

**Gendered and Racialized Portrayals of the Governor General: Newspaper Coverage
of Canada's Head of State**

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Abstract:

News coverage helps to define public expectations of a newly appointed Governor General and the roles that they are expected to assume in Canadian society. To date however, there are no studies examining the media's portrayals of the Governor General despite the fact that as Canada's vice-regents, they are increasingly appointed to represent a more diverse Canadian population. To assess this role, this paper conducts a content and discourse analysis, of the Globe and Mail's coverage of the past five Governors General, Jeanne Sauvé, Ramon Hnatyshyn, Romeo LeBlanc, Adrienne Clarkson and Michaëlle Jean. It is argued that the media frames Governor General's as novelties by highlighting their "first" qualities. For example, since 1984, three of the five Governors General have been women and this plays an important role on how each Governor General is presented by the media; thus, viewed by Canadian society. The coverage of race and ethnicity is also an important component in the coverage of the Governors General since four of the Governors General have either an ethnic or racial background. Finally, it suggests that the combination of gender and race increases the media's framing of Governors General as novelties and this can have negative implications for the manner that Adrienne Clarkson and Michaëlle Jean are reported in.

Introduction

Historically, the role of the Governor General has been a controversial subject in Canada. Debates have arisen and are still discussed today surrounding the necessity of a Governor General in Canada. Organizations, such as the Citizens for a Canadian Republic, argue that there are "... clear advantages of amending The Constitution to allow for a democratically chosen Canadian to serve as head of state" (Citizens for a Canadian Republic 2005, on-line). On the other hand, the Monarchist League of Canada "... attempts to present the positive face of the Canadian Crown as an essential part of national identity" (Monarchist League of Canada 2005, on-line). What drives these debates is the fact that as Canada's appointed official head of state the Governor General has significant constitutional powers that have been limited throughout history by constitutional conventions. These conventions have helped to reshape Canadian's concept of the Governor General and his or her role in Canadian government. Furthermore it is becoming increasingly apparent that the Governor General has come to symbolize and represent a changing Canadian identity. Whether it is through the appointment of the first Canadian, first woman, first Acadian or first ethnic minority, the Canadian government always seems to be striving to appoint a Governor General that embodies a "new" aspect of Canadian culture.

This reshaping of the image of the Governor General has been, and continues to be heavily influenced by the mass media. The media has a role in framing news stories by choosing the way that stories are selected, presented and assessed (Norris 1997, 2). This framing has implications for the portrayal of a Governor General and thus, Canadians' perceptions of those who fill this position. Similarly, the media's agenda setting process allows for certain qualities to become visible and not others (Ross 2002, 65). Through the manner in which the media sets the news agenda there may be different issues about a particular Governor General brought to (or not brought to) the attention of the public. Thus, the perceptions that Canadians have about the Governor General will differ depending upon whether the media choose to discuss or not discuss a certain quality. For this reason we can look to the way that the media frame the appointments of new Governors General to better understand how the representative role of the Governor General has changed over time.

Newspapers have a large role in reporting on what the newly appointed Governor General is bringing or not bringing to their position. To assess this role, this paper conducts a content analysis of the *Globe and Mail's* coverage of the past five Governors General, Jeanne Sauvé, Ramon Hnatyshyn, Romeo LeBlanc, Adrienne Clarkson and Michaëlle Jean. As there are no other studies done on how the media portrays the Governor General this study will add to the broader literature on media studies and make a case for the importance of studies concerning the Governor General and the media coverage they receive.

It is argued that the media frames Governor General's as novelties by highlighting their "first" qualities. For example, since 1984, of the five Governors General appointed, three have been women and this plays an important role on how each Governor General is presented by the media; thus, viewed by Canadian society. The coverage of race and ethnicity is also an important component in the coverage of the Governor General's since four of the Governor General's have either an ethnic or racial background. Finally it

suggests that the combination of gender and race increases the media's framing of Governors General as novelties and this can have negative implications for the manner that Adrienne Clarkson and Michaëlle Jean are reported in.

Literature Review

For most of Canadian history, the Governor General's role has been limited to ceremonial and non-partisan functions. In practice, most political power is exercised by the Parliament of Canada and by the Prime Minister and Cabinet. As a result of these conventions, the role of the Governor General has become merely a symbolic role in the constitutional and political affairs of Canada (Heard 1991, 16).

Prior to 1952, Canada's Governors General were British citizens. With the appointment of the first Canadian born Governor General, Vincent Massey in 1952, a Canadian has always been chosen for this position. As Heard (1991) has argued Massey's appointment set an important precedent, "[as t]he appointment of any non-Canadian would likely be opposed [by society] because of the resulting diminution of visible Canadian independence from Britain..."(17). The symbolic implications of having a Canadian in this position served to transform the Governor General from a representative of the Queen to a representative of Canadian society.

This raises the question of to what degree did the media contribute to the changing representative symbolism of the role of the Governor General. How did the media shape the public's perceptions of what a Governor General embodies? When examining the mass media and its influence on society, we can turn to Innis' argument that the media cause people to become consumers of communication. As they often become dependent on a principal centralized source (Innis 1991) people may develop similar perceptions on what is being reported. Furthermore, McLuhan (1967) argues that in addition to the message that the medium communicates, the medium itself exercises an influence on human perception and the ways in which a society is organized. The medium, whether it is television, newspaper or the internet is able to impose its own biases and assumptions on the people who use them. In other words, as Innis and McLuhan point out people, as consumers of the media in a particular society, will develop similar perceptions and will be somewhat equally influenced by the media.

Three other factors play an important role in the impact of the media on public perceptions: agenda setting, priming, and framing. Agenda setting refers to the way in which the media select and filter stories; thus, shaping the important issues of the day (Iyengar and Simon 1993). Similarly, "[p]riming refers to the effects of agenda setting's emphasis on certain events or issues" (Sampert and Trimble 2003, 212). If a particular news event is not deemed to be newsworthy, the agenda of the media may leave coverage out. On the other hand, the media may decide that only one aspect of the event is newsworthy and therefore it is emphasized more in the coverage than other aspects. Framing is the third factor affecting the impact of news coverage. Goffman (1974) refers to framing in social psychology as the "...subtle issues of presentation". This can dramatically shape the way we view current issues. Norris' (1997, 2) "...defines news frames as interpretive structures that set particular events within their broader context". In other words, news framing can be understood as the way that news is presented, selected and assessed.

The “first” quality associated with each of the past five Governors General encompasses socio-demographic characteristics such as gender, ethnicity and race. Because of this, it is useful to examine previous media studies on gender, ethnicity and race in order to understand how the media employs gender, ethnic and racial stereotyping when conducting news reporting. We also need to consider that there are clear differences between race and ethnicity when examining the “first” quality associated with Hnatyshyn, LeBlanc, Clarkson and Jean.

With regard to politics, Gidengil and Everitt (2003, 210) argue that conventional news frames are not gender-neutral because they treat males as the norm. “As a result, the dominant ‘masculine’ news frames continue to subtly highlight the ‘unnatural’ position of women in politics” (Everitt and Gidengil 2003, 197). Similarly, Ross (2002, 79) argues that the news media privileges the male-ordered system and women are placed firmly in gendered contexts. Due to this, gender and media studies find that the media reference women’s gender and not men’s (Ross 2002; Ross and Sreberny-Mohammadi 1997; Norris 1997). As a result, women are constituted as novelties within the male-dominated political realm (Everitt and Gidengil 2003; Ross and Sreberny 2000)..

A further theme found in the literature on gender, media and politics is that the media tends to sexualize women and not men. Whether it is through focusing on their appearances, hair, clothing, family life, marital status, demeanor or age, the media discuss stereotypical feminine qualities when reporting on women in politics. It has been also been continuously found, in studies on Canada and the United States that women’s political coverage is more likely to include references to personal characteristics such as clothing or hair and stereotypical feminine traits such as emotional (Heldman et al. 2005; Everitt 2003; Ross 2002; Robinsons and Saint Jean 1991, 1995). As well, some studies have shown that the media focus more on women’s family lives than men’s (Everitt 2003; Devitt 1999).

The media also place an emphasis on race and ethnicity when covering news stories. By focusing on race and ethnicity, the media shape society’s views on “...who is us [and] who is them” (Henry and Tator 2002, 4). When attaching a descriptor such as black or immigrant, the media portray the person as non-white and assume that being white is the norm. As Henry and Tator (2002) argue, “Whiteness is considered the universal norm and allows one to think and speak as if Whiteness defined and described the world”(41). For example, we rarely hear the media describe someone as a white man or white woman; rather they simply state man or woman and society perceives that the person is white.

Similar racialized media coverage is found in race, politics and media studies. It is argued that the media emphasizes the race of African-American candidates while usually ignoring the race or ethnicity of white candidates (Niven and Zilber 1996; Terkildsen 1996). In doing this, the media send an underlining message that a person’s race and ethnicity are pertinent to who they are and what they represent in society. As well, race, politics and media studies find that racial minorities are constituted as novelties within the white-dominated political realm. “Reporters may find minority legislators more newsworthy because of their distinctiveness in an institution dominated by white House

members” (Schaffner and Gadson 2004, 608). This “unusualness” is what is used by the media to determine whether someone or an issue is newsworthy (Schudson 2003, 61).

Since many can easily confuse ethnicity and race we need to clarify the difference between the two classifications. An ethnic group can encompass a group of people who share something in common. Whether it is a language, a religion, a cultural tradition or national heritage, ethnicity is not as easily distinguishable as race. A person is born into their race and is not determined by a belief or choice. Rather, race is a certain segment of a population that is distinguished as a distinct group because of genetically inherited physical characteristics (Hochschild 2005, 70)

The past five Canadian Governors General have each represented important firsts in Canadian society. Jeanne Sauvé was the first woman appointed as Governor General. Ramon Hnatyshyn was the first Ukrainian-Canadian and Romeo Leblanc was the first Acadian. Similarly, Adrienne Clarkson embraced another first by being the first Chinese-Canadian appointed to the vice regal post. Michaëlle Jean was one of the youngest and the first black person to be appointed as Governor General.

Methodology

To get a better sense of how each Governor General is presented by the media and how this may influence society’s perception of what is a Governor General, we will focus on the *Globe and Mail*’s reporting on each of the five Governor’s General appointments. The benefit of using the *Globe and Mail* is that it is a national newspaper that tends to focus heavily on national politics in Canada. For this reason the *Globe and Mail* is more likely to have an impact on public assessments of these individuals than more local or regional papers. The *Globe and Mail* provides a useful newspaper to examine because of its circulation size and coverage of national politics. Furthermore unlike other national newspapers, the *Globe and Mail* provides coverage of all of the past five Governor General’s due to its lengthy circulation time period.¹

We examine the newspaper’s coverage for each Governor General from the time the newspaper first mentions their possible appointment until one month after their actual appointment. Jeanne Sauvé was first mentioned by the *Globe and Mail* as a possible appointee to the position of Governor General on November 19, 1983. Sauvé’s appointment occurred on May 14, 1984 and we examine the media coverage until June 14, 1984. Ramon Hnatyshyn’s appointment took place on January 29, 1990, but the media first mentioned his appointment on October 7, 1989. For Hnatyshyn’s coverage we examine the time period from October 7, 1989 to March 1, 1990. Romeo LeBlanc’s appointment occurred on February 8, 1995 and we examine the coverage from the period of November 23, 1994 to March 8, 1995. Adrienne Clarkson was first mentioned by the *Globe and Mail* on April 2, 1999 and her appointment took place on October 7, 1999. Therefore we focus on the coverage between April 2, 1999 and November 7, 1999. The final and current Governor General, Michaëlle Jean was appointed on September 27, 2005 and we examine the coverage from the first mention of her appointment which was

¹ The *Globe and Mail* was founded in 1844 while the *National Post* was founded in 1998.

August 4, 2005 until one month after her appointment, October 27, 2005. In conducting the analysis, we look for any articles written on the Governor General, including top coverage stories, editorials, and columns. We will also examine the letters to the editor because they reflect the public's input on the appointment and coverage of each Governor General.

Two different research strategies (content analysis and discourse analysis) are used to determine the degree that the media covers and reports on each of the Governors General and their "first" quality. Content analysis is defined as "objective and systematic counting and recording procedures to produce a quantitative description of the symbolic content in a text" (Neuman 2000, 293). For the purpose of this study we will examine the number of articles written on each Governor General. The newly appointed Governor General had to be the topic for the majority of the news story in order to be included in the content analysis. Along with the number of articles we quantify the number of references made to each Governor General's "first" quality, gender and marital status. Through the use of content analysis a large amount of textual information can be examined, frequencies of keywords used by the newspaper can be identified and we can make generalizations about how Canadians view the past four and current Governor General.

Discourse analysis builds upon the information collected in the content analysis by providing a richer textual examination of the words used in the media coverage of each Governor General. Discourse analysis provides a detailed examination of "the ways dominant discourses (indirectly) influence such socially shared knowledge, attitudes and ideologies" (van Dijk 1993, 259). In particular, discourse analysis seeks to "know how specific discourse structures determine specific mental processes, or facilitate the formation of specific social representations" (van Dijk 1993, 259). By using discourse analysis in the examination of how each of the five Governor General's is covered by the media we can get a better understanding of the deeply embedded nature of certain words or characteristics used to describe each Governor General.

The content analysis examines the number of articles written about the Governor General while the discourse analysis looks at the language used in the *Globe and Mail* to highlight the important "first" that each Governor General represents. For example, we examine references made about Jeanne Sauvé's status as the first woman appointed to this position, Ramon Hnatyshyn as the first Ukrainian Canadian to become Governor General and Romeo LeBlanc being the first Acadian. For Adrienne Clarkson, we examine the number of times that the newspaper describes her as the first immigrant and the first Chinese-Canadian to be appointed to the position of Governor General and for Michaëlle Jean we will focus on references made about her being the first black person and one of the youngest to be appointed as Governor General. Finally, for all five of the Governor General's examined we focus on any references made about their gender and marital status. In doing this, we will examine whether the first qualities associated with ethnicity, race and age are more pertinent to the media's coverage than the quality of gender.

Results

We would expect to see an equal amount of coverage of all five Governors General because each one embodied a "first" quality and this seems newsworthy. If there were to be differences in coverage we might expect to find that Ramon Hnatyshyn and Romeo

LeBlanc receive more coverage than Jeanne Sauvé, Adrienne Clarkson and Michaëlle Jean because studies have shown that women (in particular politicians) often receive less news coverage than men (Gingras 1995; Kahn 1996). Interestingly, neither of these expectations proved to be the case.

Table 1 illustrates that in regard to articles, Jean received the most coverage with 36 articles, while Sauvé received 23 and Clarkson had 16 articles. What is perplexing is that Hnatyshyn only had five articles written about him and LeBlanc only had four.² A possible explanation for the lack of coverage of Hnatyshyn and LeBlanc is that their prior political careers meant that they were well known politically the media chose to cover them less. The *Globe and Mail* may have assumed that the public is already knowledgeable about Hnatyshyn and LeBlanc and thus, filtered the information that the readers receive about them.

(Table 1 about here)

Another possible explanation as to why Hnatyshyn and LeBlanc received minimal coverage is that since they were so versed in politics, their appointments seemed “natural” for them. The media may have limited their coverage of Hnatyshyn and LeBlanc because they were both deemed fully qualified for the position and did not need to be validated to the public. Clarkson’s and Jean’s, lack of political experience may have encouraged the media to cover their appointments in more depth because they were perceived as less legitimate candidates for the position.

What is also interesting to note is that Sauvé had a strong political background similar to Hnatyshyn and LeBlanc but like the other women had a large number of articles written about her. A possible explanation for this can be found in the content of the articles written on Sauvé. If we exclude articles written on Sauvé’s health concerns (she was hospitalized prior to her appointment with a reoccurring respiratory infection), the actual number of articles on her Governor General post reduces to 15. However this is still a large number in comparison to Hnatyshyn and LeBlanc. Another possible explanation for this is that because politics is characterized as a male domain, Sauvé’s appointment needed to be validated because she was a woman and the first woman to be appointed as Governor General. Her gender pushed her further outside of the “norm” for Governors General than either of the men’s ethnic backgrounds.

Aside from the number of articles, we also need to examine the number of editorials and columns written on each Governor General. Editorials and columns allow newspaper elites to state their opinion on a news topic removing restrictions that require their insights to be unbiased or even attributed. Editorials are important to examine because as van Dijk (1991, 150) argues, editorials are “...the place for newspaper ideologies.” As well, editorials serve a powerful function in media coverage because they provide “...practical, common sense frameworks for making sense of the social situation” (van Dijk 1991, 150). In other words, editorials about a Governor General’s appointment can provide a national view of what constitutes a Governor General. Similar to editors, columnists provide an interpretative examination of the news (Hackett and Zhao 1998, 42)

² It is worth noting that during the time period examined for Hnatyshyn and LeBlanc’s appointment coverage, there were no major international or national news events (for example an election, natural disaster, or political scandal) occurring that would have limited the media’s coverage on their appointments.

and are expected to write their opinions. In doing this, columnists do not have to be objective in their content.

This is useful for our analysis because editorial and commentary coverage can affect a reader's perception of a Governor General. As Table 1 illustrates, Jean had the highest number (14) of editorials and commentary articles written about her. There were five editorials and columns written on Clarkson. It is interesting to note that Sauvé has no editorials or columns written about her and that Hnatyshyn and LeBlanc both only have one editorial. Clarkson has a moderate amount of editorial and column coverage, but what is perplexing is that Jean again receives the most coverage. It appears that the media coverage of a Governor General's appointment has increased dramatically over the past ten years with regard to editorials and columns.

To examine the media coverage further, we also focus on the number of letters to the editor written on each Governor General. It is important to examine letters to the editor because they represent how the general public and not the media elites perceive the appointments of each of the Governors Generals. "Letters to the editor constitute a feedback opportunity for readers who want to react to some event or issue by expressing their personal opinion on it" (Raeymaeckers 2005, 199-200). Similarly, letters to the editor represent one of the few feedback opportunities for the average citizen to have within the daily and weekly press (Schultz 2000; Antoine 2000). However, we must also consider that the editor and other media staff choose which letters to publish in the newspaper. "The letters that are published on any one day have been selected from the total amount of letters that reached the editor's desk in the course of the previous days. It follows that the selection procedure or mechanism used by the editorial staff is a crucial element in the discussion of the significance of readers' letters" (Raeymaeckers 2005, 200). Nonetheless, we can conclude that the letters to the editor are a relative sample of how the public views each Governor General.

We would expect that Jean has the largest number of letters to the editor written about her, firstly, because of the amount of over all media coverage she received, and secondly because there was a vast amount of controversy and media coverage surrounding the allegations that Jean has ties with Quebec separatists through her husband. Since there was controversy surrounding Hnatyshyn's appointment because it was viewed by some as a patronage appointment, we can also anticipate a high number of letters to the editor. We might also anticipate that Sauvé and Clarkson will have numerous letters to the editors because of the amount of over all coverage they received. Finally, for LeBlanc we expect to find a low number of letters to the editor because of the limited amount of media coverage he received.

As expected Jean has the highest number of letters to the editor written on her (44). Hnatyshyn also has a large number of letters to the editor, nine, representing 56 percent of his overall coverage. As Table 1 illustrates, Clarkson has five while both Sauvé and LeBlanc have one letter to the editor each. It appears that due to the controversy surrounding the appointment of Jean and Hnatyshyn, the numbers of letters to the editor are much higher than Sauvé's, Clarkson's, and LeBlanc's.

If we examine the general theme in the letters to the editor for Jean we find that 32 percent of the letters to the editor discuss the alleged separatist ties that Jean had. Almost

12 percent of the letters to the editor are comprised of positive comments about Jean's appointment generally, while four percent were negative comments. Fourteen percent of the letters dealt with the need to change the selection process for the Governor General and are not directly related to Jean's appointment. Rather these letters illuminated the theme of a need to reform Canada's constitutional monarchy.

An interesting finding in examining the letters to the editor is that seven percent of the letters positively commented on Jean's appointment because she represents the multicultural nature of Canadian society. As one letter states, "[t]he choice of Michaëlle Jean as G-G shows the world we are a diverse multicultural success" (De Vera 2005, A12). Similarly, Durst (2005, A12) writes "[b]ravo, Paul Martin for selecting a person who comes from a modest upbringing, works for a living and reflects multiculturalism. Can she be anymore Canadian?". These letters illustrate that Canadian society embraces the diversity that Jean represents as the first black person to be appointed to the Governor General post.

We can conclude that since Hnatyshyn's appointment was viewed as a controversial political appointment there was more public discontent expressed. Of the nine letters to the editor, three discuss Brian Mulroney's patronage appointment of Hnatyshyn. What also appears to be an issue for the citizens who wrote into the *Globe and Mail* regarding Hnatyshyn's appointment is his inability to effectively communicate in French. However, two of the three letters argued that Hnatyshyn's incapability to communicate in French should not be a barrier to his appointment to the Governor General post. These letters to the editor indirectly highlight the fact that Hnatyshyn is of Ukrainian heritage because he is not "bilingual" in the Canadian sense of being able to speak both of English and French.

A few interesting findings emerge in examining the letters to the editor written on Clarkson. Of the five letters, one argues that Clarkson's appointment is negative. Two letters positively comment on her appointment while the other two letters discuss her and her husband John Ralston Saul. The interesting result found in the analysis of the letters to the editor is located in the two that discuss Clarkson's spouse. One letter discusses how Clarkson and Saul "...chose to live together for decades without a marriage license" (Todoroff 1999, A10). On the other hand, Smith's (1999, A10) letter discuss the "splendid appointment" of the Clarkson and Saul duo.

Sauvé's one letter to the editor discusses the correct title for her spouse and argues that it is "his Excellency" (Checkley 1984, A12). This letter illuminates the debate surrounding the gendered nature of the Governor General post prior to Sauvé's appointment. Since all previous Governor General's were men and their partners women, Sauvé's male partner brought forward the question of what his title should be.

While the number of articles, editorials, columns and letters to the editors are indicative of the attention paid to the different Governors General, what is also needed is a textual examination of those cases which the newspaper mentions each Governor General's "first" quality or qualities. For Sauvé we focus on references made to her being the first woman appointed as Governor General and this includes the key terms first woman. Hnatyshyn was the first Ukrainian Canadian and we look for the words Ukrainian, Ukrainian-Canadian, Ukraine heritage, ancestors, and third generation

Canadian. For LeBlanc, we look for the words Acadian, francophone and French to describe his first quality. In examining the content of the articles written on Clarkson we focus on the keywords immigrant, Chinese, Chinese-Canadian, minority, refugee, adopted country/land, Hong Kong, and China. Finally, for Jean we examine the two first qualities of her being black and one of the youngest Governors General in Canadian history. The keywords used to describe her race encompass refugee, black, Haiti, Haitian, immigrant, and adopted homeland. For her age quality we look for the terms youngest, youth, and youthfulness.

Since Sauvé broke an important gender barrier by becoming the first woman Governor general, we could anticipate that the media would cover this in-depth. We might also expect Hnatyshyn's first quality to receive numerous references because he embraced a "new type" of Canadian. Hnatyshyn came from neither an English or French background and this may be pertinent to the news media. Because LeBlanc had a limited amount of coverage and he comes from a French background albeit an Acadian, we would expect him to have very few mentions of his first quality. We could also anticipate that there will be numerous references made to Clarkson as being the first immigrant to be appointed Governor General. Similarly, we would expect to find numerous references made about Jean's race and age.

As Table 2 illustrates, out of 24 articles and letters to the editor on Sauvé there were only seven references made to her first quality and this is surprisingly low. Perhaps there are few references to her first quality because Sauvé was already the first woman in numerous other political realms prior to this appointment. She was the first female Member of Parliament from Quebec to become a cabinet minister and Canada's first female Speaker of the House. This may have made Sauvé's "first" characteristic less relevant for the news media.

(Table 2 about here)

Hnatyshyn's coverage included six references to his Ukrainian heritage. Obviously this quality is important to his appointment because of the eight articles about him, half referenced his Ukrainian heritage. However, the issue of his appointment being of a partisan nature clearly overshadowed the coverage of his first quality.

As Table 2 demonstrates, LeBlanc's "first" quality receives ten mentions; however, this is important since there were only five articles written about LeBlanc. All but the letter to the editor mention his Acadian heritage. For example, an article stated that "Mr. Leblanc, a francophone ...said yesterday he was honoured to make this historic step for Acadians and Atlantic Canadians" (Delacourt 1994, A1). This one statement makes reference to Leblanc's first quality through labeling him a francophone and mentioning Acadians.

Table 2 illustrates that of the 26 articles, editorials, columns and letters to the editor about Clarkson, her "first" quality was referred to 26 times. Some of the articles mention her ethnicity more than once per article and it can be argued that the media framed her "first" quality as an important aspect of her becoming the Governor General. For example, McIlroy (1999: A1) states, "[s]he...is only the second woman and the first member of a visible minority to be appointed governor-general." Clearly, the media is

portraying Clarkson's race as a key contributor to her appointment as Governor General. As well, the media is adding to society's perception about what a Governor General is. It is no longer that the Governor General must be the first Canadian, nor the first woman. Instead, in the "new" Canada, race has now become an integral part of what a Governor General is. As Simpson (1999: A14) writes, "...Ms. Clarkson wraps as many aspects of the Canadian character into one person as could be imagined; an immigrant of Chinese heritage, a woman, bilingual".

Finally, Jean's media coverage is focused around her race and age. As Table 2 shows, references to Jean's Haitian decent and her being the first black person to become Governor General appear 140 times. Similarly, references to her age are found 16 times in the articles examined. Clearly, the media focus on Jean's "first" quality of her race and also her age. For example, Taber (2005: A4) states "Ms. Jean, is the first black woman to serve as Canada's head of state and one of the youngest to hold the office. ...All of that—her beauty and youthfulness, her energy, her early years in Haiti and her life in her adopted homeland...". In these two short sentences there are three references to her race and two to her age. By framing Jean as the first black person and one of the youngest to become Governor General, the media change society's perception on what a Governor General embodies. By reinforcing the government's notion that a Governor General needs to possess a new quality, the media send certain messages to Canadians. That message is that Jean as a black, young, immigrant represents the "new" Canada. This point is explicitly made in an editorial in the October 10, 2005 edition of the *Globe and Mail*. The editorialist wrote, "[i]n a sense, then, Ms. Jean is what marketers would call a brand. Her very presence conveys a series of insights about what the values and attributes of New Canada. ...Let her go out there and stand as the symbol of the New Canada..." (Editorial 2005, A15).

Gender, race and ethnicity are intrinsically linked to "first" quality and we need to expand our examination to highlight any gender stereotyping and racial bias that the media may employ. From the previous discourse analysis of the "first" quality it has become apparent that gender, race and ethnicity are highlighted by the media as important characteristics for each of the Governors General.

In order to examine the gender bias that the *Globe and Mail* may have when reporting on the appointments of the Governor General's we examine the use of two important socio-demographic characteristics, gender and marital status. For gender we look for references made to the Governor General being a man or woman. We use this measure because many studies point out that the media explicitly state their gender when reporting on women in politics (Robinson and Saint-Jean 1991, 1995; Jamieson 1995; Ross 1995; Kahn 1996; Sreberny-Mohammadi 1997; Norris 1997; Carroll and Schreiber 1997; Devitt 1999; Ross and Sreberny 2000; Ross 2002; Everitt 2003; Gidengil and Everitt 2003; Heldman et al. 2005). Marital status is also an important socio-demographic to examine because studies have shown that the media reference women's marital status and family life more so than men's (Devitt 1999; Everitt 2003). By referring to a women's marital status, family lives, and partner the media unconsciously highlight that women's family life is pertinent to who they are in society. In doing this the media sends an underlining message that women are placed in the private realm of family and domestic life. This can have implications for the way that society perceives the female Governor General's ability to perform the duties associated with this highly public position. To

examine marital status we searched for the keywords marriage, married, relationship, partner, couple, husband, wife, their partner's name, wedding, separated, divorce and nuptials.

We would expect that the fact the Hnatyshyn and LeBlanc are men would not be mentioned because this is irrelevant to their appointments. Prior to Hnatyshyn and LeBlanc there was only one woman, Sauvé, appointed as Governor General; therefore, male Governors General have been the norm and it is not worth mentioning by the media. On the other hand, we would anticipate that since Sauvé was the first woman, her gender is relevant to her appointment and will be mentioned frequently by the media. Similarly, we can anticipate that since Clarkson was the second woman to become Governor General her gender would be mentioned often by the media. We would expect that Jean's coverage would entail a mention or two from the media about her gender since she is only the third woman to be appointed to this position. However, we would anticipate that Jean's gender is mentioned less by the media than Sauvé's and Clarkson's because the gender barrier has already been broken.

(Table 3 about here)

As expected Hnatyshyn's and LeBlanc's media coverage made no mention of their gender. Although there were a limited number of articles to examine for Hnatyshyn and LeBlanc, none made reference to their gender. Similarly, as expected Sauvé and Clarkson received several references to their gender. Sauvé had seven references while Clarkson had slightly less with four references. What is perplexing is that Jean received the highest number (22) of references to her gender.

Jean's gender references explicitly state that she is a woman in this position. For example, Taber (2005: A4) states, "Ms. Jean, is the first black woman to serve as Canada's head of state...". Similarly, Ibbitson (2005, A4) states, "Ms. Jean is a female visible-minority...". Both of these articles intentionally mention Jean's gender as pertinent to her appointment. For Jean, it is not simply that she is the first black person to hold this position; rather, her gender appears to be as relevant to her appointment as her race. Obviously for the news media, the novelty of a female Governor General has not worn off.

Three of the four references to Clarkson's gender state that she is the second woman to be appointed Governor General or that she is a woman (McIlroy 1999, A1; Simpson 1999, A14). The other gender reference is found in a column in the September 9, 1999 edition of the *Globe and Mail* where Winsor (1999, A3) argues that "[i]t was time for a woman..." to be appointed Governor General. These references highlight Clarkson's gender as an important aspect of her socio-demographics that is not found in the coverage of the two male Governors General.

The majority of Sauvé's gender references simply state that she is the first woman to be appointed to the Governor General post; however, one article discusses what Pierre Trudeau said about her appointment and this coverage illuminates gender stereotyping. As Gray (1984, A2) reports,

...Mr. Trudeau described the installation of the first woman to be Governor General as a momentous event. He called her appointment a welcome evolution in Canadian society. The time is appropriate he

said because modern society is increasingly aware that women's qualities of mind and heart are every bit as valuable as men's, and a fresh approach, is needed to establish a more humane society.

Although the media is reporting on Trudeau's statements, the gender bias is clearly evident. By repeating such statements as the above quote, the media is unconsciously highlighting Sauvé's gender as an issue that is worthy of discussion.

However since this is the only example of gender bias found in Sauvé's coverage we must also explain why Jean received far more mentions of gender than Sauvé. The limited references to Sauvé's gender are puzzling since she was the first woman appointed as Head of State. Perhaps, since Sauvé embodied a more traditional type of woman by being older and more politically experienced than Jean she was not viewed as threatening to the Governor General position. In a sense she represented a sophisticated francophone version of the Queen. Jean embodied a younger and less politically experienced and a notably racialized Governor General than Sauvé. Thus, Sauvé's gender appeared to be less relevant while it was more notable for Jean.

This does not mean that Sauvé received less gender stereotyping coverage than Clarkson and Jean. Sauvé, Clarkson and Jean all received references to their appearance or demeanor, while for Hnatyshyn and LeBlanc the media made no references to their appearance or demeanor. For example, an article titled "Montrealers design for Mme. Sauvé" discusses what Sauvé wore for her appointment ceremony and included such details as "...she wore an emerald green silk satin dinner suit..." (Fashion 1984, F3). Similar fashion coverage was reported on Clarkson, as Wentz (1999, A2) states about Clarkson, "[h]er wardrobe is better than Barbara Ameal's." Jean's coverage focused on stereotypical feminine qualities as well. As a reporter writes in the October 19, 2005 edition of the *Globe and Mail*, "...Ms. Jean, who cut an elegant figure in a long black coat and high heels" (Strauss 2005, A4). Another example is found in Galloway's (2005, A7) article that states "...[Jean had] tears running down her cheeks... [and] giggled out loud..."

Given the literature on women, politics and the media we would also anticipate that Sauvé, Clarkson and Jean's marital status and spouses received more media attention than Hnatyshyn and LeBlanc's marital status or spouses. This is in fact the case. As Table 3 illustrates the media mention Sauvé's marital status 11 times, Clarkson's 75 times and Jean's 172 times. For Hnatyshyn's and LeBlanc's references to marital status received six and eight references, respectively. In regard to Hnatyshyn's and LeBlanc's marital status it is important to note that the newspaper simply stated they had a wife or her name. Again Sauvé's coverage seems to align itself more with Hnatyshyn and LeBlanc's than Clarkson's and Jean's.

Sauvé's marital status was mentioned 11 times but all these references simply pointed out that she was married and her spouse's name. A possible explanation for the limited media coverage of Sauvé's husband is that Maurice Sauvé wanted to remain outside of the vice regal realm. As the Government of Canada (2006, On-Line) states, "[d]uring his wife's mandate, M. Maurice Sauvé continued to pursue his own business concerns while participating in many Canadian cultural activities".

On the other hand, the media portrayed Clarkson and Jean's partners as wanting to participate fully in their vice regal position of "his Excellency". It can be argued that because Clarkson and Jean's were not as politically versed, the media focused more attention on their partners than Sauv 's. Thus, Clarkson and Jean received more references to their martial status than Sauv . For Clarkson and Jean, their martial status coverage is deeply entrenched with a gender bias and goes well beyond a simple statement of their spouse's name. As the headline of the September 9, 1999 issue reads "A dash of Clarkson, a pinch of Saul". The article then goes on to state that "...Canadians are getting two governor-generals for the price of one in the glamorous, polished and high-profile couple of Ms. Clarkson and Mr. Saul" (McIlroy 1999:A1).

The numerous articles that discuss Clarkson's partner can be seen as an attempt by the media to justify Clarkson's appointment. According to the media, Clarkson can "turn" to her husband for help in performing the duties of a Governor General. The media portray Clarkson as non-political, while her partner is often referred to as political. For example, a September 9, 1999 (McIlroy 1999:A1) article discusses what has been said from "Canada's new vice regal couple" and Clarkson was asked to comment on their relationship, style and career. On the other hand, Saul was asked to comment on economics, politics and capitalism. Clearly, Clarkson's coverage points out that Saul will "really" be the one who will be performing the political duties of the Governor General. Therefore, Clarkson is a good person to appoint as Governor General because she has a "man" to help her perform her duties. This negative framing by the media reinforce gender stereotypes and has an impact on the reader's perceptions of what a Governor General is. Clarkson is a figurehead rather than an individual with real power.

Among the 172 references to Jean's martial status many simply state her husband's name. One article even took it a step further by attaching the term "older" (Ibbitson 2005: A1) to her husband; thus, reinforcing Jean's young quality. However, many of the references were made about Jean's husband's separatist's ties. Perhaps, the media's focus on Lafond's separatist ties is an attempt to portray Jean in a negative light. As the media may be indirectly influencing Canadian's perceptions that Jean does not embody the "new" Canada because her husband has separatist ties; thus, she does too.

Discussion

The initial purpose of this research was to focus on the media's reporting on the "first" quality associated with each of the five Governors General; however, what has become evidently apparent is that gender matters. In particular that being a woman in the Governor General post seems to be a novelty for the news media. The *Globe and Mail* frames Sauv , Clarkson and Jean as outside the male political norm by continually referencing their gender and martial status and by framing them in a stereotypical feminine manner. However, we find that Sauv  receives less gender biased coverage in comparison to the amount and type of gender biased coverage that Clarkson and Jean's received. Clarkson and Jean's coverage, discussed their gender and marital status continuously, while for Sauv , Hnatyshyn, and LeBlanc it was limited to a reference about their spouses name. It is not simply that Clarkson is the first racial minority, but also that she is a woman. Similarly, the media focused on her husband as the person who Clarkson

can turn to for those “tough” political decisions. This de-legitimizes Clarkson’s ability to perform her duty as Governor General. The media portray Clarkson as a woman who is knowledgeable about relationships and style, while her husband is versed in economics and politics. Clearly, gender stereotypes are reinforced by the media. Similarly, in examining the gender and martial status references for Jean we can argue that the media is not improving its gender stereotyping. Although, one would expect that Jean’s gender would be irrelevant to her appointment, since she was the third woman to become Governor General, the media seem to continuously mention this quality. This exemplifies the importance of how the media frame news stories.

However, since we find that Sauv e’s coverage has less gender bias than Clarkson’s and Jean’s we need to examine the media discourse in-depth with regard to race. It has become clear that racialized media coverage plays a larger role in the reporting of Clarkson and Jean than ethnic coverage of Hnatyshyn and LeBlanc. In particular reference to Jean, there is more than gender bias occurring, racial bias appears to be prevalent for the news media and this has implications for the manner that Jean is reported in. Similar racialized coverage of Clarkson has become evident and this also has implications for the media representation of Clarkson. Since Hnatyshyn and LeBlanc’s ethnic background is referenced less often than Clarkson and Jean’s race we can conclude that ethnicity is not as an important news novelty as race.

As previously discussed, the media refers to Hnatyshyn’s Ukrainian heritage in half of the articles. However, only two of the articles explicitly make reference to his ethnicity as noteworthy to his appointment. With regard to LeBlanc’s Acadian connections, we see that the media portrays this as an important component of LeBlanc’s appointment. As Delacourt (1994, A1) states, “Romeo LeBlanc... will be installed as Canada’s first Acadian governor-general... .Mr LeBlanc, a francophone... said yesterday he was honoured to make this historic step for Acadians... .” There are three references to LeBlanc’s ethnicity and this highlights that his “first” quality is important to his appointment. However, it does not appear to be a novelty for the media because of the limited references to Hnatyshyn’s Ukrainian ethnicity and LeBlanc’s Acadian ethnicity.

Perhaps, ethnicity is not a pertinent novelty for the news media because ethnic backgrounds are much less visible than race. As well, Hnatyshyn’s ethnicity is his ancestral roots to Ukraine and many Canadians share this and other European ancestral roots. Since Hnatyshyn was born in Canada, his ethnicity is not much of a novelty for the media because his elders are the ones who immigrated to Canada. Thus, Hnatyshyn appears to be “more” Canadian and this is not as newsworthy. Similarly, LeBlanc’s Francophone ethnic characteristic is very similar to the bilingual atmosphere that exists in Canada. Canadian society embraces English and French languages; therefore, LeBlanc’s ethnicity was not far outside the norm.

Although ethnicity is important in the media coverage that Hnatyshyn and LeBlanc received, it appears that race is more of a novelty for the news media than ethnicity. As previously stated, Clarkson’s race was referred to by the media 26 times and Jean’s race 140 times. By illuminating Clarkson’s and Jean’s race continuously the media is enhancing the novelty of having a Governor General who is not white. However as the literature argues, by attaching a descriptor such as black or Chinese, the media portray the person as non-white and assume that being white is the norm (Henry and Tator 2002).

Since Sauvé was a white Governor General the media did not explicitly state her race; however, Clarkson and Jean's race was a pertinent descriptor.

The news media focuses on Clarkson and Jean's race through explicitly stating their race or by using such descriptors as "adopted homeland" and "immigrant". In doing this, the media reinforces that both Clarkson and Jean are not Canadian born and this can have implications for the manner that Clarkson and Jean are perceived in. As well, it is easier to associate the novelty of Clarkson and Jean becoming the Governor General because of their immigration into Canada.

By focusing on their gender and race, the media emphasizes Clarkson's and Jean's "otherness" not only as women in a male-dominated political arena but also as racial minorities in a white dominated profession. It can be argued that Clarkson and Jean faced a double-edged sword when being covered by the news media because of their gender and race. In other words, Clarkson and Jean are further outside the political norm than a white woman such as Sauvé and an ethnic man such as Hnatyshyn or LeBlanc would be. The media highlights the uniqueness of Clarkson and Jean and this complicates their ability to represent the Governor General post.

Conclusion

One of the main conclusions that can be drawn from this research is that as consumers of a similar media source, we are heavily exposed through the agenda-setting process to the media's own biases and assumptions. It was found that Hnatyshyn and LeBlanc had little coverage surrounding their appointments, while Sauvé, Clarkson and Jean had a great deal of coverage. This paper argues that the media assumed that the public was already knowledgeable about Hnatyshyn and LeBlanc because of their political past. As well, the media believed that Hnatyshyn and LeBlanc were fully qualified for the position; thus, the media limited their coverage on them. On the other hand, the media had to justify Clarkson and Jean's appointments because they were not as well known politically. Similarly, since Sauvé was the first female to be appointed Governor General the media emphasized the novelty of having a female Governor General by having a large amount of coverage. These biases and assumptions have an impact on the amount and type of coverage all five Governor Generals received. Similarly, the lack of coverage on Hnatyshyn and LeBlanc reinforces the media's own ability to set the news agenda and this has implications for Canadians. Citizens were not being informed about Hnatyshyn and LeBlanc to the same degree that they were informed about Sauvé, Clarkson and Jean.

A second conclusion that can be taken away from this study is that media does have an important role in influencing Canadian's perceptions on what a Governor General represents in society. *The Globe and Mail* emphasizes each of the five Governor Generals' "first" quality as relevant to their appointments. For Sauvé, the media placed relevancy on her being the first female Governor General. While for Hnatyshyn, his Ukrainian heritage was important to his appointment. For LeBlanc, it was that he was the first Acadian. Clarkson embodied another "first" by becoming the first racial minority to be appointed. Finally, Jean is the first black person and one of the youngest to hold this position. The numerous references to their "first quality" does leave Canadian's wondering what the role of the Governor General is in government. The media's framing of each of the Governor General's "first" quality as the embodiment of the "new" Canada, can influence

society's view on the role of the Governor General. Although the Governor General has an immense amount of constitutional power, conventions and the media have limited their power. For example, a letter to the editor in the February 11, 1995 edition argues that the Governor General is not Canada's Head of State (Toffoli 1995:D7). Clearly, there is confusion among Canadian's as to what the role of the Governor General is and what they represent.

A third conclusion that can be drawn from this research is that gender matters. In particular that being a woman entering into the Governor General post enhances the media's gender stereotyping. Sauvé, Clarkson and Jean were outside the male political norm and this increased the references to their gender, marital status and stereotypical feminine qualities. In doing this, the media enhances society's perceptions that these women are novelties within the Governor General post.

A fourth conclusion that has become evidently apparent is that ethnicity is pertinent to the media's coverage of Hnatyshyn and LeBlanc; however, race is more important in the media coverage that Clarkson and Jean received. Ethnicity is not as visible as race and as we have found, Hnatyshyn and LeBlanc's ethnic characteristics are very similar to many other Canadians. Clarkson and Jean's race is highly visible and the media portrays their "otherness" as outside the white dominated political realm. The news media illuminate the novelty of Clarkson and Jean's race, while limiting the ethnic novelty of Hnatyshyn and LeBlanc.

Fifthly, we can argue that this study contributes to an area of political studies that is severely neglected. There have not been a great deal of studies done on the Governor General and this study adds a unique dimension to the limited previous Governor General studies. It also adds to the broader media literature and this is useful for the general communication studies debate. By shifting our lens to examine how the media portrays the Governor General we can begin to understand the role that the Governor General has in Canadian society and what role the media has in shaping people's perceptions.

Finally, the last conclusion that can be drawn from this research is that the "first" quality appears to be very relevant to a government's choice on who will be Governor General. The government seems to be striving to appoint a person who embodies as many aspects of Canadian society as possible. The media has a role in portraying the "first" quality as a significant characteristic for a Governor General. Although, it is important for Canadian society to have women and minorities as Governors General, constitutional conventions have limited their powers. As the Governor General becomes more symbolic, it also becomes more acceptable to appoint women and minorities since they will never really possess any power. What has become evidently apparent is that gender and race matter in the media's portrayal of Canadian Governors General and that this coverage has contributed to the Governor General becoming more of a figurehead in the political affairs of Canada.

Table 1 Amount of Media Coverage

Governor General	Number of Articles	Number of Editorials and Columns	Number of Letters to the Editor	Total	Percentage of Total Coverage
Jeanne Sauvé	23	0	1	24	14.5
Ramon Hnatyshyn	6	1	9	16	9.6
Romeo LeBlanc	4	1	1	6	3.6
Adrienne Clarkson	16	5	5	26	15.7
Michaëlle Jean	36	14	44	94	56.6
Total	85	21	60	166	100

Table 2 Number of Times Refer to the “First” Quality

Governor General	First Quality	Total Number of References	Number of Articles, Editorials, Columns and Letters to the Editor
Jeanne Sauvé	First Woman	7	24
Ramon Hnatyshyn	First Ukrainian Canadian	6	16
Romeo LeBlanc	First Acadian	10	6
Adrienne Clarkson	First Immigrant/ Chinese Canadian	26	26
Michaëlle Jean	First Black	140	94
	One of the Youngest	16	

Table 3 Gender and Martial Status

Governor General	Number of Times Gender Mentioned	Percentage of Overall Gender References	Number of Times Marital Status Mentioned	Percentage of Overall Martial Status References
Jeanne Sauvé	7	21 %	11	4 %
Ramon Hnatyshyn	0	0	6	2 %
Romeo LeBlanc	0	0	8	3 %
Adrienne Clarkson	4	12 %	75	28 %
Michaëlle Jean	22	67 %	172	63 %
Total	33	100 %	272	100 %

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