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# #ourFword: Understand Contemporary Feminism in a Media-Saturated Landscape

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#OURFWORD: UNDERSTANDING CONTEMPORARY FEMINISM IN A  
MEDIA-SATURATED LANDSCAPE

by

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A Research Paper  
Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the  
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## Introduction

The continuous debates surrounding feminism in the 21<sup>st</sup> century make it clear there are a wide variety of opinions about the current state of feminism, how we should classify contemporary feminist movements, and if feminism is even necessary. While some struggle to accurately classify the current feminist movement, especially in the context of widespread mass and social media use and reach, others are frequently claiming the death of feminism or rejecting its necessity due to perpetuated stigma or perceived achievement of gender equality. What is less clear are the reasons so many stand so firmly divided on the topic of contemporary feminism.

This research seeks to better understand the ways in which media (social and mass media) is used to support feminist ideology or inhibit its progression. Whether it is reporting on feminist sentiment, swaying popular opinion, or perpetuating inequality in its representations of gender, media has always played an integral role in the development and progression of feminist movements. Now, more than ever, it has become nearly impossible to disconnect any social or political movement from discussions of media use, strategy, and tactics. It is because of the media saturated environment in which we live that I believe media holds an insurmountable amount of power to influence the way we discuss issues relating to gender, feminism, and sexualities.

Media has historically had a heavy hand in framing popular perceptions of the feminist movement and the introduction of new media has allowed media to wield its influential power at levels unmatched by mediums before it. New media allows activists to easily author content instead of publishing through third parties and at the same time

gives stronger voices and platforms to antifeminists or other feminist opposition. This research is important in furthering understandings of the ways in which media represent gender in general, and feminism specifically, and how those representations shape audience perceptions of feminism. If feminist values are to become more widely accepted and feminist goals of equality and decreased sexism are ever to be achieved, it is important to understand the way media either supports or inhibits these goals. Media is one of the most powerful tools of our time. In order to continue to make strides toward achieving gender equality in Western civilizations and the world, analyses of current media messages and strategies to utilize media for making progress toward gender equality must be given significant attention.

## **Feminism Then: A Brief Historical Review of First and Second Wave Feminism**

### **First Wave Feminism**

Feminist history in the United States is often defined in “waves.” The first wave of feminism began gaining momentum around the half turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century during the historically noted Seneca Falls Convention; this time period of women’s rights activism focused on women’s suffrage and various other reforms in education, divorce laws, married women’s property ownership, and child custody (Sanders, 2001; Xinari, 2010). After years of struggle and many rejected amendments, the nineteenth amendment was passed in 1920 and gave women the right to vote. In the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a combination of the Great Depression and the deployment of many U.S. men to fight in the world wars made it necessary for more women to enter the work force.

It was during the peak of first wave feminism that mass media first showed its immense power and effectiveness of catering to desires of female empowerment to sell

material goods. Nephew of Sigmund Freud and “father of public relations,” Edward Bernays, was recruited after the First World War to create a campaign that encouraged women to smoke (Christensen, 2012). As it was looked down upon for women to smoke in public before this time, Bernays rode the wave of rising feminist sentiment and sold smoking cigarettes as a way to liberate women. Women thus began lighting their “torches of freedom” and the success of the campaign led to decades of advertisements using cigarettes and other commodities to sell women on perceived equalities while policing their bodies and perpetuating unrealistic standards of beauty.



Figure 1. [Online image].  
Retrieved from  
<http://yourstory.com/2014/08/torches-of-freedom/>

## Second Wave Feminism

Discontent with patriarchal oppression among women continued to grow in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, bringing about ‘second wave feminism’ in the 1960s.

This era of feminism was marked by the Women's Liberation Movement and focused on issues of marriage, workplace discrimination, sexual liberation, beauty culture, and the ownership of one's body (Thornham, 2001; Xinari, 2010). Much of the activism in this time period came in the form of "consciousness-raising groups." As both men and women were often unknowingly raised with sexist values, it was important to build consciousness around widespread sexism in order to combat sexist oppression. In *Feminism is for Everybody*, bell hooks (2000) describes the usefulness of these groups in the feminist movement, which "emphasized the importance of learning about patriarchy as a system of domination, how it became institutionalized, and how it is perpetuated and maintained (p. 7)." It was at this time the term 'patriarchy' became popularly recognized as an institutionalized structure of women's subordination to men as opposed to the more traditional definition that referred to the patriarch of the traditional family (Thornham, 2001). Consciousness-raising groups were mostly informally held meetings and reflected therapy sessions where women vented their frustrations as opposed to setting goals to affect real change (hooks, 2000); however, this does not mean the groups were without value. "Communication and dialogue were the central agenda [of consciousness-raising] (hooks, 2000, p. 8)" which allowed many women to reach the realization that subordination was not the only option. A majority of these feminist discussions eventually moved predominantly to the realm of academia, which positively led to women's studies becoming a legitimate field of study, but negatively made the movement much less inclusive and further instilled a white, middle/upper-class bias (hooks, 2000).

The movement's well-documented presence of white, middle/upper-class, heterosexual privilege was not solely the result of feminist rhetoric moving to academia and existed well before the United States entered second wave feminism. A popular criticism of early waves of feminism is the alliance made with white men by white feminists. Women using their privileged race and class status as leverage for equal opportunities often erased the presence of marginalized groups of women in the movement and abandoned any chance of sisterhood (hooks, 2000). The media coverage of women's issues also had a hand in the privileged view of feminism. One of the most prominent feminist issues in the media throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century was a woman's legitimacy to do work outside of the home. The problem with the framing of this issue as the dominant issue for gender equality was the fact that it positioned women living comfortable lifestyles that allowed them the *option* to stay home as representatives of the plight of *all* women. This put the focus of feminism on the "bored housewives" who had husbands wealthy enough for their families to live off a single income; however, single, lower-class, or lesbian women had been present in the workforce for years—often scraping by on abysmal wages (hooks, 2000). The media also misrepresented feminism by dedicating media time to feminists with anti-male sentiment that was disproportionate to the number of feminists that actually held that sentiment, and by framing feminists' rejection of feminine beauty standards and dependency on males as a reason to question their sexual orientation. These media representations further perpetuated a "women against men" narrative and used homophobia to discredit feminism (hooks, 2000). Regardless of the patriarchal forces that constantly fought against the first and second wave feminists to keep current social



order intact, women and their male allies made great progress in the legal reform of women's education, marriage equality, custody rights, women's suffrage, and reproductive rights to make possible the freedoms often taken for granted by the young 21<sup>st</sup> century female.

## **Feminism Now: Multiple perspectives of the Current State of Feminism**

### **Third Wave Feminism**

With great strides made in the social, political, and economic equality of the sexes in the first and second waves of feminism, the 21<sup>st</sup> century is often plagued with a debate over the necessity and legitimacy of contemporary feminism. With the constant objectification of women in the media, politics heavily dominated by males, and the persistent pay gap, many still see the necessity of feminist thought, action, and critique in this century. Some scholars who support the continued need for/existence of feminism contend that contemporary feminism is different in many ways from previous feminist movements, and must be defined accordingly. Remaining consistent with "defining by waves," this new feminism is often referred to as 'third wave feminism (Kelly, 2005; Kendal, 2012; Kinser, 2004; Walker, 1992).' One primary difference from past feminist movements is third wave feminism's attempts to be more inclusive to all kinds of women regardless of race, class or sexuality; however whether this inclusivity is achieved is debated (Drake & Heywood, 1997). In Drake & Heywood's (1997) chapter on 'postfeminism', the editors state the following in reference to third wave feminism:

We know that what oppresses me may not oppress you, that what oppresses you may be something I participate in, and that what oppresses me may be something you participate in. Even as different strands of

feminism and activism sometimes directly contradict each other, they are all part of our third wave lives, our thinking, and our praxes: we are products of all the contradictory definitions of and differences within feminism, beasts of such a hybrid kind that perhaps we need a different name altogether. (Drake & Heywood, 1997, p. 3)

This difference positions third wave feminism as a movement of inclusion. According to Drake & Heywood (1997), third wave rhetoric stemmed from critiques of feminism made by black women in the early 1980s and other minority groups; its foundations are therefor reflected in its agenda. As third wave feminism attempts to recognize, discuss, and give equal weight to a vast array of feminist issues that exceed the geographic and popular reach of preceding movements (thanks in part to the nature of the world wide web), the ultimate challenge of third wave feminism may be discovering how inclusivity can translate to collective action that will lead to change.

Like the movements before it, third wave feminism is often challenged by media messages that seek to belittle feminism or eliminate popular feminist sentiment. A common theme in media messages that conflict with feminist activism is the repeated granting of feminism with an official certificate of death. The media tactic is so common, that media critic Jennifer Pozner (2003) has given it a name: False Feminist Death Syndrome. Perhaps the most widely noted of these proclamations was *Time Magazine's* 1998 cover which presented readers with photos of well-known feminist faces Susan B. Anthony, Betty Friedan, and Gloria Steinham next to a photo of the television character Ally McBeal and under a headline that read "Is Feminism Dead?" (Douglas, 2010; Pozner, 2003; Reger, 2014). While there were a number of



Figure 2. [Online Image]  
Retrieved from  
[http://persephonemagazine.com/2011/08/female-friendship-on-sports-night/is\\_feminism\\_dead\\_time\\_cover/](http://persephonemagazine.com/2011/08/female-friendship-on-sports-night/is_feminism_dead_time_cover/)

contemporary feminist activists and writers that could have been profiled next to the three other women, the choice of using a fictional television character (and Ally McBeal for that matter) as the face of contemporary feminism and its supposed demise was clearly not born from the feminist movement. Profiling Ally McBeal failed to “bring critical, progressive perspectives to the alternative press and publishing worlds (Pozner, 2003, p. 34)” and failed to report on significant artistic, social, and political efforts that were currently contributing to an apparently dead movement.

One suggestion some scholars have made for the ease of media to claim the death of feminism is the way feminism is defined. The “wave” metaphor, though helpful in contextualizing feminist history, and technically accurate in representing ascension and decline in movement visibility, focuses on political or state-centered achievements and agendas and ignores other relevant social reform that gets less media coverage.

The low visibility of social reform happening between surges in political reform leads to the perception that the movement is dying (Reger, 2014). According to Reger (2014), “the wave metaphor has [also] been charged with leaving out the efforts of women of color, lesbian, and poor and working class women, “washing away” much of feminist history with too much attention paid to White, middle-class women (p. 45).” This critique of and opposition to the “wave” metaphor contributes to the continuous struggle to define contemporary feminism, and creates some resistance to the adoption of the classification ‘third wave feminism.’

### **Postfeminism**

As a stark contrast to and originating almost simultaneously with third wave feminism is ‘postfeminism.’ On the alternative side of the debate over contemporary feminism, is the question of whether or not feminism is even necessary anymore. There are many conflicting views on how to define ‘postfeminism,’ as its origins are attributed to a media attempt to sell women on “girl power” while simultaneously situating traditional feminism as stale, prude, and outdated (Gamble, 2001; Xinari, 2010).” Gamble (2001) argues ‘postfeminism’ has not been clearly defined as a theory or movement, nor does it have any notable figures that have claimed it; it remains a “product of assumption (Coppock, Haydon, & Richter, 1995, p. 4).” Many feminists are “unable to decide whether it represents a con trick engineered by the media or a valid movement (Gamble, 2001, p. 36)” as women are embracing sexual “subjectification,” materialism, and rejecting victimhood. These actions of women all inherently benefit patriarchal media systems.

The idea of 'postfeminism' is heavily critiqued within feminist rhetoric as a mere construct of the media and a rejection and dismissal of the progress made by previous feminist movements. Women are empowered by messages claiming they can do and "have it all—a career, motherhood, beauty, and a great sex life [which] actually only resituates them as consumers of pills, paint, potions, cosmetic surgery, fashion, and convenience foods (Gamble, 2001, p. 42)." Media constantly provides queues about how to better ourselves—we can learn how to find a mate, get a promotion, or be a good parent all through the power of beauty, fashion, and cleaning products. How could we ever find happiness and success if we aligned ourselves with the hairy, ugly, prude, man-hating, lesbian women of the feminist movement? Rejection of traditional feminism has become "sexy," and we all want to be sexy.

Though 'postfeminism' may imply we are beyond a need for feminism, it is often cozily synonymous with antifeminism. This becomes very apparent with a visit to [WomenAgainstFeminism.com](http://WomenAgainstFeminism.com), a website dedicated to women who openly reject feminist identity, feminist politics, or believe popular misrepresentations of feminism. On the site women are encouraged to submit a photo of themselves (a "selfie") with an explanation of why they are against or not in need of feminism; most of the explanations exhibit an aversion to the term 'feminist' or 'feminism' and express sentiments consistent with 'postfeminist' thinking. Some women claim men do not objectify them, they enjoy the attention and dress in ways to gain the male gaze; therefore, they are "owning" their sexuality and becoming sexual *subjects*. Others deny victimhood, claiming that being raped does not make you a victim but a survivor—victimhood implies a person is weak. Many women pictured on the site wish to take on more

traditional gender roles in their relationship (cooking for a husband/boyfriend, cleaning, child-rearing, etc.) and feel that feminism does not allow them to do so, and along with these sentiments are often claims of fundamental differences between the genders (i.e. “I don’t need feminism because: [Men and Women] need each other! (I can’t even bring a fridge [to the] 6th floor)”)(“WomenAgainstFeminism.com,” 2015). A large amount of posts condemn feminism for being anti-man, harmful to men and ignorant of men’s rights issues. For additional examples of WomenAgainstFeminism.com photos, please reference Appendix B.



Figure 3. [Online Image] Retrieved from <http://womenagainstofeminism.tumblr.com/>

, ÷ What is perhaps most interesting about the photos on WomenAgainstFeminism.com, displayed in a collage of female empowerment, are the

white faces staring back at you. Though some different races are present on the site and other photos do not clearly denote a race, it is quite apparent that the women of WomenAgainstFeminism.com display predominantly white and (from their messages) heterosexual privilege. This is yet another prominent criticism of 'postfeminism,' especially from third wave feminists. The ability to ignore the combined oppression of sexism and racism, hypersexualization, or other issues that have more profound strains on lower-class or minority women is a luxury not afforded to all (Greer, 2000). While every individual's experience is indeed valid and important for our continued experience and discussions of gender, sexism, and feminism, the focus of WomenAgainstFeminism.com on the self (in this case, often the white, straight, privileged self) ignores the plight of other less privileged women. Though some women may not experience inequality, may always be respected by men as equals, and are paid accordingly, this is not the experience of all women in the United States, the Western world, and certainly not the globe. This rejection of feminism does little to benefit women and further continues to break down the experience of sisterhood and female solidarity necessary for feminist achievement and the equality of the genders.

### **Enlightened Sexism**

In *The Rise of Enlightened Sexism: How Pop Culture Took Us from Girl power to Girls Gone Wild*, Susan Douglas provides extensive analyses of the various ways media and popular culture contribute to conflicted views of feminism and reinforced and even acceptable forms of sexism. 'Enlightened sexism' looks a lot like 'postfeminism' and to some they might be one in the same. Much like 'postfeminism', enlightened sexism is attributed as having been introduced and perpetuated by the media—it suggests that

equality between the genders has been achieved, feminism is unnecessary and undesirable, and largely ignores the achievements of past feminist movements and the plight of less privileged women. Regardless of its many similarities to 'enlightened sexism', Douglas (2010) rejects the use of 'postfeminism' to describe the media perpetuated understandings of gender and equality. 'Postfeminism', she says, often has conflicting or muddled definitions and also inaccurately suggests the term has feminist origins; "it's good, old-fashioned, grade-A sexism that reinforces good, old-fashioned, grade-A patriarchy (Douglas, 2010, p. 9)."

Douglas (2010) attributes the rise of antifeminist sentiment, especially in young women, to the clever media rebranding of femininity that is 'enlightened sexism.' Through various forms of media (in particular entertainment media), enlightened sexism perpetuates the notion that equality is now so firmly embedded in our culture that it's acceptable and fun to revert back to sexist ways of thinking. Enlightened sexism ensures women that they can now stop pretending to be something they aren't (humorless, frigid feminists) and indulge in the guilty pleasure of hyperfeminine performance.

This kind of thinking asserts that women can and should use their looks for power. Objectification in this world is okay and often even flattering, for how can we blame the poor dumb saps (men) that so easily succumb to our will? Douglas (2010) asserts this is why a show like *The Man Show*, which features a segment where bikini-clad women jump on a trampoline in slow motion, are even possible. Instead of having any serious contention with the blatant sexism in the show, women should just role their eyes knowing how helpless men are to their sexual desires and accept that boys will be



boys. “True power,” says Douglas, “comes from shopping, having the right logos, and being “hot” (p. 6).” While there are many 1990s-present media platforms that Douglas uses to support the relentless assertions that female success comes with achievements in beauty (Beverly Hills 90210, Melrose Place, Legally Blonde, Miss Congeniality, etc.), a simple glimpse at the magazine rack in any grocery store will give you all the examples needed. Equating beauty with power is an obvious benefit to corporations disseminating messages through media. If you are a woman that men don’t lust over and women aren’t jealous of, then you are powerless; but fear not, there are plenty of products and makeover shows to help you get back on the “right” track (Douglas, 2010).

Enlightened sexism also assures women their beauty aspirations are not done for the approval of men, but for control over men. Beauty is power—you have the goods, they want the goods, so you are in control. And this female power is the kind men can really support. “Calculated deployment of [women’s] faces, bodies, attire, and



Figure 4. [Online Image]  
Retrieved from  
<http://gretachristina.typepad.com/.a/6a00d8341bf68b53ef013487cd6121970c-popup>



Figure 6. [Online Image]  
Retrieved from  
<http://www.whatroseknows.com/11-6-2012/Two-FREE-Cosmo-Magazine-Issues/>



Figure 5. [Online Image]  
Retrieved from  
<http://www.justjared.com/photo-gallery/2526423/emma-roberts-womens-health-magazine-april-2011/>

sexuality...[is] true power—power that is fun, that men will not resent, and indeed will embrace (p.10).” When it comes to feminism, being a feminist is inherently unattractive, meaning there is no longer empowerment to be gained from adopting a feminist identity. In fact, your open rejection of feminist identity will make your attractiveness ratings even higher! “Women today have a choice between feminism and antifeminism, and they...happily choose the latter because...antifeminism has become cool. Rejecting feminism and buying into enlightened sexism allows young women in particular to be “one of the guys.” Indeed, enlightened sexism is meant to make patriarchy pleasurable for women (p. 12).” Enlightened sexism encourages alliances with men while discouraging sisterhood.

There are many different ways in which media contributes to the erosion of sisterhood—one of the primary necessities to feminist progress. Though we enjoy some portrayals of Bechdel-quality female friendships in media (*Parks and Recreation’s* Anne and Leslie come to mind), the repeated representation of catfights, female jealousy, and judgment arguably outweigh instances of true female solidarity. Douglas (2010) argues reality television is perhaps the most notorious culprit of perpetuating the women against women narrative. Shows like *The Real World*, *Survivor*, and *The Bachelor* show us that women are catty, mean, judgmental, and will stab other women, even their friends, in the back. Women must also compete with other women over men (Douglas, 2010, p. 202). This is often positioned as one of those “fundamental” differences between men and women. Male solidarity is a given, they can get in a fight, punch it out, and be friends again five minutes later, but no solidarity can come from the intense, overly emotional, grudge holding fights of women. “[Men] betray women, not each

other...sisterhood is not powerful; it is impossible (Douglas, 2010, p. 259).” This abandonment or lack of faith in sisterhood is one of the great plagues of feminist progress. Internalized sexism against women leads to women competing with each other for patriarchal approval as opposed to joining forces to combat it (hooks, 2000).

The term Douglas (2010) attributes to the belief that female equality is “a given” is ‘embedded feminism’. The fact that women seek to be empowered and aspire to achieve is an uncontested notion of 21<sup>st</sup> century Western culture. Though many believe it is highly beneficial for various forms of media to portray women as CEOs, police chiefs, and presidents, Douglas (2010) argues these are nothing more than “escapist fantasies (p. 6)” that reinforce the illusion that equality in these fields has been achieved while the real proportions of women achieving on equal levels of men remain heavily skewed. It is the intersection and contrast of messages of embedded feminism with messages of enlightened sexism that confuses contemporary messages about female empowerment. While both provide desirable images of the empowered female, one is progressive in nature and the other regressive. The reason they both remain in popular media is because, though seemingly opposite, they reinforce each other: both overstate the achievements of gender equality and dismiss feminism as unfavorable or unnecessary (Douglas, 2010).

Just as feminism does not blame singular men on the oppression of women, Douglas (2010) contends that enlightened sexism too works as a system. She states “there is not a cabal of six white guys in Hollywood saying, “Women are getting too much power; before they get too far let’s buy them off with fantasies that will make them think they’ve already made it and will get them to focus on shopping and breast plants

instead of eyeing the glass ceiling (p. 18).” Many producers of media merely wish to present females with strong role models, and it is most likely the only conscious intentions behind commercial messages for corporations are to sell product. However, she says,

“... we are surrounded by and enmeshed in the media as never before.

Spending on entertainment as a proportion of family income has increased sevenfold between the late 1960s and the mid-2000s...So while the media are hardly hypodermic needles injecting a passive and unsuspecting culture with powerful alien messages that we all say “yes” to, they play a potent role in shaping our identities, our dreams, our hopes, our ambitions, and our fears (Douglas, 2010, p. 18).

This is why all media representations are important, especially in our continued understanding of feminism and gender relations. We live in a world in which detachment from media influence is nearly impossible. It’s difficult to brush inaccurate, stereotypical, or sexist attitudes in media aside because if we continue to passively ignore them as part of the natural order of things, they may become just that. Feminism’s history with media provides a good example of how mass media can “[exaggerate] certain kinds of stories, certain kinds of people, certain kinds of values and attitudes, while minimizing others or rendering them invisible (Douglas, 2010, p. 18).”

### **Contextualizing Feminism in the Dawn of New Media**

#### **“Old vs. New” Activist Methods**

There has been much debate about contemporary feminism’s (or what many call ‘third wave feminism’ (Kelly, 2005; Kendal, 2012; Kinser, 2004; Walker 1992)) use of the

Internet as a communication tool and form of activism. Discussions of online activist methods often turn into 'old' vs. 'new' debates. Champions of the old activist methods (e.g. boots on the ground, physical protests) believe that activism online fails to achieve some of the critical goals of movements, which is to "change the hearts and minds of the public and have a significant lasting impact" (McCafferty, 2011, p. 17). Since social media relationships are based on weak ties, some believe this gives little strength to a cause, and for any real change, relationships amongst activists that fight for a common cause must be strong and have a robust organizational structure. Small actions such as clicking 'like' or 'follow' do little to promote actual change (McCafferty, 2011).

The classic "quality is better than quantity" argument is a common critique of feminist activism online. In *We Are All Feminists Now: A Debate on how to harness this unprecedented moment*, Judith Shulevitz (2014) admits that there is quality content being written about feminism on the Internet, but that content is equaled if not outweighed by the "bad" content, which she claims includes "ideological-purity-policing hashtag activism (p. 17)." Shulevitz (2014) argues, "too much online feminist conversation bounces around in a giant echo chamber...each [conversation] offering a diminishing return to time invested in reading (p. 16);" the huge quantity of diverse topics being written about leads to an unfocused and therefore, unproductive movement.

On the contrary, there are many who have full faith in 'new' activism, accepting the shift to online activism as a natural movement as technology advances (McCafferty, 2011). Aside from the benefits of multiple platforms, connections to

activists in other cities, states, and countries, and the increased ability for calls to action and organizing efforts, the sheer size of potential audiences online is something that has arguably not been matched through previous forms of activism and mass media coverage. While 'old' activism depends on traditional forms of media, in which third parties are given full power to frame issues however they wish, the Internet provides more opportunities for user-generated content, allowing activists to inform, discuss, and frame issues themselves.

Feminist writer, Rebecca Traister (2014), says the dismissal of online activism as ineffective and lazy is a risky criticism to make toward such a "large and multifaceted phenomenon (p. 18)." Though use of new media for activism is different than methods used by previous groups of feminists, it is undeniably *the* communicative tool of the younger generations that will pave the way in the future (Shulevitz & Traister, 2014). This transition may just be something those who preferred previous forms of activism must accept. Traister (2014) also does not regard the diversity of messages in online feminists' content as a bad thing, as historically, the feminist movement has been criticized for its lack of diversity, ignoring certain groups of women.

The critique of first and second wave feminism as being exclusive toward marginalized participants in the movement is not something that has been fully rectified in modern times (Reger, 2014; Scott, 2005), though rhetoric surrounding third wave feminism (Kelly, 2005; Kendal, 2012; Kinser, 2004) cite this as one of the defining distinctions between current feminist movement and second wave feminism (Snyder, 2008). Many claim the perhaps unintentional exhibition of White,

middle/upper-class privilege in modern feminism still exists; however, it is comprehensible that the wide reach of the Internet to people of different classes, races, orientations, etc. may help move feminism in a more inclusive direction. Though this access to new media technology does not, by any means, make the movement all-inclusive (there are many people, cultures, and countries with no or limited access to these kind of technologies), the “world-wide” nature of the Internet nevertheless makes potential for intersectionality to become ever more possible in discussions of feminism and patriarchal critique (Winch, 2014). As mentioned previously, bell hooks (2000) attributed the disappearance of the consciousness-raising groups in second wave feminism as a primary factor in the movement losing its potential for mass appeal—as feminist rhetoric increasingly existed solely behind the walls of academia, the participants in the feminist movement became less diverse. As stated by *Ebony.com* Senior editor, Jamilah Lemieux,

Gone are the days in which feminism is easily dismissed as the territory of privileged White women or limited largely to those who live in academic and activist circles. There is an emergence of boldly Black feminist thought spreading via big and small screens...routinely buzzing with debates that go beyond the trite Mars/Venus politicking and instead finds women and men engaged in deep conversations about how gender impacts equality, access, and freedom. (Lemieux, 2014, p. 128)

The use of new media has the potential to bring feminism beyond academia and back to the masses.



## **“Feminism”: Reclaimed or Reinforced Stigma**

We have seen the space provided by the Internet used as a tool for activism, civil discussion, and the sharing of ideas, and at the same time we see instances of “trolling,” hate speech, and bullying that likely comes from the web’s inherent veil of anonymity. The adoption of this new media is interesting to those who seek to understand how it can be used for and against various social movements. While some sources say the introduction, immense popularity, and widespread use of new media has created a space for feminism to become reinvigorated (Eudey, 2012; Rentschler, 2014), the Internet has also enabled groups with firm anti-feminist stances to make themselves heard. The rise of various social media platforms provided a space where women and men could discuss issues within feminism with others across the globe. For some, this space was a “safe” space, where women and men could share stories of abuse, rape, or discrimination and find solidarity in others who may have shared similar experiences. For victims of abuse or prejudice that may have otherwise withheld sharing these experiences with immediate circles of peers or family members for fear of judgment, the anonymity and solidarity provided by new media can prove to be a beneficial outlet (Rentschler, 2014).

The rise of new media also allowed ‘feminism,’ a historically misunderstood and stigmatized term, to make strides toward de-demonization. While the 1990’s television and radio-based media outlets sold us “girl power” (Spice Girls come to mind), which it seems, sought to empower women without the stickiness that inevitably comes with using the term ‘feminism’, the year 2014 showed us an increasing number of media spotlight celebrities were willing to shamelessly attribute the f-word to their public (and

presumably private) images (Douglas, 2010; Shulevitz & Traister, 2014). Be it Beyonce’s exclamation of FEMINIST in the lights at her 2014 MTV Video Music Awards (VMA) performance or Joseph Gordon-Levitt’s unashamed admittance to his feminist stance on *The Ellen Show*, celebrities left and right were owning the label despite what negativity it might have brought their image. If these stars, whose careers ultimately depend on public popularity, could unabashedly claim to be feminists, had the term ascended its demonization? *TIME* might say, “hardly.”



Figure 7. [Online Image] Retrieved from <http://msmagazine.com/blog/2014/08/25/beyonce-at-the-vm-as-feminist-and-flawless/>

Perhaps the public, instead of being wooed to feminism because idolized stars claimed it, were simply tired of hearing about it. In November 2014, *TIME* posted their fourth annual word banishment poll on their online news site *Time.com*, asking readers to vote which of the outplayed words from 2014 they wouldn’t mind never hearing again. The list, filled mostly with slang words or trendy phrases like “YOLO (You Only Live Once)” and “basic,” included the word ‘feminist’ (Steinmetz, 2014). Each word was accompanied by an explanation and next to ‘feminist’ it read:

You have nothing against feminism itself, but when did it become a thing that every celebrity had to state their position on whether this word applies to them, like some politician declaring a party? Let's stick to the issues and quit throwing this label around like ticker tape at a Susan B. Anthony parade. (Steinmetz, 2014, p. 1)

Though the explanation does not take a pro or antifeminist stance, many felt its mere presence on the list trivialized the word and belittled the movement. 'Feminist,' unlike the term of endearment "bae," had years of history, strife, and substance behind it. Roxane Gay (2014), author of *Bad Feminist*, contributed a response article asking why instead we weren't asking to "ban "feminazi"? [or] better yet: Get rid of "bitch," "slut" and "whore" (p. 1)"—words that are often used in sexism against women. She also questioned how the word ended up in the poll, assuming that it had to have been reviewed by at least several editing parties. Gay (2014) states, "publications with the influence and reach of *TIME*—publications that shape our conversations and perceptions—[should] be run by editors who are ethical, critical thinkers who consider the impact of words and the impressions they give (p. 1)."

Potentially more discouraging for feminists, were the results of the poll. Only several hours after the poll was posted, 'feminist' had nearly half of the votes. This was attributed to the sharing of the poll on the social media site 4chan, a site familiar with criticism for trolling and cyberbullying (Schwartz, 2008; Seals, 2014; Stuart, 2014). Several threads instructing readers to flood the *TIME* poll to ascend 'Feminist' to the top of the list gained momentum; though 4chan moderators removed some of the threads to

discourage this behavior, *TIME* did little to curb the large amount of repeated votes (Tavares, 2014). This was perhaps one of the more successful attempts of 4chan “trolls” to trivialize feminism on social media; however, it was not the first. In June of 2014, #EndFathersDay began trending on Twitter. Describing Father’s Day as a celebration of misogyny and violence, abuse, and discontent brought into homes by fathers, the trending hashtag was a farcical topic designed to further perpetuate the stereotype of feminism waging war against men (Alfonso, 2014).

Some retribution came to those who disagreed with the presence of ‘feminist’ on the poll’s list when four days later *TIME*’s managing editor, Nancy Gibbs, issued an apology for the execution of the poll:

Editor’s Note: *TIME* apologizes for the execution of this poll; the word ‘feminist’ should not have been included in a list of words to ban. While we meant to invite debate about some ways the word was used this year, that nuance was lost, and we regret that its inclusion has become a distraction from the important debate over equality and justice. (Steinmetz, 2014, p. 1)

While the issued statement was commendable, the damage had been done. The presence of ‘feminist’ on the poll merely further divided understanding between feminists and antifeminists. Feminists’ belief in the need for and legitimacy of the movement was only strengthened by the “unfathomable (Gray, 2014)” notion that the word would even appear on the list, and antifeminists saw the apology as submission to a humorless group of man-haters, obsessed with political correctness.

These examples make it fairly clear that there is still a lively debate surrounding the adoption of feminist identity. While the increase of celebrities adopting feminist identities and growing presence of feminist discussions on social media platforms might suggest feminism may finally be headed toward shaking its stigma, feminists are often bluntly reminded that antifeminist sentiment is as alive and well as it ever has been. Like the feminist movements of the past, feminism struggles to establish its legitimacy as a movement and to gain popular support of women and men it ultimately hopes to benefit; however, the evolving media landscape through which contemporary feminism seeks to establish itself differs greatly from its preceding movements. Not only are the mobilization and communication techniques drastically different with the introduction of new media, but also the media's tactics to sell women simultaneously on empowerment and products continue to become more sophisticated.

### **Case Study 1: Feminist Identity, Feminist Ideology & Anti-feminists**

Though some continue to believe the widespread deployment of sexism against women is but a thing of the past, innumerable amounts of studies suggest otherwise. Though sexism may come in a much more subtle form, or as Douglas (2010) may suggest, a rebranded sexy, fun form, studies on “poverty, violence, employment discrimination, and the disproportionate responsibility for household labor and familial caregiving (Bay-Cheng & Zucker, 2010, p. 1896)” shows its presence and ill effects persist (Berg, 2009). Research on these ill effects also include the scrutiny, objectification, and expectations to conform to the unrealistic ideal physical female form (American Psychological Association Task Force on the Sexualization of Girls, 2007; Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997) which jeopardizes both the psychological and physical

(eating disorders, unhealthy exercise habits, etc.) health of women. Exposure to sexism can also lead to above normal levels of stress and distress, and substance abuse (Landry & Zucker, 2007). A number of scholars have conducted research to measure the potential benefits of holding feminist attitudes to the mental and physical well-being of women (Bay-Cheng & Zucker, 2010). Research has found feminist attitudes act as a “buffer” against sexism and also may decrease instances of smoking and increase sexual health and satisfaction (Impett, Schooler, & Tolman, 2006; Schick, Zucker, & Bay-Cheng, 2008; Zucker et al., 2001). However, researchers Bay-Cheng and Zucker (2010) believe an important distinction in how we classify “feminist” ideology has been absent from past research and needs further examination.

*In Minding the Gap Between Feminist Identity and Attitudes: The Behavioral and Ideological Divide Between Feminists and Non-Labelers*, Bay-Cheng and Zucker (2010) suggest that people who agree with what is generally thought to be feminist ideology (i.e. equal rights for the genders) do not necessarily claim a feminist identity. Much of the current research surrounding measurements of feminism assume feminist attitude and feminist identities are one in the same with few or no mentions of the actual word “feminist” (Bay-Cheng & Zucker, 2010). Due to the highly stigmatized nature of the word “feminist,” Bay-Cheng and Zucker (2010) believe that assuming participants have feminist identity simply because they have feminist ideology is an inaccurate method of measurement.

The current void in the feminist measurement research is a lack of distinction between feminist identity and feminist attitudes as well as attempts to understand why participants with feminist attitudes might not identify as feminists or even reject

feminism. Some researchers have addressed these issues with results suggesting that a distinction between attitude and identity is indeed tangible and important (e.g. Eisele & Stake, 2008, McCabe, 2005). Other research has found that the stigmatization of feminism may be the reason participants are unwilling to identify themselves as feminists (Ramsey et al., 2007; Roy, Weibust, & Miller, 2007; Rudman & Fairchild, 2007), while some women hold negative views of feminism themselves, others who did not hold negative views still believed most others did. Quinn and Radtke (2006) suggest that the often unchallenged stigma attached to feminism is a tool used to discourage women from accepting and maintaining a feminist identity, that feminist identity “lurks as a constant threat to one’s legitimacy and credibility as rational, nonfanatical, and amicable (Bay-Cheng & Zucker, 2010, p. 1905).” Exposure to environments that challenge feminist stigma, such as having a feminist family member or taking a women’s studies course in college, positively correlate to willingness to adopt feminist identity (Zucker, 2004). Building on this previous research, Bay-Cheng and Zucker (2010) believe any successful attempt to fill these voids in research holds potential to increase understandings of feminist stigma, identity adoption, and differences in values between groups of people who have similar beliefs but identify differently.

Before proceeding with their study, Bay-Cheng and Zucker (2010) sought to better understand distinctions between non-labelers and feminists. A huge difference they found was in levels of activism, with feminists being more active in promoting changes consistent with their beliefs (Nelson et al., 2008). This difference suggested that perhaps non-labelers were merely in a preliminary stage of feminism, and with time, they might grow to adopt a feminist identity—reaffirming the idea that feminist ideology

exists on a continuum. While this may be the case for some, other studies suggested differences between non-labelers and feminists were far more distinct than merely existing on different places of a continuum. Despite almost unanimous support for gender equality in studies like Aronson's (2003) and McRobbie's (2004), participants were found to not just to be non-activists, but openly against the feminist identity. These discoveries led researchers Bay-Cheng and Zucker (2010) to "[consider] whether there are sources other than feminism that might lead women to believe in gender equality (p. 1907)."

Research suggests that the trend toward neoliberalism exhibited in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century may have something to do with the ability to ascribe to traditionally feminist ideology while outwardly rejecting feminist identity. While neoliberalism is often discussed in terms of "globalized trade and development (Bay-Cheng & Zucker, 2010, p. 1908)," Harvey (2007) identifies it as a hegemonic discourse that cannot be separated from "social relations and individual psychology (Bay-Cheng & Zucker, 2010, p. 1909)." The popularization of neoliberalism led to a culture that promotes "self-interest" and "personal responsibility" while discouraging social programs that have more collective interests (e.g. welfare support, unions) (Bay-Cheng & Zucker, 2010). Observing social issues under the lens of neoliberalism often allows social injustices, inequalities, or discrimination to "be discounted as whining or complaining by those who wish to blame others for their own weakness and shortcomings (Bay-Cheng & Zucker, 2010, p. 1909)." The prominence of self-interest as opposed to concern for collective welfare provided Bay-Cheng and Zucker (2010) with a potential explanation for the tendency to accept "feminist" attitudes while rejecting feminist identity.



Using value measurements borrowed from Schwartz (1997), Bay-Cheng & Zucker (2010) sought to better understand differences in fundamental values between feminists, nonfeminists and non-labelers. The seven values used in the study were universalism, self-direction, achievement, power, conformity, tradition, and security (Bay-Cheng & Zucker, 2010). Universalism emphasizes promotion of collectivism, self-direction refers to “autonomy from social convention,” achievement relates to self-enhancement and power deals with “attaining and demonstrating one’s ability and superiority over others (Bay-Cheng & Zucker, 2010, p. 1910-1911).” The three remaining values of conformity, tradition, and security all oppose change and support conformity to established norms and social order. With these values in place, Bay-Cheng and Zucker (2010) made the following hypothesis:

We set out to test the assertion that rather than occupying different positions on the same continuum of feminist attitudes, non-labelers and feminist are ideologically divided, with the former characterized by neoliberal support for individual self-determination and the latter by feminist support for women’s collective well being...specifically, we hypothesized that compared to feminists, both non-labelers and nonfeminists would (a) endorse conservative and self-enhancing values more strongly; (b) value universalism and self-direction less highly; and (c) hold individualistic, competitive views such as SDO(Social Dominance Orientation) and belief in meritocracy more strongly. Bay-Cheng & Zucker, 2010, pp. 1911

## Methods

The researchers used a survey of 351 university students to collect data for the analyses. Participants were all females from a mid-atlantic private university and were compensated with course credit for their participation. Due to missing data or inability to identify participants as feminist, nonfeminist, or non-labeler, 75 participants were excluded from the final analyses of the data. The participants were predominantly Caucasian and had a mean age of 19.22 years old, meaning many of them were freshmen or sophomores at the university. A high majority of participants identified as heterosexual (96%) and reported a median annual household income of \$140,001 to \$160,000.

For measurements of feminist identification, Bay-Cheng and Zucker (2010) used the Feminist Beliefs and Behavior (FBB) developed by Zucker (2004). The measure questions participants on three of the principal beliefs of feminism: (1) women are not treated as well as men in society, (2) equal pay for equal work, and (3) women's unpaid work should be valued in society and allows them to answer questions as a nonfeminist or a feminist (Zucker, 2004). Agreement with all three principles and answering questions for feminists are given the feminist label, agreement with all three principles but answering questions for nonfeminists are called non-labelers, and rejection of any one of the labels and answering questions for nonfeminists were classified as nonfeminists. This study found 42 feminists, 148 non-labelers, and 86 nonfeminists.

In order to measure differences in fundamental values between the various labels, Bay-Cheng & Zucker (2010) used the Schwartz Value Survey (SVS; Schwartz, 1992), the Social Dominance Orientation Scale (Pratto et al., 1994) and the Perceptions

of Meritocracy Inventory (PMI; Garcia, Branscombe, Desmarais, & Gee, 2006). These measurements allowed participants to indicate and rate levels of agreement with various questions relating to the values in the hypothesis. Bay-Cheng and Zucker (2010) also utilized the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1996) and Modern Sexism Scale (Swim, Aikin, Hall, & Hunter, 1995) models for “measures of sexism, which, when reverse scored, could be considered proxies for feminist attitudes (Bay-Cheng & Zucker, 2010, p. 1913).”

## **Results and Discussion**

After collecting and analyzing the data, Bay-Cheng and Zucker (2010) found no significant differences among the three groups for the values of achievement, power, or security; however, there were significant differences for universalism, conformity, and tradition. For the significantly distinctive values, non-labelers more closely aligned with the measurements of nonfeminists. Feminists tended to put high prioritization on universalism, while putting low prioritization on tradition and conformity, with scores from non-labelers and nonfeminists showing opposite prioritization. For self-direction, feminist and nonfeminists were significantly different from one another with feminists supporting self-direction; however, non-labelers were found to be somewhere in the middle on this value, not differing significantly from either of the other two groups. In analysis of data collected for SDO, PMI, and measurements of sexism, feminists were less supportive of SDO, had less faith in a meritocratic system, and less agreement with sexist attitudes. Non-labelers exhibited the highest levels of “benevolent sexism (Bay-Cheng & Zucker, 2010, p. 1915)” of all three groups, and for measures of modern

sexism, feminists were in least agreement, nonfeminists in most agreement and non-labelers somewhere in the middle.

Overall Bay-Cheng and Zucker (2010) found that instead of finding clear distinctions between the three groups, there was really one distinction that dominated: whether a person was feminist or not. Their results contradicted the belief that non-labelers should all be considered “quasi-feminists” or future feminists. In much of the data analyses, non-labelers were indistinguishable from nonfeminists, especially when it came to willingness to adhere to social norms, low prioritization of social injustice, and support of established hierarchies and meritocratic system (Bay-Cheng & Zucker, 2010). They concluded that not all non-labelers are the same as all nonfeminists, but instead there are a variety of reasons some choose to be non-labelers (e.g. fear or stigma or ideological differences). Understanding differences between non-labeling subgroups are thus of utmost importance according to the researchers.

Research regarding individuals' support for gender equality, including the reasoning underlying that support, is necessary in order to initiate and sustain efforts to improve the emotional, social, and material conditions of women's lives. Non-labelers could play a critical role in effecting such change given their numbers and general support for equality. Bay-Cheng & Zucker, 2010, pp. 1915

If the contention that all non-labelers are quasi-feminist was true, a method of normalizing feminism to decrease stigmatization might be a method that could develop more feminist allies, however, the ideological divide between some non-labelers and feminists suggest that this method of feminist acceptance and identity adherence would

only be useful in transitioning a portion of non-labelers. Bay-Cheng and Zucker (2010) suggest that ideologically divided non-labelers that share some of the same views as feminists should be treated as a distinct group from feminists and could be recruited as allies. In the future, they hope to extend their research to include more diverse samples and continue to address limitations found in current research regarding feminist ideology and feminist identity. This study contributes greatly to the evolving understanding of feminism in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, especially in regards to feminist stigmatization and rejection of feminist identity while maintaining beliefs in gender equality.

### **Case Study 2: Beyond Stigma – Is feminist thought making progress?**

The following case study is personally conducted research that focuses specifically on the popular topics of discussion in contemporary feminism of sexual objectification and victim blaming. Though the study has a number of limitations, the ultimate goal of the research to measure progression of popular feminist thought in online media coverage and user commenting contributes to discussions of the current state of feminism in media-saturated environments, the continued stigmatization of feminism, and acceptance of feminist ideology discussed throughout this paper. The research, conducted under the theoretical framework of Fredrickson & Roberts' (1997) Objectification Theory, uses online media coverage of celebrity hacking scandals and the presence of subsequently defined “feminist-positive” and “feminist-negative” language to measure how representations and perceptions of feminist issues may have shifted over time.

## Objectification Theory

A longstanding theme of discussion throughout feminist rhetoric is the objectification of women. Objectification theory (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997) describes the tendency to reduce women to their sexual body parts. In other words, women, regardless of personality, preference, or other identifying/humanizing factors, are seen as nothing more than a sexualized body, allowing the rest of those factors to become invisible. As described by Fredrickson & Roberts (1997), objectification theory not only addresses the various ways in which women are objectified (i.e. sexual violence, gaze), but also the way in which the objectified bodies are then purposed for the use or consumption of others. While Fredrickson & Roberts' development of the theory posed objectification as a predominantly female experience, other scholars have extended the theory by suggesting that all genders experience this objectification and in turn, can participate as the objectifiers (women objectifying other women or themselves) (Moradi & Huang, 2008; Strelan & Hargreaves, 2005; Swim *et al.*, 2001). Various studies that have measured the objectification of both women and men however, report the female gender being the predominant victim of objectification. (Archer *et al.*, 1983; Duncan, 1990; Gervais *et al.*, 2012; Swim *et al.*, 2001)

Though objectification is a prominent occurrence in daily life, it is perhaps most visible in media representations of women. Objectification Theory describes how visual media such as advertisements or television or film implicitly establish an objectifying view of women. (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997) Research suggests the establishment of this "objectifying gaze" in media, conditions the consumers of media (us) to adopt and apply that gaze to others, including ourselves (Erchull *et al.*, 2012). The media's

validation of the objectifying gaze leads us not only to objectify women, but also encourages us to comment freely on the “object.” This normalization of objectifying and analyzing the female body is amplified in celebrity culture. Female celebrities are continuously defined and given value based on their various body parts, forcing their true talent to become secondary or overlooked (Aruguete *et al.*, 2014). In American culture, it is completely normal to see magazines or news stories that focus primarily on the body of a female celebrity (Did celebrity-x gain weight? Celebrity-y got breast implants! Celebrity-z’s Rockin’ Bikini Body). As our culture becomes increasingly saturated by media, it seems as if the continuous objectification of women will only intensify; however, an increase in the awareness of this objectification and discussions surrounding it could help deter objectification or at least help us become more critically aware of its existence.

### **Blaming the Victims**

Like objectification, victim blaming is also a popular topic of discussion in feminist rhetoric. Victim blaming puts the fault of whatever negative event or circumstance befell the victim on the victims themselves. The dialogue surrounding victim blaming generally consists of language asking not why the abuser committed the abuse, but what the victim did to provoke the abuse. This type of language occurs repeatedly in popular discussion of domestic and sexual abuse. Bierria’s (2011) analysis of media coverage of Chris Brown’s assault on Rihanna noticed that “discussions seemed fixated on the theme of Rihanna’s accountability...blogs demanded that Rihanna account for “her role” in what happened, “her responsibility” to young women, and “her respect” for herself as a black woman and survivor of domestic violence (p. 102).” If this type of blame

surrounds an incident in which a woman's face was literally turned black and blue, we should expect that blaming behavior could be even more "excusable" in situations like sexual assault or exploitation, where the harm to the victim is less obvious.

### **Research Questions, Justification & Expectations**

*Q1: How has the way popular culture discusses feminist issues such as victim blaming and sexual objectification changed over time on social Internet platforms?*

*Q2: What implications could this have for the overall state of feminism in general?*

Though I do not expect to find less incidents of victim blaming or sexual objectification in the incidents occurring and covered in the most recent time period of analysis, I hypothesize that I will find an increase in feminist-positive language between the two time periods. I believe that though the victim blaming and objectification will still be very much present in both periods of analysis, there will be an elevated amount of feminist-positive critical discussion in the later incidents about the blaming of victims and sexual objectification of women's bodies.

### **Methods**

**Data Collection:** In order to collect the data, I first determined what hacking scandals would be compared and which news sites' content I would analyze. The hacking scandals needed to be at least five years apart in order to measure change over a period of time, and the news media outlets needed to allow commenting capabilities on their articles. Due to the Internet's relatively short life in terms of widespread social use, I chose hacking scandals that happened in 2009 to compare to scandals in 2014. Though there was a significant amount of coverage of scandals happening ten years prior to 2014 that may have given a better perspective of changes



over time, the prevalence of commenting capabilities was not yet significant at that time. The scandal event covered in 2014 involved several different celebrities in one scandal (J. Lawrence & K. Upton amongst the most notable); in order to maintain the analytical framework of multiple celebrity hacks, multiple celebrity scandals were analyzed for the 2009 events.

After defining the specific events that would be analyzed, I then found various news outlets that provided adequate coverage of the events in conjunction with an active comment section. Due to the relatively new function of commenting, sources with comment sections were unfortunately limited even in 2009. I collected data from three different Internet news outlets: PerezHilton.com (gossip news), TMZ.com (entertainment/gossip news), and EW.com (entertainment news). Ideally, articles and comments from a traditional news source would have been analyzed, however; the coverage of these events in conjunction with commenting capabilities on the traditional sites rarely appeared together, which eliminated them as potential sources.

After defining time parameters and source articles, I then began reading the content and comments and recording the amount of feminist-positive and feminist-negative language present in each. Four articles were selected from each of the three sources, two of which were from 2009 and the other two from 2014. Charts were created for each source. The chart was divided by 2009 and 2014, and then listed the two articles from that source for each time period and space was also provided for tallying feminist-positive and feminist-negative language in both the article and the comments sections. For each article, the number of total comments was noted in order to factor in that variable upon analyzing the data.

**Data Analysis:** The analysis of content involved measuring the amount of feminist-positive and feminist-negative language in the content and the comments of the articles. Feminist-positive language included any language that empowers the women in the story, expresses opinions that they are not to blame, or contests sexist sentiments; this language does not involve simply stating that someone is a “huge fan” and that won’t change—it must directly address in some way the topics of victim blaming or objectification. Feminist-negative language will contain the opposite; it consists of victim blaming, objectification, slut shaming and other sexist language.

In order to measure the instances, I used a counting system similar to Hatton and Trautner’s (2011) methods in their analysis of sexuality on the covers of Rolling Stone Magazine. For each instance of a feminist-positive comment, I counted one point, and for every instance of feminist-negative comments I counted one point. Comments that contained both kinds of language received a point for both feminist-positive and feminist-negative language, and comments with no language significant to this topic received no points. In order to accommodate for the differences in amount of comments on each article, the scores were averaged by number of comments after they were counted. The intent of averaging these numbers for the content of the articles and the comments was to shed some light on changing perspectives of these kinds of issues and what implications this could have for popular opinions of feminist issues.

## **Limitations**

**Celebrity preference:** Many people have opinions of celebrities before these scandals happen. These opinions can be strongly positive or negative or neutral, but it is impossible to determine the pre-scandal opinions of commenters. This potential for

the non-objectivity of commenters could lead to language in comments that are fueled by already established feelings toward the celebrity, with little to do with the actual subject of the article. A recent article on HuffingtonPost.com says “it's apparent we are finally starting realize this is a culture of misogyny, but it's interesting that the dialogue only began after someone as beloved and respected as Lawrence was targeted by hackers (Marcus, 2014).” This suggests that celebrity image may have an influence on the way we react to the incidents.

**Celebrity objectification:** Our culture normalizes the objectification of celebrities even more so than the objectification of your everyday woman. They are always in the spotlight and under constant surveillance, which invites those who consume their images to also freely comment upon and criticize them. As mentioned in Bierria's (2011, p.102) article, *'Where Them Bloggers At?': Reflections on Rihanna, Accountability, and Survivor Subjectivity*, “online reactions as a record of genuine public sentiment could perhaps be dismissed because those who comment on blogs have a notoriously provocative reputation or because the broad public audiences generating these online exchanges were strangers to [the celebrities].” This heightened criticism of celebrities could make objectification seem more prevalent in this study because objectifying and criticizing celebrities is normalized in our culture.

**News media diversity:** In order to ensure that the results were more representative of the general population; it would have been ideal to be able to incorporate an increased variety of news genres in the analysis. Though entertainment and gossip news outlets provide the majority of the coverage of events such as these, it is likely that they have an active audience that is not necessarily representative of the

general population, creating the potential for creation of an “echo chamber” of like-minded individuals reaffirming one another. It was my intent to use a more traditional news outlet such as *The Huffington Post* that also covers some entertainment news, but unfortunately a June 2014 switch in the way *The Huffington Post* allows comments made the comments from 2009 unavailable for access. Including this kind of source would potentially add a representation of a different sector of the general population that could have given more insight to the results of the study.

## **Results**

Overall, the results showed a significant increase in the average amount of feminist-positive language throughout the comment sections from 2009 to 2014; however, consistent with my hypothesis, not all 2014 articles showed a decrease in feminist-negative language. Though the ratio of positive to negative language shifted between the two time periods, the amount of negative language used was still very high, especially in the gossip-centered sources.

The tallies from each of the articles can be found in Table 1 and Table2.. As shown, many of the sources remained fairly objective in their reporting of the event, with only some of the sources having instances of any feminist-positive or feminist-negative language at all. Though the general results do not show a significant correlation between amount of feminist-positive/negative language used in the article and the amount feminist-positive/negative comments, I found article PH1 to be of particular interest. The article focused on the hacking and leaking of nude photographs of Disney’s High School Musical star, Vanessa Hudgens and began with the exclamation

of “What a slut!” This article not only had the most blatantly feminist-negative language within the content of the article, but also in the comments section. Compared to other articles (even PerezHilton.com articles with less blatant language), the comments in Article PH1 took PerezHilton.com’s lead and continued with a significant amount of name-calling and slut-shaming language.

Table 1: 2009 Content Tally											
EW.com				PerezHilton.com				TMZ.com			
Article EW1		Article EW2		Article PH1		Article PH2		Article TM1		Article TM2	
Pos	Neg	Pos	Neg	Pos	Neg	Pos	Neg	Pos	Neg	Pos	Neg
1	1	1	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0
Comments EW1		Comments EW2		Comments PH1		Comments PH2		Comments TM1		Comments TM2	
Pos	Neg	Pos	Neg	Pos	Neg	Pos	Neg	Pos	Neg	Pos	Neg
11	14	12	25	26	90	19	45	1	45	17	48

Table1: 2009 Content Tally

Table 2: 2014 Content Tally											
EW.com				PerezHilton.com				TMZ.com			
Article EW3		Article EW4		Article PH3		Article PH4		Article TM3		Article TM4	
Pos	Neg	Pos	Neg	Pos	Neg	Pos	Neg	Pos	Neg	Pos	Neg
0	0	1	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Comments EW3		Comments EW4		Comments PH3		Comments PH4		Comments TM3		Comments TM4	
Pos	Neg	Pos	Neg	Pos	Neg	Pos	Neg	Pos	Neg	Pos	Neg
31	25	13	12	11	2	1	3	26	66	3	44

Table 2: 2014 Content Tally

Figure 8 below shows the amount of significant language in each article. This shows the percentage of comments that had feminist-positive language, feminist-negative language, or both. It was interesting to see a more consistent amount of significant language being used in the 2009 articles as opposed to the 2014 articles. As shown, with the exception of Article PH3, the percentage of significant language in 2014 was consistently lower than 2009. Article TM3 and TM4 had a large amount of spam posters which added to the overall comment count but not to significant language which could have skewed the results.

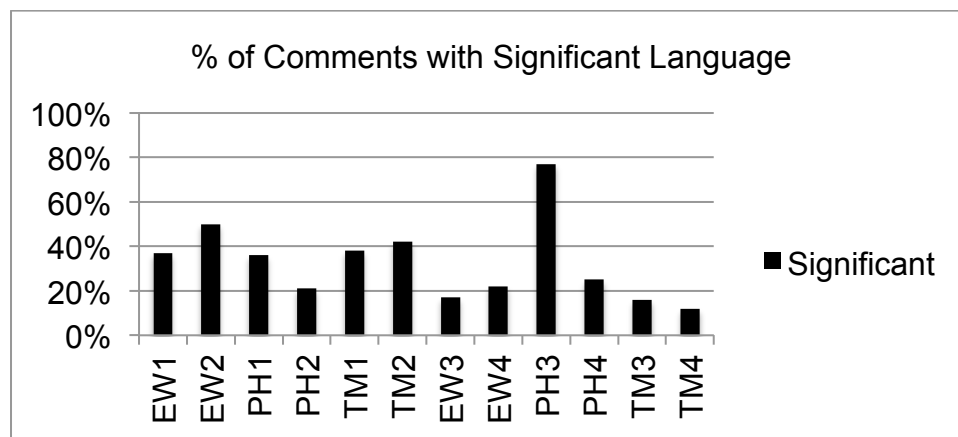


Figure 8. Percent of Comments with Significant Language

Figure 9 and Figure 10 show the percentage of feminist-positive and feminist-negative language within comments that had significant language. Aside from Articles EW3, EW4 and PH3, the majority of the significant language was negative.

*Entertainment Weekly*, which has an entertainment basis as opposed to gossip, showed the largest increase in the amount of feminist-positive language used in the comments.

*EW.com* was the most evenly balanced of the three sources for amount of feminist-positive and feminist-negative language for both years. *TMZ* was consistently heavy

with feminist-negative language and showed no significant changes from 2009 to 2014. *PerezHilton.com* was less consistent than the other two sources. While three of the four *PerezHilton.com* articles had more feminist-negative language in the comments, Article PH3 had a significant amount of feminist-positive language. Also, *PerezHilton.com*'s article content shifted in the kind of language used between 2009 and 2014. Whereas in 2009, the articles contained no significant language or feminist-negative language, the articles in 2014 were the complete opposite and used feminist-positive language.

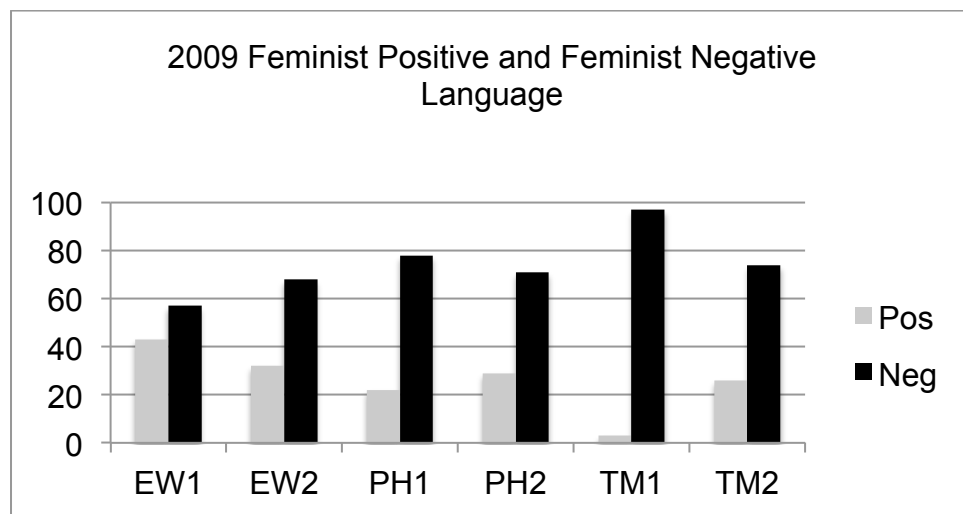


Figure 9. 2009 Feminist Positive and Feminist Negative Language

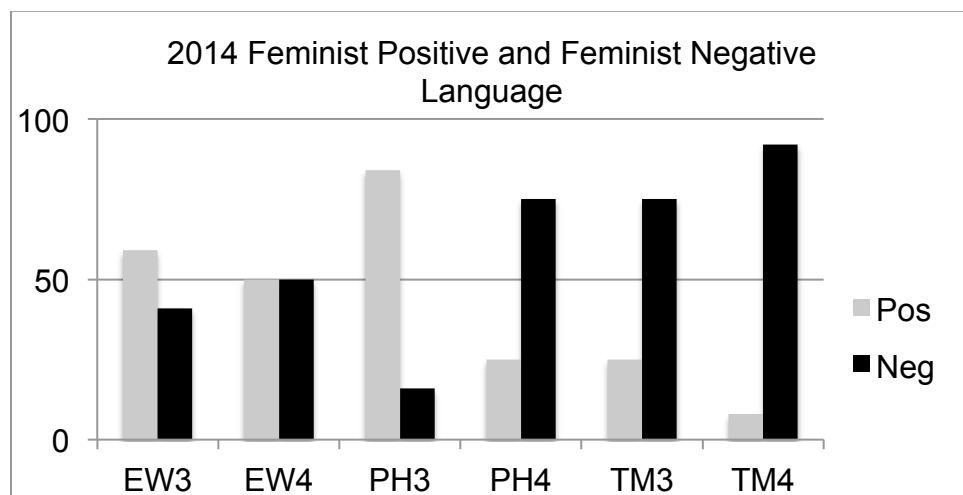


Figure 10. 2014 Feminist Positive and Feminist Negative Language

Overall, there was an average increase in the amount of feminist-positive language used in 2014 compared to 2009; however, feminist-positive language still remained the minority. In only three of the twelve articles feminist-positive comments outweighed the negative comments. Considering the difference in the results from the strictly entertainment-based news source (*EW.com*) versus the gossip-based news sources (*PerezHilton.com*, *TMZ.com*), I would be very interested to see the results from an analysis of that content. Extending this analysis to other genres of news media presents an opportunity for continuing this research.

## **Discussion**

The results suggest there was a progression toward more feminist-positive language being used on popular entertainment news sites between 2009 and 2014. There were several things I noticed when reading the comments on these articles. The first was the tendency for comments to mirror the language of the article. As mentioned previously, Article PH1 had very explicit feminist-negative language in both the content of the article and the comments on the article. This correlation suggests that the way media portrays feminist issues is likely to affect the way we respond to the issues. This correlation suggests more feminist-positive coverage of feminist issues popular media could be what contributed to the increase in feminist-positive language in 2014.

The language used throughout the commenting sections also provided some insight toward answering my second research question, which is “what implications could the prevalence of feminist-positive/negative language have for feminism in general?” A majority of the feminist-negative language used in the comments included language that blamed the subject; however, objectification and slut-shaming were also



common. Coverage of Rihanna's 2009 nude photo scandal occurred not long after the domestic violence incident between her and Chris Brown, which led commenters to discuss both objectification/victim blaming and domestic violence issues. Overall, commenters were much more willing to express feminist-positive language on the issue of domestic violence than they were for the nude photo scandal incidents which suggests that in cases of domestic violence, there is a much clearer divide between victim and abuser.

The increased amount of feminist-positive language from 2009 to 2014 could mean movement toward a more feminist-friendly culture. Repeating this study in another five years could find that feminist-positive language has become the majority of feminist-significant language on topics such as this. Further research could also extend to include other various feminist topics such as domestic violence, body image, reproductive rights, etc. I feel that continued research on this topic should continue to utilize online commenting forums, but could also incorporate surveys and responses to articles as an added form of measurement. I believe the anonymity provided by the Internet leads to more truthful reactions and responses to these issues, which helps gauge the mindset of the general population; however, introducing new genres of news into the analysis would help to ensure that the general population is more accurately represented.

## **Discussion and Conclusions**

### **Sisterhood, Male Support, and Concern for Collective Well-Being**

It's impossible to count the number of times you hear women say they find female friendships too difficult to manage, therefore, most of their friends are guys. I, too,

used to be one of these girls. In my adolescence (especially in high school when dating became more prominent) I was socialized to think that I just wasn't like other girls, because I just knew other girls were mean, catty, and fake and boys were easier to hang with; however, with the exception of a select few instances, I have no recollection of girls actually treating me that way or boys being particularly easier. Reflecting back on my personal growth toward feminism, it astounds me to realize how quickly my female friendships degraded after puberty. This reflection makes it frightfully clear that females are socialized to sexism against women; men are by no means the only or the most prominent perpetrators of sexism. Though I have matured to see the error of my ways, I wonder how many women experience the same situation but never realize covert sexism is at work? And seeing as I remain close with friends from my adolescence to this day, I wonder how life would be different if I wasn't turned against my fellow sister at such a pivotal age for building lifelong friendships.

The countless instances of media portraying female friendships as toxic, dramatic, and fake are a detriment to the progress of feminism. In order for any movement to make progress for change, there must be some sort of unity that inspires and fuels action. Knowing the presence of reality television girl on girl drama will most likely be with us for some time, we should nevertheless hold the media responsible for portraying more powerful female relationships. Though some may argue the increasing number of films and television shows passing the Bechdel test (Bechdel, 2005) means we are receiving an influx of strong female relationships, we must remember what a passing grade on the Bechdel test requires. A show that has (1) at least two female characters who (2) talk to each other about (3) something other than a man is hardly a

lofty requirement. The purpose of the Bechdel test therefor isn't necessarily to let us know which media is feminist or not, but more to call attention to the fact that it sets such a low bar and yet still many of our entertainment fails to pass that standard.

In addition to discouraging sisterhood, society and media glorifies hypermasculinity and is critical of men who display traits that are deemed feminine and therefor weak. We socialize our boys to assert dominance and dismiss emotional vulnerability, which can lead to psychological strife and violence against others. Media also uses portrayals of men to reassert assumptions about roles of women. We've all seen the commercials or shows with the hopeless father that ruins the house when he tries to "babysit" his own kids, only to be saved before everything explodes by his household-competent wife and mother of his children, haven't we? Men deserve to express themselves emotionally without judgment and to be taken seriously as caregivers, and that is part of what feminism is about. And if not for their own benefit, as sons, husbands, fathers, brothers, and friends of women, men should want equality. As Susan Douglas (2010) put quite elegantly, "...few things can make a man a feminist faster than having a daughter and being told she might not be as good as a boy and can't have the same opportunities as he can (p. 305)."

Men can be powerful allies for achieving feminist goals. A promising campaign was introduced in 2014, which asked men across the globe for their support in gender equality across the globe. This campaign, called HeForShe (UN Women, 2014), is "A Solidarity Movement for Gender Equality" and claims that "now it's time to unify our efforts. HeForShe...brings together one half of humanity in support of the other half of humanity, for the benefit for all (UN Women, 2014)." Though not strictly limited to social

media, the campaign is a good example of online feminist activist tactics happening in contemporary feminism, utilizing various social networking platforms to spread support. The kick-start of the HeForShe campaign also provided another example of celebrity endorsement of feminist values, as Brown University educated actress Emma Watson gave an opening speech that was widely shared across social media platforms and continues to be the prominent speaker and face of the campaign.

For feminism to flourish we need women to support women (regardless of race, class, sexuality, etc.), and men to support equality for all, but unfortunately we often only see individualistic support of the self. WomenAgainstFeminism.com showed us the tendency of women to dismiss feminism because they lack the personal need for it, even though there are very real and obvious inequalities happening to women across the globe. Also, Zucker and Bay-Cheng's (2010) study of feminist identity and attitudes suggested neoliberalism, which emphasizes the importance of individual well-being as opposed to collective well-being, may lead to an individual desire for equality without extending that desire to others. True gender equality cannot be achieved if equality is only extended to those privileged enough to grasp it; this is the reason feminism is collective in nature and important for the advancement of all women, not just some of them.

### **Sexist Stereotypes, Feminist Stigma, and Media Literacy**

While third wave feminists are ready to take on the patriarchy with the passion of first and second wave feminists, the media rebranding of sexism that is postfeminism and enlightened sexism, and the continued stigma attached to anything deemed "feminist" works against feminism's ascension in popularity and presents conflicted

views of the current state and need for feminism. On one hand, media gives us utopian portrayals of strong female characters that are equal to men. While these women are written to be role models and increase the presence of strong women in media, it often also insinuates that this level of equality has been achieved in real life (embedded feminism (Douglas, 2010)). On the other hand, media also tells us gender equality has been achieved through enlightened sexism, which rebrands sexism to be desirable and celebrates differences between genders as “fundamental,” which in turn validate patriarchal power. These media representations discredit the legitimacy for feminism, further perpetuating feminist stigma and insinuating feminists are just hysterical women who are merely searching for something to complain about.

Feminism itself is still under constant scrutiny by those who are against it or do not understand it. While feminism has never been nor will it ever be perfect (what is, really?), media portrayals of feminism often inaccurately stereotype the movement and the women that belong to it in a way that overshadows its foundational goals of equality. The persistent demonization of feminism has caused some men and women, with feminist goals and intent in mind, to reject the use of “feminism” in favor of “humanism” or “egalitarianism.” Others claim the abandonment of the term will only lead to the erasure of all of the progress that feminism has made. Susan Douglas votes we reclaim the “f-word” and I must say I agree. What makes feminism strong is its history and longevity, its ascensions in popularity and declines, its criticisms and successes. If we abandon the word, we are abandoning all it has done for us.

What feminists need to do is hold media, especially journalistic media, accountable for unfair, overtly negative, or belittling representations of feminism. Instead

of shutting down and giving up on combatting media or people who perpetuate sexism, feminists should always be open to tactfully engaging in dialogue that calls attention to the sexism. Sexism is deeply embedded within our culture, and many times is practiced without us knowing it is happening. We must be open to not only educating those around us about the sneaky ways sexism inserts itself into our lives and ways of thinking, but also continuously look inward at ourselves. Be it by using personal privilege to rise above others or being unable to rise above unrealistic standards of beauty and love ourselves, we must remain open to how we may personally perpetuate sexism or gender inequality of others or ourselves.

This increased awareness of sexism includes a need for media literacy. In order for feminism to progress, an increase in media literacy for all is necessary. It is important for everyone to understand the various messages we receive through media, what it tells us directly, what it may indirectly say, and how that may influence the way we perceive ourselves or the world. Instead of blindly consuming media, we must constantly question the messages we receive and question the motives behind those messages. This literacy can lead to better understandings of the way patriarchy uses to media to reassert and validate its dominance, and in turn can inform feminist activist strategies. Media literate feminists will be more successful in navigating the media-saturated environment in which many of us live.

Since the use of new media is such a profound part of our culture, it seems unwise to dismiss its use for activism just because it seems lazier or less focused from previous forms of activism. Though there are obvious flaws in the way media is used for activism currently such as the tendency for discussions to become mere echo chambers

where like-minded people repeatedly reaffirm each other and themselves, more strategic use of the Internet can be put into place to gain awareness and support of feminist issues. As mentioned previously, HeForShe is a recent campaign that shows promise in utilizing social and new media as part of a larger activist campaign. Perhaps simply clicking “like” or commenting on a sexist post is lazy activism, but the sheer reach of new media and visibility that comes from trending hashtags, posts, or videos makes the potential new media holds for creating real change and gaining strength for movements undeniable. Even if online media is ineffective in directly causing structural change, the amount of exposure to online media many of us receive means it holds great potential for changing the way we view people, places, things, and ourselves. The ability for user-generated content to gain as much visibility as corporate-generated content empowers online feminist activists, and allows messages to be spread without a large budget.

Regardless of how we define the current wave of feminism, what is important is keeping feminist dialogue alive, and not just in academic circles. Being such a diverse group of people, it is unlikely feminists will ever fully agree on every single gender issue; however, recognizing those differences exist, being respectful of different opinions and experiences, and engaging in dialogue in a productive manner can get us closer to the place we can all agree on—equality. Part of this dialogue is the deconstruction of media messages and the understanding the assumptions it makes and perpetuates about genders and feminism. We should celebrate the messages we think get it right and introduce healthy critiques of those that don’t. We must strive for more accurate and fair representations of all genders in media—representations that combat sexist

stereotypes. Though a change in media is doubtfully a magical cure to end sexism and inequality, an increase in media messages that take gender inequality seriously, discourage sexist stereotypes, and promote sisterhood is certainly a great start and an achievable goal.

### **Media Project and Future Prospects**

In conjunction with conducting research and drafting this paper, I have developed a new media project that compliments that research. When developing my ideas for the media project, I started by looking to several tactical media artists for inspiration, as tactical media often has messages that are activist in nature. The gorilla mask wearing Guerilla Girls were one group that was an early inspiration. Their messages are feminist in nature, and they seemed to be very effective in inserting their messages into places that would reach a wide audience. Cindy Sherman also influenced my work, allowing me to better understand and more critically consider the use of “voice” and “gaze” that would be present in my own work. Perhaps the greatest influence, however, came from Jenny Holzer’s “Truisms.” The ambiguous nature of her statements in this piece provided a model for the phrasing of the statements in my piece. I felt their ambiguity





Figure 11. [Online image] Retrieved from [www.montserrat.edu/galleries/guerrillagirls/](http://www.montserrat.edu/galleries/guerrillagirls/)



Figure 12. [Online image] Retrieved from <https://drnorth.wordpress.com/2011/05/28/picture-of-the-week-77-cindy-shermans-film-stills/>



Figure13. [Online image] Retrieved from <http://www.fengshuidana.com/2012/07/05/jenny-holzer-truisms-will-rock-your-world/>

provoked thought for the viewer and conveyed a message without being abrasive or forceful, which could lead to audiences to be more receptive of them.

The piece that I developed is titled, like this paper, #ourFword. I named it this because I believe we need to reclaim feminism, reinvigorate feminism, and embrace all it has and can do for us. To some the F-word might be a dirty word, but its our word regardless. When developing the project, I wanted to create media that 1) represented feminism or feminist thought in a way that was taken seriously and not present in current media and 2) conveyed a message that was feminist in its intent, but that wasn't so overtly feminist that those who hold onto feminist stigma (and therefor probably need these messages the most) would immediately dismiss it. I began pulling images from the Internet that looked like stock images, images that would not be surprising to

anyone seeing them on a billboard, in a magazine, etc. I then asked a group of peers to aid me in coming up with the various messages about feminism and gender we receive through socialization and media exposure. Recruiting these various voices allowed me to make sure I included a broader perspective of feminism and gender in my project. I used these suggestions as inspiration for drafting my own “Truisms”-like ambiguous statements.

When drafting my messages, I wanted them to have the potential that if passively read, one might think it is just an advertisement or an unarguable statement. For example, in Figure 11 we have “Flirtation is an invitation.” At first glance, one may read this statement and find little to contest or not even consider that any criticism may be necessary. Sure if you are flirting you are most likely being warm, inviting---what’s the



Figure 14.

issue? It is at this point that I wanted to help viewers along, by offering an alternative version of the statement. For each of the original statements, I crossed out the (in my opinion) flawed portion of the statement and used red type to “correct” it. The aesthetic choice to make the photos black and white was for two reasons, first to provide consistency throughout the messages that would give it more of an ad campaign feel, allowing all of the images to feel like they belong to one another, and second to make sure that the alternative messages really popped when they re revealed. Figure 12 shows an example of the alternative messages, change “Flirtation is an invitation” to “Flirtation is not consent.”

By offering these alternative messages, I am not suggesting that my alteration is



Figure 15

the correct or the only version of the statement, my hope is only that the presence of the alternative message encourages viewers to revisit the first statement that may have at first seemed completely reasonable and true, and give it more careful assessment. As mentioned previously, it is important to be media literate. Though I know the inundation of media messages experienced by so many makes it easier to passively ignore or accept media messages, this passive acceptance eventually becomes embedded in our culture. Sexism can be and is often subtle, but just because it is subtle does not mean that it is harmless or not influential. The full project can be view on [ColbyErin.com](http://ColbyErin.com) under "Work – Net Art."

Though this project addresses some of the things I want more media to accomplish, the next step is devising plans for it to gain visibility. In its current location, it will not reach those who could potentially benefit the most from it. Also, in its current form, it functions as an art piece or a tool that could be used for teaching. Perhaps, inserting these images/messages into more public spaces and physically making the "corrections" to them would give off the impression that they are actual advertisements being corrected or critiqued and that has the potential to convey a more powerful message. With further development of this project, I will consider putting these messages in alternative forms, to see what kind of response they may receive. Media like this is important to not only remind us to be constantly critical of the media messages we receive, but also to understand the harm, flaws, or inaccuracies in the popular and normative perceptions of gender roles.



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## APPENDICES

**Appendix A**

EW1: My internal debate about Vanessa Hudgens' photo scandal  
EW2: Rihanna talks naked photos leak: 'Humiliating and embarrassing'  
EW3: Internet grinds to halt as nude pics of Jennifer Lawrence, others surface  
EW4: FBI, Apple issue statements on leaked nude photos of Jennifer Lawrence, others  
PH1: New VaneXXXa Hudgens Photos CONFIRMED As Real!  
PH2: Rihanna Naked!!!!!!!!!!  
PH3: Jennifer Lawrence Speaks Out For The First Time Since Nude Photo Hacking!  
Calls The Violation A 'Sex Crime' In Vanity Fair!  
PH4: Rihanna's Full Frontal & Big Booty Are Spread All Over the Internet  
TM1: Vanessa Hudgens Attacks Over Naked Pics  
TM2: Rihanna Fights Alleged Nude Pics  
TM3: Jennifer Lawrence -- One of Dozens Targeted in Nude Photos Leak  
TM4: Celebrity Nude Photo Leak -- The FBI Is on the Case!

## Appendix B



Figure B1. [Online Image] Retrieved from <http://womenagainstfeminism.tumblr.com/>

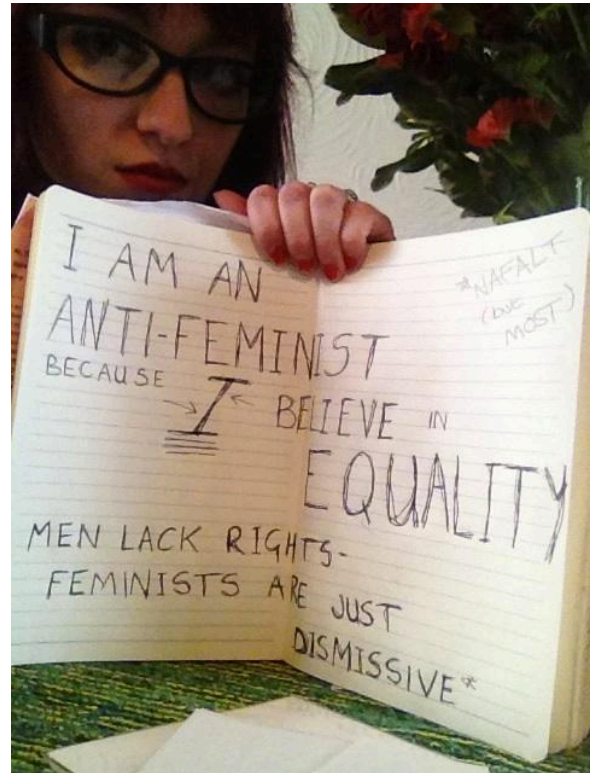


Figure B2. [Online Image] Retrieved from <http://womenagainstfeminism.tumblr.com/>



Figure B3. [Online Image] Retrieved from <http://women-againstfeminism.tumblr.com/>



Figure B4. [Online Image] Retrieved from <http://womenagainstfeminism.tumblr.com/>





Figure B5. [Online Image] Retrieved from <http://womenagainstfeminism.tumblr.com/>



Figure B6. [Online Image] Retrieved from <http://womenagainstfeminism.tumblr.com/>

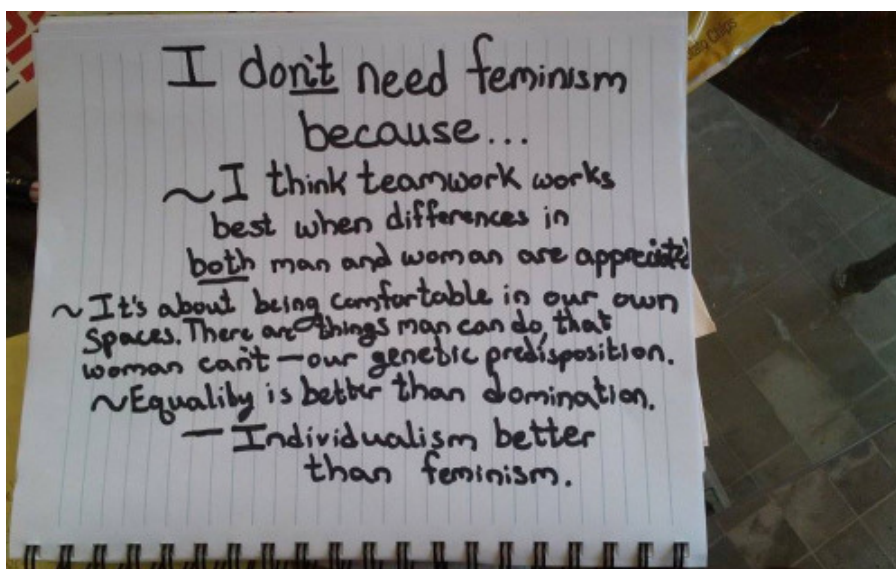


Figure B7. [Online Image] Retrieved from <http://womenagainstfeminism.tumblr.com/>

### Appendix C



Figure C1

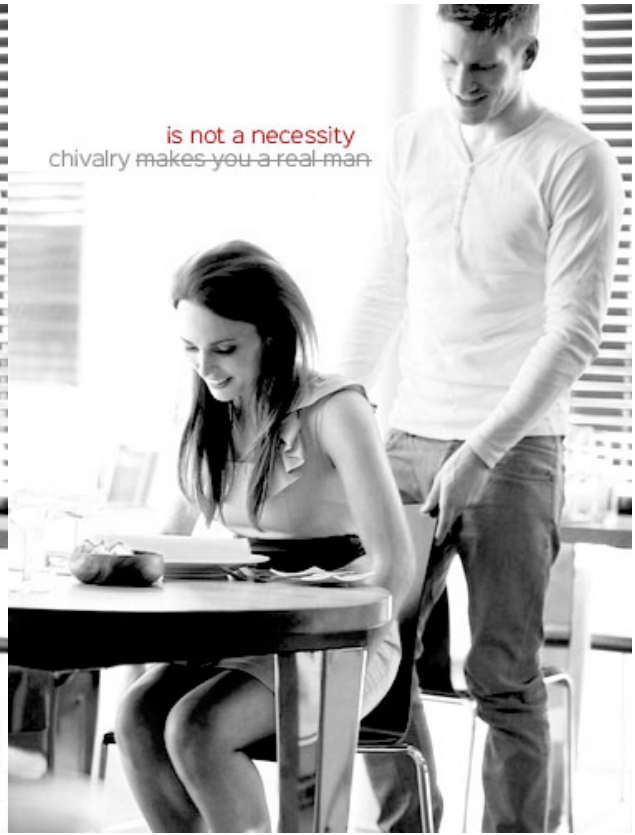


Figure C2



Figure C3



Figure C4





Figure C5



Figure C6



Figure C7



Figure C8



Figure C9



Figure C10



Figure C11



Figure C12



Figure C13

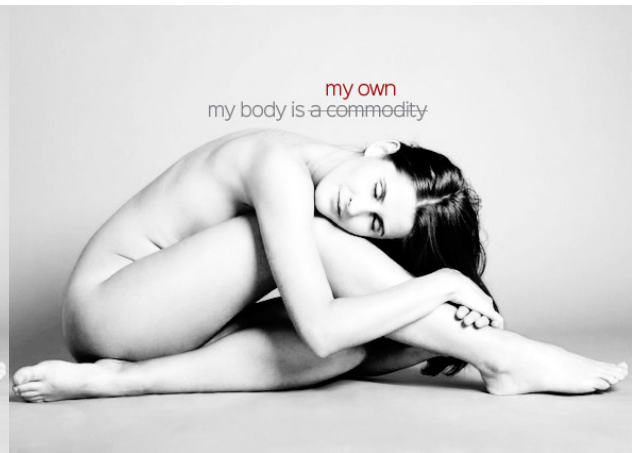


Figure C14



Figure C15



Figure C16

motherhood is the ultimate female achievement one thing some women can achieve motherhood is the ultimate female achievement



Figure C17



Figure C18



Figure C19

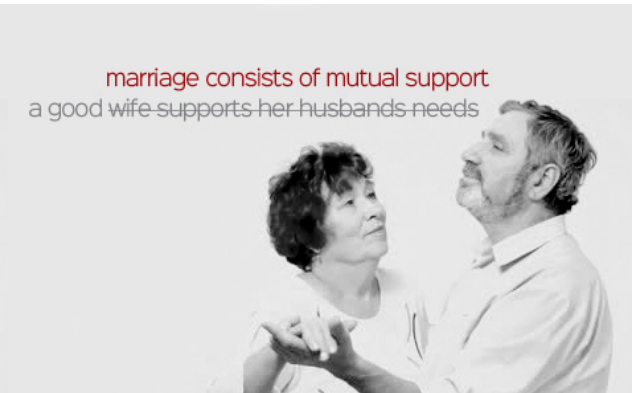


Figure C20



Figure C21



Figure C22



Figure C23



Figure C24



Figure C25



Figure C26



homosexuality confuses children

bigotry  
-homosexuality confuses children



Figure C27

Figure C28

stereotypes help make sense of the world

embed bias and discrimination  
stereotypes help make sense of the world



Figure C29

Figure C30



Figure C31



Figure C32



Figure C33



Figure C34



Figure C35



Figure C36



Figure C37



Figure C38



Figure C39



Figure C40



Figure C41



Figure C42



Figure C43

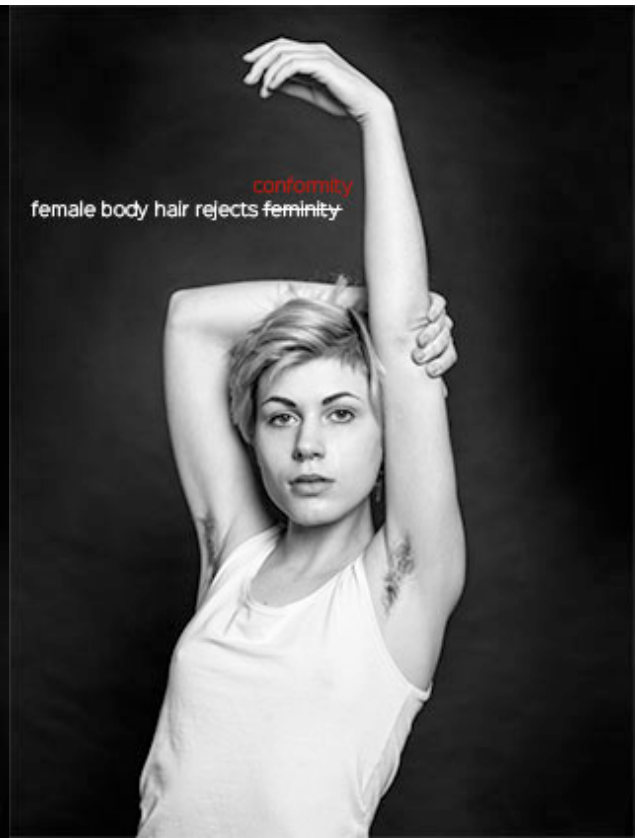


Figure C44





Figure C45



Figure C46



Figure C47

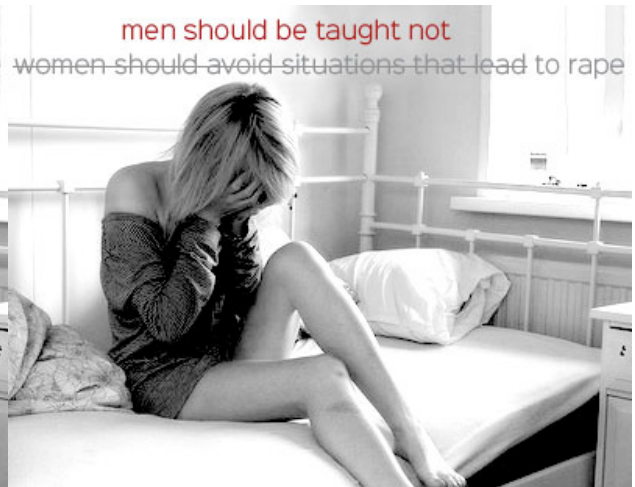


Figure C48



Figure C49



Figure C50



Figure C51



Figure C52

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