#DRESSCODEPM & RE-FRAMING THE NIQAB: NEWS SOURCES, HASHTAG ACTIVISM, AND MEDIA REPRESENTATION.

by

Dalia Thamin

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Abstract

This thesis originates from my interest in exploring how minorities are using social media to talk back to mainstream media. This study examines whether hashtags that trend on Twitter may impact how news stories related to minorities are covered in Canadian media. The Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper stated the niqab was “rooted in a culture that is anti-women” on 10 March 2015. The next day #DressCodePM trended in response to the PM’s niqab remarks. Using network gatekeeping theory, this study examines the types of sources quoted in the media stories published on 10 and 11 March 2015. The study’s goal is to explore whether using tweet quotes leads to the representation of a more diverse range of news sources. The study compares the types of sources quoted in stories that covered Harper’s comments without mentioning #DressCodePM versus stories that mention #DressCodePM. This study also uses Tuen A. van Dijk’s methodology of asking “who is speaking, how often and how prominently?” in order to examine whose voices have been privileged and whose voices have been marginalized in covering the niqab in Canadian media from the 1970s and until the days following the PM’s remarks. Network gatekeeping theory is applied in this study to assess whether the gated gained more power after #DressCodePM trended. The case study’s findings indicates that Caucasian male politicians were predominantly used as news sources in covering stories related to the niqab for the past 38 years in the Globe and Mail. The sourcing pattern of favouring politicians continued in Canadian print and online media on 10 March 2015 following Harper’s niqab comments. However, ordinary Canadian women, including Muslim women, were used more often than politicians as news sources in the stories about #DressCodePM that were published on 11 March 2015.
The gated media users were able to gain power and attract Canadian Media’s attention by widely spreading #DressCodePM. This study draws attention to the lack of diversity of sources used in Canadian political news stories, yet this study also shows it is possible for the gated media users to amplify their voices through hashtag activism.
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Glossary

Niqab: the partial covering of the face, only a woman’s eyes shows.
Niqabi: a woman who wears a niqab.

Hijab: a headscarf, a veil that covers the hair/head.

Ordinary sources: meaning the public, sources who are not politicians or representatives of organizations or religious groups.

Elite sources: sources who have privileged access to the media including politicians, and government officials and representatives of state institutions.

‘News’: ‘news’ stories are stories that report on events, they are not opinion, editorial, or analysis stories.

News organization or news media: media organizations that produce news, features, and opinion pieces.

Participatory media/social media/new media: Web 2.0, advancement in online technology that allows media users to become media producers and share information.

Trending: Twitter function that signifies which hashtags are popular on Twitter at a given time and which hashtags are shared and used the most.
Chapter 1

Introduction

Mr. Speaker… the leader of the Liberal party continues to bring up his position on the niqab but not seeming to understand that almost all Canadians oppose the wearing of face covering during citizenship ceremonies, Mr. Speaker…. it’s very easy to understand we do not allow people to cover their faces during citizenship ceremonies, why would Canadians, contrary to our own values, embrace a practice at that time that is not transparent, that is not open and frankly is rooted in a culture that is anti-women, Mr. Speaker that is unacceptable to Canadians, unacceptable to Canadian women.

Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper, 10 March 2015, House of Commons.

Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper bluntly expressed his views on the niqab, a partial face cover which some Muslim women wear, during question period in parliament on 10 March 2015. Harper’s statement about the niqab, that it was “rooted in a culture that is anti-women,” made headlines in major Canadian media news outlets. The next day on 11 March #DressCodePM, a hashtag that mocked the Prime Minister for telling Canadian women what’s acceptable to wear, trended on Twitter nationwide. #DressCodePM received wide media coverage in both mainstream and alternative media in Canada.

The debate about the niqab and whether it should be banned in citizenship ceremonies in Canada continued in mainstream media as well as on social media for weeks and months leading up to the federal elections in October 2015. Harper even commissioned a survey to inquire about the public’s position on four “top-of-mind priorities for Canadians” (Beeby; Leger 7). The public poll conducted in March 2015 and released just before the elections included a question about the niqab ban in citizenship ceremonies.
This study explores whether hashtags that trend on Twitter may impact how news stories related to minorities are covered in Canadian media. I analyze the Canadian media coverage of Harper’s comments on the niqab before and after #DressCodePM spread in March 2015. I examine the sources quoted including the use of tweets as direct quotes in the news stories published. This study is also concerned with providing a better understanding of how the niqab has been covered historically and in contemporary Canadian media. I first present an overview of the wider topic of the relation between Twitter, the news, and media activism before elaborating on the research questions and the purpose of the study.

- **Twitter and the News: Media Activism and Marginalized communities**

  New media and old mainstream media co-exist in today’s media culture and they are intertwined. Twitter users share and comment on news stories produced by news organizations. The number of Twitter users and Facebook users in the US who get their news on these two social media platforms rose to 63 percent in 2015 (Barthel et al.). On the other hand, news reporters and editors are using Twitter to interact with audiences, to scout for news stories, and to find out which topics new media users are discussing (Bruns and Burgess 802; Broersma and Graham "Twitter as a News Source" 447).

  Recently published studies have examined how new media users influenced news agendas of the mainstream media by engaging in media activism on Twitter and other social media (Graeff, Stempech and Zuckerman; Bonilla and Rosa). Media activism is attempting to widely spread a message on new media platforms including Twitter to bring attention to a cause (Russell 849-50).
Twitter introduced ‘trending topics’ feature in late 2008. Users add the hash symbol # combined with a phrase or a word as a way to “group posts together by topic.” It is a form of “conversational tagging” to keep track of what is rapidly spreading on Twitter. The term trending signifies “heavily retweeted topics” within a certain time period (van Dijck 72). Hashtags that trend gain more visibility on Twitter since the top trending hashtags appear on Twitter users’ accounts. Several mainstream news media regularly report on hashtags that spread whether in their news stories or on the dedicated trending sections on their websites (Zubliaga et al. 463). Consequently, Twitter users may draw media attention to a cause by making a hashtag trend. Hashtag activism is a form of media activism; it refers to acts of spreading a hashtag on Twitter to promote a cause (Bonilla and Rosa 8).

Some critics are skeptical of the ability of media activism to bring actual change (Wasik; Dean). Detractors argue messages that spread on social media do not elicit action and don not require a response from those who hold power. Moreover, critics warn that individuals who effortlessly spread messages online are getting a false satisfaction from believing that they have actually helped a cause (Dean 58; M. White). Some critics argue that media activism is diverting individuals’ attention away from volunteering with organizations and engaging in supporting causes on the ground (M. White; Gilmore).

On the other hand, several scholars see value in media activism (Jenkins, Ford and Green; Couldry Media, Society, World). Some argue participatory media gave individuals and minority groups, who have been under-represented and mis-represented in mainstream media, a public forum to voice their opinions. Social media platforms offer an outlet for those “whose identities have been historically marginalized and
defamed in the mainstream” (Mann 293). For example, Twitter became a site for African Americans to challenge media representation and racial injustices especially following the fatal shooting of 18-year-old Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri in 2014 (Bonilla and Rosa 6). It’s not a mere chance that African Americans, and communities who are more prone to being mis-portrayed in the media, are the ones using hashtag activism “at the highest rates” (Bonilla and Rosa 8). Twitter provides a space for racialized groups to defy mainstream media stereotypes and to “collectively construct counter narratives” (Bonilla and Rosa 6).

Participatory media also provides women of colour with a significant space for “media making and media critique.” Women of colour who reach large audiences on social media are getting more opportunities to contribute to mainstream media discussions (Mann 294). Participatory media also gave marginalized women interviewed in mainstream media the means of challenging how they were represented. For example, Shanene Thorpe, a working single mother in the UK who received government housing assistance, was interviewed on a BBC show. She took to Twitter to ask the BBC for an apology for the negative way she was portrayed in a TV interview about government welfare (Johnson 16,17). The BBC eventually apologized online but Thorpe continued using Twitter to push for an on air apology, and she got it. Before social media individuals interviewed had limited avenues to complain about how they were portrayed and treated by journalists. In the case of Thorpe, Twitter gave a “voice” to a “woman with no obvious access to the levers of power” (Johnson 16,17).

In a North American context the death of Trayvon Martin, a 17-year-old African American boy who was shot dead in Florida in 2012, drew attention to the role of
participatory media and how it can impact traditional news media coverage. New media users in the case of Martin were able to challenge the traditional gatekeepers in mainstream newsrooms and helped shape the media narrative about Martin’s death (Graeff, Stempech and Zuckerman 54,55).

The relation between mainstream media and social media users is a complex one. Initially the goal of participatory media users is to draw mainstream media’s attention to a story or to react to what is in the news. However, as a controversial story progresses, media activists use participatory media to shape the arc of the story and impact how the story is framed (Graeff, Stempech and Zuckerman 54,55).

1.1 Research Questions and Purpose of the Study

This study closely examines the representation of ordinary Muslim women, including niqabis, in the media stories published on 10 and 11 March 2015. This research explores how the niqab became an issue that was deemed “top-of-mind” for Canadians (Leger 7). The study asks: When did the niqab start receiving increased media attention in Canada? What were the themes and topics associated with the coverage of the niqab, historically, and in contemporary Canadian media? And whose voices are often privileged and whose voices are often marginalized when it comes to covering the niqab in Canada? In terms of specific media production of national discourse, did the circulation of #DressCodePM have an impact on the types of news sources used in the Canadian media stories about Harper’s remarks on the niqab? What were the types of sources quoted in Canadian mainstream news following Harper’s niqab comments and following the circulation of #DressCodePM, on 10 and 11 March 2015? Whose voices were represented and whose voices were ignored? And did the use of tweets with
#DressCodePM as direct quotes lead to diversifying the types of news sources used in the stories? This study also attempts to find out who were the gated news sources in the media coverage of Harper’s niqab comments? And did the gated gain more power after #DressCodePM circulated? This research analyzes how the sources quoted shaped the story narrative and the media discourse surrounding the niqab ban. The study examines whether #DressCodePM lead to the rise of a counter discourse in reaction to the attempts to restrict the wearing of the niqab in Canada.

It is necessary to trace how the niqab has been covered over the decades in Canada to provide an overview of the dominant media discourses that emerged regarding the niqab. Analyzing the patterns of the Canadian media coverage of the niqab would provide a deeper understanding of whose voices shaped the media discourses related to the face veil. Consequently, this study embarks on tracing the evolution of the coverage of the niqab by examining the *Globe and Mail* archives over three decades. This study examines how often women who wear the niqab were quoted in Canadian stories in the past 38 years.

**Choosing the niqab & #DressCodePM:** The 2015 Canadian federal election was dubbed the “niqab elections” by media commentators (Wherry). The conservative government fueled the debate about the niqab by engaging in a legal battle during the election campaign with Zunera Ishraq. Ishraq is a Muslim immigrant who wanted to take the citizenship oath while wearing a niqab. She challenged the ban on face veils in citizenship ceremonies in court (Macdonald). The Quebec government had also proposed implementing several policies that would impose restrictions on wearing niqabs. The
increased media coverage of the niqab in Canada and the rise of the rhetoric against the niqab is one of the motivations for choosing to conduct this study.

Moreover, the coverage of Harper’s comments on the niqab ban provides a relevant case for analyzing the relation between news coverage and Twitter in a Canadian context. Most of the studies published about hashtag activism and its relation to media coverage examined American or international stories and hashtags. Consequently, there is a gap in knowledge when it comes to examining how the interaction between the news coverage and hashtags that trend plays out in the Canadian media culture.

The media landscape and the practice of journalism have rapidly changed due to participatory media. Journalists are quoting tweets and attributing information to Twitter users (Hermida, Lewis and Zamith; Broersma and Graham "Twitter as a News Source"). Earlier studies have examined the impact of hashtag activism on the framing of the news discourses especially in relation to marginalized groups (Graeff, Stempech and Zuckerman; Bonilla and Rosa). Other studies have also examined the use of social media sources in news reports and whether it may lead to reducing the reliance on official sources (Broersma and Graham "Twitter as a News Source"; Paulussen and Harder). This study hopes to contribute to the emerging works in both areas by examining the use of tweets, associated with acts of media activism, as direct quotes in news stories. This study tests whether the use of tweets as direct quotes may result in diversifying the types of sources featured in news stories, and whether that may lead to featuring a wider range of opinions and discourses in the news.
1.2 Theoretical Framework

This study draws on the academic literature published in the areas of participatory culture, as well as the literature related to the changes in journalism practice in a digital media era. I begin with an overview of the general themes and ongoing debates related to participatory culture followed by a section on the literature related to the impact new media is having on the practice of journalism. The subsequent sub-section is dedicated to network gatekeeping theory which I am applying in the case study. The last sub-section presents a brief overview of the literature related to the process of selecting news sources.

1.2.1 Participatory culture, media users and the spread of information:

Media users, is a term currently used to refer to those who were “formerly known as the audience.” The change in naming conventions from audience to media users signifies the change from viewing the audience as passive consumers to active media users (Rosen). Some scholars use the term participatory culture to refer to the current digital media culture in which individuals have the means to spread information, publicize their views and become media producers (Jenkins, Ford and Green 19, 20).

One area of debate surrounding participatory culture is concerned with the significance of acts of circulation. On one side of the debate, there are scholars who view the acts of media users circulating content as void of meaning. That the spread of messages is a manipulation of algorithm, and the messages that circulate will not bring any real change. The opposing side argues that spreading content and messages has meaning, a purpose, and can bring change.

Manuel Castells and Henry Jenkins are of the view that media users have been using participatory media as a mean to gain some power over those who traditionally had
the power. For example, media users have been using participatory media to take aim at media and political institutions which possess more power (Castells; Jenkins *Convergence Culture*). Castells attributes part of the power shift to what he calls “mass self-communication” which is the ability of media users to broadcast their ideas to a “global audience” through web applications (248). Individuals trying to bring change also often use new media “as a way to influence the information agenda of mainstream media,” which in turn leads to gaining more communication power (Castells 252).

However, critics are skeptical of the significance of acts of mass self-communication. Some academics are of the view that media users self-communicating content doesn’t mean that anyone is necessarily receiving their messages. Jodi Dean argues that circulated opinions lose value because of the sheer volume of opinions constantly being circulated. Dean argues that the content of the messages, who sends it and who receives it has become irrelevant (58). In *Spreadable Media*, Jenkins et al oppose the “disempowering” notion expressed by Dean that strips messages that spread out of value. Jenkins’ et al core argument is that messages that spread gain value in today’s media culture specifically because they are highly circulated. Jenkins et al showcased examples of how popular culture fans of TV shows and movies were able to influence entertainment producers by widely spreading messages through participatory media (60-62).

The second area of debate focuses on explaining why certain content spread on new media, for example why hashtags trend. Some academics argue that trending hashtags are caused by manipulation of algorithm. They argue that only Twitter users who have a large number of followers are capable of making a hashtag trend. Thus a
small percentage of users have greater power on Twitter, while giving the illusion that what trends represents the “collective opinion” of Twitter users (van Dijck 74).

The counter point of view is that media users and activists intentionally use their knowledge of algorithms like trending on Twitter as a tool to draw attention to their cause (Bonilla and Rosa; Graeff, Stempech and Zuckerman; Couldry and Powell). Nick Couldry used the term social analytics to describe this purposeful act of spreading a message as a means to gain attention and achieve an end (Couldry and Powell 2). Couldry proposed practice theory to examine how people’s media use is connected to the wider power relations in society (Couldry Media, Society, World 37). Furthermore, Jenkins uses the term “cultural acupuncture” to describe how media activists nowadays use any and all forms of media including Twitter as tools to unite people to support a cause. That is opposite to the idea of cultural jammers who aimed to “block and jam the flow of what they perceived as manipulated images created by… the culture industry.”

Thus cultural acupuncture, or media activism, is activism through media and not by avoiding media. Jenkins adds “cultural acupuncture seeks….to tap into the culture’s circulation” (Jenkins "Participatory Culture" 35). Consequently, even though Twitter trending algorithm can be manipulated, media activists can use this new media platform to their advantage.

1.2.2 Participatory media’s impact on journalism practice:

Some scholars have explored how the practice of journalism has changed as a result of the advent of participatory media. In today’s new media culture information spreads fast. Traditional media is not necessarily where people find out first about something that just happened, meaning breaking news. Media users and eye witnesses at
the scene of events are sending tweets on their cellphones thus breaking the news on Twitter. For example, mainstream media found about the Mumbai hotel attacks in 2008 from tweets. Twitter users at the scene of unfolding events also post updates about the developing situation for free, while costly traditional news crews take time to arrive at the scene (Murthy 779). However, after people find out about breaking news from Twitter they eventually turn to traditional media for more in depth coverage (Murthy 784,86). Thus media users are using the new media with the old media.

The messages people circulate on Twitter and social media also have an impact on agenda setting. Social media users are challenging the traditional gatekeeping role of mainstream news media. Citizens with smart phones are now becoming agenda setters and the “gates are swinging wide open thanks to the influence of the 24/7 nature of social media” (Swasy 3). In a survey of news directors of local TV stations in the US, more than half either strongly agreed or agreed that social media influenced which local stories their news room covered. Moreover, close to 90 percent of the news directors also strongly agreed or agreed that social media improved interaction with their audience (Lysak, Cremedas and Wolf 200). Journalists are also using Twitter and social media to find news sources to interview without even leaving the newsroom (Murthy 783; Broersma and Graham "Social Media as Beat" 447; Paulussen and Harder 543). Journalists use social media as a tool to find out what people want to hear, and what people care about. Twitter’s function of trending topics offered an added way for journalist to identify newsworthy topics to include in their coverage (Bruns and Burgess 802; Broersma and Graham "Twitter as a News Source" 447).
However, some scholars are critical of giving the media users what they want especially based on new analytics functions that tracks the users’ interests. In “The Ethics of Web Analytics” the authors warn that journalists “should not swing mindlessly into providing what the audience wants.” The writers argue journalists should give the audience what they “need” and journalism “should serve the higher goal of public interest” (Tandoc Jr. and Ryan J 253). At the heart of the debate is the power struggle over who should decide what is in the public’s interest: the journalists and traditional mainstream media producers? Or the public and participatory media users? And who should hold the power to decide how a news story should be framed? The media users or the media producers? Karine Brazilai-Nahon’s network gatekeeping theory established an approach for analyzing the shift in power dynamics between media users and producers in today’s networked media culture.

1.2.3 Network gatekeeping theory: shaping the story & the power of the gated:

Brazilai-Nahon two-part network gatekeeping theory is an updated approach to examining traditional gatekeeping practices while taking into consideration the changes in the media culture. Gatekeeping is the act of information control which includes making decisions on what information to publish. News editors are the gatekeepers who select the information the gated, meaning the audience/readers, will consume (Lewin; D. M. White; Shoemaker).

The first part of Brazilai-Nahon’s theory deals with expanding the definition of gatekeeping to include the gatekeeping mechanisms which are the “means used to carry out the gatekeeping” (Brazilai-Nahon 1496). Brazilai-Nahon defines gatekeeping as:
The process of controlling information as it moves through a gate. Activities include among others selection, addition, withholding, display, channeling, shaping, manipulation, repetition, timing, localization, integration, disregard, and deletion of information (1496).

For the purpose of my study I am focusing on examining four activities of gatekeeping: selection, withholding, shaping and disregard. These activities fall under what Brazilai-Nahon call “editorial mechanisms” which are used in the fields of journalism and communication to edit content (Brazilai-Nahon 1498).

In the second part of network gatekeeping theory, Brazilai-Nahon is critical of earlier gatekeeping literature that only focused on the power of the gatekeepers and ignored the position of the gated (1495). Brazilai-Nahon argues the relation between gatekeepers and gated is more dynamic. The degree of information control varies depending on a variety of factors (Brazilai-Nahon 1498, 501, 507). Thus, Brazilai-Nahon proposes four attributes that would help categorize how much power the gated would have, in relation to the gated, in a given context (1498). The attributes are: information production, relationship of gated-gatekeeper, political power, and alternative to gatekeeper. Brazilai-Nahon uses the term “network gatekeeping salience” to describe how the gatekeepers would decide on the degree of “priority” and importance to give to “competing gated claims” according to these four attributes (Brazilai-Nahon 1498).

Brazilai-Nahon points out that technological change enabled the gated to easily and cheaply produce information. The ability to produce content “empower the gated with greater autonomy and changed the interplay of gatekeeper-gated” (Brazilai-Nahon 1500). Brazilai-Nahon stresses that the ability to produce information is one essential aspect of gaining power but “it is not synonymous to power.” Producing information does not mean the gated have the political power to pressure the gatekeepers. Hence, Brazilai-
Nahon included a separate attribute for political power (1500). Political power refers to the ability of the gated to make the gatekeeper “do something…that they wouldn’t otherwise have done.” It’s when the gated have enough power or political cache that would result in making the gatekeeper pay attention to the gated’s demands. The gated who possess political power can challenge the gatekeepers in charge of setting agendas and making editorial decisions (Brazilai-Nahon 1499). The gated also become more salient when they have an ongoing relation with the gatekeeper. This relation entails having direct means of communication, and having reciprocal interaction. The last attribute, alternative, refers to the gated’s ability to make autonomous choices and choose from alternative channels of information (Brazilai-Nahon 1500, 01).

Brazilai-Nahon’s network gatekeeping theory recognizes the ongoing power “bargaining between gated and gatekeeper” in today’s media culture. That is because of the availability of the means of production to the gated and the availability of various news outlets and media alternatives (Brazilai-Nahon 1507). The gated may possess various combinations of attributes depending on each situation. Thus Brazilai-Nahon divides the gated into 4 tiers according to which attributes the gated possess (Brazilai-Nahon 1501).

I am using network gatekeeping four attributes to determine which tier the gated would fall under in the case study. I use network gatekeeping saliences to evaluate how much power the gated had before and after #DressCodePM trended based on analyzing which attributes they possessed. I use Brazilai-Nahon’s theory to examine how editorial mechanisms of selection and disregard shaped the coverage of Harper’s comments on the niqab in March 2015.
However, Brazilai-Nahon network gatekeeping theory does not delve into the elements of editorial mechanisms and the types of processes of selection and shaping. Brazilai-Nahon notes the editorial mechanisms of selection are explored in the communication literature (1498). Thus in the next section I present an overview of the literature concerning the process of sources selection in media stories.

1.2.4 Who makes it on the news? Sources and shaping the news narrative:

Journalists decide which sources and which quotations to include and omit in the news stories. Sources featured in news stories play an integral part of shaping the news (van Dijk *Discourse & Power* 10). Sources quoted “ascribe meaning to events, shaping public perception and understanding” (Hermida, Lewis and Zamith 480). Journalists assemble news stories by attributing information and directly quoting sources. “The task of the journalist is to piece together discourses created by other sources into a narrative that follows news convention” (Carlson 528). The positions of the sources quoted shape and “inform news discourses” (Cottle 5). Thus it is necessary to examine who gets to become a news source and whose voices and opinions are ignored in analyzing media discourses (van Dijk *Discourse & Power* 10, 55). Soloski argues it is important to study “what types of sources” journalists use because sources “determine not only what information is presented to the public, but what image of society is presented” (864).

Journalists tend to rely heavily on quoting elite sources that represent voices of authority in society, including government officials (Hall et al.; Soloski; van Dijk *Discourse & Power*; Carlson). According to Howard S. Becker’s model of the ‘hierarchy of credibility’, the opinions and information coming from those at the top of institutions or groups are deemed more trustworthy. Becker states “any tale told by those at the top
intrinsically deserves to be regarded as the most credible.” Becker adds “thus credibility and the right to be heard are differently distributed” (qtd. in Atton and Wickenden 348). Tuen A. van Dijk also agrees that elite sources are at the top of the “hierarchy of sources” because they are deemed more “newsworthy”, more “credible” and “reliable observers” (van Dijk News as Discourse 87). As a result white male politicians and officials dominate the news. Van Dijk argues ordinary sources meaning the general public, minorities, and marginalized groups are “quoted less often and less extensively” in the press (Racism and the Press 174).

Stuart Hall et al argue the combination of journalists’ news gathering routines together with working under tight deadlines lead to the “over-accessing” of those in power. Hall et al argued that elite voices of authority become “primary definers” of the news. Journalists end up bolstering the dominant discourses of those in power as a result of the reliance on primary definers and the over-citing of elite sources in news stories (Hall et al. 58). Other scholars including Philip Schlesinger and Paul Manning criticized Hall for “oversimplifying complex relationships” between primary definers, journalists and marginalized sources (Manning 16; Schlesinger 67, 68). Schlesinger and Manning took issue that Hall did not account for the probability that marginalized sources could gain power and become primary definers and elite sources, and those who were once considered elite sources may become marginal sources (Manning 16; Schlesinger 67).

There are several other factors that result in journalists relying on routine and elite sources. One main factor is a practical one, elite sources are readily available during press conferences consequently it is more time efficient to use their quotes (qtd. in Grabe, Zhou and Barnett 294, 95). Another factor is that there is a mutual relation between journalists
and elite sources including politicians. Journalists and officials depend and “feed off each other” (Cottle 58). Journalists need information and confirmation from government officials. On the other hand, politicians need journalists to distribute their messages (Carlson 530).

The practice of news sourcing has been “evolving in an era of networked digital media” (Hermida, Lewis and Zamith 479). While the voices of officialdom and elite sources continue to be privileged in the media, ordinary sources now have other avenues to express their views (Atton and Wickenden; Lecheler and Kruikeneier 167; Thumim 21). Alternative media gives those deemed as “others” and “deviant” by mainstream media a space to be heard (Cottle 5; Atton and Wickenden 347, 49). Participatory media provides journalist with the opportunity to engage with a diverse range of voices (Broersma and Graham "Twitter as a News Source" 448; Hermida, Lewis and Zamith 495). A study that analyzed the source selection of a reporter with National Public Radio (NPR) during reporting on the Arab spring uprising indicates that “there is a new paradigm of sourcing at play.” The study concluded that journalists “cite a potentially broader set of voices” through the use of social media (Hermida, Lewis and Zamith 495).

Marcel Broersma and Todd Graham are among the pioneer researchers to examine the growing practice of using tweets as direct quotes in news stories. Their 2013 study, “Twitter as a News Source,” shows that the use of tweets as direct quotes has increased from 2007 to 2011 which coincides with the rise of Twitter. The study shows that there were close to six thousand tweets as quotes cited in 8 daily British and Dutch newspapers. The tweets as quotes were used in a wide range of stories including human interest, political and sports stories (Broersma and Graham "Twitter as a News Source"
The authors argue that “searching for quotes from Twitter has developed into an established journalistic routine, while the inclusion of tweets in news discourse has become an established textual convention” (Broersma and Graham "Twitter as a News Source" 451).

However, there are conflicting studies when it comes to assessing the impact of using news sources from social media and whether it leads to the increase of ordinary sources quoted in the news compared to traditional and elite sources. The study “Re-evaluating Journalistic Routines in a Digital Age,” argues that journalists still “gravitate towards elite sources,” even though journalists use Twitter quotes and cite social media sources. The study concluded quoting new media sources did not lead to the reduction of using traditional sources in news stories but it only “compliments traditional sourcing” (Lecheler and Kruikeneier 157). Another study points out that journalists use social media sources opportunistically during breaking news to get the information promptly until they arrive on the scene and then journalists switch back to using traditional sources (Bruno 63).

This study’s theoretical approach: This study is based on the theory and literature discussed that consider source selection a key component of the process of gatekeeping. Moreover, this study recognizes that sources quoted influence the news discourse. van Dijk laid out a theoretical framework to examine the “access of minorities to the press” by analyzing the news sources and quotation patterns. This study will follow van Dijk’s methodology of asking “who is speaking, how often and how prominently, and about what…?” in order to analyze how much say Muslim women had in the media stories related to the niqab (van Dijk Racism and the Press 151). This study identifies whose
voices were privileged and whose voices were neglected in the media coverage following Harper’s statement on the niqab.

I use van Dijk’s theoretical framework to examine who had “access” and who had the power to speak and thus shaped the media discourse on the niqab. However, I am using Brazilai-Nahon network gatekeeping theory to identify the editorial mechanisms used to control this access through the process of selection, withholding, disregard and shaping. Moreover, I apply network gatekeeping theory to examine how the gated can shift their power and gain access in today’s networked society. I explore whether tweets sent with the hashtag DressCodePM enticed journalists to use a more diverse range of news sources.

My study’s approach stems from my professional and academic interest in finding ways to diversify the range of voices quoted in Canadian news. Increasing the representation of visible minorities in Canadian media has been one of my career goals while working for CBC Radio and TV for a decade. There are a plethora of studies in the fields of cultural, media and gender studies that are dedicated to highlighting the lack of diversity in Canadian media coverage. However, there are fewer works that touch on issues of diversity that are grounded in journalism studies and theories. Thus in this study I am basing my theoretical approach on a modified gatekeeping theory which accounts for the current changes in the fields of journalism due to the rise of social media use. My aim is to bring a cultural studies approach to study a topic related to journalism studies and journalism practice.
1.3 Method

The broad goal of this study is to explore whether messages that widely circulate on Twitter, as a result of acts of hashtag activism, may impact the dominant news discourses. I conducted a case study, which is a “detailed examination of a single example” (Abercrombie). The case study examines the types of media sources used following the comments of the Canadian PM about the niqab and the spread of #DressCodePM. The case study is divided into three parts:

A- Framing the niqab: an archival survey of news stories in the *Globe and Mail* in order to gather a history of the appearance of the niqab in Canada’s national newspaper and to undertake a content analysis of these stories. The content analysis period starts from 1977 and ends on 10 March 2015.

B- Harper, the niqab, and #DressCodePM: content and critical discourse analysis of the news sources and news discourses, in print and online media on 10 and 11 March 2015.

C- Assessing the change in power dynamics between the gated and gatekeepers: applying network gatekeeping theory

Content analysis is a commonly used method of “textual analysis” and can be applied to study different forms of media including newspapers, TV, and radio news (Stokes 131). Klaus Krippendorff defines content analysis as “a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter to the contexts of their use” (Krippendorff 24). Content analysis is considered an objective quantitative method because it involves “counting phenomena in texts” (Stokes 132). However, Krippendorff points that content analysis is also subjective and can be qualitative since researchers make the decision on which phenomena to count and study (Krippendorff 24).
The use of content analysis as method is appropriate for this research since content analysis is a research technique that is used to “describe patterns or trends in media portrayals.” Content analysis is also employed for “assessing the representation of particular groups in society” (qtd. in Gunter 61). Content analysis is also a research tool that provides “new insights” and “increases the researchers understanding of a particular phenomena” (Krippendorff 24). Content analysis is used in the first two parts of the case study to identify the patterns and trends associated with covering the niqab in Canadian media. Moreover, this study uses content analysis to identify which types of sources and which groups in society got represented in stories related to the niqab.

The study also uses CDA as a qualitative approach to analyze the dominant discourses that emerged during the coverage of the niqab. The works of van Dijk (1988) (2008), Henry and Tator (2002), Jiwani (2006), Ross and Eid (2014) and Thomas (2015) will serve as a methodological guideline for the analysis of how the niqab has been framed in Canadian news. van Dijk argues CDA is an approach that is concerned with examining who has “access to public discourse” through the media and how media access is tied to social power (van Dijk Discourse & Power 2). Thus CDA is the suitable approach to use in examining the dominant and subordinate voices during the coverage of the niqab.

For the last part of the case study, I use Brazilai-Nahon’s network gatekeeping theory to assess which of the four attributes the gated had during the coverage of the niqab ban in March 2015. I will use the findings of the content analysis conducted in the first two parts of the study, A and B, to propose who were the gated actors in the news coverage of the niqab ban following Harper’s comments. I use network gatekeeping
salience as a framework to examine the degree of media access the gated had and to examine their ability to contribute to the public discourse. I examine whether the gated position shifted between the power tiers following the circulation of the hashtag DressCodePM. This approach is suitable to use for this case study because it allows for analyzing the relation between the gated and the gatekeepers in a networked media culture.

There are several studies including Henry and Tator (2002), Jiwani (2006), Ross and Eid (2014) and Thomas (2015), that examined dominant discourses in Canadian news and accounted for the use of the elite versus ordinary sources in mainstream media. Those studies often used a blend of content analysis and CDA. However this study takes into account the changing dynamics between the gatekeepers and media actors who are considered ordinary sources because of the emergence of participatory media. Thus it is necessary to employ the methodological approach of network gatekeeping theory as it pays special attention to this change in relation between the gated and the gatekeepers in addition to conducting a content analysis and CDA. Couldry argues the study of culture is complex. The study of culture requires adequate research methods including empirical methods to unpack this complexity and to account for the power relations (Couldry Inside Culture 5). Thus it is in this spirit that this study uses three different approaches of analysis for the coverage of the Canadian Prime Minister’s comments on the niqab ban to account for the forces of power at play.

The acknowledged limitations of the case study method include that “one cannot generalize on the basis of a single case” (Flyvbjerg 6). Consequently, this study does not attempt to make formal generalization based on the findings of the study. This study only
offers one example of the interaction between mainstream media and participatory media in the Canadian context. CDA is also a qualitative method that is susceptible to subjectivity (Davis and Mosdell 98). Content analysis can also be considered a subjective method of inquiry (Krippendorff 24).

**Research Design:**

In this subsection I will lay out the research design for the first two parts of the case study.

**Part 1: Framing the Niqab: The Globe and Mail Archives from 1977 to 10 March 2015**

The purpose of the first part of the case study is to examine the dominant discourses related to the niqab in Canadian media leading up to the day PM Harper stood up in parliament and declared that the niqab contradicts “Canadian values” and is “rooted in a culture that is anti-women.” This study uses both content and CDA tools to identify the themes, trends, and news narratives presented in the *Globe and Mail* in relation to the niqab from 1977 to 10 March 2015.

I examine news, feature, opinion pieces, and letters to the editor which include a Canadian connection. By Canadian connection I mean stories about an event, incident, or individuals in Canada that are related to the face veil. I’m also including opinion pieces and columns written by Canadians even if they were about the niqab bans in Europe for example or elsewhere. Accounting for the opinion and editorial sections are important in examining news discourses. According to van Dijk editorials “are probably the widest circulated opinion discourse of our society, whether or not all readers of the newspaper read them daily” (qtd. in Henry and Tator 75).
In order to examine the Canadian public discourses about the niqab this study is focusing only on examining the Canadian stories. Canadian stories quote Canadian sources which is not the case with international stories about the Niqab. However, this study recognizes the importance of accounting for the major international stories that were covered in the *Globe and Mail* about the niqab. This research reflects on the connections between international stories on the niqab and the Canadian media discourse on the face veil.

The analysis focuses on examining a national daily newspaper since the purpose of this study is to explore the emergence of the Canadian public discourse in relation to the niqab on a national level and not only in relation to Quebec. The *Globe and Mail* was also chosen because it has the widest circulation in Canada compared to the only other daily national newspaper, the *National Post* (*Daily Newspapers Circulation Report*). The print medium was selected for this case study because newspapers play an important role in shaping public discourses. van Dijk argues print news is “better recalled than TV news…which may enhance its persuasive influence and therefore its power” (*van Dijk Discourse & Power* 55). The *Globe and Mail* was also chosen for access reasons since the searchable electronic archives for this paper go back to 1977.

The content analysis is used to: 1) Identify when the stories about the niqab started appearing in the *Globe and Mail*. 2) Identify when there was an increase in the number of Canadian stories covered about the niqab. 3) Identify the topics and themes of the Canadian stories covered that are related to the niqab. 4) Identify the number of times Canadian citizens or residents who wore the niqab were quoted in the *Globe and Mail*,

24
and in what type of stories. 5) Identify when the word ‘niqab’ started to appear in the
Globe and Mail.

The date ranges: 1 November 1977 to 10 March 2015

The study starts from 1977 because ProQuest Historical newspapers database records of the Globe and Mail begins on 1 November 1977. The late 1970s also coincide with the unfolding of the Iranian revolution and the rise of a conservative form of political Islam thus, the late 1970s is an appropriate starting point for the purpose of this study (Momayezi). The study examination period ends on 10 March 2015 which is the day Harper made his comments on the niqab in parliament. The study ends on 10 March rather than 9 March since the newspaper published in print on 10 March featured the news from the day before. The analysis of about 38 years of Globe and Mail archives is divided over 5 chronological time periods:

1) From November 1977 to 31 December 1989  2) From 1 January 1990 to 10 September 2001, a day before the September 11 attacks 3) 11 September 2001 to 31 December 2006 4) From 1 January 2007 to 31 December 2012  5) From 1 January 2013 to 10 March 2015

The analysis is divided into five time frames to make it more manageable to examine the archives and account for the themes and topics in each time period. Due to the significance of the September 11 attacks, in relation to the media coverage of issues related to Muslims, the study period in the 90s ended in 2001 rather 2000, and the next time category begins from 11 September 2001.

The number of the stories progressively increased following the September 11 attacks thus the categories were divided into shorter time periods compared to the 80s and
90s. Categories 3 and 4 were divided over roughly a 5 year period to make the data analysis more manageable. The year 2007 also marks the rise of the public and political debate about the niqab in Quebec, consequently, the 4th category begins in 2007. The records of the historical database used to search for the *Globe and Mail* archives from 1977 end in 2012. Consequently, the last category begins from 2013 to account for the change of the search database used. Furthermore, it was more suitable to isolate the last period of coverage that preceded Harper’s niqab comments to account for the wider context of the media coverage in the months and weeks leading up to the PM’s remarks.

*The search parameters:*

I used ProQuest Historical newspapers database to search the news, feature, opinion pieces, and letters to the editor of the *Globe and Mail* from the period from 1 November 1977 to 31 December 2012. Then I repeated the same search on the Canadian Newsstand Major Dailies database from 1 January 2013 to 10 March 2015. The search terms included ‘veil and Muslim’, ‘veil and Moslem,’ ‘niqab and Canada,’ face veil, burqa, chador, and niqab. It’s important to note that the database search doesn’t differentiate between Canadian and international stories when adding Canada in conjunction with the search term. Meaning the database search results represent the number of both Canadian and international stories. Consequently, I went through the stories and identified the number of stories that had a Canadian connection to the face veil in each time period.

To sum up I took note of the topics and the number of stories published about the niqab in each time period. I used CDA to propose a theme or point to the dominant discourse for each time period. I looked for spikes in coverage or changes in themes. I
used content analysis to account for the number of Canadian women who wore a niqab who were quoted in news, feature and opinion stories. I identified which words were predominantly used to refer to the face veil in the *Globe and Mail* stories over the 38 year period.

**Part 2: Harper, the niqab, and #DressCodePM: analysis of the news sources and news discourses**

*Media analysis groups*: The aim of the media analysis is to examine the immediate coverage of two events: Harper’s comments in parliament on the niqab on 10 and 11 March 2015, and the circulation of #DressCodePM on 11 March 2015. The analysis includes examining all news, feature and opinion pieces that were published on 10 and 11 March 2015 in relation to the two events. The analysis is limited to two days of coverage to reflect the short nature of the news cycle. Moreover, limiting the time period to the days which Harper made his comments and the day the hashtag trended would lead to a more accurate examination of the sources used in the coverage of those two events. The stories published after these days were follows on the news events which I also acknowledge in the last part of this case study.

I divided the stories into two groups: the first group includes stories published on 10 and 11 March 2015 which do not mention #DressCodePM. The second group is for stories that mention #DressCodePM; they were all published on 11 March 2015. I am comparing the total types of sources quoted in the two categories of analysis. I also selected two examples to compare the difference in news sources quoted in stories which were published by the same media outlet in the two groups. The purpose of the study is to examine whether #DressCodePM impacted the news coverage of Harper’s niqab.
comments. Thus the groups are divided into two categories, one that includes the hashtag and one that excludes it. Dividing the stories into these two categories enabled me to account for how many stories were published about the hashtag compared to Harper’s comments. Also separating the stories based on which ones mentioned the hashtag facilitated comparing the news sources used in both groups. There are also two other reason for choosing to divide the stories by the hashtag mention and not by date. First due to the updates to online stories, it is difficult to determine which information was added to the story in the updates as some stories were published on 10 March and updated on 11 March. The analysis also includes opinion pieces which usually reflect the events of the day before thus, opinion pieces published on 11 March were mainly about Harper’s comments and not the hashtag. Consequently, dividing the stories based on the mention of the hashtag instead of the publication date leads to more accurate analysis.

In this part of the case study I use content analysis to identify the types of news sources quoted, and the number of direct quotes used for each source in the print and online media stories. I also use CDA to compare the discourses related to the niqab in the two groups of stories. I am examining the headlines as part of analyzing the media narratives of the pieces published on 10 and 11 March. It is important to examine the headlines since “headline information signals the reader how to ‘define’ the situation or event” (van Dijk Racism and the Press 51).

Search Parameters: In order to account for a wider range of media coverage I used multiple databases for the search: Proquest Canadian Newsstand Major Dailies, Factiva and Google. I am following the same search methodology used in “Only if she Shows her face,” a Canadian study that examines the coverage of the ban on niqab in
citizenship ceremonies in the three weeks after the Canadian government first imposed the ban in 2011 (Thomas). This search method includes a wider range of media outlets and accounts for both print and online stories. The search terms used included: niqab, ‘niqab and harper,’ ‘niqab ban,’ ‘citizenship ban,’ and #DressCodePM. The analysis includes news, feature, opinion and editorial stories.

The content and discourse analysis only focuses on the text components of the print and online stories as well as the tweet quotes that are included in the story in a visual form. Meaning the tweets featured in stories not only as text but in its original form as it appears on Twitter accompanied by the user name, user picture and attached pictures. Tweet quotes are part of the print story and are referenced in the story narrative. However, the analysis excludes accounting for pictures or videos posted in the story, which are not part of the print story narrative.

**Coding and counting sources:** The news sources quoted, as in direct quotes and not paraphrased, were coded to indicate the type of sources. The quotes from Twitter were also identified as such. The sources were counted according to the occupation, gender, and religious background. The coding categories are: Official (politicians and government officials), expert, Muslim organization representative, non-Muslim organization representative, ordinary Muslim women meaning with no affiliations, ordinary non-Muslim women, ordinary Muslim men, and ordinary non-Muslim men. The content analysis notes the quoted politicians’ government position (Prime Minister, government minister, MP…), party affiliation (Conservative, NDP, Liberal…), party position, and gender. The content analysis also accounts for the gender of all the sources. In this study coding is used as a method for counting sources based on the set criteria.
However, the sources names and roles are identified since examining who the media actors were in the stories is important to this study.

One coding challenge is identifying the religious affiliation of sources quoted from tweets. Some Twitter users self-identified as Muslims in their tweets. The pictures of some of the Twitter users were included as part of the tweet and some of the women wore a hijab. Other quoted Twitter users had Muslim Arabic names or user names but did not explicitly self-identify as Muslims. I recognize the limitation of inferring the religious background based on tweets and Twitter user information. I recognize that not all Canadian Muslims have Muslim and Arabic names nor all Muslim women wear the hijab or niqab, and having a Muslim Twitter name does not mean a source self-identifies as Muslim. However, the journalists making the decision to select these tweets may have relied on the same criteria of inferring the religious affiliation of the sources they chose to feature in the stories. While acknowledging the limitation of the method used to code Muslim sources, I based the count of Muslim sources on self-identification, Muslim names and wearing hijab or niqab.

I am counting ordinary Canadian Muslim women and ordinary Canadian women in two separate categories since I am accounting for Muslim women’s representation. This study has no intention of implying that Muslim women are not considered ordinary Canadian women. However, it was necessary to count the sources separately in order to assess whether ordinary Muslim women were used as a news source during the coverage of Harper’s comments. I also included the total count of ordinary sources regardless of the religious affiliation compared to the number of elite sources in the study.
In order to assess the changing relation between the gated and the gatekeepers at different points of the PM’s niqab comments story coverage, the last section of this case study examines the niqab coverage over an extended period. I carried out a content analysis on the stories published on the niqab from 12 to 14 March 2015. I also examined select stories published from 14 March to 13 April 2015.
Chapter 2

What Makes the News: Representation of Minorities & Media Activism

The first part of this chapter provides background on the emergence of four prominent media activism movements or trends. The second section aims to provide background on the coverage of Muslim women in Canadian media. The second part of the chapter also sheds the light on the disproportionate use of men compared to women as sources in Canadian media.

2.1 Hashtag Activism and Challenging What Makes the News

Part of the allure of participatory media is its potential to be used to amplify the voices of those who otherwise may have not been heard. Marginalized and minority groups have long complained about both under-representation and mis-representation in mainstream news media. Twitter and social media potentially offer marginalized groups or individuals a space for self-representation, and a place to challenge mainstream media coverage. In the current global ‘mediascape’ and ‘ideoscape’ (Appadurai), ideas about how people can use participatory media to challenge those who hold power spreads quickly from one corner of the world to another. In this section, I first present a brief overview of some of the prominent examples and trends in hashtag activism that preceded the circulation of #DressCodePM. I examine four trends that have been dubbed: Twitter revolutions, Black Twitter, Hashtag feminism and Muslim Twitter.¹ Those trends

¹ These 4 Twitter trends categories are not mutually exclusive since Muslim African Americans participated in Black Twitter and Muslim Twitter. There are also African Americans including Muslims who participated in Hashtag feminism.
or waves of hashtag activism received wide media attention and have been the subject of academic studies (Bennett; Williams; Jenkins "Twitter Revolutions?"; Hassan).

The goal of this section is to also demonstrate how social media has been used to challenge mainstream media’s gatekeeping role. Thus, I am closely examining two cases of hashtags that trended globally: #IfTheyGunnedMeDown and #MuslimLivesMatter. Media users spread those hashtags to object to the media gatekeepers’ actions which included selection, withholding, disregard and shaping of information.

2.1.1 Media activism trends: an overview

**The Twitter revolutions:**

The ‘Twitter revolutions’ was a term used to describe acts of hashtag activism that was associated with regime change and political plights, especially in Iran in 2009, in Tunisia in 2010, and in Egypt in 2011. Perhaps what has become known as Iran’s Green revolution and the Arab Spring revolutions were one of the most prominent early examples of the use of hashtag activism to break the strict control on the publication of information. Media activists in Iran shattered the regime’s “media blackout” by getting their message out on Twitter and social media (Keller). International news media picked up the videos and pictures of the 2009 protest and further circulated the unfolding events in Iran to audiences around the world (Keller; Jenkins "Twitter Revolutions?").

Authoritarian regimes have practiced the strictest form of media gatekeeping by controlling and censoring their local mainstream media as well as by restricting the flow of information outside their borders. Authoritarian regimes restrict foreign correspondence access. Furthermore, locals in authoritarian countries can face repercussions for speaking to foreign media ("The 10 Most Censored Countries").
Challenging the state’s control over the media has been one of the goals of the revolutions in Tunisia and Egypt whose motto was to change the regime and the system of power (Hassan).

In Egypt, the build up to the revolution involved the circulation of videos and images of police brutality on social media. Egyptians for the first time viewed the evidence of abuse inflicted by police. A public and media discourse about state police brutality started to erupt. The state gatekeepers tried to shut the conversation as they have done for years. However, in this instance they failed, “the conversation generated online could not be ignored by broadcasters who have previously been cautious about broaching topics like police corruption and abuse” (Hassan 31). During the revolution, the Egyptian state media first ignored reflecting the protests and then spread false information in order to control the narrative. The Egyptian public broadcaster downplayed the number of protesters gathered in Tahrir square and broadcasted images of “calm areas in Cairo.” Al-Ahram newspaper, that has the highest circulation in Egypt, published headlines describing how the public were giving police “chocolate and flowers” to celebrate police day. Egyptian media activists shot back by circulating images of the large numbers of Egyptians protesting and clashing with police on social media and on Twitter using #Egypt (Peterson).

The revolution in Egypt is long gone and the state has once again resumed its attempts to control the media narrative. However, media activists in Egypt continue to use participatory media to draw local and global attention to social and political causes (Hassan). In 2014, after Abdel Fattah El-Sisi announced he was running for president, Egyptians spread an anti-Sisi hashtag. The #ElectthePimp was amongst the highest
circulated hashtags globally at that time period. In an interview with Aljazeera, the creators of the hashtag explained that Egyptian media did not allow them to voice their opposition to Sisi’s campaign, "no mainstream channel would give us the floor. They are all run by the old regime's businessmen or government-run media” ("Egypt's Twitter Hashtags Declare Defiance").

Black Twitter:

The term Black Twitter is used to refer to the circulation of hashtags that promote civil rights and confront issues of racism in the US. The term also refers to the higher percentage of African American Twitter users in the US compared to “white” Americans (Krogstad). African Americans have used Twitter for engaging in civic discourses, activism and for challenging cultural stereotypes (Andre; Williams). Hashtags related to African American causes regularly make the top 10 trending topics in the US (Williams). Thus Black Twitter became “a social media powerhouse” (Barksdale).

Among the most prominent hashtags associated with Black Twitter is #BlackLivesMatter. The hashtag circulated following the acquittal of Trayvon Martin’s shooter in 2013. The hashtag #BlackLivesMatter widely circulated again following the death of several African Americans at the hands of police including Michael Brown in Ferguson and Eric Garner in New York. Black Lives Matter grew into an African American activist movement and members of the movement took part in protests in Ferguson and New York following the death of Brown and Garner in 2014 (Day).

Aaron Barksdale, an African American writer, credits #BlackLivesMatter with creating “a collective dialogue based on the diversity of black experiences.” He adds “a
boundless community of Twitter users make a meaningful impact on how issues of race and identity play out far beyond the platform itself” (Barksdale).

**Hashtag feminism:**

Hashtag feminism has been used to refer to hashtags that circulate to draw attention to gender inequality, violence against women, and to promote women’s rights. In the US women use almost all platforms of social media at higher rates compared to men. One example of hashtag feminism is #YesAllWomen that trended following a shooting rampage in California by a gunman who claimed he wanted to punish women (Valenti). The aim of the hashtag, which was tweeted more than one million times, was to draw attention to the prevalence of misogyny (Baylyis and Bender). Another example of a widely circulated hashtag is #SurvivorPrivilege. It spread in reaction to comments by a columnist who claimed that being a rape survivor has become a desired status for college girls in America (Bennett).

African American women have also taken part in spreading feminist hashtags in reaction to issues related to gender and racism. For example, #SmartBlackWomenofTwitter trended in response to the release of the list of the top 25 Smartest Women on Twitter. The list did not include any African American women ("Black Twitter Took the Internet"). Also, #SayHerName circulated to draw attention to the cases of African American women who died in police custody (Barksdale).

The use of hashtag feminism is not restricted to North America or the Western world. Egyptian women use Twitter to report the location of where they were sexually harassed as part of HarassMap, an initiative launched by an Egyptian women’s right group. Moreover, Egyptians launched at least three social media campaigns in reaction to
TV hosts’ inappropriate on-air comments in relation to issues of sexual harassment. For example, popular Egyptian TV host Tamer Amin showed a video of a university student wearing a hijab being sexually harassed on campus in 2014. He blamed her for being dressed like “a belly dancer.” Amin apologized on-air following the social media outcry. Egyptian women shared their stories of the first time they were sexually assaulted by using a hashtag which translates to “first sexual assault” following Amin’s comments (Frenkel).

**Muslim Twitter/Muslim hashtags:**

Muslims once again found themselves in the news spotlight with the rise of media coverage of the so called Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) beginning in 2014. Muslims took to Twitter to react to media discourses surrounding Muslims especially in relation to the ‘war on terror’ and the rise of Islamophobia in the West. American Muslim media activists launched the #TakeOnHate campaign to confront hate speech and hate crimes against Muslims in the US. Linda Sarsour, the co-creator of #TakeonHate, says one of the advantages of social media campaigns is “you don’t have to wait for national TV to call to get your message out”(Grossman). Muslims also circulated the witty #MuslimApologies to ridicule the media discourse that all Muslims are responsible and should apologize for the acts of groups like ISIS (Blumberg).

2.1.2 # IfTheyGunnedMeDown: Black Twitter challenging media representation

**The media context:** Michael Brown an 18-year-old unarmed African American was killed by a Caucasian police officer in Ferguson, Missouri on 9 August 2014. His death sparked a wave of protests in Ferguson. In the early media reports following Brown’s death mainstream media including NBC used one of Brown’s high school
graduation pictures (Fig. 1). However, the next morning NBC and other media outlets started using another picture of Brown wearing a sleeveless red sports shirt and making a hand gesture (Fig. 2). NBC used the photo on their TV news and on Twitter in conjunction with the updated information that Brown was involved in a “physical confrontation” with the police officer before being shot ("Teen Killed By Missouri Officer"). The sleeveless shirt picture was taken from Brown’s facebook page. The hand gesture had a vague connotation which some interpreted as a gang gesture and others as a peace gesture or simply as just someone kidding around ("#BBC trending"; Vega).

**The Hashtag:** The use of this picture prompted one twitter user, CJ Lawrence, to send a tweet questioning the media’s choice to use a picture that portrays Brown in a negative light together with a headline about an altercation ("#BBC trending"). Lawrence, a criminal defence lawyer in Missouri, tagged his tweet with #IFTheyGunnedMeDown on 10 August 2014, so a day after Brown’s shooting. Lawrence used two photos of himself (Fig.3): one that shows him making a speech at his university graduation, next to US President Bill Clinton, and another that shows him dressed as a rapper at a Halloween party. In his tweet he asked "which photo does the media use if the police shot me down?" ("#BBC trending") Within 24 hours the hashtag trended and more than 100,000 Twitter users sent messages using #IFTheyGunnedMEDown ("#BBC trending"). African American Twitter users picked up on Lawrence’s meme of using two pictures. One picture would show the sender in a favourable way and the other showing him/her in what can be mistaken as a less favourable look. Figures (4-8) demonstrate a few examples of tweets sent with #IfTheyGunnedMeDown.
Challenging the Gatekeepers: The hashtag took aim at NBC’s selection choice of a picture of the victim, which combined with information about an altercation, shaped and framed the shooting story in a different light. Lawrence started the hashtag because he was “frustrated” by the media’s “attempt to shift blame away from the police, and onto Brown” ("#BBC trending"). Some Twitter users who circulated the hashtags pointed in media interviews that using Brown’s sports shirt picture gave the impression that using violence against Brown could be justified based on his appearance (Vega). #IfTheyGunnedMeDown challenged the media discourse that portrays African Americans as menacing based on what they are wearing. As shown in the tweet in Fig. 9, the Twitter user questions whether the media would portray him as a “thug” for wearing a “bandana”. #IfTheyGunnedMeDown comes two years after a Fox News host suggested wearing a hoodie and dressing “as a gangsta” was the reason Trayvon Martin was shot by a neighbourhood watch volunteer (Roth).

Some of the Twitter users understood that mainstream media will take notice of their criticism of Brown’s portrayal if the hashtag trends (Vega). One Twitter user explained in an interview that he circulated the hashtag because he “knew it had potential to take off as a major social statement, from Black Twitter to American journalism outlets” ("#BBC trending"). #IfTheyGunnedMeDown, which trended globally, attracted wide media attention. African American Twitter users were able to talk back to the media organizations through spreading the hashtag. Following the circulation of #IfTheyGunnedMeDown, it was noticeable that NBC News started using another neutral picture of Brown (Fig. 10) (Vega). The ability of African American Twitter users to
'mass-self communicate' and spread their message about media misrepresentation gave them power to challenge the gatekeepers’ choices.

2.1.3 #MuslimLivesMatter#ChapelHillShooting: challenging withholding, and disregarding news

*The media context:* Three young American Muslim Students were shot in the head by a 46-year old gunman who lived in the same condo complex. The multiple murders took place in Chapel Hill, North Carolina on 10 February 2015 around 5 pm local time. The victims were two sisters, 19 and 21-year-old Razan and Yusor Abu-Salha, and Yusor’s newly wed husband 23-year-old Deah Barakat. The shootings made top news on Chapel Hill’s local media the night the crime took place. Fig. 11 shows a tweet sent by a local freelance reporter. Early local news reports said that police were turning away people at the scene who claimed they were family of the victims and friends. An amateur video on YouTube showed a distressed father of one of the victims begging police to tell him if his son was dead at about 8 pm local time ("Raw Video: Father"). The local late night TV news show on *WRAL*, one of *Fox News* affiliates, started their broadcast with the breaking news about the shooting and had video showing distressed family and friends sobbing at the crime scene ("Chapel Hill Shooting").

*The hashtags:* The breaking news of the triple murders spread quickly on Twitter with #ChapelHillShooting. However, the message of the tweets switched from spreading the news of the murders to criticizing US national news organizations for not considering the death of three Muslim Americans newsworthy of coverage. Twitter users tagged their tweets with #ChapelHillShooting and #MuslimLivesMatter. Within the next 24 hours #ChapelHillShooting trended locally and globally. It was used more than 900,000 times
in the US, UK, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia. #MuslimLiveMatters was used more than 100,000 times ("How North Carolina Murders"). Figures (12 – 16) show a few examples of the tweets that were sent. A wide mix of users including Muslims, African Americans, and civil right activists took part in circulating the hashtag to shame US media for ignoring the deaths of American minorities.

The widespread circulation of #ChapelHillShooting and #MuslimLivesMatter gained wide national and international media attention. US network media started airing the story roughly 15 hours after the shootings (Moukalled). Major national and international news organizations sent their crews to Chapel Hill to cover the triple murders (McKelvey). The family members of the victims were interviewed on network TV including CNN (Brumfield, Shoichet and Carroll). National US media and international media have continued to cover subsequent investigation updates and the suspect’s court appearances as well as the anniversary of the murders (Talbot; Abu-Salha and Barakat; "Chapel Hill shooting: Hicks could face").

Damien Cave a writer for the New York Times explained that #MuslimLivesMatter is inspired by #BlackLivesMatter. The two hashtags shared a “similar demand: for attention to deaths that might have been avoided; for respect, from the mainstream media, and justice, from law enforcement in the United States” (Cave). At least two media commentators questioned whether the US media would have paid much attention to the story if it was not for the hashtag spreading on Twitter (Mir; Moukalled). The Chapel Hill triple murder story got out of the gatekeepers’ control when media users decided to spread it on Twitter.
Hashtag activism and the news

To sum up, the examples featured in this section demonstrate how hashtag activism can have some impact on what news stories are told and how the stories are told in mainstream media. Twitter and mainstream news organizations feed into each other; what is on Twitter sometimes impacts what is on the news; and what is on the news impacts the discussion on Twitter. The hashtags reviewed in this section were motivated by issues related to politics, gender, racialization, and media representation. The #DressCodePM touches on similar themes. #DressCodePM can be considered a feminist hashtag, a Canadian political hashtag, and a Muslim hashtag. The #DressCodePM also follows a similar meme to #IfTheyGunedMedown. Twitter users in both hashtags included pictures of what they were wearing as part of the meme. Both hashtags resisted the attempts by voices of authority to pass judgment on the meaning of what minorities and women chose to wear. The Canadian Prime Minister perceived the act of women covering their face as a menace to Canadian society while US mainstream media implied that Brown’s sports shirt and hand gestures posed a danger to the police officer or the public.

2.2 Muslim Women Representation in Canadian Media

Prime Minister Harper spoke of Muslim women and on behalf of “Canadian women” during his comments in parliament on 10 March 2015. Thus, the purpose of the case study is to examine if the main actors implicated in the news story by Harper’s speech were given the space to respond to his comments in the media stories. The goal of this section is to provide the necessary background regarding the representation of Muslim women in Canadian media. This section examines whether Muslim women are
often spoken of rather than directly quoted as news sources in media stories. In this section I also examine how often Canadian women including Muslim women are used as news sources in Canadian media. But first, this section begins with an introduction to the demographics of Muslim women in Canada.

2.2.1 A brief overview of Muslim women population growth in Canada:

Canada’s first Census of 1871 is the earliest official record of Muslim women in Canada. There were two Muslim women and three Muslim girls counted in the census of 1871. The two women were Martha Simons, from British decent and Agnes Love, who was born in Scotland and had three daughters in Ontario (Hamdani "In the Footsteps"). Arab and Turk Muslim women started to arrive in Canada as early as 1912 (Zaman 16,17). In the first half of the 20th century, the growth of the Muslim population in Canada was stiffened by the immigration restrictions imposed on immigrants coming from Asia and areas under the Ottoman’s rule. There were an estimated 2000-3000 Muslims in Canada in 1951 (Abu-Laban "The Canadian Muslim Community" 76).

Canada opened its doors and began accepting immigrants based on a point system which favoured educated immigrants and professionals in the 1970s (Thobani 97). Consequently, the Muslim population grew to 98 000 in 1981; slightly less than half were women (Karim 263,64). The number of Muslims more than doubled by 1991 and Islam became the third largest religion in Canada following Christianity and Judaism. The number of Muslim women reached 115 000 in 1991 ("2001 Census:Analysis Series Relgions in Canada").

By the next census of 2001, the Muslim population grew by 128 percent reaching more than half a million. Thus, Islam became the second largest religion in Canada
following Christianity ("2001 Census: Analysis Series Relgions in Canada"). The number of Muslim women reached 276,000 (Hamdani "Canadian Muslim" 1). Muslims mainly lived in Quebec, Ontario, British Columbia and Alberta ("2001 Census: Analysis Series Relgions in Canada"). In 2011, the Muslim population in Canada reached more than one million; half of them women, about 513,000. The percentage of Muslim women born in Canada grew to 28.5 percent compared to 24.5 percent in 2001. Muslim women made up 3.1 percent of the women population in Canada in 2011. Islam remained the second largest religion in the country ("National Household Survey Profile"; Hamdani "Canadian Muslim" 1, 2).

2.2.2 Portrayal of Muslim women in Canadian media: a victim and a threat

Historically, since the formation of the settler colonial society in Canada settlers from British and French ancestry constructed themselves as the preferred and rightful citizens of the nation (Thobani 83; Abu-Laban An Olive Branch 82). Immigrants from other ethnicities and non-Christian religions were deemed as outsiders who did not belong to the ‘imagined’ (Anderson) homogenous Canadian nation (Thobani 76, 83, 84; Abu-Laban An Olive Branch 84). Several Canadian scholars, including Sunera Thobani, Sherene H. Razack, Yasmin Jiwani, and Jasmin Zine, have used Edward Said’s orientalism theory to argue that contemporary media portrayal of Muslim women as the different ‘other’ was rooted in Canada’s colonial history (Thobani; Razack; Jiwani "Doubling Discourses"; Zine; Said). Muslim women were constructed in contemporary Canadian media as “backward” and oppressed. The image of the Muslim woman was constructed as the direct opposite of the “liberated,” “educated,” “autonomous,” “progressive” Canadian woman (Bullock and Jafri 35; Zine 53).
Racialized stereotypes about Muslims were common in Western media coverage prior to the September 11 attacks. However, Muslims were put under intense media spotlight following the attacks (Eid 104). There was a “dramatic increase in the use of stereotypes and discriminatory rhetoric against Muslims and Islam in Western media” (Eid 105). Western media framed the stories about Islam and Muslims after the September 11 attacks under two main categories: “clash with the west” and “associated with terrorism/extremism/violence” (Eid 104). According to Mahmoud Eid, there was a surge in what Said described as orientalist discourses in the Western media portrayal of Islam. Muslims were portrayed as uncivilized, irrational, “barbaric” and “medieval” (Eid 101). Moreover, both Muslims and Islam “were framed as “incompatible” with the West and Western values” (Eid 105).

**Victim and a threat:** Several Canadian scholars analyzed the Canadian media discourses specifically related to Muslim women following the September 11 attacks. The two main themes that emerged were: first, Muslim women were portrayed as the victim “the imperilled” (Razack 5). Second, the “bad Muslim” women were portrayed as a threat to the Canadian nation’s values and security (Thobani 237).

Canadian media became “obsessed” with covering stories related to the veil (Thobani 218; Jiwani "Doubling Discourses" 1752). Female Muslim bodies became sites that triggered fear and alarm (Thobani 238). The veil, both the headscarf and the face veil, embodied both discourses of the “imperilled” and the threat (Thobani 218,37,38; Zine 51-55; Razack 5). Women who covered their hair and face were portrayed as victims of an anti-modern religion and male patriarchy (Jiwani *Discourses of Denial* 184). The full face veil in Canadian media became the symbol of “all Afghan women”
However, Muslim women in Canada who willingly chose to wear the hijab or the niqab were portrayed as defiant and a threat to Canadian norms; those women “imperil” the nation (Thobani 217,18,37,38; Razack). Thobani pointed out that Canadian media also gave considerable coverage to the “bad Muslim woman” who resorted to violence including the “‘black widows’ of Chechnya, the suicide bomber of Palestine…and the ‘Mrs. Anthrax’ of Iraq” (237). Muslim women were also portrayed as posing a security risk. Razack writes “people continue to imagine themselves besieged by men in beards and women in veils” (178).

Both narratives of victimhood and threat seemed to elicit the need for an intervention from the state in the media stories. The Muslim women who were considered victims needed to be rescued, liberated, and protected. Jiwani writes “the focus on the veil…thus allows for the enactment of the rescue motif. It legitimizes intervention in the name of liberation and progress” (Discourses of Denial 184). The “imperilled” women can be saved by Canada going to war in Afghanistan or by banning religious based tribunals in Canada (Razack 20, 21; Jiwani "Doubling Discourses" 1800). On the other hand, the bodies of defiant Muslim women needed to be regulated by the state to protect the Canadian values of modernity and affirm Canadian rules (Razack 166-71,77-79).

Quebec and the Veil (1994-2010): Golnaz Golnaraghi and Albert J. Mills analyzed the media stories related to restricting wearing hijabs and niqabs in Quebec to identify the periods “which have sparked the most turmoil,” from 1994 to 2010 (Golnaraghi and Mills 159). The study begins with examining the coverage of a story about a Quebec judge who ordered a Muslim woman to leave the court because she was wearing a hijab in 1994. Golnaraghi and Mills point that the discourse painting Muslim
women “as the ‘other’ emerged from symbolic icons of Quebec society,” who were quoted in media stories in the period between 1995-1995 (Golnaraghi and Mills 161).

The years between 2006 and 2008 marked the rise of the debate around reasonable accommodation in Quebec. The debate surrounding whether providing cultural and religious accommodations contradict with secularism and Quebec values became front and center during the Quebec provincial election campaign in 2007. Golnaraghi and Mills argue that in that time period there was a “shift in discourse” and the debate centered around fears that Muslim traditions would replace Quebec values:

The outpouring of accommodation stories in the media was accompanied by a dominant crisis and discourse of anxiety with Quebec - a population reacting to accommodation requests as though it felt wronged by what was perceived to be an attack on Quebec’s core values (Golnaraghi and Mills 162, 63).

In February 2007, the Quebec government created the Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences, what is often referred to in the media as the Bouchard-Taylor commission. The commission held many public hearings in Quebec and they were widely covered in Canadian media starting from the summer of 2007 (Golnaraghi and Mills 163). The public hearings “explored the impact of religious accommodation on Quebec's identity and values” ("Let's Move On, Says Quebec"). Golnaraghi and Mills concluded that dominant media themes in that period centered around “the connotation that Quebecers are colonized (By Muslims) and in danger of extinction.” Muslim women in particular became the symbol of “Muslims inability or unwillingness to assimilate to Quebec culture” (Golnaraghi and Mills 163). Muslim women were portrayed as a “powerful threat to Quebec’s identity” (Golnaraghi and Mills 164).
In 2010, the dominant media debate become more centered on the niqab specifically after the Quebec government introduced Bill 94 (Golnaraghi and Mills 165). The Bill proposed preventing women wearing the niqab from accessing or delivering public services in Quebec including healthcare services (Chung). Golnaraghi and Mills concluded that during the 1994-1995 and the 2006-2008 periods Muslim women and “advocacy organizations” were given space to voice their opinions in Canadian newspapers. However, in the 2010 period the Canadian media privileged Quebec government officials and secular Muslims who supported Bill 94. The media discourse in 2010 focused on the rescue motif of the imperilled niqabi Muslim women who were deemed “powerless”, “oppressed” and “helpless.” The notion of liberating Muslim women wearing the face veil from “oppression” was used to “justify government intervention” to ban the niqab (Golnaraghi and Mills 166).

Ban on niqab in Citizenship Ceremonies (2011): The Canadian government issued a ban on wearing niqabs while taking the citizenship oath in December 2011. Consequently, women who wear the niqab were required to lift their face veils in order to be sworn in as Canadian citizens. Jasmine Thomas examined the Canadian media coverage of the niqab ban in citizenship ceremonies in the three weeks following imposing the ban. Thomas’ findings reveal that 35 percent of the stories presented a somewhat balanced range of opinions but leaned more towards supporting the ban. The news stories typically started with government statements about the ban and then sources pro and against the niqab were cited (Thomas 192). The debate centered around two themes: whether the niqab is in opposition with the “values of Canadian society” and whether the ban is a way to promote gender equality (Thomas 194-96). Muslim women
whose views fall on both side of the debate were presented but in a way that “homogenized Muslim women rather than illustrating the diversity of their experiences and practices” (Thomas 198).

2.2.3 Who gets to speak? News sources in Canadian news:

Several studies have pointed to the routine favouring of men and especially Caucasian men in position of power as news sources (van Dijk *Discourse & Power*; Henry and Tator; Poindexter, Meraz and Schmitz; Perigoe and Eid). The 2015 Global Media Monitoring project report on Canada showed there was a gap between the number of women and men sources used in Canadian news media. Women were news subjects 27 percent of the time in print, radio and television and 30 percent of the time in digital online stories and news organization’s Twitter newsfeeds (*Global Media Monitoring Project 2015 Report* 7). The report examined the media coverage in Canada on 25 March 2015, so weeks after the period of examination of the study presented in this thesis.

The Canadian monitoring results for traditional media showed that men were “present six times more than women in stories about politics and government (88%).” Women were represented the most in social and legal stories at 40 percent. When it comes to occupation of women used as sources, women were “underrepresented” when cited in government occupations such as “politicians, ministers, spokespersons (20%).” When it comes to the coverage of major topics, women “were not visible at all in stories covering politics and government which mirrors their lack of representation in these areas”(*Who Makes the News: Canada* 9). Women made up 43 percent of reporters covering the stories on that day (*Who Makes the News: Canada* 4).
The findings of the monitoring of women representation in Canadian digital media including tweets sent by news organizations are similar to that of traditional media. Women were represented the lowest, 12 percent, in political and governmental stories, and science and health news. News stories were shared the most in Canada on Twitter at 78 percent compared to 35 percent on facebook (Who Makes the News: Canada 4, 9).

*Muslim women as news sources:* A few Canadian studies have counted the number of Muslim women used as news sources. The authors of *Mission Invisible* carried out an extensive content analysis of the Montreal based newspaper the Gazette in the three weeks following the September 11 attacks. Muslim women were barely quoted in the Gazette compared to Muslim men with a ratio of 1:12. The study indicates the Gazette mainly relied on elite government sources and “Muslim voices were much difficult to hear” (Perigoe and Eid).

Another study, “Only if she Shows her Face,” analyzed the Canadian media coverage after the Canadian government banned the niqab during taking the oath of citizenship in 2011. The study shows that the most cited news source was the Minister of Citizenship, Immigration and Multiculturalism Jason Kenny. The minister was quoted in 63 stories which made up 78.7 percent of the stories. The second most used source were two Muslim organizations with opposing views. The organizations were quoted in total in 38 stories which represented 47.5 percent of the stories. Muslim women were cited in 10 stories which is equivalent to 12.5 percent of the stories. Only 3 out of the 10 articles quoting Muslim women cited a woman wearing a niqab; it was the same woman quoted in all stories. The study concluded the media coverage “silenced women who wear the
niqab by ignoring their perspectives.” Media outlets mostly didn’t give women who wear the niqab “the opportunity to speak for themselves” (Thomas 198, 99).

The statistics on representation of Canadian women in general and Muslim women in specific show there is a grave gender imbalance and lack of diversity in news sources used in Canadian media. Henry and Tator’s study on the coverage of minorities in Canadian media found that Canadian media producers tend to support “White political, economic and cultural elites” (Henry and Tator 240). Their study demonstrated that Canadian print media “ignored, deflected or dismissed” the “voices” of minority groups including Muslim Canadians (Henry and Tator 232). The case study on the coverage of Harper’s comments on the niqab closely examines “who is speaking, how often, and how prominently…?” in order to analyze how much say Canadian women, and in particular Muslim women, had in the media stories (van Dijk *Racism and the Press* 151).
Figures (Chapter 2)

Figure 1: Photo of Michael Brown in graduation cap that was used by some U.S media outlets. Posted by BBC Trending “The two Faces of Michael Brown,” on August 11, 2014 on the BBC’s website.

Figure 2: Tweet sent by NBC News August 10, 2015
Figure 3: Tweet sent by CJ Lawrence (YoungGifted&Black) August 10, 2014
#IfTheyGunnedMeDown: (Fig. 4-8)

Figure 4: Tweet sent by (Dev) August 10, 2014

Figure 5: Tweet sent by (Rell from statefarm) August 10, 2014
Figure 6: Tweet sent by (Report of Progress), August 10, 2014

Figure 7: Tweet sent by (Anxious Abigail) August 10, 2014
Figure 8: Tweet sent by Benjamin, (Velvet R0pe PR) August 10, 2014

Figure 9: Tweet sent by (Maclom Shakur West) August 10, 2014
Figure 10: Tweet sent by NBC News, August 11, 2014
Figure 11: Tweet sent by freelance photojournalist Al Drago on February 10, 2014. The picture shows a police crew investigating the multiple shootings outside a condo in Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

#ChapelHillShooting#MuslimLivesMatter: (Fig. 12-16)

Figure 12: Tweet sent by (زینتب) on February 11, 2015
Figure 13: Tweet sent by (Ijeoma Oluo) on February 11, 2015

Mainstream media is not reporting it. Let’s ask about this. Let’s talk about it. Don’t let them sweep it under the rug.

#MuslimLivesMatter

1:57 AM - 11 Feb 2015

292 RETWEETS 159 FAVORITES

Figure 14: Tweet sent by (Damiyr Andre) on February 11, 2015

On @CNN even robot pets are more important than minority lives.

#ChapelHillShooting #MuslimLivesMatter

1:52 AM - 11 Feb 2015
The point is, if he looked like this
...it would be another story altogether

#ChapelHillShooting
#MuslimLivesMatter

Figure 15: Tweet sent by (Raja OmarFarooq Khan) on February 11, 2015
Figure 16: Tweet sent by (McBang) on February 11, 2015
Chapter 3

Covering the Niqab and #DressCodePM

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first is dedicated to examining the types of stories the Globe and Mail published in relation to the niqab in Canada over 38 years. The analysis of the newspaper’s coverage ends on the day Harper made his remarks on the niqab in the House of Commons. The second section focuses on analyzing the news sources used in print and online stories following the PM’s statement on the niqab on 10 and 11 March 2015. The third section applies network gatekeeping theory in order to assess if the gated gained more power after #DressCodePM trended.

3.1 Framing the Niqab: The Globe and Mail Archives 1977-2015

The goal of the first part of the case study is to explore how the niqab became, as the Canadian government claimed, a “top-of-mind” issue for Canadians by March 2015 (Leger 7). The purpose of the content analysis and CDA is to gather the history of appearance of the niqab in Canadian media by examining the archives of the Globe and Mail from 1977 to 10 March 2015. The aim of the archival survey is to identify the trends, types of news stories, and spikes in coverage during this 38-year time period leading up to Harper’s comments in parliament. The content analysis also accounts for the number of times women wearing the niqab in Canada were quoted in the paper. The media analysis only focuses on niqab related news, feature, editorial, and letters to the editor that have a Canadian connection. A content analysis of the types of sources quoted in select prominent stories related to the niqab is also carried out. The content analysis also keeps track of the words used to refer to the face veil in different time periods in
both Canadian and international stories. The media analysis is divided into five time periods and trends.

3.1.1 The face veil is over there: 1977-1979 and 1980-1989

The veil is over there, in Iran - 14 Nov. 1977 – 31 Dec. 1979: In this time period there were no stories published about the face veil that had a Canadian connection. The search ‘veil and Moslem’ yielded the most results (22 stories). They were all international stories. Most of the international stories were related to Iran and the Islamic revolution. There was one story out of Egypt and another about Yemen. The word chador was used in 20 stories mostly about Iran. The words niqab and burqa did not come up in any stories (Table 1).

The Globe and Mail did not use the words veil or the Persian word chador consistently. In some stories chador and veil meant covering the hair only and in others it meant face veil. For example, in the article “Iran’s War with the Chador” published in 1979 the writer described the chador: “a hooded cape-like garment that covers everything except the face” ("Iran's War with the Chador"). In another story published in 1979, the writer used chador to indicate the partial covering of the face. The writer described how some girls in Egypt were dressed: “they add to this outfit gloves and chador or veil with tiny slits for their eyes” (Lurie).

The veil is over there, and everywhere – 1 Jan. 1980 - 31 Dec. 1989: There were hardly any stories with explicit references to the face veil in connection to Canada in this time period (Table 2). However, the dominant discourse this decade was the veil is everywhere over there in the east and not in Canada or the West. There were stories that mentioned the veils with datelines in at least 14 countries including Pakistan,
Afghanistan, Egypt, Bangladesh, Nigeria, Algeria, and Sudan. The wide geographical locations signified the spread of the veil mainly in the Muslim world so the veil was no longer confined to Iran like the 1970s.\(^2\)

Again during this period the stories used the word veil without making the distinction if the veil meant covering the hair or face. The veil was mentioned once in two stories that took place in Canada but it seemed veil meant hijab in these cases. Also the veil was mentioned once briefly in two opinion pieces written by Canadians which were related to Iran. Chador was used in 21 stories mostly in reference to Iran. The words niqab, burqa, and face veil were not used in the 1980s (Table 3).

3.1.2 The face veil is here: 1 Jan. 1990 - 10 Sept. 2001

*Main highlights:* The main theme of the stories published about the niqab in the 1990s was that women who partially cover their faces can be seen in Canada. The face veil became the subject of the Canadian gaze. For the first time the paper published stories about women wearing the niqab in Canada (Table 4). The *Globe and Mail* published one ‘news’ story about a Toronto woman who a bus driver demanded to see her face. The story marked the first time the newspaper quoted a woman wearing a niqab in Canada since 1977. In total there were 10 opinion, news stories, and letters to the editor published. Six columns and opinion pieces were published about the niqab; 4 of them concerning women wearing the niqab in Canada (Table 5). The majority of the writers of the opinion pieces found the sight of the covered women in Canada alarming

\(^2\) There were complex social and political changes that took place in the 1970s and 1980s in the Muslim world which led to the rise of wearing the niqab amongst some Muslim women. However, these social and political factors were not reflected in depth in the *Globe and Mail* coverage and thus did not impact the Canadian media discourse surrounding the niqab. This thesis only focuses on the niqab narrative as told on the Globe and Mail pages. Thus this study does not delve into the complexity of the circumstances that led to rise of wearing niqabs in the Middle East since it was not part of the niqab discourse in Canada.
and unsettling. These opinion pieces represent the beginning of the rise of an orientalist discourse in the paper’s coverage which painted the niqab wearing women as backwards and in need of liberation (Said). In this period, letters to the editor about the niqab began to appear in the paper which could be a sign of readers’ engagement in the issue. Three letters to the editor were published in response to the bus story and in response to one of the controversial columns published about the niqab.

In this period, the total number of Canadian and international stories published about the face veil more than doubled. The search results for ‘veil and Muslim’ went up from 48 in the 1980s period to 109 in the 1990s. In the period from 1990 to 2001, the face veil started to become more clearly defined as opposed to just veil in previous periods. The word burqa started to appear in the stories for the first time. Overall in Canadian and international stories, the chador was mentioned in 55 stories, burqa in 12, face veil in 5, and niqab was still not used in any of the stories (Table 6).

**First Canadian niqab ‘news’ story:** For the first time since the late 1970s a Muslim woman who wore a niqab was interviewed in a story in the *Globe and Mail*. The news story “Veil of tears: Muslim Woman Back on the Bus” was published in 1999. Zeinab Alamagan a 21-year-old university student in Toronto was kicked off a public transit bus because she refused to uncover her face to the driver. The driver requested she unveil her face to confirm that she was the holder of the bus pass (Valpy). This was the first ‘news’ story to be published in the *Globe and Mail* about the niqab in Canada. It was also the first published story about a Canadian organization that asked a Muslim woman to lift her niqab as a condition for accessing the service provided.
The story was structured in a way that the reporter is recounting the story of what happened to Alamagan based on her account. However, there were no direct quotes from Alamagan until the very end of the story. The Toronto Transit Commission (TTC) spokeswoman was quoted twice and then there was a quote from a spokesman with the Muslim Association. The story ends with three quotes of Alamagan (Valpy). Keeping Alamagan direct quotes until the very end of the story was an odd choice since she is the main actor of the story. However, in the first part of the story the reporter reiterated Alamagan’s prospective but using his words instead of her direct quotes.

First opinion pieces on niqabi women in Canada: The overt language used to criticize women who wore the niqab in Canada is what stood out the most in the stories published in the 1990s. Three opinion pieces published in the years 1993, 1995, and May 2001 contained orientalist portrayals of the ‘primitive’ women who wore the niqab in Canadian cities. The common narrative in the pieces was the shock expressed by the writers when they saw a woman in a niqab in a Canadian city. The writers described their negative feelings following encountering ‘the other’. The writers stated the niqab wearing women didn’t fit in modern Canadian society (Meckes; Lemon; Mallick).

The first opinion piece published in 1993 was published under the headline “Wearing a Uniform of Oppression.” The illustration that accompanied the opinion piece featured a bird locked in a cage inside a headscarf. The writer described how she saw one woman at the grocery store wearing a niqab and then a few days later she spotted another walking by in the street. Catherine Meckes wrote:

I found the sight of these women with their hidden faces disturbing. It’s one thing to see covered faces as the exotic and mysterious product of another culture…, but finding them on my home turf, I have to confront my fears about what this
kind of dress represents for me, and for all the women: backwardness, submissiveness, degradation (Meckes).

In 1995, a college teacher Michele Lemon wrote an opinion piece that was marred with orientalist references. In “Understanding Does Not Always Lead to Tolerance,” Lemon described witnessing a “shocking spectacle.” Lemon saw a woman wearing a niqab while Lemon was waiting for a bus. “I feel I’ve been punched in the stomach,” writes Lemon after seeing the women in niqab as she is a symbol of “oppression”. The illustration accompanying the piece ran with the sub-headline “unlock the straightjackets;” it featured a hand attempting to unlock the face veil with a key in the shape of the feminism sign (Lemon).

Lemon’s controversial column prompted two critical letters to the editors and one opinion piece. The opinion piece “My Hijab is an Act of Worship- and none of Your Business,” was the first opinion piece written by a Muslim woman about the niqab in the Globe and Mail. Rahat Kurd criticized Lemon for not attempting to speak to the woman wearing the niqab. She wrote, “think what would have happened if our distraught MA (Lemon) would have actually talked to the pre-medieval specter” (Kurd).

The last opinion piece published in this period was by regular Globe and Mail columnist Heather Mallick in May 2001. The writer, who often describes herself as a feminist, mocked a niqab wearing woman she encountered on the street. Mallick wrote, “the burqa on a woman is like blinkers on a horse; the field of vision is about 12 degrees” (Mallick).

The three anti-niqab opinion pieces featured in this period demonstrate an orientalist discourse that several Canadian postcolonial feminists have highlighted in their criticism of Canadian media portrayals of the niqab (Bullock and Jafri; Thobani; Razack;
Zine; Jiwani *Discourses of Denial*). The niqabi women in these opinion pieces were exotic and strange objects to be looked at. The gazer expressed the urge to unmask these women. The ‘uncivilized’ niqabi women were presented as the mirror image to the modern Canadian writers of the pieces. The niqabi women were referred to as “backward”, “submissive”, “oppressed”, “primitive,” “slave,” and animal-like “a horse” (Meckes; Lemon; Mallick). The stories reflected a binary between what’s acceptable to ‘us’ in the West versus ‘them’ in the East. The “Canadian city”, the writer’s “home turf”, is a modern society where the sight of the niqab is strange and unwelcome. Conversely, the niqab was considered a normal sighting in “another culture,” the “Middle East,” and “mysterious” backward societies (Lemon; Mallick; Meckes).

Both the motifs of victimhood and aggressor were present in the opinion pieces. The niqabi woman was an aggressor; her sight was a “punch in the stomach.” The sight of the niqab caused the writers to be “shocked” and “disgusted.” The niqabi women were intruders who dared to “promenade” and “parade around” Canadian cities. The niqabi was also “trapped” and a victim of misogyny. The two motifs elicit the need for action in the pieces. The victims should be saved and the aggressors “should not be allowed to do so” (Mallick; Lemon; Meckes).

The counter opinion piece written by the Muslim women in response to Lemon drew attention to the orientalist gaze of the writer. The writers in all three stories described watching the niqabi women sometimes on more than one occasion. But none of the writers attempted to talk to the niqabi women thus their voices were silenced. The niqabi women in the editorial pieces were spoken about but did not speak for themselves. However, in the news story the woman wearing the niqab was interviewed.
This time period, 1990-2001, coincided with a significant increase of the Muslim population in Canada. The Muslim population doubled in Canada in 1991 and the number of Muslims surpassed the half million mark by 2001. Thus Muslim presence was more noticeable in Canada which may have also been a factor for the rise of the discourse surrounding the increased ‘encounters’ with the niqabi women on Canadian streets ("2001 Census: Analysis Series Religions in Canada").

3.1.3 The face veil and home grown terror: 11 Sept. 2001-31 Dec. 2006

All the ‘news’ stories that mentioned the niqab in Canada post 9/11 attacks were connected to terrorism charges (Table 7). In this five year period, 30 news, feature, opinion stories, and letters to the editor were published in connection to the niqab in Canada compared to 10 in the previous decade.

The niqab and terror suspects in the news: Three ‘news’ stories published on the “Toronto 18” terror suspects mentioned the suspects’ wives who wore the niqab; two of the news stories were published on the front page. Two out of the three news stories featured the suspects’ wives pictures showing them wearing a niqab. The 18 Ontario men were accused of planning attacks on multiple targets in Canada including the parliament. The article, “The Terror Raids: Hateful Chatter Behind the Veil,” published in June 2006 was mainly centered on Nada Farooq the wife of one of the suspects. The article featured how Farooq posted extremist views on websites (El Akkad and McArthur). A fourth story, a blend of news and opinion, was also published about the niqab in relation to extremism. It was a story about Zaynab Khader and her mother Maha Elsamnnah appearing in court while wearing a niqab. Ahmad Khader, Maha’s husband and Zaynabs father, had ties to Osama Bin laden and Al-Qaeda and died in a gun fight near
Afghanistan’s border. The Khader family members were in court to ask for the return of their laptops that were seized upon their arrival from Pakistan (Blatchford).

Columns and Opinions: The topic of the niqab continued to be debated in the opinion pages of the *Globe and Mail* at record numbers compared to earlier years. Twelve opinion pieces and 13 letters to the editor were published about the niqab. The surge in opinion pieces about the niqab seemed to be inspired by the heightened debate about the niqab ban in France, Denmark and the United Kingdom especially in 2006. Two of those opinion pieces were penned by a Muslim writer Sheema Khan. Khan supported a woman’s right to choose to wear the niqab. Khan was involved with a Muslim organization and began occasionally to contribute to the *Globe and Mail* in that time period.

Margret Wente, a regular Canadian-based columnist at the *Globe and Mail*, wrote 6 columns about the niqab which was half of the total columns published. Wente interviewed a UK-based book author who wears a niqab in her column “A Convert’s Veiled Story,” published in the *Globe and Mail* in 2006. The British author wrote a book about her experience converting to Islam and wearing a niqab. However, none of Wente’s columns featured interviews with women wearing the niqab in Canada. In another column “Let’s Raise the Veil on Veils,” also published in 2006, Wente sounded the alarm bells; she drew attention to the “growing” number of niqabis in Canada. She posed the question whether in politically correct Canada it was wrong to ask “who should adapt? The veiled ones- or me?” (Wente "Let's Raise the Veil") Wente ended her column by declaring that the niqab is associated with beliefs that are “fundamentally incompatible with liberal democracies.” She called on women to “take off” their face veils ("Let's
Raise the Veil”). Wente’s opinion pieces echoed the same orientalist themes featured in the previous period. However, her columns also signified the beginning of the rise of the media discourse surrounding multiculturalism and accommodation policies and whether Canadians should accept the ‘others’ or make the ‘others’ assimilate.

**Niqab appearance:** The word niqab was used for the first time in this period. It appeared in 34 Canadian and international stories. However, Burqa became the most common term used to refer to face veil; it was used in one hundred stories (Table 8). The increase of the use of the word burqa may have been related to the coverage of the war in Afghanistan in that time period. Canadian Muslim women who wear the niqab were not quoted during this period in the *Globe and Mail*. The search term “veil and Muslim” resulted in 129 international and Canadian stories in this five year period compared to 109 in the previous period of 11 years, so the number of stories more than doubled.

### 3.1.4 The niqab vs. the law/state: 1 Jan. 2007-31 Dec. 2012

This period marks the significant spike in the number of stories published about the niqab in Canada. A total of 62 Canadian news, features and opinion stories were published in those five years. The debate in Quebec about reasonable accommodation which started in 2007 ignited the discussion about the niqab in the *Globe and Mail*. The majority of the news and opinion pieces published were about the conflict between the niqab and the law or the state in Canada. The dominant discourse which centered around the niqab clashing with the state or the law was present in 37 news stories, 2 features, and 21 opinion pieces (Table 9). The highest number of stories published about the niqab was in the year 2010 followed by the year 2007. The most covered ‘news’ story was the case of a sexual assault victim who wanted to be allowed to testify in court against the two
accused men while wearing a niqab. Fifteen news stories and 4 opinion pieces were published in 2009 and 2010 about this court case that ended in the Supreme Court.

One niqabi woman was interviewed and quoted in a ‘news’ story that represented the conflict with regulation theme in this period. It was a story about a Muslim immigrant who was asked to leave a French class in Quebec. Zaynab Khader was also quoted briefly in a feature story about her marriage to a convert who took interest in researching counter terrorism measures in Canada. Her only quote in the story was "it was nice," in reference to meeting her mother-in-law (Freeze). The niqab was mentioned in five stories related to terror suspects or Canadians with extremist views (Table 10).

For the first time the word niqab was the most common term used to describe the face veil in the Globe and Mail. It was used in 154 Canadian and international stories within the five years between 2007 and 2012 (Table 11).

**Quebec and the Harper government:** Chronologically, the increased publication of stories related to the niqab in Canada began with the debate in Quebec about reasonable accommodation and the Bouchard-Taylor commission in 2007. Another story that received front page coverage in 2007 was about voting while wearing a niqab in both Quebec provincial elections and in Canadian federal elections. In March 2007, Quebec required women to unveil their faces in order to vote in provincial elections. In September 2007, Canada’s chief electoral officer reversed a law parliament had passed in spring 2007 that required women to show their face in order to vote in federal elections. The chief electoral officer ruled that women can vote with their niqabs even if they refused to show additional identification. The Canadian Prime Minister and other Conservative MPs were dismayed by the decision and were quoted on the front page of
the paper (Galloway and Gray). Four news stories and two columns were published on permitting women to vote in federal elections while wearing a niqab in 2007. The content analysis shows that politicians and government officials were quoted the most in the four ‘news’ stories and more prominently. One Muslim woman with an organization that supported banning the niqab while voting was quoted in one story. The head of the Canadian Islamic Congress, a Muslim man who opposed the ban while voting, was quoted in two news stories. Regular columnist Lysaine Gagnon sided with the chief electoral officer to allow voting with niqabs in one of her two opinion pieces about the this topic.

In 2010, multiple stories were published about Quebec’s Bill 94. The proposed legislation would withhold government services from women who wore a niqab. The most covered single topic story about the niqab in Quebec was about Naema Ahmed. Five news stories and 4 opinion pieces were published about Ahmed’s case. Ahmed is an Egyptian immigrant who was kicked out of a government funded French class because she refused to take off her niqab. The paper interviewed Ahmed in one story, “Woman Shocked by Portrayal as Hard-line Islamist,” which was published on the 5th page of the newspaper. Ahmed was the only one quoted in the story; she had a total of 7 quotes (El Akkad).

_Niqab ban in citizenship ceremonies:_ In December 2011, a total of 5 stories (2 news, 2 columns, and 1 opinion submission) were published following the federal government ban on niqabs during citizenship ceremonies. The two news stories mostly quoted then Immigration Minister Jason Kenny. There was one quote by a professor of Islamic studies who is a Muslim. He was quoted about whether niqab is a religious
requirement in Islam (Mackrael and Perreaux). None of the stories quoted Muslim or niqabi women. The two columns published were by regular columnists and both were non-Muslim women. The columnists discussed their dislike of the niqab but didn’t necessarily agree with Harper’s ban (Wente "Is Stephen Harper"; Timson). The opinion submission was by a Muslim woman; a book author who supports the niqab ban and views the niqab as a sign of spread of conservative political Islam (Sheik).

3.1.5 Regulating the niqab: 1 Jan. 2013-10 March 2015

The discourse of the niqab clashing with the state and the law continued in the stories published from 2013 to 2015. A total of 33 news, opinion pieces and letters to the editor were published about the niqab in Canada in this two year period. The most covered news and opinion stories were connected to both the Quebec and the federal governments’ persistent efforts to regulate wearing the niqab. Three opinion pieces were also published on the legal challenge to testify with a niqab in a sexual assault case (Table 12). Also, one news story was about a Canadian couple who were suspected of joining ISIS. The word niqab remained the most used word to refer to face veil (Table 13).

Women wearing the niqab were not quoted in any Canadian stories. However, Ayesha Chaudhry, a Canadian assistant professor, wrote an opinion piece in which she briefly mentioned she previously wore the niqab for 10 years. The opinion piece “Don't Politicize Women's Bodies” was posted under the letters to the editor section. Chaudhry, who specializes in Islamic and Gender studies, explained the colonial roots of regulating Muslim bodies and the history of unveiling women in her piece. Chaudhry focused on
European countries’ ban on the niqab and only mentioned the proposed Quebec Bill at the end of her piece.

Next, I first analyze the stories related to the niqab in Quebec and include a content analysis of the sources quoted in the Quebec news stories. I then closely examine the stories surrounding the ban on niqab in citizenship ceremony in the weeks and days leading up to Harper comments in parliament on 10 March 2015.

**Quebec 2013-2014**: The most covered niqab story from 2013 to 2014 was in relation to Bill 60, the newly proposed legislation in Quebec. The Bill would ban women wearing niqab from receiving or delivering public services. This Bill is usually referred to as the charter of values. Bill 60 was introduced by the Party Quebecois after a previous similar Bill was defeated. In total, 6 news stories (Table 14), and 6 opinion pieces, columns and editorials (Table 15) specifically connected to the niqab were published about Bill 60. Only one of the columns was penned by a Muslim woman.

**Sources in Quebec News Stories**: The elite voices of government officials were privileged in the news stories based on the content analysis (Table 14). Overall, the majority of sources quoted were politicians who were mostly men. In total, 11 out of the 14 sources were politicians; 11 out of 14 news sources were men. Quebec Premier Pauline Marois and MNA Fatima Houda-Pepin were the two women elite sources quoted. One of the stories was centered on the only Muslim MNA Houda-Pepin; she supported the ban on niqabs. Only one out of the 6 stories quoted a Muslim woman who was not government affiliated. The news story “PQ takes a hard line on a Tougher Secular Charter” quoted one Muslim woman, and one Muslim man who were associated with two separate Muslim organizations and both opposed the Bill (Table 14). The same story
quoted a distinguished Jewish doctor who was also against the proposed Bill. Women who wear the niqab were not quoted in any of the stories.

*The legal battle over the niqab ban in citizenship ceremony 2014/2015:*

In 2012, Zunera Ishaq an immigrant who wears the niqab launched a legal challenge to lift the government’s ban on face veils during citizenship ceremonies. In February 2015, a judge struck down the ban but the Conservative government swiftly announced it’s appealing the decision on 12 February ("Niqab-Citizenship Ceremony Ruling").

Almost all the stories related to the citizenship ban on the niqab in the *Globe and Mail* were published on the editorial and opinion pages. The paper published 3 editorials representing the *Globe and Mail* stance on the niqab ban in citizenship ceremonies, 2 columns and 7 letters to the editors (Table 16 & 17). The opinion pieces tied the niqab ban at citizenship ceremonies with at least three other stories related to the niqab and hijab in Canada that were all out of Quebec. The first story was about the charter of rights debates. The second story mentioned in the opinion pieces was about the circulation of pictures of two niqabi daycare workers in Quebec. The last story, which took place at the end of February, was the case of a Quebec judge who refused to hear the case of a woman because she wore a hijab. All of the opinion pieces and letters to the editor, with the exception of one editorial, were published between 13 February and 3 March 2015. Accordingly, there was an increase in the opinion pieces and letters to the editors published in the paper leading up to Harper’s comments on 10 March 2015. Five out of 7 letters to the editor opposed Harper’s position on banning the niqab in citizenship ceremonies.
At first, the newspaper was critical of the Muslim immigrant who’s challenging the ban in “The Right not to be Accommodating,” the first editorial published in the fall of 2014. This editorial referred to Ishaq as the plaintiff and did not mention her name. However, the newspaper’s position seemed to shift in the two editorials published on 13 February and 3 March 2015. In the 13 February editorial “Religious Freedom is Citizenship,” the *Globe and Mail* mentioned Ishaq’s name right at the beginning. The paper was supportive of Ishaq’s religious right and critical of Harper. The last editorial, “Judge Loses Mind over Head Covering,” was published 3 March 2015 that is one week before Harper’s niqab comments. The newspaper blamed the actions of the Quebec judge who refused to hear the case of a woman wearing a hijab to the rise of anti-niqab rhetoric as a result of the actions of Harper and Quebec politicians.

In the 10 March morning paper, the day Harper made his remarks about the niqab, one news story was published about a speech then Liberal party leader Justin Trudeau gave at McGill University. The news story “Trudeau Slams Tories for Terror Rhetoric,” mentioned the niqab ban in citizenship ceremonies. However, the news story mainly focused on the anti-terror Bill and the case of a Quebec Judge who asked a Muslim woman wearing a hijab to leave court.

*Whose voices were missing?* Zunera Ishaq, the woman at the center of the story, was mostly side lined in the coverage. Ishaq was interviewed in another newspaper, the National Post. However, there were no quotes of Ishaq or her lawyers in the *Globe and Mail*. It may have been Ishaq’s choice not to speak to the *Globe and Mail*. The content analysis of the stories related to the ban of the niqab during citizenship ceremonies showed there was no news coverage of the federal’s judge’s decision to reverse the niqab
ban or the federal government’s announcement of planning to appeal. Ishaq’s lawyers were present when the judge overturned the ban and spoke to other media. Since there were no news stories the writers of the opinion pieces spoke about the topic and the voices of Ishaq, her lawyers and other women wearing niqab were disregarded.

- **To sum up: niqab coverage from 1977 to 10 March 2015:**

In 38 years, a total of 136 news, feature, opinion stories, and letters to the editor that had a Canadian connection to the niqab were published in the *Globe and Mail*. Only two women who wore the niqab in Canada were interviewed in ‘news’ stories and one briefly quoted in a feature story. A university professor who used to wear the niqab wrote an opinion piece on the colonial roots of banning niqabs. According to the content and discourse analysis carried out, the “who’s speaking, how often and how prominently” on the niqab in Canada were predominantly white male politicians. Columnist and opinion writers who were mostly non-Muslim women and men also spoke often of the niqab. The voices of women who wear the niqab and Muslim women in general were mostly disregarded.

3.2 Harper, the Niqab, and #DressCodePM: Analyzing News Sources

The purpose of this second and central part of the study is to examine the types of the news sources quoted in media stories following Harper’s comments on the niqab as well as to examine the sources used in stories about #DressCodePM. The print and online media stories published on 10 and 11 March 2015 are divided into two groups: the first group includes stories about Harper’s niqab comments published on 10 and 11 March. The second group includes all the stories that mention #DressCodePM; they were all published on 11 March 2015. Thus the two groups of stories are divided according to
stories that mention the hashtag versus stories that do not it. A content and critical
discourse analysis was carried out on each group of stories which includes both news and
opinion/analysis pieces. Then a comparative content analysis was conducted to showcase
the difference in types of news sources used in the two groups. However, I first closely
examine Harper’s statements to propose who are the main actors implicated in the news
story by Harper’s comments on 10 and 11 March 2015. Then I present the timeline of
circulation of #DressCodePM before going into the content analysis results.

Possible actors in the news story? Journalists select their news sources based on
who is involved in the story and who the story impacts. Journalists also often seek
reaction from news sources to comment on politicians actions. The content analysis in
this case study shows who the journalists decided to use as news sources and quote in the
stories. But first I propose who are the actors involved in the news event or the story.

Harper’s remarks on the niqab came in response to a question posed by Trudeau,
the Liberal party leader, in parliament on 10 March 2015. Trudeau was inquiring about
the Conservative government’s attempt to re-instate a ban on niqabs while taking the
citizenship oath even after a judge ruled against the ban. Consequently, Harper and
Trudeau are two of the actors in the news event or story. The exchange was about the
legal challenge against the ban which Ishaq mounted. Accordingly, Ishaq is an actor in
the story as well as her lawyers. Harper said the niqab “is rooted in a culture that is anti-
women.” Harper implicated niqabi women, Muslim women and Muslims in general in his
statement. Consequently, Muslims, especially Muslim women, should react to the Prime
Minister’s statement which implied that the niqab comes from cultures that are “anti-
women” or as Trudeau interpreted it that “Islam is anti-women” (Payton).
Harper spoke on behalf of “Canadians” in his statement. Harper said “almost all Canadians oppose the wearing of face covering during citizenship ceremonies” And then the PM followed by questioning “why would Canadians, contrary to our own values, embrace a practice at that time that is not transparent.” Consequently, this part of the statement would warrant a reaction from “Canadians.” Did most of Canadians oppose the niqab? And do they view the niqab as “contrary” to Canadian “values”? Do Canadians want Harper to pursue the ban as he claims? Harper ended with “Mr. Speaker that is unacceptable to Canadians, unacceptable to Canadian women.” It is not clear if what is not acceptable to Canadians is the niqab or the “anti-women” culture. Either way Harper spoke on behalf of “Canadian women” which also warrants a reaction from Canadian women. Do they think the niqab is “unacceptable”? Does Harper speak on Canadian women’s behalf? The story also takes place in parliament and the two main speakers were politicians. However, the politicians were speaking on behalf of the ordinary people who elected them. The politicians were arguing about the government spending tax payers’ money to appeal the judge’s ruling on the niqab. Consequently, the public or in other words ordinary sources are involved in this story.

The next morning there was a new follow for the story. Trudeau asked Harper about his “anti-women” statement in question period at the House of Commons on 11 March 2015. Trudeau asked: “The Prime Minister made more alarming statements yesterday on the rights and freedoms of Canadians. Can he please explain to Canada’s half a million Muslim women why he said their chosen faith is anti-women?” (Payton) Harper responded that he did not say such thing. Harper added “these are not the views only of the overwhelming majority of Canadians, they are the views of the overwhelming
majority of Muslims, moderate Muslims” (Payton). The exchange further implicated Muslim women and Harper spoke on behalf of “moderate Muslims.” Harper in his response claimed that moderate Muslims agreed with him on the ban. Harper implied that Muslims who disagreed with him are extreme or bad Muslims. Consequently, Muslims and especially Muslim women would need to respond to this exchange.

#DressCodePM: Tabatha Southey, a Globe and Mail columnist who often describes herself as a feminist, sent the first two tweets with #DressCodePM between 9:30 and 9:45 am ET on 11 March 2015. Southey launched the hashtag meme by asking women to send tweets to the PM to ask him to approve the women’s dress choices because of his niqab remarks. Southey’s first tweet: “just about to get dressed, was thinking white blouse, green celine skirt, white tights, is that ok, @pmharper? #dresscodePM.” And then her second tweet: “as long as the niqab remains an issue for him it behooves all women of Canada to check w/@pmharper each morn as they dress #dresscodePM.”

The hashtag rapidly circulated and it first trended in Canada at 13:40 ET on 11 March 2015 according to itrended analytics. #DressCodePM reached second position in the top trending hashtags in Canada overall and in Calgary, Edmonton, Ottawa, Toronto, Quebec and Vancouver. The hashtag continued to trend for two days until 13 March 2015. According to one Twitter analytics provider, Tobsy, 17 thousand tweets used #DressCodePM in 7 days. According to another provider, Keyhole, #DressCodePM had more than a 1.5 million “reach” between 11 and 12 March 2015.\(^3\) Twitter reach means

\(^3\) itrended analytics is a subscription service. Tobsy, Keyhole and Hashtracking analytics were only publically available for a short period after the hashtag circulated.
“the total number of estimated unique Twitter users” that the hashtag were “delivered to” ("What Do you Mean by Twitter Reach").

A diverse range of Canadian Twitter users took part in circulating the hashtag (Fig. 17-25). Ordinary Muslim and non-Muslim Canadian women and men actively spread the hashtag. The tweets took aim at Harper’s comments on the niqab and his attempt to decide what Canadian women should wear. The top #DressCodePM posts from 11 to 12 March were sent by two Muslim women followed by two non-Muslim women according to analytics company Keyhole. Analytics from the next days 12 to 13 March by Hashtracking showed the most tweets were sent by a Muslim man followed by a Muslim woman. Canadian feminist authors and column writers also took part in circulating #DressCodePM. Canadian writer Margaret Atwood sent at least five tweets using #DressCodePM. Edmonton Journal columnist Paula Simon also sent a picture of herself in a Halloween costume that covered her face to mock Harper’s comments. By the next day 12 March 2015, Canadian news outlets became the most influential users who used #DressCodePM; meaning users that have the highest number of followers. The news organizations including City News Toronto, Huffington Post and Canadian Press were tweeting their news stories about the hashtag.

The hashtag DressCodePM circulated just days after Canadian social media campaign #SuitablyDressed kicked off in support of Rania El-Alloul who wears a hijab. A Quebec judge refused to hear El-Alloul case citing that she was not “suitably dressed” for court (Qureshi).
3.2.1 Group 1: 10 -11 March 2015: Harper comments coverage

Content analysis results: A total of 5 news stories and 4 analysis/opinion stories were published on 10 March (5 stories) and 11 March (4 stories) mainly in mainstream media news outlets. The vast majority of sources quoted were elected government politicians, male, Caucasian, and non-Muslim. Politicians were used as sources 27 times and official sources were used 4 times in the 9 stories. The official sources were a federal judge and government lawyer. Only two women were quoted in all 9 stories and one of them was a Muslim. Alia Hogben, the executive director of the Canadian Council of Muslim Women, was quoted in one story. Marjory LeBreton a Tory senator was the only other woman quoted. Ishaq’s lawyer was quoted once without identifying the lawyer’s name. The head of a Jewish organization was quoted in one story. Consequently, politicians and government official sources combined were used 31 times more than Muslim women organization (1), non-Muslim organization (1), and representative of Ishaq (1) (Table 18).

The most used news source was Harper. The PM had a total of 27 quotes in all 9 stories (Table 19). Trudeau came a close second; he had 27 quotes in 8 stories. The representative of the Muslim women organization was quoted 3 times in one story. Ordinary voices meaning sources not affiliated with government or an organization were not quoted in any of the stories. A total of 14 individuals/stakeholders were quoted in the stories (Table 19). Six of the 14 stakeholders were politicians associated with the Conservative party (4 MPs & 1 senator), two were with the NDP party, and 1 with the Liberal party. Thus the Conservatives were the most cited group according to affiliation
of the individuals quoted. Only two of the identified sources were women and 10 were men.

The stories were published by CBC News (1 news, 1 analysis), Globe and Mail (2 news), Toronto Star (1 news, 1 opinion, 1 editorial) and Maclean’s (1 feature/analysis). The Canadian Press (CP) story (1 news) was published in several outlets including CTV, National Post and Huffington Post. However, the story was only counted once so as not to skew the count. The Muslim women organization representative was quoted in the Globe and Mail. In total, 3 tweets were used as quotes; the tweets were by former Immigration Minister Jason Kenny.

The news narrative: a critical discourse analysis: Group 1 10-11 March 2015

The news narrative focus was that Harper said the niqab was “anti-women” or that the niqab comes from a culture that is “anti-women.” The quote “anti-women” appeared in all 9 stories. The quote “anti-women” was in the headline, the lead, or the top paragraphs in 6 of the stories. The stories were mostly about the reaction to Harper saying “niqab was rooted in a culture that was anti-women” which stood out because it was new and controversial. The news and analysis stories mainly provided the reaction of other politicians within and outside Harper’s party. Some of the stories also aimed to provide context and background by situating Harper’s comments within other controversial statements and positions by Tory politicians.

The dominant reaction discourse was that Harper was “stocking fear” against Muslims for political gain. The phrase “stocking fear” was directly quoted or paraphrased in all the stories. The reaction came from the opposition parties, mostly Trudeau, but also NDP Leader Thomas Mulcair. Trudeau and Mulcair tied Harper’s comments with the
government’s plans to introduce a new anti-terrorism Bill. Two of the common quotes for Trudeau cited fully or partly in the stories were “this government is doubling down on the politics of fear,” along with, this government “frankly stokes fears and anxieties at a time where people are worried about terrorism and extremism” (Chase; Bryden).

A few stories touched on the discourse that Harper’s comments were Islamophobic or an attack on Muslims or Islam. The word Islamophobia was used once in 3 stories; once in a Mulcair quote and the other two times in connection to Trudeau. Charlie Angus the NDP ethics critic eluded in one quote, which was used in two stories, that Harper’s comments were racist. However, Terry Milewski the writer of the CBC analysis piece dismissed Angus’s claim. The CBC reporter wrote “Muslims, of course are not a race at all, so that’s a stretch” (Milewski). The only Muslim woman who weighed-in on Harper’s comments, in one story, said Harper should “do a little bit more thinking” before speaking on this issue (Chase).

Five of the stories touched on the discourse that the Canadian government should not be regulating what women wear. However, the quotes representing this position were placed further down in the stories. This discourse was echoed in the stories by Hogben who represented the Muslim women organization, Trudeau, and the Toronto Star columnist Chantal Hebert.

Overall, the stories were shaped as typical political stories which only gave room for political insiders to contribute. By ignoring Muslims and women voices the dominant narrative became a story about political bickering between parties a few months before an election. Half of the stories mentioned Harper’s comments were “Islamophobic” or that Harper was attempting to regulate women bodies. Yet these quotes were mostly made by
men politicians or media analyst and not by Muslim and women voices. The selection of sources in the majority of the stories showed a lack of diversity in terms of occupation, gender, and religious background.

3.2.2 Group 2: #DressCodePM 11 March 2015

Content analysis results: On 11 March 2015, ten ‘news’ stories that mentioned #DressCodePM were published following Harper’s niqab comments. Ordinary women were the most news sources used; they were used 32 times. Followed by ordinary men; they were used 25 times. Politicians came in a close third; politicians were used 24 times. Ordinary Muslim women came in fourth place; they were used as sources 20 times. Only one Muslim man was used as a source once in all ten stories (Table 20).

All the ordinary women and men quotes were from tweets. The majority of the Muslim women quotes were also tweets. Two of the Muslim women interviewed and quoted in the traditional quoting way, not from tweets, took part in circulating the hashtags. Thus journalists used #DressCodePM to find news sources to interview in addition to quoting tweets. The only Muslim woman quoted who was not affiliated with spreading the hashtag was with a Muslim organization. The positions featured in the quotes by ordinary Muslim and non-Muslim women and men as well as the Muslim organization were all critical of Harper’s comments.

Five politicians associated with the Conservative party were quoted in the stories out of a total of 15 stakeholders quoted. Southey, the columnist who started the hashtag, was quoted from tweets in 7 stories (Table 21). Southey was counted as an expert since she isn’t an ordinary source nor is she affiliated with a political or religious organization. She was the only expert source used.
The news stories were published in *National Post*, *CTV News* website, *Global News* website, *CBC News* website, *CP*, *Maclean’s*, *Metro*, *Huffington Post Canada*, *Toronto Sun*, and the *Vancouver Observer*. A CP story which briefly mentioned #DressCodePM appeared in *CTV, Huffington Post*, and *Global News*. The story was only counted once. This CP story is different from the separate stories *CTV, Huffington Post* and *Global News* published on #DresscodePM. This analysis excluded pieces published by the *Toronto Star* and *City News* because they mostly featured a collection of tweets on their website and the tweets were not published within an article.

**The news narrative: a critical discourse analysis: Group 2**

The #DressCodePM appeared in the headlines of 6 out of the 10 stories. The Twitter reaction was alluded to in 3 of the headlines. Only one headline, the *CP* story, did not refer to the hashtag or the Twitter reaction. Nine of the 10 stories were mainly about the Twitter reaction to Harper’s comments. However, the *CP* story was mainly about Tony Clement, the president of the Treasury board, clarifying that Harper will not include federal workplaces in the niqab ban. The hashtag was only mentioned in the last two lines of the *CP* story. All 10 stories quoted tweets with #DressCodePM.

The news stories explained that tweets sent with #DressCodePM ridiculed Harper’s comments on the niqab. However, news outlets differed in how they framed who is behind the Twitter reaction and accordingly selected different tweets to feature as quotes. Seven of the 10 stories referred to who sent the hashtags as people or Twitter users. Only one publication, the *Huffington Post*, stated that “women” were reacting to Harper’s comments (Abedi). Two stories linked the Twitter reaction to Harper’s comment that “all Canadians” agreed with his position on the niqab. The *National Post*
wrote “as some Twitter users are pointing out, many Canadians disagree” (Strapagiel). 

Metro also wrote, “‘almost all Canadians’ apparently does not include the hundreds who took to social media” ("#dresscodePM Takes Aim at Harper on Face Veils"). Thus these two publications framed the reaction as Canadians responding to Harper’s comments.

Maclean’s was the only outlet to quote Muslim women sources the most in their story. The CBC had the second highest tweet quotes by Muslim women. Both news stories, Maclean’s and CBC, also used a quote or a tweet quote by a Muslim woman at the top of the story. Both outlets featured tweets and quotes by both Muslim women who do not wear the hijab and Muslim women who wear the hijab. The CBC and Maclean’s also used the highest number of tweets by ordinary women compared to the 8 other news stories (Table 20). Global News, Huffington Post and Metro used more ordinary men sources compared to ordinary and Muslim women sources. Global News was the only one to use a man’s tweet as the first tweet quote featured. Four of the 10 stories used a Muslim woman as the first tweet featured and two stories started with ordinary women tweets. Two of the news stories did not include any Muslim women tweets.

Overall all, the total count of women to men sources used across all categories including politicians and ordinary sources was 59 women to 42 men. Based on the sources selection, the voices of ordinary women and ordinary men mattered the most in the news discourse surrounding the niqab. The voices of Canadian Muslim women also mattered in some of the stories depending on the journalist selection choices. Ordinary Muslim men were almost ignored compared to ordinary men who were represented by 25 quotes. Niqabi women voices were disregarded in all the stories on 11 March 2015. At least one Canadian Muslim woman who wears the niqab circulated the hashtag. She is
also a blogger and her tweet was quoted in a story posted on US based website Buzzfeed.com (Akbar). However, her tweet was not included in the Canadian news stories.

3.2.3 Comparative content analysis:

**Group 1 (Harper) vs. Group 2 (#DressCodePM)**

On the first days of coverage of Harper’s comments on 10 and 11 March 2015, the news sources used in the 9 stories were mainly politicians with the exception of one Muslim woman with an organization. However, on 11 March 2015 the 10 stories which mentioned #DressCodePM featured a more diverse range of sources. There was a significant increase in representation of ordinary sources in general as well as women and Muslims women in the #DressCodePM stories. Table 22 shows a comparison between the numbers of times the sources were used in the two groups. The increase in the number of ordinary sources (women and men) and Muslim women sources used compared to politicians was significant. That is even while taking into consideration that only 9 stories were published in the first group compared to 10 in the second group. The number of times politicians were used as news sources also went down.

In the first group of coverage, politicians and official government sources were used 31 times compared to 1 source with a Muslim organization while no ordinary sources were used. In the #DressCodePM stories politicians were used 24 times and ordinary sources were used 78 times. Consequently, the number of times ordinary sources were used went up from 1 to 78. Ordinary women sources were not used in the first period while in stories related to the hashtags women were the most used source compared to other categories of sources. The number of times ordinary women were used
as sources went up from zero to 32. In the first group of coverage, ordinary Muslim women were not used as sources; one Muslim spokeswoman with a Muslim organization was quoted. In the #DressCodePM stories Muslim women were used as sources 20 times. Ordinary men sources also went up from zero to 25. Muslim men were used once as a source in the #DressCodePM stories compared to non in the first period. Women sources in total across all categories were used only twice in the first group; men were used 28 times. That number went up in the #DressCodePM stories. Women were used 59 times as sources compared to 42 men.

Harper was quoted slightly less times between the two periods, while women and Muslim women were quoted more, as shown in table 23. Harper, who appeared in all the stories in both periods, had 27 quotes published in the first period and 24 quotes in the #DresscodePM stories. One Muslim woman was interviewed and quoted 3 times in one story in the first group, while 3 Muslim women were interviewed in 4 stories and had 10 quotes (not tweet quotes) in stories related to #DressCodePM. Muslim women also had 17 tweet quotes published in 7 stories related to the hashtag (Table 23). Ordinary women had 32 quotes in all the ten stories published in relation to #DressCodePM, while they were not quoted in the first group of stories.

One factor that may contribute to reporters including a wider range of sources on the next day of covering an event is having more time to chase the sources. On 10 March 2015, only one story quoted a source with a Muslim organization. However, on 11 March other than politicians, journalists only interviewed and quoted one source who was not associated with the hashtag. The rest of the quotes used on 11 March were from tweets. Consequently, the significant increase in the diversity of the types of sources quoted in
the second group can be attributed to using tweets associated with #DressCodePM as quotes in the stories.

Comparative analysis of stories published by same media outlet

Another way of comparing the results between the stories covering Harper’s comments and the stories related to the hashtag is to compare the stories published in the same media outlet. I first compare the results of two CBC ‘news’ stories and then I compare three ‘news’ stories published on CTV News website.

CBC News comparative analysis: On 10 March 2015 CBC News published an analysis piece “Niqab Controversy: Stephen Harper, Justin Trudeau wade into culture war over the veil,” that reported on Harper’s niqab comments. The piece privileged politicians and men and did not include Muslim and ordinary Canadian reaction. On 11 March, CBC News published two ‘news’ follows to Harper’s “anti-women” comments on the niqab. The comparative analysis will only compare the two ‘news’ stories published on 11 March 2015.

The headlines: The first story was published close to noon under the headline “Harper says ‘Overwhelming Majority’ Agree with Tories on Niqabs.” The second story was published after 7:30 PM ET, under the headline “Harper’s Niqab Comments Inspire Snarky Hashtag #DressCodePM.”

The lead: The first story started with the latest exchange from the morning of 11 March in the House of Commons between Trudeau and Harper:

Prime Minister Stephen Harper and Liberal Leader Justin Trudeau faced off Wednesday over a growing debate about whether wearing a niqab is a choice and when it should be allowed (Payton).
The second story started with two tweets from #DressCodePM one by a Muslim woman and one by a non-Muslim woman. The lead of the story was about the Twitter reaction to Harper’s comments:

Stephen Harper shared his thoughts on whether women should be allowed to wear niqabs at Canadian citizenship ceremonies, and now Twitter users are sharing theirs too (O'Neil).

The sources: Table 24 shows a comparison of the sources used in the two stories. The first story used 4 male politicians as news sources. The story also quoted the judge’s ruling that overturned the niqab ban in citizenship ceremonies. There were no ordinary sources, no women sources or Muslim sources used in the story. The second story on #DressCodePM used 9 ordinary women, 6 ordinary Muslim women and 3 ordinary men and they were all twitter sources. The story only used two male politicians as sources.

The quotes count: The first story quoted Mulcair 4 times, Harper 3 times, Trudeau 3 times, Clement twice, and the judge’s ruling once (Table 25). Accordingly, there were 12 quotes for politicians and none for ordinary sources including Muslim sources. Harper’s quote was the first quote used in the story followed by Trudeau. On the other hand, the #DressCodePM story used 9 ordinary women’s tweet quotes, 6 ordinary Muslim women’s tweet quotes, 4 quotes for Harper, 2 for Muclair, and 2 ordinary men’s tweet quotes. Accordingly politicians had a total of 6 quotes compared to 11 ordinary (women and men) and 6 ordinary Muslim women quotes. The second story started with a tweet quote by a Muslim woman wearing a hijab and a tweet by a non-Muslim woman featured next to it. The first in-text quote was for Harper.

Analysis of difference in coverage: The first story’s headline, lead, sources, and quotes privileged the reaction of politicians to Harper’s niqab comments. The story
“Harper says ‘Overwhelming Majority’ Agree with Tories on Niqabs” focused on the exchange between Harper and Trudeau the morning of 11 March 2015. Then the story included the positions of opposition politicians criticizing Harper and a Tory politician defending Harper. The news discourse presented in the first story is that politicians mattered the most when it comes to debating the niqab ban. Muslims and Canadians in general were not part of the conversation or the political discourse. The story was strictly a political reaction to a politician’s remarks. Consequently, for the second day in a row a CBC story focused on politicians’ reaction and not ordinary Muslims and ordinary Canadian’s reaction.

In contrast, the headline, lead, sources, and quotes in the second story about the hashtag privileged ordinary women and Muslim women sources. The story “Harper’s Niqab Comments Inspire Snarky Hashtag #DressCodePM” focused on the reaction of ordinary Canadians women including Muslim women to Harper’s comments. This story was the first online CBC story that included the reaction of Muslim women and Canadian women in general. All the women and Muslim women sources were Twitter users who sent tweets using #DressCodePM. In this story the voices of ordinary Muslim, and ordinary non-Muslim women and men mattered. Politicians were still quoted since the hashtag was a reaction to Harper’s comments.

There was one indication that the exclusion of Muslim women reaction in the earlier story published on 11 March “Harper says ‘Overwhelming Majority’ Agree with Tories on Niqabs” was not due to lack of sources available. At the end of the story there was a video link posted for a CBC TV story that included reaction of Muslim women to Harper’s comments. Although the Muslim women sources were available, the online
writer for *CBC* made a gatekeeping selection decision to withhold the Muslim women quotes from the print story. Accordingly, the lack of representation of Muslim voices in the story was not because they were not available but it was an editorial choice.

**CTV brief comparative analysis:** *CTV* published 3 stories; one story on 10 March and two on 11 March. As shown in table 26, representation of Muslim women and ordinary women sources in comparison to politicians was the highest in the story “#DressCodePM: Twitter Responds to Harper’s niqab,” in comparison to the two other news stories. That’s because the hashtag story was mainly about Canadians reaction and not the politicians’ reaction to the story. The two stories published only hours apart on 11 March used tweet quotes from #DressCodePM. One story produced by *CTV* focused mainly on #DressCodePM and had more diverse types of sources represented. The other story “Niqab ban only for citizenship ceremonies, not federal workplaces: Clement,” was produced by *CP* and it focused on politicians’ reaction. As shown in table 27, this story with Clement in the headline only used the tweets as a reaction from ordinary Canadians as the last two quotes in the story. *CTV* considered the trending of #DressCodePM newsworthy enough to publish a separate story focusing on the hashtag. The Clement story was still predominantly a political reaction story that favoured politicians. However, including tweets from #DressCodePM provided some representation of ordinary voices and thus diversified the types of sources quoted in the story.

**3.3 Challenging gated? Applying network gatekeeping theory**

The purpose of this section is to analyze whether there was a shift in the power dynamics between the gated and gatekeepers as a result of the circulation of
#DresssCodePM. I apply network gatekeeping theory to examine what attributes the gated possessed before and after the hashtag trended on 10 and 11 March 2015.

**Who are the gated?** Based on the results of the content analysis of the stories published about Harper’s niqab comments in group 1 the gated were: Ishaq, niqabi women, ordinary Muslim women, ordinary women, ordinary Muslim men, ordinary men, and for the most Muslim women organizations. These news sources were also traditionally the gated when it comes to the media coverage on issues related to the niqab as shown in the first part of this case study on the *Globe and Mail* archives. Politicians were predominantly used as news sources when covering niqab stories in Canada especially from 2007 onwards. Ishaq, niqabi women, and Muslim women’s opinions were disregarded during the *Globe and Mail’s* initial coverage of the introduction of the niqab ban in citizenship ceremonies in 2011. As for the gatekeepers, they are Canadian media news outlets mostly mainstream and some independent online news websites.

**The gated power tier:** The gated salience to the gatekeepers is determined according to which of the four attributes they possessed. The attributes are: information production, relationship to gated-gatekeeper, political power, and alternative to gatekeeper. The gated in this case for the most had the ability to produce information as well as the ability to contact and access the gatekeeper. Ishaq and her lawyers have done very few media interviews before Harper’s comments but they have been to the court proceedings and hearings so there was an ongoing relation with the media. Perhaps the gated group with the least ongoing relation with the media is the niqabi women.

The gated also had alternative venues of publication like alternative media and independent media. However, on the first day of the news, Harper’s comments were
mostly covered by mainstream media. Consequently, at best the gated overall had 3 attributes but they lacked the 4th attribute of political power. The gated did not have the power to make the gatekeeper do something that otherwise the gatekeeper would not have done. Canadian media have privileged government officials when it comes to covering the niqab ban in citizenship ceremonies in 2011 (Thomas). The media organizations again predominately quoted elected politicians following Harper’s comments on 10 March 2015. Thus the gated did not have the power to change “who’s speaking” about the niqab ban in the media (van Dijk *Racism and the Press* 151).

Brazilia-Nahon categorized the gated who possess all attributes except for political power as “frustrated gated.” The frustrated gated have alternative means of production and distribution of information, however, “the visibility and the impact of their work is usually limited.” The gatekeepers “control the major portion of the audience attention” (Brazilai-Nahon 1505). That was the case during the coverage of Harper’s comments before the hashtag circulated. Canadian mainstream media were mostly the only types of media that covered the news of Harper’s comments thus they had the most impact.

However, what happened next is thousands of new media users including Muslim and non-Muslim ordinary Canadian women and men as well as at least one niqabi woman participated in circulating #DressCodePM. The media users who actively took part in spreading the hashtag in response to Harper’s comments represented the same gated categories. The new media users who engage in acts of “self-representations in today’s digital culture are members of the audience” (Thumim 13). In other words, the Twitter users who used #DressCodePM were also the gated. #DressCodePM trended in Canada
overall, and in 7 Canadian cities and reached the second position in the top trending hashtags in Canada in less than 24 hours. Media producers took notice of the high volume of tweets circulating and published news stories about the “thousands” who were using #DressCodePM (O'Neil).

Barzilai-Nahon proposed that the frustrated gated can “gain more political power via the ability to set public discourse and agenda” (1505). The gated who circulated #DressCodePM publically spread their position on the niqab debate on Twitter and created a public discourse by engaging in circulating the hashtag. The gated can move up to the highest power tier and become “challenging gated” when they create “a new situation in which the gatekeepers need to question their role as gatekeepers” (Brazilai-Nahon 1505,06). The Canadian media gatekeepers prioritized the agenda of the gated because thousands of media users spread #DressCodePM. The gated demonstrated to the gatekeeper they are stakeholders in the niqab debate. The gated media users gained the political power to make the gatekeepers include the quotes of ordinary Muslim and non-Muslim Canadian women and men in the media coverage. Canadian news outlets featured more Muslim women sources and ordinary women and men sources in the stories about the hashtag compared to the first group of stories. Consequently, the gated were elevated to the highest power tier of challenging gated because they made the hashtag trend.

The challenging gated according to Brazilai-Nahon may choose to “promote its interest” by “collaborating” with the gatekeeper (1506). Some of the Muslim women who sent tweets with #DressCodePM agreed to be interviewed on the mainstream news media and were included in the news stories. Also some of the gated Twitter users circulated and
shared the mainstream media stories about #DressCodePM. The challenging gated can succeed in gaining a higher degree of attention from the gatekeeper. However there may still be a “continuation of the power struggle” between the gated and gatekeepers. The gatekeepers usually still use gatekeeping mechanisms including selection, shaping, and disregard to “control the boundaries of the discourse” (Brazilai-Nahon 1506, 07). The Canadian media news outlets selected which tweets and which Twitter users to quote in their stories. Some articles ignored Muslim women tweets, some privileged Muslim women and women voices in general, and others used more tweets by men. A few news stories stated that “Canadians” were responding to Harper on Twitter, however they selected and set the “boundaries” for who were the Canadians involved in spreading the hashtag. Muslim men were mostly excluded from the “all Canadian” category. All of the gatekeepers except for the independent online news Vancouver Observer disregarded Muslim men. The opinions of Ishaq and niqabi women were also disregarded in the media coverage.

The power dynamics between the Canadian gated and the gatekeepers also changed following the hashtag because many alternative online publications picked up the story of #DressCodePM trending. Many independent bloggers in Canada posted stories about #DressCodePM. Some US and international websites like BuzzFeed and Huffington Post World also covered the story of the trending Canadian hashtag. Several international news outlets including Reuters and Al Jazeera English also published stories about Canadians reacting to Harper’s comments via #DressCodePM. Thus the challenging gated had more alternatives to the gatekeepers. A wider range of media
outlets covered the story of the trending hashtag compared to the traditional news outlets that initially covered Harper’s niqab comments.

- **Just a Blip?**

  The relation between the gated and gatekeepers is in a state of continuous change. The degree of salience of the gated to the gatekeeper is in flux depending on how many power attributes the gated possess at any given point (Brazilai-Nahon 1507). When Canadian media users spread #DressCodePM, the gated turned into prominent news actors on the news day of 11 March 2015. However, a content analysis of the stories published on 12 March 2015 showed a return to relying on men politicians and expert voices. While on 13 March 2015, the number of politicians and Muslim women sources used was almost at parity. On 12 March, politicians and officials were used 15 times, and Muslim women were only used twice as sources (Table 28). On 13 March, politicians were used three times and Muslim women were used twice as sources (Table 29).

  Muslim women were the main focus of two of the stories published on 12 and 13 March which was different in comparison to the stories published on 10 and 11 March. The *Toronto Star* published “Muslim Women in Canada Explain Why they Wear a Niqab,” on 13 March 2015. The Star’s story was about a study the Canadian Council of Muslim Women commissioned that surveyed women who wore the niqab in Canada. One niqabi woman was quoted from this report in the *Toronto Star* piece. This was the first quote by a niqabi woman to appear in Canadian media since 10 March. This report “Women in Niqab Speak,” was originally published by the Muslim organization in 2013. The Star story also mentioned the circulation of #DressCodePM.
The #DressCodePM caused a significant spike in the representation of Muslim women, and ordinary women and men in the overall media coverage on 11 March 2015. The significant blip from strictly a sources count was just for mostly one day. However, #DressCodePM that continued trending for three days in a row in Canada may have had a longer term impact on covering the story. The tweets from the hashtag were used to represent the voices of ordinary Canadians including Muslims on radio, TV, and online days and weeks after #DressCodePM circulated. For example, on 13 March on CBC TV’s the National, several tweets with #DressCodePM were featured during a discussion about Harper’s comments on the show’s political panel segment ‘at Issue’ (“Video- At Issue: Harper's Pivot to the Niqab Debate”). This political panel is usually based on the opinions of veteran journalists and analysts and rarely includes presenting tweets or ordinary voices as part of the discussion.

The debate about banning the niqab in citizenship ceremonies has been going on in Canada for over three years. However, the first time several niqabi women were given room to voice their opinions about the ban in several media outlets was following Harper’s comments and the circulation of the hashtag in March 2015. Ishaq, the woman at the centre of the niqab ban legal battle, whose voice was often marginalized in the coverage was finally given the chance to self – represent her position. Ishaq published an opinion piece “Why I Intend to Wear a Niqab at My Citizenship Ceremony,” in the Toronto Star on 16 March 2015. Here is how Ishaq started her piece:

I am Zunera Ishaq. I am a mother. I am university educated. I believe that the environment needs saving and I try to do my part by joining campaigns to plant trees. Chasing my boys in the snow is one of the things I love most about winter…I also wear a niqab. And according to my prime minister, that is all you need to know about me to know that I am oppressed (Ishaq).
A few days after Ishaq’s piece was published CBC’s top national radio show the Current interviewed two women who wear a niqab and one woman who used to wear it. On the 19 March show, the Current played an audio montage reciting the tweet texts sent with #DressCodePM to set up the interview. Here is part of the host’s introduction to the interview with the niqabi women:

For all the comments and hubbub around the niqab that's filled the Twittersphere and the public square, the voices of Muslim women especially those who wear or have worn the niqab seem to be under-represented so we invited three such women to share their thoughts...(Mattar)

The Current’s website featured the pictures of the guest niqabi women in – studio wearing headphones and sitting in front of a microphone. This rare sight of Canadian niqabi women in a studio, and the sudden media interest in giving access to women who wear the niqab to voice their opinions, was not lost on at least two opinion writers. On 23 March 2015, Gerald Caplan a former NDP national director and a regular panelist on CBC’s Power and Politics wrote an opinion piece for the Globe and Mail. Gerald pointed that the upside to Harper’s controversial remarks was that the Canadian media finally allowed niqabi women to speak for themselves:

Here’s the silver lining...some media have finally decided to introduce real live niqabis to their audiences. And what a remarkable group they’ve proved to be. In the past few days I’ve met through media five Muslim women, four of whom are veiled...These glimpses are revelatory. They destroy every single assumption I made, in my ignorance, about niqabis (Caplan).

The five women Caplan is referring to are Ishraq’s piece in the Toronto Star, the Current interview, and an open letter written to Harper by a niqabi woman published on 19 March 2015 in the Tyee, an independent online magazine. Shireen Ahmed, a freelance writer who took part in circulating the hashtag, wrote an opinion piece on the Muslim women blog Muslimah Media Watch on 13 April 2015. Ahmed was interviewed in
several Canadian media including CTV because she took part in spreading the hashtag.

Ahmed credits #DressCodePM for the spike in representation of Muslim women:

It could be argued that mainstream media tells us that voices of Muslim women are not really relevant in discussions about Muslim women...But, in a wonderful turn of events, Muslim women and their tweets were not only getting face time and exposure, their voices really influenced the opinions of those who had never heard them before....(Ahmed)

Ahmed also made note of the sudden media interest in interviewing several niqabi women and that Ishaq got the opportunity to speak for herself:

This was the first time, subjects at the center of this debate were invited to speak about their opinions...I am... pleased that media in Canada looked to voices of Muslim women instead of away from them while covering this story (Ahmed).

The hashtag #DressCodePM continued to be used on Twitter during the Canadian federal elections in October 2015 when the niqab became a hot election topic. However the hashtag didn’t trend again after 13 March 2015.
Figures (Chapter 3)

#DressCodePM: (Fig. 17-25)

Figure 17: Tweet sent by (Amna Qureshi) on March 11, 2015

Figure 18: Tweet sent by (Amina Jabbar) on March 11, 2015
Figure 19: Tweet sent by (Steph Guthrie) on March 11, 2015

Figure 20: Tweet sent by (Murray Munro) on March 11, 2015
Figure 21: Tweet sent by (geekylonglegs) on March 11, 2015

Figure 22: Tweet sent by (Shireen Ahmed) on March 11, 2015
Figure 23: Tweet sent by (Nicole Rosen) on March 11, 2015

Figure 24: Tweet sent by (Natalie Brender) on March 11, 2015
@pmharper I know it's from a foreign country but is it ok if I where this @umich hoodie? #dresscodePM #listennotsave

Figure 25: Tweet sent by (Sobia Ali-Faisal) on March 11, 2015
## Tables

### Table 1: Globe and Mail: 1977-1979

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Search Terms</th>
<th>Search Results</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stories about veil with Canadian connection</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Results for Veil and Moslem</td>
<td>22: all international, mostly about Iran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Results for Veil and Muslim</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chador</td>
<td>20: all international, mostly Iran, one about Egypt, one Yemen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burqa</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niqab</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faceveil or “face veil”</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 2: Globe and Mail: Jan. 1980 – Dec. 1989

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of story- Stories with Canadian Connection</th>
<th>Number of stories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>News</td>
<td>0-1: 1 story about Muslim scholar speaking in Toronto, one mention of the veil, unclear if it meant head or face covering.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Features</td>
<td>0-1, one mention of veil, unclear meant face or hair cover in one story.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columns and opinion pieces</td>
<td>2: each column only had one mention of veil, in reference to Iran.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letters to the editor</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interview with woman wearing niqab in Canada</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 3: Globe and Mail: Key Words searched 1980-1989

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key words searched</th>
<th>Number of stories: Canadian and international</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Veil and Muslim/Moslem</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chador</td>
<td>21: mostly in international stories about Iran in 1987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niqab</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burqa</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Face veil/faceveil</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 4: Globe and Mail: 1990- Sept 10, 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stories with Canadian Connection</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Details (total: 10 stories)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>News</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Women banned from taking bus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Columns and opinion             | 6      | - 4 of the stories mention women wearing niqab in Canada (more details Table 5)  
                                  |        | - 2 mentioned the veil once in relation to the Middle East: The first “Counting your problems? Count your Blessings” by Margret Wente about international women’s day mentions Chador in Saudi. The second “Islam revisited” a piece warning about the threat of the spread of fundamentalist Islam across the Middle East |
| Interview with woman wearing niqab in Canada | 1      | In the bus news story |
| Letters to editor               | 3      | one in response to bus news story and two in response to column tolerance |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opinion Pieces about niqab in Canada</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Criticizing niqab</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Written by 3 women, non-Muslims</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defending the right to wear niqab</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Written by a Muslim woman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Key Words Search Results: 1990- 10 Sept. 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Search term</th>
<th>Number of stories Canadian &amp; international</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Veil and Muslim</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chador</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burqa</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niqab</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faceveil/ face veil</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New stories</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blend of news and opinion</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feature</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opinion</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letter to editor</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interview with Muslim</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 8: Key Words Search: 11 Sept. 2001- 31 Dec. 2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Search term</th>
<th>Number of stories national and international</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Veil and Muslim</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niqab</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burqa</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chador</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Face veil</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stories: The niqab vs. the law/state</th>
<th>News</th>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th>Select Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Court case of sexual assault victim</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>March/May/June 2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>June 2010, Oct.2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada’s chief electoral officer decision on voting with niqab</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sept. 2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ban on niqab in Citizenship ceremonies</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Dec. 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quebec stories:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- debate surrounding reasonable accommodation.</td>
<td>9 News</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2007 and 2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Bill 94</td>
<td>2 features</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Surge in March 2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banning voting while wearing niqab in Quebec election</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>March 23-24, 2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expelling woman from French language class for wearing a niqab</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>March-April 2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total number of Canadian stories under this theme</strong></td>
<td>37 news feature 2</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 10: Niqab in connection to terror suspects and extremism 2007-2012: Total 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Story</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Toronto 18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2007 and 2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zaynab Khader’s married life</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2009 feature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suspect arrested in Montreal</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2010</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11: Key Words: 2007 – 31 Dec. 2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Search Terms</th>
<th>Number of stories national and international</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Niqab and Canada</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niqab</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burqa</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chador</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Face veil</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 12: Niqab Stories: Multiple Topics: 2013-2015: Total 6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Headline</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Testifying with niqab</td>
<td>Editorial</td>
<td>25 April 2013</td>
<td>A fair requirement</td>
<td>Supports judge rule to ban woman from testifying with niqab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Testifying with niqab</td>
<td>Column by Lysiane Gagnon</td>
<td>20 Oct. 2014</td>
<td>A veiled face obstructs justice</td>
<td>Against allowing women to testify with niqab, should respect the court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Testifying with niqab</td>
<td>Opinion by Amira Elghawaby</td>
<td>28 Jan. 2014</td>
<td>Accommodation isn’t a trump card</td>
<td>Issues of legal rulings overall, more focus on a case with York university</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banning niqabs in general, colonial roots</td>
<td>Opinion-submission Ayesha Chaudhry: *it’s posted under letters to editor, but it’s too long to be one</td>
<td>5 Aug. 2014</td>
<td>Don't politicize women's bodies</td>
<td>Explains the colonial roots of regulating Muslim bodies and unveiling women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terror-related</td>
<td>News</td>
<td>20 Sept. 2014</td>
<td>Passport, please</td>
<td>Suspension of 2 radicalized Canadians wanting to join ISIS in Syria, one started wearing niqab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospital program</td>
<td>News/feature</td>
<td>17 Jun. 2013</td>
<td>Diversity services - a new frontier in treating patients</td>
<td>A hospital program that accommodates diverse religious needs including wearing niqab</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 13: Globe and Mail Search Terms 2013-2015

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Search terms</th>
<th>Results</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Niqab and Canada</td>
<td>Total: 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niqab</td>
<td>31, all Canadian stories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niqab and Harper</td>
<td>11 (all the same except one)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burqa</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zunera ishaq</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chador</td>
<td>12: used in some of the articles about Quebec, but mostly not meant as niqab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Face veil</td>
<td>3, used twice in brackets after niqab</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 14: Quebec News & features: 2013-2015: 6 stories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Story subject</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Headline</th>
<th>Quotes in order of appearance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reaction to Charter of Values</td>
<td>24 Aug. 2013</td>
<td>Kenney cautious about criticizing Quebec 'values' bill</td>
<td>- Jason Kenny, Justin Trudeau, NDP Spokesperson, Quebec minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quebec Liberal party on Charter of values</td>
<td>16 Nov. 2013</td>
<td>Party divided over religious dress</td>
<td>- 2 provincial politicians, Liberal party leader Philippe Couillard and Liberal MNA Marc Tanguay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MNA in Quebec proposes bill to fight religious fundamentalism</td>
<td>13 Feb. 2014</td>
<td>Muslim MNA tables own bill</td>
<td>- Former Liberal MNA Fatima Houda-Pepin, only one quoted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal adopt position on Charter of Values</td>
<td>22 Jan. 2014</td>
<td>On heels of MNA dismissal, Liberals define charter position</td>
<td>Liberal Leader Philippe Couillard</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Bill 60 officially introduced, political reaction | 8 Nov. 2013 | PQ takes a hard line on a tougher secular charter              | - First part the charter of value document  
- first quote from Quebec Liberal leader, Philippe Couillard  
- Samira Laouni of Quebec Muslims for Rights and Freedoms  
- Salam Elmenyawi, president of the Muslim Council of Montreal.  
- Dr. Mark Wainberg, wears Kippah  
- CAQ Leader François Legault  
- New Montreal mayor Denis Coderre                                                                                                                                                                                       |
<p>| Charter of values- a 5 year exemption for hospitals and educational institutions | 9 Sept. 2013 | Quebec plans exemption clause                                  | - Premier Pauline Marois, all based on her quotes                                                                                                                                                                            |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quebec stories/subject</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Daycare workers wearing niqab &amp; Bill 60</td>
<td>editorial</td>
<td>30 Oct. 2013</td>
<td>Bald intolerance over covered heads</td>
<td>Critical of mania over the story in Quebec, critical of intolerance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charter of Values</td>
<td>column regular columnist: Lysiane Gagnon</td>
<td>2 Oct. 2013</td>
<td>In Quebec, a feminist rift</td>
<td>The divide between two sides of feminists over Bill 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charter of values inspired by France</td>
<td>Column: Lysiane Gagnon</td>
<td>18 Sept. 2013</td>
<td>Even further than France?</td>
<td>charter of value ideology coming from France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charter of Values</td>
<td>Column: Lysiane Gagnon</td>
<td>4 Sept. 2013</td>
<td>Secularism - for some</td>
<td>Election tactics and issue of crucifix in Quebec</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niqabis in Toronto and Charter of Values</td>
<td>Letter to editor John Krauser</td>
<td>2 Dec. 2013</td>
<td>A values horse race</td>
<td>In reaction to editorial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charter of Values, why it’s an issue in Quebec</td>
<td>Letter to editor Tariq Alvi</td>
<td>3 Dec. 2013</td>
<td>Problem that isn't</td>
<td>Re: letter to the editor, a values horse race. Pointing the non-issue became an issue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ban on veil in France and Quebec Charter of Values</td>
<td>Opinion Konrad Yakabuski</td>
<td>16 Sept 2013</td>
<td>The core of Quebec's charter? Republicanism and feminism</td>
<td>Relation between feminism and nationalism in Quebec</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Contributing columnist Sheema Khan</td>
<td>6 Sept 2013</td>
<td>Reconciling Muslim practices with Western principles</td>
<td>Ban Marginalizes Muslims</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1 editorial, 5 opinion, 2 letters to the editor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Headline</td>
<td>Position</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The legal challenge of a woman against the niqab ban. Editorial also touches on daycare workers wearing Niqab in Montreal</td>
<td>Editorial</td>
<td>20 Oct. 2014</td>
<td>The right not to be accommodating</td>
<td>Critical of Ishaq for not willing to lift her veil for 2 minutes to take the oath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zunera Ishaq challenges the niqab citizenship ban</td>
<td>Editorial</td>
<td>13 Feb. 2015</td>
<td>Religious freedom is citizenship</td>
<td>Supports Ishaq’s right to take citizenship oath with niqab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harper’s niqab ban and Zunera Ishaq challenge</td>
<td>Opinion-submission Clifford Orwen, Professor of Political Science, U of T</td>
<td>18 Feb. 2015</td>
<td>Mr. Harper's veiled attack on religious freedom</td>
<td>Critical of Harper’s ban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ban in citizenship and Ishaq challenge</td>
<td>Column: Margaret Wente</td>
<td>21 Feb. 2015</td>
<td>Why Mr. Harper is playing niqab politics</td>
<td>She agrees with Harper on disliking the niqab, but points out he is only doing it for politics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mainly about Quebec Judge who refused to hear case of women with Hijab, links rise of intolerance to Harper niqab</td>
<td>Editorial</td>
<td>3 March 2015</td>
<td>Judge loses mind over head covering</td>
<td>Links Judge decision to Harper’s comments about the niqab and to Pauline Marois, Quebec Charter of values and rise of accommodation debate in Quebec</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 17: Letters to the Editor on niqab ban in citizenship ceremonies (Total 7)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letter writer</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Headline</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Owen Sound, Ontario</td>
<td>14 Feb 2015</td>
<td>Stop the intolerance</td>
<td>Against ban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irene Fung, Mississauga</td>
<td>17 Feb. 2015</td>
<td>To be Canadian</td>
<td>Pro ban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leo Charbonneau, Ottawa</td>
<td>16 Feb. 2015</td>
<td>Veiled divisions</td>
<td>Against ban even if against niqab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jack Kirchhoff, Toronto</td>
<td>19 Feb. 2015</td>
<td>Face to (veiled) face</td>
<td>Against ban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Halton Doyle, Ajax, Ont.</td>
<td>3 March 2015</td>
<td>Head-scarf anger</td>
<td>Against ban-harper niqab ban encourages actions like that of Quebec judge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deborah McLean, Napanee, Ont.</td>
<td>27 Feb. 2015</td>
<td>Terror's uses</td>
<td>Against ban-harper political tactics mirrors Bush anti-terror</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scott Gardiner, Toronto</td>
<td>14 Feb. 2015</td>
<td>Canada before religion</td>
<td>Re Feb 13 editorial Supports conservative to promote Canadian value, but doesn’t support harping on the niqab</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 18: Group 1: March 10-11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Politicians, gov. officials Per story</th>
<th>Ishaq Lawyer</th>
<th>Muslim Org.</th>
<th>Non-Muslim Org.</th>
<th>Women ordinary</th>
<th>Muslim women ordinary</th>
<th>Men ordinary</th>
<th>Muslim men ordinary</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>W</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4(M), P</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2(M), P</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 (M), P, 1 O (judge)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 P(M)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 P (M)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 P (M), 2 O (1 Judge M, 1 gov. lawyer)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 P (M)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 P, 1 O: gov. lawyer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 P (2 M-1 W)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong> P:27, O: 4 =31</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The names of both lawyers weren’t mentioned and the Judge in one of the stories wasn’t mentioned by name, They were not included in the Gender count in the stories in which their names weren’t identified.

Publications by order shown in table:
9 stories: 5 news, 4 analysis/feature/opinion:
1-CBC News: Analysis: Niqab Controversy: Stephen Harper, Justin Trudeau wade into culture war over the veil. Mar 10
4-Canadian Press: News: Published in CTV: Niqabs Rooted in Culture that is ‘Anti-wWmen,’ PM Says. Mar 10
6-Maclean’s: Analysis/Feature: Justin Trudeau and the Niqab: What Justin Trudeau says and what the Federal Court said. Mar 10
7-Toronto Star: News: Face-Covering Veils are ‘Anti-Women,’ Harper Says Mar 10
8-Toronto Star: Opinion/column: The Niqab Forces Parties to Face up to Irreconcilable Differences. Mar 11
9-Toronto Star: Editorial: Trudeau’s Call for Civility: Mar 11
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>News sources</th>
<th>Number of stories</th>
<th>Total Number of Quotes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stephen Harper, Prime Minister, Conservative party leader</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>27 (1 quote from email)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justine Trudeau, Liberal Party Leader</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tom Mulcair, NDP Party Leader, official opposition</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jason Kenny, minister of Defence, but was minister of immigration who introduced the ban</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5 (4 of them Twitter)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senator Marjory LeBreton (Tory)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tony Clement, Tory Treasury Board President</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charlie Angus-NDP MP, ethics critic</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judge Keith Boswell</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Williamson: New Brunswick Tory MP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chris Alexandre, minister of immigration and citizenship</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alia Hogben, executive director of Canadian Council of Muslim Women</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shimon Koffler Fogel: CEO of Centre for Israel and Jewish Affairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawyer of Zunera Ishraq</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Government lawyer</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
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</table>

*The quote count: in articles when there was one word quoted and then a longer quote followed by the same source, I counted it as one quote only. However, if there was one word quoted alone and not followed by a longer quote, I counted it as one quote.*
Table 20: Group 2: #DressCodePM March 11

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<tr>
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<td>1 (W)</td>
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<td>1 T</td>
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<td>T</td>
<td>4 T</td>
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<td>2 T</td>
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<td>2 T</td>
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<td>1 , 2 T</td>
<td>5 T</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>Sun</td>
<td>1P (M)</td>
<td>1 (W)</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mcl</td>
<td>2P ( 1M, 1 W)</td>
<td>1 (W)</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>6 T</td>
<td>2, 5 T</td>
<td>1 T</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>CBC</td>
<td>2P (M)</td>
<td></td>
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<td>9 T</td>
<td>6 T</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VO</td>
<td>1P (M)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5 T</td>
<td>1 T</td>
<td>4 T</td>
<td>1 T</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CP</td>
<td>7P (6 M, 1 W)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2T*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>24P (22M,2W)</td>
<td>7 (W)</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>32 T</td>
<td>20 (17 T, 3)</td>
<td>25 T</td>
<td>1T</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

T=Twitter, W=woman, M=man, * the names and pictures of the women weren’t included unknown if the women are Muslim or not, so they were counted under women.

Publications by order of appearance in table:
10 News:
2- National Post: Stephen Harper’s ‘Anti-Woman’ Niqab Comment Mocked on Twitter with #DressCodePM Hashtag. March 11
4- Metro news: #dresscodePM takes aim at Harper on face veils, Mar 11
6- Toronto Sun: Harper’s ‘Anti-Women’ Niqab Comment Sparks Backlash. March 11
8- CBC: Harper’s Niqab Comments Inspire Snarky Hashtag #DressCodePM. March 11
9- Vancouver Observer: Twitter Users Ridicule Harper
### Table 21: Group 2: Stakeholders #DressCodePM March 11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>News sources</th>
<th>Number of stories</th>
<th>Total Number of Quotes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stephen Harper</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justin Trudeau</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Mulcair</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tabatha, columnist Globe and Mail who started #DressCodePM</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8 (T)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tony Clement: Tory Treasury board</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marjorie LeBerton, Tory Senator</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lisa Raitt, Tory minister</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costa Menegakis, Tory MP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amira Elghawaby, National Council of Canadian Muslims</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shireen Ahmed, Muslim blogger, who tweeted</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farah Kan, tweeted, works in Toronto</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim women Tweets</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women Tweets</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men Tweets</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim men Tweets</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The quote count: in articles when there was one word quoted and then a longer quote followed by the same source, I counted it as one quote only. However, if there was one word quoted alone and not followed by a longer quote, I counted it as one quote.

** The number of stakeholders can be considered 15 if categories of Muslim and non-Muslim women and men tweets were counted as one source for each category. Or the number of stakeholders can be considered 36 in total if each Twitter user quoted was counted as a source.
Table 22: Comparative Content Analysis: Group 1 to Group 2: Number of Times Sources Were Used

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source type</th>
<th>Group 1: March 10 - 11</th>
<th>Group 2: March 11 #DressCodePM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Politicians and official sources to ordinary sources</td>
<td>31 :1 ordinary sources  (1 woman politician)</td>
<td>24 :78 ordinary sources (2 women politicians)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women to men</td>
<td>2 Women : 28 Men</td>
<td>59 Women: 42 Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim organization</td>
<td>1 (spokeswoman)</td>
<td>2 (Spokeswoman)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ordinary Muslim women to non-Muslim women</td>
<td>no ordinary Muslim and non-Muslim women</td>
<td>20 Muslim: 32 non-Muslim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ordinary women compared to ordinary men</td>
<td>There were none</td>
<td>52 Women:26 Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ordinary men versus Muslim men</td>
<td>There were none</td>
<td>Men 25: 1 Muslim man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of stories</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 23: Comparing Stakeholders and Quotes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stakeholders &amp; Quotes</th>
<th>Group 1: March 10 - 11</th>
<th>Group 2: March 11 #DressCodePM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Harper in stories, &amp; Harper quotes count</td>
<td>9 stories, 27 quotes</td>
<td>10 stories, 24 quotes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women in stories &amp; quotes Ordinary</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>9 stories, 32 quotes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim women in stories &amp; quotes count (regular quotes, ordinary or with Muslim organization)</td>
<td>1 story, 3 quotes</td>
<td>4 stories, 10 quotes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim women tweets in stories &amp; quotes</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>7 stories, 17 tweet quotes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tory politicians</td>
<td>5 out of 14 stakeholders in stories</td>
<td>5 out of 15 stakeholders in stories (Or 5 out of 36 stakeholders if each Twitter source was counted as a stakeholder)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 24: Comparing CBC News coverage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Headline</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Sources</th>
<th>Quotes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Harper says ‘overwhelming majority’ agree with Tories on niqabs</td>
<td>Mar. 11</td>
<td>-4 politicians, all men.</td>
<td>-Mulcair 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>First published at 12:56 PM, ET</td>
<td>-1 Official, the judge</td>
<td>-Harper 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>By Laura Payton</td>
<td></td>
<td>-Trudeau 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Clement 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Judge 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harper’s niqab comments inspire snarky hashtag#DressCodePM</td>
<td>Mar. 11</td>
<td>-2 politicians, all men</td>
<td>-Ordinary women 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>First published at 7:40 PM ET</td>
<td>-9 Ordinary women</td>
<td>-Muslim women 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>By Lauren O'Neil</td>
<td>-6 Muslim women</td>
<td>-Harper 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-3 ordinary men</td>
<td>-Mulcair 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Ordinary men 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 25: CBC quotes by order of appearance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Harper Says ‘overwhelming majority’ agree with Tories on niqabs</th>
<th>Harper’s niqab comments inspire snarky hashtag #DressCodePM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1- Trudeau</td>
<td>1-Muslim woman hijabi (tweet)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2- Harper</td>
<td>2-Woman (Tweet)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3- Harper</td>
<td>3-Harper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-Harper</td>
<td>4-Harper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-Judge</td>
<td>5-Harper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-Mulcair</td>
<td>6--Muslim woman tweet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-Mulcair</td>
<td>7-Mulcair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-Mulcair</td>
<td>8-Mulcair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-Mulcair</td>
<td>9-harper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-Tony Clement- Tory Treasury Board President</td>
<td><em><strong>tweets</strong></em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-Clement</td>
<td>10-Muslim woman, hijabi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-Trudeau</td>
<td>11-Mulim woman , no hijab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-Trudeau</td>
<td>12-Muslim woman, hijab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-Mulim woman</td>
<td>13-Woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-Woman</td>
<td>14-Mulsim woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-Man</td>
<td>15-Woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17-21 Women</td>
<td>16-Man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22-23 Men</td>
<td>17-21 Women</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
### Table 26: Comparing CTV stories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Headline</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Sources</th>
<th>Quotes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Niqabs rooted in Culture that is ‘anti-women,’ PM says</td>
<td>Mar. 10 CP published in CTV</td>
<td>-4 politicians - 1 Jewish organization (all men)</td>
<td>-Harper: 4 -Trudeau: 4 -Angus: 2 (NDP) -Williamson: 1 (Tory MP) -Koffler: 1 (Jewish Org.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niqab ban only for citizenship ceremonies, not federal workplaces: Clement</td>
<td>Mar. 11 CP published in CTV First published 2:55PM ET updated 7:01PM ET</td>
<td>-7 politicians (6 men, 1 woman) -2 Ordinary women (tweets)</td>
<td>-Harper: 3 -Trudeau: 2 -Clement: 2 -Woman: 2 (tweets-ordinary) -Mulcair: 1 -Raitt: 1 (Tory minister) -Menegakis: 1 (Tory MP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#DressCodePM: Twitter Responds to Harper’s niqab comment</td>
<td>Mar. 11 CTV original story March 11, 2015 11:30AM updated 7:02PM</td>
<td>-4 Politicians (M), -1 expert (W) -1 Muslim Org. (W) -1 Muslim woman (tweet) -2 non-Muslim women (tweet) -2 men, non-Muslim (tweet)</td>
<td>-Elghawaby: 3 (Muslim org.) -Women: 3 (tweets-ordinary) -Mulcair: 3 -Harper: 2 -Muslim woman: 1 (tweet) -Trudeau: 1 -Clement: 1 -Southey: 1 (columnist-tweet)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CP/CTV Mar 10</td>
<td>CP/CTV Mar 11</td>
<td>CTV Mar 11</td>
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<td>“Niqabs rooted in Culture…”</td>
<td>“Niqab ban only for citizenship …”</td>
<td>“#DressCodePM: Twitter Responds to…”</td>
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<td>1-Harper</td>
<td>1-Harper</td>
<td>1-Tabatha Southey: tweet, Globe and mail columnist that</td>
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<tr>
<td>2-John Williamson: New Brunswick Tory MP</td>
<td>2-Tony Clement: Treasury board president</td>
<td>started #dresscodepm</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-Harper</td>
<td>4-Costa Menegakis: Tory MP</td>
<td>4-tweet: non-Muslim woman</td>
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<tr>
<td>5-Harper</td>
<td>5-Charlie Angus: NDP ethics critic</td>
<td>5-tweet: Muslim woman in hijab</td>
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<tr>
<td>6-Trudeau</td>
<td>6-Trudeau</td>
<td>7-tweet: man, non-Muslim</td>
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<td>7-Trudeau</td>
<td>7-Trudeau</td>
<td>6-tweet, woman, non-Muslim</td>
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<tr>
<td>8-Charlie Angus: NDP ethics critic</td>
<td>8-Conservative party talking points</td>
<td>7-tweet, man, non-Muslim</td>
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<td>9-Charlie Angus</td>
<td>9-Elghawaby</td>
<td>8-Amira Elghawaby, national council of Canadian Muslims</td>
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<tr>
<td>10-Shimon Koffler Fogel: CEO of Centre for Israel and Jewish Affairs</td>
<td>10-Trudeau</td>
<td>9-Elghawaby</td>
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<tr>
<td>11-Trudeau</td>
<td>11-Mulcair</td>
<td>10-Elghawaby</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-Trudeau</td>
<td>12-Tweet quotes from #dresscodePM-woman</td>
<td>11-Mulcair</td>
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<tr>
<td>13-Tweet quote #dresscodepm-woman</td>
<td>14-Trudeau</td>
<td>12-Mulcair</td>
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<td>14-Trudeau</td>
<td>15-Harper</td>
<td>13-Mulcair</td>
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<td>15-Harper</td>
<td>16-Clement</td>
<td>14-Trudeau</td>
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Table 28: 12 March 2015

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<td>NP</td>
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<td>1(M) Jewish</td>
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<td>EJ</td>
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<td>GM</td>
<td>2P (M)</td>
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<td>1 (M) Jewish</td>
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<td>1P (M)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mcl</td>
<td>5P(M), 2 Off. (M)</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<td>1(M)</td>
<td>2 (M) Jewish</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Publications:
2 news, 2 opinion/editorial, 1 feature/analysis:
1- National Post (Opinion/Analysis): Harper, Trudeau Try to Quiet the Rhetoric: Went Too Far in Debating the Niqab Controversy. March 12
2- Edmonton Journal: Harper Accused of ‘Islamophobia,’ Ottawa’s Position on Niqab at heart of politically charged issue: March 12
3- Globe and Mail (Editorial): Competitive Divisiveness. March 12
4- CBC: Will Stephen Harper Regret Remark on Niqabs? March 12
5- Maclean’s: The Weak and Uninspiring Case Against the Niqab. March 12
Table 29: 13 March 2015

<table>
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1 news, 1 opinion/editorial:
- National Post: Opinion: Harper Stirs up Niqab Tempest: PM Unleashes War over Cultural Acceptability
- Toronto Star: news: Muslim Women in Canada Explain Why they Wear a Niqab
Chapter 4

Discussion & Conclusion: #DresscodePM and re-Framing the Niqab

4.1 Discussion: #DresscodePM’s Impact on the Media Coverage

The circulation of #DresscodePM led to the diversification of the types of sources quoted in Canadian media on the niqab ban in citizenship ceremonies on 11 March 2015. I argue that the wider range of voices represented through tweet quotes expanded the boundaries of the media debate on the niqab. #DresscodePM gave credence to a counter discourse and legitimized the “deviant” (Hallin) voices that opposed the government’s attempts to regulate the bodies of Canadians and Canadian residents. The hashtag also resulted in the increase in media representation of ordinary Canadian Muslim and non-Muslim women. I discuss the pros and cons of including the voices of ordinary Muslim and non-Muslim women together in the stories. I also discuss how the circulation of #DresscodePM led to the increase of self-representation of Muslim and niqabi women in Canadian media.

Diversifying the circle of “legitimate debate”: Daniel C. Hallin’s concept of the “sphere of legitimate debate” is applicable to the case of the Canadian media coverage of the niqab ban in citizenship ceremonies. Hallin argued that journalists tend to favour politicians and news sources who are deemed to represent valid opinions that reflect the general accepted attitudes regarding an issue (qtd. in Rosen 1). The sphere of legitimate debate surrounding the niqab ban mostly included the position of Tory politicians who spoke the most often and most prominently about the ban. In the weeks following issuing the ban, the dominant media discourse framed the niqab as “a symbol of gender oppression and a contradiction to Canadian values” (Thomas 196).
Representatives of Muslim organizations who opposed the ban spoke less often and less prominently. They argued the ban infringed on religious and personal freedoms in 2011 and following Harper’s comments in March 2015. Moreover, the Muslim organizations quotes were marginalized in the stories. In 2011 following introducing the ban, the *Globe and Mail* did not quote Muslim women who opposed the ban in ‘news’ stories. The only Muslim voices quoted who disagreed with the ban were two men; one was a head of a Muslim organization and the other a university professor. The only Muslim woman voice represented was in an opinion submission and she supported the ban. Overall, a limited range of news sources, mostly politicians, opinion writers, and a few Muslim organizations contributed to the debate on the niqab ban. The *Globe and Mail* ruled out the contribution of women who wear the niqab including Ishaq to the debate on the niqab ban in citizenship ceremonies since 2011. Canadian media outlets also ignored the voices of niqabis and did not quote Ishaq following Harper’s comments on 10 and 11 March 2015. Only one media story quoted a Muslim woman organization who opposed the ban, or any Muslims, on 10 March 2015. These results correspond to van Dijk’s findings that journalists favour giving access to minorities who “share the opinions or perspective of the majority” (van Dijk *Discourse & Power* 75).

Journalists may have considered niqabis including Ishaq as “deviant” voices and thus they were excluded from the media debate. Hallin argued journalists tend to cast out the opinions considered unacceptable to “the political mainstream of society.” These sources fall under the “sphere of deviance.” Deviant voices are regarded as “unworthy of being heard” and are excluded from the “public agenda” (qtd. in Rosen 2). Thus Ishaq, niqabi women, and also for the most Muslim women who opposed the ban were all
considered deviant voices and were excluded from the media coverage up until 10 March 2015. Ordinary Canadians including Muslims were not part of the media conversation about restricting wearing the niqab. Elected politicians spoke on behalf of Canadians in the media when it came to issues surrounding regulating the niqab. Harper claimed on 10 March 2015 that he spoke for “all Canadians” and “Canadian women” when he said the niqab was “anti-women,” and that the niqab conflicted with Canadian norms. Harper’s exchange with Trudeau on the next day, 11 March 2015, was telling regarding what constituted as the sphere of legitimate debate and who fell under the sphere of deviant debate when it comes to the niqab. Harper said:

> These are not the views only of the overwhelming majority of Canadians, they are the views of the overwhelming majority of moderate Muslims…It is up to the leader of the Liberal Party to explain why he is so far outside that mainframe (Payton).

Harper and the conservative government gave rise to the dominant media discourse that the niqab was “offensive” (Payton) and contradicts Canadian values starting from 2007 but especially from 2011 onwards. Journalists mostly followed the parameters of the debate the ruling party set surrounding the niqab. Harper on 11 March 2015 bluntly stated that those who opposed the niqab ban were the deviants on the fringes of Canadian society. According to Harper, Ishaq, niqabi women, non-“moderate” Muslims, and opposition parties were “far outside” the accepted “mainframe.” The nine media stories covering Harper comments, some published before #DressCodePM trended, ignored almost all whom Harper identified as out of the norm except for the voices of opposition politicians.

Media users responded to Harper with #DressCodePM, and challenged what the mainstream Canadian media considered the dominant acceptable range of opinions on the
niqab. The tweets featured in Canadian media mocked the Prime Minister for claiming to liberate women by dictating what women can wear. Canadian women and men including Muslims came together on Twitter and gave prominence to the counter-discourse that the government’s ban on the niqab infringes on women’s right to choose what to do with their bodies.

Jay Rosen argued that participatory media users can challenge what mainstream media considers the sphere of legitimate debate when media users “connect horizontally around and about the news.” Rosen called his concept “audience atomization overcome,” which refers to the media users’ ability to reduce journalists’ “authority” and to defy the debate boundaries that journalists set (Rosen 6). Accordingly, the wide circulation of #DressCodePM in response to the news about Harper’s niqab remarks led to the weakening of the “authority of the press to assume consensus, define deviance, and set the terms for legitimate debate” (Rosen 6). The Canadian media finally gave prominent coverage to the counter discourse surrounding the niqab by publishing nine stories which mainly focused on #DressCodePM after the media users took to Twitter. Rosen’s audience atomization overcome concept echoes Brazilai-Nahon’s network gatekeeping salience. The gated media users, according to Brazilai-Nahon can gain political power and become challenging gated if they managed to “create” a public event to attract the “attention” of the media gatekeepers (Brazilai-Nahon 1506, 07). In the case of #DressCodePM media users, the gated, gained salience and increased their power by circulating the hashtag. The media users were able to defy what Canadian media defined as the sphere of acceptable debate. Twitter users challenged the Canadian media
gatekeeping decisions of who to select, who to disregard, and thus who gets to shape the sphere of legitimate debate surrounding the niqab ban in citizenship ceremonies.

Ordinary Muslim and non-Muslim Canadians who opposed Harper’s position on the niqab ban were quoted in Canadian media stories only after #DressCodePM trending on 11 March 2015. The inclusion of the tweet quotes with #DressCodePM diversified the range of voices within the legitimate sphere of debate on the niqab. The media debate about the niqab was not just restricted to predominantly politicians as was the case over the years. Thus, the circulation of the hashtag resulted in the rise of a counter discourse on the niqab in Canadian media.

#DressCodePM: A Feminist, Muslim, or Political hashtag? One of the factors that may have contributed to “prioritizing” (Brazilai-Nahon 1507) the counter-discourse reflected in #DressCodePM is that the media users were a diverse heterogeneous group. The media users collectively represented the groups who were gated and marginalized in the media coverage of the niqab ban: ordinary Muslim women, non-Muslim women, ordinary Muslim men, non-Muslim men, and feminists who disapproved of the ban. These groups are placed in different levels on the hierarchy of credible media sources (van Dijk Discourse & Power). For example, white men and then women would usually be at the higher ranks while minorities would be on the lower levels of the hierarchy of sources. van Dijk notes that minorities in the media are “seldom allowed to speak alone” (van Dijk Discourse & Power 75). Journalists often rely on “white” sources and “action groups” to “defend” minorities position (van Dijk Racism and the Press 154).

Muslim women were quoted at record numbers on 11 March 2015 compared to their representation in stories in 10 March 2015 as well in stories published on the niqab
ban since 2011. However, Muslim women still came in fourth after ordinary women, men and politicians. Journalists did not give the voices of minorities, Muslims in this case study, equal weight compared to the general public or compared to politicians. Even though Muslims were among the top Twitter users who circulated the hashtag.

Journalists may have considered #DressCodePM a feminist hashtag thus ordinary Canadian women’s tweets were featured the most in the stories. #DressCodePM can also be considered a hashtag about Canadian politics so ordinary Canadian men and women tweets were also featured in the story. However, Muslims took part in circulating the hashtag and Harper also singled out Muslims in his comments. Consequently, #DressCodePM was also a Muslim hashtag. Muslims’ tweets, especially Muslim women’s tweets, should have been equally part of the stories if not even more privileged than the other voices given the context of Harper’s remarks. By using Muslim sources fewer times the media coverage de-emphasized the troubling and offensive aspect of Harper’s comments specifically concerning Muslims.

**Muslim women part of the “imagined nation”?** This study acknowledges that Muslims, especially women, should have at least been given equal representation in the stories about #DressCodePM. However, there was an upside to including ordinary Canadian Muslim women voices together with ordinary non-Muslim Canadians in the stories about rejecting Harper’s comments on the niqab. Muslim women were presented as part of the imagined Canadian public (Anderson) who engaged in a discussion around politics and feminism. The findings of Henry and Tator’s study indicated that Canadian media often “place” minorities “outside the national vision of Canada, and exclude them from the mainstream of Canadian society” (232). Ross and Eid pointed that the media
stories which quoted Canadian Muslims following the September 11 attacks did not include other sources. The authors argued separating Muslim voices from the rest of the Canadian voices “seemed as if the two communities had no relationship with each other” (Perigoe and Eid 172). van Dijk is of the view that journalists use both “white” sources with minority sources together because minority voices by themselves are not deemed credible sources (Discourse & Power 75). However, in some contexts as Ross and Eid argued, placing the minorities in separate stories about a public event or issue may further ‘other’ them and exclude them from the ‘imagined’ nation. In the case of the Canadian media coverage following the circulation of #DressCodePM, Muslim women’s opinions were framed in eight out of the 10 stories as part of the Canadian public reaction. As opposed to being ‘othered’ into a special category of Muslim reaction.

The dominant debate surrounding the niqab over the years in Canada has been marred with orientalist overtones (Jiwani "Doubling Discourses" 1627, 774; Golnaraghi and Mills 164-66; Jiwani Discourses of Denial 186). The niqab was considered a deviant exotic piece of clothing that outsiders brought to Canadian society as indicated in the case study’s analysis of the Globe and Mail archives. The debate centered on whether the multiculturalism policy in Canada meant to accommodate women who wear the niqab or whether women should assimilate to Canadian norms. The debate set Canadian “values” against Muslim culture (Thobani 167, 68). However, #DressCodePM tweets featured in Canadian media shifted the political conversation from one that centered on orientalist notions of how to deal with the ‘other’s’ culture to a debate about biopolitics (Foucault). The debate around multiculturalism and accommodation issues positions Muslim women as the ‘other’ in the media discussion. Thus Muslim women were separated from the rest
of the ordinary Canadian women in these discussions. However, when the debate is about biopolitics and resisting the state’s attempts to regulate women’s bodies then Muslim women are included with ordinary Canadian women in the national conversation.

Before the circulation of #DressCodePM, Muslim women who disagreed with the niqab ban were pitted against other feminist Muslim women, Canadian feminist organizations, and feminist column writers who rejected the niqab. That is according to the case study’s content analysis of 38 years of the *Globe and Mail*, and according to the findings of works by Thobani, Razack, Golnaraghi and Mills, and Thomas (Thobani 237; Razack 88; Golnaraghi and Mills 165, 66; Thomas 194, 96) Consequently, Muslim women who opposed the ban on niqabs where placed in a counter-position to feminists in media stories. What changed following #DressCodePM was that Canadian feminists and feminist column writers who were considered credible media actors took part in tweeting the hashtag. As a result, Muslim women who opposed the ban were on the same side as some Canadian feminists in the public and media debate surrounding the niqab ban.

Muslim women were represented as part of a Canadian political and feminist discussion in reaction to Harper’s comments in the media stories that focused on #DressCodePM. The niqab debate was not just presented as a conflict between representative of the state and Muslim women in the media stories following the circulation of #DressCodePM. Moreover, ordinary Canadian Muslim and non-Muslim voices were included together at significantly higher numbers in the stories about #DressCodePM. More investigation is needed to examine the coverage of Harper’s comments and #DressCodePM’s circulation from the prospective of a feminist framework.
Hashtag activism, self-representation and the voices of women who wear the

niqab: The spread of #DressCodePM was an act of hashtag activism in which the gated Canadians including at least one niqabi spoke for themselves and talked back to the Prime Minister. Thumim argues that acts of self-representation through participatory media are “political.” The act of self-representation constitutes a “challenge to the idea that it is the job of one set of people to represent another set of people” (Thumim 8). #DressCodePM challenged the notion that Harper can speak for Muslim and non-Muslim women, and of niqabis.

Circulating #DressCodePM helped raise the issue of self-representation of the actors involved in the story including Muslim women. Tweet quotes with #DressCodePM were featured in the stories without editing the text or the tweet’s message, which is not the case with traditional quotes that journalists edit. Journalists still control which tweets to feature and how to frame the content of a tweet in the story. However, tweet quotes are a form of self-representation in media stories that is less mediated compared to traditional quotes that journalist select from interviews. Ordinary Muslim and non-Muslim women and men got to self-represent their opinions in the media stories without journalists editing the content of their quotes.

Ishaq was allowed to self-represent herself in a Canadian newspaper for the first time a few days following Harper’s comments, and after #DressCodePM trended. Another niqabi woman self-represented herself in an open letter posted on an online magazine. Two other niqabi women, along with a woman that used to wear the niqab voiced their opinions in a current affairs national radio interview. What is special about the “discourse of self-representation” is that it leads to “privileging the experience of the
individual self” and can lead to “material political outcomes” (Thumim 8,9). The experiences of niqabi women has been mostly disregarded in Canadian media for many years, however they were finally given the chance to self-represent themselves in media stories in March 2015.

Thobani argued that Muslim women who wear the niqab were considered deviant for going against progressive Canadian norms. Niqabi women were often depicted in the media as possessing “cultural deficiencies” which “control” their “lives” and leads them to reject modern Canadian values. Muslim women were expected to take advantage of being part of a modern society and “assimilate into Canadian society.” The conflict happens when women refuse to “embarrass” the “superior mores of Canadians” by wearing a niqab, and as a result “the superiority of the nation’s cherished values becomes suddenly threatened” (Thobani 168). Thus these national anxieties regarding Muslim women resulted in the rise of the public and media discourse that framed the niqab as a threat to the Canadian nation and in conflict with Canadian laws and norms (Thobani 168).

Muslim women who chose to wear the niqab have thus been traditionally cast out from the sphere of legitimate debate. They have almost been absent from the media stories related to the niqab. #DressCodePM played a role in expanding the boundaries of the sphere of legitimate debate to include a wider range of voices including niqabi women who traditionally have been considered a “deviant” source. #DressCodePM also led to a spike in Muslim women’s representation in media stories on 11 March 2015. A counter-discourse to the niqab ban gained prominent media attention beginning from 11 March 2015. Thus, the circulation of #DressCodePM led to re-framing the dominant
discourse on the niqab in Canadian media in the days after #DressCodePM spread. #DressCodePM was a form of “cultural acupuncture” (Jenkins "Participatory Culture"); the tweets which spread led to a localized intervention in Canadian media culture. More investigation is needed to examine the media discourses surrounding the niqab in the months leading to federal elections in October 2015.

4.2 Conclusion

Framing the Niqab: The results of the content analysis and CDA on the coverage of the niqab over 38 years in the *Globe and Mail* shows the voices of Muslim women, and especially niqabi women, were often withheld and disregarded. Politicians and columnists were the ones who spoke most often and who spoke most prominently. Federal politicians and Quebec politicians framed the niqab as a practice that clashed with Canadian norms and values from 2007 onwards. Politicians as well as some column writers framed niqabis as women in need of liberation and intervention. The media coverage on the day Harper declared the niqab was “rooted in culture that is anti-women” was not any different. Canadian journalists followed the same pattern of privileging politicians and ignoring and disregarding the voices of niqabi and Muslim women on 10 March 2015.

The *Globe and Mail* published 136 news, feature, opinion stories, and letters to the editor which had a Canadian connection to the niqab between 1977 and 10 March 2015. A total of four women who wear or used to wear the niqab were quoted or voiced their opinions in 38 years in the *Globe and Mail*. Two of those niqabi women were quoted in two ‘news’ stories. The first woman was interviewed after she was kicked off a bus in Toronto in 1999. The second was interviewed about a decade later, in 2010,
because she was expelled from a French class in Montreal. These two stories represent the theme of the highest number of news and opinion stories published about the niqab in the *Globe and Mail*. The majority of the stories were about the niqab being in conflict with Canadian institutions’ rules, or the law, or the state.

The prevalent themes about the niqab throughout the decades from the 1970s until 2007 were also linked to changes in demographics, changes in immigration rules in Canada, and world events. Canada adopted the official policy of multiculturalism and reformed the immigration requirements in the 1970s. In the 1970s and 1980s, the face veil was portrayed in the newspaper as a phenomenon that existed overseas in Iran and other Middle Eastern countries. The 1990s marked the significant increase of the number of Muslims in Canada, and that is when opinion pieces about niqab sightings in Canada began to appear in the *Globe and Mail*. In the five years following the September 11 attacks, the main news stories about the niqab were related to terrorism suspects. In total, the *Globe and Mail* published 8 stories related to terrorism charges or Canadians with extremist views that mention women wearing the niqab from 2001 to 2015. The post 9/11 era also coincided with the significant increase of Muslim immigration to Canada.

The biggest increase in coverage of the niqab in Canada began in 2007 which marked the beginning of the debate about reasonable accommodation in Quebec. The federal government also played a role in promoting the media discourse that the niqab contravenes Canadian rules and values since 2007. The Harper government passed a law in 2007 that required niqabi women to show their face while voting in federal elections. Only one Muslim woman was quoted in all 4 ‘news’ stories about voting with a niqab, and she agreed with Conservative government’s position.
The dominant discourse of the niqab being in conflict with the law and state continued until 2015. The conservative government introduced the ban on niqabs in citizenship ceremonies in 2011. The *Globe and Mail* did not use any Muslim women including niqabi women quotes in the two ‘news’ stories about banning the niqab during citizenship ceremonies. Ishaq, the woman who took legal action to take the citizenship oath while wearing a niqab, was not used as a news source after she challenged the ban. Between 2013 and 2014, the *Globe and Mail* published 6 ‘news’ stories related to Quebec’s proposed charter of values that were related to the niqab. Only one out of the 6 stories quoted a Muslim woman; she was a representative of a Muslim woman organization.

Niqab, which is an Arabic word, was the most used term to refer to the face veil starting from 2007 until 2015 in the *Globe and Mail*. Before that burqa, veil, face veil and chador were used instead. Thus, the word niqab became associated with the rise in the media discourse about the face veil being incompatible with Canadian values.

On 10 March 2015 Canadian journalists again predominantly used male politicians as news sources for covering Harper’s remarks on the niqab in the House of Commons. One Muslim woman, who was with a Muslim organization, was quoted in one out of the nine stories that did not mention #DressCodePM; the stories were published on 10 and 11 March 2015. Politicians and officials were used 31 times in those 9 stories, while a Muslim woman was used as a source once. The ratio of women to men sources was 1 to 5, for the 12 stakeholder identified in the stories. There were no ordinary Canadian voices used including Muslims in those 9 stories. Tory politicians who are mostly Caucasian men spoke the most often and the most prominently in the stories about
Harper comments that did not reference #DressCodePM. Consequently, the Tory politicians’ quotes framed the media narrative that the niqab was “contrary to Canadian values” and “anti-women” before #DressCodePM circulated.

Jiwani, Golnaraghi and Mills, and Thomas all concluded that voices of Muslim women and especially niqabi women were marginalized and silenced in Canadian media which is consistent with this case study’s finding (Golnaraghi and Mills 166; Jiwani *Discourses of Denial* 185, 97; Thomas 199). Thomas also pointed that politicians shaped the dominant media discourse surrounding the niqab that it is contradictory to Canadian norms during the coverage of the niqab ban in citizenship ceremonies which corresponds to the case study’s findings (Thomas 192-94). Golnaraghi and Mills also concluded that there was a significant spike in the media coverage of the niqab in the years 2007 and 2010 (Golnaraghi and Mills 164, 65); these results are in agreement with the case study’s findings.

*Re-Framing the Niqab:* The media stories that mentioned #DressCodePM on 11 March 2015 quoted a diverse range of voices which included: ordinary Muslim women, ordinary non-Muslim women and men, a Muslim organization spokeswoman, politicians, officials, and a columnist. Ordinary sources were used 78 times compared to politicians and officials were used 24 times. Ordinary women were used 32 times, ordinary men were used 25 times, politicians were used 24 times, and ordinary Muslim women were used as sources 20 times. A Muslim organization spokeswoman was used once, and one ordinary Muslim man was used as a source once. These results are in sharp contrast with the first group of stories on Harper’s comments published on 10 and 11 March 2015 which mostly used male politicians and only quoted one Muslim woman with an
organization. The majority of ordinary women, men and Muslim quotes were from tweets, and the tweet quotes were critical of Harper’s comments on the niqab.

The findings of the case study are consistent with the findings of Broersma and Graham, and Paulussen and A. Harder. Their two studies concluded that social media and tweet quotes can improve the “diversity of voices” in media stories (Paulussen and Harder 549; Broersma and Graham "Twitter as a News Source" 461). However, the case study findings that using tweet quotes decreased the reliance on politicians and elite sources contradicts with a study by Sophie Lecheler and Sanne Kruikemeier which found that “journalists still gravitate towards elite sources” (Lecheler and Kruikemeier 167).

The wide and rapid circulation of the hashtag by thousands of media users in less than 24 hours increased the gated salience. The gated climbed up the gated tiers and were elevated from frustrated gated to challenging gated because they gained political power by making the hashtag trend in Canada. Thus the Canadian media gave more access to the gated and included tweets from Muslim and non-Muslim ordinary Canadian Twitter users because their power shifted as a result of widely circulating the hashtag. Canadian media published 9 ‘news’ stories that mainly focused on #DressCodePM trending, and one other story that mentioned the hashtag on 11 March 2015. Thus the trending hashtag became a newsworthy event. The news story, as one lower headline stated, became about “thousands respond to prime minister's 'anti-women' niqab comments” (O’Neil). The media users circulating the hashtag which included ordinary Muslim and non-Muslim women and men became the news makers. Consequently, ordinary sources were quoted more than politicians in the stories about #DressCodePM.
Tweets sent with #DressCodePM provided journalist with instant access to thousands of quotes without having to leave the newsroom. However, journalists still practiced editorial gatekeeping mechanisms to select which tweets and Twitter users to feature. Consequently, journalists’ source selection gatekeeping decisions shaped who is included in the national political and media debate and who is excluded in the discussion of Harper comments and the niqab ban. Ordinary Canadian women including Muslims, ordinary Canadian men excluding Muslims, and Canadian politicians were part of the reaction story to Harper’s niqab comments. Ishaq, niqabi women, and ordinary Muslim men were left out of the conversation on 11 March 2015. Ishaq and Niqabi women were also disregarded in all the 19 stories published in both groups on 10 and 11 March 2015. However, Ishaq and other niqabi women were interviewed in the days and weeks after Harper’s comments and after #DressCodePM circulated.

The case study’s findings are consistent with Graeff, Stempech, and Zuckerman study that concluded that “media activists are working through participatory media to co-create the news and influence the framing of major controversies” (53). Their study also concluded that while mainstream media still play a powerful role in deciding which stories and issues to promote nationally, they are becoming “vulnerable to influence” of media activists, which corresponds with the findings of this case study (Graeff, Stempech and Zuckerman 54).

Ordinary Muslim women were “speaking” more in the stories about #DressCodePM. They spoke sometimes more and sometimes less “often” and “predominantly” compared to ordinary non-Muslim women and politicians (van Dijk Racism and the Press 151). Nonetheless, the hashtag led to the increase of representation
of Muslim women voices in Canadian news in stories related to the niqab on 11 March 2015 compared to stories published in the first group of stories about Harper comments on both 10 and 11 March 2015. Moreover, Muslim women were quoted much more in stories related to #DressCodePM in comparison to stories published about the niqab in the *Globe and Mail* over a 38 year period.

### 4.3 Future work

Further research can tackle investigating the relation between the Canadian mainstream news coverage timeline and #DressCodePM circulation peaks through using mapping and detailed analytics. That research can examine how mainstream news and Twitter feed into each other and whether publishing news stories about #DressCodePM extended the trending period of the hashtag. Future research can also focus on getting the prospective of the Twitter senders who participated in spreading #DressCodePM as well as the journalists prospective on covering the stories of Harper’s comments and #DressCodePM. Also, more investigation is required to determine how the niqab ban and Ishaq was covered in the few months between March and the federal election in October 2015.

Future investigation is also needed to examine the downside of minority women getting more exposure on both Twitter and mainstream media. At least one of the prominently featured Muslim women users who spread #DressCodePM was trolled by several Twitter users. The Twitter user who initiated the trolling is a Muslim media commentator who is usually touted as a voice for progressive Muslims.

A detailed content analysis and CDA is also needed to closely examine the most covered single topic news story about the niqab, which was the case of the legal
challenge to testify with a niqab in a sexual assault trial. A comparative analysis can be conducted to examine if there were difference in the coverage between this sexual assault case and other prominent sexual assault trials in Canada. Also, CDA can be used to trace the origins of why different words were used to refer to the face veil throughout the years and to examine the implications of referring to the face veil as niqab in Canadian media.


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