

GENDER DIFFERENCES IN MEDIA COVERAGE FOR
CANDIDATES RUNNING IN PRESIDENTIAL
NOMINATION RACES: A CLOSE LOOK
AT CLINTON AND DOLE

by

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ABSTRACT

GENDER DIFFERENCES IN MEDIA COVERAGE FOR CANDIDATES RUNNING IN PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION RACES: A CLOSE LOOK AT CLINTON AND DOLE

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The media plays an interesting and intricate role in the election process. The information the media presents to voters is used by voters to form opinions on candidates and issues. As a result, voters take these opinions into the voting booths with them. Female candidates running for elected office often find themselves being treated differently by the media than the male candidates they are running against. Previous research has indicated that female candidates receive less overall coverage than their male counterparts. In addition, the media often chooses to focus on female candidates' personal lives, personality, and horserace positions more so than male candidates. The media also tends to associate female candidates with "feminine" issues such as education or healthcare and male candidates with "masculine" issues like foreign policy or taxes.

This research analyzes the media coverage of Hillary Rodham Clinton and her male competitors during the pre-primary period of the 2008 Democratic presidential nomination process. Clinton's media coverage was compared to the media coverage Elizabeth Dole experienced during her run for the Republican presidential nomination in 1999. This was done

to discover if any patterns regarding media coverage of women running for a presidential nomination were apparent. It is necessary to analyze the media coverage of these two women because they are the only two women in recent years to campaign for a presidential nomination.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The media has penetrated Americans' lives to the point where one can walk down the street and watch TV on their cell phone or access the internet while driving in a car. Americans have many media outlets to choose from in order to gather information on elections and candidates. During the election process, especially national offices such as the presidency, candidates will travel from state to state attending fundraisers, making speeches, and getting crowds pumped up at rallies. Most Americans cannot travel around watching candidates make speeches in order to gather information on the candidate and form an opinion on them. Nearly all Americans who wish to know more about the candidates running for office utilize the media for that information. Since the media is generating the news people will use for important election decisions it is important and necessary to examine it.

During the 2008 Democratic Presidential nomination process, Americans witnessed an unusual event; Hillary Rodham Clinton, a woman, competing for the top spot on the presidential ticket. Watching a woman compete for the highest political office in the nation has been witnessed less than a handful of times. Some female candidates running for elected office have experienced coverage by the media differently than men who have run. Previous research has shown that the media associates female candidates with feminine issues and traits, focuses on their personality and personal life, and generally grants them less coverage than their male counterparts. This paper will focus on the differences in media coverage for women and men running for the office of the president.

For a woman of the nineteenth century, the idea of having a woman president was most likely unimaginable. Most women of that time experienced their life inside the home as a mother and wife; not in the public's eye running for the highest political position of our nation. In 2008, Americans saw Hillary Rodham Clinton compete against many male competitors for the

position of Democratic Presidential nominee. This was not the first time this had been done in recent history, though. Elizabeth Dole was not the first woman either, she ran for the Republican Presidential nomination in 2000, but was unsuccessful. Dole's poll numbers were never as high as Clinton's poll numbers. Clinton was the first woman to survive so long in the primary election process. She dropped out of the race June 4, 2008 with 1,896 delegates supporting her. Here are two women in recent years who have tried, unsuccessfully, to gain a party's presidential nomination. Though both women experienced the same final outcome, not winning the nomination, they had very different journeys. As this research will show, these two women, Clinton and Dole, experienced press coverage in mildly different ways. That being said, it is necessary to analyze their media coverage for two reasons. First, though their experience of press coverage was moderately different, Clinton and Dole did experience some of the same gendered coverage as previous female candidates running for lower offices have. Second and the thesis to this research, the type of coverage that is given to Clinton is possibly an indication as to why she remained in the race for so long. The differences in media coverage for men and women candidates running for office have been documented in past research. However, the reason behind this reality is still unclear.

This paper will try to explain why male and female candidates are given different treatment from the media during the election process. There is no simple or single answer, though. Every society believes men and women to be different; if not we probably wouldn't have words to differentiate between the two. Obviously men and women are different in a biological sense, but that accounts for sex, not gender. Gender is a complicated concept that focuses on one's masculinity or femininity. Typically, a person's gender and sex correspond with one another, meaning men are perceived as masculine and women as feminine, but this is not always the case. Whether a woman or man is perceived as masculine or feminine is not necessarily important. What is significant is that people in society understand what is regarded as masculine or feminine. Society's perception of masculinity and femininity directly impact the

stereotypes of the genders, and each society has stereotypes or expectations for men and for women. John Williams and Susan Bennett (1975) found that in our American society, men are thought of as strong, reasonable, and unemotional and women as caring, thoughtful, and sensitive. Though not all men and women fit neatly into these stereotypes, these gendered stereotypes are ubiquitous in our society.

Society assumes men are one way and women are another, and journalists are members of society who will predictably share in these assumptions and stereotypes. The beliefs, attitudes, and values that journalists and media editors hold will unavoidably leak into the media that regular citizens consume. Yes, journalists are “supposed” to be objective and unbiased but people are incapable of completely ignoring and abandoning their own beliefs, even if it is their job to be objective. In addition, because the press is ultimately a business, it needs consumers in order to stay afloat. It is important that societal values are present in newspapers or newscasts because consumers would not read or watch a newspaper or news program if the anchor or writer seemed unfamiliar with their society. In other words, consumers may not trust the information presented in the media if the media is perceived as having different basic values. For example, what if the media covered murderers in the same fashion as people who received traffic tickets? Both people would have committed a crime, they both broke the law, however, society believes murderers to be much worse than people who speed. With this in mind, it is understandable why the media may treat men and women differently, and that is because society as a whole believes them to be different.

The possibility of differences in media treatment for men and women candidates running for office can be linked to the differences society sees between the gender stereotypes. Where these stereotypes stem from is a web of convoluted possibilities. Some individuals believe the differences in gender stereotypes are the result of biology and that men and women are just simply born this way. Richard Lippa (2002) explains that under this biological theory, it is nature that causes these differences in gender stereotypes, that these are innate

characteristics for men and women. Others believe that the differences in gender stereotypes are apparent because of the different socialization process that men and women experience. Focusing on socialization brings into account the perception of men's and women's roles in society, people's religious beliefs, history, and societal values.

This is where the analysis will begin. Chapter two will give a brief history of women's experience in American society. It will discuss the role of women in society from the time of colonial America and how that role reinforces the current stereotype of women in our society. Women were first granted the opportunity to participate in the public sphere within the church. It was their work here that taught them the skills they would need for their later work within various political movements. This chapter will include information regarding women's experiences in several political movements such as abolition, temperance, and women's right to vote. It will explain how women's assumed qualities and characteristics were their currency into the public realm. Though the lives of colonial women and women of today are considerably different, they were and are held to comparable standards. Overall, this chapter will show how women have moved from a fixed place in the private sphere to their current conditions in the public sphere.

From this point, chapter three will explain that societal stereotypes for women may obstruct their chances for a position in elected office. This chapter will begin by explaining the gendered stereotypes of men and women in our society. Research by John Williams and Susan Bennett in 1975 as well as Janet Spence, Robert Helmreich, and Joy Stapp (1975), found that women are perceived as creative, sensitive, and understanding while men are perceived as ambitious, assertive, and strong. Politicians cannot escape these stereotypes. In 2007 Robert Johns and Mark Shephard showed that voters will often assume that male and female politicians fit these gendered stereotypes. In addition, these gendered traits that are assumed to be held by politicians lead voters to believe that men and women are better suited to handle particular issues. Jennifer Lawless (2004) found that male politicians are thought to be more knowledgeable on masculine issues such as the economy, foreign policy, and defense.

On the other side, female politicians are presumed to better handle feminine issues such as education, healthcare, or the environment (Lawless 2004). It is voters who ultimately decide who will obtain elected office, and they desire their elected officials to possess masculine traits. With this in mind, female candidates running for office may find themselves at difficult crossroads, because voters perceive them to be feminine yet they want someone who is masculine in office. In addition, Leonie Huddy and Nayda Terkildsen (1993) said voters believe that expertise on masculine issues is necessary for an elected official who holds an executive or national level office. Again, since female politicians are presumed to have expertise on feminine issues, it may be difficult for women running for high levels of office to convince voters that they are qualified. Generally, this chapter will explain how gendered stereotypes affect the possibility of female candidates winning the race for office.

The function of chapter four is to discuss the differences in media coverage that male and female candidates running for office experience. It will begin by explaining the importance of the media and press coverage during the election process. Steven Ansolabhere, Roy Behr, and Shanto Iyengar (1993) explain that the media has the ability to aid in voters' opinions of candidates, because it is through the media that voters receive information regarding these candidates. Media reporters and editors must decide who to cover, what issues to report on, and how much attention will be devoted to each candidate. Doris Graber (2006) explains that in this situation, reporters and editors are acting as gatekeepers to news, because they are deciding what is and is not news. The media also has the ability to set an agenda. Donald Shaw and Maxwell McCombs (1977) clarify agenda setting theory by explaining that as a topic or issue increases in salience in the media, that same topic or issue will become more salient among the public. In addition, the media is allowed to frame issues as they choose. There is never only one perspective to an issue or event and reporters are free to pick which perspective they would like to focus on. With the use of gate keeping, agenda setting, and framing the media finds itself in a powerful political position during the election process.

Researchers such as Kim Fridkin Kahn (1996), GERALYN MILLER (2001), and Dianne Bystrom (2004) have found that female and male candidates receive different press coverage. Women running for office often find the media linking them with feminine issues and traits. In addition, the media focuses on their family lives, appearance, and personality more so than male candidates. In some cases, female candidates also receive less overall coverage than their male counterparts. In this context this chapter will discuss the media treatment for Elizabeth Dole when she ran for the Republican Presidential nomination in 1999. Other than Hillary Clinton, Dole is the only women in recent years to undertake a presidential campaign, so her coverage by the media is the only available case study to analyze.

Chapter five lays out the methodology used in this study. One can find many newspaper articles regarding elections and candidates on a given day. This research will use newspaper articles mentioning Hillary Rodham Clinton, Barack Obama, and John Edwards to analyze the press coverage of the 2008 Democratic Presidential nomination process. The focus of this analysis will include the amount of coverage each candidate receives, the type of attention for each candidate, and if the traits and issues linked with the candidates are gendered. A comparison between the press coverage of Clinton, Obama, and Edwards will be done to establish if there are differences between them on the basis of gender. Evaluating the differences of coverage that Clinton and Dole may have experienced is also essential because they are the only two women who have assembled a strong and viable presidential campaign. This study will use data collected by Heldman, Carrol, and Olson (2005) regarding media coverage of the 2000 Republican Presidential nomination process to find any recurring patterns for women involved in a race for the presidential nomination.

The final chapter discusses and analyzes in detail the data that has been collected for this study. Briefly, Hillary Rodham Clinton received more press coverage than Barack Obama or John Edwards. She was also linked to more masculine traits and issues than feminine traits or issues. It was surprising that overall Clinton was presented in the media in a more masculine

fashion than Elizabeth Dole had been eight years prior. Dole was framed as a novel candidate in many of the articles that discussed her, but Clinton was rarely referenced in such a way. Both Clinton and Dole were mentioned along side of their significant other in a multitude of articles, certainly more so than Barack Obama or John Edwards. However, Clinton's coverage during this election cycle was comparable to George Bush's in 1999 as well as Barack Obama's in the 2007 race. Elizabeth Dole had received similar press coverage as previous female candidates had, but Hillary Rodham Clinton seemed to escape some of these criticisms that female candidates in the past had dealt with.

This study is hoping to add to the currently available literature regarding press coverage of female politicians and candidates. This study is significant and necessary for two reasons. First, the media plays an intricate and influential role in the election process. Second, there have been only a few women who have endeavored to land the top spot on a presidential ticket. As more women find themselves in the position occupied by Hillary Rodham Clinton and Elizabeth Dole, additional research can be done regarding women who run for the presidency. Until that point, researchers need to analyze and understand the media coverage devoted to women running for office, at all levels.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

It was men who wrote the constitution and the bill of rights. Throughout the 18th, 19th, and much of the 20th centuries it was men who ran for and held public office. Where was the voice of women in the political world during this time? Officially, women entered the political realm in 1920 with the passage of the 19th amendment to the constitution, which extended suffrage to women nationwide. However, women were involved in many political movements before this time. This chapter will lay out the historical context of women's involvement in social and political movements throughout American history, as well as touch on the role of women in our society, how it has changed, and also how it has remained intact.

2.1 American Colonial Life

When discussing the life of colonial Americans it is appropriate to discuss religion because it played a central role in their society. In her 1992 book, *Early American Women*, Nancy Woloch explains that religion played a central role in the lives of early Colonial families (those of the early 18th century). Christian religious doctrine of the time stated that men were expected to head their households and women to obey their husbands and be good mothers to their children (Woloch 1992). However, some women saw that the church setting offered an environment where they could feel equal to men because they thought in the eyes of God they were equals (Woloch 1992). The Quakers even allowed women to fulfill ministerial roles; however, this was the only Christian sect at the time that allowed such behavior (Woloch 1992). The Puritans, along with other Christian sects, placed a great emphasis on child-rearing, and women were responsible for imparting the importance of religion to their children and assisting them in creating a foundation that would aid in the child's salvation later in life (Woloch 1992). One freedom women did experience through the church was the freedom to participate in women's religious groups, and it was within these religious groups that women learned to

organize, speak in front of people, and create pamphlets (Woloch 1992). Women later used these skills of public speaking, organizing, and spreading ideas in the abolition, temperance, and eventually the women's movements.

Barry Hankins (2008) states that the Great Awakening was a series of religious revivals that swept through the American colonies between the 1730s and 1760s. Ministers, such as Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield, traveled throughout the colonies preaching to large crowds of hundreds, thousands, and even tens of thousands (Hankins 2008). Newspapers gave many of the revivals major coverage which spread the ideas even further (Hankins 2008). Richard Bushman (1976) explains that the need for a religious revival was seen by ministers because many men were leading lives which included corruption, injustice, and desire for material wealth. Before the Great Awakening, women were the majority in congregations, and due to this and their heavy involvement with the church, women were revered for their piety (Woloch 1992). During and after the Great Awakening, when religious revival was at its highest, women found an outlet for public leadership. One of many examples is Sarah Haggard Osborn of Newport; she held religious meetings in her home for young people and blacks and also led a religious revival in the 1760s (Woloch 1992). Many religious sects (New Lights, Free Will Baptists, and Methodists) allowed women to participate in church government as well. As Elizabeth Frost-Knappman and Kathryn Cullen-DuPont (2005) relate, with the new idea of the separation of church and state, many churches found themselves in need of monetary funds, and women became the main fundraisers for religious charities as well as missionary societies. Since women were presumed to be pious and religion was so central to their society, women found a way to use their presumed qualities to their advantage. These virtuous qualities were women's currency to obtain a role in public life. It was their ticket in.

2.2 Republican Motherhood

Society accepted women as virtuous and pious, and women used this assumption to give themselves status. Members of the elite class agreed that it was women's duty to pass these qualities to their children and raise them with values, piety, and patriotism (Woloch 1992).

The American Revolution brought about the importance of patriotism and raising patriotic children. This obligation of women soon became the ideal and the Republican Mother was born. By placing these responsibilities on women their role in the home was uplifted (Woloch 1992). This reinforces the concept of separate spheres because women were given an important social responsibility, but it was an act to be performed in the privacy of the home. Rosemarie Zagarri (1992) explains that Republican Motherhood was women's indirect political activity yet was a way to preserve the traditional gender roles. Republican Mothers were to contribute to the civic virtue of society. Abigail Adams, wife of America's second president and mother to the sixth, was a great example of a Republican Mother. In letters to her husband, who was highly involved in revolutionary politics, she urged him to remember women when creating new laws for the new nation and also not to give unlimited power to husbands (Woloch 1992). In addition to counseling her husband, she also warned her son of corruption and power while also advising him to achieve self control (Woloch 1992).

Also born out of the Republican Mother was the need to educate women, at least enough to teach their children (Woloch 1992). Up until this point women were only educated in the most basic forms. Most young boys also did not receive much education unless they were of the upper classes. Kay Mills (1995) explains that before the Revolution, girls may have been educated with their brothers, but unless they were of the upper class, girls typically helped with the running of a home. However, in order for women to live up to their new obligations they would need to receive more education than in the past. Republican mothers would need to read and write in order to stay informed of the new government and teach their children the history and philosophy of this new government (Mills 1995). Since women used this new education to service the family, women's role in the home became more fixed, and as the revolutionary fervor faded the idea that women's place was only in the home did not (Mills 1995). This concept of Republican Motherhood offered a two steps forward, one step back advancement for women. Women were now given a respectable duty for their country and also

received more education to do so but this still did not allow full participation in the public realm as equals with men.

2.3 Temperance Groups

Some women were suffering in the home at the expense of alcohol, while their husbands were out drinking at saloons and spending the little money people had. As a result, a number of women were abused by their intoxicated husbands (Frost-Knappman and Cullen-DuPont 2005). In 1810 the average annual consumption of alcohol for a person was six to seven gallons and by 1820 this had increased to ten gallons (Frost-Knappman and Cullen-DuPont 2005). Some families lost their husbands and fathers to alcohol, and women found temperance to be a personal issue because alcohol abuse affected many families and families were central to women's lives.

Organizations were created to reform alcohol practices. Concerned women joined the Daughters of Temperance and made it their mission to protect the victims of alcohol abusers (Woloch 1992). Susan B. Anthony joined the Daughters of Temperance in 1849 and made her first public speech urging women to take action outside the home to curb alcohol abuse (Mills 1995). Anthony's first political action came in Maine where she pushed for tighter controls on the trafficking of alcohol (Mills 1995). Another organization, Women's Christian Temperance Union, also fought for alcohol reform due to the physical and financial abuse of women and children at home (Mills 1995; Woloch 1992).

Women continued their push for temperance for many years. Rebecca Edwards (1999) explains that women were highly active in the Prohibition Party of the late nineteenth century, and many served as delegates for the party's convention (Edwards 1999). These women were trying to save middle-class America that had been damaged by alcoholism and domestic abuse. Women were perceived to own a pure voice and this perceived purity was used to denounce these offences in the home, and eventually led to Prohibition here in the United States with the 18th amendment (Edwards 1999).

2.4 Education and Early Work

Born out of the American Revolution, the idea of Republican Motherhood also persuaded Americans that women should receive more education in order to be better mothers and raise bright young Americans. Though not an American, Mary Wolstoncroft (1792) offered her opinion on the education of women in her book, *The Vindication of the Rights of Women*. It was Wolstonecroft's view that girls needed a better education than they had been receiving. She also called for greater equality between the sexes. Wolstoncroft was very much ahead of her time because many Americans believed women should not receive additional education because it could harm the "weaker vessels," and too much mental stimulation might hamper their development (Mills 1995).

Years after Wolstoncroft, in the early 19th century, many schools began to open up for women. Typically these were boarding schools where women could receive primary and secondary education (Mills 1995). Some seminaries also began to open for women, typically under the supervision of a woman that offered an education that could rival those received by men (Woloch 1992). At seminary women might be trained for missionary work or for teaching (Woloch 1992). Teaching was one option women with an education had open to them. However, if women were to get married they would be forced to abandon their careers as teachers. Harriet Beecher Stowe, who taught at her sister's Western Female Institute, said, "We have come to the conclusion that the work of teaching will never be rightly done till it passes into female hands." By the end of the 19th century primary school teaching had become a woman's profession (Woloch 1992).

Teaching was an option for women with an education, but for those who were not as fortunate there was mill work. Many young single women left the farm life and their father's control to join the working force in the textile mills in New England (Woloch 1992). Like the academies, the mill offered a new social atmosphere with peers, and the women lived and worked together (Frost-Knappman and Cullen-DuPont 2005). Women earned little money and were forced to also pay for their boarding at the mill; however, some women were able to save

enough money to pay for an education at an academy (Frost-Knappman and Cullen-DuPont 2005). When women working at the textile mill in Lowell, Massachusetts were faced with salary cuts in 1834 and again in 1836 these workers took their fight to the streets and protested. This was an unheard of act by a group of women and they were shunned for their unfeminine behavior (Frost-Knappman and Cullen-DuPont 2005). Many women who tried to break with the stereotypical role for women were ridiculed and scorned. The strikes did not bring about any change for the women, and when wages dropped again in the 1850s many white women were replaced by the new immigrants coming to America (Woloch 1992). Women certainly made great strides during this time period in the areas of education and outside work. Though women were still fulfilling feminine roles they were taking these roles into the public by teaching and working in the mills.

2.5 Abolition Movement

American society, of this time, generally perceived women to have high morals. For this reason, many women took issue with slavery because to them slavery was a moral issue. Women formed anti-slavery groups and organizations to fight the issue, and in 1837 New York hosted the National Women's Anti-Slavery Convention and eight states sent delegates (Frost-Knappman and Cullen-DuPont 2005). The American Anti-Slavery Society split into two in 1840 because some felt women should be allowed to serve as speakers and officers and some were against this idea and formed the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society (Frost-Knappman and Cullen-DuPont 2005). Both the American Anti-Slavery Society and the newly formed American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society attended the World Anti-Slavery Convention in 1840. Men argued for hours whether or not women delegates should be allowed; those against the women won out and the women were seated in a curtained-off gallery to observe the convention (Frost-Knappman and Cullen-DuPont 2005). These women were offended that their efforts were not included in the convention, and this rejection from the men left these women feeling angry and annoyed (Frost-Knappman and Cullen-DuPont 2005). Being excluded from the convention showed the women that men did not take them seriously and when these

women returned home they decided to hold a convention on behalf of their own rights in Seneca Falls, New York.

Women, such as the Grimke sisters, became lecturers at anti-slavery meetings and conventions and also created and distributed anti-slavery pamphlets (Woloch 1992). In addition women created petitions for the legislature; this was the only political voice they had available to them at the time (Frost-Knappman and Cullen-DuPont 2005). In 1863 the National Women's Loyal League was founded and its main goal was to collect one million signatures to a petition in favor of a bill that outlawed slavery in every state (Frost-Knappman and Cullen-DuPont 2005). Women also assisted in campaigns for the newly formed Republican Party that was also anti-slavery (Frost-Knappman and Cullen-DuPont 2005).

2.6 Women's Movement

Fighting for the end of slavery was not the only freedom women activists hoped would materialize as a result of their efforts. Women also pushed for their own rights and liberties. Under English common law, which ruled the colonies prior to the American Revolution, once women were married they were overshadowed by their husbands in the eyes of the law (Frost-Knappman and Cullen-DuPont 2005). This is the law of coverture that defined women as civilly dead. Women were not allowed to own property, have a will, and certainly not given any political rights, such as the right to vote or hold public office. If a woman was to receive any inheritance that also became her husband's property (Knappman and DuPont 2005). In addition, it was difficult for women to obtain a divorce because they were only granted on the basis of severe cruelty, adultery, desertion, or nonsupport (Woloch 1992). After the American Revolution women still lived under these legal conditions.

The women's movement began early in the 19th century when women began to voice their unhappiness with the unequal treatment of men and women in education, property rights, divorce rights, and the right to campaign for reform (Woloch 1992). Aileen Kraditor (1981) tells us that after being dismissed from the World Anti-Slavery Convention, women came back to America and eight years later, in 1848, held their first meeting regarding women's rights in

Seneca Falls, New York (Frost-Knappman and Cullen-DuPont 2005). It was at this first convention that the suffragettes would present the Declaration of Sentiments that demanded women be granted the right to speak in public, equal treatment under the law, equal education, and the right to vote (Frost-Knappman and Cullen-DuPont 2005). Not all of the women in attendance were in support of the suffrage demand but it was included anyway at Elizabeth Cady Stanton's insistence (Frost-Knappman and Cullen-DuPont 2005). Not even Stanton's husband, who aided her in writing some of the resolutions, could agree with the inclusion of voting rights in the Declaration of Sentiments and left town the day of the convention to avoid mockery (Frost-Knappman and Cullen-DuPont 2005). As word had spread of this first convention preparation for additional conventions in other states began (Frost-Knappman and Cullen-DuPont 2005).

In 1855 Susan B. Anthony traveled all over New York state to gather petitions for the legislature urging that women be allowed custody of their children in divorce, the freedom to control their own money, and the right to vote (Frost-Knappman and Cullen-DuPont 2005). However, after visiting 54 counties and selling over 20,000 pamphlets, Anthony's efforts were rejected by the legislature when she presented the petitions in 1856 (Frost-Knappman and Cullen-DuPont 2005).

When the Civil War began in 1861 many women halted their fight for women's rights to focus on the war. Some women, such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton, believed they would be granted the right to vote if they could prove their worth as citizens but others, like Susan Anthony, disagreed (Frost-Knappman and Cullen-DuPont 2005). Many suffragettes were also abolitionists and threw their support to the anti-slavery Republican Party and its causes (Kraditor 1981). Women hoped that the Republicans would support their enfranchisement along with that of blacks, but their old allies in the abolitionist movement stated at this time it was the "negro's hour" not women's (Woloch 1992).

The 15th amendment was to allow all citizens, regardless of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, the right to vote. When this amendment was proposed in 1869 women of

the women's rights movement disagreed on whether or not to support the 15th amendment. Stanton and Anthony wanted one word added to the amendment, sex, extending voting rights to women. However, when it was not, they felt the amendment should be defeated (Kraditor 1981). Others, such as Lucy Stone, felt that at least one oppressed group was being granted the vote and that the amendment should have the women's support. Stone said, "There are two great oceans; in one is the black man, and in the other is the woman. But I thank God for that 15th amendment, and will be thankful in my soul if anybody can get out of the terrible pit" (Frost-Knappman and Cullen-DuPont 2005). The women's movement broke into two groups because of the disagreements. Stanton and Anthony founded the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) which was to focus on all women's issues including divorce reform, not just women's suffrage (Kraditor 1981). The NWSA and its members did not support the passage of the 15th amendment. The American Woman Suffrage Association was started by Stone and her followers and these women focused on strictly women's suffrage but did support the 15th amendment (Kraditor 1981). The two groups united once again in 1890 to form the National American Woman Suffrage Association (Kraditor 1981).

After Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony died, the new leaders of the women's suffrage movement believed women needed the right to vote in order to deal with the horrible working conditions women suffered (Frost-Knappman and Cullen-DuPont 2005). Women working in factories worked long hours with minimal pay and were occasionally asked to use this small income to purchase their own work supplies (Frost-Knappman and Cullen-DuPont 2005). Due to these poor working conditions employees began to strike in large numbers and for long durations of time despite beatings and arrests (Frost-Knappman and Cullen-DuPont 2005). The Women's Trade Union League brought factory workers and upper-class women together and the high society women, the mink brigade as they were called, also joined the picket lines alongside the factory workers (Frost-Knappman and Cullen-DuPont 2005). Along with strikes, women also used parades to exhibit their power. The first was in New York City in 1910, and a few years later the parade turned out 20,000 marchers for the

support of the women's suffrage movement (Frost-Knappman and Cullen-DuPont 2005). A funeral parade was also held for the victims of the Triangle Shirtwaist Company fire, many of whom were women who had been locked inside the building during working hours (Frost-Knappman and Cullen-DuPont 2005).

By the end of the 19th century women had made great strides in that they were granted the right to vote in school-board or municipal elections in many states, the opportunity for higher education, and property rights for married women (Frost-Knappman and Cullen-DuPont 2005). After being excluded from the 15th amendment, which enfranchised blacks, women began to push for enfranchisement on a state level rather than a constitutional amendment (Woloch 1992). Most of these state level campaigns failed but by 1914 11 states (Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Washington, California, Oregon, Arizona, Kansas, Nevada, and Montana) did enfranchise women (Kraditor 1981). Women also began to change their argument for enfranchisement from one of justice to the qualities of morality and purity women could bring to the arena if given the right to vote (Woloch 1992). This new argument was much less radical and therefore drew new suffragettes to the cause (Woloch 1992).

Carrie Chapman Catt, the president of the National American Women's Suffrage Association, had a "winning plan" (as she called it) to achieve a federal amendment granting women the right to vote, that was to secure suffrage in 36 states, the number needed to pass a federal amendment (Frost-Knappman and Cullen-DuPont 2005). Catt believed once suffrage was gained in 36 states the women in those states would pressure their legislators to pass a federal amendment enfranchising women (Frost-Knappman and Cullen-DuPont 2005). Catt and her supporters worked within the system, by non-partisan organizing and lobbying, to bring about change (Kraditor 1981).

Some younger women in the NAWSA thought the movement needed more than relationships with legislators to secure women's suffrage as a federal amendment. In 1914 Alice Paul and Lucy Burns broke from the NAWSA and formed the Congressional Union which later became the Woman's Party in 1916 and the National Woman's Party in 1917 (Kraditor

1981). The Women's Party was known for their semi militant tactics; Carrie Chapman Catt and her followers did not agree with the tactics used by Paul's group (Frost-Knappman and Cullen-DuPont 2005). In January 1917 Paul, Burns, and their supporters began to picket the White House and when they had not left by June some women were arrested for obstructing traffic and served six months in the Occoquan workhouse where some received physical abuse and were subjected to forced feeding (Frost-Knappman and Cullen-DuPont 2005). The National Woman's Party actively campaigned against the party in power, the Democratic Party, and its representatives, including President Wilson, because they had yet to pass a federal amendment extending the right to vote to women (Kraditor 1981).

Unlike the National Woman's Party, Catt and the NAWSA would not challenge a war time president, Woodrow Wilson. They frowned upon the tactics used by the National Woman's Party; the NAWSA held individuals responsible for their position on women's suffrage rather than the party in power (Kraditor 1981). Catt had developed a relationship with President Wilson and urged him to use his power to convince Congress that women should be given the right to vote (Frost-Knappman and Cullen-DuPont 2005). In 1918 President Wilson addressed congress on the federal amendment stating, "We have made partners of the women in this war; shall we admit them only to a partnership of suffering and sacrifice and toil and not to a partnership of privilege and right?" (Frost-Knappman and Cullen-DuPont 2005). The amendment was still not accepted by congress and actually only missed the mark by two votes (Frost-Knappman and Cullen-DuPont 2005). It was at this time that the NAWSA began to campaign against individual legislators, be they Republicans or Democrats, who did not support women's suffrage and two of them lost their seats in congress (Frost-Knappman and Cullen-DuPont 2005).

Catt's "winning plan" was not fulfilled because only 30 individual states had given women the right to vote, six shy of the necessary 36 states. However, by June 1919 the House and Senate had passed the Ninetieth Amendment and sent it to the states to be ratified (Frost-Knappman and Cullen-DuPont 2005). It took only fifteen months for the Ninetieth Amendment

to be ratified after that because legislators up for reelection could not ignore state-enfranchised women's demands for a national extension of women's suffrage (Frost-Knappman and Cullen-DuPont 2005). After decades of hard work and sacrifice women had won the right to vote with the passage of the 19th amendment to the constitution in 1920 (Frost-Knappman and Cullen-DuPont 2005).

2.7 Women's Status in the 20th Century

Judith Freeman Clark (1987) explains that after women earned the right to vote in 1920 they served as delegates and alternates to national political party conventions. The city of Chicago in 1925 held the Woman's World Fair where women displayed their efforts and accomplishments in business, industry, and the arts (Clark 1987). During the "roaring 20s" women were steadily increasing their numbers in the workforce as well (Clark 1987). However, when the Great Depression hit women were encouraged to stay at home and leave any available jobs to men (Clark 1987). Despite hard economic times for women during the New Deal years President Roosevelt appointed the first woman cabinet member. This was Frances Perkins and she was appointed to secretary of labor (Clark 1987).

During World War II, many American men went off to join the military leaving many positions open in the workforce. Women were encouraged to leave the home and join the workforce to help the war effort (Clark 1987). Lois Banner (1995) tells us women working in factories at this time were known as "Rosie the Riveter" and the media praised women working for the cause. Actually, women who did not join the workforce, volunteer for the Red Cross, or at least grow a "victory garden" were criticized as much as working women had been at one time (Banner 1995). Once WW II had ended many women left their jobs for life in the home but some remained in the workforce (Banner 1995). From this point on the number of women in the workforce continued to increase (Banner 1995).

In 1961 President Kennedy formed the President's Commission on the Status of Women and appointed Eleanor Roosevelt as chair (Clark 1987). This commission issued a report supporting the nuclear family and suggesting women should be trained for marriage and

motherhood. In addition, the commission called for equal job opportunities, equal pay for men and women, an end to laws that discriminated against women, and the expansion of public child-care facilities (Banner 1995). In 1963, Congress passed the Equal Pay Act and in 1964 the Civil Rights Act included Title VII which prohibited discrimination on the basis of sex or race (Banner 1995).

Not completely satisfied with their place in society progressive women of the 60s formed consciousness-raising groups to discuss their views on many different issues from the ideal role of a mother to sexual discrimination (Mills 1995). In 1963, Betty Friedan released her book, *The Feminine Mystique*, which looked at the pressures educated women dealt with at the time (Clark 1987). The book explained society's expectations for feminine behavior and also a plan as to how women could break free of their sexual stereotypes (Clark 1987). Elizabeth Cole, Alyssa Zucker, and Joan Ostrove (1998) explain that the second wave of feminism that formed in the 60s and 70s pushed for equal opportunity rights in employment and education.

In her 1979 book, *The Politics of the Equal Rights Amendment*, Janet Boles states that the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) passed the House and Senate with a strong majority, nearly unanimously. The ERA was to eliminate forms of sex discrimination that originate in administrative, statutory, and constitutional law along with governmental action (Boles 1979). However, as Jane Mansbridge (1986) explains, only 35 of the required 38 states had ratified the ERA by its deadline of June 30, 1982, leaving the ERA defeated. During the early 1970s support for the ERA was high yet it weakens throughout the decade due to the arguments used by opponents of the Equal Rights Amendment (Mansbridge 1986). In October of 1974 Gallup polls asked voters that if they were allowed to vote for or against the ERA proposition, how would they vote? Of the national adult sample, 74% said they would favor a constitutional amendment that would give women equal rights and equal responsibilities. However, in September of 1980 the Associated Press conducted a national survey of adults and found that only 41% favored the ERA. Opponents argued that with the passage of the ERA women would be subjected to military drafts and combat duty as well as responsible for 50% of a home's

financial support (Boles 1979). Mansbridge (1986) argues that the American public did not “want any significant change in gender roles, whether at work, at home, or in society at large.”

Some women of the 60s and 70s were also very active in the civil rights and anti-Vietnam war movements (Cole, Zucker, and Ostrove 1998). However, after being used to mostly serve coffee and create flyers during these radical movements women activists began to examine the stereotypes they were bound by and the male dominance that impacted their lives (Mills 1995). By the 1990s many women were working in male dominated fields, however, they were earning 72 cents for every dollar a man would earn (Cole, Zucker, and Ostrove 1998).

Not only did women in large numbers begin to enter the workforce in the 50s and 60s, but they also began to hold public office, at least in a larger force than just a few scattered here and there. The election of 1992 was coined “the year of the woman” because women tripled

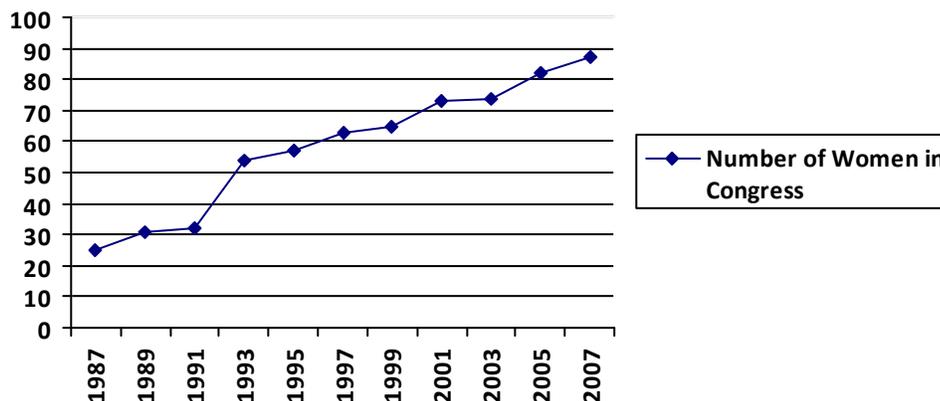


Figure 2.1 Women in Congress

their representation in the Senate, an increase from 2 female members to 6, and nearly doubled their members in the House, 29 members to 48 (Mills 1995). Since 1992 we have yet to see the numbers of men and women representatives in congress equalize. Currently there are 71 women members of the U. S. House of Representatives and 16 women who serve in the United States senate (Center for American Women and Politics). That means that women make up 16.32% of the House of Representatives and 16% of the U. S. Senate. Climbing from zero

representation to 16% is a substantial increase for women. American society has continued to see a steady increase of women in congress over the last ten sessions (1989-2009) from 25 in the 100th congress to 87 in the current 110th congress (Center for American Women and Politics). Figure 2.1 shows the growth in the number of women elected to congress in recent years. An interesting point that the data has shown is that the number of women in high offices, those at the national level, is smaller than those who work in lower and more local levels of government (Center for American Women and Politics). In figure 2.2 the percentage of women in different levels of office is illustrated.

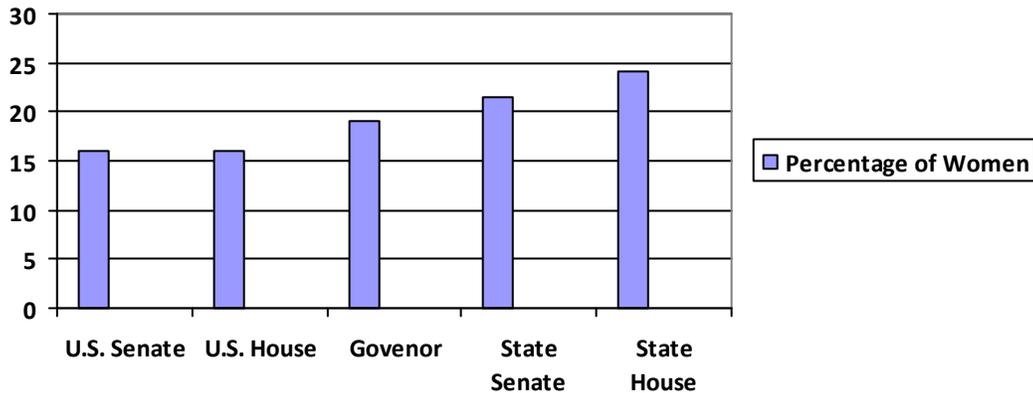


Figure 2.2 Women in Public Office

This is the current status of women in politics and the number of female representatives is not equal to that of men. Women make up 24.2% of the members of state level houses of representatives. This is about one female representative for every three male representatives. This situation is as close to a fifty/fifty split as women in elected office have achieved thus far. Julie Dolan, Melissa Deckman, and Michele Swers (2007) offer a number of explanations as to why higher percentages of women are found in lower levels of government compared to higher offices. They argue that women are still underrepresented in the feeder occupations, the professions of law and business, for elected office and this could cause fewer numbers of women to continue to the higher levels of office (Dolen et al. 2007). Women also continue to perform most of the housework and childcare at home, and as an elected official at a higher

office she may need to be away from home to perform her legislative duties. Since women are put into this position they serve in an office in closer proximity to home (Dolan et al 2007). Another barrier for candidates is fundraising. The higher the office the more money one would need to raise in order to put together a viable campaign. In her 2006 book, *Where Women Run*, Kira Sanbonmatsu states women lack the access to networks that men have for fundraising. She interviewed over two hundred state legislators, party officials, activists, office-holders, and other experts along with gathering over four hundred surveys of state party and state legislative leaders to better understand gender and candidacy. Sanbonmatsu found many interview subjects said money was offered more to male candidates rather than female candidates, “even from the same donors.” There are a number of explanations as to why women are found in higher numbers at lower levels of government than at higher levels. Later chapters will argue that gender stereotypes also play a significant role in this trend.

This chapter has given a brief history of women in American society. Qualities of virtue and piety allowed women to first take a more prominent role in churches over 300 years ago, these same qualities were used as arguments to allow women the right to vote, and today society still perceives women to be honest and uncorrupted. Though the daily lives of women today are much different than those of the colonial years, there are some stereotypes that these women of two different time periods find themselves fulfilling. Generally, women throughout America’s history have been stereotyped as nurturing and caring. These qualities are typically associated with motherhood, and that is a role mostly women have fulfilled to this day. Today women hold political office and this would never have been imaginable to women in the 18th and 19th centuries. At the same time, women of the 21st century are held to some similar standards of their sisters past.

CHAPTER 3

GENDER STEREOTYPES AND ELECTIONS

At the end of the previous chapter a few explanations were offered as to why women can be found in larger percentages in lower level offices than in higher levels. Previous research argues that perhaps it is women's home responsibilities, the lack of funds needed for campaigning, or that women are still underrepresented in feeder occupations (Dolan et al 2007). This chapter considers the explanation that gender stereotypes and gendered perceptions of men and women affect their chances of winning elected office. Do women not have what it takes to get elected to office? In other words, do women not possess the qualities that a politician needs? This chapter will explain that voters, who are the people placing politicians in certain roles, believe women to be better suited for certain elected offices and that women possess expertise on certain issues or policies.

3.1 Gender Stereotypes

Where do gender stereotypes come from? The role of men and women has been developed over millennia. An individual's sex is identified by their anatomy, either male or female. There is a sex dichotomy; individuals are one or the other. Here, gender refers to a person's masculinity or femininity, which can fall anywhere on a continuous scale. Typically, a person's gender will correspond to their sex (men being masculine and women being feminine), but it is not required to. People in society know men who are less masculine than others, and also women who are more feminine than others. The point to make is that individuals in society understand what masculinity and femininity are. Individuals know what is encapsulated by the terms feminine or masculine. Gender is a much more complicated concept than sex. Virginia Sapiro (2003) argues that gender "is the sociocultural interpretation of the significance of sex and the behavioral practices we follow to express maleness and femaleness." Each society has norms on the way men and women should behave and most individuals follow these norms.

Societal norms are traditions that are rarely questioned which lead these norms to find a permanent place in society. Some stereotypes men and women find themselves judged by are norms that have stood the test of time. This paper takes the position that some stereotypes associated with motherhood and fatherhood are omnipresent, and have not been altered much with the passage of time. Though women have joined the public sphere and can enter into many different lines of work they are still stereotyped as the primary caregiver in the home, just as women in the 18th and 19th centuries were. The caregiver role is associated with traits of caring, compassion, and nurturing, which are stereotypes women throughout American history have been connected to. Men, on the other hand, have been expected to execute the role of a strong head of household for centuries. Traits of leadership and strength, which are stereotypes traditionally coupled with men, are helpful when performing the role of a head of a household. Where do these differences stem from, what is their origin? The jury on the cause of the gender differences in men and women is still out. Researchers find themselves arguing either for the biological explanation or the social construction view. Whatever the cause for these gender differences we cannot ignore the fact they are ever present in our society.

In his 2002 book, *Gender, Nature, and Nurture*, Richard Lippa lays out the contrasting views on the development of people. Biological theories of development argue that some differences between men and women are the effect of nature, that these differences are innate. This view suggests that it is the biological differences, such as hormones, of men and women that cause them to behave one way or another (Lippa 2002). For example, John Archer and Barbara Lloyd (2002) argue that tom boys, young girls who possess qualities and interests of young boys, have been exposed to excessive androgens by the adrenal glands (this is known as congenital adrenal hyperplasia or CAH). Girls who have been exposed to CAH showed less interest in dolls, more interest in sports, and preferred playing with boys (Archer and Lloyd 2002). Other research indicates that higher levels of testosterone can lead to aggressive behavior (Lippa 2002). Though men and women both have testosterone running through their veins, most men have much higher levels than women. Later parts of this chapter will speak

more specifically about traits identified with men and women but aggressiveness is one quality associated with men rather than women. It is possible that this biological difference in testosterone levels between men and women is the reason men are stereotyped as aggressive. There is much evidence to support the claim that gender differences are caused by biological differences in men and women.

There are other social scientists who maintain that humans are not innately one way or another; people are socially constructed. From this perspective men and women learn the behavior associated with their sex; children learn how to fulfill their gender roles (Lippa 2002). In this case, if women do act differently from men or have different qualities it is the result of social conditioning. From the perspective of social theories of development it is society that makes women more caring, considerate, and warm, not that they are born this way (Lippa 2002). For example, many girls grow up being taught how to be good mothers one day. It is a societal norm that women become mothers at some point in their lives, and society has a stereotype for what a good mother is supposed to be: warm, nurturing, compassionate, and patient. It is no wonder that these same qualities are linked with femininity. Boys do not grow up being told that one day they will be mothers so they are not bound to the pressure of developing those traits, as many girls are. Social construction theory argues that boys and girls are raised differently, treated differently by teachers and peers, have different role models, and feel different societal pressures. According to this theory of development, it is the different way in which boys and girls experience life that causes gender differences (Lippa 2002).

It is difficult to pinpoint the cause of gender differences because there is a case for both sides of the argument. To be absolutely sure on the cause, one would need to analyze an individual who has had no social experience and that is impossible. Some contemporary scientific views suggest a combination of the two opposing theories is the cause for gender differences. The differences we see in men and women could be caused by the interaction of biology and society (Sapiro 2003). Perhaps individuals are born with certain capacities but those capacities can be altered by one's social experience (Sapiro 2003). Whether the traits

of men and women are caused by biology, social construction, or a combination of the two is not the main focus. What is important is that a dominate view of gender does exist within society, and that this dominate view includes the stereotypes we attach to men and women.

Research on the stereotypical traits of men and women began as early as 1975. Researchers found significant gender differences in the ascribed traits of men and women (Williams and Bennett 1975; Spence et al. 1975). Women were seen as sensitive, creative, and helpful; men were believed to be assertive, logical, and realistic (Williams and Bennett 1975; Spence et al. 1975). Table 3.1 below offers the many traits or qualities found for men and women by previous researchers (Williams and Bennett 1975; Spence et al. 1975).

Table 3.1 Gendered Traits.

Traits associated with men		Traits associated with women	
Acts as a leader	Likes math and science	Affected	Helpful to others
Active	Logical	Affectionate	High-strung
Adventurous	Loud	Appreciative	Home-oriented
Aggressive	Makes decisions easily	Attractive	Kind
Ambitious	Masculine	Aware of others feelings	Likes children
Assertive	Mechanical aptitude	Charming	Meek
Autocratic	Not easily influenced	Complaining	Mild
Boastful	Not excitable in minor crisis	Considerate	Nagging
Competitive	Not timid	Creative	Neat
Course	Outgoing	Cries easily	Needs approval
Courageous	Outspoken	Dependent	Need for security
Cruel	Rational	Devotes self to others	Prudish
Daring	Realistic	Does not hide emotions	Rattlebrained
Disorderly	Robust	Dreamy	Religious
Does not give up easily	Self-confident	Emotional	Sensitive
Dominant	Severe	Enjoys music and art	Sentimental
Enterprising	Sees self running the show	Excitable	Soft-hearted
Feels superior	Skilled in business	Expresses tender feelings	Sophisticated
Forward	Stable	Feminine	Submissive
Forceful	Stands up under pressure	Fickle	Strong conscious
Good at sports	Steady	Flirtatious	Tactful
Handsome	Stern	Frivolous	Talkative
Independent	Strong	Fussy	Understanding
Intellectual	Takes a stand	Gentle	Warm to others
Interested in sex	Tough	Grateful	Weak
Jolly	Unemotional		Whiny
Knows ways of the world			

In 1975 John Williams and Susan Bennett asked university students to indicate which adjectives, out a list of 300, were associated with women and men. These students found men

to be associated with adjectives such as aggressive, confident, logical, stern, tough, and unemotional. When asked about adjectives associated with women the students identified affectionate, charming, dreamy, fickle, prudish, sensitive, and weak (Williams and Bennett 1975). Janet Spence, Robert Helmreich, and Joy Stapp (1975) found similar results in a study asking which traits were typical of men and women. Women were said to be typically creative, emotional, gentle, and understanding, while men were seen as competitive, independent, skilled in business, and possessing the capacity of leadership. The traits assigned to men form a general quality of instrumentality, meaning they act upon the world and get things done. Those qualities assigned to women form a general quality of expressiveness, caring for others and expressing emotions (Spence et al. 1975).

At a young age children begin to learn about gender roles and how to fulfill their own. Janet Spence and Camille Buckner (2000) explain that most children acquire a sense of belonging to their gender which corresponds with their biological selves. Little girls are given dolls and miniature kitchen sets to play with and boys are given Tonka trucks and footballs to entertain themselves with. In doing this, the gender roles are being reinforced in children because girls learn how to care and nurture while playing make believe house and boys learn competition from playing organized games. Archer and Lloyd (2002) say that children who act in a gender inappropriate way are teased by other children. For example, boys who like to play with dolls may be called a sissy by their male peers. This indicates that even children are aware of the proper gender roles.

This negative reaction to people who violate their gender role continues into adulthood. Hillary Lips (1988) finds that individuals who violate their gender role are seen as unnatural. Traits and qualities that people develop at an early age can have an effect on the choice of occupation one chooses (Archer and Lloyd 2002). Girls learn feminine traits that are seen as better suited for occupations dealing in care work such as teaching or nursing (Archer and Lloyd 2002). Young boys on the other hand learn how to be competitive and assertive which are qualities suited for the business industry (Archer and Lloyd 2002). Mary Ann Cejka and Alice

Eagly (1999) noted that occupational sex segregation exists and predominantly female occupations are consistent with abilities and characteristics of women's early domestic role.

It is evident that people perceive men and women to possess different qualities and traits. Men are viewed as instrumental, with their qualities of strong leader, aggressive, and competitive. Women on the other hand are seen as expressive with the ability to connect with others and their sensitivity. Though not all individuals may follow these stereotypes they are the societal norms for men and women.

3.2 Traits and Issues

Gender stereotypes do affect candidates when running for office. Elected officials are thought to be strong leaders because citizens elect them to run the government and create laws. Sue Thomas and Jean Schroedel (2007) assert that being a strong leader is a stereotypical characteristic of men. This does not mean, however, that women cannot be strong leaders. It is the default assumption by many, though, that women are just not strong leaders. If voters do follow this default assumption (that women are not strong leaders) than that could damage a woman candidate's chances of winning an election. Jennifer Lawless (2004) asked respondents to choose four traits most important for political candidates and officeholders. She offered the respondents a list of four masculine traits (tough, self-confident, assertive, and aggressive) and four feminine traits (compassionate, sensitive, emotional, and compromising) to choose from. Three of the four top choices were masculine traits (tough, self-confident, and assertive). Only one of the feminine traits was chosen, that one being compassionate (Lawless 2004).

Robert Johns and Mark Shephard (2007) find further evidence that gender stereotypes exist when evaluating male and female candidates. They find that students link male candidates with masculine traits such as leadership and intelligence and women candidates with feminine traits such as warmth and likeableness. Other researchers, such as Gina Woodall and Kim Fridkin (2007), have found similar results regarding the association of gender stereotypes with candidates.

Due to the different qualities assigned to men and women people feel they have expertise in different issue areas. To establish this thesis, Lawless (2004) surveyed a random sample of U.S. citizens and found evidence of gender stereotyping. Respondents attributed traits of compassion, compromising, and sensitivity to women candidates and aggressiveness and toughness to men candidates. Lawless also finds that respondents feel male candidates are more capable at handling a military crisis and women candidates are better suited for resolving the abortion controversy, assisting the poor, and improving children's welfare. Living in a post 9/11 world where terrorism and war are constant issues facing the nation men may have the upper hand in elections.

Lawless is not alone, Woodall and Fridkin (2007) also found that women candidates are viewed as being more competent than men at handling issues such as poverty, education, child care, health care, or the environment; these are sometimes referred to as "compassion" issues. Men, on the other hand, are viewed as being more competent in issue areas such as the economy, foreign policy, and defense. Woodall and Fridkin (2007) support Lawless in that women candidates will be disadvantaged if the salient issues of the election are masculine issues. On the flip side, if the economy is good and the country is not involved in war, voters can concern themselves with education and healthcare policies which would be beneficial for female candidates (Woodall and Fridkin 2007).

Not only can candidates' traits be identified as either masculine or feminine but so can different types of offices. In 2003 Richard Fox and Zoe Oxley focused on describing state executive offices as either masculine or feminine depending on what type of work the office performed. They found that women were less likely to run for state executive offices described as masculine, such as, treasurer or auditor. Women were seen to run for offices that blend well with feminine characteristics; many of these offices dealt with education (Fox and Oxley 2003). Why is this a problem? If lay people in society see exclusively men or exclusively women filling particular positions then the result could mean that people start to believe men are better suited

for one type of job and women another, when actually women can perform jobs typically assigned to men just as well and vice versa.

3.3 Elected Office

Not only are traits linked to policy or issue expertise but traits can also be linked to the level of office an official holds. Leonie Huddy and Nayda Terkildsen (1993) show that voters prefer masculine qualities in their higher ranking office officials. Huddy and Terkildsen found that candidates possessing masculine traits had an advantage when running for higher levels of office. When a woman possesses these masculine qualities, the reaction from others is not as positive as when a man possesses them (Huddy and Terkildsen 1993). Huddy and Terkildsen found that feminine qualities were better suited for lower levels of elected office and non-executive offices. They also state that executive office officials should express instrumental traits such as assertive, tough, and stern.

Voters stereotype candidates with either masculine or feminine traits; those traits give men and women expertise in particular policy areas. Some policy areas are linked with certain offices. For example, Huddy and Terkildsen found that military expertise was valued in national and executive level offices more so than in legislative or local offices. If certain traits translate into expertise in certain policy areas and that expertise is valued more in some elected offices than others then those traits that create the expertise are also valued in those offices.

Using the 1972 Virginia Slims national survey, Carol Mueller (1986) found voters were less likely to support a woman for the presidency or vice-presidency because they viewed women as less competent on masculine policy issues such as war or the economy. In addition, William Adams (1975) found that a hypothetical woman candidate was favored when running for a local and legislative office (city council) but was penalized when running for national and statewide executive offices such as president or governor. Could this be the result of expected expertise for different levels of offices?

Knowing that women candidates are often judged as having feminine qualities and that voters often prefer masculine qualities for higher level offices it is no surprise that support for

women candidates at lower level offices is greater than at higher level offices. Ronald Hedlund, Patricia Freeman, Keith Hamm, and Robert Stein found in 1976 that support for a woman running in a school board election was greater than support for one running in a judicial election in Milwaukee County, Wisconsin. More specifically, 15.7% of survey respondents said they were less likely to vote for a woman rather than an equally qualified man in a judicial election, compared to only 4.8% saying they were less likely to vote for a woman than a man in a school board election. As young children are added into the equation the support from voters for women in judicial elections declines. Of those surveyed 40.1% said they were less likely to vote for a woman with small children than a man with small children in a judicial race, and only 11.9% were more likely to vote for the same woman over a man with small children. Support is significantly greater for women with small children at the school board level, 29.4% of respondents said they were less likely to vote for a mother of small children than a father of small children and 26.8% said they were more likely to vote for her over her male counterpart (Hedlund et al. 1976). This research shows that women candidates are more accepted when running for lower levels of office.

If voters believe women do not possess the qualities needed to be a governor, national legislator, or president, they may not vote for them. The American presidency is the most prestigious political position in the United States, the epitome of the executive office, and at this point has only been held by white males. A major political party has yet to even nominate a woman for this office. The office of presidency is arguably the most masculine of all elected offices. Could this be why no woman has had the honor to serve as the President of the United States?

A few women have attempted a run at a presidential nomination in the past, such as Margaret Chase Smith who ran for the Republican nomination in 1964. Representative Shirley Chisolm, a Democrat from New York, ran in the primaries in 1972 and received just over 150 delegate votes at the Democratic National Convention. Along with these early pioneers was Patricia Schroder who ran in the Democratic primaries in 1988 but could not keep up with the

fundraising of other candidates and was never considered a serious contender. A Congresswoman from New York, Geraldine Ferraro, was the first woman to actually make it on to a major party's presidential ticket in 1984 when she was asked to run as the Vice President candidate for Walter Mondale.

Elizabeth Dole made a run for the Republican presidential nomination in 2000. She was a strong candidate; at one point 24% of Republicans supported her (Gallup poll, October 20, 1999). A national survey of adults explained that 69% said Dole shared their values, compared to George Bush at 58% or Al Gore at 56% (Gallup poll, March 17, 1999). She was the only woman running in this contest for the Republican nomination. However, despite her good numbers in the polls she was unable to clinch the nomination.

As in 2000, American society witnessed another woman this past year, Hillary Rodham Clinton, running for a major party's presidential nomination as a serious contender. After a long fought battle with Barack Obama that lasted until the very last primary and after receiving 1896.5 delegates Hillary Clinton bowed out of the race on June 4, 2008. After forty years of trying to gain the position of the presidency women have yet to make it to the top of the presidential ticket.

Is the American presidency too masculine for women? Caroline Heldman (2007) states the presidency is married to masculinity. She adds that the presidency demands a masculine ideology that consists of being tough, competitive, incisive, and displaying initiative. This chapter has shown that women candidates are not stereotyped and evaluated in this way, leaving them at a disadvantage. The president can be compared to the head of a household and American society deems this role be filled by a man. Modern American society finds it difficult to imagine a woman as the head of the household so it would be even more difficult for society to imagine a woman as the head of the nation (Heldman 2007). The president is also the commander in chief, the head of the military. Again, I have explained that men are perceived as having expertise in this area and women are not. Two-thirds of past presidents have had prior military experience, and this suggests that this experience is an important

prerequisite for presidents (Heldman 2007). Though women do join the military in this day and age society still perceives the military as masculine. Women in the military are not allowed to perform all the duties allotted to men or are considered for the draft and this sends a message that women are not full military members. Heldman also suggests popular culture presents men in the presidential position by casting men in the role of the president in movies and television shows. There are many ways in which the American presidency is judged as masculine. As long as women candidates are perceived by voters as stereotypical women then the presidency will continue to be out of reach for women.

This chapter explained that voters perceive women candidates in a similar way to the stereotypical woman by associating these candidates with traits of compassion, sensitivity, and understanding. This explanation also links these gendered traits with expertise in particular policy areas, such as education and healthcare. In addition, this chapter shows how expertise in certain policy areas leads voters to believe some candidates are better suited for particular elected offices. This explanation makes the assumption that specified traits coincide with different levels of elected office. Women candidates are perceived as understanding and considerate which are typical female stereotypes. These traits assigned to women candidates give perceived expertise on compassion issues from voters. Expertise in certain policy areas is necessary for particular offices or levels of office. This being said, gendered stereotypes for women candidates can be detrimental for these candidates when running for masculine offices or executive level offices

CHAPTER 4

MEDIA AND ELECTIONS

The previous chapter discussed the gendered stereotypes to which male and female political candidates are subjected. It argued that the public makes assumptions about male and female candidates' or politicians' traits and expertise based on gender. This chapter will argue the media perpetuates these stereotypes found by the public in their own publications. It will explain that women candidates running for office are treated differently than men by the media which in turn could lead to their defeat because women candidates may seem unqualified or less viable for certain offices.

4.1 Why Media Coverage Counts

Julie Dolan, Melissa Deckman, and Michele Swers (2007) explain that the media provides coverage of political events because most individuals cannot or do not attend all political events in a campaign or actions by the government. Voters learn of these events through the media's coverage. People encounter information on candidates from many different outlets: T.V., radio, internet, and newspapers. A 2004 telephone survey of 3,000 adults conducted by the Pew Research Center shows 42% of adults had read a paper yesterday (June 8, 2004, [http:// people-press.org](http://people-press.org)). In addition, of those adults surveyed 34% watch a network nightly news program (June 8, 2004, <http:// people-press.org>). This information makes it apparent that people do receive information from the daily newspaper and t.v. news programs which will inevitably include information on candidates running for elections. Steven Ansolabhere, Roy Behr, and Shanto Iyengar (1993) explained that voters process this information and it has an effect on their behavior towards or opinion of the politician; this is how people learn about candidates. From this information people make judgments and form opinions, and use these opinions when they go to the polls (Ansolabhere, Behr, and Lyengar 1993).

Though the media is not allotted a vote in elections, as Ansolabhere et al, argue the media does have an impact on voters by presenting individuals with information that is used for forming voter's opinions. Dianne Bystrom, Mary Banwart, Lynda Lee Kaid, and Terry Robertson (2004) explain that the media does not tell people what to think, just what to think about. This is often described as agenda setting, which will later be explained in more detail. The daily newspaper and TV news programs do not have an unlimited amount of space or time to report on every event that occurs in a day. Reporters and editors must pick and choose which events to cover, and that means that some news worthy events do not get reported on. Doris Graber (2006) explains that these reporters and editors who choose what stories to omit from the final product are gatekeepers. When these individuals are responsible for presenting "news" to a national audience it encapsulates a tremendous amount of power because they determine what society will see and understand as "news" (Graber 2006). This is only one way the media has some control over the quality of news and information delivered to the public.

The media also has the power and ability to in some way set an agenda. Agenda setting is a concept of election and campaign news coverage that has been of interest to many researchers over the past few decades. Donald Shaw and Maxwell McCombs (1977) clarify agenda setting theory by explaining that as a topic or issue increases in salience in the media that same topic or issue will become more salient among the public. For example, the media presents potential voters with what they (the media) consider to be the important issues. This happens by news outlets choosing what stories to cover and report on that day, like the effects of global warming or the high gas prices. This information gives voters cues as to what the important and newsworthy issues are facing the nation. Consequently if a candidate running for office is not linked to that particular issue that candidate may be seen as unqualified for the job.

What seems to be a step past agenda setting is the media's ability to frame an issue in different fashions. There is never only one aspect of a story or issue to be covered, there are many different perspectives. Take the issue of stem cell research for example. The media can discuss the political strategy and/or conflict involving the government and interest groups or the

new research findings and clinical trials or perhaps the regulatory framework and oversight involved (Graber 2006). Graber argues that the media frames issues or events by reporting on said issue in a way that focuses on some aspects of the situation which in turn leads to other aspects of the same issue, situation, or event to “fade into the background.” According to this theory, individuals consuming news may not be receiving all the information after all, but just a glimpse.

It certainly is not the only frame used by the media but the “first woman frame” is sometimes used when it is appropriate. When a reporter or editor chooses to focus on the fact that a woman has never held the political office the female candidate is running for can be described as the first woman frame. In her study of news coverage on female heads of state from various countries, Pippa Norris (1997) found that the first woman frame was used frequently. Numerous news stories focused on how these women were unique in their political success and the media presented these rare occasions as path-breaking for women in politics (Norris 1997). This is just an example as to how the media can frame a particular event. For instance, instead of focusing on the policy changes this new woman official may bring the media chose to focus on the fact that a woman had never won that elected office before.

The media is granted a lot of political power by the way they cover issues, candidates, or campaigns by gatekeeping, agenda setting, and framing. Being visible in the media is a necessity for candidates running in an election because, as Richard Joslyn (1984) explains, if your name is not in the media how do individuals know who you are? Joslyn argues that media attention can bring in volunteers, donation money, endorsements, and additional media coverage. A substantial amount of media coverage can cause a candidate to appear viable and also create momentum for the remainder of the campaign (Joslyn 1984). However, this being said, candidates and their campaigns can also suffer if the media attention granted to them is negative or inconsistent with their personal political message. The end result could possibly be the loss of an election.

4.2 Men and Women Candidates in the Media

In theory the media is thought to provide society with objective, balanced, and unbiased coverage. Joslyn argues that because the message presented by the media is uncontrolled by candidates citizens can trust the information given to them by the media as credible and unbiased. However, Gina Serignese Woodall and Kim Fridkin (2007) argue against this point by explaining that the media bestows more coverage to candidates who spend more money on their campaign than their counter-parts, Senate candidates rather than House candidates, and incumbents over their challengers. To add to this, past research has shown that male and female candidates also receive different coverage than each other. From this information, one could conclude that some candidates are disadvantaged while others benefit from the coverage the media awards them. Information on candidates that voters consume does not have a direct impact on voting behavior but it does aid in forming voter opinions. Joslyn also argues that it is difficult to make a causal link between media exposure and voting behavior. Nevertheless, this study is concerned and interested in the candidate coverage by the media because of the media's intricate role in the election process.

The media does treat men and women politicians differently. Data collected from 1982-1986 elections for U.S. Senators, Kim Fridkin Kahn (1996) found evidence that suggests that female candidates are granted less coverage than male candidates. She found that male candidates in senate races receive thirteen paragraphs of newspaper space a day compared to only ten paragraphs received by women in senate races (Kahn 1996). Kahn also found that 10% of the articles discussing female candidates focused on their lack of resources, whereas with men this was only 5% of the articles. This type of coverage can have a negative impact on voters because they will see women candidates as less viable (Kahn 1996). In addition to resource coverage, issue coverage can impact a voter's perception of the viability of a candidate. She also found that women candidates received coverage that focused more on their viability and less on their issue positions. Voters may not deliver for a candidate if the media does not present the candidate along with issue positions because the candidate may seem

trivial. Kahn found male candidates receive almost four paragraphs a day concerning their issue positions while women candidates received less than three paragraphs a day of issue coverage. As far as personality trait coverage goes, the media reinforces the gendered stereotypes found in society. Men and women candidates in senate elections were described in a traditionally gendered way by the media (Kahn 1996). Male candidates were described using masculine traits and female candidates with feminine traits. As mentioned in the previous chapter, voters value male traits more than female traits in elected officials.

More recent research from GERALYN MILLER in 2001, where she analyzed newspaper coverage of the 1996 Illinois state legislative house district races, has shown that the amount of coverage men and women politicians receive is about equal, but the type of coverage still shows differences. These differences may not be as drastic as they once were, but they are still apparent. Miller found subtle differences in the issues covered by newspapers for male and female candidates in a state legislative election. Coverage on women candidates focused on “feminine” issues such as abortion, healthcare, and women’s issues more so than coverage on male candidates (Miller 2001). In contrast, newspaper coverage of the male candidates focused more on the economy and taxes (Miller 2001). When newspapers choose to focus on feminine issues when covering female candidates and masculine issues when covering male candidates it reinforces the gender stereotypes held by society. It can also lead voters to assume men and women candidates are better suited to legislate on different issues.

While Kahn’s data was collected from the 1980s and Miller’s data covers state level elections, Bystrom and her colleagues found results similar to previous research when collecting data on the 1998, 2000, and 2002 mixed-gender U.S. Senate and gubernatorial races. To strengthen Miller’s findings, Bystrom et al. found that in the 2002 elections men and women candidates received nearly the same amount of coverage, but the type of coverage was not the same. Women, more often than men, were referenced in newspaper stories that mentioned a candidate’s appearance, gender, or marital status for all three years (Bystrom et al. 2004). In addition, in 1998 election coverage male candidates were linked to masculine issues

such as taxes, crime, and defense more than female candidates (Bystrom et al. 2004). Women candidates were linked more to issues of health care and senior citizen's concerns in their coverage, especially in 2000 (Bystrom et al. 2004). However, inconsistent with previous research, Bystrom et al. found women candidates to be linked significantly with international affairs in the 2000 elections. This could be limited to this year because of the importance of the Palestinian-Israeli relations to Jewish voters in New York City and its effect on Hillary Rodham Clinton's campaign (Bystrom et al. 2004). Bystrom and her fellow researchers also found that the media focused on female candidates' backgrounds more so than their male counterparts in all three years. Covering a candidate's background is important but many of these newspaper stories focused on the women's family lives, husbands, and children (Bystrom et al. 2004). This type of coverage can perpetuate gender stereotypes and cause voters to question a woman's ability to perform in office (Bystrom et al. 2004). Though Bystrom et al. provides evidence that gender stereotypes are shrinking as we move into the 21st century they still find that women candidates are treated in a way by the media that could be harmful to their campaign for elected office. Feminized media coverage could be harmful to a candidate because voters may perceive them as less viable or capable of performing in office.

Miki Kittilson and Kim Fridkin (2007) found that newspapers not only in the United States but in other democracies such as Canada and Australia also identified women candidates with feminine traits such as gentleness, noncompetitiveness, and compassion, and male candidates with masculine traits such as strength, hard work, and ambition. In addition to linking female candidates with feminine traits and male candidates with masculine traits, newspapers in Australia and Canada linked female candidates to traditionally feminine issues like welfare, childcare, and education and male candidates to traditionally masculine issues like the economy, taxes, and defense. They had hoped to find that the higher number of women in Australian and Canadian parliaments would indicate less gender stereotyping in their media. However, they found that similar patterns of gender stereotyping occurred in all three

democracies (Kittilson and Fridkin 2007). This information shows that gender stereotyping of candidates is widespread and not just apparent within the media of the United States.

4.3 Media and the Presidency

Most of the research done on differences in media coverage that male and female candidates receive has focused on U.S. senate races or state level races. The coverage on women candidates running for the presidency is minimal because only a few women have run for this office. Elizabeth Dole made a run for the Republican Presidential nomination in 1999 but was not successful. Hillary Rodham Clinton led a strong campaign in the Democratic Presidential nomination this past year but was also unsuccessful in landing the nomination. How did the media treat these women while campaigning to be a contender for the highest political position in the nation?

Caroline Heldman, Susan Carroll, and Stephanie Olson (2005) had the same question and set out to find an answer. They looked to see if the men received more coverage than Dole and if the coverage received was different for the men and Dole. They found that Dole received considerable less coverage than Bush or McCain; however in public opinion polls she was the second most popular candidate next to George Bush. In the articles analyzed, Bush and McCain were more likely to be mentioned in an article that focused on issues and articles mentioning Dole were more likely to mention horse race coverage. Why does this matter? It is beneficial for a candidate to be mentioned along with issues because the candidate is presented as serious and substantive (Heldman et al. 2005).

Heldman, Carroll, and Olson also focused on articles that took an in-depth look at Dole and her campaign (articles that mentioned Dole a minimum of four times). They found that 61.3% of the articles mentioned a personality trait of Dole's, 61.9% mentioned her husband, and 63.9% mentioned her gender. In 57.4% of the articles issues were mentioned. Although this is only a 4-8% difference than articles mentioning a personality trait, Bob Dole, or her gender, it does reinforce the idea that the media does cover men and women candidates differently.

Heldman, Carroll, and Olson were not the only researchers interested in Elizabeth Dole's media coverage during her campaign for the 2000 Republican Presidential Nomination. Karrin Vasby Anderson (2002) examined newspaper, newsmagazine, and television coverage of Dole's 2000 campaign. To begin with, she found that Dole was presented by the media as the "woman candidate." A novelty. She also stated that many stories focused on the fact that her husband, Bob Dole, said he was going to donate money to rival candidate John McCain (Anderson 2002). This kind of coverage presents Dole first as a wife and second as a wife who's husband does not even find her viable. This coverage certainly leads voters to question her viability as well.

Some analysts would say it was the inability of Dole's campaign to raise funds that forced her out of the race in October of 1999, not the type of coverage the press allotted to her. Media coverage, the ability to raise funds, and being perceived as a viable candidate, though not exactly the same, are all intricately intertwined. Michael Goff in his 2002 book, *The Money Primary*, explains that "fundraising success indeed is predictive of a candidate's survival, viability, and success in the early presidential nomination process." As well, media coverage of campaign fundraising for candidates was an "echo of fundraising success." For candidates to be perceived as viable and continue through the nomination process the media must cover them as capable fundraisers (Goff 2002).

As in 1999, there was another woman running for a major party's presidential nomination as a serious contender. When a woman is running against a handful of men, it is hard not to notice that she stands out. What do people think about Hillary Clinton when they see, hear, or read about her? Do they think of her as a serious candidate or the race giving a woman a shot? This research will focus on how the media covered Hillary Clinton compared to that of the men she competed against. This paper will also compare Clinton's coverage to the coverage Dole received to discover if any trends are apparent in the way the media covers women running for the highest office in the nation.

CHAPTER 5

METHODOLOGY

The previous chapter explained how the media plays an interesting role during election periods. This study aims to add to the current literature available on the interaction between the media and the election process. Hillary Rodham Clinton ran for the Democratic presidential nomination against many men; the focus of this research is in how the media covers her and her campaign efforts. A comparison of her coverage and the coverage of Elizabeth Dole in 1999 will be done to see if any changes have occurred over the past 8 years.

Many Americans watch the nightly news, and I would like to look at the way T.V. news media portrays Clinton. It would be interesting to look at the video they use when reporting stories about her along with the tone of the reporter's voice. However, due to cost, it would be incredibly difficult to get a sample of news stories to analyze. Vanderbilt University offers tapes of broadcast news programs from ABC, CBS, NBC, CNN, and FOXNEWS. This is a great place to find news archives but for a UTA thesis student, it would cost \$50 per half hour news program, and that is too costly without the assistance of a grant. Newspapers are a good source for sampling when looking at media coverage because 31% of Americans regularly and 27% sometimes learn about the presidential campaign or candidates from a daily newspaper (Pew Research Center December 19-30, 2007). A national survey of 1,000 adults showed 38% of Americans read a newspaper 5-7 times a week, 15% said they read a newspaper 3-4 times a week, and 23% said they read a newspaper once or twice a week (Alliance for Aging Research May 2-10, 2001).

5.1 Methodology

A data set was compiled of newspaper articles that discussed Clinton and her male competitors during the pre-primary season of the 2008 presidential election. A similar format was used in gathering data as that used by Heldman, Carroll, and Olson. This is important

because this study used the data sets collected by Heldman, Carroll, and Olson regarding the coverage of Elizabeth Dole and the men who were running for the Republican presidential nomination in 1999 to compare the coverage of the Democratic presidential nomination for this 2008 election cycle. The major U.S. newspapers category from the Lexis Nexis database was accessed, and a search for articles mentioning the candidates' names was done. Every fiftieth article referencing one or more of the candidates was analyzed. This research focused on articles printed from January 21, 2007 (the day after Hillary Clinton announced her candidacy) and January 2, 2008 (the day prior to the first primary caucus). This was done for two reasons. First, Heldman, Carroll, and Olson also began their sampling the day after Dole entered into the race, but stopped sampling once Dole had dropped out, giving them a 7 month time span to cover. Second, the pre-primary coverage is different because it focuses less on horse race coverage and more on the candidates, compared to after the first primary, this year it was Iowa, where the major focus turns to who's in the lead.

The number of male competitors that Clinton faced in the election was limited by only focusing on candidates that reached a minimum of 10% support in the polls. The Democratic candidate pool was packed with elected officials; Senator Joe Biden, Senator Hillary Clinton, Senator Chris Dodd, Former Senator John Edwards, Former Senator Mike Gravel, Representative Dennis Kucinich, Senator Barack Obama, and Governor Rill Richardson. This study only focused on Hillary Clinton, John Edwards, and Barack Obama, because these three candidates were the top contenders in Gallup polls and Pew Research polls. None of the other candidates running for the Democratic presidential nomination rose above the 10% support needed in order to be included in this study. One reason this study did not look only at Gallup polls is that they included Al Gore as a possible nominee in polling questions regarding the support for the presidential nomination. Al Gore, though liked by many Democrats, never entered into the race for the nomination, so to be included in polling questions regarding who people are most likely to vote for in the primary is peculiar.

Most of the variables and values used in this study are similar to that of Heldman et al. This was done for two reasons. One, their study was well organized and the variables they chose to use were very insightful. Two, a comparison between their results and the results of this study was done, and using similar variables and values allowed for this.

For each article included in this study basic information was coded. For instance, the name of the paper was left as an open ended question. The number of words in each article as well as the date in which it was published was also left as an open ended question.

Where the article is located within a paper can affect how many people will read it; the front page is read most often. In addition, stories may be perceived by readers as more important when the story is located in the national news section rather than the life and arts section. Each article's location within the paper was also coded. The values for this variable included front page news, other news, local or metro, life or women's or style, opinion or editorial, business, and other.

Candidates' mentions were also coded for this data set. Were the candidates mentioned just in passing, were they discussed within the article, or were they not mentioned at all? This data set also coded for which candidate is mentioned first, second, and third. As interval level data, the percentage of each candidate's coverage within the article was coded. This percentage was found by taking the number of words in the article dedicated to each candidate over the total number of words in the article.

In addition, the candidates' names in the headlines were coded. Some people just skim the paper and read the headlines, if something catches their eye, then they continue to read on to the article. This is why it was important to note whose name appears in the headlines. There is a variable devoted to each candidate as to whether their name was in the headline or not and what name the media used to identify them. For example, does the headline refer to Hillary Rodham Clinton as just that, Senator Clinton, Clinton, Mrs. Clinton, Hillary, Hil, or simply she or her? This was done for Clinton, Obama, and Edwards.

The main focus of the article was also coded. The values for this variable were: traits or background, issues, horse race, gender, viability (positive), viability (negative), positive viability and gender, negative viability and gender, lack of substance, poor campaign management, fundraising or lack of money, campaigning, congressional action, other candidates, mixed focus, and other. Using these same values three additional variables were coded. These three variables covered the main focus of each candidate's coverage within the article. Kahn (1996) has argued that women candidates receive more coverage focused on their lack of resources than men candidates do. However, her data was collected using elections in the 1980s, so this data will allow us to see if the pattern continues.

What issues are connected to each candidate is very important. As stated earlier previous research has shown that men and women candidates are covered on different issues (Miller 2001; Bystrom et al. 2004). The first two issues mentioned in each article corresponding with each candidate have been coded. For these variables the following values were used: education, healthcare, women's health, the economy or taxes, gun control, foreign policy, the war in Iraq or Afghanistan, abortion as a legal issue, drugs, race, energy, immigration, poverty, other issue, or no issue mentioned at all. For each "other issue" coded an open ended variable was used to explain what this other issue was.

Previous research indicates that the media focuses on appearance, gender, and marital status when covering women candidates (Bystrom et al. 2004). This study also coded for whether or not each candidate's family was mentioned within the coverage of that candidate. A simple yes or no answer was used for this. This research also coded for each candidate whether or not their physical dress or appearance was mentioned while being covered. The values assigned to the dress or appearance variable were no mention, positive mention, negative mention, or neutral mention. This distinction between positive, negative, and neutral mentions was made because to say Hillary Clinton showed up at a campaign event wearing a blue suit gives a different impression than to mention John Edwards paid \$400 for his new hairdo.

The first two traits attributed to each candidate were coded, but this was left as an open ended variable. In addition, the list of traits used to describe the candidates was coded as masculine, feminine, or gender-neutral. This is a subjective variable but there is literature to support the idea that men and women candidates are described differently in some cases. Johns and Shepard (2007) presented data that shows male candidates are linked with masculine traits such as leadership or intelligence, and female candidates are linked with feminine traits such as warmth and likeableness. Past research was used as a guide to identify each trait as gender neutral, feminine, or masculine (Lawless 2004; Johns and Shepard 2007)

In following the steps of Heldman, Carroll, and Olson this study also compiled a data set of in-depth coverage on Hillary Clinton. Again, the major U.S. newspapers section of the Lexis Nexis database was used but only articles that had mentioned Hillary Clinton a minimum of four times were included in this second data set. This was done because focusing on in-depth coverage of Clinton may be a better way to gauge the media's treatment of her unlike in articles where every candidate is mentioned in passing. This research had a slightly more lenient standard for articles to be included in the Clinton specific data set than Heldman et al. did with Dole's in-depth data set. In their in-depth data set covering Dole, they required the articles to mention Dole a minimum of four times as well as cover her in at least 50% of the article.

For this data set the same variables used in the multi-candidate data set along with 15 additional variables were coded. Five of the additional variables focused on the headlines of the articles. This data set coded for whether or not the headline mentioned gender, traits, issues, fundraising, and horserace.

This Clinton-specific data set did not only code for the first two issues connected to her but also a third and fourth if they were available. The same issue values were used here as in the multi-candidate data set. In addition, this study coded the first four traits linked with Clinton as opposed to the first two in the multi-candidate data set. These variables were left as open

ended questions as were in the multi-candidate data set. As in the multi-candidate data set, these traits were identified as masculine, feminine, or gender neutral.

In this data set a variable was used to code whether or not Bill Clinton was mentioned along with Hillary Rodham Clinton. In the multi-candidate data set a variable was used to code whether or not the candidate's family was mentioned and here the variable was being specific to Hillary Clinton's husband. This was done because Heldman et al. coded for whether or not Dole's husband (Bob Dole) was mentioned.

The last variable coded in the Clinton specific data set was whether or not the article used the "first woman" frame. Elizabeth Dole was framed in this fashion many times (Heldman et al. 2005; Anderson 2002) and this study is interested in whether or not Hillary Clinton was framed in the same way even though she is not actually the first woman to run for the Presidential nomination. A detailed codebook for this study is available in appendix A.

5.2 Hypothesis

When this data is examined this study expects to find Clinton receiving less overall coverage than either Barack Obama or John Edwards. Following in line with previous research, this research hypothesizes the articles to focus on Clinton's appearance, personality, and personal life more so than her male counterparts. It is also expected that the issues devoted to Hillary Clinton will fall on the feminine side, such as healthcare, abortion, and education, unlike Obama or Edwards, who are expected to be mentioned along with issues such as foreign policy or the economy. In addition, this study expects to find the "first woman" frame used less when focusing on Clinton, than was used when focusing on Elizabeth Dole, because Clinton is not as much of an anomaly as Dole was eight years ago. Clinton is not the first woman to run for a party's presidential nomination, technically neither was Dole but she had been the first in about fifteen years. This research expects to find Clinton to be described using more of the feminine traits than the masculine traits, and vice versa for Barack Obama or John Edwards.

Altogether this study aims to see if the media is still treating female candidates differently than male candidates and in what way. The Clinton specific data set was used in

order to analyze the type of coverage she received as compared to that of Elizabeth Dole, and the multi-candidate dataset was used to evaluate Clinton's coverage compared to Barack Obama and John Edwards.

Since there is limited literature exploring women presidential hopefuls, this study hopes to discover if coverage of Elizabeth Dole was specific to her or if it was a pattern to be followed? Also, if any differences in coverage between Clinton and Dole do arise this could be a result of their differing parties, one being a Democrat and the other a Republican. This research hopes to expand the literature available on women presidential candidates.

CHAPTER 6

RESULTS

After accessing the major U. S. newspapers section of the Lexis Nexis data base 18,701 articles were found that mentioned Hillary Rodham Clinton, Barack Obama, or John Edwards between January 21, 2007 and January 2, 2008. Out of these articles 391 were analyzed; in the following this data set of articles will be referred to as the 2007 multi-candidate data set. A second data set that focuses solely on Hillary Rodham Clinton was compiled from this first data set but only includes articles where Clinton was mentioned a minimum of four times. This second data set will be referred to as the Clinton specific data set. This study will also be using data from the 2000 Republican presidential nomination process collected by Heldman, Carrol, and Olson (2005). These are two data sets that are comparable to the two created for this research. The first covers media coverage of all the candidates running for the 2000 Republican presidential nomination (similar to my 2007 multi-candidate data set) and it will be referred to as the 1999 multi-candidate data set. The second covers Elizabeth Dole in a similar fashion as the Clinton specific data set covers Hillary Rodham Clinton and will be referred to as the Dole specific data set.

There is no way of knowing how much newspaper coverage each candidate “should” receive. As stated in earlier chapters, the media covers events and people who are judged to be news worthy. Obviously, an election is a newsworthy event but there are many facets to each election. There are issues and candidates to cover, polls to announce, and skeletons from the closet to be reported. The media also covers people and events that are important to consumers. How do the media know which candidates the readers want covered? The media can look to poll numbers to see who the top contenders are and will focus on them. If candidates appear to be someone to watch due to their higher rankings in the polls, then the media will do just that and grant that individual more coverage.

Voters had a choice of many different individuals, but who did they support? In looking at Gallup polls that were collected in 2007, Clinton remained the number one contender, above Obama, Edwards, and Al Gore, in the Democratic presidential nomination process. Her support among Democrats varied from the high 30s percentile to the low 40s percentile after an initial jump off at 29% support. Obama's support from Democrats was typically in the low 20s percentile and Edwards received low to mid teens percent support. Al Gore was also included in Gallup poll questionnaires when referring to individuals running for the Democratic presidential nomination even though he never entered the race, and is not included in this particular study. His support from Democratic voters averaged in the mid teens. Figure 6.1 shows voter support for Clinton, Obama, and Edwards during the time period of this study. From this information one can assume Clinton will receive as much or more coverage than Obama or Edwards because she leads in the polls. For example, a poll of registered Democrats, conducted by Time magazine in April 2007, shows that in a choice between Clinton, Obama, and Edwards, Clinton received 33% support, Obama received 26% support, and Edwards received 25% support. Again, Clinton has poll numbers to indicate that she could expect to receive a large amount of media coverage.

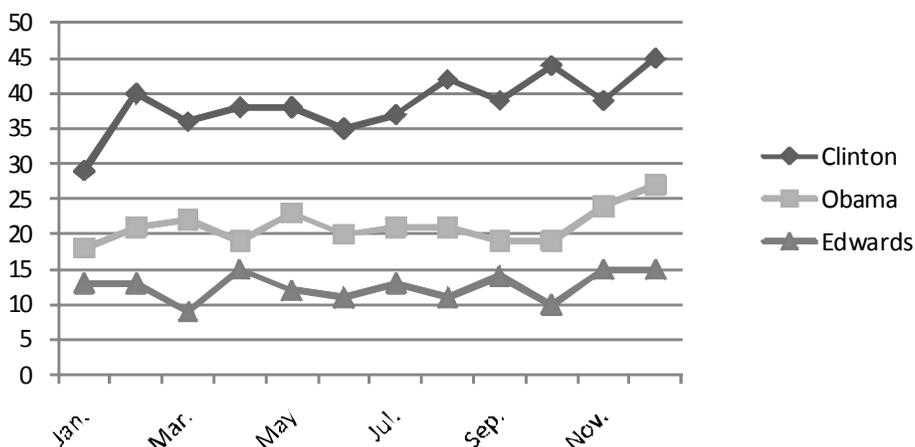


Figure 6.1 Gallup Poll Results

There are three categories of measures to analyze the media coverage of the candidates; the overall amount of coverage, the type of coverage, and the degree to which issues and traits are gendered. The overall coverage of the candidates will evaluate the number of articles the three candidates receive coverage in, the percentage of the article that is devoted to each candidate, as well as if the names of three candidates appear in the headlines. The focus of the candidates' coverage as well as the section of the newspaper the articles are located in will help determine the type of coverage the candidates are receiving. The issues and traits associated with each candidate will be analyzed to determine if the male candidates are linked with masculine traits and issues and female candidates are linked with feminine traits and issues.

6.1 Total Media Coverage

Of all the articles included in this 2007 multi-candidate sample Hillary Rodham Clinton was found in 74.2% of them, and in 55.5% of all the articles she was discussed in at least some detail. The differentiation is made because in some newspaper articles the candidates were only mentioned in passing and were not associated with much information. For example, in an article that was coded as mentioning Hillary Rodham Clinton in passing, discussed former President Bill Clinton and the possibility that he could be Harvard's next President. Hillary Clinton was only mentioned because, "Clinton (former president) is being advised by his wife Sen. Hillary Clinton's presidential campaign to cut back on any speech-making and business activities that could pose a conflict of interest." (New York Post Feb. 1, 2007). Hillary Clinton is barely discussed in that article; there is no valuable information regarding her or her presidential campaign. During a small portion of the analysis only articles where the candidates are discussed in some detail rather than just in passing will be included; however, this will be made clear when it occurs. Barack Obama was at minimum mentioned in passing in 68.3% of all the articles collected for this data set. In 48.6% of all articles, Obama was included as more than just a passing blip. A passing mention of John Edwards can be found in 37.9% of all the articles analyzed and discussed in more detail in 26.6% of them. Clinton received more total coverage

than either Obama or Edwards according to this data; which contradicts past research that shows female candidates received less overall coverage during elections. How does this amount of coverage for Clinton compare to the coverage of Elizabeth Dole eight years ago? I will be using a data set created by Heldman, Carroll, and Olson (2005) to analyze the media coverage of the Republican Presidential nomination process in 1999.

When Elizabeth Dole was running for the Republican presidential nomination she could be found in 19.7% of all the articles they gathered for their data set. This is much less total coverage than Clinton received in 2007. George Bush, who ultimately clinched the Republican presidential nomination in 2000, was, at minimum, mentioned in passing in 72.9% of the total number of articles analyzed. In comparison to Dole, Bush received more than three times the total coverage than she. George Bush ended up winning the 2000 Republican presidential nomination, but there were other men who competed against him and Dole for the title. John McCain could be found in 33.0% of all the articles analyzed, Steve Forbes in 15.9%, Gary Bauer in 8.8%, and Alan Keyes in 3.1%. George Bush received much more total coverage than

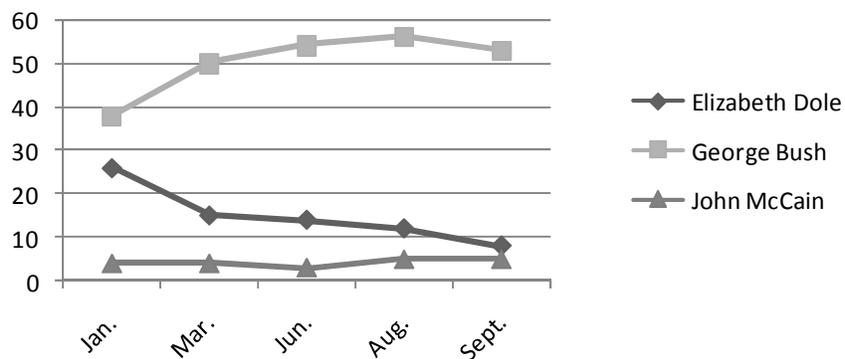


Figure 6.2 Support among Republicans for the Presidential nominee

any of his competitors during that nomination process. During this past Democratic presidential nomination process Clinton was included in about the same percentage of articles as Bush was

eight years ago when he competed for the Republican Presidential nomination. Bush won in the end, though, and Clinton was not as fortunate. It seems that the amount of coverage received by a candidate is in proportion to their standings in the polls. When Republicans were asked who they would support as the presidential nominee, Elizabeth Dole was a strong second place candidate. Figure 6.2 shows that Bush led the polls during 1999 and he received the most coverage of the candidates running in that race. Clinton and Bush were both front-runners of their respective races and they both received the most coverage of the candidates in those races.

Media coverage was also measured by the percentage of the article dedicated to each candidate. This percentage was found by taking the number of words devoted to coverage on each candidate over the total number of words in the article. In articles where Clinton's name could be located (n=290), on average 18.2% was devoted to covering her and her campaign. Obama was granted 16.6% of the article attention in articles in which he was mentioned (n=267). In articles where Edwards was mentioned (n=148), he received an average of 11.2% of the article coverage. On this measure Clinton also received more coverage than Obama and Edwards. Clinton and Obama received similar percentages of article coverage in the articles in which each of them were included, with Clinton receiving on average 1.6% more than Obama. However, Clinton received 7% more article space on average than Edwards did.

Newspaper stories are typically written in an inverted triangle form where the most important information is located at the beginning of the article and less important information is located at the latter part of the article. Knowing this, it is important to analyze which candidate is mentioned first, second, or third because some readers may not read the article in its entirety. In all of the articles analyzed for the multi-candidate data set, Clinton was mentioned first in 49.6%, Obama was mentioned first in 38.6%, and Edwards was mentioned first in 11.8%. Again, with this measure Clinton is shown to receive more coverage because she is mentioned first in more articles than Obama or Edwards. To take this one step further this study analyzed how many first mentions each candidate received in the articles where they were included. Of

the 290 articles in which Clinton was mentioned, 66.9% mention her before Obama or Edwards. Obama's name could be found in 267 articles included in this 2007 multi-candidate data set, and 56.6% of those articles mention him first. Edwards received fewer first mentions than Clinton or Obama in the 148 articles he was included, with only 31.1% of the articles that mention his name, doing so before Clinton or Obama.

Elizabeth Dole did not enjoy the same percentage of first mentions that Hillary Clinton did. Dole was only mentioned first in 8.3% of all the articles analyzed in the 1999 multi-candidate data set. Bush was mentioned first in 60.1% of the articles analyzed, and McCain was mentioned first in 23.3%. Clinton, who received the most number of first mentions in the 2007 multi-candidate data set, did not reach the percentage of first mentions as Bush did in the 1999 multi-candidate data set, who had received the largest percentage of first mentions in the data set he was included in. Of the 307 articles that Bush was included in, 82.4% mentioned him first. Dole was included in 83 articles and 42.2% of those articles mentioned her before any of the other candidates. McCain was mentioned first in 70.5% of the 139 articles he was included in. Clinton, who received the most first mentions in the 2007 multi-candidate data set, exceeded Dole in first mentions, but could not surpass the percentages put up by Bush in the 1999 multi-candidate data set. Bush may have received more first mentions than Clinton because his poll numbers were anywhere from 5-10% higher than Clinton's.

As mentioned in previous chapters, newspaper readers may scan the headlines before choosing which articles to read. When a candidate's name appears in a headline, it allows for two things. First, it tells the readers that the article devotes a fair amount of coverage to that particular candidate. Second, it allows readers who are looking for information on a particular candidate to locate articles they are covered in more easily. In 17.4% of all the articles analyzed, Clinton was mentioned in the headline by name. Obama was mentioned by name in 14.6% of the headlines. Edwards was mentioned by name in only 2.6% of the articles analyzed. The difference in percentages of headline mentions for Clinton and Obama are only

separated by 2.8%. However, both Clinton and Obama receive a significantly larger amount of headline mentions than Edwards.

Which name the media chooses to use when identifying these candidates in the headline is interesting. Of the 68 articles where Hillary Clinton was named in the headline, 30.9% of the time the newspaper referred to her by her first name, either Hillary or simply Hil. As someone who works in the media, I have learned that when referring to a public figure it is appropriate to use their full name or their name with their title, in this case that would be Senator Clinton, Hillary Clinton, or Hillary Rodham Clinton. Of the 57 articles that named Obama in the headline only 7% referred to him by his first name only. Edwards was never identified by only his first name when he was named in the headline in ten articles. Although, Edwards does have a very common first name, John, so readers may not have known who the headline was identifying if his first name had been used to identify him. It is interesting to see how many more articles referred to Senator Clinton by only her first name than Senator Obama or former Senator Edwards.

When looking at the Clinton specific data set, she is referenced in the headlines by her first name in 26.3% of the articles. Dole is referenced by her first name in the headlines significantly less than Clinton. In the Dole specific data set, only 5.6% of the articles identified her as Liddy, and 91.6% used the name Elizabeth Dole or Dole. Much of Clinton's campaign paraphernalia used her first name instead of her last name. It "could" be that her campaign encouraged the use of her first name to differentiate her from her husband, former President Clinton.

When I look at the 1999 multi-candidate data set, Elizabeth Dole was named in the headlines of 4.0% of the 421 articles. This is significantly smaller than the percentage of articles in the 2007 multi-candidate data set which named Hillary Rodham Clinton in the headline (17.4% of 391). George Bush's name could be found in the headlines of 20.9% of the articles analyzed in the 1999 multi-candidate data set and John McCain's name could be found in the headlines of 4.0% of the articles. Of all the Republicans analyzed in the 1999 multi-

candidate data set, Dole and McCain tied for the second most number of headline mentions behind Bush.

By analyzing this information, it is apparent that Hillary Rodham Clinton has received more overall coverage than either Barack Obama or John Edwards. Coverage on Clinton could be found in more articles than Obama or Edwards. Clinton also received a larger percentage of coverage per article than Obama or Edwards. Clinton was also mentioned first in more articles and also named in the headlines more times than Obama or Edwards. When comparing the differences in coverage that Clinton received compared to her male competitors, and that Dole received compared to her male competitors, it seems that Clinton has overcome the smaller amount of coverage that Dole dealt with eight years ago. Hillary Rodham Clinton received similar amounts of coverage as George Bush did. Both were mentioned in about the same percentage of articles in their particular samples and received similar amounts of mentions in the headlines.

6.2 Type of Coverage

For the most part newspaper readers understand that articles located on the front page are of more importance than articles located in other sections of the paper such as the style, women's, or metro sections. If this is the case, it is important to know in which sections of the paper articles that discuss candidates are located. To begin, only 25 of the 391 articles analyzed were located on the front page. Clinton's name could be found in 76% of those 25 front page articles. Coverage on Obama could be found in 80% of the front page articles ($p=.002$) which is slightly more than Clinton. Edwards on the other hand could only be found in 32% of the articles located on the front page. The front section of the paper, not just the front page, is typically devoted to news. Excluding front page coverage, Clinton's name could be found in 79.3% of the 208 news articles. Obama's name could be found in 66.8% of news stories (again, excluding the front page articles) and Edwards' name could be found in 41.8% of news articles. Another section of the newspaper that mentioned these candidates many times are the opinions or editorial sections. Seventy-six of the 391 articles analyzed could be found in

the opinion or editorial sections. Of those 76 opinion and editorial articles, Clinton was named in 67.1% of them, Obama was named in 71.1%, and Edwards was named in 36.8%.

Previous research showed that many female candidates who run for office can expect to be covered by the media in non-hard news or soft news sections of the paper such as style or life. Candidates do sometimes encourage soft news coverage in order to express their personality. Of the 13 articles found located in the life, style, or women’s sections Clinton was mentioned in 8 of them. This is less than the amount of articles Clinton was mentioned in located on the more prominent front page. Obama was mentioned in the same number of articles (8) located in the life, style, or women’s sections as Clinton was. Edwards on the other hand was only named in 4 life, style, or women’s sections articles, which is half as many as Clinton or Obama.

Though Clinton, Obama, and Edwards were mentioned in articles discussed thus far, they were not necessarily discussed in great detail. As mentioned earlier, though candidates may be mentioned in an article they may be barely discussed and no relevant information regarding them or their campaign is given. At this point, articles that discuss the candidates in more detail will be analyzed. Clinton was discussed in some detail in 48.0% of front page articles, 63.9% of news articles, 46.2% of life, style, or women’s articles, and 50% of opinion or

Table 6.1 Number and newspaper section of articles Clinton, Obama, and Edwards received coverage in at least some detail.

	Front Page	Other News	Life, Style, or Women’s	Opinion or Editorial	Total # of articles candidate is discussed in some detail
Clinton	12	133	6	38	217
Obama	11	111	7	41	190
Edwards	4	66	2	20	104

editorial articles. Obama was discussed in 44.0% of front page, 53.4% of other news, 53.8% of life, style, or women’s, and 53.9% of opinion or editorial articles (all at the $p < .05$). Edwards was

given more detailed coverage in 16.0% of front page articles, 31.7% of other news articles, 15.4% of life, style, or women's sections articles, and 26.3% of opinion or editorial articles. Table 6.1 shows the number of articles in newspaper sections each candidate received important coverage in.

Of the 421 articles included in the 1999 multi-candidate data set, 52 could be found on the front page. Of those 52 front page articles, Elizabeth Dole was at least mentioned in 23.1%, George Bush in 82.7%, and John McCain in 36.5% ($p=.002$). When it comes to other national news ($n=198$), Dole could be found in 21.2% of the articles. Bush was covered in 75.8% of the national news articles, and McCain in 30.8% of the articles. Of the opinion or editorial sections' 80 articles, Dole was included in 15%, Bush was included in 71.2%, and McCain was included in 32.5%. Dole had received more front page news and national news coverage than opinion or editorial coverage. Clinton received much more coverage than Dole did in front page, other news, and editorial sections. However, Bush outdid Clinton in the percentage of coverage he received in front page articles and editorial or opinion articles.

Dole was mentioned in 20% of the 30 style, life, or women's sections articles in the 1999 multi-candidate data set. Bush was mentioned in 66.7% of the style, life, or women's sections articles, but McCain was only mentioned in 13.3% of the articles in those sections. Clinton on the other hand was mentioned in 61.5% of the 8 style, life, or women's sections articles in the 2007 multi-candidate data set. One might project that Clinton and Dole receive similar coverage in these sections because they are both women; however, Clinton received similar percentages of coverage to Bush, not Dole. Both Clinton and Bush were the front-runners of their respective races.

When comparing the Clinton and Dole specific data sets, 25.2% of Dole's coverage could be found on the front page while only 6.4% of Clinton's coverage could be found there. Coverage for the two women in these data sets is similar when comparing coverage in news (not found of the front page) and opinion or editorial articles. About half of Dole's coverage was found in news articles, and 66.8% of Clinton's was found there. Clinton and Dole received

nearly identical percentages of opinion or editorial article coverage with 16.5% of Clinton's and 16.1% of Dole's coverage found in these sections. None of the articles analyzed for the Clinton specific data set were located in women's, life, or style sections, but 4.5% of Dole's specific data set articles were. Table 6.2 shows the percentage of articles on the front page, in the news section, in the opinion or editorial sections, and the life, style, or women's sections Clinton and Dole received coverage in their specific data sets.

Table 6.2 Percentage of articles that mention Clinton or Dole found in different newspaper sections. This information is from the Clinton and Dole specific data sets.

	Front Page	Other News	Opinion or Editorial	Life, Style, or Women's	Total number of articles
Hillary Clinton	6.42%	68.81%	16.51%	0%	109
Elizabeth Dole	25.16%	50.32%	16.13%	4.52%	155

Receiving media coverage is necessary when running for a national office. All media coverage may not be equally beneficial. Is it more beneficial to a candidate if their issue positions are reported or if their background is reported? Though there is no clear answer to this question, articles focusing on issues are more beneficial, because they present the candidate as substantial and serious. Of all the articles where Clinton was mentioned, 19.0% focused on her issue positions, 18.3% focused on campaigning, 15.5% focused on her traits or background, and 11.0% focused on horserace coverage. Obama's issue positions were the focus of 17.4% of the articles that mentioned him. Obama received more coverage on campaigning than Clinton did with 26.0% of the articles including him focusing on that. His traits or background was the focus of 16.6% of the articles that included coverage on him. Horserace coverage for Obama was similar to that of Clinton with 10.6% of the articles mentioning him focusing on that. Edwards received a larger percentage of issue coverage than Clinton or Obama with 28.8% of the articles mentioning him focusing on his issue positions. Of

the articles that name Edwards, 21.9% focus on campaigning, 18.5% focus on his traits or background, and 18.5% focus on horserace coverage. Figure 6.3 shows a breakdown of the main focus on Clinton, Obama, and Edwards in articles. Unlike previous women candidates, who have complained of the media focusing too much on their personal life, Clinton received more issue coverage than trait or background coverage.

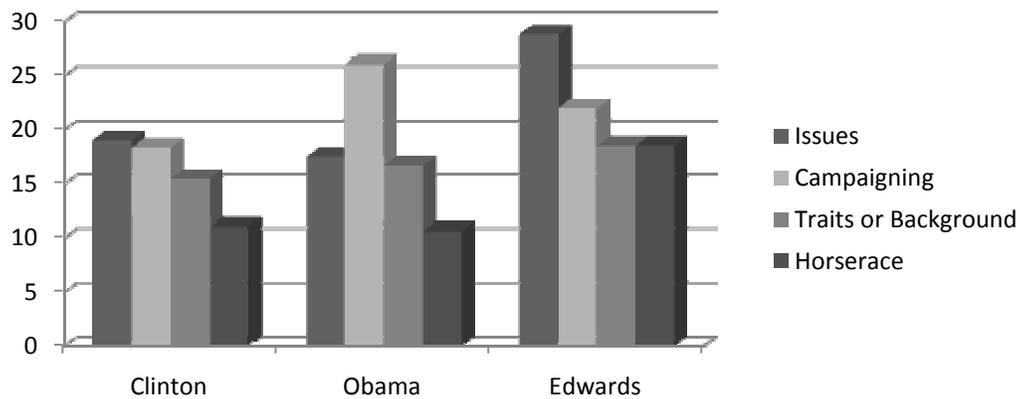


Figure 6.3 Main focus of articles discussing Clinton, Obama, and Edwards

When the media portrays a candidate as a viable contender, it could be quite beneficial to that particular candidate. In 6.7% of the articles where Clinton is mentioned, her viability is discussed in a positive fashion, compared to the negative viability coverage she received in only 2.4% of the articles she was included in. Obama received less coverage of viability, but twice as much positive viability coverage than negative, with 3.0% of the articles including him focusing on his positive viability and only 1.5% of the articles questioning his viability. Edwards was the only candidate from the 2007 multi-candidate sample to receive more negative viability coverage than positive. Of the articles which mentioned Edwards, 1.4% framed his viability coverage as positive and 2.1% questioned his viability. Overall, Clinton seemed to be presented as the most viable candidate because most of her viability coverage framed her as a true contender, not a candidate in the background. This analysis on viability coverage is reflective of her lead in the polls.

During coverage of the 1999 Republican Presidential nomination process, George Bush and Elizabeth Dole received similar percentages of articles focusing on issue, horserace, and fundraising coverage. In analyzing articles included in the 1999 multi-candidate data set that covered Dole, 23.1% focused on her issue positions, 25.6% focused on her position in the horserace, and 14.1% focused on her ability to raise funds for her campaign. Of the articles that discussed Bush, 26.2% focused on his position on the issues, 27.0% focused on the horserace, and 14.5% focused on his campaign finances. Dole was given much more horserace coverage in the 1999 multi-candidate data set than Clinton was in the 2007 multi-candidate data set, but Dole also received more issue coverage than Clinton. Clinton's background and personal traits, on the other hand, were focused on more than Dole's, with 15.5% of Clinton's articles focusing on that topic compared to 9.0% of Dole's. However, Bush received similar percentages of background and trait coverage as Clinton did with 15.2% of the articles that covered him focusing on those topics.

When focusing on Dole's specific data set, nearly twice as much as any other topic, the focus of 23.9% of the articles discussed her gender and the idea that a woman was running for a presidential nomination. Clinton was not covered in a similar way, and no articles analyzed in the Clinton specific data set focused on her running for president as a woman. In the Clinton specific data set, 22.9% of the articles focused on campaigning and 22.0% focused on her issue positions. Of Dole's articles, only 12.3% focused on her issue stance. Clinton and Dole received about the same percentage of background and trait coverage in the specific data sets, with 11.9% of Clinton's articles and 12.3% of Dole's articles focusing on those themes.

Readers would be aware of the focus on Clinton or Dole only if they read the articles. Headlines, on the other hand, are a quick and simple way to figure out the focus of the article. In the Clinton specific data set, 22.0% of the article headlines mention issues, 19.3% mention the horserace, and 8.3% mention fundraising, 13.8% mention personal traits, and only 2.8% mention gender. The headlines of Dole-specific articles mention issues less than Clinton with only 13.5%, which is slightly more than half as many as Clinton. Dole received horserace

mentions in 18.1% of article headlines and that is about the same amount as Clinton. Mentions of fundraising or money in the headlines for Dole occurred in nearly twice as many articles than Clinton, 14.8% compared to Clinton's 8.3%. Dole received about the same percentage of personality trait mentions in the headlines as Clinton did with 16.8%. The largest difference between the two women is the amount of headlines that mention gender. Gender was only mentioned in the headlines for 2.8% of Clinton's articles, but for Dole it was mentioned in 19.4% of the headlines. This is significant because reminding readers that these candidates are women could lead readers to perceive them as atypical or unique. The fact that Clinton was linked to her gender significantly less than was Dole, is a cause to believe that gender is becoming less important in coverage of presidential elections.

A candidate's personal life is just one aspect of their background; however, past research has shown that the media focuses on female candidates' personal life more so than male candidates. Hillary Clinton's family was mentioned in 31.4% of the articles that included coverage of her; this is more than twice as much as John Edwards, and more than four times as much as Barack Obama. John Edwards' family was mentioned in 13.0% of the articles in which he was mentioned; many of these articles discussed his wife's reoccurring cancer. Obama's family, however, was only mentioned in 7.5% of the articles he was named in. Hillary Clinton is given similar treatment to other women candidates by the media in regards to linking her with her family. According to the 1999 multi-candidate data set, Dole's family was brought up in only 11.4% of the articles she was covered in, which is much less than Hillary Clinton. George Bush's family was mentioned in 15.1% of the articles he was included in. It is interesting that Bush had a slightly larger percentage of family mentions than Dole, but George Bush's father was a previous president. John McCain received similar family coverage as Barack Obama with only 4.0% of the articles he was included in mentioning his family.

Hillary Clinton is in a slightly different situation than John Edwards and Barack Obama because her husband is a former president and he is very much in the public eye. Elizabeth Dole's husband, Bob Dole, was previously a senator and on a presidential ticket. Both Hillary

Clinton and Elizabeth Dole have husbands that have been heavily involved in politics so one may think the amount of family references they receive would be comparable. In the Clinton specific data set, 47.7% of the articles mentioned Bill Clinton specifically and not just the Clinton family. Elizabeth Dole received a much larger percentage of husband mentions than Hillary Clinton, with 61.9% of the articles in the Dole specific data set mentioning Bob Dole. Linking female candidates to their family life could reinforce the idea that these women belong in the private sphere and not on a presidential ticket. On the other hand, however, one could view these women as using their husbands' public position as a path to their own power, meaning Clinton or Dole would not have had the opportunity to run if their husbands had not held political positions prior. This paper is written from the perspective that women candidates need to be viewed, independently from their husbands, as capable leaders in order for voters to support them.

In addition to being linked with their family life, female candidates find themselves discussed in the media in terms of their appearance or dress more so than male candidates. This type of information is soft news and should not be important when making a decision on which candidate to support. However, the media takes notice to what female candidates are wearing or the new hair style they are sporting. In the 2007 multi-candidate data set, Edwards received nearly twice the percentage of appearance mentions than both Clinton and Obama with 9.6% of the articles covering him mentioning his appearance. In 8.2% of the articles covering Edwards, a negative mention of his dress or appearance was mentioned; many of these articles discussed the fact that Edwards paid \$400 for a haircut. In 5.5% of the articles including coverage on Clinton, her dress or appearance was mentioned, and 56.25% of these mentions were negative. Obama received a similar amount of dress or appearance mentions as Clinton did with 4.9% of the articles covering him discussing his dress or appearance. However, unlike Clinton, most of Obama's dress or appearance mentions were positive. One wonders why such press coverage even exists, because it carries no weight in a candidate's ability to serve in office.

In regards to the 1999 multi-candidate data set, Elizabeth Dole received appearance or dress mentions in 7.1% of the articles she could be found in, which is more than twice as many as George Bush and more than eight times as many as John McCain. For Bush, 3.3% of the articles he was covered in mentioned his appearance or his dress. John McCain's dress or appearance was only mentioned in one article that included coverage of him. It seems that John Edwards is treated in a feminine way, by the media, in regards to coverage of his appearance, more so than Hillary Rodham Clinton, Elizabeth Dole, and the other men running for a presidential nomination.

When I analyze the Clinton and Dole specific data sets I find that there is a substantial difference in the amount of dress or appearance mentions for these two women. Dole's dress or appearance was mentioned in 16.8% of the Dole specific articles. However, Clinton's dress or appearance was mentioned in only 4.6% of the articles included in the Clinton specific data set. From this information, it is apparent that when reporters were writing an article that took an in-depth look at Dole, it was important for them to mention her appearance. Clinton did not have to worry about soft news coverage such as dress or appearance as much as Dole.

Some newspaper articles frame coverage of female candidates in a way that describes them as novel; this is referred to as the "first woman frame." When readers see this frame in use, it may cause them to perceive women candidates as less viable because of their unique situation. Though Dole was not the first woman to run in a presidential nomination race, had she won, she would have been the first woman president. In the Dole specific data set, the first woman frame was applied in 45.8% of the newspaper articles analyzed. The Clinton specific data set shows a very different picture, though. Only 6.4% of the articles utilized the first woman frame for Clinton. Perhaps this is because Dole had made a run at a presidential nomination eight years ago, so Clinton was not the first woman to challenge men, who typically run for this position.

Looking at this information, it seems as if Hillary Rodham Clinton has pushed past some of the gendered media coverage previous female candidates have complained of. She is

covered in the most news articles, named in a considerable amount of headlines, her appearance is hardly mentioned, and the first woman frame is rarely used for her. However, Clinton is still subjected to many conditions the media creates for female candidates. Her background and personal life are the topics of many articles, and Clinton's husband is mentioned in numerous articles that cover her. Clinton is treated in a more masculine fashion than Dole was eight years ago.

6.3 Gendered Issues and Traits

Male and female candidates running for office have often been linked to masculine and feminine issues and traits, accordingly. The media has been found to characterize women candidates with feminine traits and also report them as more knowledgeable on feminine issues. As stated in previous chapters, voters value masculine traits in their elected officials, especially in higher ranking or executive offices. Due to this reality, women candidates may be at a disadvantage if the media depicts them in a feminine fashion.

Of all the issues associated with Hillary Rodham Clinton, the war in Iraq and Afghanistan ranks at the top with 28.2%. Many of these articles dealt with her seemingly contradictory position on the war in Iraq; to first support the war and then later to support troop withdraw from the area. Clinton's position on healthcare ranked second in the percent of all issue attention she received, with 18.5%. Of all the issues coupled with Clinton, 8.9% were foreign policy. Energy, immigration, and the economy each made up 4.8% of the issues linked with Clinton. She is also associated with the issues of education and poverty, but each only make up 3.2% of the total number of her issues mentioned. Her top issue, the war, is a masculine issue, and so too is foreign policy, which ranks third. Healthcare is the only feminine issue Clinton is linked to with a significant quantity. Both education and poverty, which are two issues typically linked with women candidates, ranked nearly last in issues associated with Clinton.

Barack Obama's top associated issues were very similar to Clinton's. The war in Iraq and Afghanistan covered 26.2% of the issues linked with Obama. Taking up 14.6% of the

issues associated with Obama are both healthcare and foreign policy. Of all the issues connected to Obama, issues of race make up 7.8%. Immigration (6.8%) and energy (5.8%), considered to be masculine issues, are also associated with Obama. Other than healthcare, Obama is mostly linked to masculine issues, which is to be expected with past research in mind.

Of the three candidates analyzed in the 2007 multi-candidate data set, John Edwards was feminized most, in terms of issues associated with him. Healthcare is his number one issue with 28.2% and poverty his number two at 19.2%. The war in Iraq and Afghanistan stands in third with 12.8% of the issues associated with Edwards. Though Edwards' first and second issues linked with him are feminine, he is also linked to masculine issues such as the economy and foreign policy (both 7.7% of issues associated with Edwards).

Hillary Rodham Clinton and Barack Obama were linked to similar issues and in a similar fashion. They received about the same percentage of coverage on the war, healthcare, and energy. John Edwards, however, was covered somewhat differently than the other candidates with more focus on feminine issues. Table 6.3 shows a comparison of Clinton's, Obama's, and Edwards' most associated issues.

Table 6.3 Three most associated issues for Clinton, Obama, and Edwards.

	Clinton	Obama	Edwards
First most associated issue	War in Iraq or Afghanistan	War in Iraq or Afghanistan	Healthcare
Second most associated issue	Healthcare	Foreign Policy*	Poverty
Third most associated issue	Foreign Policy	Healthcare*	War in Iraq or Afghanistan

*Foreign Policy and Healthcare are equal at 14.6% of associated issues

These issues are discussed with these particular candidates in such a large percentage for a reason. Either, these candidates' want to push their position on these issues because they find them important and want voters to know what their stance is, or the media thinks voters find

these issues important so the media chooses to focus on the candidates' positions on those issues. In a national poll of adults conducted by ABC News and the Washington Post in late May of 2007 found that 29% felt the war in Iraq was the most important issue when thinking of their choice for president. The economy or jobs came in second with 18%, and 11% felt healthcare was the most important issue to consider. Is it any wonder then, that the war and healthcare are in the top three issues associated with Clinton, Obama, and Edwards? Sure these issues are also important to the candidates but the media chose to link the candidates with them. Agenda setting by the media seems to play an important role in the issues covered in regards to these candidates. However, poverty, not the economy, was an issue the media linked with Edwards that was not considered to be an important issue for voters when selecting a Presidential candidate to support. In this case, regarding the issue of poverty being linked with Edwards, agenda setting does not explain why Edwards was linked with poverty. Edwards ran a campaign where poverty was an important issue he chose to discuss and that is why he received so much coverage on that issue. With this information in mind, Edwards is feminized by the media, by being associated with a feminine issue in many of the articles he is covered in. On the other hand, the amount of coverage a candidate receives on different issues may parallel the amount of time the candidate spends on talking about a particular issue.

The data from the 1999 multi-candidate showed a similar situation for the Republicans eight years ago that was experienced by the candidates of the Democratic Presidential nomination process of 2008. Elizabeth Dole, George Bush, and John McCain all had a masculine issue as their top associated issue. Dole was linked most with foreign policy and defense at 26.7%. Gun control made up 23.3% of Dole's associated issues, which is also a masculine issue. Education and abortion came in third and fourth with 16.7% and 13.3%, accordingly. So, similarly to Clinton, Dole was linked to both masculine and feminine issues. Bush was linked to the issue of foreign policy and defense in 15.8% of all the issues linked with him. Though foreign policy is thought to be a masculine issue, Bush is also linked to feminine issues, such as education (13.7%) and other social issues (10.3%). With this in mind, Bush is

also linked to the economy or taxes (10.3%) and gun control (7.5%) which are both considered to be masculine issues. John McCain's top associated issue is overwhelmingly foreign policy and defense with 34.5% of issues linked to him. Campaign finance reform makes up 20.2% and the economy covers 11.9% of the issues connected to McCain. Foreign policy, finance reform, and the economy are all very masculine issues and encompass most of the issue coverage devoted to McCain. In regards to issues linked to McCain, feminine issues such as education and healthcare only make up 2.4% and 1.2%. A comparison between John McCain and John Edwards is interesting because they are both men yet one is associated mostly with masculine issues and the other feminine issues. Barack Obama and George Bush are both linked with a mix of feminine and masculine issues, but their top issue is masculine.

When the Dole and Clinton specific data sets are analyzed, both candidates have masculine and feminine issues in their top three issues associated with them. Table 6.4 shows these top issues that are associated with Hillary Rodham Clinton and Elizabeth Dole. When

Table 6.4 Three most associated issues for Clinton and Dole specific data sets.

	Clinton	Dole
First most associated issue	War in Iraq and Afghanistan	Foreign Policy/Military*
Second most associated issue	Healthcare	Gun Control*
Third most associated issue	Energy	Education

*Foreign Policy/Military and Gun Control are equal at 19.2%

looking at the Clinton specific articles most of the issue coverage she receives is on masculine issues. The war in Iraq and Afghanistan makes up 31.0% of the issues linked with Clinton. Other masculine issues linked with Clinton are energy (6.9%), foreign policy (5.7%), and the economy (4.6%). Healthcare, which is a feminine issue, covers 16.1% of the issues linked with Clinton; education only makes up 2.3%; poverty is at 5.7%. While Dole's top associated issues are masculine she still receives a fair amount of linkage to feminine issues. Foreign policy or

military and gun control cover 19.2% of the issues linked with Dole. Feminine issues such as education and abortion make up 17.2% and 12.8% of the issue coverage she receives. Compared to Clinton, Dole is treated more like previous female candidates have been because she is linked to feminine issues more so than Clinton has shown to be.

Overall, it seems that Clinton is treated more like male candidates traditionally have been, rather than female candidates. She is certainly treated in a more masculine way than Dole was, when she ran eight years ago. Clinton is linked to masculine issues in a comparable way to Obama and Bush. An interesting find, is how much feminine issue attention Edwards receives. He seems to be feminized more so than Clinton or Dole.

In addition to issues, personal traits can be described as masculine or feminine. Qualities of leadership, ambition, and assertive fall on the masculine side, while caring, emotion, and understanding can be described as feminine characteristics. As masculine and feminine issues have been devoted to male and female candidates, so too are personal traits. Not only are female candidates depicted with feminine qualities, but they also tend to receive more personal trait coverage than male candidates. In other words, the media may focus on female candidates' personalities and personal traits more than the men they are running against.

Of all the articles analyzed in the 2007 multi-candidate data set, 294 personal traits were used to portray Hillary Rodham Clinton, Barack Obama, and John Edwards. Clinton could be linked with 163 traits mentioned in the 391 total articles available. Obama was linked to 103 personal traits, and Edwards only received 28 personal trait mentions. Clinton received many more trait mentions than Obama or Edwards, but the gap between Clinton and Obama is small in comparison to the gap of trait mentions between her and Edwards. Clinton was linked to more than half of all the traits mentioned in all the articles included in this sample; she had nearly six times the personal trait mentions as Edwards.

Though the media offered Hillary Rodham Clinton an extensive amount of trait coverage, it was not all in a feminine form. Nearly half (45.4%) of the characteristics used to depict Clinton could neither be described as masculine or feminine, but simply gender neutral.

Articulate and youthful are two examples of gender neutral traits used to describe Clinton, Obama, or Edwards. The remaining 55% of personal traits used to describe Clinton could be

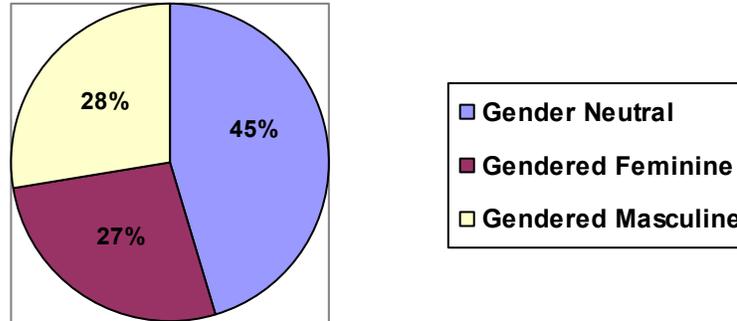


Figure 6.4 Breakdown on gender of traits used to depict Clinton

split nearly in half between feminine characteristics and masculine characteristics. Of the personal traits used to describe Clinton, 27.0% could be identified as feminine traits. Feminine characteristics such as: warm, fuzzy, spineless, or feminist. Experienced, leader, and powerful are masculine traits associated with Clinton; masculine traits accounted for 27.6% of the total traits used to characterize Clinton. Though the media gave her more trait coverage than Obama or Edwards, that trait coverage was not completely feminine. As a matter of fact, she received just slightly more masculine trait coverage than feminine trait coverage. Figure 6.4 shows the breakdown of traits describing Clinton in regards to gender.

Barack Obama was mostly described with gender neutral traits, 74.8% of the 103 traits found in these articles were gender neutral. Obama, like Clinton, received slightly more

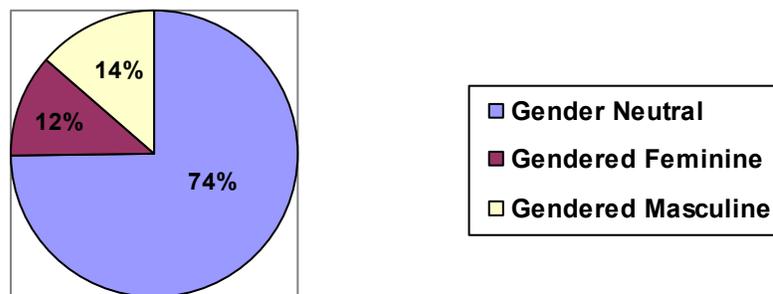


Figure 6.5 Breakdown on gender of traits used to depict Obama

masculine traits than feminine traits, 13.6% compared to 11.7%. Figure 6.5 illustrates the percentage of feminine, masculine, and gender neutral characteristics used to depict Obama. Overall, Clinton and Obama received a fairly gender neutral depiction, because they each received about an equal percentage feminine and masculine traits, and the rest were neither.

John Edwards does not exhibit the same situation, though. He was described in gender neutral terms in 67.9% of the personal traits; however his number of masculine characteristics doubles the number of feminine traits. Of all the personal traits assigned to Edwards, 21.4% could be classified as masculine and 10.7% as feminine. Figure 6.6 displays the percentage of

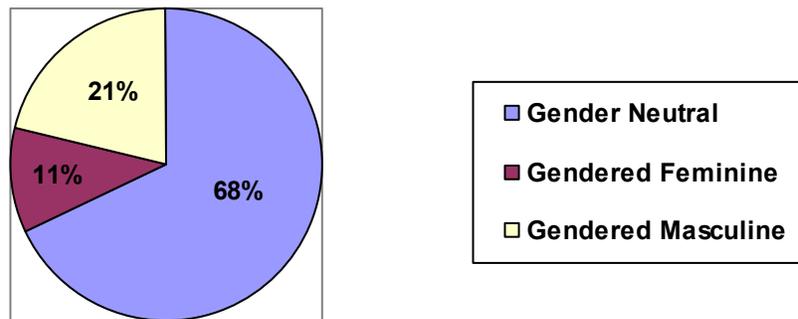


Figure 6.6 Breakdown on gender of traits used to depict Edwards

feminine, masculine, and gender neutral characteristics used to describe Edwards. One could make the argument that overall Edwards received more masculine trait coverage than Clinton or Obama because his number of masculine traits is twice the amount of feminine traits. Both Clinton and Obama were described equally in masculine and feminine terms. Though the differences in gendered trait coverage are slight between Clinton, Obama, and Edwards, they are still apparent.

6.4 Discussion

This study set out to determine if Hillary Rodham Clinton experienced similar coverage by the media as previous female candidates had. It was assumed she would experience some of the issues of media coverage that previous women had complained of; less overall coverage as well as gendered coverage. However, this research found that Clinton has escaped many of

these criticisms, and was covered in a more masculine manner. It seemed that she was treated by the media similarly to George Bush in the 1999 Republican presidential nomination process, as well as Barack Obama in this election cycle.

Clinton received the most overall coverage out of the candidates included in the 2007 multi-candidate sample, and received about the same amount of coverage as Bush eight years ago, who was the winner of his race. It was odd that many of the newspaper articles analyzed used Clinton's first name in the headline because she is a senator and that position deserves respect. Articles discussing Clinton could be found in many sections of the newspaper such as national news, life, style, editorial, and even the local or metro sections. As stated before, in the past female candidates have been covered in articles located in the more trivial, soft news, sections of the paper. Clinton could also be found in these sections but she received more coverage in the news and editorial sections than the life and style sections. Much of the focus on Clinton within the articles was on her issue positions and campaigning, but she did still receive a significant amount of family and background coverage as well.

When it comes to coverage of her appearance or her dress, Clinton received hardly any attention, certainly much less than Elizabeth Dole. Hillary Rodham Clinton was also not framed as much as Dole was in regards to the first woman frame; actually she was hardly ever framed as a potential first woman on the top of a presidential ticket. In addition, even though Clinton did receive a lot of coverage regarding her healthcare position, she received more attention on her stance on the war, which is typically a masculine issue. Other than healthcare, Clinton was linked mostly to traditionally masculine issues such as foreign policy and energy. As well as being linked with masculine issues often, Clinton was linked with masculine traits. Most of the traits associated with Clinton were gender neutral, but masculine traits took the edge on feminine traits for her.

This leads one to believe that Clinton is not moving away from feminine coverage to masculine coverage, but rather, she is broadening her coverage to blanket both masculine and feminine. It seems that she cannot shake the soft news coverage the media typically grants to

female candidates, but she can include substantial coverage along side of it, which is something Dole seemed unable to accomplish in 1999. Clinton remained a viable contender for the Democratic presidential nomination; she was the last competitor to drop out of the race. It is possible that the coverage she received by the media had something to do with that. Perhaps by being presented in a more masculine fashion by the media led to her strong voter support. Heldman, Carroll, and Olson (2005) wondered “if Dole might have been able to stay in the race longer had she received more equitable treatment in the press.” With the results from this research in mind, the answer is yes.

Barack Obama, who was successful in clinching the nomination, was treated in a traditionally masculine style by the media. He received a substantial amount of coverage, and much of the coverage he received focused on his issue positions and his time campaigning, rather than his appearance or his family. Obama was associated with more masculine issues than feminine issues, and even though some of his personal traits could be classified as feminine more could be classified as masculine; Clinton found herself in a similar position.

What is interesting about the results this research uncovered is how feminized Edwards’ treatment by the media was. He was devoted less overall attention than Clinton or Obama, which is a complaint many female candidates have but so do candidates who are receiving lower poll numbers, like Edwards was. Many female candidates in the past have received a considerable amount of focus on their standings in the horserace of the election and Edwards received about 8% more horserace focus than Clinton or Obama received.

Edwards also received almost twice as much coverage regarding his dress or appearance than Clinton or Obama. A substantial amount of these articles discussed his \$400 haircut. When ordinary people think about haircuts, they typically link women, at least more so than men, to spending a large amount of money to getting a new hairdo. Society deems it acceptable for women to care enough about their look to spend big money to change them. This kind of coverage can lead readers to see Edwards as vain or a silly man for caring so

much about his hair. This is all very subjective though, because some readers could perceive him as a wealthy man spending his money the way he chooses.

Concerning the issues associated with John Edwards, he is allotted a significant amount of feminine issue attention. Nearly half of the issue coverage Edwards received was in reference to a feminine issue. The top two issues associated with Edwards were healthcare and poverty, both feminine issues. Edwards' and his campaign focused on these issues though. Clinton and Obama were also associated with the healthcare issue but Edwards received more than 10% more coverage on this issue than Clinton, who came in second for the percentage of healthcare issue coverage. Though Edwards' linked issues were mainly feminine, he as an individual was perceived by the media as a traditional man. He received virtually twice as many masculine traits than feminine traits. This is a larger ratio of masculine to feminine traits than Clinton or Obama had. So, as a person Edwards was depicted by the press as masculine but as a politician he was feminized by the press.

From what this study has found, Clinton was treated more like male candidates have been traditionally than Dole was and Clinton fought for the nomination to the very end. There was talk that the 2008 Democratic National Convention would be a brokered one; that the delegates there would be the ones to decide who would run at the top of the ticket. From the results of this study, it seems that Clinton did not lose the nomination because she was a woman or because she was too feminine. The battle between Clinton and Obama began to really heat up in the spring of 2008 and some would say it began to split the Democratic Party during the early summer months of that year. The support for Clinton was very strong and many in the party were dissatisfied when Obama won the nomination. Some politicians said that the reason John McCain chose Sarah Palin as his running mate was to grab support from the defected Clinton supporters.

In no way are the results of this research concerning Hillary Rodham Clinton generalizable to the larger picture of media coverage on women candidates running for the presidential office. The coverage she and Dole received is dissimilar in several ways leading

one to believe that their results are individualistic. However, at the same time, if future female candidates received coverage similar to Clinton rather than Dole they may be considered more viable than before. There are many reasons, other than gender, that could have led to the type of press treatment Clinton received. Support for a candidate by the party, amounts of money in one's war chest, quality of campaign management, and a candidate's background could also lead to differences in media coverage from one candidate to the next. Running a political campaign at this level requires a skilled campaign and campaign manager, so it is difficult to say this reason would allow for differences in press coverage, because it is unlikely that Clinton or Obama would leave this position up to an unqualified candidate. The size of Clinton's war chest could have played a small factor because Obama did outdo her in raised campaign funds. According to the FEC on July 28, 2008 Obama had raised over \$339 million compared to Clinton's \$233 million. John Edwards raised \$51 million, which is significantly less than Obama or Clinton. During the period between January 1, 2007 and June 4, 2008 Obama had spent almost \$75 million in ads. Clinton spent about \$46 million in that same time period. One could argue that Obama's war chest led to Clinton's defeat, not her press coverage. However, this being said, Clinton did experience some treatment by the media that has been traditionally linked with female candidates. She did receive a large amount of coverage associating her with her family, similarly to previous female candidates. Though her campaign employed the use of Clinton's first name in a number of ads and paraphernalia, the media also chose to refer to her by her first name in a number of headlines.

This research cannot say for certain that Clinton's gender was the cause of her different press treatment or that the press coverage she received led to her defeat by Obama in the end. This study aimed to discover if any patterns in media coverage existed regarding women candidates running for the highest office in the land, the presidency. Even though Clinton did experience some similarities in media coverage as Dole and other women who have previously run for elected office, Clinton also received coverage comparable to Bush in 1999, as a leading contender in the race.

Though Hillary Rodham Clinton did not make it on to the Democratic Presidential ticket, a female's name will appear on a presidential ticket in 2008. As mentioned before, John McCain, the Republican Presidential nominee, did select a woman as his vice presidential running mate, Sarah Palin. Future research should be done to analyze the type of media coverage Palin receives. Since so few women have been in this position it is important to gather data regarding them. Two days after Palin addressed the Republican National Convention a promo for the local NBC nightly news said, "Tune in tonight to find out the new fashion craze among North Texas women that Palin is causing." This is just one example as to why this research is so important. There were no news stories on any of the male candidates running in this race causing new fashion trends. It is essential to analyze the content of press coverage of elections because the media does play such an intricate and entangled role in the process.

Research on the differences in media coverage for male and female candidates running for political office should continue at all levels. More research should be done on the connection between a candidate's own message and the message the media reports on. Are the gendered differences in media coverage found in this study as well as previous studies a result of gendered campaigns? By analyzing a candidate's message along with the media coverage that candidate receives would give researchers a better understanding of how gender shapes contemporary elections. As time progresses, perhaps we will see more women running for the office of the presidency. In that case, we as researchers will be able to have a better understanding of press coverage on women running for high offices. As it is now, there have been too few women who've stepped up to the challenge for researchers to come to any clear conclusions on the topic of media coverage of women running for president.

APPENDIX A

CODEBOOK FOR DATA SETS

Date

Name of paper

Section of paper

1. Front page, national
2. National news
3. Local or metro
4. Life, style, women's
5. Opinion or editorial
6. Business
7. Other

Number of words in article

Headline mention of Clinton

1. No mention of candidate
2. Direct mention-Hillary Clinton
3. Direct mention- Hillary
4. Direct mention-Clinton
5. Direct mention- Mrs. Clinton
6. Direct mention-Senator Clinton
7. Direct mention-Hil
8. Indirect reference-she

Headline mention of Obama

1. No mention of candidate
2. Direct mention-Barack Obama
3. Direct mention –Barack
4. Direct mention- Obama
5. Direct mention- Senator Obama
6. Direct mention- Mr. Obama
7. Indirect reference-he

Headline mention of Edwards

1. No mention of candidate
2. Direct mention- John Edwards
3. Direct mention- John
4. Direct mention- Edwards
5. Direct mention- Mr. Edwards
6. Direct mention- Former senator Edwards
7. Indirect reference

Clinton included in article

1. Yes
2. Mentioned in passing
3. No

Obama included in article

1. Yes
2. Mentioned in passing
3. No

Edwards included in article

1. Yes
2. Mentioned in passing
3. No

First candidate mentioned in article

1. Clinton
2. Obama
3. Edwards

Second candidate mentioned in article

1. Clinton
2. Obama
3. Edwards

Third candidate mentioned in article

1. Clinton
2. Obama
3. Edwards

Percentage of article on Clinton (I divide the number of words in article about Clinton and divide by total number of words in article)

Percentage of article on Obama (same as above)

Percentage of article on Edwards (same as above)

Main focus of article

1. Traits, background, characteristics
2. Issues
3. Horserace
4. Gender
5. Viability: positive
6. Viability: negative
7. Viability and gender: positive
8. Viability and gender: negative
9. Lack of substance
10. Poor campaign management
11. Fundraising, lack of money
12. Campaigning
13. Congressional action
14. Other candidates
15. Mixed focus
16. Other focus

Main focus of Clinton in article

1. Traits, background, characteristics
2. Issues
3. Horserace
4. Gender
5. Viability: positive
6. Viability: negative
7. Viability and gender: positive

8. Viability and gender: negative
9. Lack of substance
10. Poor campaign management
11. Fundraising, lack of money
12. Campaigning
13. Congressional action
14. Other candidates
15. Mixed focus
16. Other focus

Clinton family mentioned

1. Yes
2. No

Clinton dress or appearance mentioned

1. Yes neutral
2. Yes positive
3. Yes negative
4. No

Clinton's substance questioned

1. Yes
2. No

Clinton's campaign questioned

1. Yes
2. No

Clinton's first issue mentioned

1. Education
2. Healthcare
3. Women's health
4. Economy, fiscal issues, taxes
5. Gun control
6. Foreign policy
7. War in Iraq/Afghanistan
8. Abortion as a legal issue
9. Drugs
10. Race
11. Energy
12. Poverty
13. Immigration
14. Other issue
15. No issue mentioned

Clinton's first "other" issue

Clinton's second issue mentioned

1. Education
2. Healthcare
3. Women's health
4. Economy, fiscal issues, taxes
5. Gun control
6. Foreign policy

7. War in Iraq/Afghanistan
8. Abortion as a legal issue
9. Drugs
10. Race
11. Energy
12. Poverty
13. Immigration
14. Other issue
15. No issue mentioned

Clinton's second "other" issue

Mention of Clinton's experience/occupation

1. No mention of occupation or experience
2. Positive mention
3. Negative mention
4. Both positive and negative
5. Neutral description of occupation/experience

Clinton's first trait mentioned (this is a running list that I continue to add to when I come across them)

Gender of Clinton's first trait mentioned

1. Gender neutral
2. Gendered feminine
3. Gendered masculine

Clinton's second trait mentioned (running list)

Gender of Clinton's second trait mentioned

1. Gender neutral
2. Gendered feminine
3. Gendered masculine

Is Clinton mentioned a minimum of 4 times?-this will qualify articles for the Clinton-Specific data set

1. Yes (answer the following questions for the Clinton-Specific Data set)
2. No

Headline mention gender

1. Yes
2. No

Headline mention any traits

1. Yes
2. No

Headline mention issues

1. Yes
2. No

Headline mention fundraising or money

1. Yes
2. No

Headline mention horserace

1. Yes
2. No

First woman frame used

1. Yes
2. No

Mention of Bill Clinton

1. Yes
2. No

Third issue mentioned

1. Education
2. Healthcare
3. Women's health
4. Economy, fiscal issues, taxes
5. Gun control
6. Foreign policy
7. War in Iraq/Afghanistan
8. Abortion as a legal issue
9. Drugs
10. Race
11. Energy
12. Poverty
13. Immigration
14. Other issue
15. No issue mentioned

Third "other" issue

Forth issue mentioned

1. Education
2. Healthcare
3. Women's health
4. Economy, fiscal issues, taxes
5. Gun control
6. Foreign policy
7. War in Iraq/Afghanistan
8. Abortion as a legal issue
9. Drugs
10. Race
11. Energy
12. Poverty
13. Immigration
14. Other issue
15. No issue mentioned

Forth "other" issue

Third trait mentioned

Gender of third trait

1. Gender neutral
2. Gendered feminine
3. Gendered masculine

Forth trait mentioned

Gender of forth trait

1. Gender neutral
2. Gendered feminine
3. Gendered masculine

(Back to Multi-candidate Data Set)

Main focus of Obama in article

1. Traits, background, characteristics
2. Issues
3. Horserace
4. Gender
5. Viability: positive
6. Viability: negative
7. Viability and gender: positive
8. Viability and gender: negative
9. Lack of substance
10. Poor campaign management
11. Fundraising, lack of money
12. Campaigning
13. Congressional action
14. Other candidates
15. Mixed focus
16. Other focus

Obama family mentioned

1. Yes
2. no

Obama dress or appearance mentioned

1. Yes neutral
2. Yes positive
3. Yes negative
4. No

Obama's substance questioned

1. Yes
2. No

Obama's campaign questioned

1. Yes
2. No

Obama's first issue mentioned

1. Education
2. Healthcare

3. Women's health
4. Economy, fiscal issues, taxes
5. Gun control
6. Foreign policy
7. War in Iraq/Afghanistan
8. Abortion as a legal issue
9. Drugs
10. Race
11. Energy
12. Poverty
13. Immigration
14. Other issue
15. No issue mentioned

Obama's first "other" issue

Obama's second issue mentioned

1. Education
2. Healthcare
3. Women's health
4. Economy, fiscal issues, taxes
5. Gun control
6. Foreign policy
7. War in Iraq/Afghanistan
8. Abortion as a legal issue
9. Drugs
10. Race
11. Energy
12. Poverty
13. Immigration
14. Other issue
15. No issue mentioned

Obama's second "other" issue

Mention of Obama's experience/occupation

1. No mention of occupation or experience
2. Positive mention
3. Negative mention
4. Both positive and negative
5. Neutral description of occupation/experience

Obama's first trait mentioned (this is a running list that I continue to add to when I come across them)

Gender of Obama's first trait mentioned

1. Gender neutral
2. Gendered feminine
3. Gendered masculine

Obama's second trait mentioned (running list)

Gender of Obama's second trait mentioned

1. Gender neutral
2. Gendered feminine
3. Gendered masculine

Main focus of Edward in article

1. Traits, background, characteristics
2. Issues
3. Horserace
4. Gender
5. Viability: positive
6. Viability: negative
7. Viability and gender: positive
8. Viability and gender: negative
9. Lack of substance
10. Poor campaign management
11. Fundraising, lack of money
12. Campaigning
13. Congressional action
14. Other candidates
15. Mixed focus
16. Other focus

Edward family mentioned

1. Yes
2. No

Edward dress or appearance mentioned

1. Yes neutral
2. Yes positive
3. Yes negative
4. No

Edward's substance questioned

1. Yes
2. No

Edward's campaign questioned

1. Yes
2. No

Edward's first issue mentioned

1. Education
2. Healthcare
3. Women's health
4. Economy, fiscal issues, taxes
5. Gun control
6. Foreign policy
7. War in Iraq/Afghanistan
8. Abortion as a legal issue
9. Drugs
10. Race
11. Energy
12. Poverty
13. Immigration
14. Other issue
15. No issue mentioned

Edward's first "other" issue

Edward's second issue mentioned

1. Education
2. Healthcare
3. Women's health
4. Economy, fiscal issues, taxes
5. Gun control
6. Foreign policy
7. War in Iraq/Afghanistan
8. Abortion as a legal issue
9. Drugs
10. Race
11. Energy
12. Poverty
13. Immigration
14. Other issue
15. No issue mentioned

Edward's second "other" issue

Mention of Edward's experience/occupation

1. No mention of occupation or experience
2. Positive mention
3. Negative mention
4. Both positive and negative
5. Neutral description of occupation/experience

Edward's first trait mentioned (this is a running list that I continue to add to when I come across them)

Gender of Edward's first trait mentioned

1. Gender neutral
2. Gendered feminine
3. Gendered masculine

Edward's second trait mentioned (running list)

Gender of Edward's second trait mentioned

1. Gender neutral
2. Gendered feminine
3. Gendered masculin

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BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

After graduating with a bachelor's degree in both political science and broadcast management in December of 2006 Nichole Horn began working on her master's degree in political science at the beginning of 2007, and will graduate in December 2008. She is interested in studying women in politics, public opinion, and the media's interaction with the political process. Nichole Horn plans to work in the field of education, and hopes to move to Colorado in the near future.