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The perception of women journalists and feminism in Belgian newspapers (1880-1950)

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Abstract
Journalism has traditionally been a male-dominated profession that has only gradually opened to women. In many Western countries in the late nineteenth century, the growing presence of female professionals across various sectors of society was one way in which the feminist movement gained visibility. This article aims to trace the discourses on women journalists and feminism in Belgium and explore their possible intersections. Focusing on the period from 1880 to 1950, we combine qualitative and quantitative approaches to analyse a corpus of 11 digitised French-language Belgian daily newspapers. Our goal is to assess the extent to which the Belgian press produced discourses on women journalists and feminism, how these narratives were interconnected, and whether they reflect a professional journalistic discourse on women journalists and feminism. Quantitative analyses, based on word frequency, key multi-word expressions, and collocates of the terms under investigation, have allowed us to objectify the presence and content of discourses within several subcorpora. This overview of the discourses makes it possible to identify discursive moments and specific texts which, through close reading, provide opportunities for a qualitative analysis of the discursive relationships between feminism and women in journalism. Our working hypothesis – that discourses about women journalists and feminism were closely intertwined – has been nuanced. The quantitative results do not demonstrate the existence of a distinct discourse on feminism and women in journalism, nor on feminist journalism. However, the identification of collocates has allowed us to highlight two notable feminist journalists who were strongly associated with feminism and analyse their press coverage.

Keywords
Journalism, Feminism, Newspapers, Feminist journalists, Belgium, History, Text mining.

Introduction

Journalism is a traditionally male dominated profession which has only gradually opened to women. In many European countries, gender equality has been more or less achieved in the journalistic profession (Djerf-Pierre & Edström, 2020). Belgium seems to lag behind in this evolution. Today, only 34% of professional journalists are women (Le Cam, Libert & Ménalque, 2021), as compared to 8.5% in 1966 (Le Cam & Tant, 2018). Although the slow feminization of the Belgian media landscape may have multiple causes, it remains difficult to explain due to the limited research on Belgian women journalists.

In many Western countries in the late nineteenth century, the growing number of female professionals in various domains of society was one of the ways in which the feminist movement gained visibility (Hilden, 1993; Holloway, 2005). In countries like France, the UK, Canada and the USA, specific studies have been devoted to the entry of women into the journalistic profession, their careers and their perception by contemporaries (Boussahba-Bravard & Pasteur, 2014; Bradley & Collins, 2005; Chambers et al., 2004; Chambers & Steiner, 2009; Kay, 2005; Lang, 1999; Lévêque, 2009; Mangun, 2019; Thérenty, 2019; Whitt, 2024). In Belgium, no such studies exist, apart from a few exploratory surveys (Gemis, 2010; Van den Dungen & Le Cam, 2018). The research centre CAMIlle aims to change that, both by taking a prosopographic approach to women journalists in Belgium and by analysing the discourse about them (Vidalenche, et al., 2024; Libert, et al., in press).[1] In a previous article, we showed that the presence of women journalists started to be discussed in the Belgian press from the 1880s (Deseure, et al., under review). Their existence was linked, in the daily press, to the discourse on women's entry into the workplace and sometimes to the rise of feminism in Belgium and abroad.

In this article we investigate the extent to which the Belgian press between approximately 1880 and 1950 produced discourses on women journalists and on feminism, by assessing and comparing the volume of articles referring to it. We will see which ideas and concepts were associated with women journalists and feminism, and the extent to which the discourses about both phenomena were intertwined and could reflect a professional journalistic discourse on them.

This article focuses on the CAMIlle archive, which includes 11 francophone Belgian newspapers dating from the period 1880-1950 (see Figure 4), representing a relevant selection of ideological orientations and totalling approximately 1000000 pages. During this time, 'the first'[2] women journalists started to work in the media and feminist discourse was developing in the press (and in society). The period also coincides with the culmination of first wave feminism in Belgium, which is symbolically delimited by two significant dates (Gubin, 1999). Firstly, 1888 was the year when Marie Popelin (1846 –1913), Belgium's first doctor in law, was refused permission to practice as a lawyer at the Brussels bar association. This led to her engagement in the feminist movement and the foundation of the influential *Ligue belge du droit des femmes* in 1892. Then, 1948 was the year when the law allowed Belgian women to vote in national elections. The introduction of voting rights and the new post-war social conditions marked the end of what is commonly regarded as the first feminist wave.

In this article we aim to find out whether a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches may be helpful in identifying and explaining patterns in the entangled discourses on women journalists and feminism. The article is divided into four sections. The first section provides an overview of the methodology used. The second section recaps our earlier findings on the discourse about women journalists. The third section presents preliminary results on the representation of the feminist debate in the press. The fourth section attempts to cross the discourses about women journalists and feminism and tests

[1] https://www.kbr.be/en/projects/camille/.

[2] We use quotation marks when referring to the "first" women journalists, as there are still large parts of the history of Belgian women's journalism to be explored.

whether a discourse about feminist journalists existed. Ultimately, we seek to understand how the press has managed (or failed) to intertwine these two forms of discourse and, in doing so, generate meaning within the social debate.

1. Methodology

This article uses a double-pronged methodology, combining qualitative and quantitative approaches. The approach is exploratory. Quantitative analyses often highlight specific sets of extracts for close reading, which, in turn, frequently prompt further quantitative analyses. This section outlines this process, but details specific to some of our queries are provided in the subsequent sections, alongside the results, so as to avoid repetition.

Since the purpose of this article is to study the possible intersections between the press discourses surrounding women journalists on the one hand, and feminism on the other, we started by analysing the two discourses separately. The women journalists subcorpus was obtained by querying 35 female versions of the French terms for journalist, reporter and correspondent, as well as pairs of words denoting women on the one hand and journalism on the other when they occurred within a span of five words of each other.[3] These queries were performed using a Python script on plain text files containing the OCR transcriptions of the CAMIlle corpus.[4] They resulted in 1886 fragments which contained references to women journalists. The fragments included the search terms in context, i.e., the sentence containing the search term, one sentence before, and one sentence after.

9	KB_JB421_1905-02-10_01-00003	1905	On vient de publier en Angleterre une curieuse statistique des professions exercées par les femmes en Grande-Bretagne : Il y a 212 femmes médecins, 140 femmes dentistes et 3 femmes vétérinaires; 1.219 femmes font du journalisme et de la litterature et 3,699 s'adonnent à la peinture; dans ce chiffre sont comprises 212 femmes peintres... d'enseignes.	femme, journalisme	L'Avenir du Luxembourg
10	KB_JB638_1936-05-02_01-00006	1936	Femmes JournalistesQuand j'ai dit aux femmes que j'interrogeais sur leur carrière de journalistes que je ne voulais que six à huit figures de femmes, pas plus, elles m'ont toutes répondu et je le rapporte ici, en hommage à celle qui est notre grande ainée : « Commencez pas Andrée Viollis; nous lui devons toutes quelque chose.	femmes journalistes	La Meuse
11	KB_JB838_1949-06-21_01-00004	1949	A l'hilarité générale, il déclare qu'il n'a été qu'une seule fois en Roumanie en mars 1949 et que son séjour s'est prolongé pendant 2 semaines. Il ne connaît pas non plus de Roumains et ses comparaisons sont basées sur ce que ses amis lui ont raconté avant la guerre et ce qu'il a pu constater maintenant... 4 Pour terminer, c'est une journaliste, rédactrice à la Romania Libera, qui vient à la barre. Une jeune femme brune, très élégante, l'air décidé.	une journaliste	Le Soir

Fig. 1. Sample of the 'women journalists' corpus.

Computing the frequency distributions of the appearance of our search terms in the 'women journalists' corpus allowed us to answer research questions about the diachronic evolution of the prevalence of this topic, as well as the difference in the volume of text dedicated to this topic in newspapers from different ends of the political spectrum. However, due to the very small size of this corpus, quantitative methods, while useful in revealing *how much* the topic was talked about, could not help us to reveal *how* it was talked about. Indeed, no meaningful statistically significant discursive patterns could be extracted from such a small corpus. Close reading remained the best approach to identify discursive trends related to the contexts and ways in which women journalists were discussed in the press. However, frequency distributions hinted at areas of interest. Extracts from years and newspapers which presented

[3] 'cette journaliste', 'collaboratrice, journal', 'collaboratrice, journaux', 'collaboratrice, revue', 'collaboratrice, revues', 'collaboratrices, journal', 'collaboratrices journaux', 'collaboratrices revue', 'dame journaliste', 'dame reporter', 'dames journaliste', 'envoyée spéciale', 'dames journalistes', 'femme, correspondante', 'femme, journalisme', 'femme journaliste', 'femme rédacteur', 'femme, reporter', 'femmes, correspondantes', 'femmes, journalisme', 'femmes journalistes', 'femmes reporters', 'journalisme féminin', 'jounaliste féminin', 'journaliste femme', 'journalistes femmes', 'la journaliste', 'mme journaliste', 'reporteresse', 'reporter dame', 'reporter femme', 'reporters femmes', 'reporteuse', 'reportrice', 'une journaliste'. Queries including commas are those which use the span function.

[4] OCR (Optical Character Recognition) refers to the conversion of images (in this case, scanned newspapers) into machine-encoded text. The corpus was OCRed by KBR (Royal Library of Belgium) using the Abbyy FineReader software.

comparatively high frequencies of mentions were read to interpret these peaks and find out whether they were linked to a particular topic or a particular view. For instance, we wondered whether high frequency correlated to a more positive depiction of women journalists. Section 2 details this portion of our study.

In Section 3, we analyse our second subcorpus, which includes the 12632 extracts containing the words 'feminism' and/or 'feminist'. It was built in the same manner as the 'women journalists' corpus, except that the extracts do not contain three sentences, but the text blocks in which the search term is found, as per the OCR software. This choice was made because the corpus is much larger and therefore becomes more suitable for the application of distant reading techniques, where more context could be useful.[5] However, in the context of the research presented here, the different context sizes do not make a difference since the context of the 'women journalists' corpus was not used for any quantitative analysis.

	filename	date	newspaper	extract	search terms
0	KB_JB638_1908-10-21_02-00002.txt	1908	La Meuse	LE FEMINISME EN CHINE La fome chinoise était, elle est encore l'esclave de l'homme, la seule digne de célébrer les rites domestiques et de perpétuerle culte des ancêtres. Dès l'enfance, on lui déforme les pieds; elle grandit dans l'ignorance entre les murs du gynécée; à douze ans, on la livre à un mari qu'elle ne connaît pas. La femme chinoise est parvenue cependant à constituer un féminisme chino13. En 1891, écrit M. Maybon, dans la Revues, ang Yeou-wei, chef de l'école réformiste, proclama le premier les droits égaux des deux sexes. Il eut aussitôt nour disciples des femmes de la plus haute société. : La fille d'un riche tao-tai, Mlle Siu PengSie, employa pr que toute sa fortune créer un collège de filles et le reste à étu dier au Japon l'organisation de l'enseignement.. La femme d'un sous-préfet du Hou-nan fonda un journal: féministe, le «Niu paos : compromise pour avoir donné asile à un révolutionnaire, elle a -péri sur l'échafaud, le: 6 juillet dernier. 4 " Mme Wou-Fang-Lan, acquise aux idées progressistes, est morte martyrisée par sa belle-mère qui ne lui pardonnait pas de ne plus se comprimer les pieds, Le nréfet, non content de blâmer la méglic, a condamné le beau-père à fonder une école qui porte le nom de la défunte, la femme et les deux filles de ce fonctionnaire ont institué me ligue dite des pieds raturels». Plusieurs: 25sociations de ce genre, sous prétexte de réagir contre la mode des petits pieds; poursuivent le relèvement et l'éducation de la fem.. L	[féministe, féminisme, féminisme]
1	KB_JB555_1936-04-05_01-00004.txt	1936	L'Indépendance Belge [L'Indépendant]	Le féminisme, helas! ne fait guère de progrès en France, qui reste le pays le plus rétrograde d'Europe en ce domaine. Et pourtant, quelle brillante pléiade de défenseurs le féminisme a à son service tant qu'hier qu'aujourd'hui. Mais nos députés tremblent devant l'inconnue que représente le suffrage féminin, et les sénateurs sont pris de panique quand on leur en parle! Cependant, dans quelques communes, en dehors du Conseil municipal régulier, on a élu des conseillères-adjointes, et leur influence s'est avérée excellente en ce qui concerne les matières d'assistance sociale, bureaux de bienfaisance, maternité, etc. raut d'en Aussi une féministe convaincue et de valeur, Mme Simon-Bidaux, avocate à la Cour, a demandé à M. Barune candidature féminine pour la nomination au poste de maire du VI arrondissement, vacant à la suite du décès de M. SimonJuquin qui y exerçait ces fonctions, soutenue par toutes les féministes de France. Sur simple décret du président de la République, une femme peut être nommée, en effet, maire > à Paris. Mais le président n'osera, sans doute, prendre cette initiative, d'autant plus que M. Sarraut ne semble la goûter qu'assez peu, d'autant plus que le Code civil déclare qu'un mariage célébré par une mairesse > peut être attaqué en nullité! Et n'est-ce pas là une des fonctions essentielles de l'officier municipal? Louis-Jean FINOT.	[féministe, féminisme]

Fig. 2. Sample of the 'feminism' corpus.

The 'feminism' corpus was analysed in the same manner as the 'women journalists' corpus. The frequency distributions allowed us to visualise the trajectory of the feminist debates, in terms of the amount of space it was occupying over time, and in the different newspapers. Again, we resorted to close reading to interpret specific frequency peaks and to assess whether high frequency was correlated with positive representation. Considering that this corpus is ten times larger, we were able to extract lexical patterns, in addition to frequency patterns. First, we extracted statistically significant multi-word expressions to get a sense of the most salient topics addressed in the corpus. Second, we extracted the collocates of the word feminism over three consecutive periods, i.e., words which appear in the vicinity of the word feminism more frequently than would be expected by chance. This allowed us to identify relevant discursive patterns which would have been difficult to identify via close reading alone, considering the relatively large volume of text. To interpret these statistically significant lexical patterns, we returned to close reading in order to analyse the extracts which included the word feminism alongside its top collocates.

Finally, in Section 4, we analyse the interaction between these two discourses. First, we crossed the frequency of mentions per newspaper of women journalists on the one hand

[5] E.g. topic modelling. Ideally, we would have selected the entire article in which the search term appears. However, the current OCR does not contain article segmentation and the implementation of an automated segmentation algorithm goes beyond the scope of our research. Selecting text blocks, as detected by Abbyy FineReader's layout detection algorithm was the next best thing to obtain larger chunks of texts which were likely to belong to the same article.

and feminism on the other to check for a possible correlation. Next, we checked the existence of a discourse on feminist journalists by querying the terms feminism and feminist in the 'women journalists' corpus on the one hand, and the terms journalist and journalism in the 'feminism' corpus on the other. This resulted in two very small subcorpora which were analysed via close reading. In addition, since two of the collocates of feminism were names of women journalists (Louise Van den Plas and Léontine Zanta), we created two additional subcorpora containing all mentions of these two women. We then computed the distribution of the occurrences of these names over time and in the different newspapers, and we performed a close reading of the subcopora in order to understand their discursive significance at the intersection of feminism and journalism.

Apart from a close reading of the articles, our results are contextualised with existing scholarship about the history of feminism and female journalism in Belgium during this period. Note that our analysis focuses on the journalistic text (Bonville, 1996). This also includes texts which may have been produced by the newspaper, reproduced from another newspaper, or written by someone outside the newspaper. The journalistic text is interdiscursive in that it does not always reflect the position of the daily newspaper, since it is also produced by the sources encountered by the journalists. These clues are mentioned in our text where necessary. We use the expression 'newspaper discourse' in this very broad polyphonic sense. In our analysis we formulate hypotheses connecting the newspaper discourse to the social discourse, which we understand as the discursive representation of the world in a certain society at a certain point in time (Angenot, 2006).

2. Women journalists in Belgium

In our previous article, we looked at the Belgian press discourse about women journalists (Deseure, et al., under review). Our working hypothesis was that a discourse on women journalists in the daily press could be identified through a list of feminine terms referring to them – something feasible in French by distinguishing *le* from *la journaliste*, for example. This resulted in a subcorpus that referred more strictly to women journalists, even though the feminisation of terms was not always systematically applied. Our corpus therefore leaves out (for the moment) texts about women journalists which are included in discourses on journalism in general, as they are not visible through the feminisation of words.

As mentioned in Section 1, our analysis was based on a subcorpus of 1886 fragments which contain references to women journalists. This small number of texts is already a significant result, showing that the daily press may not have talked much about women journalists, or that our search terms did not allow us to retrieve more texts. In comparison, the term 'journalist' and 'journalism' appears 177821 times and 17637 times, respectively, proving that the small number of mentions referring to female journalists is not due to a general disinterest in the topic of journalism. Nonetheless, our 'women journalists' corpus already allows for an interesting exploration of the discourse.

Firstly, '*envoyée spéciale*' (460 hits) was the most used term, followed by '*la journaliste*' (346), '*femmes journalistes*' (105), '*une journaliste*' (100), '*collaboratrice, journal*' (70) and '*femme journaliste*' (68).

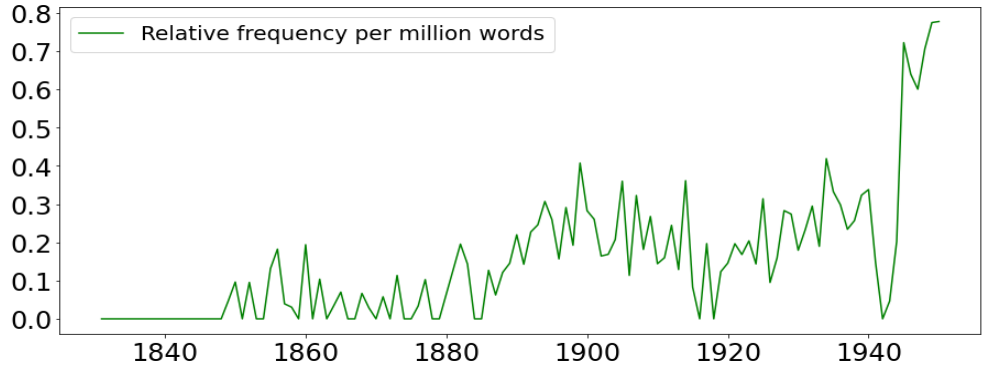

Fig. 3. Diachronic view of the frequency of the 35 terms combined.

Secondly, the frequency distribution of the query terms shows clear chronological trends (Figure 3). Whereas references to women journalists occasionally occurred from approximately 1850 onwards, the numbers rose quite suddenly from 1880, to reach a first peak in 1900. Numbers remained high until WWI, when there was a sudden decline. Most Belgian newspapers stopped appearing under German occupation[6], and in the remaining newspapers, the topic of women journalists was probably supplanted by other subjects. The Interbellum shows a renewed increase in the use of vocabulary related to women journalists, who were discussed just a little less frequently than before the war. After WWII (when publication of most newspapers was again interrupted and other topics likely took precedence), a steep and unprecedented peak was reached. The number of mentions reached over double the pre-war level.

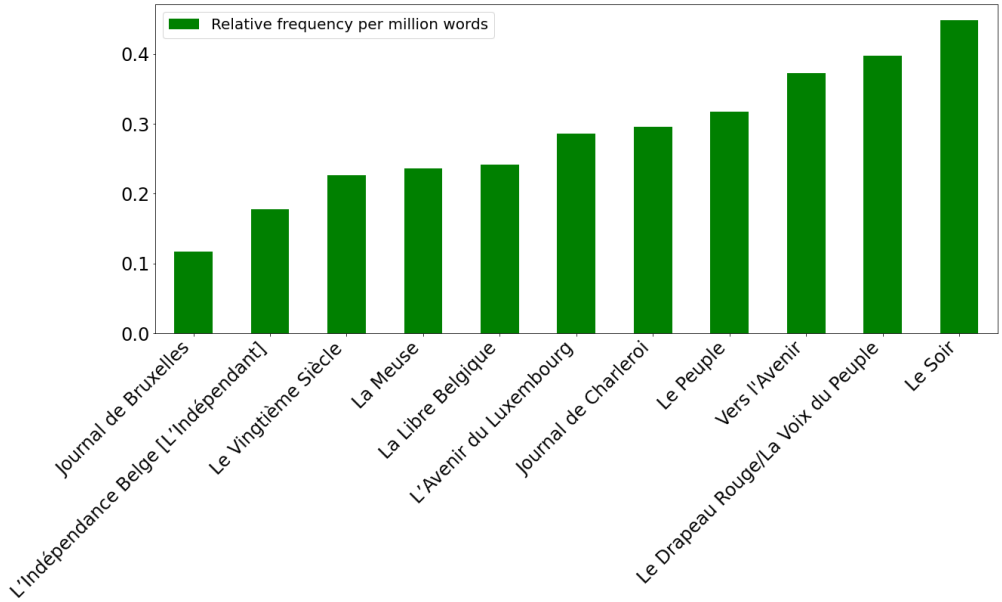

Figure 4. Distribution of the 35 search terms per journal.

[6] *Le Vingtième siècle* and *L'Indépendance belge* (edited in England) continued to appear during the First World War. *Le Soi*r and the *Journal de Charleroi* continued to appear during the Second World War (without their owners' permission). During both wars, newspaper production was roughly 10% of pre-war production.

Thirdly, we have found that a connection exists between the frequency distribution and the ideological orientation of the newspapers (Figure 4). Left leaning (i.e., progressive-liberal, socialist and communist) newspapers (*Le Soir, Le Drapeau rouge, Le Peuple, Journal de Charleroi*) generally wrote more often about women journalists (using the feminine terms from our list). Their conservative (i.e., bourgeois liberal and Catholic) counterparts (*La Libre Belgique, Le Vingtième siècle, L'Indépendance belge, La Meuse, Journal de Bruxelles*) devoted markedly less attention to the phenomenon. The exception is *Vers l'Avenir* which, despite its Catholic profile, takes up the third position in the frequency distribution.

Fourthly, our qualitative analysis of the 1886 fragments has subsequently shown that progressive newspapers wrote more positively about women journalists than conservative ones. Up until the 1930s, conservative newspapers often spread an alarmist discourse, portraying women journalists as a threat to male status and employment. Women were disqualified from journalism (and especially reporting) on sexist grounds, and their journalistic output was ridiculed. *La Meuse* and *Le Vingtième siècle* were the champions of this negative discourse, which was slow to disappear. Progressive newspapers, on the other hand, welcomed and supported the apparent feminisation of the journalistic profession, often arguing that the specific female element was an added value for journalism. Interestingly, the most positive discourse about women in journalism was found in *L'Indépendance belge*, a bourgeois liberal newspaper, which wrote relatively little about female journalists.

Finally, some articles make an explicit link between the feminisation of the journalistic workplace and feminism, both in progressive and conservative newspapers. Even though this discourse was not widespread (as we shall see later), some citations illustrate this point.

In 1902, *La Meuse* published one of many statistics about the feminisation of traditionally male professions, including journalism, and linked it to the progress of feminism:

> American feminism. Nowhere is feminism making such rapid progress as in the United States. According to official statistics just published, there are currently 3605 female pastors, 1009 female lawyers, 7399 female doctors, 787 female dentists, 2193 female journalists, 1040 female architects, 946 female commercial travellers, 324 female undertakers (horresco referens), 409 female electricians, 45 female locomotive drivers (...)[7].

The same newspaper struck quite a different tone when, in 1912, it published an article entitled *'La femme dans la presse'.* This time, the newspaper praised the changes journalism had undergone under the influence of feminism: 'if the newspaper is to be a mirror of universal life, it must give an accurate account of the feminist movement. This is how women have slowly changed the face of journalism'.[8] These connections that newspapers established between the accession of women journalists to the profession and feminism were the starting point for an analysis of the question whether, more generally, newspapers regularly made this link between the two phenomena.

[7] *La Meuse*, 25/09/1902, p. 2: 'Féminisme américain. Nulle part le féminisme ne fait des progrès aussi rapides qu'aux Etats-Unis. D'après une statistique officielle qui vient d'être publiée, il y a actuellement en Amérique 3.605 femmes pasteurs, 1.009 avocates, 7.399 doctoresses, 787 femmes-dentistes, 2.193 femmes journalistes, 1.040 femmes-architectes, 946 voyageuses de commerce, 324 femmes croquemorts (horresco referens), 409 électriciennes, 45 conductrices de locomotives (…)'.

[8] *La Meuse*, 13/05/1912, p. 5: 'Si le journal doit être le miroir de la vie universelle, il faut qu'il rende un compte exact du mouvement féministe. C'est ainsi que les femmes ont lentement modifié la physionomie du journalisme'.

3. Feminism and feminists in the press

This article does not allow for a complete in-depth analysis of the discourse around 'feminism' and 'feminist' in the Belgian press. Nevertheless, the preliminary analysis of our feminism subcorpus constitutes an important first user-based exploration of the history of the meanings attached to these terms in the Belgian context.

The term feminist in its current meaning appears in the French language around 1870. Hubertine Auclert (1848-1914) used it to define her activism for women's rights in 1882. According to Karen Offen (1987), the terms gained currency following discussions in the French press of the *Congrès national des institutions féministes* in 1892. From there, the word found its way into other French-speaking countries, including Belgium. Belgian feminist Isabelle Gatti de Gamond (1839-1905) started publishing her *Cahiers féministes* in 1896.

Our focus on feminist terminology means that this investigation is not concerned with earlier manifestations of women's movements, which operated before these terms came into usage. Belgian feminism traces its origins to the initiatives for non-confessional female education taken by Zoë de Gamond (1806-1854) in the 1830s and 40s and continued by her daughter Isabelle Gatti de Gamond from the 1860s onwards (Gubin, 1992). Feminism as an organised movement came about in 1892, when Marie Popelin and Louis Franck (1864-1917) founded the *Ligue belge du droit des femmes*. Many subsequent organisations followed, including the *Société belge pour l'amélioration du sort de la femme* (1897), *Union des femmes belges contre l'alcoolisme* (1899), *Féminisme chrétien en Belgique* (1902) and *Conseil national des femmes* (1905) (Jacques, 2009). Even though many of these organisations did not use the term feminist in their names, they operated under the umbrella of feminism but with different definitions and ideological backgrounds.

Like any big 'ism', the exact definition of feminism quickly became a source of controversy. In France, the movement fractured along rivalling theories and agendas of feminism, resulting in a plethora of categorisations, including 'familial feminists', 'integral feminists', 'radical feminists', and 'male feminists', among others (Offen, 1987, p. 496). A similar phenomenon can be observed in Belgium, where the feminist movement quickly reproduced the pillarisation of the political landscape into Catholic, liberal and socialist spheres (Gubin, 1992). The diversity of the movement led to the production of a variety of discourses about feminism and feminists.

Julie Carlier (2012) has shown that Belgian scholarship has largely ignored this diversity of voices by focusing almost exclusively on the bourgeois-liberal variant of feminism, which supposedly was ideologically neutral. Belgian historians have often marked this strand of feminism, incarnated by the *Ligue belge du droit des femmes*, as the only 'authentic' feminism. Catholic and socialist feminist movements, on the other hand, have largely been disqualified as vehicles of party politics. We agree with Carlier that feminist organisations and party politics need to be carefully distinguished. Moreover, even within the dominant strand of 'bourgeois-liberal' feminism, various interpretations of what feminism meant, what it needed to achieve, and by which means, existed side by side. Paying attention to the terms used most regularly in the newspaper debates may bring this diversity of feminist voices back into the picture.

'*Féminisme*' appears in our corpus for the first time in 1884, but it was not used in the modern sense. Figuring typically in fashion and society columns or art reviews, it was used as a synonym for femininity, or to designate the quintessentially feminine. E.g.: 'The *grande dame* makes luxury the obligatory setting for her charm, her distinction, her refined feminism; she has grace and spirit, everything else is accessory'[9]. The meaning of the term changed from 1892, when it was first used in its modern sense. In a review of the Chicago World Exhibition, *Le Soir* commented: 'But let's go back to America: it is highly relevant to

[9] *La Meuse*, 24/03/1884, p. 1: 'La grande dame, elle fait du luxe le cadre obligé de son charme, de sa distinction, de son féminisme affiné ; elle a de la grâce et de l'esprit, tout le reste est accessoire'.

recall the progress made by feminism there'.[10] It went on to describe the several public functions opened to female practitioners in the USA in recent years. The next occurrences of the term referred to the feminist movement in Belgium, including discussions of the ideas of Belgian feminists Louis Franck and Isabelle Gatti de Gamond.[11] Evidence from the succeeding years suggests that the older meaning of feminism was quick to disappear.

The evolution of the word '*féministe*' is similar, although a little more complicated. The term's first appearance dates back to 1876. In the transcripts of the debates of the *Congrès international d'hygiène et de sauvetage*, published in *L'Indépendance belge,* a Spanish speaker used it in its modern sense in a discussion about women's access to work.[12] This remained an isolated case however, since the term does not appear again in the corpus until 1889. From that year on, we find a handful of mentions of '*féministes*' with the connotation of 'feminine'. In February 1892, three newspapers started using the term in its modern sense. In an article entitled '*La question de la femme*', *La Meuse* reviewed a speech by Louis Franck, summarising: 'Feminists make three demands: 1. the abolition of marital power; 2. women's access to all careers; and 3. women's involvement in the management of public affairs'.[13] Later that month, in an article entitled '*La femme politique*', *L'Indépendance belge* described 'feminist revendications' and 'the feminist cause' in the USA and the United Kingdom.[14] Two months later, *La Meuse* published Franck's '*Essai sur la condition féminine de la femme*', in which he called Marie Popelin a '*jeune féministe*' (a young feminist).[15] In short, the evidence from our corpus suggests that the terms '*féminisme*' and '*féministe*' were occasionally used in the last quarter of the 19th century to mean feminine, and that their modern use was coeval to the official start of Belgian feminism as an organised movement in 1892, when the Belgian League for Women's Rights was founded.

The quantitative analysis provides insights into the succeeding evolution of the discursive use of the terms '*féminisme*' and '*féministe(s)*' in the Belgian press. When comparing the text blocks containing these terms with a general French corpus and extracting statistically key Multi-Word Expressions, we obtained phrases such as '*suffrage des femmes*', '*vote des femmes*', '*droit de la femme*', etc. (Figure 5).[16] These results strongly suggest that, although this corpus does not exhaustively cover the discourse surrounding women's rights, it mostly focuses on such issues.

[10] *Le Soir*, 04/06/1892, p. 1: 'Mais retournons en Amérique : il est de toute actualité de rappeler les progrès y accomplis par le féminisme'.
[11] *L'Indépendance belge*, 14/11/1892, p. 1; *L'Indépendance belge*, 02/03/1893, p. 2.
[12] *L'Indépendance belge*, 29/09/1876, p. 2: 'Contrairement à l'opinion de plusieurs éminents "féministes", il estime que la femme doit sa part aux travaux de l'industrie, mais que ses travaux doivent être limités
par les lois naturelles et les exigences de la famille'.
[13] *La Meuse,* 08/02/1892, p. 2: 'Les féministes poursuivent une triple revendication : 1° l'abolition de la puissance maritale, 2° l'accessibilité pour les femmes de toutes les carrières, 3° enfin, une part d'intervention pour elles dans la gestion des affaires publiques'.
[14] *L'Indépendance belge*, 21/02/1896, p. 6.
[15] *La Meuse*, 09/04/1892, p. 9.
[16] Our corpus was compared to the French Web Corpus (frTenTen) available in Sketch Engine which contains 23,8 billion words of French texts collected from the Internet (Jakubíček et al., 2013; Kilgarriff et al., 2014). This corpus provides an overview of contemporary general French language. The keyness score is calculated via the simple math measure (Kilgarriff, 2009). The language extracted from the newspaper collection is not directly comparable to a contemporary internet corpus. The fact that most of these expressions are 'dated' contributed to their statistical keyness when compared to contemporary language. However, the extraction of these expressions, largely referring to the feminist agenda, and not others, referring to other topics, still confirms the thematic validity of our corpus.

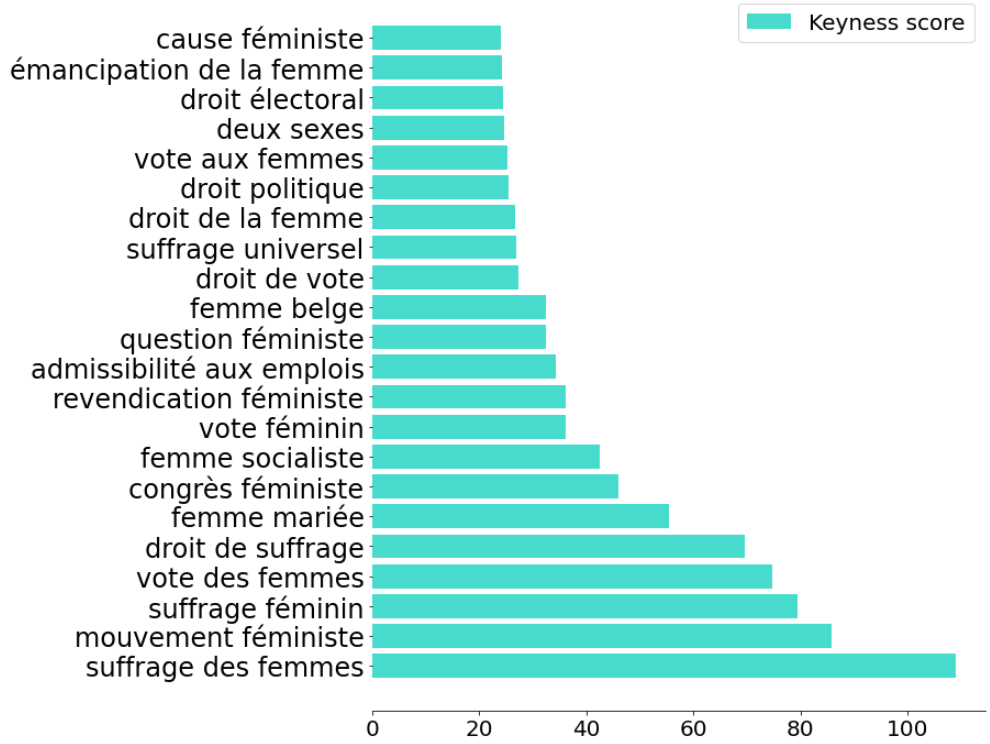

Fig. 5. Key multi-word expressions for the 'feminism' corpus, in comparison with a general language French corpus.

Half of the expressions in this list, including four expressions out of the top five, refer to women's suffrage, whereas only a minority of expressions ('*émancipation de la femme*', '*admissibilité aux emplois*', '*femme mariée*') hints at civil equality. This is remarkable. The consensus among historians indicates that Belgian feminists were late to demand the vote (Gubin, 1999). However, the discussion of voting ('*droit de vote*') in journalistic texts on feminism appeared early. From 1900, the number of occurrences continued to grow in importance until the early 1920s (Figure 6), when local suffrage for women was adopted. Of course, these discussions were not confined to Belgium, so the fragments in our corpus may partly refer to the situation abroad. But it does show that the media were taking a major interest in them. This was also the case for women's suffrage ('*suffrage des femmes*') and related terms, which were particularly prominent until the early 1920s, before declining sharply in newspaper coverage.

Fig. 6. Diachronic view of the number of extracts from our feminism corpus including phrases in relation with voting rights.

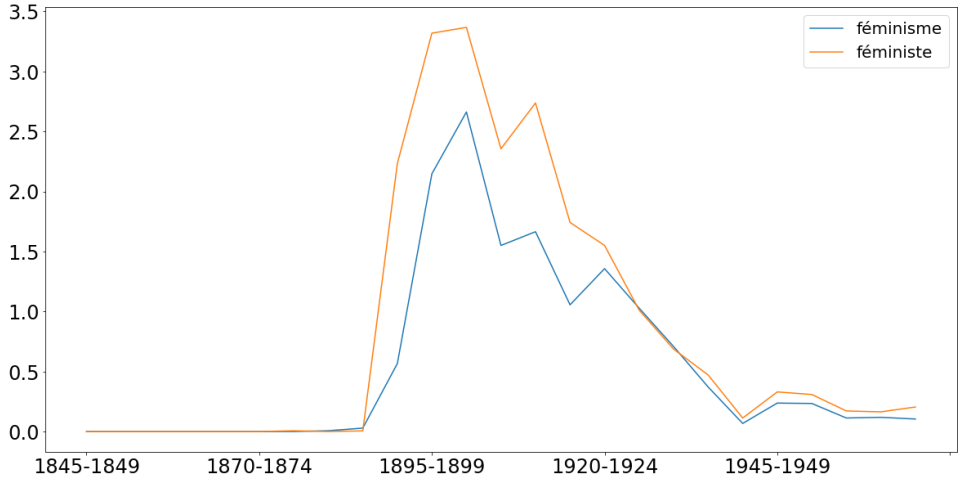

Fig. 7. Diachronic view of the frequency of extracts including the terms '*féminisme*' and/or '*féministe(s)*'.

Our 12632 text blocks which mention the words '*féminisme*' and/or '*féministe(s)*' show that the appearance of the terms in the Belgian press was very sudden (Figure 7). Before 1876, there were zero mentions. In 1889-1891, the terms appeared three times per year. In 1892, the number suddenly hit 64, and 296 in the following year. The mentions reached a zenith around 1900. The number remained high throughout the Antebellum period. A second peak was reached immediately after WWI. From then on, the number of mentions went steadily downward. The number slowly rose again after WWII, but it did not reach Antebellum levels again in the period under study.
Explicit discussions of the terms can be found from 1892. E.g.:

> There is therefore nothing new under the sun, not even what we now call 'feminism', that is, the doctrine of those who demand complete civil and political equality between men and women. However, if the doctrine is ancient and even antique, the practice of true feminism is modern: the trend towards civil equality has been best

> achieved in England and Russia; the agitation for political equality is Americanist. [...] Feminism has provided one more opportunity to 'bash the bourgeois'.[17]

When we consider the number of mentions of feminism per newspaper, we find that the ideological division between newspapers present in the mentions of women journalists (Figure 4) was not present in the case of feminism (Figure 8).

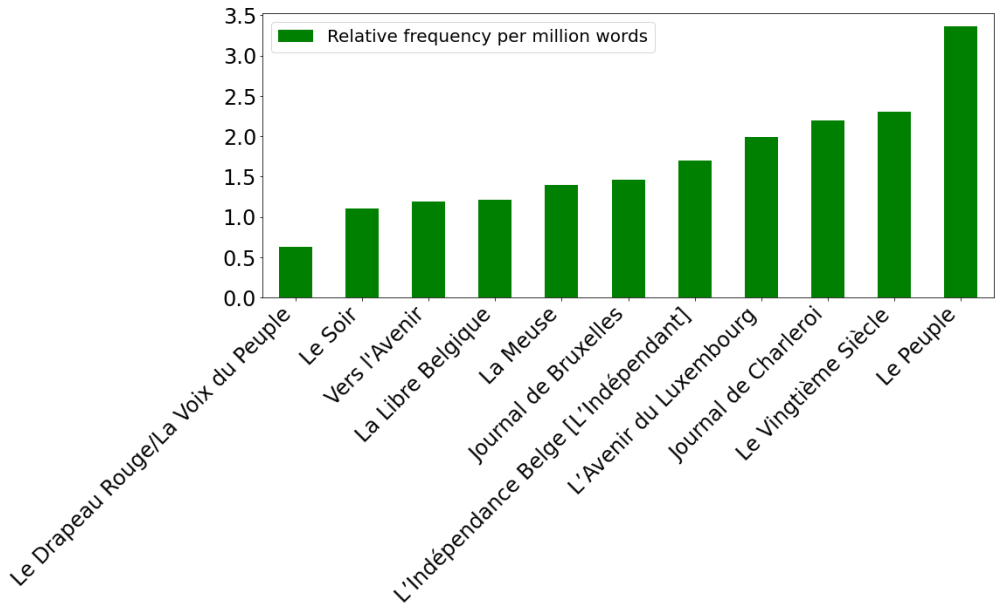

Fig. 8. Distribution of the terms "féministe(s)" and "féminisme" per journal.

On the contrary, the two newspapers which discussed feminism most often were socialist (*Le Peuple*) and Catholic (*Le Vingtième siècle*) respectively.[18] This finding suggests that the polemic about feminism was alive in newspapers across the ideological spectrum. Mentions of female journalists, while they appeared more frequently in progressive newspapers, may not have been part of the mainstream debate.

[17] *Journal de Bruxelles*, 01/07/1892, p. 1: 'Il n'y a donc rien de nouveau sous le soleil, pas même ce qu'on appelle aujourd'hui le «féminisme», c'est-à-dire, la doctrine de ceux qui demandent la complète égalité civile et politique entre l'homme et la femme. Cependant, si la doctrine est ancienne et même antique, la pratique du véritable féminisme est moderne : la tendance vers l'égalité civile a été le mieux réalisée en Angleterre et en Russie ; l'agitation pour l'égalité politique est américaniste. [...] Le féminisme lui a fourni une occasion de plus pour «taper sur le bourgeois»'.

[18] These findings are also influenced by the period during which the newspapers were active/digitised. In Figure 8, we note that the high position of *Le Vingtième siècle* is partially explained by the fact that we do not have data for this newspaper at the very beginning and the very end of the period under investigation, when the feminist debate was not very active in the press. The overall relative frequency of the terms is therefore higher. By providing an overview of the comparative rate of use of the terms between newspapers at any given time, Figure 9 is more trustworthy, since it takes into account the discrepancies in the temporal coverage of the newspapers in the archive.

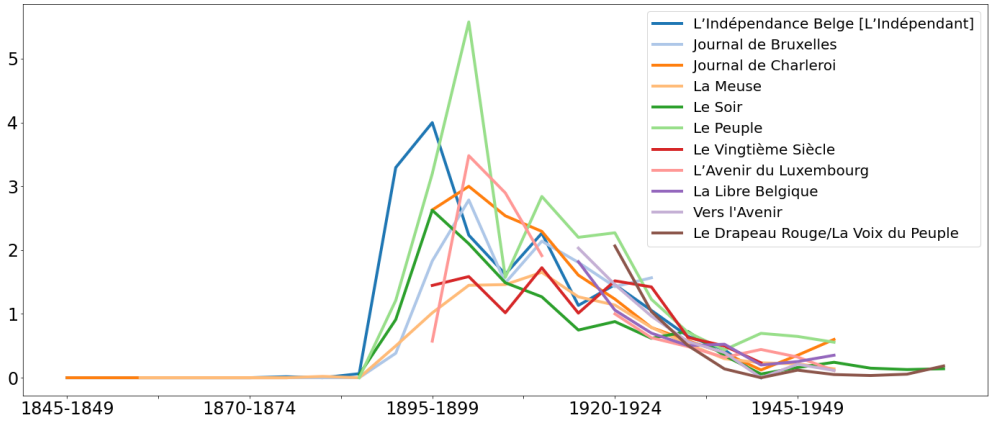

Fig. 9. Diachronic view of the number of extracts mentioning the terms '*féminisme*' and/or '*féministe(s)*', per newspaper.

As seen in Figure 9, two newspapers stand out: the socialist *Le Peuple,* and the liberal *L'Indépendance belge*. Both were early to discuss women's rights, and both did so from a progressive perspective. *L'Indépendance belge* dominated the reports about feminism in the early years. It closely followed the meetings and publication of the *Ligue belge des droits des femmes*, published pieces by prominent feminists, like Louis Franck and Céline Renooz (1840-1928)[19], and reported on feminist movements abroad.

To better understand the nature of this debate, we looked at the top collocates of the word '*féminisme*' in three consecutive periods (Figure 10). By collocates, we understand terms which co-occur with the word '*féminisme*' more often than would be expected by chance.[20]

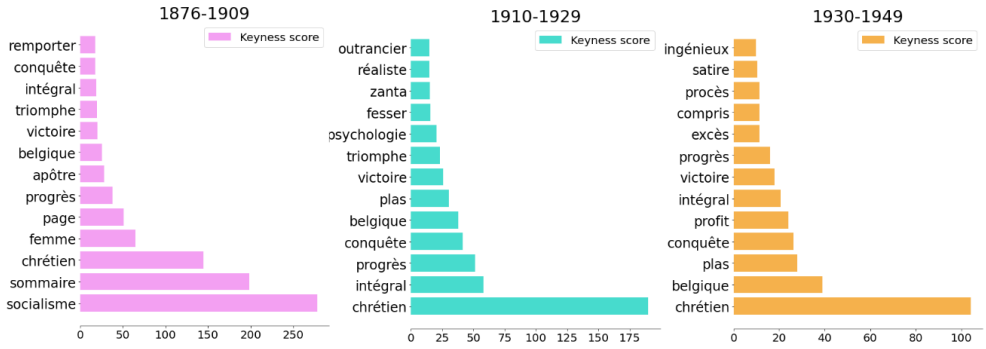

Figure 10. Top collocates of the word '*féminisme*' in the CAMIlle archive in three consecutive periods.

The top collocates draw attention to the ideological diversity – and areas of interest or controversy – within the feminist movement. In the first period, '*socialisme*' is the top collocate, immediately followed by '*chrétien*' (Christian). In the next two periods, '*chrétien*' is the top collocate, whereas '*socialisme*' disappears from the list. Overall, socialist strands

[19] 'Le mouvement féministe. Les mœurs et les lois'. *L'Indépendance belge*, 13/04/1893, p. 3.

[20] Collocates were obtained with the Python package NLTK (Bird et al., 2009), using the likelihood ratio association measure with a window size of 7 on either side of the word 'féminisme'. The OCR of the newspapers contains many mistakes. We have filtered words resulting from such mistakes out of these lists.

of feminism left fewer traces in the top collocates. Both terms refer to exactly those 'alternative' feminist movements which according to Carlier have been ignored by historians. The collocates do not explicitly allude to the 'dominant' trend of liberal-bourgeois feminism (a term which, to be clear, was not used by contemporaries).

The dominance of Christian feminism in the collocation analysis could suggest that, in our corpus, the volume of discourse on Christian feminism is higher than the others, which would merit more specific attention in future research. As we know, feminism in Belgium was not exclusively dominated by the Christian pillar but was embraced by movements across the ideological spectrum. It is possible that other branches of feminism were simply referred to with a more varied vocabulary in comparison with 'Christian feminism', which appears as a set expression (and which was the title of a well-known Christian feminist periodical). Moreover, the lack of appearance of liberal-bourgeois feminism might be due to its dominant status as the 'default' feminism, which, contrary to Christian or socialist feminism, does not require a qualifier. We therefore need to examine the social discourse of these periods with what is reflected in the newspapers, bearing in mind the polyphonic nature of press discourse, which reveals both public controversy and the newspapers' own editorial positions.

Nevertheless, collocations allow us to analyse the prevalent vocabulary of media discourse. In the first period, several of the top collocates suggest an association between feminism and a war-like campaign, e.g., '*conquête*' (conquest), '*triomphe*' (triumph), '*victoire*' (victory) and '*remporter*' (obtain). E.g: 'American feminism is triumphing with a bang. It has just won a resounding victory'[21]; 'Let us make her understand that the greatest conquest of feminism would be to have a legion of women who know their duties and fulfil them'.[22]

The word '*apôtre*' (apostle) also suggests a cult-like following. As evidenced by the close reading of relevant samples, it is also associated with the vocabulary of a military campaign. E.g. 'The dream is to be equal to men, and while we wait for the rights demanded by the apostles of feminism, we are preparing our weapons! Are they really weapons? Are they weapons of victory or defeat?'[23]

This trend continues in the subsequent decades, with the words '*triomphe*', '*victoire*' and '*conquête*' still being prominent. Although none of these words is negative, per se, they still suggest a semantic field of confrontation and even fight. In the next period, the tone changes. The appearance of the word '*intégral*' in all three periods is interesting in this regard. Especially in the second period when the term is a prominent collocate. The term integral feminism originated in France, where it was associated with Hubertine Auclert's campaign to obtain integral, i.e. active and passive, political rights for women (Farges, 2024). Qualitative analysis shows that in the Belgian debate, 'integral feminism' was used in a highly polemical context. The word had become synonymous with 'radical', as it implied total equality between men and women. It was nearly always negatively connotated in the newspapers. E.g. 'Nations that practise integral feminism will be eliminated from the planet by nations in which the family has not been dissociated'[24]; 'As has been said, communism is less dangerous than integral feminism'.[25]

[21] *Journal de Bruxelles*, 07/04/1901, p. 1: 'Le féminisme américain triomphe bruyamment. Il vient de remporter une victoire éclatante'.

[22] *Le Soir,* 27/11/1900, p. 1: 'Faisons-lui comprendre que la plus belle conquête du féminisme serait de compter une légion de femmes connaissant leurs devoirs et les accomplissant'.

[23] *Le Vingtième siècle*, 25/09/1898, p. 6: 'Être l'égale de l'homme, voilà le rêve et en attendant les droits que réclament les apôtres du féminisme, on prépare les armes ! Sont-ce bien des armes? Sont-ce en tout cas des armes de victoire ou des armes de défaite?'.

[24] *Le Soir*, 31/12/1910, p. 1: 'Les nations qui pratiquent le féminisme intégral seront éliminées de la planète par les nations dans lesquelles la famille n'aura pas été dissociée'.

[25] *La Libre Belgique*, 11/07/1933, p. 1: 'On l'a bien dit, le communisme est moins dangereux que le féminisme intégral'.

The various camps in the debates typically accused each other of adhering to integral feminism in order to discredit each other's programmes. In 1902, Catholic feminist and deputy René Colaert (1848-1927) used the term in the Chamber to distance himself from radical and socialist feminism, whilst at the same time calling for female suffrage.[26] Conversely, the socialist newspaper *Journal de Charleroi* castigated the Catholic party for rejecting equal pay rates for male and female teachers, despite its support for female suffrage, and thus for integral feminism.[27]

The word '*outrancier*' (outrageous) is a symptom of more direct attacks on feminism as well. As late as 1950, *La Libre Belgique* used the term to oppose the gradual inclusion of women in prestigious professions: 'We believe that it is outrageous that feminism tries to set women against men in all types of functions and jobs. It ignores the profound differences that nature has marked out in the respective qualities and aptitudes of men and women and in their specific missions'.[28]

The word '*progrès*' is one of the collocates which is present throughout the period, most often connoting a positive view of the movement, with some nuances. E.g. 'Feminism is an excellent thing, and those who refuse to subscribe to its progress are very backward'.[29]

The occurrence of '*plas*' in the second and third periods is also noteworthy, since it refers to Christian feminist Louise Van den Plas (1877-1968). Van den Plas was the editor of the magazine *Le Féminisme chrétien*, which she founded in 1905. Van den Plas is – together with Léontine Zanta (1872-1942), see Section 4 – the only person to appear in the list of collocates.

Although a full analysis of the discourse surrounding the word feminism goes beyond the scope of this article, this fragmentary analysis of its top collocates demonstrates that feminism was a subject of increasingly animated and polarised debates in the press throughout this period. Our results specifically reflect conflicting interpretations of feminism between newspapers of varying ideological hues.

4. Women journalists and feminism

Our results allow us to cross-reference the volume of texts on women journalists with the terms associated with feminism. Our initial hypothesis held that a correlation existed between these volumes (the dailies talking about the emergence of feminism would also be the ones talking about women journalists entering the profession), and thus between the discourse on feminism and the one on women journalists. This correlation was not found (see figure 11): the quantitative data do not exhibit equivalent volumes between both phenomena; nor do they show that the same newspapers covered these themes. While progressive newspapers noticeably more often used terminology referring to female journalists, terminology related to feminism was much less tied to newspapers with a specific ideological profile. This suggests that the debate on feminism was conducted across the entire ideological spectrum and from diverse political perspectives.

[26] *Journal de Bruxelles,* 25/02/1902, p. 3: 'L'orateur établit cependant une différence entre le féminisme intégral, dont il ne veut pas, parce qu'il est celui des socialistes et des révolutionnaires (...)'.
[27] *Journal de Charleroi*, 11/01/1914, p. 2: 'les cléricaux n'avaient cessé de leur affirmer que leur parti, rallié au féminisme intégral, était favorable au suffrage des femmes (!)'.
[28] *La Libre Belgique*, 05/02/1950, p. 2: 'Nous pensons qu'est outrancier le féminisme qui prétend opposer, pour tous les genres de fonctions et d'emplois, la femme à l'homme. Il méconnaît les différences profondes que la nature a marquées dans l'ensemble des qualités et des aptitudes respectives de l'homme et de la femme et dans leurs missions propres'.
[29] *Journal de Charleroi*, 21/07/1912, p. 2: 'Le féminisme est chose excellente, et bien arriérés sont ceux qui refusent de souscrire à ses progrès'.

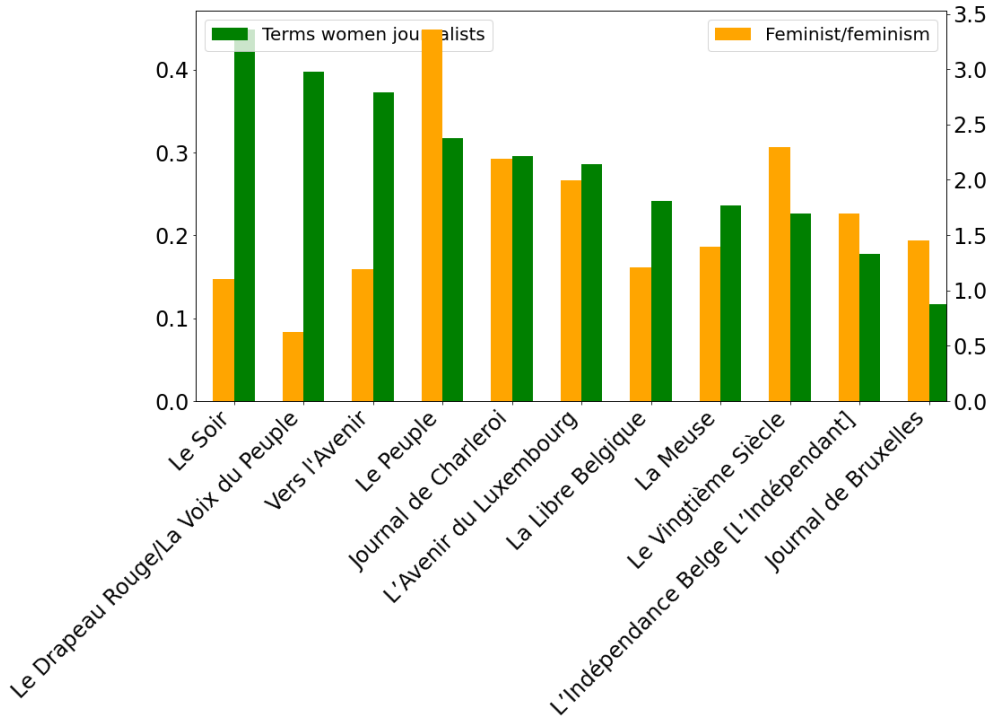

Fig. 11. Distribution of the number of extracts mentioning the terms ‘féminisme’ and/or ‘féministe(s)’ per journal, alongside the number of extracts mentioning the query terms related to women journalists (see figure 4).

Next, we have tried to find out whether our data show the existence of a separate discourse on feminist journalists, following two approaches.

Firstly, we have tried to identify the discourse associating women journalists and feminism by running our set of search terms related to women journalists (see fn. 3) within the corpus of feminism/feminists (12632 text blocks). The number of results is limited (26) and refers mainly to foreign women journalists. Next, we looked for all mentions of journalism/journalist within the feminism/feminist corpus. This resulted in a subcorpus of 447 fragments, which we analysed, and which are completely in line with the themes already discussed in our article on the discourse on women journalists (Deseure, et al., under review). This small corpus reflects the major trends observed (see Section 2).

We also expected to find a discourse on feminist journalists. However, either this was not a theme, or the two words were never used together in the press at the time. Our CAMIlle research centre has a platform where digitised newspapers are archived and made searchable via a search engine (less powerful than the scripts used in this article). This search engine returned only 1 result for "feminist journalist", 0 for "feminist journalism" and 5 for “feminist press”.

It is important to stress that our research only concerns the daily newspaper press and not the periodical press. The latter constitutes a rich source of discourse about feminism. Market logic had led to the creation of a plethora of specialised magazines aimed at a female public, covering topics for which the daily newspapers had only limited attention (despite the creation of the women’s pages in many newspapers from the Interbellum on). Moreover, weeklies and monthlies were the medium *par excellence* for the promotion of the feminist movement (Carlier, 2012). It is possible that feminist journalism was a topic in these magazines.

Secondly, the collocations give us two interesting clues, as they reveal the strong correlation between terms relating to feminism and two women journalists, Louise Van den Plas and Léontine Zanta. We wanted to understand how the trajectories of the two women can help us understand the discourse on women journalists and their links with feminism. We therefore took up a methodology already explored in a previous article (Libert, et al., in press) which aims to retrace all the appearances of a journalist's name in the newspapers in our corpus (here 11 newspapers) and to analyse their careers by investigating their media presence.

Van den Plas and Zanta shared a similar background, both being Catholic feminists and trailblazers in the Belgian and French feminist movements, respectively (Bonnet, 2021; Keymolen, 1988; Keymolen 2006). Van den Plas is referenced in the second and the third period, in the sixth and third position respectively (see Figure 10). Zanta is only present in the second period, in the eighth position. Van den Plas has 690 mentions in the corpus, whereas Zanta has only 32.[30] The statistical significance of the name Zanta, in spite of its relatively low frequency, is due to its comparatively higher co-occurrence with the word feminism, i.e. 21 co-occurrences within a seven-word span.

Their presence in our list of results suggests that collocates may offer a way of identifying individual journalists associated with the feminist movement.[31] The fact that they stand out as the only individuals among the collocates is another matter of interest. We have visualised the distribution of mentions of both journalists per newspaper and across time (Figures 12 and 13). In both cases, Catholic newspapers were responsible for a large part of the mentions. In Zanta's case, non-Catholic newspapers mentioned her only once or twice (excluding adverts in *Le Peuple* featuring her book *Psychologie du féminisme*). Van den Plas too was mentioned mainly (but not only) by Catholic newspapers. However, the newspaper with the top number of mentions was the non-confessional newspaper *Le Soir.* Van den Plas wrote a monthly column for that newspaper between 1921 and 1940, leading to over 300 mentions. The column, titled *Tribune libre féminine*, was introduced by *Le Soir* in response to the introduction of women's suffrage and was written alternately by Van den Plas, socialist feminist Hélène Burniaux (1889-1950) and liberal feminist Louise Coens (1890-1975).[32] The newspaper with the lowest number of mentions was the communist *Le Drapeau rouge*.

[30] These numbers were obtained from the whole CAMIlle archive (11 newspapers), and not from the feminism corpus alone. In addition, they were obtained from queries which included either the full first name or the initial of the person (see Figures 12 and 13). This decision was taken because querying last names only would often lead to results including a large proportion of mentions which did not refer to the individual we were interested in, but to someone bearing the same last name. As a consequence, other mentions which we know existed in the newspapers (e.g. 'Mlle Van den Plas') are not included in these numbers.

[31] Note that a different choice of statistical measure and window span would have likely led to somewhat different results which could have highlighted other names.

[32] *Le Soir,* 29/12/1946, p. 9.

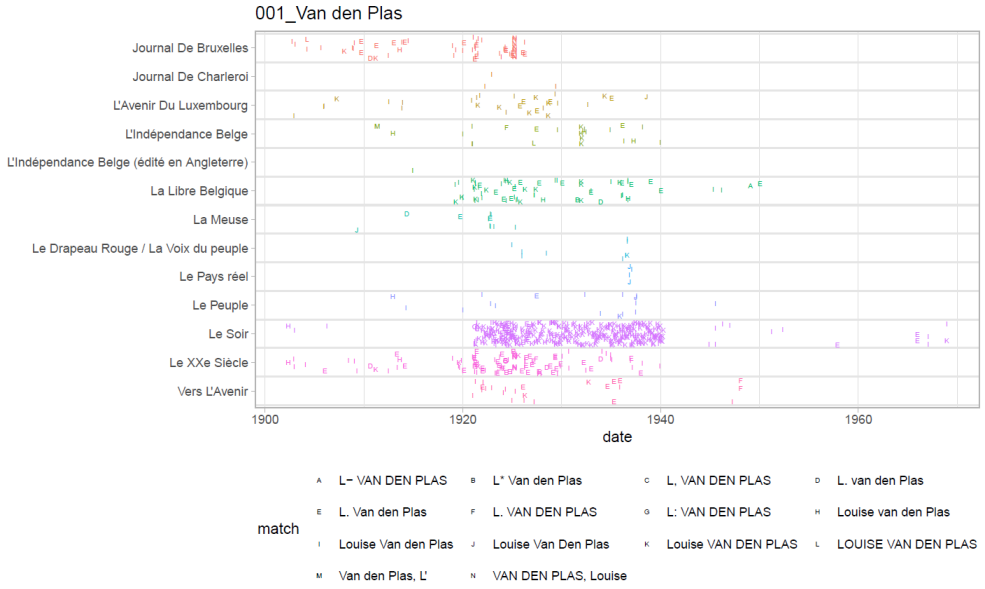

Fig. 12. Mentions of Louise Van den Plas per newspaper and across time[33]

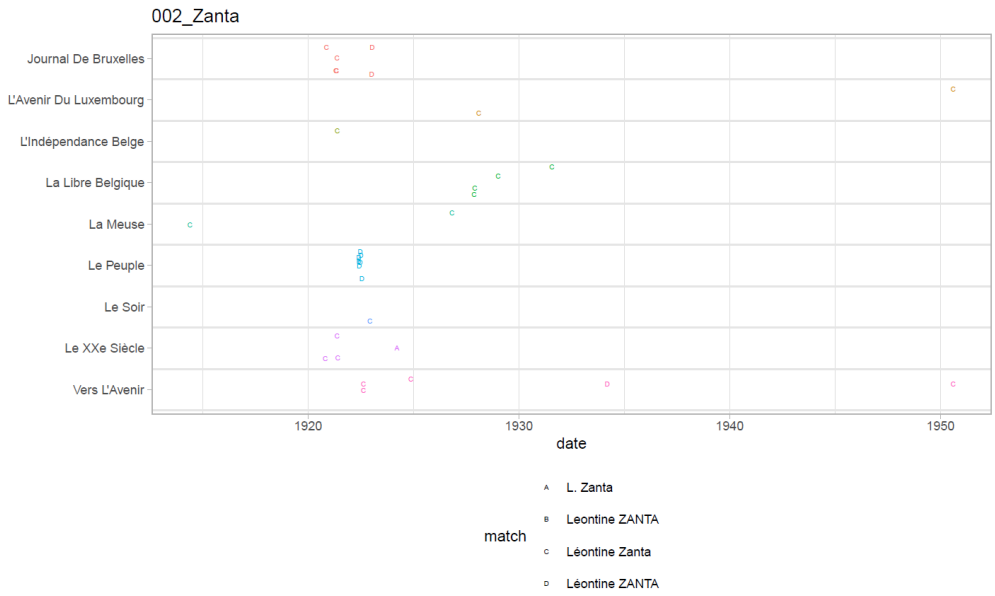

Figure 13. Mentions of Léontine Zanta per newspaper and across time

In-depth reading of the articles revealed that newspaper discourse about these two journalists frequently included discussions on feminism. This provides deeper insight into how the press of the time not only referenced certain feminists but also actively gave them a platform to voice their ideas.

Conclusion

[33] Many thanks to our colleague Sébastien de Valeriola for his data processing and visualisation (Figures 12 and 13), developed as part of CAMIlle's collective research into the careers of women journalists (Libert, et al., in press).

To say that feminism caused a controversy in the Belgian press is an understatement. The topic was intensely discussed, from various ideological points of view and often in response to contemporary political events. Discussion about the meaning and goals of the feminist movement, as well as definitions of 'good' versus 'bad' feminism, frequently occurred. Our working hypothesis was that the discussion about women journalists was closely intertwined with that on feminism (as suggested by a number of texts in our analysis of press discourse on women journalists) (Deseure, et al., under review).

In this article, we have tested a combination of qualitative and quantitative research methods to investigate the entangled discourses about feminism and women journalists in a selection of Belgian newspapers. Our initial research question has been answered in the negative: a separate discourse on feminism and women journalism and on feminist journalism did not exist. The discourse about women journalists was relatively small compared to that about feminism. Whereas the feminisation of the journalistic profession was framed as an effect of feminism and of women's entry into the labour market, the connections between feminism and women journalists or feminist journalists/journalism were not discussed as such.

As mentioned above, this finding may be a result of the lack of interest in women journalists in the dailies. It may also be an effect of the lack of existence of the idea of feminist journalism, a practice which is perhaps more entrenched in journals and magazines. It may also be linked to our methodology and the choice of terms used both in the lists on feminism and women journalists. Our research is in an early stage and exploratory in nature. In a later phase, we aim to follow an additional methodology for identifying female journalists in the Belgian press, namely by tracing mentions of their names in newspapers. It is also possible that the discourse on women journalists is integrated into the (broader) discourse on journalism.

Our combined methodology has nevertheless allowed us to better understand the separate discourses about feminism and women journalists. Frequency distribution has proven to be a useful instrument for gaining insight into the general structure and evolution of the discourses about feminism and women journalists. The distribution of mentions over the different newspapers has revealed interesting patterns, which qualitative analysis has allowed to elaborate further. While the frequency of mentions of women journalists can be linked to the newspapers' ideological profile, such is not the case for the discussion about feminism. Indeed, feminism was discussed across the ideological spectrum and from a variety of ideological perspectives, indicating that feminism generated cross-party social debates.

Text analysis methods, through keyword expressions, also demonstrate the connection between feminism and a number of topics relating to the feminist agenda, notably political and civil rights. The top collocates of the word feminism in three consecutive periods reveal a predominance of terms referring to Christian, and to a lesser degree socialist, strands of feminism. These results are revealing since they confirm the ideological variety within Belgian feminism, a fact which has hitherto not been sufficiently recognised in historiography. Not only did the feminist movement have many faces, the various ideologically inspired movements should be distinguished from party politics. The differences between Christian and socialist terminology, and their evolution over time, certainly merit specific attention in future research.

Furthermore, the collocates provide insight into patterns of language used in association with feminism: combative terms stand out, as well as negatively connotated words like '*intégral*' and '*outrancier*', which again point at ideological debates about the nature, merits and dangers of feminism. Collocates and keywords are just one way of analysing a discourse. In a future article we will expand our methodology by including word embeddings into our analysis.

Finally, the collocates have put us on the trail of two individual feminist journalists. Their presence in the collocates confirms the importance of journalistic figures for the

feminist movement. Frequency distributions and close reading of the mentions of Louise Van den Plas and Léontine Zanta have gained insight into the media discourse about their persons. Again, newspapers' ideological orientation played a decisive role: both Christian feminists were favoured by newspapers of Catholic inspiration. Of course, other women journalists have also been covered in newspapers. Future research based on a list of women journalists and an analysis of their appearances in the press will help enrich our understanding of both feminist discourse and the discourse on journalism.

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