for the purpose of this study.

From the various criticisms of Connell's theory, and Connell and Messerschmidt's (2005) reformulation, I take several ideas. First, I find that Howson's (2008) argument that hegemony is at once political, economic and social brings clarity to the debate about a so-called 'slippage' in the use of the concept of hegemonic masculinity (Beasley, 2008). It is not necessary to distinguish between the political and social functions of hegemonic masculinity since hegemony is formed through the sum of the "synthesis [of the] social, political, and economic ideas and practices promoted by the leading group" (Howson, 2008: 110). Second, I attempt to avoid an association of hegemonic masculinity with fixed character traits, instead viewing hegemonic masculinity according to its original formulation as a socially, culturally and historically

specific form of masculinity that works to ensure the maintenance of patriarchy "in part through the [symbolic] production of exemplars of masculinity" (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005: 846). Third, the notion that masculinities are context-specific and should be analyzed at the local, regional and global levels (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005: 849) pertains to my study. Focusing on the discursive construction of masculinity and political leadership within a single nation-state, my analysis is a regional one (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005: 849).

I maintain, however, that a weakness in Connell's research is her lack of attention to the construction of masculinity in the discursive realm, and in particular, the media's role in constructing meanings surrounding masculinity. Connell emphasizes that hegemonic masculinity is a "cultural ideal" portrayed by cultural "exemplars" of masculinity such as, for instance, movie stars or television characters ([1995] 2005: 77). Yet, Connell devotes little attention in her work to the media's role in (re)producing masculinity.

In the next section of this chapter, I connect Connell's ([1995] 2005) theory on masculinities first with notions of political leadership, and second with the literature on gender, politics and the media. Prior research by feminist scholars has demonstrated the ways in which the news media participates in constructing politics as a masculine domain. As I show toward the end of this chapter, however, the genre of political humour is also a significant site of gender construction, and one that is under-explored in terms of its impact on the construction of meanings surrounding gender and politics.

Masculinity and Political Leadership

Masculinity's cultural power and structural dominance are perhaps best reflected in the male-dominated realm of politics. Indeed, according to Wendy Brown, "more than any other human activity, politics have historically borne an explicitly masculine identity" (qtd. in Simrell-King, 1995: 68). The experiences of women leaders in early modern Europe, moreover, lead Stafford (1995) to question "whether rule itself is gendered masculine" (486). Certainly, notions of

political leadership and masculinity have become so intertwined that the two are almost impossible to disentangle.

Duerst-Lahti and Kelly (1995) have dedicated an entire book to revealing the many ways in which "masculinity permeates politics and power" (11). They argue that "concepts of leadership and governance are gendered"; specifically, political leadership and governance are socially constructed as masculine activities performed by men (Duerst-Lahti and Kelly, 1995: 19; 24). Women, on the other hand, are constructed as 'Others' in the political realm – the "second sex" (Duerst-Lahti and Kelly, 1995: 24). The construction of politics as an inherently masculine activity, they argue, is problematic for women, who "find entering manhood difficult, virtually by definition" (Duerst-Lahti and Kelly, 1995: 24). This is not to say that women are incapable of performing masculinity, rather, that "males, who are much more aligned with masculinity than any female could be" possess a distinct advantage in the quest for political power (Duerst-Lahti and Kelly, 1995: 19).

Like Duerst-Lahti and Kelly (1995), Clare (2002) and Simrell-King (1995) argue that political leadership is associated with stereotypically masculine qualities. Thus, both women and men in public leadership roles "are expected to behave in ways that are explicitly and implicitly culturally masculine in nature" (Simrell-King, 1995: 68). Because their gendered behaviour is perceived to contradict their biology, however, when women perform political leadership, they are seen as "heterogeneous, strange, […] fluid, ragged, comic, ugly, or even grotesque" (Clare, 2002: 5).

Similarly, Bashevkin (2009) argues that there is a prevailing discomfort surrounding women in political leadership roles in Canada. Her "women plus power equals discomfort" thesis holds that "journalists, political insiders, and we as citizens are often uneasy with seeing women as public leaders, with females and authority together in the same picture frame" (Bashevkin, 2009: 23). Bashevkin argues that the Canadian news media consistently place women at a distance from public power through gendered news frames that characterize female politicians as not fitting the proper mould of leadership, a concept which,

she argues, continues to be linked with the possession of what are traditionally considered to be 'masculine' traits (2009: 28-29). Because of this equation of leadership with masculinity, women must emphasize their stereotypically 'masculine' traits of assertiveness and strength in order to convince voters of their competence (Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993: 520).

It is important to investigate and interrogate the construction of the purported link between political leadership and masculinity because, as Clare (2002) states, "only when we make these normalized enactments visible, can our current thinking about the visible/invisible intertwining of leadership and masculinity be reappraised" (2). Feminist scholars have sought to do just that, using empirical evidence to bring into focus the taken-for-granted link between political leadership and masculinity. In doing so, they reveal that, though naturalized and normalized in political discourse, this link is a socially constructed and culturally produced one.

For instance, Fahey (2007) and Duerst-Lahti (2007) examined discourse surrounding the 2004 US Presidential election. Fahey argues that George W. Bush's campaign attempted to depict John Kerry as French and feminine, and therefore unfit to lead the country. Fahey's (2007) argument is supported by Duerst-Lahti (2007), who found that campaign rhetoric during the 2004 election revolved around the candidates' performances of masculinity. Duerst-Lahti writes:

> With cameras running and news reports filed on the campaign trail, John Kerry played hockey, went windsurfing, shot geese, and touted his heroic actions during the Vietnam War; and George W. Bush flew a fighter jet, drove a racing boat, cleared brush, and continually talked tough about killing terrorists. Manly men, doing manly things, in manly ways. Or at least that is what each wanted to project to the voting public, arguably because that is what the public expects in the presidency, especially in time of war. The 2004 election dripped with projections of masculinity. (2007: 87)

Despite the blatant nature of such masculinist campaign rhetoric, it tends to go unnoticed, according to Duerst-Lahti; indeed, masculinity is seen as so "ordinary" in politics that it is just not noteworthy (2007: 87). At times, however, as Duerst-

Lahti points out, the news media pondered the candidate's masculinity frankly, discussing "how Kerry became a girlie-man" and how "real men vote Republican" (2007: 87). What is clear, according to Duerst-Lahti, is that "when it comes to the presidency, macho is good, and it probably always has been" (2007: 87).

Likewise, Parry-Giles and Parry-Giles (1996) argue that hegemonic masculinity tends to be normalized and naturalized through campaign rhetoric, which idealizes the stereotypically masculine and marginalizes women and those possessing stereotypically 'feminine' traits. The pair analyzed presidential campaign films, and found that the films employed "'masculine' values and themes" in order to promote the candidates, and, ultimately, attempted to portray a "hegemonic masculinity […] that defines presidential image in terms of male-dominated institutions and patriarchally-constructed value systems" (Parry-Giles and Parry-Giles, 1996: 338). This finding is supported by Lawrence and Rose's (2010) assertion that male candidates, like female candidates, must employ a gender strategy in order to guarantee that their masculinity is conveyed to voters (111).

In her examination of news discourse surrounding Elizabeth Dole's bid for the Republican presidential nomination and Hillary Clinton's senate campaign, Anderson (2002) also found that masculinity was a prominent theme. Interestingly, Anderson maintains that "Clinton's male opponents […] were more disadvantaged by gender stereotypes than she was in that particular campaign" (2002: 106-7). For instance, the press portrayed Rudy Giuliani's so-called 'hypermasculinity' negatively; meanwhile, Rick Lazio was depicted as "boyish", or not quite 'man enough' for the job (Anderson, 2002: 117). On the other hand, Dole's femininity was emphasized by the news media, "making it harder for voters to imagine her as president" (Anderson, 2002: 106-7). Ultimately, Anderson's study supports her view that "the US presidency remains a bastion of masculinity even at the turn of a new century" (2002: 107).

Women, Politics, the Media and Masculinity

Anderson's (2002) study also illustrates the ways in which the news media, through a process of "gendered mediation" (Gidengil and Everitt, 1999: 48) tends to reinforce the patriarchal view that masculinity is a requirement for political leadership. The concept of gendered mediation stems from Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross's (1996) insight that politics is reported in a manner that presents it "as an essentially male pursuit" (Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross, 1996: 112). To be sure, feminist scholars studying the gendering of politics have revealed the ways in which the media marginalizes women and femininity by depicting politics as a masculine activity.

A primary means through which the media construct politics as masculine is their use of the 'game frame' to report on elections. The 'game frame' is the term used to refer to the framing of elections as sports games between competitors or battles between warring parties. Through the game frame, reporters offer "play-by-play commentary" about who is winning and losing and focus on the strategies of the "team captains" or party leaders, often neglecting discussions of key issues (Trimble and Sampert, 2004: 52). The use of sports and war metaphors to describe elections is telling, since both are activities which are not only traditionally male dominated, but from which women have historically been excluded (Adelman, 2009; Bryson, 1987; Dunning, 1986; Tickner, 1999: 6-7; Whitson, 1990). Indeed, as Sampert and Trimble (2003) show, the use of "the masculine language of the battlefield, the sports arena, and the boxing ring" to frame elections is far from gender neutral; rather, the game frame is "laden with gender-differentiated assumptions" (211).

For instance, the application of the game frame to a woman creates a sense of "cognitive dissonance" (Trimble et al., 2007: 4). As Sampert and Trimble (2003) point out, women politicians may find themselves sidelined by the game frame, since it is men who "continue to dominate the realms of sports and armed conflict", meanwhile "patriarchal thinking classifies women as nurturing, caring, and non-combative" (213). In fact, Sampert and Trimble (2003) found this to be the case in newspaper coverage of the 2000 Canadian federal election. Headlines

in the *Globe and Mail* and the *National Post* implied the lone female party leader, Alexa McDonough, did not belong in the "electoral 'game'" (Sampert and Trimble, 2003: 226).

Gidengil and Everitt (1999; 2000; 2003) investigated gendered mediation by comparing representations of male and female politicians on Canadian television news, noting, as Sampert and Trimble (2003) do, that "[e]lection campaigns are portrayed in stereotypically masculine fashion, with images of the battlefield and the sports arena filling campaign reports" (1999: 50). Specifically, Gidengil and Everitt (1999; 2000) analyzed CBC and CTV television news coverage of the 1993 French and English leaders' debates, comparing the actual behaviour of the party leaders to representations of their behaviour on the nightly news. The debates were invariably framed with masculinist metaphors, with the rhetorical competitions referred to as "battles" and the debaters as "combatants" (1999: 61), but such metaphors were applied differently to male and female leaders. Gidengil and Everitt found that aggressive behaviour on the part of Campbell and McLaughlin was exaggerated and overemphasized. Though the female leaders acted no more aggressively than their male counterparts, they were more likely to be portrayed as "on the attack" or doing battle with their opponents (60). This suggests, they argue, that "what is perceived – positively – to be combative in a man may be judged – negatively – to be aggressive in a women" (Gidengil and Everitt, 1999: 62). Thus, their research not only confirms that politics tends to be depicted through masculinizing news scripts that reinforce a view of politics as a manly activity, but suggests that women who attempt to conform to such masculinizing scripts may face negative consequences.

Gidengil and Everitt (2003) extended their analysis to include the 1997 and 2000 leaders' debates and found similar results. Once again, "'masculine' images of warfare, violence, and sports" were predominant in television news coverage of the debates (Gidengil and Everitt, 2003: 565); for instance, they noted that "If the debates were not battles or brawls, they were sports or games" (Gidengil and Everitt, 2003: 568). These researchers asked whether or not such metaphors were applied differently in relation to the female leaders in their study.

Alexa McDonough, the sole female leader, received very little attention in television news coverage of the 1997 and 2000 leaders' debates (Gidengil and Everitt, 2003: 572). This finding suggests that "the 'masculine' framing of television news may serve to marginalize women who fail to behave as combatively as some of their male counterparts" (Gidengil and Everitt, 2003: 572-73). In short, then Gidengil and Everitt's (1999; 2000; 2003) research suggests that female politicians face a double-bind: if they attempt to conform to masculinizing scripts they may be penalized by negative media coverage for not adequately conveying femininity, but if they fail to conform to masculine norms and news values, they risk not being covered at all.

Trimble, Treiberg and Girard (2007) found further evidence of such masculinizing news scripts in their comparative analysis of newspaper coverage of female and male Prime Ministers in Canada and New Zealand. They found that, rather than being feminized in news coverage, the female Prime Ministers were "masculinised by gendered news frames and metaphors" (Trimble, et al., 2007: 3). In fact, they found that, in both countries, male and female leaders were "equally likely to be described with masculine metaphors"; interestingly, however, they note that there were "more gendered metaphors overall in the Canadian context" (Trimble et al., 2007: 12). Even when two female leaders were the frontrunners in an election, such as in the 1999 New Zealand election, masculinist metaphors and game frame imagery remained prominent in news coverage; indeed, they argue that "not only did the presence of two women *not* feminize the game frame, but actually seemed to reinforce and amplify it. This served to further masculinise, rather than feminize, the women" (Trimble et al., 2007: 14-15). Trimble, Treiberg and Girard conclude that women leaders "are written into the election news scripts as pseudo-males" (2007: 18), lending further support to the assertion that politics is constructed as a masculine activity.

Trimble and Treiberg (2010) analyzed newspaper coverage of former New Zealand Prime Minster Helen Clark during five elections, looking for the presence of feminizing descriptors, such as references to her sexuality, appearance, or childlessness, and masculinizing language, such as game frame metaphors. The

authors show that journalists depicted Clark as "unusually, and even suspiciously, unfeminine" (Trimble and Treiberg, 2010: 121). Reporters depicted Clark as stereotypically masculine – as a strong, aggressive, and attacking competitor "landing body blows" to take out her opponents (Trimble and Treiberg, 2010: 127). In fact, Clark was as likely or more likely than her male competitors to be described using masculine metaphors (Trimble and Treiberg, 2010: 126). Though coverage of Clark portrayed her as 'man enough' to be Prime Minister – indeed, she was often portrayed, literally, as a man – and therefore may have helped her "overcome the perception that women aren't tough enough for the top job", coverage of Clark, Trimble and Treiberg (2010) argue, at the same time portrayed her as strangely unfeminine (120). Moreover, and importantly, they note that the masculinizing frames in coverage of Clark "[fail] to disrupt the taken-for-granted notion of political leadership as a masculine domain" (Trimble and Treiberg, 2010: 120).

Indeed, previous research on gender and political leadership, and on gender, politics and the media demonstrates the various ways in which politics is constructed as a masculine realm. The use of the game frame to describe elections (Sampert and Trimble, 2003), the promotion of masculine themes in campaign advertisements (Parry-Giles and Parry-Giles, 1996), the prominence of masculine rhetoric on the campaign trail (Duerst-Lahti, 2007), the use of feminizing references to disparage male candidates (Fahey, 2007), the expectation that women leaders behave in stereotypically masculine ways (Bashevkin, 2009), the use of masculinizing news scripts to describe female candidates (Trimble et al., 2007; Trimble and Treiberg, 2010), and the exaggeration of their 'aggressive' behaviour when women leaders conform to masculine news scripts (Gidengil and Everitt, 1999; 2000) all contribute to and reinforce the perception that politics is a masculine pursuit. What is missing from the studies described here, however, is a more nuanced analysis of the ways in which Canadian political leadership is implicitly and explicitly constructed as requiring masculinity. The theoretical tools provided by Connell ([1995] 2005), including the concepts of hegemonic masculinity and subordinated masculinity, certainly foster a more nuanced

approach to analyzing masculinity. For the purposes of this study, these theoretical tools help to shed light on the various ways that Canadian political leadership is socially (re)produced as masculine and what this means for gendered power relations.

Also missing from the studies of gender, politics and the media described above is an examination of gender construction in Canadian political humour – as of yet, a form of Canadian political communication that has received fairly little scholarly attention. Through political humour, gendered meanings are constructed concerning who can appropriately hold political power. Below, I discuss some of the ways in which gender is constructed through humour.

Humour and Gender Construction

Humour is often rife with meanings surrounding gender. Since humour tends to deal with taboo subjects, topics like gender, sex and sexuality are up for discussion when the context is one of humour (Horlacher, 2009: 18; Kotthoff, 2006: 16; Palmer, 1994: 60-61). In part because humour often deals with subjects considered to be off limits in most social situations, humour can serve as "an indicator of the tensions and contradictions existing in a given society" (Horlacher, 2009: 25). Since humour allows for the discussion of taboo subjects and topics that provoke social anxiety, we may be likely to witness franker discussions of a candidate's gender in political humour than in traditional news.

Not only can such "[s]ocially unspeakable topics […] more readily enter the discourse" when the mode of discourse is humour, but "the ambiguity of the humour mode" allows more to be said about such 'taboo' subjects (Crawford, 2003: 1420). When one says something discriminatory or sexist in a humorous context, the presence of humour "causes it to appear less discriminatory, and more acceptable" (Bill and Naus qtd. in Horlacher, 2009: 18). That sexism in humour tends to be perceived as somehow less sexist makes critical analyses of humour – "with special attention to its ability to hide patriarchal, sexist, and even misogynist tendencies" – all the more necessary (Horlacher, 2009: 18). In

Zijderveld's (1983) words, "one should never underestimate the serious nature of play" (6).

By "taking humour seriously" (Palmer, 1994), we can see that humour assists in the construction and maintenance of gender norms (Crawford, 2003: 1414). Humour often functions to reproduce "the gender system" (Crawford, 2003: 1414) by implying standards for the 'appropriate' performances of masculinity and femininity for males and females, respectively (Kothoff, 2006: 6). Through humour, such "behavioural standards can be implicitly communicated without having to seriously and explicitly address these topics" (Kotthoff, 2006: 14).

Kehily and Nayak (1997), for example, found that boys in UK secondary schools used humour as a way of constructing, defining, and regulating heterosexual masculinities (69). The students they observed used humour to "police" the masculinities of their male peers through "game-play, storytelling and […] insults" (70). Kehily and Nayak are careful to note that the type of humour the boys employed was "less an 'outcome' or 'effect'" of their masculinities, but, rather, was "*constitutive*" of their working-class masculine identities (1997: 70, emphasis original).

While it is important to note that gender norms can also be subverted, deconstructed, mocked and undermined through humour (Crawford, 2003: 1414), humour often has a profound regulating effect (Powell and Paton, 1988: xvii). Powell (1988) for instance, argues that humour, which "clarifies and differentiates […] the 'normal' from the 'abnormal'", can be used to quell social deviance (99). It is "people who do unpopular things" who "become the butt of jokes", which effectively serve as sanctions against 'deviant' behaviour (Palmer, 1994: 58). Similarly, Little (2009) argues that humour both "integrates and alienates segments of society" (1255). Humour may buttress group solidarity and cohesion, since experiencing humor always involves shared knowledge and understanding. In reinforcing group cohesion, however, humour creates outsiders, who are often the subjects of humour (Little, 2009: 1255). Moreover, as Fine (1976) observes, humour can serve to mark "the in-group from the out-

group" (135). Humour "serves to socialize members into the norms of the group"; meanwhile, those who violate norms become the objects of jest (Fine, 1976: 139). Since humour often functions to mark the 'Other' by sanctioning 'deviant' behaviour, political humour can certainly tell us something about who are considered insiders and outsiders in Canadian politics.

When analyzing constructions of gender in humour, it is important to ask, "who is telling the jokes?" Humour in general, and political humour in particular, has traditionally been performed by men. Kotthoff (2006) notes that "play[ing] the clown and fool[ing] around" do not conform to traditional, Victorian notions of femininity, "which required women to be pretty, modest, and decent" (Kotthoff, 2006: 5). Such traditional notions of femininity undoubtedly contribute to women's practical exclusion from the field of political humour today (Siuyi Wong and Cuklanz, 2001: 70).[2] Indeed, Street (2011) points out that political satirists have traditionally been men, and political satire has traditionally featured misogyny and homophobia (67). Because humour has traditionally been, and arguably, to a large extent, continues to be created and performed by and for men, it is not surprising that humour tends to be "more derogatory to feminine than to masculine values" (Chapman and Gadfield, 1976: 141). As Rasporich (1996) notes, the "male humourist" tends to reproduce the social reality of patriarchy – that is, male domination and female subordination (94). Moreover, because male humour has often been targeted at women, "women have been found lacking in 'sense of humour'" (Suiyi Wong and Cuklanz, 2001: 70).

The performance of humour brings the humourist – whether male or female – some degree of power, since "[u]sing humorous remarks, an actor can redefine a situation and redirect peoples' attention" (Kotthoff, 2006: 8). Power relationships between the humorist or comedian, who makes people laugh, the 'butt' of the joke, and those who laugh at the joke are implicit in any humorous act, wherein the 'butt' of the joke is subordinate to the humorist and those who laugh at the joke, even if only momentarily (Horlacher, 2009: 25). This "social triangle" is particularly evident when "constructed along parameters of gender,

class, race, age, or other crucial differences operative in the respective culture" (Pfister qtd. in Horlacher, 2009: 25).

In sum, gender is constructed through humour's regulating effect. While humour can illuminate a society's gendered presumptions, and thus expose sexism and other forms of discrimination, humour can also create divisions between 'insiders' and 'outsiders'. Through the proliferation of sexism, misogyny and homophobia in humour, which many see as a result of the male-domination of the humour industry, those who are marked as 'outsiders' are often marked as such because of their failure to conform to patriarchal gender norms. Below, I discuss the ways in which the editorial cartoon, in particular, participates in constructing gender, often (re)producing the patriarchal view that women are 'outsiders' in politics.

The Editorial Cartoon as a Site of Gender Construction

I contend that the editorial cartoon contributes to the social construction of politics as inherently masculine. As I discussed in chapter 1, editorial cartoons offer particular constructions of reality (Edwards and Ware, 2005: 468-9), constructing "cultural meanings" surrounding particular people, events or issues by utilizing and reinforcing commonsense or "taken-for-granted" understandings of social reality (Greenberg, 2002: 181-82). By framing cartoons using commonplace ideas, cartoonists attempt to help their audiences make sense of metaphors and other rhetorical devices used therein, and, ultimately, to help them 'get' the joke (Edwards, 2007: 249). Cartoonists frequently rely on commonplace assumptions about gender to frame their cartoons (Edwards, 2007: 249; Gilmartin, 2001: 53; Goodman, 2001: 40; Miller, 1993: 359). In doing so, cartoons offer "a window onto pervasive cultural attitudes about gender" (Edwards, 2007: 249).

Because editorial cartoons are humorous in nature, cartoonists have license to address controversial subjects like gender and they do so with gusto, often using gender as a frame for their depictions of candidates. Indeed, controversy and criticism are not off limits for the editorial cartoonist (Trimble, Way and Sampert, 2010: 71), making topics like a candidate's gender eligible for

commentary. Gilmartin (2001) suggests that the editorial cartoonist, as humourist, can get away with more shocking, extreme and often more "mean-spirited" commentary than the editorial writer (53), and this seems to be the case, with cartoonists often brazenly critiquing candidates' gendered performances.

While cartoonists often seem to reinforce the gendered status-quo in their depictions of politicians, Siuyi Wong and Cuklanz (2001) show that cartoons can also be a tool for the symbolic subversion and transgression of gender norms. They studied a feminist comic by Hong-Kong artist Lau Lee-lee, arguing that her work uses feminist humour to critique gender roles, reveal "the realities of gender inequality and discrimination", highlight women's common experiences and propose "a vision of change" (Siuyi Wong and Cuklanz, 2001: 72). Their study serves as a reminder that cartoons, as a form of political humour, do not only reinforce patriarchal gender norms but also can be used as a tool of resistance and transgression.

A variety of studies have examined ways in which political cartoons contribute to the construction of meanings surrounding gender and politics. In her analysis of editorial cartoons about Hillary Clinton as First Lady, for instance, Charlotte Templin (1999) found that cartoon images of Clinton reflected a general discomfort with her proximity to public power. Many cartoons about Clinton, Templin found, expressed concern about the possibility of Clinton usurping her husband's power, revealing "unease with a powerful woman and anxiety about changing gender norms" (1999: 24). Cartoon images also portrayed Clinton as a "Radical Feminist and Emasculator," who "overturns traditional gender roles by reversing the power structure within a heterosexual relationship" and by emasculating Bill Clinton (Templin, 1999: 25). Cartoons also attempted to put Clinton back in her 'proper place' by portraying her in stereotypically feminine roles, thereby "call[ing] attention to the disjuncture between expected and threatening roles for women" (Templin, 1999: 26). Templin also found persistent cartoon images of Clinton in bed, suggesting that "a woman is one who is slept with" (1999: 28). Clinton was also portrayed as a monster, a shark, and as the Queen of Hearts shouting "Off with his head!" (Templin, 1999: 31). Many

cartoons exhibited a desire to silence Clinton. She was depicted, for instance, as muzzled or with her mouth zipped shut, and in a box with air holes.

Analyses of cartoon depictions of Geraldine Ferraro during her 1984 vice-presidential campaign reveal conflicting results. Sena (1985) found that cartoon depictions of Ferraro were fairly positive, especially when compared to depictions of her counterpart, George H. W. Bush. He found that Ferraro was depicted as a "sex object" (1985: 5) by several cartoonists, that cartoons of Ferraro tended not to deal with issues, instead focusing on her personality, and that her size in cartoons diminished over time (1985: 10-11). Despite these observations, Sena concludes that cartoon depictions of Ferraro are "gender free" (1985: 11).

Conversely, in her study of cartoon depictions of Ferraro, Miller (1993) noted the presence of sex-role stereotypes with the candidate repeatedly situated within the domestic sphere and sexualized in cartoons, drawing attention to her "sexual identity" and detracting from her legitimacy as a political candidate (Miller, 1993: 388). For example, Ferarro was depicted according to the "clichéd domestic metaphor of angry wife with rolling pin" (Miller, 1993: 362). Moreover, the cartoons suggested a female vice-president represents an undesirable gender role reversal that threatens male power. For instance, women were portrayed as special interest groups trying to "get into the action or even take over", as "domineering females who reduce [Walter] Mondale to helpless submission", and, ultimately, as problems that Mondale tries to get rid of (Miller, 1993: 362).   Women were also depicted as interchangeable. Cartoons suggested that it did not matter which woman was on the Democratic ticket because they are all the same (Miller, 1993: 362). Being a woman was also portrayed as a political advantage, however, and male politicians were depicted dressing up as women to try to gain the so-called 'women's vote' (Miller, 1993: 362).

Gilmartin (2001) analyzed cartoon portrayals of Elizabeth Dole during her 1999 campaign for the Republican presidential nomination. Gilmartin found that Dole was under-represented in cartoons, and that when she was included, it was usually in the domestic role of Bob Dole's wife (1999: 56-7). In fact, many cartoons depicted her in the private sphere, undermining her candidacy by

suggesting that she does not really belong in the public realm of politics (Gilmartin, 2001: 59). Bob Dole, moreover, was often portrayed as uncomfortable with the gender-role reversal taking place through his wife's presidential campaign (Gilmartin, 2001: 57). Elizabeth Dole, like Ferarro, was also overtly sexualized in many cartoons, which often referenced Bob Dole's use of Viagra (Gilmartin: 2001: 57).

The lone study of gender in Canadian political cartoons is by Tremblay and Bélanger (1997). Using content analysis, they analyzed editorial cartoons printed in daily newspapers during the 1993 Canadian federal election, comparing cartoons of former NDP leader Alexa McDonough and former Conservative Party leader Kim Campbell with cartoon portrayals of their male counterparts. Tremblay and Bélanger hypothesized that the female party leaders would be depicted according to sexist stereotypes, and that they would be privatized – and therefore alienated from the public realm of politics – in editorial cartoons. They found limited support for this hypothesis, noting that the two female leaders were portrayed in a variety of roles in editorial cartoons, including 'non-traditional' roles (Tremblay and Bélanger, 1997: 67). They note, however, that sexist stereotypes in cartoon depictions of the two female leaders may have been more subtle than quantitative analysis was able to reveal, and that focusing on privatization as a measure of sexist stereotyping limited their ability to account for other forms of sexist bias (Tremblay and Bélanger, 1997: 68).

Goodman (2001) also studied cartoon depictions of political women, analyzing cartoons about women's suffrage published in *Life* magazine from 1909 to 1914. Goodman found that the cartoons tended to support anti-suffrage viewpoints by portraying women as weak, inferior, frivolous and illogical, and therefore unworthy of the vote (2001: 49-51). *Life* magazine cartoonists also suggested that women's political participation would contribute to the eventual breakdown of the patriarchal family structure and, ultimately, men's complete loss of power (Goodman, 2001: 51-55). Suffragists, Goodman found, tended to be depicted as unattractive, "heavy-set", masculine, and undesirable to men (2001: 51-55). In short, cartoons about women's suffrage were unfavourable to

the cause, instead supporting "the dominant ideology" of the time: "separation of the public and private spheres, domesticity, Victorian values, and republican motherhood" (Goodman, 2001: 59).

Few analyses have directed focused attention on the construction of masculinity in political cartoons. Fraser (2002) analyzed the construction of masculinity in Soviet political cartoons from 1945-55 and found that cartoons in the Soviet magazine *Krokokil* utilized masculine imagery to depict power relationships between the Soviet Union and its Cold War enemies, meanwhile implicitly reinforcing a hierarchy of masculinities within its own borders. Specifically, cartoon images in *Krokodil* sought to undermine the Soviet Union's enemies by "portraying [them] in various homoerotic situations," at the same time reinforcing heternormativity and hegemonic masculinity among Soviet men by "signaling to the Soviet population that the unmasculine behaviour associated with the enemy […] would not be tolerated in the Soviet Union" (Fraser, 2000: ii).

Though gender was not an explicit focus of their study, Buell and Maus (1988) noted that masculinity was a prominent theme in cartoon depictions of 1988 US presidential candidate George H. W. Bush (851). Specifically, they noted that Bush was portrayed as a "wimp" in 12% of the cartoons in which he was depicted. Indeed, the "wimp factor" was a prevalent theme in cartoons about Bush, with Bush depicted being knocked out while shadow-boxing, for example (Buell and Maus, 1988: 851).

Edwards (2007) undertook a broad analysis by asking, "How are cartoonists implicitly addressing the contemporary social structure of gender in the way they depict male and female politicians?" (249). She found that political cartoonists tend to resort to masculine narratives such as sports, war, and conflict. For instance, Edwards found examples of politicians depicted as warriors, boxers, or engaged in physical confrontation, or depicted as feminine in an effort to emasculate them and make them seem less fit to lead (Edwards, 2007: 250). According to Edwards, this reliance on masculine narratives stems from "the dominant, hegemonic ideology of masculinity", which is deeply embedded in the

political realm and "equates power with physical force and achievement, is defined in opposition to femininity/femaleness" and reflects values of heterosexuality and the traditional nuclear family or "familial patriarchy" (2007: 249-50). By resorting to masculine narratives, cartoonists reinforce the traditional notion that politics is a man's world and that masculinity is vital for successful leadership (Edwards, 2007: 250).

Missing from these previous studies on constructions of gender in editorial cartoons, however, is a focused examination of the ways in which masculinity is constructed in cartoons of male politicians in Canada. Edwards (2007) begins to interrogate constructions of masculinity in cartoons by noting the ways in which masculinity is normalized in the political realm, though her analysis is broad in scope and focuses on the US context. Indeed, most of the studies on the construction of gender in political cartoons are situated within the American context. The only study to analyze constructions of gender in Canadian political cartoons has focused on depictions of female party leaders (Tremblay and Bélanger, 1997). Effectively critiquing the normative status of men and masculinity in Canadian politics requires a focused and direct examination of media portrayals of male politicians and the media's construction of meanings surrounding masculinity and politics. An analysis of constructions of masculinity in editorial cartoons of Dion and Harper is a step in this direction.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have attempted to bring the theoretical literature on men and masculinity together with the literature on gender, politics and the media in order to provide the theoretical and empirical foundations for this study of constructions of masculinity in political humour about the 2008 Canadian federal election. Feminist scholars studying gender, politics and the media have demonstrated the various ways in which the news media construct and perpetuate the view that successful political leadership requires stereotypically masculine traits. Tending to focus their analyses of gender, politics and the media on women, however, many of these studies paradoxically reinforce the notion that

'gender' is synonymous with 'women', and, consequently, the view that men and masculinity are normative in the political realm. Connell's ([1995] 2005) theory of masculinities provides the theoretical lens and conceptual tools necessary to shift the focus to men and masculinity, to interrogate further the normative status that men enjoy in formal Canadian politics and to question the social construction of politics as a masculine realm.

Studies of gender, politics and the media have also tended to focus on the role of the news media in perpetuating the view that politics requires masculinity. The role of political humour – a popular genre of political communication that entertains as it informs – in constructing meanings surrounding gender and political power in Canada has received little scholarly attention. Political humour, like traditional news, conveys messages about who can appropriately wield public power. This is evidenced by studies of gender in editorial cartoons, which reveal an apparent discomfort with women in positions of public power. Political humour often produces such gendered – and, ultimately, sexist – discourse in a much more blunt and biting fashion than does the traditional news media, since, of course, the humourist can always claim to be 'only joking' (Crawford, 2003: 1420). Thus, political humour may prove to be a particularly revealing source when seeking to understand societal perceptions regarding gender and public power in Canada.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

Introduction

How was the relationship between masculinity and political leadership constructed in political humour about the 2008 Canadian federal election? In order to answer this research question, I performed content and discourse analysis of editorial cartoons and episodes of the popular Canadian political humour programmes the *Rick Mercer Report*, *22 Minutes*, and the *Royal Canadian Air Farce* from the 2008 election campaign period. My analysis focused on portrayals of the two frontrunners in the 2008 election, Stephen Harper and Stéphane Dion. Below, I describe the manner in which I selected the texts to be analyzed and the reasons for their selection. I also detail my application of content and discourse analysis techniques. Integrated with this is a discussion of the various strengths and weaknesses of content and discourse analysis for analyzing media texts. Finally, I address a limitation of my study.

Selection of Texts

My analysis of masculinity in editorial cartoons considered all of the cartoons featuring Harper and/or Dion published in the week leading up to the election and during the election campaign period, specifically, the period from the date the writ was dropped (September 7th, 2008) until election day (October 14th, 2008). In sum, then my analysis included editorial cartoons published between September 1st and October 14th, 2008. I analyzed cartoons featured in the ten English-language Canadian newspapers boasting the highest levels of readership in Canada according to the Canadian Newspapers Association (2009). These include the *Toronto Star*, *The Globe and Mail*, *The Gazette* (Montreal), the *Vancouver Sun*, the *National Post*, the *Winnipeg Free Press*, the *Calgary Herald*, the *Ottawa Citizen*, the *Edmonton Journal*, and the *Halifax Chronicle-Herald*. Two newspapers, *The Province* (Vancouver) and the *Toronto Sun*, fall within this category, yet were not available in the University of Alberta's microfilm collection. Thus, I have supplemented my sample with cartoons from two cartoon

websites, CagleCartoons.com and Aritizans.ca, which feature cartoons by the resident artists at those two papers along with cartoons from the *Sun* chain of newspapers, a variety of other Canadian dailies[1], and various freelance artists.[2] By including Canada's two national newspapers, along with broadsheets, daily and tabloid papers from various Canadian cities and regions, I have gathered a broad and reasonably inclusive sample of editorial cartoons about the 2008 Canadian election. In total, there were 244 cartoons in my sample. Each cartoon represented one unit of analysis.

I also analyzed election humour in episodes of the *Rick Mercer Report*, *22 Minutes* and *Royal Canadian Air Farce* that aired from the beginning of the 2008 federal election campaign period until election day (September 7th to October 14th, 2008). None of the programmes had aired new episodes until September 7th; therefore, I was unable to analyze episodes from the week leading up to the election as I did with editorial cartoons. I analyzed all instances of political satire, parody or sketch comedy that mentioned or depicted either Stephen Harper or Stéphane Dion, or both candidates.

For the purpose of analyzing masculinity in *22 Minutes*, the *Rick Mercer Report*, and the *Royal Canadian Air Farce*, I broke down each episode into segments. A unit of analysis, then, was one segment, meaning one distinct comedy sketch, fake advertisement, monologue, interview, or 'fake' news story. A segment of an episode can be clearly distinguished by a distinct break in subject, usually accompanied by transitional theme music, and sometimes a written title indicating the next segment (i.e. the beginning of the "Front Page" segment, in the case of *Rick Mercer*, is indicated by its title). When episodes featured extended segments of 'fake news' or news parody, these were broken down into smaller segments by story or subject. For instance, a story about Harper in a fake news piece equals one segment, while a story following that one about Dion would be considered a separate segment. In total, 51 segments were analyzed: 7 from the *Royal Canadian Air Farce*, 16 from the *Rick Mercer Report,* and 28 from *22 Minutes*.

Content Analysis

I examined the cartoons and television episodes using a combination of visual discourse analysis and quantitative content analysis. Content analysis is used to identify key patterns and relationships in the manifest content of a text (Riffe et al., 2005: 3). The manifest meaning of a word or symbol is the denotative meaning or the most "readily apparent" meaning of something; manifest content can be contrasted with the latent, "hidden" or implicit content of a text (Hesmondhalgh, 2006: 121). Theory is the starting point for content analysis; that is, content analysis begins with the "identification of key terms or concepts involved in a phenomenon" and the operationalization of these concepts into distinct categories (Riffe et al., 2005: 25). The content analyst assigns numeric values to words, phrases, images or other "symbols of communication" in order to reveal patterns and relationships in the media texts, allowing the analyst to "describe the communication, draw inferences about its meaning, or infer from the communication to its context" (Riffe et al., 2005: 25).

There are two key advantages to using content analysis to examine media texts. First, content analysis allows the researcher to examine a large quantity of texts (Hesmondhalgh, 2006: 120). Because of this, content analysis brings with it the potential to make generalizations about patterns or "*recurring* processes of representation" in a text (Hesmondhalgh, 2006: 120, emphasis original). Second, content analysis is a "nonobtrusive, nonreactive measurement technique"; in other words, since the researcher examines texts, rather than human subjects, the researcher has little to no impact on individuals and bears no risk of harming anyone or anything (Riffe et al., 2005: 38). A weakness of content analysis, on the other hand, is its inability to account for the various latent or implicit meanings inherent in a text.

Connell's ([1995] 2005) theory of masculinities, described in chapter 2, provided the foundation of my content analysis. I produced a detailed coding framework to analyze the editorial cartoons in my sample. First, I recorded whether or not the candidate's masculinity was an explicit and primary subject of the cartoon.[3] Second, I determined whether, normatively speaking, the

candidate's masculinity was represented positively, negatively or neutrally.[4] If the candidate's masculinity was portrayed negatively, I determined whether the candidate was portrayed as 'too masculine' or 'not masculine enough'. I have also noted whether or not the candidate was explicitly feminized, portrayed as homosexual, infantilized (portrayed as a boy and not a man), whether the candidate was militarized, and whether he was portrayed as the victim or perpetrator of violence. I also recorded instances where the cartoonist utilized masculinist 'game frame' imagery, such as racetracks and boxing rings, or war and battlefield imagery. Finally, since Miller (1993) argues that "an important dimension of any analysis of editorial cartooning is to note the relative absence of women's voices and to consider whether there might be important consequences that flow from that absence" (385), I have also recorded the sex of the cartoonist.

Since the sample size of television segments was considerably smaller than that of editorial cartoons, it made less sense to use content analysis to identify patterns and relationships in the texts. Thus, to analyze the television segments, I pared down the content analysis protocol I developed to analyze editorial cartoons, using content analysis to measure three key variables in the television segments. First, I measured candidate visibility in political humour, recording whether Harper or Dion was represented in the segment, or whether both were represented. Second, I recorded whether or not the candidate's masculinity was a primary and explicit theme in the segment. Finally, I recorded the sex of the actors performing in the segment in order to gauge whether males or females, or both sexes, were predominant in political humour on these three programmes during the 2008 election.

Discourse Analysis

Since political humour is often "double-layered", containing multiple meanings implicit in the speech (Baym, 2009: 127), and content analysis is used to measure manifest content (Riffe et al., 2005: 3), content analysis on its own would not be sufficient in order to understand the complex meanings produced in political humour. Visual discourse analysis, then, was used to interpret the

various latent or "between-the-lines" (Riffe et al., 2005: 24) meanings of the cartoons and television segments. Visual discourse analysis is critical in nature and focuses on "the role of discourse in the (re)production and challenge of dominance" (van Dijk, 1993: 249). Indeed, the question of power is central to critical discourse analysts, who are interested in the "connections between the use of language and the exercise of social power" (Hesmondhalgh, 2006: 122). Visual discourse analysis is a unique form of critical discourse analysis in that it treats images as texts to be deconstructed and interpreted (Matheson, 2005: 103). For instance, Kress and van Leeuwen, the method's pioneers, "analyze the visual as if it was […] language and […] analyze it as it mixes with language" (Matheson, 2005: 103). This method of analyzing the verbal and the visual is ideal for deconstructing television and editorial cartoons, both of which blend "the 'grammar' of visual metaphor" (El Rafaie, 2003: 75) with text or dialogue that enhances their meanings.

While content analysis was used to reveal patterns in the explicit content of the cartoons and television segments, it was necessary to analyze each cartoon and television segment using discourse analysis in order to reveal implicit gendered symbols and meanings. Even if the cartoon or television segment contained no *explicit* gendered themes according to the content analysis results, this did not mean that gendered meanings were not *implicit*. Thus, I analyzed each cartoon or television segment both quantitatively and qualitatively.

Like content analysis, discourse analysis is grounded in theory. Following the approach to critical discourse analysis presented by van Dijk (1993) and Connell's ([1995] 2005) theory of masculinities, I developed the following set of questions to guide my analysis of masculinity in editorial cartoons and television humour: What argument(s) is/are made in the text? What are the implications of the argument(s) in terms of discourses of masculinity? Who speaks in the text? Is/Are the speaker(s) male or female? What are the implications of their identity in terms of their power to reproduce dominant discourse? Which role or roles does each person in the text play? How do these roles contribute to each person's ability to reproduce or subvert dominant discourses surrounding masculinity and

politics? What must one know about the context of the segment or cartoon in order to 'get' the joke? Does the text feature gendered symbolism? Does the text feature masculinist 'game frame' imagery? Was either candidate feminized? Portrayed as homosexual? Portrayed as heterosexual? Was either candidate portrayed as the victim of violence? The perpetrator of violence? Was either candidate militarized? What are the gendered implications of such portrayals? Does the text (re)produce or subvert sex/gender stereotypes? If so, how?

After analyzing each cartoon and television segment both qualitatively and quantitatively, I organized them into eight discursive categories based on clear themes emerging in the texts. These categories were: the 'game frame'; militarization and violence; Harper's 'warmth' strategy; Dion the 'nerd' versus Harper the bully; feminization; infantilization; homosexuality; and heterosexual masculinity.[5] The latter theme of heterosexual masculinity was unique to depictions of Harper and Dion in television humour, and was not present in editorial cartoon depictions of the two leaders.

There are unique challenges when using discourse analysis to analyze humour. For instance, it can be difficult to "write seriously […] about laughter" (Horlacher, 2009: 19). In Bakhtin's words, laughter "cannot be transformed into seriousness without destroying or distorting the very contents of the truth which it unveils" (qtd. in Horlacher, 2009: 19). Indeed, something – along with the humour – is lost when analyzing a joke from a critical and analytical perspective. This does not mean, however, that humour should not be analyzed seriously as a form of discourse involved in the (re)production of patriarchal power relations.

Another difficulty in analyzing humour is its ambiguity. In Schutz's words: "the best humour is always something of a puzzle in its camouflaged criticism, implicit standards, and negativism" (qtd. in Gray et al., 2009: 15). The meanings produced through political parody and satire are rarely "clear-cut" (Gray et al., 2009: 15). Thus, at times it can be difficult to determine a humourist's intended meaning. Audiences, moreover, surely produce multiple interpretations of a joke.

Indeed, another weakness of the method is that discourse analysis "does not reveal how newsreaders will actually interpret the content of a cartoon" or how audiences will interpret a television segment (Greenberg, 2002: 186). Rather, as Greenberg (2002) points out, visual discourse analysis "provides clues to the range of possible readings [audiences] may construct" (186). Moreover, Greenberg notes that while a reader may, indeed, interpret a cartoon according to its intended meaning, "this is not to say that s/he will accept it *ipso facto*" (2002: 186). In short, while a deconstruction of political humour about Harper and Dion may reveal important gendered meanings about the kind of people who can appropriately hold public power, it is not possible to measure how audiences have interpreted such meanings. As such, I do not attempt to conjecture about the effects of political humour on audiences' perceptions of the candidates or their campaigns, only to provide an argument about the gendered meanings that can be derived from the texts in question.

Limitations of the Study

Admittedly, my study is limited by its focus on humorous depictions of the frontrunners, Harper and Dion, and the exclusion of cartoon depictions of the other party leaders. Previous studies of political humour have shown, however, that humour tends to be directed at the frontrunners in elections. In their study of editorial cartoons from the 2004, 2006 and 2008 Canadian federal elections, for instance, Trimble, Sampert and Way (2010) found that editorial cartoonists in *The Globe and Mail* and the *National Post* tended to direct their attacks at the party leaders, paying close attention to the frontrunners' "foibles" (2). Feldman's (1995) analysis of political cartoons in Japan found that cartoonists tended to focus on the prime minister and a few other "top figures" (572). Likewise, in their analyses of political humour about US politicians, Niven et al. (2003) and Buell and Maus (1988) determined that humour tended to be directed at the incumbent president and the top presidential contenders. Because existing studies have shown that political humour tends to be directed at a few frontrunners in elections, I have chosen to limit my analysis to portrayals of the incumbent Prime

Minister in the 2008 election, Stephen Harper, and then leader of the opposition, Stéphane Dion.

Conclusion

When choosing a methodological approach, one must decide which approach will best answer the research question. In this case, that question was: "how was masculinity constructed in political humour from the 2008 Canadian federal election?" In order to answer this question, it was important to know, first of all, whether or not the theme of masculinity was a prominent one in political humour. Content analysis was used to determine the prominence of the theme of masculinity, and in addition, to answer a number of other questions pertaining to the presence of masculine themes and symbols in the texts. In order to gauge the deeper meanings inherent in discussions of masculinity in political humour, however, a qualitative method, namely discourse analysis, was necessary.

Studying political humour brings a unique set of challenges due to its ambiguity (Gray et al., 2009: 15) and the inevitable risk of distorting the meaning of the joke during the transformation from levity to seriousness (Horlacher, 2009: 19). This does not mean that one should not take humour seriously, however (Palmer, 1994). As I show in the following chapter, during the 2008 Canadian federal election, political satirists not only joked about politicians, their policies, and their campaign gaffes, but also participated in (re)producing meanings concerning gender, politics and public power through explicit and implicit references to their gender.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

Introduction

In this chapter, I present the findings of my analysis of constructions of masculinity in editorial cartoons and television humour about the 2008 Canadian federal election. As previous studies on gender and political humour have shown, political humour is a complex and persuasive form of political commentary that often contributes to the construction of meanings about gender, power and political leadership. Editorial cartoons and political parody, sketch comedy and satirical pieces featured on the *Rick Mercer Report*, *22 Minutes* and the *Royal Canadian Air Farce* during the 2008 Canadian federal election were no exception, with cartoonists and political satirists using issues of gender to frame their cartoon depictions of Harper and Dion, thereby revealing the gendered assumptions underpinning norms and practices of political leadership and political competition in Canada. In fact, I argue that political satirists constructed a hierarchy of masculinities in their portrayals of Dion and Harper, depicting Dion as submissive, weak, effeminate and devoid of masculinity, while depicting Harper as hypermasculine, dominant, aggressive and violent. As I show below, in doing so, the comedians contributed to the normalization of the purported connections between masculinity, power, and politics and to the social construction of politics as a 'man's world'.

To support this argument, first, I present the findings of my content and discourse analysis of editorial cartoons. Then, I present the findings of my content and discourse analysis of the *Rick Mercer Report*, *22 Minutes* and the *Royal Canadian Air Farce*. As I show below, there are many similarities in the gendered depictions of Harper and Dion across these two modes of political humour. In the conclusion, I discuss the overall picture painted through these depictions of Harper and Dion.

Editorial Cartoons

Content Analysis

   Of the 244 cartoons analyzed, 162 (66%) did not engage in any form of explicit gendering of Harper and Dion (see Figure 1, appendix). Such cartoons tended to focus on the 2008 Canadian federal election in general, key campaign issues, the candidates' policy platforms, the candidates' leadership styles, their viability, and campaign gaffes. That roughly two thirds of the cartoons did not focus on either candidate's gender is consistent with the fact that both candidates are male, and as such, represent the norm in the political realm. As previous studies of gender in editorial cartoons have shown, it is female candidates whose gender often becomes of primary interest in editorial cartoons, their gender tending to receive more attention than their policy stances. Indeed, the studies described in chapter 2 show that – even in political cartoons – male politicians tend to be afforded more legitimacy than women.

   At 34%, the proportion of cartoons that did feature explicit gendering of the candidates – focusing, in one way or another, on the candidates' masculinities – is significant. Though a greater number of cartoons about the 2008 federal election featured Harper (181 cartoons featured Harper, while 127 featured Dion), the two candidates were equally likely to have their gender highlighted when cartoonists chose to depict them. That is, 58 (32%) of the 181 cartoons that featured Harper focused on his gender, while 41 (32%) of the 127 cartoons that featured Dion focused on his gender.

   When Harper or Dion's masculinity was the key subject of a cartoon, it was – predictably, given the critical nature of editorial cartoons – unlikely to be portrayed positively (see Figure 2, appendix). In fact, of the cartoons in which Harper's masculinity was a key focus, only 6 (10%) portrayed his masculinity positively. This figure is high compared to depictions of Dion's masculinity, however, only one (2%) of which was positive. On the other hand, 40 of the 58 cartoons (69%) focusing on Harper's gender portrayed his masculinity in a negative manner; meanwhile, 39 of the 41 cartoons (93%) in which Dion's gender was a main subject of the cartoon portrayed his masculinity negatively. Thus, a

much larger proportion of cartoons focusing on Dion's gender portrayed his masculinity negatively than was the case for Harper. In other words, when negative portrayals are taken as a percentage of the cartoons in which the candidate's gender was a key focus, Dion's masculinity was more likely to be portrayed negatively. That is, had Dion and Harper been portrayed in an equal number of cartoons, Dion's masculinity would have been more likely to be portrayed negatively.

Furthermore, Harper's masculinity was more likely to be portrayed neutrally. In fact, 12 (21%) of the cartoons featuring Harper's gender as the focus portrayed his masculinity neutrally. Just two (5%) of the cartoons in which Dion's gender was the focus featured neutral portrayals of his masculinity.

Perhaps more intriguingly, when Harper's masculinity was portrayed negatively cartoonists tended to depict him as *'too masculine'*, meaning that he was portrayed as too aggressive, too violent, cruel or insensitive (see Figure 3, appendix). Of the 40 cartoons that depicted Harper's masculinity negatively, 30 (77%) of them portrayed him as 'too masculine'. When Dion's masculinity was portrayed negatively, on the other hand, it was invariably because he was seen as *'not masculine enough'*; in other words, he was depicted, for instance, as weak, unathletic, or feminine. I discuss specific ways in which the candidates were either depicted as 'too masculine' or 'not masculine enough' below, where I discuss the findings of my discourse analysis and present additional, related content analysis results.

Discourse Analysis

While a majority of cartoons did not focus explicitly on the candidate's masculinities, many of these cartoons contained implicit gendered meanings. I have analyzed all of the cartoons and their explicit and/or implicit gendered meanings using visual discourse analysis. Cartoons adopting gendered frames fell into seven discursive categories: the 'game frame'; militarization and violence; Harper's 'warmth' strategy; Dion as the 'nerd'; feminization; homosexuality; and

infantilization. Table 1 (see appendix) summarizes the results of my content and discourse analysis of editorial cartoons.

The 'Game Frame': The Election as a Sports Match

Many cartoonists utilized 'game frame' imagery in their cartoons, likening the 2008 election to a race, a boxing match, or a war. In fact, 28 (12%) of the cartoons analyzed utilized such imagery. The 'game frame', with its emphasis on the masculine pursuits of sports and war, constructs politics as a male domain and reinforces the notion that women are outsiders in the political realm. 'Game frame' cartoons from the 2008 election period not only reinforce the exclusion of women from politics through masculinist imagery, they also suggest that certain types of men are better suited to the 'game' of politics than others. Here, I focus on the use of sports metaphors to describe the election. In the next section, I discuss the other aspect of the 'game frame' – the use of war metaphors. Cartoons utilizing sports and war imagery featured portrayals of the leaders as both perpetrators and victims of violence, an aspect of the 'game frame' I discuss further in the next section.

Interestingly, when cartoonists chose to depict Dion, they were more likely to depict him within a 'game frame' than they were when they depicted Harper. Specifically, 19 (36%) of the 127 cartoons in which Dion was depicted featured him within a game frame and 18 (24%) of the 181 cartoons in which Harper was depicted employed a 'game frame'. When taken as a percentage of the total number of cartoons in which either candidate was depicted, then, cartoonists were more likely to utilize the 'game frame' in depictions of Dion. This is interesting, since, as I show below, cartoonists did not necessarily depict Dion as "in the game" (Trimble and Sampert, 2004: 61), rather, they tended to depict Dion as failing at the metaphorical game that was the election.

Several cartoonists depicted the election campaign as a sprint between the candidates, and such cartoons invariably portrayed Dion as the weakest competitor. For instance, cartoons by Krieger (2008) and Élie (2008) show Dion at the starting line of the race, his shoelaces tied together. A MacKay (2008b)

cartoon, moreover, depicts Dion at the starting line, unable to run because of the weight of an anvil labelled 'Carbon Tax' tied to his ankle; meanwhile, the rest of the contestants, including Harper, are half way around the track. In a cartoon by Rodewalt (2008a), the starting gun has been fired, and the rest of the candidates are off and running. An out-of-shape and clumsy-looking Dion, however, stands at the starting line talking to a reporter. Likewise, a Curatolo (2008a) cartoon portrays Dion talking to the media about his preparations for an election, meanwhile, Harper crosses the finish line. A de Adder (2008d) cartoon suggests that Harper is the only one in the race by portraying him in a race against himself.

Finally, a cartoon by Moudakis (2008c) shows the results of a race between Harper, Layton, and Dion. Harper stands in first place on a winners' podium, while Layton and Dion fight for second place. Though Harper occupies the coveted position atop the podium, his masculinity is not necessarily portrayed in an unequivocally positive manner, as he appears pudgy and overweight. Layton – the most muscular of the bunch – dominates in his fight for second place with Dion, who looks frail and weak, gasping for air as he tries to resist Layton's chokehold.

A number of cartoonists compared the election to a boxing match. A cartoon by Geoffroi (2008), for example, depicts a bout between Stephen Harper and Jack Layton. Meanwhile, a small and insignificant Dion mutters from the side of the ring, "Hey! Doesn't anyone want to pick a fight with *me*?" (Geoffroi, 2008). Layton, once again, is portrayed as the most masculine of the bunch, shown with bulging muscles and curly chest hair. Harper, though out of shape, is more masculine than Dion, who is unfit to take part in the boxing match, and implicitly, then, unfit for the masculine political realm. A similar cartoon by Clement (2008a) portrays Harper and Dion in a boxing match. Harper is ready to fight, meanwhile Dion sits reluctantly in the corner saying, "I'll be with you in a jiffy."

A cartoon by MacKay (2008a) utilizes the boxing metaphor to denigrate the masculinities of New Democratic party leader Jack Layton and Bloc Quebecois leader Gilles Duceppe as well as those of Harper and Dion. The

cartoon features the gigantic silhouettes of John McCain and Barack Obama, who take part in a 'real' boxing match while the four Canadian leaders engage in a 'girlish' catfight. Here, the feminine is employed to denigrate the male party leaders, since they cannot fight like the 'real' men, Obama and McCain. Interestingly, Green Party leader Elizabeth May is not included in the catfight, suggesting that even though the Canadian party leaders are weak, she is still not 'man enough' to take part in their battle. Cardow (2008b) also employs the feminine to denigrate Dion, explicitly feminizing him and suggesting that he is too weak to fight with men. The cartoon depicts "Slugger Stéphane" wearing pink shorts and pink boxing gloves. The gloves, however, are too heavy for Dion to lift and they weigh his arms down.

A final cartoon, shown in Figure 5, breaks slightly with the election-as-boxing-match metaphor to portray a sumo-wrestling match taking place between Harper and Dion (de Adder, 2008b). Harper is depicted as a large and intimidating force. Dion, on the other hand, is tiny, insignificant, and apparently about to be crushed by Harper. The cartoon suggests that Harper embodies masculine strength, aggression and athleticism, while Dion lacks these stereotypically masculine traits.

There is a striking difference in the portrayals of Harper and Dion by cartoonists employing sports metaphors to portray the election. While Harper is not necessarily portrayed as a hard-bodied athlete – often, rather, depicted as rotund and overweight – he is clearly, and invariably, depicted as the superior competitor when compared to Dion. In each cartoon, Harper is firmly positioned "in the game" (Trimble and Sampert, 2004: 61), while Dion is sidelined by his own weakness and athletic failure.

While it may be argued that cartoonists merely employed sports metaphors to depict the reality that Harper was the front-runner and maintained a lead in the polls throughout the campaign period, the varying portrayals of the candidates' masculinities are significant. Cartoonists not only suggested that Dion was losing in the metaphorical race that was the election, but also that he was failing at being masculine. Indeed, sport, according to Connell ([1995] 2005), is a crucial "test of

masculinity" (30) and "has come to be the leading definer of masculinity in mass [Western] culture" (54). Competitive sport is characterized by "competition and hierarchy among men" and the "exclusion or domination of women" (Connell, [1995] 2005: 54). Likewise, Bryson (1987) argues that sport assists in the maintenance of patriarchy and hegemonic masculinity within which hierarchies are constructed privileging men over women, and some men over others (349). In sport, Bryson argues, "maleness [or masculinity] is repeatedly linked with skill, strength, aggression, and often violence" (357). In cartoon depictions of Dion and Harper, political success was linked with exactly this sort of masculine performance.

The 'Game Frame': Militarization and Violence

War metaphors are another aspect of the 'game frame'. The hierarchy constructing Harper as dominant and Dion as subordinate was continued in cartoons featuring themes of militarization and violence. Such cartoons portrayed the candidates alongside war machinery and featured them as perpetrators and victims of violence. For example, a candidate was militarized when he was portrayed wearing a military uniform or deploying weapons of war. Harper was more likely than Dion to be militarized, with five (3%) cartoons featuring the candidate depicting him in this role. Harper was portrayed literally fueling the war in Afghanistan (Jollimore, 2008), as a military general attempting to control his "War Room" (Gable, 2008b), and as a military dictator (Corrigan, 2008a).

Only one cartoon (1%) –by Aislin (2008a) – featured Dion's militarization. This cartoon, shown in Figure 6 (see appendix) features the heading, "New Liberal Website…" and depicts Dion as an "Iron Man" after the womanizing comic-book superhero whose iron suit transforms his body into a weapon. This cartoon pokes fun at Dion's attempts to portray himself as more masculine through his website, ThisisDion.ca. A similar cartoon by Aislin (2008c), also shown in Figure 6 (see appendix), pokes fun at Harper's attempts to soften his image. In that cartoon, Aislin (2008c) converts Harper's signature blue sweater-vest into a tank, poking fun at Harper's attempts to soften his image

through a series of campaign advertisements featuring him in the cozy blue sweater. The cartoon suggests that Harper's blue sweater cannot conceal his cold, hard, hypermasculine persona. While Aislin's cartoon depiction of Harper suggests that his hypermasculine persona cannot be softened, Aislin's portrayal of Dion derides and mocks his attempts to bolster his masculinity.

Cartoons featuring sports and war imagery – and, in fact, a number of cartoons that did not employ the game frame – portrayed Harper and Dion as both the victims and the perpetrators of violence. Not surprisingly, since he was also more likely to be militarized, it was Harper who was more likely to be portrayed as a perpetrator of violence. In fact, 21 (12%) of the cartoons featuring Harper portrayed him as a perpetrator of violence, while only five (4%) of the cartoons featuring Dion portrayed him as a perpetrator of violence. Dion, in fact, was much more likely than Harper to be portrayed as the victim of violence, with 13 (10%) of the cartoons in which he was featured portraying him as a victim. Harper, on the other hand, was portrayed as a victim in six (3%) of the cartoons in which he was depicted. Harper was depicted using a paddle labelled "youth sentencing" to punish a young offender (Moudakis, 2008b), pushing Elizabeth May out of a tall tree house (Murphy, 2008a), planting a tree to hang May from (Gable, 2008a), shoving Dion into a locker (Rosen, 2008), wearing Dion's head as slippers (Cummings, 2008b), and walking on Dion as if he were a doormat (de Adder, 2008c). On the other hand, Dion was represented as a turkey on thanksgiving about to be shot by an eager Albertan hunter (Rodewalt, 2008d), being throttled by Layton (Moudakis, 2008c), and as the target of Alberta and Saskatchewan cabinet ministers' violence (Curatolo, 2008b). A Jenkins (2008) cartoon suggests that Dion could not defend himself even if he wanted to. According to the cartoon, even solar-powered equipment cannot turn Dion into a "Lean, mean, fighting machine" (Jenkins, 2008).

Cartoonists adopting themes of war and violence depicted Harper and Dion in very distinct ways. Harper was portrayed as militaristic, cold and violent. This sort of 'hard' military masculinity, Connell argues, continues to be exalted in the post-9/11 era, which has seen "the re-mobilization of nationalism and military

force" in the United States along with George W. Bush's so-called 'War on Terror' ([1995] 2005b: 263). Indeed, Connell argues that "the rigid, control-oriented masculinity of the military" has risen to near supremacy in the West in recent years ([1995] 2005b: 263).

Cartoon depictions of Harper as violent and militaristic, however, are not necessarily positive portrayals. In fact, may of these cartoons portray Harper's violence and aggression in a negative light, suggesting that he is 'too masculine'. Depictions of Dion, on the other hand, portray him as a victim, suggesting he is weak, and ultimately, that he is 'not masculine enough' for the ruthless battle he must wage against his opponent.

'Mr. Warm and Fuzzy': Harper's 'Warmth' Strategy

As mentioned in chapter 1, the Harper campaign tried to combat this cold and hard image with campaign advertisements and photo-ops featuring him in a cozy blue sweater cuddling kittens and hugging his children. Cartoonists seized this image of Harper and poked fun at his attempts to exhibit warmth, suggesting that Harper's new image was not genuine, and that efforts to soften his image were not working. In fact, 30 (17%) of the cartoons featuring Harper made fun of his "blue sweater" campaign and his attempts to exhibit warmth.

Cartoons by Dewar (2008a, 2008c), Murphy (2008b), de Adder (2008c), and Zaharuk (2008), for instance, argued that this 'soft and fuzzy' version of Harper was insincere. Zaharuk (2008) portrayed Harper as a wolf wearing a lamb's wool sweater. Dewar (2008c) depicted Harper struggling to convey empathy, and suggested that Harper finds his sweater itchy and uncomfortable (2008a). Murphy (2008b) argued that Harper had the warmth of a Klingon. A cartoon by de Adder (2008c) featured the heading, "The new soft and cuddly Stephen Harper" and depicted a contradictory image of Harper in his warm, blue sweater wielding a large mace and using it to destroy the arts.

Likewise, Corrigan (2008b), Mayes (2008) and Donato (2008) suggested that Harper's blue sweater campaign was not working by depicting his sweater unraveling. In Corrigan's (2008b) cartoon, for instance, there is a snag in

Harper's sweater emanating from a birdcage labelled "War Room". Harper runs along as his sweater unravels, meanwhile reminding himself that he "Must stay cuddly… Must stay on message…" (Corrigan, 2008b). This depiction of Harper struggling to "stay cuddly" suggests that this is not a natural role for Harper.

A MacKinnon (2008) cartoon suggested Harper needed to go even further to 'feminize' his highly masculine image. The cartoon showed a voice coming from a tall building labelled "Harper Image Consultants and Pollsters Inc." saying, "… The sweaters aren't working… How do you feel about lipstick?" The cartoon suggested that softening Harper's masculine image required further measures, including overt and explicit feminization. Interestingly, this cartoon referenced a stereotypical feminine behaviour in order to suggest was too masculine. Ultimately, all of these cartoons poked fun at Harper's attempts to show a 'softer side' and suggested that his sweater did not adequately disguise his apparently cold, harsh nature. As I show below, this theme was continued in humorous depictions of Harper on the *Rick Mercer Report*, *22 Minutes* and the *Royal Canadian Air Farce*.

Subordinated Masculinity: Dion as the 'Nerd'

While cartoonists poked fun at Harper's blue sweater, they also made fun of Dion's masculinity, depicting him as a "wimp", "nerd", "sissy", "dweeb", or "geek", to borrow Connell's terms ([1995] 2005: 79). In 36 (28%) of the cartoons in which Dion was featured, he was portrayed as a quintessential 'nerd'. A Clement (2008b) cartoon, for instance, portrayed him as a nerdy intellectual, producing ideas that are "unintelligible" to voters (A20). Cummings (2008c) drew Dion as a geek dropping his campaign strategy sheets. Another by Cummings (2008a) portrayed a 'nerdy' Dion attempting to make his "Green Shift" – and himself – seem 'cooler' to voters by putting his baseball cap, labelled "Green Shift" on backwards.

Cartoonists also presented the 'nerdy' Dion as the victim of bullying. A cartoon by Rodewalt (2008b) shown in Figure 7 (see appendix), for instance, shows Dion sitting at a desk in a classroom with "Leadership 101" written on the

chalkboard. In the cartoon, Dion sits slouching, slack-jawed, and covered in ink. He has been hit with a paper airplane, which sticks under his arm, and a piece of paper labelled "Loser" sticks to the bottom of his shoe. Dion proclaims, "School just started!" and asks, "How can I be so far behind already?!" The cartoon suggests that Dion is a weak leader because he embodies a subordinated masculinity – that of the stereotypical 'nerd'. Another cartoon by Rosen (2008) cast the federal party leaders as junior high students, with Harper, the "dork", shoving Dion, the "loser" into a locker. In this cartoon, the notion of a hierarchy of masculinities is invoked to undermine the masculinity of all of the party leaders, who are variously labelled according to some of the pejorative terms identified by Connell ([1995] 2005b: 79); yet, it is Dion who ultimately the least masculine – the victim of bullying by Harper.

Feminization

Cartoonists feminized both Dion and Harper in editorial cartoons about the 2008 Canadian federal election, though it was Dion who was more likely to be feminized. In fact, Dion was feminized in 12 (10%) of the cartoons in which he was represented, while Harper was feminized in five (3%) of the cartoons in which he was represented. The feminization of Dion in editorial cartoons is astounding for its explicit sexist connotations.

Dewar, for instance, routinely feminized Dion by drawing him wearing a green shift dress. For example, one Dewar (2008b) cartoon places Dion in the "Liberal Change Room." His green shift dress lies on the floor, while he tries on a red, and then a blue dress. The implication here is that Dion needs to change his notoriously unsuccessful Green Shift plan; however, through her invocation of the feminine in addressing Dion's failed policy proposal, Dewar suggests that perhaps Dion's Green Shift plan is not the only thing he needs to change about himself.

In a cartoon shown in Figure 8 (see appendix), Dion is once again explicitly feminized. This time Dion is portrayed wearing a pink dress, pregnant with a "Carbon Tax" (Cardow, 2008a). Below the cartoon, a caption reads, "Speaking of scandals that could potentially sink a campaign" (Cardow, 2008a).

Here, the cartoonist refers to the fact that Dion, who once opposed the idea of a carbon tax, supported carbon taxation in the 2008 election. The cartoonist not only seeks to criticize Dion's authenticity and policy proposals, but also to undermine his candidacy by comparing him to a woman through an unmistakable marker of femaleness – pregnancy.

A few cartoonists suggested that Dion is so feminine that he could learn something about masculinity from a woman, Sarah Palin. A cartoon, by Boldt (2008), for instance, shows a tiny Dion wearing a pink bow tie, standing atop a moose and holding a hunting rifle. "Think it'll work?" Dion asks his campaign aide, who replies, "It's worth a try…" as he looks at a graph depicting Palin's climbing approval ratings (Boldt, 2008b). In another cartoon by Moudakis (2008d), Dion is encouraged be as aggressive as Palin. The implication in these cartoons is that a hegemonic performance of masculinity is essential for successful political leadership. Since Dion lacks stereotypically masculine qualities and characteristics, he must try anything and everything to be perceived as masculine, even taking lessons from a woman about how to 'be a man'. While these cartoons conform to gender norms, they can also be read subversively in that they depict a woman as more masculine than a man.

As mentioned above, cartoonists feminized Harper as well as Dion. Boldt, of the *Calgary Sun*, for instance, repeatedly depicted Harper wearing makeup. It seems that such depictions were likely intended to poke fun at the fact that Harper had hired a personal stylist and make-up artist who traveled with him during the campaign. Nonetheless, Boldt's (2008a, 2008c, 2008d) depictions of Harper wearing red lipstick and blue eyeshadow undermine his masculinity by linking him with femininity.

Infantilization

Cartoonists infantilized both Dion and Harper, literally portraying them as children. However, infantilization was not a prominent theme in cartoon depictions of Dion and Harper. Only two (1%) of the cartoons in which Harper was depicted featured his infantilization; likewise, just two (2%) of the cartoons

featuring Dion portrayed him as a child. Under patriarchy, women have long been infantilized – equated with children – creating a hierarchy wherein men are dominant and women are subordinate. When a man is infantilized, a hierarchy is created separating 'the men from the boys'. Perhaps the best example of this discursive frame is a Theo Moudakis (2008a) cartoon depicting Michael Ignateiff, Bob Rae and Dion at a Liberal party rally. Ignatieff and Rae are dressed in suits and wave to the crowd of Liberal supporters. Dion, however, is depicted as a small schoolboy wearing a backpack. Rae turns to the child-like Dion and says, "Go wait in the car" (Moudakis, 2008a). This cartoon suggests that Dion lacks the leadership attributes of Ignatieff and Rae because, as a boy – not a man – he cannot display normatively 'masculine' traits.

Similarly, a Cardow (2008c) cartoon portrays Harper knocking on a voter's door, presumably to ask for her vote. Cardow depicts Harper as a little boy, however, and the voter, assuming he is an early trick or treater, asks, "Why don't you come back on October 31 and I'll have some candy for you?" (Cardow, 2008c). As well as implying that Harper is an opportunist, calling an election in the hope of earning a reward in the form of a majority government (or "candy"), the cartoonist implies that Harper is childish. In this case, the infantilization of Harper may have less to do with his masculinity, and more to do with an implied critique of his character. In the cartoon portrayal of Dion, described above, however, a distinct hierarchy is created separating the boy (Dion) from the men (Ignateiff and Rae), implying a critique of Dion's masculinity.

Homosexualization

According to Carrigan, Connell and Lee (1985), the most important feature of hegemonic masculinity is that "it is heterosexual" (593). Indeed, gay masculinity has traditionally been constructed as subordinate to heterosexual masculinity, with gay men typically imagined as "feminized men" (Connell, [1995] 2005b: 40) and perceived inferior because of this. Thus, it is possible that a depiction of either candidate as homosexual could be read as a comment on his masculinity.

Homosexualization of the candidates was rare in cartoons about the 2008 Canadian federal election, but nonetheless present. One (1%) of the cartoons that depicted Dion suggested that he was homosexual. This cartoon, by Rodewalt (2008c), features a couple at a table eating breakfast, a box of "Dion Puffs" cereal on the table featuring the slogan, "Born to be Mild". The cartoon at once depicts Dion as homosexual, comparing him to a 'puff' – a derogatory slang term for homosexual men – and criticizes his masculinity by depicting him as mild – in other words, weak and easily subordinated.

Harper was also portrayed as homosexual in one (1%) of the cartoons in which he was depicted. This cartoon, by Aislin (2008b), portrays two men laying in bed, one of them reading a newspaper with the headline, "Stephen Harper: I'd rather be a colourful fruit than a vegetable", the other one responding, "Who knew?" The cartoon refers to Harper's impromptu response when asked by a reporter which vegetable he would be if he could be any vegetable: "I would choose, if I had to, instead to be a fruit" (CBC, 2008a). The cartoon's suggestion that Harper is a 'fruit' – another slang term for a homosexual man – seems to be more playful than pejorative, merely toying with Harper's own description of himself. In fact, the suggestion that Harper is homosexual can be read as humourously subversive. Rodewalt's (2008c) cartoon depicting Dion as a 'puff', on the other hand, seems to be a pejorative one.

Television Programmes

Content Analysis

My content analysis of masculinity in television political humour programmes revealed that, of the 51 segments of television political humour, masculinity was an explicit and primary theme in just six segments (12%). As Figure 4 (see appendix) shows, then, masculinity was not a prominent theme on the *Rick Mercer Report*, *22 Minutes* and the *Royal Canadian Air Farce* during the 2008 election. More common themes in election humour across the three programmes included, for example, the candidates' policy platforms, key election issues, the candidates' personalities, the party leaders' debates, the state of

Canadian politics in general, the leaders' campaign gaffes, and the nature of traditional news coverage of the election. Once again, one would not necessarily expect gender to be a prominent theme in political humour about Dion and Harper since as men they represent the norm in politics. Masculinity, moreover, is so taken-for-granted in the political realm that it is not particularly noteworthy (Duerst-Lahti, 2007: 87). It is female politicians whose gender – whether masculine or feminine – is often depicted as "heterogeneous", "strange", or "comic" (Clare, 2002: 5) in media portrayals of politicians.

As in editorial cartoons, Harper was featured more often than Dion in the three programmes. Harper was represented – either being mentioned by name, appearing as himself through real footage or in an interview, or depicted by one of the programme's actors – in 39 (76%) of those segments. Dion was represented in 26 (51%) of the segments analyzed. Since previous studies have shown that political humour tends to be directed at the incumbent and a few frontrunners in an election (Buell and Maus, 1988; Feldman, 1995; Niven et al., 2003), it is not surprising that Harper was represented more often than Dion in the TV humour and editorial cartoons included in my sample.

Of the 40 segments in which Harper was portrayed, only two of those (5%) contained an explicit focus on his masculinity. Of the 25 segments in which Dion was portrayed, five of them (20%) focused explicitly on his masculinity. While this is not a large difference – indeed, it is quite minor – it is interesting to note that while Dion was represented less often than Harper, Dion's masculinity was the main subject of a greater number of segments. As the literature on gender and humour shows, humour often serves to mark the 'Other' by making fun of those whose behaviour contradicts social norms (Fine, 1976: 139; Little, 2009: 1255; Palmer, 1994: 58; Powell, 1988: 99). This somewhat disproportionate focus on Dion's masculinity may be evidence of that, especially considering, as I show below, that Dion was depicted as lacking the normative masculine traits.

While masculinity was not necessarily a prominent theme in election humour on the *Rick Mercer Report*, *22 Minutes*, and *Royal Canadian Air Farce*, the theme of masculinity was nonetheless present, with satirists poking fun at the

candidates' masculine shortcomings and/or excesses. The figures above show that the candidates' masculinities were an explicit and key subject of relatively few comedy sketches, news parody segments, fake advertisements, and interviews. However, as the discourse analysis reveals, the subject of masculinity was often *implicit* in humour about the two candidates.

Discourse Analysis

Through the use of a gendered lens to critically analyze representations of masculinity in television humour about the 2008 election, five discursive categories became clear. Television humour about the 2008 election featured themes of masculinity centering around: hockey and the 'game frame'; feminization; Dion the 'nerd' vs. Harper the bully; Harper's lack of warmth; and heterosexual masculinity. The first four themes echo those found in editorial cartoon depictions of Harper and Dion, while the theme of heterosexual masculinity is unique to representations of the candidates on television.

Hockey Night in Canada: The 'Game Frame', Masculinity and Political Leadership

Several sketch comedy segments and news parody pieces centred on Canada's beloved pastime, hockey. Since sport, and hockey in particular, is a male-dominated realm wherein masculinity is exalted, the theme of hockey in political humour both (re)produces the conception of politics as a masculine pursuit and highlights the ways in which leaders such as Dion do not embody stereotypical Canadian masculinity. Two segments in particular are noteworthy.

One fake news segment from the October 7th, 2008 episode of *22 Minutes* is particularly revealing of attitudes surrounding masculinity, hockey and political leadership. The segment is introduced by a male anchor who says, "earlier this week, Stéphane Dion tried to prove he has what it takes to lead Canada". The segment then cuts to real video footage of Stéphane Dion wearing a Montreal *Canadiens* jersey taking shots on a goalie in a one-on-one street hockey match. This real footage of Dion playing hockey was likely an attempt by the Dion

campaign to shore up his masculinity in the minds of voters, since, as I discussed in chapter 1, Dion's masculinity and leadership ability had been denigrated by Conservative party attack ads arguing he was a weak leader. In fact, Dion's website, ThisisdDion.ca, featured similar footage of the party leader taking part in 'masculine' activities, such as floor hockey and fishing, in an apparent attempt to make him seem like more of a 'man's man'. The footage shown on *22 Minutes* reveals that, although Dion attempts to buttress his masculinity by demonstrating his capability at Canada's favourite sport, he is, in fact, a dismal hockey player. Dion is shown fumbling, out of breath, losing control of the street hockey ball, and unable to score a goal after several attempts. After showing an entire minute of footage of Dion trying to score a goal, the shot cuts back to the anchor, who looks shocked at Dion's hopeless and embarrassing performance. "Wow," he says.

This video is telling for two main reasons. First, that political leaders apparently feel it necessary to demonstrate their prowess at – or at least love for – hockey suggests a deep-rooted connection between masculinity and political leadership. Why should citizens care whether or not a political leader can score a goal in a hockey match? Certainly, footage of a politician playing hockey may have the effect of making a politician seem more likeable and relatable to many Canadians. But sport – including hockey – is intimately connected to masculinity. As discussed above, sport assists in the maintenance of hegemonic masculinity by linking maleness and masculinity with "highly valued and visible skills", by excluding women and by constructing a hierarchy of masculinity whereby some men are depicted as less athletic and less masculine, and therefore inferior (Bryson, 1987: 349-50). The second reason this video is significant is its explicit connection between masculinity and political leadership. In his introductory statement – "this week, Stephane Dion tried to prove he has what it takes to lead Canada" – the anchor connects Dion's leadership ability (or inability) directly to his ability (or inability) to play hockey.

Another piece from *22 Minutes* also makes this connection, depicting Dion as a weak leader in part because of his apparent lack of masculinity, which,

in turn, is evidenced by his inability to play hockey well. The piece is a fake campaign advertisement for Dion and the Liberal party titled, "The real Dion". The satiric advertisement's ironic tagline is "Stéphane Dion – he's the best that we have right now". The commercial features Dion, played by Mark Chritch, trying to bolster his masculinity and portray himself as a man's man, but failing miserably. For instance, Chritch, playing Dion, says in a thick French-Canadian accent, "I like the out of doors – I love to play the skiing, the jacks, and the ladies' tennis! Once, I even love a roller skate!" Dion is doubly 'Othered' in this fake ad through emphasis on his French accent and alleged inability to speak proper English, and also on his lack of 'natural' masculine traits, including athletic skill. By making a joke of "ladies' tennis", moreover, women's sports (and by association, women) are portrayed as inferior.

The ad also features fake video footage of Dion playing hockey, which he calls "the hockery", and failing miserably. This fake video footage of Dion playing hockey is likely an allusion to the real footage of Dion discussed above, in which he did not look much more skilled. The show pokes fun at how unnatural Dion looks playing hockey. It also mocks the Liberal party's attempt to make him seem more masculine through the use of hockey, when Critch, as Dion, says, "I am enjoying the hockery! There's nothing unusual here…". Dion is also portrayed playing catch, though he is apparently scared of the ball, which hits him as he cowers. Once again, a connection is made between sports and political leadership – Dion is portrayed as a weak leader, in part because of his poor athletic performance.

"It's, uh, more for the ladies": Feminization

The same fake advertisement from *22 Minutes* also feminizes Dion in implicit and explicit ways. Implicitly, Dion is feminized when he is portrayed power walking, a form of exercise popularized by Oprah in the 1990s in which women (primarily) take quick, short strides, bending their arms at a 90 degree angle and swinging their hips from side to side as they walk in order to maximize calorie burn. Dion is explicitly feminized, moreover, when a man asks him from

off-camera, "Monsieur Dion, can you think of *anything* rugged or edgy about yourself?" Dion replies, "One time, I had two chicks at once!" "Good. That's good!" the man responds with encouragement. Dion continues, "It was Easter, and the egg, she hatch, and then inside, there are *two* little chicks, but one of them had the *tiniest* wing. So I nursed him back to health with milk from my nipple!" "Monsieur Dion, please!" the man interjects. Though the male interviewer tries desperately to bring forth an element of masculinity from Dion, and is encouraged by the prospect that Dion has sexually conquered "two chicks", he is discouraged when Dion exhibits femininity, or, more accurately, the female ability to breastfeed. Dion not only fails at performing masculinity, but comes across as feminine; thus, in terms of political leadership, Dion is just "the best that [the Liberals] have right now" according to *22 Minutes*.

Dion is also feminized in a comedy sketch from the October 7th episode of the *Rick Mercer Report*. The sketch details Dion's journey to becoming the Liberal party leader, supported, crucially, by former Liberal MP Gerard Kennedy, who played a pivotal role in Dion's election to the Liberal leadership by placing his own support and his delegates' support behind Dion in the third and final round of voting of the 2006 Liberal party leadership convention. As the narrator of the sketch explains, "[Kennedy's] critical decision to quit the race and support third-place runner-up Stéphane Dion swept Dion to power". After showing footage of the Liberal leadership convention, the sketch features a flashback to Northern Manitoba in 1971 as a young Gerard Kennedy and his father choose a puppy from a pet store. Gerard's father says, "Okay, Gerard, now remember, choosing a family dog is very important. You have to choose one that is gonna be steadfast and tough." His father points to a basset hound and says, "Hey! How 'bout that one? He looks like he's *strong* and *friendly*. Looks like he knows what he's doin'", to which Gerard replies, "Uh…I dunno." His father points to another dog, and says, "Hey, look at this one! He looks like he could protect the farm and be loyal." Gerard isn't satisfied, and says, "Hmm… no, not really." Then, his attention turns to a third puppy, which clearly excites him: "I want this one!" he says, as he looks down at a puppy wearing a pink sweater and a bright pink bow

in his hair. "What the hell is that?" says his father. "That's the one I want", says Gerard. "I don't know, Gerard, it's not much of a *farm* dog… It's, uh, more for the ladies…" When Gerard begins to cry, however, his father gives in and says, "Okay, okay, *man up*! You can have the dog. I'm just saying these [he points to the other two dogs] are great dogs with a great future!" As the young Gerard Kennedy plays with his new pink-bowed puppy, a narrator says, "Even at a young age, Gerard Kennedy made ineffectual choices and would later go on to plunge the Liberal party into a dizzying tailspin."

Both sketches feminize Dion, the first by depicting him taking part in the 'feminine' sport of power walking and by portraying him as someone with the ability to nurture and breastfeed, and the second by comparing him to a feminine puppy, wearing a pink sweater and a bow in its hair. Both sketches imply that Dion is weak *because* he is feminine. In the *Rick Mercer Report* sketch, for instance, Mercer, playing Kennedy's father, describes the qualities of a good 'dog', and by way of comparison, the qualities of a good political leader, including: strength, loyalty, steadfastness, toughness, and the ability to protect – all stereotypically masculine qualities. The dog – and, by implication, the party leader – that Kennedy chooses is said to lack these qualities, possessing, instead, a distinct femininity. Femininity, then, is directly linked to weakness in political leadership in these two comedic sketches.

"I'll meet you at the lockers": Dion the 'Nerd' takes on Harper the Bully

Like editorial cartoons about the 2008 Canadian federal election, political humour on the three programmes depicted a hierarchy of masculinities occurring between Dion and Harper, with Dion portrayed as the quintessential nerd, and Harper as a stereotypical bully. For instance, in his 'Rant' from September 30th, Mercer compares the competition between Harper and Dion to a school rivalry between "the nerdy kid" and "the bully". In Mercer's words:

> Remember back to high school folks, remember when the nerdy kid
> finally had enough of being slapped around by the bully and he said, 'Ok,
> I'll meet you at the lockers!' Everyone showed up for that fight, because
> this, this is not a normal political rivalry, this is personal. Never mind that

the Tories have spent millions of dollars calling Dion a pathetic loser; lately, they've been going after his wife […] Personally, I wouldn't be surprised if Dion snaps and takes a smack at him! So, never mind the promise of democracy, tune in for the promise of bloodshed, and maybe, if we're lucky, a knockout punch! […] And for the first time in a long time, thankfully, nobody can say, 'May the best man win!'"

Clearly, masculinity is a prominent theme in this rant, not only through the depiction of Dion as the 'nerd' and Harper as the bully, stereotypes imbued with meanings surrounding masculinity, but also through the use of masculine boxing and battlefield metaphors. This masculinist language, in which Mercer promises "bloodshed" and hopes for a "knock-out punch", assists in constructing politics as a male domain, since one would not typically imagine women engaging in such activities (Trimble et al., 2007: 4). Mercer subverts this construction of politics as a male domain in the last sentence of his rant, however, when he celebrates the presence of a woman – Elizabeth May – in the debates.

Another segment from the *Rick Mercer Report* takes part in the portrayal of Dion as the quintessential nerd and Harper as the stereotypical bully. That segment, a fake commercial about the Canadian party leaders, which originally aired on September 30th, 2008, features all of the party leaders being portrayed by children. The ad features the slogan, "Politics is no place for grownups". While the ad is a comment on the leaders and perhaps contemporary Canadian politics in general, it also features some implicit meanings pertaining to masculinity, particularly through the portrayals of Dion and Harper. Harper, for instance, is shown bullying Dion, who, when attempting to show off his stamp collection, has it swatted out of his hands by Harper. Through this portrayal, Dion is constructed as less masculine than Harper – the victim of his bullying. Harper, meanwhile, is portrayed as perhaps too masculine – he is too aggressive, too violent, and too cold.

"[He's] a person… or, at least, a mammal?": Humanizing Harper

In fact, a popular theme in humorous depictions of Harper across the three programmes was his perceived coldness, and, just like editorial cartoonists, the

political satirists and parodists on these programmes found a source of comedy in attempts by the Harper campaign to 'soften' his image through advertisements featuring him in a cozy blue sweater. All three shows made fun of Harper's cold persona, and while masculinity is not necessarily an explicit theme in such jokes, his masculinity is implicitly called into question through suggestions that he lacks warmth. Indeed, while Dion was portrayed as unmasculine, Harper was portrayed, perhaps, as 'too' masculine.

A fake news segment from the October 14th, 2008 episode of *22 Minutes*, for instance, features anchor Mark Chritch saying, "Despite leading in the polls, Wednesday, Stephen Harper admitted he knows a lot of people still find him cold and unlikeable". Then, real footage shows Harper saying, "I know that, because, as I say, my *mother* is one of those people, and… you know, I hear about it every single day." Another fake news segment from *22 Minutes*, this one from September 30th, 2008, features real footage of Harper greeting a mother and her baby on the campaign trail. Harper smiles as he pokes the baby awkwardly, seemingly unsure of how to behave with a baby. The anchor jokes that Harper "accidentally mistook [the] baby for an ATM". In this segment, the anchor – by pointing out Harper's awkward encounter with the baby – shows how real footage of Harper contradicts the 'warmer' and 'softer' image that Harper had been attempting to convey to voters.

A third example comes from a comedy sketch titled, "Mr. Harper's Neighbourhood" from the *Royal Canadian Air Farce* (October 10th, 2008). The sketch, a parody of Mr. Rogers' neighborhood, features Craig Lauzon playing Stephen Harper. The sketch also parodies Harper's "blue sweater" campaign ads, and features "Mr. Harper" changing from a blazer into a cozy blue cardigan, just as Mr. Rogers did on his famous children's show. The skit contrasts the persona Harper attempts to create – as warm and cuddly – with the way he is perceived – as controlling, bullying, attacking, and dominating. In Mr. Harper's neighborhood, says Harper, "everything is beautiful and peaceful, because I do all the thinking for everyone. Can you say 'control freak'?" Harper is portrayed as aggressive and dominating in this sketch. For instance, Harper's policy platform

is contained in a document titled, "The True North Strong and Free: Stephen Harper's Plan to Dominate Canadians". The sketch also features Harper travelling to "Mr. Harper's World of Make Believe" where he is portrayed by a puppet referred to as "King Majority XIII" and where he is accompanied by his loyal helper, John Baird. Harper says to Baird, "You are my most trusted member of cabinet", to which Baird replies, "But, I am only a puppet!" "Exactly!" says Harper. This controlling image of Harper is inconsistent with the warm and cuddly image he sought to portray.

Finally, a fake Conservative party campaign advertisement from *22 Minutes* parodies real Conservative party election ads from the 2008 campaign that featured actors playing everyday, 'average' Canadian citizens and talking about the many ways in which they can relate to Harper. The fake ad begins with the 'real' people saying things like, "He's someone I can relate to" and "I like that he's a family man with young children, just like me." As the ad goes on, peoples' observations about Harper become more and more ridiculous, highlighting and exaggerating the fact that he is, in fact, human: "I like that he's a biped – he doesn't have four legs, like a horse, or eight, like a spider or something. Two legs is something that really resonates with me", and, "I really connect with how he has… skin… as opposed to… scales. It really says, 'I'm a person.'… or, at least, a mammal?" This parody of a Conservative party campaign advertisement makes fun of Harper for appearing to be cold and lacking in humanity, and for the use of actors to cultivate the perception of a warmer persona.

All four pieces suggest that Harper is perhaps 'too' masculine, lacking the stereotypically feminine qualities of caring and warmth – 'feminine' qualities that, perhaps, male politicians are expected to exhibit nowadays. Interestingly, though, as feminist political scientists have shown, when a female politician exhibits traditional markers of femininity, she is often perceived as *too* feminine (Bashevkin, 2009; Murray, 2010: 235). The construction of political leadership as a masculine activity means that, "the more a woman is perceived as a woman the less likely it is that she will be perceived as professionally competent" (Valian qtd. in Bashevkin, 2009: 32).

Suggestions by political satirists that Harper is 'too masculine' or 'not feminine enough', then, are puzzling. In my view, that Harper is depicted as 'too masculine' is related to two factors. First, that Harper is depicted as 'too masculine' may be evidence of the so-called 'softening' of hegemonic masculinity described in chapter 2. In order to remain hegemonic – and therefore, in order to continue to guarantee the legitimacy of patriarchy – hegemonic masculinity must appear to respond to feminist criticism (MacKinnon, 2003: 10). Thus, men nowadays are expected to exhibit traditionally feminine qualities such as kindness, caring, warmth, cooperation and the ability to communicate, especially in a professional setting (Hooper, 1998: 38-41). Thus, while Harper's masculinity is certainly portrayed as more robust than Dion's, political satirists suggest that he does not quite embody normative, hegemonic masculinity, which requires the expression of masculinity with the incorporation of stereotypically feminine qualities.

On the other hand, humorous depictions of Harper that focus on his lack of 'warmth' may not relate to a perception that he is 'too masculine' at all, but instead to a perceived lack of authenticity in his gendered performances. van Zoonen (2005) argues, for instance, that to succeed in a culture of celebrity politics, a politician's gendered performance must be authentic; in other words, it:

> must be consistent across the various stages and genres, because if anything will devastate a good performance it is its detection as a performance […] The best rhetoric is not recognized as such and thus, paradoxically, what must be performed on the different stages and across the variety of public and popular genres is *authenticity* (75, emphasis added).

In terms of what type of authentic performance is required of any politician, van Zoonen (2005) maintains that "the cultural model of a politician is much closer to the ideas of masculinity than of femininity" (75). Thus, male politicians often draw upon masculine archetypes, such as that of the 'family man' and the military hero, when crafting their personas (van Zoonen, 2005: 76). In the eyes of political satirists, then, the element of humour in Harper's performance of the archetypal family man perhaps lies not in his masculinity, but in his inauthentic

performance of the stereotypical warm, loving family man. Indeed, political satirists contrasted the warm, kind and caring persona Harper sought to portray with what they perceived to be his actual cold and uncaring personality. While depictions of Harper as 'too masculine' may actually represent criticisms of Harper's seemingly inauthentic gendered performance, rather than any direct critique of his masculinity, portrayals of Dion as 'not masculine enough' carry blatantly sexist overtones. Dion is continually depicted as embodying a subordinated masculinity – his gender symbolically assimilated with femininity – in order to suggest he is weak leader.

"Girls don't make passes at boys who wear plain glasses!": Constructing Heterosexual Masculinity

A series of news parody segments from *22 Minutes* serves to reinforce the perception of a hierarchy of masculinities between not only Harper and Dion, but among all of the male leaders. Throughout the campaign period, Avery Adams – the (stereo)typical single female voter – played by Geri Hall, staged interviews with each of the five party leaders in the hope that she would "fall in love" with one of them. While Gilles Duceppe, Jack Layton and Elizabeth May are not the focus of this study, these segments are best analyzed as a whole. As such I compare the ways in which Hall, portraying Adams, the "single female voter", interacts with, and thus shapes the portrayal of, each leader.

Avery Adams meets first with Harper. Prior to that meeting, she reiterates that she wants to "fall in love with a candidate". The problem with Harper, however, is that "rumour has it, he doesn't like women anywhere near his caucus". Following a press conference, Adams appears to unexpectedly bombard Harper with questions in typical *22 Minutes* fashion, and is ultimately handcuffed and escorted out of the room by security.[1] Adams eventually gets a chance to interview Harper, who asks her, "Do you like handcuffs?" Adams asks him about the new softer side he shows in his commercials. She says it seems like he is "wooing the female voters with [his] sweet sexy tones". Harper is slightly

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awkward in his interaction with Hall, fumbling over what to say as she flirts with him shamelessly.

Hall's interaction with Harper raises a few issues with respect to his masculinity. First, Hall's statement that Harper "doesn't like women anywhere near his caucus" is an implicit homosexualization of the leader. On the other hand, the joke is intended to suggest that Harper is sexist because his party has the fewest women in its caucus of the four parties in the House of Commons. The discussion of his colder versus softer sides also pertains to the authenticity of his gender performance, as discussed above. Ultimately, the interaction is best understood when analyzed alongside Hall's interviews with the other leaders.

Second, Hall meets Dion on the campaign trail, where she hopes to be wooed by him. In Adams' words: "A girl wants her leader to seduce her. I want you to seduce me Stéphane. But it's just hard when I don't always understand what you're saying." Upon meeting Dion, Adams holds up a pair of handcuffs and tells him that Harper has him in handcuffs, metaphorically-speaking, in the election. Adams then hands Dion a pair of cool aviator sunglasses to put on, advising him that "Girls don't make passes at boys who wear plain glasses!" She suggests that he needs to make his image cooler and sexier: "Just try 'em on for me. The ladies will love it". Adams wants to be wooed by Dion, who suggests instead that she talk to one of his staff members, who is young and single. She says, "I'm not looking for just anybody, I'm looking for a *leader*". By emphasizing that she wants a leader, meanwhile suggesting that Dion needs help expressing his masculinity, Hall, playing Adams, links Dion's masculinity with his leadership ability. Hall plays the stereotypical subservient female, looking to be led – perhaps even dominated – by a powerful man, but Dion fails to conform to the manly image she wants him to embrace.

Later on, Hall meets Dion at his hotel room. Handing him a leather jacket and the sunglasses she made him try on earlier, she tells him, "I believe that the people out there wanna see your inner tough guy!" Adams asks him to put on the jacket and sunglasses in the hope that this will give him a more rugged and manly look. She then instructs him to deliver an insult to Harper: "Canada, Stephen

Harper doesn't give a Green Shift about you!" Dion stumbles, however, and says, "Stephen Harper doesn't give a Green Shift to you!"

Comparing the interactions of Harper and Dion with Hall's character, it seems that neither was portrayed as a 'ladies' man', and therefore neither candidate is portrayed as embodying normative masculinity. Dion is portrayed as still less masculine than Harper, however. For instance, in Hall's interview with Dion, she repeatedly suggests that he is not masculine enough, and needs to work on portraying a cool masculinity to voters. Hall also suggests that Harper is dominating Dion in the campaign. On top of this, Hall connects Dion's weak leadership with his supposed lack of masculinity.

In a later episode, Hall interviews both Layton and Duceppe. The NDP leader and the Bloc leader are portrayed as the more masculine leaders of the bunch. For instance, Adams compliments Layton on his "rock hard abs", his "sexy mustache", and his new advertisements promoting "a new kind of strong": "sounds like a deodorant commercial", according to Adams. Adams also affirms Duceppe's masculinity by allowing him to lead her in a dance, and by telling him that she has "a little bit of a weak constitution" – something she thinks he would like. Unlike Harper and Dion, Duceppe seems comfortable 'wooing' a woman, and Layton is complimented on his manly, muscular physique; therefore Layton and Duceppe are portrayed as more closely embodying normative masculinity.

All of these segments reinforce traditional conceptions of appropriate gender behaviour. Because masculinity is connected to heterosexuality and the ability to charm a woman, for instance, Hall's interviews reinforce heteronormativity. Furthermore, the contrast of masculine and feminine stereotypes is noteworthy. Hall's character conforms to sexist stereotypes of women as frivolous, interested in "rock hard abs" rather than important political issues, desperate for male attention and powerful only through their sexuality. Though Hall plays the character with irony, her portrayal of the stereotypical 'single female voter' may assist in reinforcing the construction of the political realm as unfit for women. Moreover, masculinity is implicitly linked to political

leadership when Hall attempts to help Dion portray his masculinity to voters, reminding him that she is "looking for a *leader*".

In her final interview with Green party leader Elizabeth May, however, Hall undermines and quietly subverts heteronormativity and traditional views surrounding gender and politics. For example, there is a lesbian subtext in their encounter. Prior to meeting May, Hall's character admits that, though she has "never been with a chick before (unless you count the time in university when [she] experimented with Kim Campbell)", she is "envirocurious" and ready for some "girl on Green action". When they meet, May comments on Hall's beautiful green dress and says, "You look good in green. You shouldn't just experiment, you should […] dive in!" Then, May and Hall discuss the election and talk about the need for more women in the House of Commons, challenging the patriarchal notion that politics should be left to men. "I want you to beat [Peter MacKay]", Hall tells May, "because I think that we've already got too many Peters in the House of Commons… and Dicks, and John Thomases". This 'fake' news piece serves as a reminder that, while patriarchal notions of gender are often constructed using humour, humour can also serve as a tool of resistance to patriarchal views of gender.

Sex of the Humourist

Perhaps because of Hall's identity as a woman, she felt compelled to use humour to question the male dominance of the House of Commons in her 'fake' interview with May. Is there a connection between the sexism in political humour and editorial cartoons about the 2008 election and the male domination of the political humour genre? In chapter 2, I argued that when analyzing constructions of gender in humour, it is important to ask, "who is telling the jokes?"

Indeed, it is worth noting that, of the 51 segments of television humour on the *Rick Mercer Report*, *22 Minutes*, and the *Royal Canadian Air Farce* analyzed here, 35 (69%) of them featured only male performers. Just six (12%) featured only female performers, and eight segments (16%) featured male and female performers. Similarly, of the 244 editorial cartoons analyzed, 220 (90.2%) were

drawn by men. Just 18 (7.4%) of the cartoons were drawn by women, namely Sue Dewar of the *Ottawa Sun* and Sarah Lazarovic of the *Ottawa Citizen*, the only two female cartoonists whose work is represented in my sample.[2] That most of the television segments featured only male performers, and that few of the cartoons were drawn by women is not surprising given that political humour in general, and cartooning more specifically, remain male-dominated fields (Miller, 1993: 385; Siuyi Wong and Cuklanz, 2001: 70; Street, 2011: 67). In Miller's (1993) view, because of the male-dominated nature of editorial cartooning, it is important to consider whether or not women's voices are present and to analyze the potential effects of their presence or absence (385). Indeed, one wonders if different themes would have emerged had the political humour in this study been by female artists predominantly.

On the other hand, it is problematically essentialist and simplistic to assume that the presence of more women as political humourists and editorial cartoonists would have resulted in alternate constructions of masculinity in political humour about Harper and Dion. Even if one does believe that women share a distinct voice or perspective, women working in the media are undoubtedly influenced by the norms and standards of their genre. From this perspective, women's so-called 'distinct voices' may be obscured by pressure to conform to such norms and standards.

Ultimately, however, because humour is gendered, female humourists do tend to stand out as 'Others'. For instance, Alice Sheppard argues that "We conceptualize 'women humourists' as a special category because humour is implicitly defined as a male realm, and the terms comedian, cartoonist, and humourist are implicitly gender-referenced" (qtd. in Siuyi Wong and Cuklanz, 2001: 70). Female humourists are also seen as unique or anomalous because women – who have long been the butt of men's sexist jokes – are often seen as lacking a sense of humour (Siuyi Wong and Cuklanz, 2001: 70).

Certainly, in political humour about the 2008 election, women were often – implicitly or explicitly – the subject of men's jokes. Harper and, more often, Dion were feminized – depicted wearing dresses, lipstick, or carrying handbags –

to suggest that they were weak or ineffective leaders. Interestingly, however, female political humourists also took part in making fun of women. Specifically, Sue Dewar of the *Ottawa Sun* feminized Dion in almost every cartoon in which she depicted him. This can be interpreted in multiple ways. For instance, her feminization of Dion can be read as sexist: she feminized Dion in order to portray him as weak. On the other hand, it could be read as a subversive statement: by depicting Dion in a dress, Dewar is suggesting that Dion is a gender-bender, bridging gender divides through a blend of masculine and feminine. The first interpretation, however, seems the most likely to be the intended one. Dewar's participation in sexist humour suggests that the inclusion of more women's voices as editorial cartoonists would not necessarily result in less sexism in political cartoons, or, for that matter, in political humour as a whole. It is important, however, to note the male domination of political humour about the 2008 election, and to consider whether or not this impacted the nature of the gendered portrayals of the candidates. To develop a true understanding of whether the sex of the humourist makes a difference, or specifically, whether or not female and male political humourists view gender and political leadership differently, one would have to interview them and ask them about the intentions and motivations behind their jokes.

Conclusion

My analysis reveals that, while masculinity was not necessarily the most prominent or prevalent theme in political humour about the 2008 Canadian federal election, editorial cartoonists and political satirists on the *Rick Mercer Report*, *22 Minutes* and the *Royal Canadian Air Farce* did call the masculinities of Harper and Dion into question in various implicit and explicit ways. Editorial cartoonists, for instance, utilized the masculinist 'game frame' imagery of sports, war and violence in their depictions of Harper and Dion. Cartoonists who employed the 'game frame' to compare the election to a sports match depicted Dion as athletically inferior, weak, and effeminate; Harper, on the other hand, was portrayed succeeding in the game that was the 2008 federal election. Similarly,

segments of the *Rick Mercer Report*, *22 Minutes* and the *Royal Canadian Air Farce* incorporated Canada's favourite masculine pastime, hockey, into election humour about the two candidates. 'Fake' news segments and sketch comedy pieces centring around hockey depicted Dion failing at this crucial Canadian "test of masculinity" (Connell, [1995] 2005: 30), even linking his poor hockey skills to his supposedly weak political leadership. Cartoonists employing the 'game frame' imagery of war and violence tended to militarize Harper and to depict him as the perpetrator of violence. Dion, meanwhile, was often portrayed as a victim.

In fact, Dion was often portrayed – in editorial cartoons and on the *Rick Mercer Report*, *22 Minutes* and the *Royal Canadian Air Farce* – as the victim of Harper's bullying. Portrayed as the quintessential 'nerd', Dion was depicted as embodying a subordinated masculinity. Such depictions place Dion near the bottom of the masculine hierarchy described by Connell ([1995] 2005).

Also low on the socially produced hierarchy of masculinities theorized by Connell ([1995] 2005) are homosexual men. While homosexuality was not a common theme in political humour about Dion and Harper, it was invoked to undermine Dion's masculinity in one editorial cartoon. Harper's masculinity was not similarly denigrated by pejorative suggestions that he was homosexual. The theme of homosexuality was implicit in a series of parodic interviews featuring *22 Minutes* cast-member Geri Hall as Avery Adams – the so-called "average" single female voter looking to "fall in love" with a party leader – which reinforced the socially constructed connection between heterosexuality and masculinity.

Furthermore, femininity was invoked by political satirists to degrade Harper and Dion. It was Dion, however, who was much more likely to be feminized. His alleged femininity, moreover, was linked to his so-called weakness as a leader, suggesting that those who exhibit feminine traits do not belong in the political realm.

Cartoonists and political satirists also made fun of Harper's 'warmth' strategy, suggesting that images of him in a warm and fuzzy blue sweater were not genuine. Arguably, in fact, Harper was often portrayed as 'too masculine', lacking the stereotypically feminine traits of caring, kindness and warmth.

Perhaps such representations of Harper pertain to the so-called 'softening' of hegemonic masculinity described by MacKinnon (2003), Hooper (1998) and Niva (1998). On the other hand, jokes about Harper's perceived lack of warmth and the 'blue sweater' campaign to soften his image could be read as criticisms of his authenticity. When cartoonists and comedians poked fun at his lack of warmth, for instance, they tended to do so by contrasting his attempts to craft a softer persona with what they perceived to be his actual cold and harsh personality.

Ultimately, political satirists constructed a hierarchy of masculinities in depictions of Harper and Dion, portraying Dion's masculinity as deficient, lacking, or virtually non-existent and Harper as hypermasculine, aggressive, violent, controlling and militaristic. Dion was often portrayed as insufficiently masculine and feminized in political humour, compared to a woman to suggest he was weak. I argue that by implying that Dion does not sufficiently embody masculinity, and by invoking the feminine to undermine his campaign, political satirists contributed to a normalization of the purported link between masculinity and leadership and an alienation of those who do not embody stereotypically 'masculine' traits from the political realm. Though Harper was often depicted as excessively masculine – or as portraying an inauthentic version of a 'softened' masculinity – Harper was still positioned firmly within 'the game' that was the 2008 election. In fact, editorial cartoonists tended to depict him as the likely winner. By equating success and power with stereotypically masculine qualities such as physical strength and athleticism, aggression, violence, control and domination, political satirists defined political power "in opposition to femininity/femaleness", reinforcing the patriarchal view that politics is a man's world (Edwards, 2007: 249-50).

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

Summary of Research Findings

Recognizing the role of political humour in gender construction, this study has asked: how was the relationship between masculinity and political leadership constructed in political humour about the 2008 Canadian federal election? Connell's ([1995] 2005) theory of masculinities, which views gendered power relationships as occurring not only between men and women, but inside the sex 'categories' provided the theoretical framework guiding my content and discourse analysis of representations of Stephen Harper and Stéphane Dion in editorial cartoons and on the *Rick Mercer Report*, *22 Minutes* and the *Royal Canadian Air Farce*. Content analysis revealed that masculinity was certainly not the most prominent theme in political humour about the 2008 federal election. However, discourse analysis revealed that political humourists did draw attention to the leaders' masculinities in various explicit and implicit ways. I have argued that a hierarchy of masculinities was constructed in political humour about Harper and Dion, the two frontrunners in the 2008 federal election.

In editorial cartoons and on the *Rick Mercer Report*, *22 Minutes* and the *Royal Canadian Air Farce*, political humourists tended to depict Harper as hypermasculine, aggressive, dominant and violent. Dion, on the other hand, was depicted as embodying a stereotypical subordinated masculinity – that of the weak, submissive 'nerd', the victim of Harper's bullying. On top of this, Dion was routinely feminized in political humour, his so-called femininity connected to his perceived weakness as a political leader. Though Harper's perceived excessive masculinity was not portrayed positively in political humour – indeed, he was often portrayed as embodying an inauthentic version of a 'softened' masculinity – he was positioned firmly "in the game" (Trimble and Sampert, 2004: 61) that was the 2008 Canadian federal election. This tendency to evaluate the masculinities of the candidates, and, furthermore, the tendency to portray the candidates as either deficiently masculine or utterly feminine, I argue, contributes

to a normalization of hegemonic notions of political leadership as intimately connected to the possession of stereotypically masculine traits.

When political leadership is linked with masculinity, women are alienated from politics since, by virtue of their sex, women "find entering manhood difficult" (Duerst-Lahti and Kelly, 1995: 24). Certainly, men possess a distinct advantage in the quest to embody a stereotypically 'masculine' public persona because the performance of masculinity is seen as the appropriate one based on their biology (Duerst-Lahti and Kelly, 1995: 19). When female candidates attempt to convey stereotypically masculine traits to voters, on the other hand, they are often perceived as strange or anomalous, their gender seeming to contradict their biology. Female politicians are caught in a double bind; they are viewed as too feminine if they fail to conform to the masculinist gender expectations of the political realm, and too masculine if they contradict gender norms stipulating that they should behave in a feminine manner (Bashevkin, 2009; Murray, 2010: 235). This connection of political leadership with stereotypically masculine traits is one form of "subtle, but […] insidious" gender bias that Gidengil and Everitt (1999) argue persists in media representations of politics (49).

Suggestions that male politicians lack the masculinity necessary to succeed as political leaders not only represent gender bias towards male politicians who are not perceived to embody normative masculinity, but ultimately represent sexist bias towards female politicians. It is important to avoid obscuring this reality of patriarchal power relations between men and women when conducting feminist analyses of men and masculinity (Hearn, 2004: 30; Hooper, 1998: 30). When hierarchies featuring the symbolic assimilation of subordinated and marginalized masculinities with femininity are constructed among men, this ultimately represents a devaluation of women and femininity. Ultimately, then, portrayals of Dion that depict him as either too feminine or as lacking the masculinity necessary to be a strong leader are sexist towards women.

Through the study of men and masculinity, however, feminist scholars can not only challenge the prevalence of such sexist bias, but also challenge the

normative status that men and masculinity enjoy in patriarchal society. By using a feminist lens to study portrayals of men and masculinity in Canadian political humour, this study has sought to challenge the notion that 'gender' is synonymous with 'women', or, in other words, that men and masculinity represent the un-gendered norm. Analyses of gender, politics and the media have tended focus on portrayals of women and femininity. While such a focus is necessary in order to account for and correct the "'omissions, distortions, and trivializations' of women's experiences" (Kimmel, 1997: 184), there is also a need to discuss the ways in which men are also gendered, and to "[make] masculinity visible" (Kimmel et al., 2005: 1). Indeed, as Nagel (1998) points out, and as I discussed in the Introduction to this thesis, ignoring the gendered experiences of men in studies of gender and politics "misses a major, perhaps *the* major way in which gender shapes politics – through men and their interests, their notions of manliness, and masculine micro and macro cultures" (243). This study has shown not only that men in Canadian politics are gendered subjects, just as women are, but, perhaps more importantly, that norms of Canadian political leadership are shaped, in part, by "notions of manliness" (Nagel, 1998: 243).

In addition, this study has provided a new perspective on gender construction in Canadian politics by showing that Canadian political humour plays a role in the construction of meanings surrounding gender and political leadership. Political humour is more than mere "fake news" (Baym, 2005; 2009); indeed it is an alternative and accessible form of political information and commentary that is increasingly popular, especially with youth (Baumgartner and Morris, 2006: 344). If entertainment and politics ever were separate spheres in the first place, they are certainly inseparable now (Jones, 2010:14-15). Thus, for those who are concerned with the construction of gender in media representations of politics, it is worth paying attention to forms of 'politainment' like the editorial cartoon and television programmes like *Rick Mercer*, *22 Minutes*, and the *Royal Canadian Air Farce*.

That sexism tends to "escape criticism" when expressed in a context of humour makes analyzing the role of humour in gender construction all the more

worthwhile (Horlacher, 2008: 18). A sexist remark expressed using humour, for instance, is often rendered acceptable, though the same remark made in seriousness might be perceived as wholly unacceptable (Horlacher, 2008: 18). It is not surprising, then, that humour – a realm of communication that continues to be dominated by men – has been characterized by conspicuous amount of misogyny (Chapman and Gadfield, 1976: 141; Street, 2011: 67)

In fact, a large majority of the editorial cartoons and sketch comedy, news parody and political satire pieces included in this study were created and/or performed by men. Is there a link between the sex of the humourist and the presence of sexism in political humour? Certainly, one might expect that political humour produced by men would tend to contain more sexism than political humour by women. This is an essentialist assumption, however, and the sexist portrayals of Dion by cartoonist Sue Dewar provide evidence to the contrary. The question of whether the sex of the political humourist makes a difference in portrayals of male and female politicians provides a potential avenue for future studies of gender and Canadian political humour.

Suggestions for Future Research

This study of constructions of masculinity in political humour about the 2008 Canadian federal election reveals only part of the picture of the role of political humour in constructing meanings surrounding gender, power and political leadership in Canada. Few studies have explored Canadian political humour using a gendered lens; therefore, there is much more to be analyzed and understood when it comes to gender and Canadian political humour. Moreover, few studies have directly analyzed the construction of masculinity in the realm of Canadian politics. Thus, there are several avenues of research that might help to reveal the role of Canadian political humour in constructing ideologies of gender and especially in reinforcing the notion of Canadian political leadership as an inherently masculine activity.

This study, for instance, could be expanded to examine political humour about additional Canadian federal elections to see if there are patterns in the social

(re)production of hegemonic discourse surrounding masculinity and political leadership in political humour over time. Were the construction of masculine hierarchies and the employment of the feminine to denigrate male candidates in Canadian political humour unique to the 2008 federal election? Or have similar patterns occurred in other elections? Also, this study could be expanded in order to examine masculinity in Canadian political humour outside of elections to see if and how the link between masculinity and political leadership in Canadian politics is reinforced on a typical day-to-day basis. Furthermore, since women also exhibit masculinity, one may wish to compare similarities and differences in humorous depictions of female candidates' masculinities with humorous depictions of male candidates masculinities.

To understand the ways in which Canadian political humour produces meanings surrounding gender and politics, it may be useful to focus attention on gender construction in the *Rick Mercer Report*, specifically. Reaching audiences of over one million people per episode (Brioux, 2011), the *Rick Mercer Report* is undoubtedly the most popular Canadian political humour programme on television. We know little beyond the few episodes analyzed in this study, however, about how the programme (re)produces – or, possibly, subverts – hegemonic notions of gender and political leadership. For instance, are male and female politicians portrayed differently on the *Rick Mercer Report*? If so, how?

One might wish, also, to compare portrayals of politicians in political humour with politicians' own attempts to craft masculine personas. For instance, one might ask how male candidates construct their own masculinities in campaign advertisements, photo opportunities and in content posted on their websites. Parry-Giles and Parry-Giles's (1996) study of gender in US presidential campaign films provides a useful template for this sort of analysis in the Canadian context. Since women often feel compelled to emphasize their stereotypically 'masculine' traits in order to be perceived as professionally competent (Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993: 520) – one may also wish to analyze the ways in which female politicians attempt to craft masculine personas during elections.

Finally, it would be informative to analyze the ways in which Canadian politicians portray the masculinities of their competitors, as Fahey (2007) did in the American context. Fahey (2007) analyzed campaign rhetoric from the 2004 US presidential election and found that the Bush campaign attempted to undermine Democratic candidate John Kerry's leadership – and his masculinity – by depicting him as French and feminine, and therefore unfit to be president. Do Canadian candidates also deploy feminizing references to denigrate the leadership of their competitors? If so, what does this say about gender norms pertaining to political leadership in Canada?

Closing Thoughts

This study was inspired by my own perception that masculinity, both implicitly and explicitly, seemed to be a recurring theme in discourses surrounding the 2008 Canadian federal election. Videos posted on Stéphane Dion's website of him playing floor hockey, Jack Layton's campaign advertisements promoting "a new kind of strong", and attempts by Stephen Harper to foster an image of himself as the archetypal family man, it seemed, were all underpinned by the theme of masculinity. Even prior to the election, this theme of masculinity was being foregrounded and exaggerated in political humour.

In a comedy sketch on the *Royal Canadian Air Farce*, for instance, Stéphane Dion – played by Alan Park – tried to concoct a strategy to beat Harper in the next election. In the sketch, Dion tells his wife that he has "discovered a powerful secret weapon that will return my Liberal party to power." "What is it, Stéphane?", she asks. Dion explains that he has received an email from a "powerful secret ally" who has "offered to give [him] a secret that will enlarge [his] caucus" as well as "make it last longer" and be "more powerful". Dion then proceeds to rehearse his next speech in the House of Commons: "People of Canada, have no more fear of Stephen Harper! I promise you that my caucus will rise! My caucus will endure! My caucus will fill the House and cover the pages of

history books! My caucus shall be an eternal hammer of justice! Stephen Harper's caucus is […] small and limp by comparison!"

Indeed, my perception was that masculinity underpinned discourse surrounding the 2008 Canadian federal election, and political humour such as this comedy sketch from the *Royal Canadian Air Farce* – featuring overt discussions of candidates' masculinities – reinforced this view. Thus, I opted to undertake this focused analysis of the construction of the relationship between masculinity and political leadership in political humour about the 2008 Canadian federal election. The findings of this study suggest that Canadian political humourists do, in fact, participate in the construction of a link between political leadership and masculinity, thereby reinforcing the alienation of women from the political sphere. This study, however, reveals only a portion of the overall picture of political humour's role in constructing meanings surrounding gender, power, and political leadership in Canada.

Chapter Two: Theoretical Framework and Empirical Foundations

1. This concept of an alliance between hegemonic and subordinated or marginalized masculinities relates to the notion, discussed above, of a so-called 'softening' of hegemonic masculinity for the purpose of maintaining hegemony (see MacKinnon, 2003).

2. Only one late-night talk show on North American television today is headed by a woman, and most political humour and/or news parody programs revolve around male 'anchors'. *22 Minutes* is perhaps the exception.

Chapter Three: Methodology

1. Artizans.ca and CagleCartoons.com publish electronically cartoons by artists from a diverse group of Canadian newspapers. To ensure that the sites contained complete samples of the featured newspapers' election cartoons, I communicated with the cartoonists whose work was featured on the sites. The cartoonists verified that the election cartoons that were published in their respective newspapers were also published to either Artizans.ca or CagleCartoons.com. Thus, my sample contains a complete inventory of the cartoons from each of the newspapers accessed via microfilm, along with the newspapers whose cartoonists publish their work on one of the two sites.

2. Specifically, via CagleCartoons.com, I had access to cartoons by *Calgary Sun* cartoonist Thomas Boldt. Through Artizans.ca, I was able to access cartoons by Sue Dewar of the *Ottawa Sun*, Michael de Adder of the *Halifax Daily News*, Graeme MacKay of the *Hamilton Spectator*, Guy Badeaux of *LeDroit*, John Larter of the *Calgary Sun*, Dan Murphy and Bob Krieger of the *Vancouver Province*, and Andy Donato of the *Toronto Sun*. Moreover, Artizans.ca contained cartoons by freelance artists Dave Rosen, Graham Harrop, Fred Curatolo, Remie Geoffroi and Michael Zaharuk.

3. The candidate's masculinity was deemed to be an explicit and primary subject of the cartoon if: the candidate's gender or masculinity was referred to explicitly in the cartoon's text; the candidate was portrayed as lacking the normative traits for his sex (for instance, physical strength, aggressiveness, a substantial build, athletic ability, virility) and this was a main subject of the cartoon; the candidate was portrayed as possessing an abundance of the above traits and this was a main subject of the cartoon; or, the candidate was feminized in the cartoon, thus his masculinity was criticized.

4. I have coded positive, negative, and neutral portrayals according to normative expectations of a 'proper', 'correct' or 'normal' gender performance from a patriarchal point of view, and not according to my own perceptions of what constitutes a positive, negative or neutral depiction of a candidate's gender. A "normative" perspective on masculinity is the perspective held by the dominant, patriarchal society specifying what a performance of masculinity *should* resemble (Connell, [1995] 2005: 70). Thus, a representation of masculinity was coded as 'positive' if, for instance, the candidate in question was depicted as strong, possessing athletic prowess, sexually virile, or of adequate build. Conversely, a portrayal was coded as negative if, for example, the candidate was depicted as weak, exhibiting poor athletic performance, or impotent (not masculine enough), or on the other hand, too sexually aggressive, too violent, or too brutish (too masculine). A neutral portrayal was coded as such if it was neither positive or negative.

5. These discursive categories are not mutually exclusive. That is, one cartoon might fall into more than one category.

Chapter 4: Findings

1. It is unclear whether this was an actual bombardment or whether it was staged and Harper was in on the joke.

2. I was unable to determine the sex of the cartoonist in 2.5% of cases.

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APPENDIX

Table 1: Summary of Content and Discourse Analysis Results

Gendered Frames	Stephen Harper[1]	Stéphane Dion [2]
Game Frame	18 (24%)	19 (37%)
Militarization	5 (3%)	1 (1%)
Violence (perpetrator)	21 (12%)	5 (4%)
Violence (victim)	6 (3%)	13 (10%)
Dion as 'the Nerd'	N/A	36 (28%)
Harper's 'Warmth' Strategy	30 (17%)	N/A
Feminization	5 (3%)	12 (10%)
Infantilization	2 (1%)	2 (2%)
Homosexuality	2 (1%)	1 (1%)

1. Figures in this column represent the total number and percentage of cartoons applying the gendered frame as portions of *all of the cartoons in which Harper was represented* (181).
2. Figures in this column represent the total number and percentage of cartoons applying the gendered frame as portions of *all of the cartoons in which Dion was represented* (127).

Figure 1

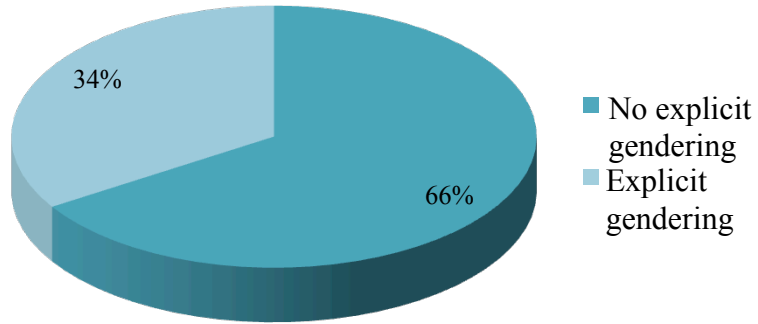### Proportion of Cartoons that Contained Explicit Gendering

Figure 2

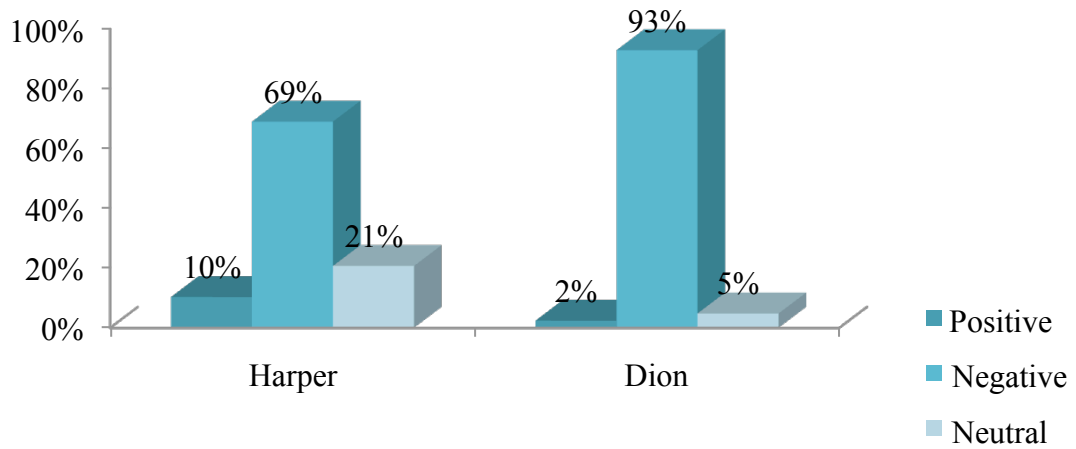### Percentage of Positive, Negative and Neutral Depictions of the Candidates' Genders in Editorial Cartoons

Figure 3

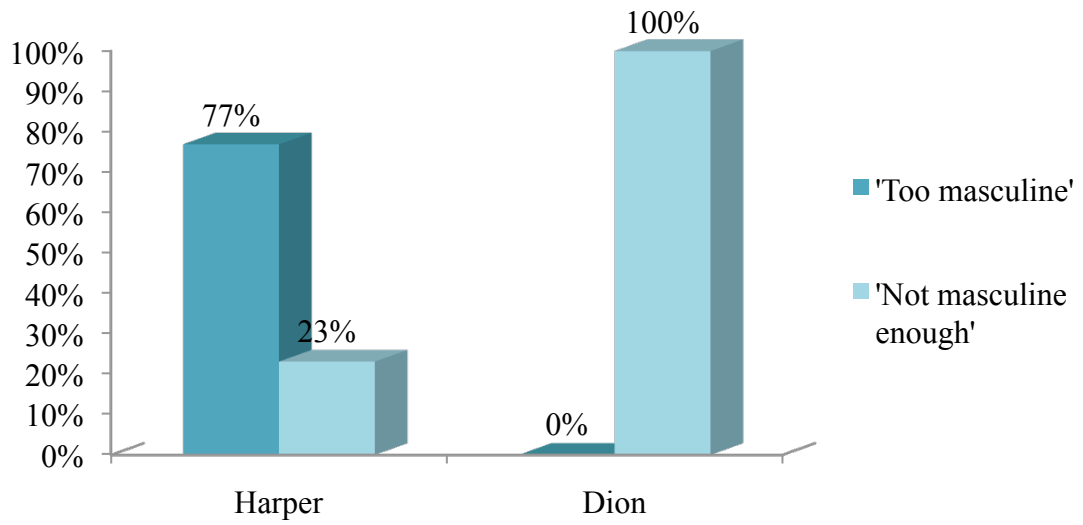## Negative Depictions of Candidates' Masculinities in Editorial Cartoons

Legend:
- 'Too masculine'
- 'Not masculine enough'

Figure 4

Proportion of Television Segments that Contained Explicit Gendering

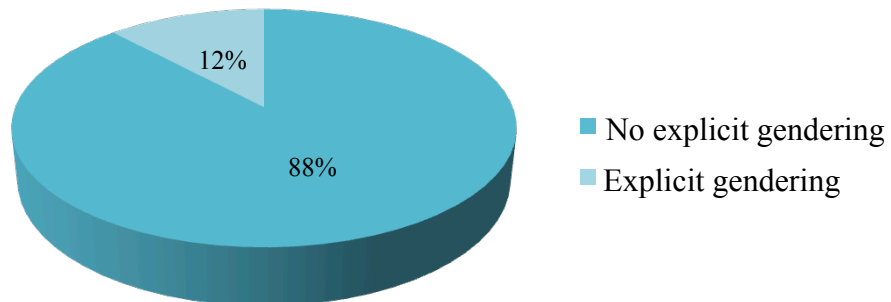Legend:
- No explicit gendering
- Explicit gendering

Figure 5: Sumo Wrestling

This image has been removed due to copyright restrictions. Figure 5, a cartoon by Michael de Adder, can be accessed at Artizans.com or using the following link: https://zone.artizans.com/image/DEA2623/harper-and-dion-sumo-wrestlers-ready-for-fight/ (originally viewed August 10, 2010).

Figure 6: Militarization of Dion and Harper

The images in Figure 6 have been removed due to copyright restrictions. The two cartoons by Aislin (Terry Mosher) were originally published in the September 10th, 2008 and September 19th, 2008 editions of *The Gazette* (Montreal) on pages A20 and A18 respectively.

Figure 7: Dion as the 'Nerd'

Figure 7 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. The cartoon, by Vance
Rodewalt, was originally published in the *Calgary Herald* on September 7th, 2008
on page A10.

Figure 8: Feminized Dion

Figure 8 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. The cartoon, by Cam Cardow, was originally published in the *Ottawa Citizen* on September 10th, 2008 on page A14. The cartoon can also be viewed using the following link: http://www.caglecartoons.com/viewimage.asp?ID={94DF85B6-2B70-46FE-85F1-071AE8EF9A9B}.