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Madam President:
A Content Analysis and Media Effects Approach to Investigating News Media Coverage of Female Presidential Primary Candidates

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Tiffany Jane Shoop
May 2006

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Dedication

This dissertation is written in honor of my grandfather, Glenn Ira Wingerd, and in memory of my grandmother, Rebecca Jane Wingerd.

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Abstract

From the early 1900s when the first Congresswoman, Jeannette Rankin, in reference to a reporter, shouted, "Tell him to go to hell!" to the late 1980s when gubernatorial candidate Evelyn Murphy, in reference to an unflattering picture of her in jogging shorts published in the *Boston Herald*, stated, "Just some kind of parity among us, that's all I'm asking," the tension between women in political positions and the news media has been a topic of considerable scholarly interest (Witt, Paget, & Matthews, 1995, p. 186, 183). This research project continues the stream of research on news media coverage of female political candidates by investigating the news media coverage of female candidates in the 2000 and 2004 presidential primary elections, Elizabeth Dole and Carol Moseley Braun, via a content analysis and experimental design. The most noteworthy findings of the content analysis portion of this study indicated that the news media covered the female candidates in recent presidential primary elections in a relatively equal manner when compared to the male candidates. However, subtle, yet significant, differences did surface, particularly in terms of the emphasis on negative fundraising and gender coverage in the news media content of the female presidential hopefuls. In addition, the experimental portion of this research project found that potential voters reading articles about a hypothetical presidential primary candidate evaluated the contender differently depending on whether they read news content adapted from an article about Elizabeth Dole or adapted from an article about George W. Bush and whether they read a news article about a female candidate or a male candidate. Perhaps most strikingly, the potential

voters rated the candidate in the male article as more viable than the candidate in the female article and the male candidate as more viable than the female candidate.

Table of Contents

Chapter	Page
Chapter I: Introduction to the Research Project	1
Background of Research Problem	1
Statement of Research Problem	11
Statement of Research Objectives	17
Organization of Research Project	18
Chapter II: Literature Review	20
Gender Stereotypes of Political Candidates	20
News Media Framing and Second-Level Agenda Setting	29
News Media Coverage of Female Political Candidates	41
Female Candidates Seeking the United States Presidency	66
Summary of Literature Review	78
Chapter III: Foundations of the Research Project	79
Statement of Research Questions and Hypotheses	79
Overview of the Research Method	83
Content Analysis	84
Experiment	95
Summary of Foundations	103

Chapter IV: Data Analysis and Findings 104

Content Analysis 104

Experiment 143

Summary of Data Analysis and Findings 164

Chapter V: Discussion, Limitations, and Future Research 168

News Media Coverage of Female Presidential Candidates 168

Influence of News Media Coverage and Gender Stereotypes 180

Limitations of the Research Project 191

Suggestions for Future Research 196

Concluding Remarks 199

References 202

Appendixes 218

Appendix A: Content Analysis Coding Instructions/Code Sheet 219

Appendix B: Experiment Female Candidate-Female Article 224

Appendix C: Experiment Female Candidate-Male Article 226

Appendix D: Experiment Male Candidate-Female Article 228

Appendix E: Experiment Male Candidate-Male Article 230

Appendix F: Experiment Candidate Evaluation Questionnaire 232

Appendix G: Human Subjects in Research Board Compliance 235

Vita 238

List of Tables

Table	Page
Table 1.1: Women in Elective Offices in 2006	3
Table 1.2: Noteworthy Female Presidential Candidates	9
Table 2.1: Adjectives Highly Associated with Women and Men	23
Table 3.1: Sample of 2000 Republican Primary Candidates	87
Table 3.2: Sample of 2004 Democratic Primary Candidates	88
Table 3.3: 2x2 Factorial Design Conditions	97
Table 4.1: News Frames in Female Presidential Candidate Coverage	107
Table 4.2: Tone of Female Presidential Candidate Strategy Coverage	109
Table 4.3: Types of Female Presidential Candidate Issue Coverage	111
Table 4.4: Types of Female Presidential Candidate Personal Trait Coverage	112
Table 4.5: Female Presidential Candidate Personal Life Coverage	114
Table 4.6: Differences in News Frames by Journalist Sex	115
Table 4.7: Differences in Personal Life Categories by Journalist Sex	118
Table 4.8: Differences in News Frames by News Medium	119
Table 4.9: Differences in Personal Life Categories by News Medium	121
Table 4.10: Candidate Article References	123
Table 4.11: Differences in Prominence of Coverage by Candidate Sex	125
Table 4.12: Differences in Strategy Coverage Tone by Candidate Sex	128
Table 4.13: Differences in Issue Coverage Type by Candidate Sex	129
Table 4.14: Differences in Personal Life Categories by Candidate Sex	133

Table 4.15: Significance of Candidate Sex and Article Type on Overall Issue Evaluations of the Candidate (MANOVA) 146

Table 4.16: Significance of Candidate Sex and Article Type on Specific Issue Evaluations of the Candidate (ANOVA) 147

Table 4.17: Significant Differences in Specific Issue Evaluation Means by Candidate Sex and Article Type 149

Table 4.18: Significance of Candidate Sex and Article Type on Overall Issue Evaluations of the Candidate with Participant Ideology (MANOVA) 151

Table 4.19: Significance of Candidate Sex, Article Type, and Participant Ideology on Specific Issue Evaluations of the Candidate (ANOVA) 151

Table 4.20: Significance of Candidate Sex and Article Type on Overall Personal Evaluations of the Candidate (MANOVA) 154

Table 4.21: Significance of Candidate Sex and Article Type on Specific Personal Evaluations of the Candidate (ANOVA) 154

Table 4.22: Significant Differences in Specific Personal Evaluation Means by Candidate Sex and Article Type 155

Table 4.23: Significance of Candidate Sex and Article Type on Ideology Evaluations of the Candidate (ANOVA) 157

Table 4.24: Differences in Ideology Evaluation Means by Article Type 157

Table 4.25: Significance of Candidate Sex and Article Type on Ideology Evaluation of the Candidate with Participant Sex (ANOVA) 158

Table 4.26: Difference in Ideology Evaluation Means by Candidate Sex with Participant Sex 158

Table 4.27: Significance of Candidate Sex and Article Type on Evaluations of the Candidate's Likelihood to Win (MANOVA) 160

Table 4.28: Significance of Candidate Sex and Article Type on the Candidate's Likelihood to Win Specific Elections (ANOVA) 161

Table 4.29: Differences in Candidate Likelihood to Win Specific Elections Means by Candidate Sex and Article Type 161

Table 4.30: Significance of Candidate Sex and Article Type on Likelihood of Candidate Vote (ANOVA) 162

Table 4.31: Significance of Candidate Sex and Article Type on Likelihood of Candidate Vote with Participant Ideology (ANOVA) 163

Table 4.32: Presidential Issue Competency Responses 166

Table 4.33: Presidential Personal Trait Responses 166

List of Figures

Figure	Page
Figure 4.1: Interaction Between Candidate Sex, Article Type, and Participant Ideology for Military Issue Evaluations of the Female Candidate	152
Figure 4.2: Interaction Between Candidate Sex and Participant Sex for Ideology Evaluations of the Candidate	159
Figure 4.3: Interaction Between Candidate Sex and Participant Ideology on Likelihood of Candidate Vote	165

Chapter I: Introduction to the Research Project

Background of Research Problem

In 1916, a field secretary for the National American Woman Suffrage Association made political history by becoming the first woman elected to the United States Congress. Congresswoman Jeannette Rankin faced an uphill battle to win the congressional contest in her home state of Montana, one of the few states allowing women to vote at that point in American history, and to serve a country that would not officially grant women suffrage on a nationwide level until four years after her campaign (Braden, 1996). Rankin's brother and campaign manager, Wellington, noted, "I am shocked at prejudice that exists against a woman going to Congress" (qtd. in Braden, 1996, p. 19). Notwithstanding, many Americans came to view her campaign as symbolic of a woman's right to participate in public affairs (Braden, 1996). In fact, John F. Kennedy chose Rankin as one of the three "women of courage" he profiled in *McCall's* magazine; he wrote, "Most of us do not associate the quality of courage with women in public affairs. We neither expect nor reward it. But courage in public life is not a monopoly owned and controlled by men" (qtd. in Braden, 1996, p. 26).

Since Rankin's groundbreaking campaign, women have made steady, albeit rather slow, progress as political candidates and political officeholders in the United States (Bystrom, 2004). As of February 2006, there is a much greater presence of women in congressional, statewide, and local levels of elective office than in the early 1900s. For example, women fill 14 percent of the 100 seats in the United States

Senate; women fill 15.4 percent of the 435 seats in the United States House of Representatives; and women fill 16 percent of the nation's 50 state gubernatorial offices. In addition, women hold 25.1 percent of the 315 available statewide elective executive offices; women fill 22.8 percent of the 7,382 state legislative seats; and women occupy 12 percent of the mayoral offices in the nation's 100 largest cities. (See Table 1.1) The number of women serving in elective offices has increased significantly over the past few decades. For example, in 1979 only three percent of the seats in the United States Congress were filled by women, only 11 percent of other statewide elective offices were occupied by women, and only ten percent of state legislative seats were filled by women (Center for American Women and Politics, 2006). When looking at such numbers, it becomes clear that women are better represented in the nation's elective offices today, at least numerically, than at any point in American history. In fact, Republican Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison stated,

> Women are in so many positions now that people don't have to fear whether they'll be tough enough. We have governors, we have senators, mayors by the dozen, and we're doing fine – so there's no reason to judge them differently…We should be judged on what we do, what is our record, what are our views and what kind of job we're doing. (qtd. in Braden, 1996, p. 148)

According to the 2000 United States Census, however, women account for 50.9 percent of the population; this figure is strikingly greater than the percentages of women serving in congressional, statewide, and local elective offices (Smith & Spraggins, 2001). As one account of women in politics noted, "Women don't need to apologize for wanting a fair share of the seats at the table of political power; after all,

Table 1.1: Women in Elective Offices in 2006[1]

Office	Percentage of Women
United States Senate	14.0%
United States House of Representatives	15.4%
State Governor Offices	16.0%
Statewide Elective Executive Offices	25.1%
State Legislative Offices	22.8%
Largest 100 Cities Mayoral Offices	12.0%

[1] From Center for American Women and Politics. (2006). Women in elective office 2006. Retrieved March 01, 2006, from http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/Facts/Officeholders/ elective.pdf

they are more than half the population" (Clift & Brazaitis, 2003, p. xi). In addition, the United States is ranked forty-ninth in terms of the percentage of women serving in public offices when compared to other nations in the world (Watson, 2003). These numbers are significant for several reasons, particularly because the presence of women in elective office does appear to make a difference in terms of both substantive and symbolic representation. Substantive representation of women in elective office refers to how "women bring with them to positions of political power different viewpoints from men, and different leadership styles from men – in essence a brand of representation different from that of men" (Fox, 1997, p. 4). For example, the findings of previous research have indicated that women politicians tend to lean more towards progressive policies, despite political party or ideology, than their male counterparts and that the existence of female candidates in political races likely increases the psychological participation of women voters in the election process (Clift & Brazaitis, 2003; Koch, 1997). An even more basic justification for equal representation of

women in elective office involves symbolic representation, which "suggests that it is important for the governing institutions to reflect the composition of the citizenry" (Fox, 1997, p. 3). In addition, the presence of women in high elective office provides positive role models for younger women (Watson, 2003). These ideas are, perhaps, best stated by Republican Senator and former presidential contender Elizabeth Dole.

> Women share with men the need for personal success, even the taste of power, and no longer are we willing to satisfy those needs through the achievements of surrogates – whether husbands, children or merely role models. (qtd. in "Words of Women Quotations for Success," 1997a)

As scholarly research has indicated, however, "women's likelihood of holding an office decreases as the power and status of the office increases," and, despite the growing numbers of women present in congressional, statewide, and local elective offices throughout the nation, a major lacuna in women's representation in elective office is evident in the only nationally elected and highest elective offices in the nation, the presidency and the vice presidency (Rosenwasser & Dean, 1989, p. 78). The notion of a woman occupying the Oval Office has been part of the public discourse, at least somewhat seriously, for the last 50 years (Clift & Brazaitis, 2003). In fact, John F. Kennedy speculated, in 1956, that the ideal female president would "have the wisdom of Eleanor Roosevelt, the leadership of Joan of Arc, the compassion of Queen Victoria, the cleverness of Clare Booth Luce, the determination of polio nurse Sister Kenny, and the courage of Helen Keller" (qtd. in Clift & Brazaitis, 2003, p. xvi).

Despite more than half a century of such speculation, however, no woman has ever served in the office of the United States presidency or the office of the United States vice presidency. Interestingly, one research project found that the United States lags behind many nations when it comes to electing a woman to the highest office in the land and noted that 44 women have served as national prime ministers or national presidents from 1960 to 2002 in various countries around the world, leading the researcher to ask,

> Why and how have women achieved the positions of head of government or head of state in several countries where the culture is conservative in terms of gender roles and even where women's social and political rights have been severely restricted, while in countries like the United States, where the culture is relatively less conservative and traditional, women have not achieved such powerful positions?" (Jalalzai, 2004, p. 85)

In fact, one study of women seeking the United States presidency, noted that "[d]espite women's ever-imposing record of electoral success, there is widespread skepticism about the ability of women to pierce the 'bastion of maleness' surrounding the U.S. presidency" (Gordon & Miller, 2001, p. 325).

Notwithstanding, there appears to be a much greater acceptance of the idea of a female president in recent decades. For example, the entertainment industry has recently integrated the possibility of a female filling the highest elective office in the nation into the American popular culture. Whether by watching the popular cartoon character Lisa Simpson aspire to become the first female president on FOX's "The Simpson's," by seeing the President 2000 Barbie on the shelves of the local toy store, by watching Geena Davis occupy a fictional Oval Office in ABC's "Commander in

Chief," or by hearing country music star JoDee Messina belt out "if only I was president, yah, you know I'd paint the White House pink and never have to pay the rent," the public can regularly encounter images of a female president as such images are increasingly prevalent in American popular culture (Clift & Brazaitis, 2003; Graff, 2005; Hart & Burtnik, 2005).

In addition, public opinion has become notably more favorable of the notion of a woman serving as the real-life Commander-in-Chief. For example, when a 1937 Gallup Poll asked respondents, "Would you vote for a woman for president if she were qualified in every other respect?" only 33 percent of the Americans polled answered that they would vote for a female presidential candidate (Kenski & Falk, 2004, p. 57). This number has consistently increased in the years subsequent to when the question was first posed to the American public in 1937. Most recently, a Gallup Poll released in October of 2005 asked respondents, "Would you, personally, vote for a qualified woman for president or not?" (Jones, 2005). The results of the survey indicated that 86 percent of those surveyed would vote for a qualified female presidential candidate; however, this indicated a decrease from 1999 Gallup Poll, which found that 92 percent of the American public was ready to vote for a female presidential candidate (Jones, 2005; Kennedy, 2001). The 2005 Gallup Poll also indicated 46 percent of those surveyed believed that the United States will have a female president in the next 10 years, while 41 percent stated that a woman will reach the presidency in the next 10 to 25 years, seven percent stated that such an event would occur sometime in the next 100 years, and 10 percent of those surveyed stated that it will take more than 100 years

for the United States to elect a female president or that it will never happen (Jones, 2005).

However, the apparent increase in acceptance of a future Madam President is not without qualification. For example, a pollster for Democratic Senator Hillary Clinton, Mark Penn, believes that the real number of people who would vote for a female presidential candidate is actually much lower and that "[a]cross the board, including women, the public is much more likely to vote for a male candidate" (qtd. in Clift & Brazaitis, 2003, xiii). Likewise, political scientist Carole Kennedy (2001) noted that, while acceptance rates of a female presidential candidate reaching the 90 percent mark are certainly encouraging, the number of people who would not vote for a female candidate merely because of her gender is still quite problematic for female candidates. "If any given woman candidate starts out with a seven point deficit in the popular vote, she will be hard pressed to overcome that deficit in a close presidential election" (Kennedy, 2001, p. 312). Interestingly, when the 2005 Gallup Poll asked respondents, "Do you think most of your neighbors would vote for a qualified woman for president?" only 61 percent of respondents answered in the affirmative (Jones, 2005). A 2005 survey conducted by Roper Public Affairs and sponsored by The White House Project also resulted in less positive numbers for females seeking the presidency, revealing that only 79 percent of respondents felt comfortable with the idea of a female president (The White House Project, 2005b). Female presidential hopefuls also face other challenges outside of the minority of Americans not accepting the idea of a woman in the White House; female presidential candidates have

consistently trailed behind their male counterparts in fundraising, which became an obstacle that Elizabeth Dole could not hurdle during her 2000 bid for the Republican presidential nomination, and have continued to face an "old boys" mentality that has not seemed to entirely vanish from either major political party (Haussman, 2001).

Despite such challenges, at least 21 women have sought the presidency of the United States since 1872, when Victoria Claflin Woodhull became the first woman to run for the office, many years before suffrage was extended to women via the Nineteenth Amendment. Other notable female presidential contenders include Margaret Chase Smith in 1964, who is considered the first woman to seriously seek a major party presidential nomination; Shirley Anita Chisholm in 1972, who was the first African American woman to run for the presidency; and Elizabeth Hanford Dole in 2000, who is considered by many as the first serious female contender for a major party presidential nomination (Center for American Women and Politics, 2005; Gordon & Miller, 2001) (See Table 1.2). "When it comes to winning the presidency, however, few women get taken seriously as potential candidates;" none of these women have been considered significant competitors in the presidential race and none have secured a major party nomination for the presidency (Clift & Brazaitis, 2003, p. xii). In addition, only one woman successfully secured a major party nomination for the vice presidency, often considered the foremost stepping stone to the presidency, when the Democratic Party placed Geraldine Ferraro on the ticket in 1984 (Center for American Women and Politics, 2005).

Table 1.2: Noteworthy Female Presidential Candidates[1]

Year	Candidate	Party	Significance
1872	Victoria Claflin Woodhull	Equal Rights	Was the first woman to seek the United States Presidency
1884, 1888	Belva Ann Bennett Lockwood	Equal Rights	Was the second woman to seek United States Presidency
1964	Margaret Chase Smith	Republican	Was the first woman to seek the United States Presidency nomination on a major party ticket
1972	Shirley Anita Chisholm	Democratic	Was the first African American woman to seek the United States Presidency
1988	Patricia S. Schroeder	Democratic	Made steps towards a presidential campaign but dropped out prior to primaries due to lack of funds
2000	Elizabeth Hanford Dole	Republican	Is often considered the most serious female contender for a presidential nomination on a major party ticket
2004	Carol Moseley Braun	Democratic	Was the second African American woman to seek a presidential nomination on a major party ticket

[1] From Center for American Women and Politics. (2005). Women presidential and vice presidential candidates. Retrieved September 14, 2005, from http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/Facts/CanHistory/ prescand.pdf

In response to the lack of women running for and winning elections for the highest elective offices in the nation, several organizations have been established to help women run for and win high elective offices. One example is The White House Project, a non-partisan and non-profit organization, which "aims to advance women's leadership in all sectors, up to and including the U.S. presidency" (The White House Project, 2005a). Despite such efforts and as previously noted, however, only one woman has successfully secured a major party nomination for the vice presidency, and no woman has ever successfully campaigned for a major party nomination for the presidency (Center for American Women and Politics, 2005).

The achievements of women in American politics are perhaps best summarized by former Democratic Governor Ann Richards of Texas.

> I've reached the age where I can accept that our progress has been remarkable if I will just stop and look at it. My grandmother could not vote for a period of her life. Idiots, imbeciles, the insane, and women could not vote in Texas. Here, one generation later, I was the governor. So, I know that we're going to have a woman president. And it's not going to be just a popularity contest. This woman is going to be good, she's going to be smart, she's going to be prepared, and she's going to win. (qtd. in Clift & Brazaitis, 2003, p. 43)

Thus, many barriers facing women seeking high elective offices, such as the ability to compete in lower levels of elective offices, have been broken down to some degree. However, Richards' prediction regarding the election of a female president has not yet come true, and much attention, both mainstream and scholarly, continues to focus on the obstacles that still exist for women seeking the presidency and to investigate the reasons why the United States has never witnessed the election of a female president or even the nomination of a female candidate at the top of a major party presidential ticket.

With the 2008 presidential election looming in the near future, the issue of female presidential candidates is particularly noteworthy as media speculations of qualified female contenders for both major party nominations, such as Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton and Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, are plentiful. Therefore, the issue of female representation, as well as the barriers to such representation, in elective offices, particularly the highest level of elective office in the nation, remains a matter of significant concern and a topic of continued inquiry, especially as the reality

of a female reaching the presidency appears to be more of a possibility with each passing election cycle. As former Texas Representative Barbara Jordan stated in her 1992 Democratic National Convention speech, the "horizon of gender equity is limitless, and what we see today is simply a dress rehearsal for the day and time we meet in convention to nominate Madam President" (qtd. in Braden, 1996, p. 195).

Statement of Research Problem

According to political communication researcher Kim Fridkin Kahn (1994b), "[g]iven both the important contributions women can make to the political system and the lack of women office holders, we must evaluate *why* women are grossly underrepresented in high elective office in the United States" (p. 162). Various aspects of gender and politics, including stereotypes and the electoral process, have been explored to account for the discrepancies between the number of women in elective office and the number of women in the population (Kahn & Goldenberg, 1991b). In addition to these factors, significant scholarly attention has focused on the role of the news media on the campaign efforts of female political candidates, particularly in terms of perpetuating gender stereotypes via the quantity and quality of news media coverage of female political candidates in comparison to their male counterparts. From the early 1900s when Rankin, in reference to a reporter, shouted, "Tell him to go to hell!" to the late 1980s when gubernatorial candidate Evelyn Murphy, in reference to an unflattering picture of her in jogging shorts published in the *Boston Herald*, stated, "Just some kind of parity among us, that's all I'm asking,"

the tension between women in political positions and the news media has been a topic of considerable interest (Witt, Paget, & Matthews, 1995, p. 186, 183).

The significance of the news media as a factor in electoral success is, perhaps, best summarized by Tom Daffron, the former campaign adviser of Republican Senator and former presidential contender Elizabeth Dole and Republican Senator Susan Collins; "I used to tell her: Money and media – nothing else matters. If it isn't covered, it didn't happen" (qtd. in Clift & Brazaitis, 2003, p. 97). From a different perspective, political communication scholars have noted,

> Only a small proportion of the electorate has the opportunity to meet candidates in person, so voters rely on news coverage...in forming their opinions of those running for office. Consequently, the journalistic lens through which the American people view candidates is important. (Devitt, 2002, p. 445)

> The media operate much like a camera with a telephoto lens, zooming in on certain issues, events, and people and bringing them into sharp relief. But only so much will fit into the frame. Other things must be left out, and still others will be in the background of a picture, out of focus and considered unimportant. (Braden, 1996, p. 3)

In addition, "scholars routinely acknowledge the ways in which the media shape campaign coverage, and thus voter attitude," and "the media, both television and print, have a great impact on the public's perceptions of candidates, their campaigns, and their families" (Heith, 2001, p. 335; Bystrom, 2004, p. 443). This ability to frame political campaign coverage and to shape the campaign agenda becomes particularly significant for female political candidates, because many political communication researchers claim that "[i]n the coverage of women political leaders, the media often

reflect the biases and stereotypes of the public" (Bystrom, 2004, p. 443). Many political communication scholars have also noted that differences in the quantity and quality of news media coverage for female and male political candidates could have a significant impact on voters' recognition and evaluation of candidates, and such differences are often thought to work to the disadvantage of female candidates. However, political communication researchers have also noted that differences in news media coverage can work in favor of female political candidates; for example, the novelty of a woman running for office may result in increased news media attention, and some gender stereotypes perpetuated by the news media, such as women being better suited to deal with social issues and being more honest than their male rivals, may advantage female candidates (Bystrom, 2004; Kahn, 1996; Kahn & Goldenberg, 1991b).

In addition, the interplay between news media coverage and other elements outside of public opinion itself, such as campaign fundraising, seems to create significant barriers to women seeking high elective office. For example, in the 2000 presidential election, "George W. Bush had the look, and the coverage, of a hands-down winner" (Hershey, 2001, p. 50). While Elizabeth Dole consistently placed second in public opinion polls throughout the Republican primary race, she would never obtain the front-runner status attributed to Bush by the news media and, in turn, the public, and was one of the first serious contenders to withdraw from the race, citing a lack of campaign funds (Mayer, 2001).

It was not until the early 1990s, however, that news media coverage of female political candidates became a topic of systematic and scholarly research. In 1991, according Kim Fridkin Kahn and Edie Goldenberg (1991b), "One explanation which has yet to receive any attention is that the news media may play a role in influencing the success of female candidates" (p. 181). Kahn produced a series of scholarly articles focused on news media coverage of female candidates of the 1980s, the results of which are published in her 1996 book *The Political Consequences of Being a Woman.* Kahn's research focused specifically on newspaper coverage of female senatorial and gubernatorial candidates, as well as the effects of such coverage; her findings were overwhelmingly negative, concluding that the news media often acted as obstacles to the success of female candidates for elective office by covering them much differently than their male counterparts. Kahn's research projects also opened the door for the research conducted on campaigns of the 1990s and early 2000s. The more recent projects broaden the scope and depth of Kahn's work by looking at different types of news media and various levels of political campaigns. These investigations have generally found more equality in the news media coverage of female and male political candidates but have also pointed to some subtle and negative differences that persist in the changing political and news media environment for female candidates.

As a whole, the body of literature that has been established over the last decade and a half has contributed much to the understanding of one potential barrier, news media coverage, to women achieving equal representation in statewide and

congressional elective offices. Notwithstanding, these research projects have also left some notable gaps in the body of knowledge on this topic. For example, many of the research projects that have focused on news media coverage of female candidates in general, particularly those conducted subsequent to Kahn's research projects, have failed to place their research into a larger theoretical framework or to look at the effects of news media coverage on actual voter evaluations of female candidates.

In addition, one of the most significant gaps in the body of literature is that only a small number of studies have focused on the news media coverage of female candidates seeking the United States presidency. The significance of understanding the impact of news media coverage on the campaigns of women seeking the presidency is, perhaps, best summarized in the following statement.

> ...polls show a minority still don't think a woman – any woman – should be president. Journalists sometimes seem to play to the sentiments of that small minority in the way they frame stories, in the facts they select, and in the language they use to describe women politicians. As long as the media continue to emphasize gender at the expense of other qualifications, they are sending the wrong message. (Braden, 1996, p. 18)

Notwithstanding, relatively few research projects have investigated the claims that news media can be detrimental to the efforts of female presidential contenders, and the few researchers who have looked at this issue have pointed to rather substantial hurdles for female candidates seeking the presidency caused by news media coverage. For example, Sean Aday and James Devitt's (2001) research focused on the news media coverage of Elizabeth Dole's 2000 bid for the Republican Party presidential nomination; the researchers concluded that

> [w]hile, on the surface, reporters may have tried to be indifferent to her gender, in their coverage they treated her much differently than they did her male opponents. Compared to coverage of her top Republican opponents, newspaper stories on Dole focused less on issues and more on her personal traits. The potential ramifications are serious. (Aday & Devitt, 2001, p. 69)

Despite the insight provided by the few research projects on news media coverage of female presidential contenders, a more comprehensive investigation of news media coverage of women seeking the presidency is needed to provide greater understanding of this phenomenon. This is particularly important, because the more positive trends associated with research projects focused on female candidates at congressional, statewide, and local levels of elective office have not appeared to hold true for female presidential candidates, perhaps because "[g]ender differences in news coverage are unlikely to be equally consequential in all electoral contests" (Kahn, 1994a, p. 156). Most significantly, perhaps, virtually no research projects investigating news media coverage of female presidential hopefuls have extended the analysis to understanding the impact of such coverage on voters' evaluations of female presidential contenders, instead often relying on speculations regarding the impact of the disparate coverage found via content analyses of news media content. In addition, much of the work conducted on this topic lacks a significant theoretical framework and component. Likewise, the few studies taking such an approach have looked at this topic in a very limited sense, often focusing on only one presidential race, only one female presidential hopeful, only two or three of her male counterparts, only one type of news media, and only one type of method. Thus, it seems that it is time to move the

understanding of news media coverage of female political candidates seeking the presidency beyond merely describing how the news media cover a female candidate in one presidential race to systematically investigating the trends in various types of news media coverage of female presidential candidates, as well as the impact of such coverage on voter perceptions of female candidates running for the presidency of the United States, from a more theoretical standpoint.

Therefore, the understanding of the relationship between the news media and female presidential contenders seems rather incomplete. It appears appropriate at this point in the development of the body of knowledge to extend the scope of the research by taking a more comprehensive and in-depth approach to the investigation of news media coverage of female candidates seeking the highest elective office in the nation and to delve into research that explores the "potential ramifications" of the news media coverage of female presidential candidates described by such researchers as Aday and Devitt (2001, p. 69).

Statement of Research Objectives

The purpose of this current research project is threefold. First, this research project seeks to fill a major gap in the current literature by systematically using a content analysis technique with both quantitative and qualitative elements to investigate news media coverage of women seeking the United States presidency in the past decade. Second, a major goal of this research project is to ground the investigation of news media coverage of female presidential candidates in two major theories commonly used in political communication research, framing and second-

level agenda setting. Third, this research project aims to move the body of knowledge into the media effects tradition by not only determining via a content analysis how the news media cover women seeking the United States presidency but also by investigating via a factorial experimental design what impact articles written about female and male candidates may have on potential voters' perceptions of presidential candidates.

Organization of Research Project

This chapter, Chapter I, highlighted background information related to female presidential candidates in the United States, as well as the role of the news media in the efforts of women seeking the United States presidency. In addition, the significance of the topic of news media coverage of female presidential contenders and the need for more systematic, meaningful, and theory-driven research were established. Finally, the specific research objectives for this research project were presented. Chapter II presents a review of the body of literature related to the topic of news media coverage of female presidential contenders. First, the major pieces of literature conducted on gender stereotyping in the political environment, including the presidential campaign context, are summarized. Second, the classic and most relevant research projects on news media framing and second-level agenda setting, the two theories driving this research, are highlighted. Third, the stream of research specifically focused on how the news media cover female political candidates for local, statewide, and congressional offices are reviewed. Finally, literature on women

seeking the United States presidency are summarized, including the research projects focused specifically on news media coverage of female presidential contenders.

In Chapter III, the specific research questions and hypotheses for this research project are presented. In addition, details of the mixed method research approach, which includes a two-step content analysis and an experiment, are laid out, as well as the rationale for selecting such a mixture of methods. Chapter IV contains the analysis of the collected data and the interpretation of the results. Chapter V is the concluding chapter of this research project and presents a discussion of the work as a whole; the discussion includes a summary of the findings, a discussion of how these findings relate to the conclusions of previously conducted research on this topic, a discussion of the limitations of the research, and a set of suggestions for future research. The five chapters included in this work expand upon the current literature on news media coverage of female presidential contenders by moving the body of knowledge into a more comprehensive and effects-oriented direction.

Chapter II: Literature Review

Gender Stereotypes of Political Candidates

As Kathleen Dolan (2004a) noted, any investigation of women candidates "makes the assumption that candidate sex matters to public attitudes and behaviors," which is an assumption she claimed is well-founded, particularly due to the role of gender stereotyping in political elections (p. 5). A basic definition describes stereotyping as "a common psychological process by which individuals evaluate the world around them" (Dolan, 2004a, p. 59). Because the world involves virtually endless amounts of information, humans develop shortcuts in order to make sense of their environments and the people in them (Dolan, 2004a). As Walter Lippman (1922) wrote,

> [M]odern life is hurried and multifarious...there is neither time nor opportunity for intimate acquaintance. Instead we notice a trait which marks a well known type, and fill in the rest of the picture by means of the stereotypes we carry about in our heads. (p. 59)

Thus, stereotyping is one of the most significant ways in which people make such shortcuts and occurs when direct or indirect experience is used to establish beliefs about the personal traits and behaviors of specific groups and, in turn, members of such groups, in society (Dolan, 2004a). As stated by Kahn (1996), "by classifying an individual as a member of a particular group..., people can draw inferences about the individual based on the individual's membership in the group" (p. 3). In addition, stereotypes are also used when only a limited amount of information or a limited amount of time is available for evaluating a person or object; thus, stereotypes based

on readily observable cues are often used to fill in the gaps when specific information is not easily obtainable for evaluation (Dolan, 2004a; Kahn, 1996). Stereotypes are particularly significant in the political election context, because voters require a basic amount of information about the candidates and the campaign issues if their vote reflects a meaningful choice, as opposed to a merely random selection between candidates. However, political science research has overwhelmingly indicated that many voters do not make acquiring in-depth information about candidates and campaign issues a priority and instead rely on the most easily observable cues, such as the political party affiliation of the candidate, to make assessments of candidates and voting decisions (Dolan, 2004a; Kahn, 1996).

Because sex is one of the most readily observable cues when evaluating others, it is, perhaps, not surprising that gender stereotyping is quite prevalent in society, particularly in the political context (Dolan, 2004a). According to Dolan (2004a),

> Gender stereotypes involve ideas, shaped by gender considerations, about what is proper or expected from women and men. Over the course of a lifetime of experiences, people develop a set of expectations about how women think and behave, both as women and as they are different from men. These same stereotypes applied to family, workplace, and social interactions are often transmitted to the political world. Indeed, there is significant evidence to suggest that voters look at women candidates and women officeholders from a gendered perspective, ascribing certain stereotyped issue position competencies and personality characteristics to them. (p. 8)

Gender stereotypes may be especially prevalent when the voters have little information about the candidates or the election; as Monika McDermott (1997) found,

"a demographic candidate characteristic – gender – can affect the vote as a social information cue, much like party identification operates as a political information cue" (p. 281-282). In addition, some gender stereotypes can be particularly crippling to women seeking high leadership positions in politics and public life. For example, in *Beyond the Double Bind: Women and Leadership*, Kathleen Hall Jamieson (1995) argued that five "double binds" or Catch-22-like stereotypes often hinder the efforts of women leaders: (1) "Women can exercise their wombs or their brains, but not both;" (2) "Women who speak out are immodest and will be shamed, while women who are silent will be ignored or dismissed;" (3) "Women are subordinate whether they claim to be different from men or the same;" (4) "Women who are considered feminine will be judged incompetent, and women who are competent, unfeminine;" and (5) "As men age, they gain wisdom and power, [while] as women age, they wrinkle and become superfluous" (p. 16).

Gender stereotypes in the political context typically fall into three categories: trait inferences, issue position inferences, and ideological inferences. In terms of trait inferences, people tend to associate certain personal traits with women and certain personal traits with men. For example, John Williams and Deborah Best (1990) used the Adjective Check List, a self-descriptive personality assessment tool, to determine what common descriptive adjectives out of the 300 included in the Adjective Check List were most commonly associated with women and men in England, Ireland, and the United States; the adjectives highly associated with women and with men are listed in Table 2.1 (Williams & Best, 1990, p. 28).

Table 2.1: Adjectives Highly Associated with Women and Men[1]

Adjectives Highly Associated with Women	Adjectives Highly Associated with Men
affectionate, appreciative, attractive, changeable, dreamy, emotional, excitable, feminine, frivolous, fussy, gentle, high-strung, mild, nagging, poised, sensitive, sentimental, softhearted, sophisticated, submissive, sympathetic, talkative, timid, warm, weak, whiny, worrying	active, adventurous, aggressive, assertive, autocratic, boastful, coarse, confident, courageous, cruel, daring, dominant, enterprising, forceful, handsome, humorous, inventive, lazy, logical, masculine, rational, reckless, robust, rude, severe, stern, strong, tough, unemotional, unexcitable

[1] Williams, J.E., & Best, D.L. (1990). *Measuring sex Stereotypes: A multinational study*. London: Sage, p. 28.

Several projects have found evidence of such gender-based trait inferences in the political election context. For example, Deborah Alexander and Kristi Anderson (1993) conducted a survey in Syracuse, New York, which focused on races for a statewide office, a state legislative office, and a congressional office. They found that female candidates were perceived as being more moral, hardworking, and compassionate, while male candidates were evaluated as being tougher, better at dealing with crises, more emotionally stable, and more decisive (Alexander & Anderson, 1993). Leonie Huddy and Nayda Terkildson (1993a, 1993b) investigated the role of gender stereotypes specifically in terms of the electoral context. Using an experimental design, the researchers investigated the personal traits that participants associated with a good politician and found "participants expected the good president, mayor, member of Congress, and local council member to possess more masculine than feminine traits" (Huddy & Terklidson, 1993a, p. 510).

Thus, many political science and political communication researchers define feminine traits by such characteristics as warmth, kindness, understanding, expressiveness, gentleness, passiveness, compassion, trustworthiness, morality, and

emotion, while masculine personal traits are defined by such characteristics as strength, toughness, competency, rationality, stability, decisiveness, directness, assertiveness, aggression, independence, confidence, ambition, and knowledge (Dolan, 2004a; Kahn, 1996; Huddy & Terkildson, 1993). Interestingly, people's image of the typical woman and man do not appear to be related to specific demographics, such as religion, education, or socioeconomic status (Kahn, 1996). In addition, such trait inferences are often linked to the role women and men play in society, as women are more often associated with supportive and caretaking roles, while men are more often associated with leadership roles (Dolan, 2004a). Several significant concerns are associated with such gender-based trait inferences. For example, feminine traits are often those least associated with public office or with effective politicians, and personality trait inferences may contribute to the "double binds" cited by Jamieson (1995). However, it is significant to note that such trait inferences are not necessarily detrimental to female candidates (Dolan, 2004a). As Dolan (2004a) noted, being perceived as honest and as outsiders to politics "can be a valuable asset for women candidates in times when voter dissatisfaction with government and incumbent leaders is high" (p. 65).

Another way in which gender stereotypes impact the political election process is through issue position inferences. Closely related to personal trait inferences, issue position inferences occur when voters associate different policy interests and levels of policy expertise to female and male political candidates. Several research projects have found support for gender-based issue position inferences. For example, one of

the earliest investigations of gender stereotyping in the electoral context was conducted by Virginia Sapiro (1981-1982). In her experimental design, Sapiro (1981-1982) provided two introductory political science classes with a portion of a politically neutral speech on the economy given by Senator Howard Baker; however, one class was told the speech was presented by a female candidate and the other class was told the speech was presented by a male candidate. After reading the speech, the students were asked to evaluate the candidates. As predicted by Sapiro (1981-1982), the fictional female candidate was evaluated more favorably than the fictional male candidate on such issues as education, integrity in government, and health care; however, the fictional female and male candidates were rated equally in terms of dealing with the issues addressed in the speech, such as poverty, big business, and consumer protection. In addition, the participants were not significantly more likely to vote for either candidate; however, participants predicted that the female candidate would be significantly less likely to actually win the election (Sapiro, 1981-1982).

In a similar research project, Mark Leeper (1991) used an experimental design with a more partisan speech originally delivered by Republican Representative Kay Orr. Leeper (1991) found that the fictional female candidate was evaluated more favorably than the fictional male candidate in terms of feminine issues not addressed in the speech, such as education, poverty, the arts, health care, and integrity in government, despite the tough and aggressive tone of the speech. In addition, there were no such gender distinctions for the issues addressed in the speech, such as crime

and the economy (Leeper, 1991). Interestingly, however, Leeper (1991) also found that voters perceived the female candidate as less viable than her male counterpart.

Likewise, Alexander and Anderson (1993)'s survey of Syracuse, New York voters revealed that even though a majority of respondents stated that there were no gender-based differences in terms of dealing with issues; however, the actual evaluations indicated that "the net differences between males and females on most of the issues testify to a continued stereotyping of men and women" (p. 508). Specifically, women were rated as better at dealing with day care, education, poverty, health issues, the environment, and civil rights, while men were rated as more effective at handling the military, trade, agriculture, and taxes (Alexander & Anderson, 1993). Similarly, Jeffery Koch (1999) used secondary data from the American National Election Survey and the Pooled Senate Election Study and found that female candidates received more positive comments regarding dealing with social issues than male candidates.

Thus, based on previous research, many political science and political communication researchers adhere to the notion that women candidates and politicians are most often associated with issues such as education, health care, poverty, the elderly, children, family issues, women's issues, and the environment, while male candidates and politicians are most often associated with issues such as the economy, business, foreign policy, the military, crime, and agriculture (Dolan, 2004a; Kahn, 1996). Concerns regarding gender-based issue position inferences focus on the problems associated with voters assuming female and male candidates are only suited

to deal with specific issues (Dolan, 2004a). For example, "if women are not perceived to be competent to handle crime or economic issues, voters who are primarily concerned about such issues may reject women candidates as inappropriate for office" (Dolan, 2004a, p. 65). However, such inferences may also work to the advantages of female candidates; "[w]hen women's issues are particularly salient for the public..., voters may seek out candidates to ensure action on these issues" (Dolan, 2004a, p. 65).

Finally, gender-based ideological inferences occur when voters associate female candidates and politicians as being generally more Democratic, liberal, or left-leaning and male candidates and politicians as generally being more Republican, conservative, or right-leaning. In addition, stereotypes work for political party identification in the same way they do for gender; many voters assume that Republicans are more conservative and better at dealing with economic and military issues and that Democrats are more liberal and better at dealing with social issues (Dolan, 2004a; Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993b). Huddy and Terkildsen (1993b) sought to investigate ideological stereotypes via an experimental design and found that the hypothetical female candidate was perceived as more liberal, more Democratic, and more positive toward feminism than the hypothetical male candidate. Similarly, Alexander and Anderson (1993) found that respondents to a survey administered in Syracuse, New York, rated female candidates as more liberal than male candidates and male candidates as more conservative than female candidates. In addition, McDermott (1997) found that voters perceived a greater ideological distance between female and male candidates when a female Democratic candidate was in the race. However, no

such ideological distance occurred when a female Republican candidate was running in the election; McDermott (1997) speculated that the finding may be due to the "conflicting cues" presented to voters who hold both gender stereotypes, which infer that the female candidate should be more liberal, and ideological stereotypes, which infer that the Republican candidate should be more conservative.

Koch (2000) also investigated the interaction between gender stereotypes and ideological stereotypes using the Pooled Senate Election Study to measure voters' perceptions of candidates' ideologies and the ADA roll-call scores to measure the actual ideological orientations of the candidates. The results indicated that female candidates were rated as more liberal than male candidates, and that female candidates were also consistently rated as more liberal than they actually were (Koch, 2000). Finally, Dolan (2004b) focused on the interplay between gender stereotypes and ideological stereotypes using data from the National Election Study. The results indicated Democratic female candidates were more likely to be evaluated as more liberal than Democratic male candidates; however, such an effect was not found for Republican candidates. Dolan (2004b) suggested that the result may have been due to the conflicting cues presented by a Republican female candidate whose gender stereotypes push perceptions to the left and whose ideological stereotypes push perceptions to the right. Thus, Dolan (2004b) concluded, "political party considerations are working along with candidate sex in the minds of respondents" (p. 215).

Therefore, while "it is impossible for the average voter to make an evaluation based on sex alone," it appears evident that many voters utilize gender stereotypes and make gender-based inferences to some degree when entering the voting booth (Dolan, 2004a, p. 83). According to several researchers the use of gender stereotypes as a voting cue may have significant consequences on the democratic process.

> The bottom line for any candidate is the number of votes he or she receives from the public. If voters hold stereotyped attitudes about the abilities and issue positions of women candidates, these judgments may lead to certain voters to choose to support or to reject a woman candidate, which could have an impact on the electoral bottom line. (Dolan, 2004a, p. 9)

> One may well argue that using gender as a cue is not entirely irrational; many people have suggested that stereotypes often contain a "kernel of truth" [citation omitted]. The problem is that stereotypes may provide a kernel of truth, but only a kernel of truth at best. The effect of stereotype-based cue taking is to turn what we define as a process in which success is supposed to be based on merit into one in which success is based on ascribed characteristics. Moreover, the use of gender stereotypes constitutes what we might call a physiological ecological fallacy with disastrous implications for democratic practice. (Sapiro, 1981-1982, p. 75)

News Media Framing and Second-Level Agenda Setting

The connection between gender stereotypes in the political election context and the news media is best summarized by Kahn (1996).

> Newspeople, like candidates, are likely to consider commonly held stereotypes when covering men and women candidates... Reliance on these stereotypes, which cut across education and income levels, are likely to create differences in the amount and substance of coverage given to male and female candidates. If the

> press distinguish between male and female candidates in their coverage, these differences will affect voters' views of the candidates, thereby influencing the electability of women candidates. (Kahn, 1996, p. 11)

However, in order to make such an assertion regarding the impact of the news media's ability to perpetuate gender stereotypes and to impact the electoral fortunes of female candidates, it is necessary to understand how the news media can influence voters' evaluations of political candidates. Two political communication theories serve to shed light on such a phenomenon: framing and second-level agenda setting.

In its truest sense and according to the theory's founder, Erving Goffman, framing is "a systematic account of how we use expectations to make sense of everyday life situations and the people in them" and frames are "a specific set of expectations used to make sense of a social situation at a given point in time" (Baran & Davis, 2003, p. 274, 275). The basic notion behind the theoretical concept of framing, particularly as used in news media and politics research, is best summarized by Robert M. Entman (1993).

> Whatever its specific use, the concept of framing consistently offers a way to describe the power of a communicating text. Analysis of frames illuminates the precise way in which influence over a human consciousness is exerted by the transfer (or communication) of information from one location – such as a speech, utterance, news report, or novel – to that of the consciousness. (Entman, 1993, p. 52)

The theoretical concept of framing basically involves two main sub-concepts: selection and salience; "[t]o frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a

particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (Entman, 1993, p. 52). Thus, frames draw attention to certain pieces of information in a communication message, which elevates such bits of information in salience to the receiver (Entman, 1993). Salience is a key component of framing, because an increase in salience makes a specific piece of information "more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable to audiences" (Entman, 1993, p. 53). In order words, a boost in salience of specific bits of information via framing increases the likelihood that receivers will notice such pieces of information, determine the meaning of that information, and store it into memory (Entman, 1993).

Specific pieces of information in a message can be made more salient in several ways, such as by prominent placement, by repetition, or by association with familiar cultural symbols. Interestingly, however, it is impossible to truly predict how framing will impact receivers of communication messages. For example, just one encounter with a single and obscure bit of information in a communication message may be highly salient if it is consistent with the receiver's specific experiences or belief system. On the other hand, an piece of information that is repeatedly emphasized in a communication message may never become stored into memory, or even noticed, by a receiver, because it does not comport with their experiences or belief system (Entman, 1993). Thus, "[b]ecause salience is a product of the interaction of texts and receivers, the presence of frames in a text...does not guarantee their influence in audience thinking" (Entman, 1993, p. 53). Notwithstanding, the theory of framing recognizes some level of commonality among humans, particularly

of similar cultures and social groups and "implies that the frame has a common effect on large portions of the receiving audience, though it is not likely to have a universal effect" (Entman, 1993, p. 54).

Goffman's (1974) original work using framing focused on stereotypical depictions of women in advertisements. Goffman argued that advertisements using the sex appeal of women inadvertently communicated social cues to audiences that could, in turn, have a severe impact on society (Baran & Davis, 2003). To test his contention, Goffman (1979) developed a framing scale of gender analysis to explore and examine how females and males are portrayed within print advertisements via facial expressions and postures as well as relative positioning within the advertisement. Goffman's work "provides an interesting way of assessing how media can elaborate and reinforce a dominant public culture. Advertisers didn't create sex role stereotypes, but Goffman argues that they have homogenized how women are publicly depicted" (Baran & Davis, 2003, p. 276).

Although Goffman did not focus on the news media and politics in his original research, several researchers have adopted framing as a theoretical framework to study news media coverage of political events and issues (Baran & Davis, 2003; Gamson, 1985). For example, Shanto Iyengar's work on television news frames and politics discussed the theoretical concept of framing. In his 1991 book, *Is Anyone Responsible? How News Frames Political Issues*, Iyengar gave his account of the theory of framing.

> The manner in which a problem of choice is 'framed' is a contextual cue that may profoundly influence decision

> outcomes. At the most general level, the concept of framing refers to subtle alterations in the statement or presentation of judgment and choice problems, and the term 'framing effects' refers to changes in decision outcomes resulting from these alterations. (Iyengar, 1991, p. 11)

Many political communication researchers have found that news is presented in various frames, which are produced by the reporters through the context, mood, and selectivity of news content. For example, reporters can frame a news story by the personal attributes of public figures they highlight. A clear example of framing occurred in the 1988 presidential election when *Time* magazine pegged personal frames on each of the candidates, George Bush and Michael Dukakis, by running the headline "The Nice Man vs. The Ice Man" (Griffin, 1997). It is important to note, however, that "[j]ournalists may follow the rules for 'objective' reporting and yet convey a dominant framing of the news text that prevents most audience members from making a balanced assessment of a situation" (Entman, 1993, p. 56). In addition, framing by the news media may have particularly significant consequences in the political context. According to Entman (1993),

> framing has important implications for political communication. Frames call attention to some aspects of reality while obscuring other elements, which might lead audiences to have different reactions. Politicians seeking support are thus compelled to compete with each other and with journalists over news frames. Framing in this light places a major role in the exertion of political power, and the frame in a news text is really the imprint of power – it registers the identity of actors or interests that competed to dominate the text. (p. 55)

Additionally, Kevin M. Carragee and Wim Roefs (2004) argued that issues of power and politics should be at the heart of framing research; "[i]deally, framing research examines how frames are sponsored by political actors, how journalists employ frames in the construction of news stories, how these stories articulate frames, and how audience members interpret these frames" (p. 215). In fact, the authors contended that "framing processes need to be examined within the contexts of the distribution of political and social power" (Carragee & Roefs, 2004, p. 214). Finally, the notion of framing is quite necessary in a journalistic world so full of information in order for journalists and audiences to make sense of the world around them. However, framing is oftentimes considered in terms of its negative effects, especially as some political communication researchers stress that "framing can be an insidious, even inadvertent, barrier to new ideas, as well as a potent drumbeater for both stereotypes and the status quo" (Witt, Paget, & Matthews, 1994, p. 194).

In addition to framing, second-level agenda setting is another theoretical concept that is useful in understanding how news media coverage can impact public opinion and behavior and that, in fact, incorporates the concept of framing into a more complex theoretical scheme. The theory of second-level agenda setting has its roots in the theory of agenda setting, which stems from observations made in 1922 by Walter Lippman, who wrote in his book *Public Opinion* that audiences are dependent on the media to make the connection between "the world outside and the pictures in our heads" (p. 3). Likewise, in 1963, political scientist Bernard Cohen stated, "The press is significantly more than a purveyor of information and opinion. It may not be

successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about" (p. 13). While much has changed in the decades following the observations of Lippman and Cohen, their basic notions have been echoed in numerous projects conducted by communication researchers under the theoretical concept of agenda setting, which contends that "mass media have the ability to transfer the salience of items on their news agenda to the public agenda" (McCombs, 1994, p. 4). More recently, however, Cohen's claim that the press is only successful at telling audiences *what to think about* but is rather unsuccessful at telling audiences specifically *what to think* has been challenged by an extension of the original agenda setting concept; agenda setting research over the past decade has pointed to a second-level agenda setting function, which suggests that "the media not only tell us what to think about, but also how to think about it, and consequently, what to think" (McCombs & Shaw, 1993, p. 65).

The original and now classic agenda setting project conducted by McCombs and Shaw, which was published in 1972, investigated the relationship between the news agenda of the press during the 1968 presidential election and the salience of issues to a group of participants in Chapel Hill, North Carolina. After analyzing the content of several national and local media outlets, including television news, newspapers, and newsmagazines, and conducting interviews with 100 respondents, McCombs and Shaw (1972) concluded,

> In choosing and displaying news, editors, newsroom staff, and broadcasters play an important part in shaping political reality. Readers learn not only about a given issue, but also how much importance to attach to that

> issue from the amount of information in a news story and its position. In reflecting what candidates are saying during a campaign, the mass media may well determine the important issues – that is, the media may set the "agenda" of the campaign. (p. 176)

Since McCombs and Shaw's Chapel Hill study, the agenda setting function of the media has been the focus of many research projects. In fact, some have suggested that "[a]genda setting represents perhaps the most prolific theoretical paradigm for research in media effects over the past three decades" (Kiousis, Bantimaroudis, & Ban, 1999, p. 414). Likewise, in an article exploring the state of agenda setting research in the 25 years since the publication of their Chapel Hill project, McCombs and Shaw (1993) noted that more than 200 agenda setting articles were published in the social sciences and that "[t]here is no sign of diminution or decline" (p. 59). In addition, in their review of the agenda setting function, McCombs and Shaw (1993) also pointed out several new directions for agenda setting research that have expanded agenda setting "well beyond its original theoretical domain" (p. 59). According to McCombs and Shaw (1993), one promising venue for future research focuses not only on the traditional agenda setting function of the press, which only stresses that the press can tell the audience what issues to think about via the transfer of agendas, but also focuses on a new, second-level of agenda setting, one that suggests that the press can tell the audience how to think about issues via the framing and priming of issues by the selection of specific attributes.

> How a communicator frames an issue sets an agenda of attributes and can influence how we think about it. Agenda setting is a process that can affect both what to think about and how to think about it... Bernard

> Cohen's classic summation of agenda setting – the media may not tell us what to think, but they are stunningly successful in telling us what to think about – has been turned inside out. (McCombs & Shaw, 1993, p. 63, 65)

In extending the scope of the original, or first level, agenda setting function, second-level agenda setting melds together the concepts of agenda setting, framing, and priming, all of which are considered theoretical concepts in their own right and which involve various sub-concepts. The first concept is the notion of agenda setting itself, which is driven by the sub-concept of issue salience, or rather the idea that the importance of issues in the media's agenda, particularly in terms of position and length, will be correlated with the importance of issues in the public agenda (Griffin, 1997).

In addition, McCombs and Shaw (1993) suggested that the concepts of framing and priming be incorporated in agenda setting research in an effort to move the concept of agenda setting into a new direction, one that moves agenda setting research into a more audience-focused and integrated approach. As previously stated, "To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text" (Entman, 1993, p. 52). Similarly, the concept of priming was developed by Shanto Iyengar and Donald Kinder (1987) in their book, *News That Matters: Television and American Opinion.* Using an experimental design, Iyengar and Kinder (1987) found support for the agenda setting effect and defined the priming effect, which posited that "[b]y calling attention to some matters while ignoring others, television news influences the standards by which governments, presidents,

policies, and candidates for public office are judged" (p. 63). Or put differently, "[p]riming refers to changes in the standards that people use to make political evaluations" (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987, p. 63). Therefore, by integrating the concepts of framing and priming into agenda setting research, second-level agenda setting moves beyond focusing on the "agendas of objects," which are the main concern of first-level agenda setting, to focusing on the "agendas of attributes" or the "perspectives or frames that journalists and the public employ to think about each issue" (McCombs & Shaw, 1997, p. x; Ghanem, 1997, p. 5). "In other words, whereas agenda setting is concerned with the salience of issues, frame-setting, or second-level agenda setting, [citation omitted] is concerned with the salience of issue attributes" (Scheufele, 2000, p. 297).

Second-level agenda setting has been operationalized in several areas of mass communication research. As with traditional agenda setting studies, however, one of the most popular manners in which to operationalize second-level agenda setting has been to look at the relationship between the news media and political campaigns and elections via experiments, interviews, surveys, and content analyses. For example, Kiousis, Bantimaroudis, and Ban (1999) investigated the media's emphasis on various candidate attributes and the public perception of the candidates and found some support for the second-level agenda setting hypothesis by finding that public perceptions of candidate personal traits mirrored media frames, while public perceptions of candidate qualifications did not mirror media frames. In another example, McCombs, Llamos, Lopez-Escobar, and Rey (1997) looked at the second-

level agenda setting function of the news media and the political advertising in the 1995 Spanish election and distinguished between substantive attributes, such as candidate ideologies, issue positions, qualifications, and personal traits, and affective attributes, such as positive, negative, and neutral tones. The researchers concluded, "Significant correspondence was found between various news and political advertising agendas and the pictures of the parliamentary and mayoral candidates in the Spanish voters' minds" (McCombs et al., 1997, p. 715). In another example in the line of second-level agenda setting research, Golan and Wanta (2001) investigated the 2000 New Hampshire Republican primary and found strong support that the media frames of the cognitive attributes of the candidates, such as issue positions and personal characteristics, influenced public perceptions of Bush and McCain, while finding less support that affective attributes, such as positive, negative, and neutral tones, influenced public perceptions of the candidates.

However, some mass media researchers have contended that the theory of second-level agenda setting is limited by the weaknesses of the concepts it integrates, including the theoretical concepts of agenda setting and framing. For example, the original concept of agenda setting, which is clearly the main thrust behind second-level agenda setting, has been criticized for being too reminiscent of mass society theory, for being too specific to news media and political campaigns, and for not proving causality in terms of whether the media transfers issue agendas and attributes to the public or vice versa. In addition, framing, which sets second-level agenda setting apart from first-level agenda setting, also has been criticized for being too

flexible and open-ended, for being unable to assess media effects, and for lacking a causal dimension (Baran & Davis, 2003). When the concepts are combined, some view second-level agenda setting as a reversion back to the out-dated hypodermic needle or magic bullet paradigm of media effects research; "[t]he new dimension of framing reopens the possibility of a powerful media effects model" (Griffin, 1997, p. 385). In fact, some have argued that the combination of agenda setting and framing is questionable and see "nothing in McCombs and Shaw's original model that anticipates the importance of interpretative frames" (Griffin, 1997, p. 385). Notwithstanding, others have found that second-level agenda setting, as well as its close theoretical counterpart of framing, have been extremely useful in expanding the understanding of the impact of news media coverage on society.

> The "second level" of agenda setting, or the framing concept, addresses the multifaceted ways an issue can be covered. It explains how the salience of a particular attribute can be raised, thereby affecting the way the public understands and prioritizes the issue. By attending to how an issue is covered, this approach considers the political context in which issues exist, the many ways issues have meaning, and the struggle over how issues are constructed by the media and conveyed to the public. (Jasperson, Shah, Watts, Faber, & Fan, 1998, p. 220)

The potential impact of news media coverage hypothesized by the theories of framing and second-level agenda setting are particularly significant when considered in relation to gender stereotypes and political candidates. As Kahn (1996) contended, "[g]iven citizens' reliance on the news media for information, and given the news

media's potential impact on people's perceptions of politics, gender differences in news coverage of political candidates may be consequential" (p. 13).

News Media Coverage of Female Political Candidates

As previously noted, scholarly research has indicated that the news media may have rather powerful effects on voters' knowledge and views of political elections via the framing and second-level agenda setting functions. For example, news media may substantially contribute to the ability of voters to recognize political candidates, which is a critical determinant of voting. Likewise, the news media may influence voter evaluations of political candidates; such evaluations are typically based on four criteria: the political party identification of the candidate, the issue stance of the candidate, the perceived viability of the candidate, and the assessment of the candidate's personality (Kahn, 1994a). Thus, if differences exist in the quantity and quality of news media coverage, particularly in terms of viability, issue, and personal trait coverage, of female and male political candidates in accordance to the gender stereotypes of the general public, the outlook for female political candidates may appear quite dismal; as stated by Jamieson (1995), "[t]he press, in other words, perpetuates the binds that tie" (p. 165). Or as Kahn and Goldenberg (1991b) noted,

> If the media rely on certain stereotypes when covering male and female candidates, and if this reliance creates differences in coverage, then media treatment can have important consequences for voter information and candidate preference. The news media, by covering male and female candidates differently, may hinder a woman's possibility of success in the political arena. (p. 81)

Although the issue of female political candidates in a general sense, particularly the impact of gender stereotypes, has been a topic of scholarly investigation for the last several decades, research specifically focused on news media coverage of female political candidates was largely absent from the body of knowledge until the 1990s (Kahn & Goldenberg, 1991b). In fact, according Kim Fridkin Kahn and Edie Goldenberg (1991b), "One explanation which has yet to receive any attention is that the news media may play a role in influencing the success of female candidates" (p. 181). One of the first comprehensive accounts of the relationship between women in politics and the news media was Maria Braden's 1996 book, *Women Politicians and the Media*, in which she took a qualitative approach to investigating the topic via primarily historical research. Her primary thesis was

> ...that journalists often ask women politicians questions they don't ask men. That reporters describe women politicians in ways and with words that emphasize women's traditional roles and focus on their appearance and behavior. That they perpetuate stereotypes of women politicians as weak, indecisive, and emotional. That they hold women politicians accountable for the actions of their children and husbands, though they rarely hold men to the same standards. (Braden, 1996, p. 1)

Braden (1996) argued that news media coverage of female candidates and politicians is not necessarily "blatantly sexist, but subtle discrimination persists" and that such subtle biases may be even more difficult to "pin down and eradicate" (p. 1). Braden (1996) also noted that a small minority of the public does not believe that women are well suited for elective office based solely on their gender; she posited that the news media play to such a minority by the framing of stories, the selection of facts,

and the choices in language used to describe female politicians. Using examples from Rankin's encounters with the press in the early 1900s to female politicians' experiences with the news media in the 1990s, Braden (1996) highlighted many news media-related problems facing female politicians. For example, the news media often reflect the gender stereotypes of society by treating women in politics as anomalies, questioning their ability to make difficult decisions, describing female politicians with gender-specific words, and highlighting the physical appearance and personal lives of female politicians more often than their male counterparts (Braden, 1996). After providing in-depth qualitative accounts of various female candidates and politicians throughout the 1900s, Braden (1996) concluded,

> The news media influence voters' decisions through the facts they select and the way they present information. Balanced, equitable coverage of women politicians at all levels will come only when journalists realize, as Eleanor Clift put it, that the gender of a woman politician is the least remarkable thing about her. (p. 197)

At the same time Braden investigated the relationship between female candidates and politicians and the news media from a qualitative perspective, Kim Fridkin Kahn produced a series of articles focused on the quantitative analysis of news media coverage of female candidates in the 1980s, the culminated results of which are published in her 1996 book *The Political Consequences of Being a Woman.* One of Kahn's earliest projects was conducted with her co-researcher, Edie Goldenberg; the researchers stressed the importance of investigating the impact of media coverage on the efforts of female candidates (Kahn & Goldenberg, 1991a, 1991b). Noting the

relatively small number of women in the Senate, they proposed that "if the news media treat women differently from their male counterparts, then the press may act as a roadblock for women in their quest for elective office," particularly because differences in the quantity and quality of news media coverage may affect the recognition and evaluation of the candidates by voters (Kahn & Goldenberg, 1991a, p. 109).

To test such an idea, Kahn and Goldenberg (1991b) conducted an in-depth content analysis of newspaper coverage of 26 senatorial races in election years from 1982 to 1986; the method would become the foundation for much of the future research by Kahn, as well as other researchers investigating female political candidates and the news media. The newspapers selected for the content analysis were those with the largest circulation in each state corresponding with the senatorial races used in the sample. The content analysis included newspaper coverage from the first day of September to Election Day, and included all sections of the newspaper, including articles, editorials, political cartoons, columns, and letters-to-the-editor. The content analysis also looked at the quantity of coverage and the quality of coverage, including horserace, issue, and personal trait coverage. Horserace coverage was defined as newspaper content focusing on the winning or losing potential of the candidate. Issue and personal trait coverage was categorized as male or female based on previous research cited by the authors (Kahn & Goldenberg, 1991b).

Kahn and Goldenberg (1991a, 1991b) found several disparities in the news media coverage of female and male candidates in terms of both quantity and quality of

coverage. First, there was a clear difference in the amount of news media coverage received by female and male candidates; female candidates received less coverage than male candidates, regardless of the status of the candidate or the competitiveness of the race (Kahn & Goldenberg, 1991b). Based on the finding, the researchers speculated that voters generally receive less information about female candidates, which "will likely inhibit voter recognition of female candidates [and] may limit a woman's chances of election" (Kahn & Goldenberg, 1991b, p. 187). Second, the quality or substance of the media coverage also differed for female and male candidates. The results showed that female candidates were more likely than their male counterparts to receive horserace coverage, regardless of candidate status, and were also more likely to receive negative horserace coverage in terms of their viability as political contenders and their resources in the campaign organization. Thus, the increased emphasis on the horserace in news media coverage for female senatorial candidates may elevate the importance of viability in the minds of voters, which becomes a major problem for female candidates when the news media also portray female candidates' viability more negatively when compared to male candidates (Kahn & Goldenberg, 1991a, 1991b). Kahn and Goldenberg (1991b) argued that "[t]his does not bode well for female Senate candidates seeking election" because "voters may develop negative evaluations of female candidates and these evaluations may influence vote choice" (p. 190).

The results also indicated that female candidates received less issue coverage than male candidates, regardless of candidate status. Female issues, such as minority

rights, environment, abortion, drugs, and other social programs, were more likely to be discussed in coverage of female candidates, while male issues, such as foreign policy, defense, and economics, were more likely to be discussed in coverage of male candidates. However, there was more overall coverage of male issues than female issues, which negates a source of potentially positive news media coverage for female candidates. In addition, female reporters were more likely to cover female issues than male reporters. The results showed no difference in the quantity of personal trait coverage for female and male candidates. Nonetheless, when looking specifically at the differences between female traits, such as dependence, passiveness, and compassion, and male traits, such as competitiveness, ambition, and toughness, it was found that female traits were generally highlighted less often by the media, again negating some potential positives in news media coverage for female candidates. Also, the discussion of female traits was more often associated with coverage of female candidates and was more likely to be covered by female reporters. The researchers highlighted the potentially positive effects media coverage could have on female candidates by highlighting their strengths via a focus on female issues, such as social issues, and personal traits, such as compassion, as well as the potentially positive effect more female reporters could have on the coverage of female candidates (Kahn & Goldenberg, 1991a, 1991b). Notwithstanding, Kahn and Goldenberg (1991a, 1991b) concluded by emphasizing the overwhelmingly negative impact media coverage may have on the campaign efforts of female candidates. "These results

suggest that current patterns of press coverage may serve as a critical obstacle for women running for the U.S. Senate" (Kahn & Goldenberg, 1991a, p. 196).

In a related research project, Kahn (1992) again investigated the differences between news media coverage of female and male senatorial candidates via a content analysis and also took the research on the topic to the next level by asking, "Does press coverage lead voters to develop more negative evaluations of female candidates and more positive evaluations of male candidates?" (p. 498). The first step of the research method included a content analysis of newspaper coverage for 26 senatorial races from 1982 to 1986 and looked at news media coverage quantity and quantity of female and male candidates in terms of horserace, issue, and personal trait coverage; the content analysis involved the same basic method as the 1991 articles. The second step of the research method involved an experimental design based on the findings of the content analysis. Newspaper articles were created to mirror the coverage patterns and characteristics of coverage found in the content analysis. In an experiment, participants from the local community were randomly assigned to a specific group and asked to read a newspaper page, which included one article about a candidate for Senate and two articles about national politics. The manipulated variables in the article included the sex of the candidate, either female or male, and the type of coverage, either male incumbent coverage, male challenger coverage, female incumbent coverage, or female challenger coverage. The participants then completed a questionnaire after reading the newspaper page, which asked them to evaluate the candidate (Kahn, 1992).

The content analysis portion of the research project revealed the same differences in news media coverage for the female and male candidates as previously discussed (Kahn, 1992). In addition, Kahn's (1992) results indicated that news coverage of political candidates does, in fact, influence voter perceptions of the contenders. When looking at news media coverage and controlling for candidate sex, she found that regardless of whether the candidate was identified as a man or a woman "candidates who receive male candidate coverage are always viewed as more viable than candidates who receive female candidate coverage" (Kahn, 1992, p. 510). When looking at candidate sex and controlling for news media coverage, she found that participants viewed identically covered female and male candidates differently. Specifically, they viewed female candidates as more compassionate, honest, and better able to deal with issues such as health and education than male candidates. Interestingly, such male stereotyping was not evident in the research, indicating that female stereotypes are more prevalent than male stereotypes.

The results also revealed that candidate sex and news media coverage act independently in influencing perceptions of candidates. However, news media coverage was found to be more significant than candidate sex in participants' evaluations of the candidates (Kahn, 1992). Thus, Kahn (1992) concluded that "the results of this experiment suggest that differences in patterns of news coverage often lead to more positive evaluations of male candidates, while sex stereotyping consistently benefits female candidates" (p. 508). However, she pointed out that sex stereotypes are often used to fill in information gaps for personal traits and issues not

discussed in the media coverage. Since people usually put priority on the news media's agenda, the dominance of male-oriented media coverage of campaigns becomes a key component, thus negating the potential positives of sex stereotyping for female candidates (Kahn, 1992). The combined conclusion of Kahn's early research projects painted a rather grim picture for female candidates.

> These results suggest that the media act as a barrier for women striving for electoral office. The press treats men and women candidates differently and this likely encourages voters to develop more negative evaluations of women candidates, which probably influences voter choice. (Kahn & Goldenberg, 1991a, p. 112)

In 1994, Kahn expanded the scope of her research in two directions by investigating gubernatorial candidates and the campaign messages of the political candidates. The methodology included a content analysis of newspaper coverage of 26 senatorial races and 21 gubernatorial races between the years of 1982 and 1988. Newspaper content was coded from September 1 to Election Day for coverage quantity and quality, including horserace, issue, and personal trait coverage. The newspaper content analysis followed the same basic method as described in the previously discussed research projects. In addition, a content analysis of 693 political advertisements was conducted to determine the candidates' messages to the public (Kahn, 1994a).

The results of the research indicated that, while female senatorial candidates received less news media coverage than their male counterparts, female gubernatorial candidates received equal coverage with their male counterparts. Similarly, female senatorial candidates received more horserace coverage than male senatorial

candidates, but horserace coverage among female and male gubernatorial candidates was equal. Also, female candidates in general were more likely to receive negative coverage in terms of their viability, but this was more pronounced in senatorial races than in gubernatorial races. In terms of issue coverage, female candidates in both types of races were less likely than male candidates to receive coverage on issues. When looking at campaign advertisements for women in both types of races, however, it was found that women were more likely than men to discuss issues in their messages. Finally, personal traits were discussed rarely and equally among candidates of both genders for Senate. However, personal traits were more likely to be discussed for female candidates for governor than male candidates, which was also seen in the evaluation of the political advertisements. When categorizing personal traits in terms of male and female traits, there was more coverage of male traits for male candidates in senatorial races, while there was no difference in personal traits along gender lines in gubernatorial races (Kahn, 1994a).

Kahn (1994a) concluded that the results again pointed to the gender differences of candidates' news media coverage but also noted that the "differences are more dramatic in U.S. Senate races, but differences are still evident in gubernatorial contests" (p. 171). In addition, she concluded that, after adding the analysis of political advertisements to her research, the news media is more responsive in covering the campaign agenda as delivered by male candidates in their campaign messages then female candidates; "[r]eporters are more likely to emphasize the personal traits and policy areas discussed by male candidates" (Kahn, 1994a, p. 172).

In a follow up article, Kahn (1994b) investigated the differences in news media coverage for female and male candidates in senatorial and gubernatorial campaigns, as well as the role of such coverage and sex stereotypes on voters' perceptions of candidates. The first part of her research project consisted of a content analysis of newspaper coverage of senatorial and gubernatorial races between the years of 1984 and 1988, which produced the same results as the study described above (Kahn, 1994b). After differences in the news media coverage of the female and male candidates were established, Kahn (1994b) conducted an experiment to test how such differences impact voters' perceptions of candidates, as well as how sex stereotypes influence such perceptions. For the experiment, she created eight newspaper articles based on characteristics found in the content analysis; the manipulated variables were the type of race, either senatorial or gubernatorial; candidate sex, either male or female; and type of candidate coverage, either male incumbent coverage, female incumbent coverage, male challenger coverage, or female challenger coverage. Next, in two series of experiments, participants from the local community read a newspaper page, which included an article about a political candidate (Kahn, 1994b).

The results of the experiments indicated that media coverage did influence participants' evaluations of both senatorial and gubernatorial candidates, although the effect was greater for senatorial candidates. In fact, senatorial candidates, whether male or female, were considered more viable, stronger leaders, and better at dealing with military issues when they were covered as male incumbents. On the other hand, senatorial candidates regardless of gender were considered less viable but more

compassionate and honest when covered as female incumbent candidates. The only difference found for gubernatorial incumbent candidates in this respect was in evaluations of candidate viability. Similarly, senatorial candidates covered as female challengers were viewed as less viable than candidates covered as male challengers; the finding did not hold true for gubernatorial candidates (Kahn, 1994b).

Kahn (1994b) also found that stereotyping for both types of races was consistently used in participants' evaluations and that gender stereotypes were used frequently for female candidates, while this did not occur for male candidates. For example, women were seen as more compassionate than men, while men were not seen as stronger leaders than women, indicating a possible advantage for female candidates. However, the results indicated that media coverage generally had a greater impact on voter perceptions of candidates than gender stereotyping, thus limiting the potentially positive effect of gender stereotypes for female candidates. The finding is especially significant for female senatorial candidates as media coverage was found to potentially produce negative images of such candidates. The findings painted a significantly more negative picture for female candidates for Senate than for female candidates for governor (Kahn, 1994b). Kahn (1994b) concluded that "women are uniquely advantaged in certain campaign environments while disadvantaged in others" (p. 190).

Kahn's pioneering work appeared to be the catalyst for an evolving line of research focusing on news media coverage of female candidates. Subsequent research projects were largely influenced by the research efforts of Kahn, emulating and

expanding both her research focus and research methods. While many of Kahn's conclusions were overwhelmingly critical of the news media's coverage of female candidates in the 1980s, her work also highlighted several potential positive effects of news coverage. Interestingly, the majority of the research projects subsequent to Kahn's initial studies found significantly more positive results in terms of the quantity and quality of news media coverage for female political candidates when compared to their male counterparts. However, the majority of the research projects have also pointed out rather subtle differences in the news media coverage of female and male political contenders in the evolving political and news media environment in the 1990s and 2000s.

For example, a research project conducted by Kevin B. Smith (1997) noted that research on campaigns of the 1980s portrayed media coverage as a handicap for women seeking political office; however, with the changing political landscape and such events as 1992's "Year of the Woman," gender might quickly become more of an advantage than a disadvantage for female candidates. In fact, Smith (1997) stated that "it still seems reasonable to argue that the novelty of a woman seeking high office has worn off" (p. 72). A content analysis of newspaper coverage was conducted for the 11 most high profiled of the 17 senatorial and gubernatorial races involving female candidates in the 1994 election season to investigate both the quantity and quality of media coverage for female candidates. The newspapers, which were the largest in the states studied, were analyzed for 40 days prior to Election Day and looked at the general quantity and quality of coverage. Quantity of coverage was determined by

looking at the column inches a candidate received per day and took into account newspaper endorsement, candidate status, reporter sex, candidate party affiliation, and race type. Quality of coverage was specifically focused on issue and horserace coverage, as defined by Kahn (Smith, 1997).

The results of the investigation indicated that there were generally no gender differences in the quantity of campaign coverage. In fact, female candidates actually received more coverage in gubernatorial races than male candidates (Smith, 1997). Thus, in terms of overall quantity Smith (1997) concluded, "this analysis shows little evidence for gender-based patterns of coverage in 1994 senatorial and gubernatorial contests" (p. 76). Looking at the quality of coverage, Smith (1997) found slight differences in the coverage of female and male candidates, but these differences were not as pronounced as in earlier findings. For example, issue coverage was relatively equal in terms of length and prominence for the female and male candidates, while no evidence of differences in issue coverage was found either in terms of the number of issues covered or types of issues covered. Gender differences did appear when looking at the gender of the candidate dominating that day's news coverage; there was a slight skew toward male candidates in relation to news day domination. Although based on statistically insignificant results, however, when female candidates dominated the news it was slightly more likely to focus on horserace coverage and more likely to focus on issue coverage than when male candidates dominated the news. In addition, the general favorability of coverage leaned toward female candidates; women generally received a neutral tone of coverage, while men were

covered in a more negative tone (Smith, 1997). Based on his findings Smith (1997) concluded, "Although there were some detectable gender-based patterns of coverage in major state wide races involving female candidates in 1994, they were not as glaring as reported in studies of earlier campaigns, nor did they always disadvantage women" (p. 79). However, he also warned,

> This should not be interpreted as a reason to assume that gender has ceased to be an issue in the type of coverage a candidate for political office received. Although broad-based patterns, on the whole, did not appear, there were certainly some anecdotal examples of double standards in this sample, some of them egregious. [example omitted]. In other words, while the rule was one of rough parity in coverage, most exceptions to the rule were at the expensive of female candidates. (Smith, 1997, p. 79)

Likewise, a set of studies conducted by a group of researchers looked at news media coverage of female candidates and extended the body of research by looking at "newspaper coverage of women gubernatorial and U.S. Senate candidates during the crucial primary stage of election" and by moving the body of research into the 21st Century (Bystrom, Robertson, & Banwart, 2001, p. 2000; Banwart, Bystrom, & Robertson, 2003). Bystrom et al. (2001) sampled senatorial and gubernatorial primary campaigns involving female and male contenders and conducted a content analysis of coverage from the largest newspaper in each state studied from May 1 until August 31 during the 2000 primary season. The content analysis was based on the previous work of Kahn and coded for such items as candidate character and credibility traits; candidate gender, marital status, and parental status; overall candidate slant; and issue

coverage, as defined in terms of female and male issues based on previous research (Bystrom et al., 2001).

The results of the research pointed to several differences in the coverage of female and male candidates. First, the quantity and the dominance of coverage were both greater for female candidates than for male candidates in the primary campaigns. Second, both female and male candidates were more likely to receive neutral coverage than positive or negative coverage and were both more likely to receive negative coverage than positive coverage. Interestingly, female candidates were more likely to receive positive coverage and less likely to receive negative coverage than their male counterparts. Candidates, regardless of gender, were also covered equally in relation to election viability. Third, newspaper coverage was more likely to mention candidate gender, marital status, and parental status for female candidates than for male candidates. Fourth, the issues discussed in the articles were relatively sparse, and there were little statistically significant differences found in issue coverage for the female and male candidates. Overall, the researchers presented rather positive news for female candidates of the 1990s in terms of gender equality in news coverage; however, they were quick to point out that there are potential negatives associated with women receiving more coverage of personal issues, such as marital and parental status (Bystrom et al., 2001).

Banwart, Bystrom, and Robertson (2003) also extended their research on female candidates and media coverage during the primary season to include a comparison of their findings to coverage of senatorial and gubernatorial candidates in

the general election. The researchers found a great deal of consistency in news media coverage of female and male candidates when comparing the primary season to the general election; the results of Banwart et al.'s (2003) research efforts led them to conclude,

> [I]t is evident that female candidates were treated more equally in 2000 compared with previous general election coverage. But female candidates continue to face stereotypical biases in the news coverage of their campaigns. (Banwart et al., 2003, p. 670)

Several research projects have focused exclusively on the news media coverage of female candidates in gubernatorial races. For example, John David Rausch, Jr., Mark Rozell, and Harry Wilson (1999) studied news media coverage of two female-male candidate gubernatorial races, the 1993 race in Virginia and the 1996 race in West Virginia. Both women in the races, Virginia candidate Mary Sue Terry and West Virginia candidate Charlotte Pritt, lost their races and partially blamed the media. The researchers conducted a content analysis of five Virginia newspapers and four West Virginia newspapers from September 1 until Election Day. The newspaper content was coded for three categories: subject matter, including mentions of issues, the horserace, or candidate profiles; issue coverage, including mentions of education, crime, health care, abortion, or other issues; and candidate coverage, including mentions and tones of candidate-relate references (Rausch et al., 1999).

The results of the content analysis indicated that news media coverage of serious campaign topics, such as campaign issues and the candidate, was more prevalent than horserace coverage for both candidates. In addition, a variety of issues

were covered in the 1993 Virginia race with some differences along gender lines, while few issues were discussed in the 1996 West Virginia race with the two main issues, the economy and education, benefiting the female candidate. In addition, the Virginian female candidate received some, albeit little, coverage on her gender, while the West Virginian female candidate did not. Finally, the female candidates from both states received a significant amount of negative coverage (Rausch et al., 1999). Rausch et al. (1999) noted that the findings did "dovetail with Kahn's (1994) assessment that the media are not very receptive to women's issue appeals;" however, they also concluded that the disparity in news media coverage was largely due to other factors, such as poorly run campaigns (p. 14).

James Devitt (2002) also investigated the news media coverage of female gubernatorial candidates. Noting a lack of female governors and the possible link to news media coverage, Devitt (2002) proposed that, when compared to male gubernatorial candidates, female gubernatorial candidates would receive an equal amount of coverage but would receive less issue coverage and more personal coverage, while female and male reporters would cover female and male gubernatorial candidates differently. To test his hypotheses, Devitt (2002) looked at the 1998 gubernatorial races in the states of Arizona, Colorado, Maryland, and Rhode Island and conducted a content analysis of the newspaper coverage in the states from September 1 until Election Day. The newspaper content was coded into three categories, which included issue-framed or public policy-focuses paragraphs,

personal-framed or personal and professional background-focused paragraphs, and strategy-framed or campaign strategy or polling focused paragraphs (Devitt, 2002).

The results of the analysis showed that the female and male gubernatorial candidates were covered equally in terms of quantity but differently in terms of quality. In general, female candidates were less likely to receive issue coverage and more likely to receive personal coverage than their male opponents, but many of the differences were less dramatic when the races were looked at individually, offering only partial support for the hypotheses. The gender of the reporter appeared to make a difference in candidate coverage as well. Male reporters, who authored a greater number of articles analyzed in the study, stressed more personal frames and fewer issues frames for male candidates than female candidates; such a pattern was not evident in articles written by female reporters (Devitt, 2002). Overall, Devitt (2002) concluded that, while the quantity of coverage was equal for the female gubernatorial candidates studied, the quality of coverage did appear to have differences along gender lines; however, he noted, like Rausch et al. (1999), that other factors may have attributed to such disparities.

In another investigation of news media coverage of female gubernatorial candidates, Shirley Serini, Angela Powers, and Susan Johnson conducted a content analysis of newspaper coverage of the 1994 Illinois Democratic gubernatorial primary race. The content analysis coded the content of two newspapers, the *Chicago Sun Times* and the *Chicago Tribune*, for two main types of coverage: horserace coverage, which included such categories as campaign strategy, polls and projections,

endorsements, and financial resources; and policy issue coverage, which included such categories as fiscal issues, education, crime, etc. When comparing a female candidate and a male candidate of the same ethnic race, Caucasian, the researchers found that the female Caucasian candidate did not receive the same news media coverage as her male Caucasian counterpart; specifically, the female candidate received more horserace coverage and less issue policy coverage than the male candidate (Serini et al., 1998). However, the researchers noted,

> The lack of policy issue coverage did not hinder [the Caucasian female candidate's] ability to win the nomination. Nor did it help the Caucasian male candidate in spite of the fact that he had the lion's share of policy coverage throughout the campaign. Conversely, the horserace coverage appeared to help [the Caucasian female candidate] in terms of exposure to both her name and her key issues. (Serini et al., 1998, p. 202)

Shifting the focus of previously conducted research, Geralyn Miller's article investigated news media coverage of female candidates at the state level. Miller (2001) pointed out the complete void of research on news media coverage in state legislative races and hypothesized, "If findings from congressional level studies are applicable to the state legislative races, we would expect to find a disparity in print media coverage in the races between male and female candidates" (p. 87). To test the hypothesis, a sample of 21 races from the 1996 Illinois state legislative election was studied via a content analysis of newspaper coverage. The content analysis was designed to specifically mirror Kahn and Goldenberg's (1991a, 1991b) original work by coding for both the quantity and quality of media coverage; however, Miller made

the significant change of coding for positive and negative personal traits, rather than male and female personal traits, and tailored the issues to meet the needs of a state-level race (Miller, 2001).

The general finding of the research was that "there is a gender gap in coverage of state legislative races, but that gap is a subtle one" (Miller, 2001, p. 90). The difference in overall quantity of coverage was not statistically significant between female and male candidates. When looking at candidate status, however, a difference emerged as male incumbent candidates received more coverage than female incumbent candidates. In relation to strategy coverage, the few horserace discussions appearing the newspapers were equal along gender lines. The personal trait coverage results indicated a gender-based difference in coverage with females benefiting from greater positive character trait coverage than their male counterparts. There were no differences found in the amount of issue coverage received by the female and male candidates with only a slight difference found in relation to the type of issues covered (Miller, 2001). Interestingly, female candidates' prior records were a little more likely to covered than male candidates' records, which Miller (2001) noted might be "suggesting a need to justify the female candidates' presence in the races on the part of the reporters" (p. 95). Overall, the results pointed out subtle differences in the media coverage of female and male candidates for state level campaigns, which Miller (2001) argued should not be discounted as insignificant.

> A surface look indicates that coverage appears to be roughly the same for male and female candidates. A closer view, however, reveals differences that may give female candidates cause for concern when facing an

> electoral contest... The important point, though, is that differences in coverage are not always obvious. They can be quite subtle and overlooked. Analysis that fails to capture the nuances of those differences can produce false and misleading conclusions about our real world electoral conditions and their possible impacts. (Miller, 2001, p. 97)

Unlike the research mentioned thus far, John Havick (1997) extended the body of knowledge by investigating other factors related to news media coverage of female candidates and by looking at campaigns for the United States House of Representatives, as well as the Senate. Havick (1997) studied the 1990 and 1992 Senate and House races by conducting an analysis of ABC, CBS, and NBC television newscasts and *Los Angeles Times*, *New York Times*, and *Washington Post* newspaper coverage from January 1 until Election Day. The results revealed several extraneous factors outside of candidate gender that may influence a female candidate's media coverage, such as state size and incumbency status. The results also indicated that there was a relationship between the party of the female candidate and media coverage; specifically, Democratic female candidates received more coverage than Republican female candidates (Havick, 1997). Havick (1997) noted that previous research on female candidates and the media have "ignored the partisan dimension and the variation of media attention among female candidates" and concluded that future research should have "greater consideration of the partisan dimension" (p. 108-109).

Representing a shift in the line of research in terms of research method, an article by Martha Kropf and John Boiney (2001) investigated how exposure to news media contributed to the recognition, general liking, and favorability of political

candidates in relation to gender by using data from the Senate Election Study to obtain information regarding voters' views on candidates and media exposure. The data was then used to analyze the relationship between the dependent variables of candidate recognition and favorability and the independent variables of media exposure, television market, candidate spending, opponent spending, and candidate quality; several regression models were based on the data analysis. The researchers found that name recognition for candidates in general increased with newspaper exposure but did not for television exposure and that respondents who read newspapers were more likely to recognize the names of male candidates than female candidates. Newspaper exposure did not increase the liking of candidates, but television exposure did have an increasing effect on the liking of candidates, but the effect only occurred in evaluations of male candidates. Similarly, newspaper exposure did not increase the favorability of candidates, while television exposure did increase the favorability of candidates but for only male candidates (Kropf & Boiney, 2001). Kropf and Boiney (2001) then referred to data on voting and found that "the ability of a candidate to become known to voters and inculcate in them a reasonably positive set of cognitions significantly enhances his or her chances of winning office" (p. 93). This statement, coupled with their findings, portrayed a rather dismal situation for female political candidates.

Richard Fox (1997) took a different approach to investigating news media coverage of female political candidates by focusing exclusively on campaigns for the House of Representatives and by researching the topic via the perceptions of news

media coverage by campaign managers of female candidates. Using a sample of races for the House of Representations in the state of California during the 1992 and 1994 election years, Fox (1997) found that 31 percent of the campaign managers interviewed believed that the news media engaged in some degree of negative gender bias or gender stereotyping against their candidate. However, he also noted that such perceptions were also tied to perceptions of incumbency advantages and ideological biases (Fox, 1997).

This review of the literature related to news media coverage of female candidates for congressional, statewide, and local elective offices reveals that the body of knowledge has expanded significantly in terms of both scope and method in the past decade and a half. As noted by Kahn's initial research and supported by the numerous research projects that followed her work, the news media do, in fact, appear to cover female and male political contenders differently, whether in rather blatant or subtle ways. It is also significant to note that the stream of literature from Kahn's initial studies focused on campaigns of the 1980s to the more recent studies focused on campaigns of the 1990s have indicated a trend of more parity in terms of quantity and quality of news media coverage for female candidates; however, as previously noted, studies continue to point out less obvious gender-based inequalities for female candidates. The findings of the body of research on news media coverage of female political candidates was, perhaps, best stated by pollster Celinda Lake; "[P]ress coverage of women candidates has grown more favorable over time, even if it sill has a long way to go (qtd. in Witt et al., 1995, p. 208).

Notwithstanding, it should also be noted that very few research projects conducted after Kahn's series of studies have taken such a comprehensive and systematic approach to the topic as Kahn. What is also shockingly absent since Kahn's initial work is research focused on the impact of differences in news media coverage on the evaluations of female candidates by potential voters; much of the research does not extend the scope of understanding beyond descriptions of news media coverage found in content analyses. Likewise, there appears to be a disproportionate number of studies focused solely on newspaper coverage. Thus, much of the research on the topic of news media coverage of female political candidates appears to be methodologically stagnant, particularly by overwhelmingly focusing on one type of media and utilizing one research method. In addition, the body of knowledge established thus far is also overwhelmingly deficient of theory-driven research, which is also quite surprising as the topic is quite suited for expanding the understanding of many political communication theories, such as framing and second-level agenda setting. Another significant gap in the literature on news media coverage of female candidates is that very few research projects have been focused on female presidential contenders. Because such projects are of special concern to this current research project, the research projects focused on news media coverage of female presidential hopefuls, as well as some basic research on women seeking the presidency, will be reviewed below.

Female Candidates Seeking the United States Presidency

In the opening chapter of the book *Anticipating Madam President*, Robert Watson (2003) described the election of a female president in the United States as the "ultimate prize in U.S. politics [that] will mark the shattering of the final glass ceiling that has blocked half the U.S. populace for well over 200 years" (p. 1). Watson (2003) noted that the United States lags behind many other nations that have elected female leaders of government, both presidents and prime ministers, who have served with great esteem and respect, leading him to ask "if women have shown that they can be elected to head governments worldwide, then why has no woman been elected to do so in the 200-plus year history of the United States?" (p. 4). Watson (2003) argued that the election of a female president is particularly important, because women in the twenty-first century continue to face many of the same challenges as women of previous generations and that the election of a female president may act as "means to an end to a long history of disenfranchisement and inequality experienced by women" (p. 1).

Despite the significance of the issue, Watson (2003) noted that, while much research has been conducted on female candidates for various levels of office, "surprisingly little research" has been aimed at female contenders for the presidency (p. 4). Watson (2003) posited that academic researchers should not wait until the actual election of a female president to look into the topic and that "[i]t is necessary for scholars to 'put the cart ahead of the horse' and anticipate Madam President" (Watson, 2003, p. 4). Several political scientists and political communication

researchers have, using Watson's words, anticipated Madam President by investigating the various obstacles facing female contenders for the presidency, often finding rather grim results for women with such aspirations. In fact, one researcher noted that "careful examination of lingering prejudices, gender stereotypes, and media coverage of women candidates suggests that there are many structural and institutional barriers that remain which will impede the likelihood of a woman president in the foreseeable future" (Kennedy, 2001, p. 311).

For example, in another chapter of *Anticipating Madam President*, Erica Falk and Kathleen Hall Jamieson (2003) argued that "the most significant barrier to a successful candidacy of a woman is the fact that so few occupy the positions that tend to be entryways to the White House" (p. 45). Falk and Jamieson (2003) pointed out that women seeking high levels of elective office are often hindered by the United States political system's bias in favor of incumbents; it becomes particularly difficult for female candidates to break into high levels of elective office when the vast majority of incumbents are male. Falk and Jamieson (2003) also pointed out that the relatively small number of women serving in high elective office has meant that younger women with political aspirations have very few role models and mentors. In addition, Falk and Jamieson (2003) noted that women are less likely to be recruited as candidates for office then men by political parties.

Likewise, Melissa Haussman (2001) looked at the nomination reforms and party structure changes and found both positive and negative implications for female presidential candidates. For example, she concluded that the primary system worked

for women by breaking up the smoked-filled rooms of men selecting candidates. Nonetheless, such reforms have also worked against female candidates, who often have a more difficult time deciding to run than male candidates, as primary campaigns have been increasingly front-loaded, forcing candidates to campaign extremely early in the election cycle (Haussman, 2001). In addition, Haussman (2001) noted that even though the two major parties have taken significant efforts to establish gender equality, the "old boys system is not completely gone" (p. 363). Finally, several researchers have investigated the difficulties of female presidential hopefuls in raising equal amounts of campaign funds when compared to their male counterparts (Haussman, 2003; Farrar-Myers, 2003). Such research appears to have been spurred by the campaign of Elizabeth Dole for the 2000 Republican nomination; despite Dole's experience in fundraising as president of the Red Cross and as the wife of a former presidential nominee and her rather competitive standings in the polls, Dole "was unable to translate these qualities into money necessary to continue her campaign" (Kennedy, 2001, p. 321).

Another obstacle cited by Falk and Jamieson (2003) is that culture of the United States typically associates men with leadership and public office and associates women with child rearing and housekeeping, which are significant stereotypes that face women seeking the presidency and the high level elective offices that most often lead to the presidency. Such stereotypes may also directly affect women with political aspirations, resulting in role conflict, which occurs when women feel torn between familial duties and professional aspirations (Falk & Jamieson, 2003). Such a conflict

often results in women running for office after the children are raised or a husband has left, which means that women often "make a later entry into elective office, leaving less time to reach the highest political ranks" (Falk & Jamieson, 2003, p. p. 47). In addition, Falk and Jamieson (2003) stated that another factor is that the public often believes, despite research findings to the contrary, that female candidates are simply less viable than their male counterparts. As Clift and Brazaitis (2003) claimed, "When American voters picture a president, he's not wearing a skirt" (p. xx).

For example, Shirley Rosenwasser and her associates found via a series of experimental projects that hypothetical male presidential candidates were rated as better at dealing with stereotypically masculine presidential tasks, such as dealing with terrorism, dealing with military crises, ensuring an effective defense system, and serving as Commander-in-Chief, while hypothetical female presidential candidates were rated as better at dealing with stereotypically feminine presidential tasks, such as handling education, dealing with minority issues, helping the disabled and handicapped, and helping the elderly (Rosenwasser & Dean, 1989; Rosenwasser, Rogers, Fling, Silvers-Pickens, & Butemeyer, 1987; Rosenwasser & Seale, 1988). However, stereotypically masculine tasks were also rated as more important to the presidency than stereotypically feminine tasks, and male presidential candidates, regardless of gender role, were evaluated as more viable in the presidential election than female presidential candidates (Rosenwasser & Dean, 1989). Thus, the researchers concluded, "even though a woman has the same qualifications and

characteristics as a man, she may still be less likely to be elected to a very prestigious office such as that of the President" (Rosenwasser & Dean, 1989, p. 84).

Likewise, Ann Gordon and Jerry Miller (2001) focused specifically on the impact of gender stereotypes on females seeking the presidency. Gordon and Miller (2001) argued that "voters' stereotypes of male and female candidates may prove especially damaging for women seeking the oval office," because "voters have a preference for masculine characteristics at higher levels of office" and because voters often rank stereotypically masculine presidential tasks, such as being Commander-in-Chief, higher than stereotypically feminine presidential tasks, such as dealing with civil rights (p. 326). Using an experimental design, Gordon and Miller (2001) found that a hypothetical female presidential candidate described in a newspaper article had some advantages and disadvantages related to her gender. For example, she was perceived as more honest than the hypothetical male candidate appearing in the same article and was evaluated as equal in terms of decision-making ability and crisis management when compared to her male counterpart. However, the hypothetical female candidate was perceived as less competent to deal with the economy and the military, as well as less viable as a candidate, than her male counterpart. In addition, the respondents were more receptive of the idea of a female vice presidential contender than the idea of a woman being placed at the top of the ticket (Gorden & Miller, 2001). The authors concluded,

> Perhaps the biggest obstacle [the hypothetical female candidate] would have faced is the simple fact that the United States has never elected a woman to the highest office in the land. It may be that the novelty of this

> alone would account for the reluctance of some to support a woman. (Gorden & Miller, 2001, p. 331)

In addition to the institutional and attitudinal obstacles cited, and most pertinent to this current investigation, news media coverage has been the subject of a relatively small number of research projects focused on female presidential contenders. Carole Kennedy (2001) raised the question, "Is it any wonder that women candidates are viewed as less credible than their male counterparts, given the biases apparent in press coverage and the lingering stereotypes that inform that coverage?" (p. 317). The topic of news media coverage of female presidential contenders is a particularly significant void in the body of knowledge, particularly because "the influence of news media grows with the size of the constituency" and "gender differences in news coverage are potentially more consequential in national and statewide elections than in local contests" (Kahn, 1996, p. 14). However, since Kahn began her work on news media coverage of female congressional and statewide candidates in the 1990s, there has been relatively little opportunity to investigate female candidates at the national level. In the 2000 presidential primary season, however, the presence of Elizabeth Dole as a serious contender for the Republican nomination provided researchers with an opportunity to advance Kahn's research by looking at the news media coverage for female candidates in nationwide campaigns.

One such example is Sean Aday and James Devitt's (2001) research. After citing the media-frenzy surrounding Geraldine Ferraro's 1984 vice-presidential nomination and previous research on media coverage of female candidates, Aday and Devitt (2001) sought to investigate the news media coverage of Elizabeth Dole's bid

for the Republican presidential nomination. A content analysis of five major papers, including the *Des Moines Register*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *The New York Times*, *USA Today*, and *The Washington Post*, was conducted from August 1, 1999, until October 20, 1999, the day Dole withdrew from the primary. The newspaper content was coded in terms of topic, reporter sex, candidate quotations, candidate description, issue frames, personal frames, and strategy frames (Aday & Devitt, 2001). The findings revealed that Dole did not received less coverage than her male opponents; in fact, she was ranked number two in coverage quantity after front-runner George W. Bush. Dole did, however, receive less issue coverage and more personal coverage than the male candidates (Aday & Devitt, 2001). A closer look at the finding also pointed out that the newspapers were more likely to cover issues than personal traits in general, thus removing "the possibility that newspapers were simply more likely overall to focus on the personal aspects of candidates and instead suggests that they reserved this frame for the lone female running for the presidency" (Aday & Devitt, 2001, p. 63).

In addition, when covering Dole, male reporters used issue fames less frequently and used personal frames more frequently than female reporters. Male reporters were also less likely to use issue frames and more likely to use personal frames when covering Dole than when covering her male opponents. No such differences were found in strategy coverage. Finally, the results indicated that Dole was slightly less likely to be quoted or paraphrased backing up what she said with evidence. As a whole, the results pointed out the gender-based differences in the news media coverage of Elizabeth Dole's presidential campaign, which paint a rather

negative picture for women wishing to make a bid for the presidency (Aday & Devitt, 2001). The researchers concluded, "In Dole's case, voters would have found it difficult to learn what she stood for and how her plan for leading the country differed from those of her male rivals" (Aday & Devitt, 2001, p. 69).

Likewise, Dianne Bystrom (2005) also investigated the news media coverage of Dole's bid for the Republican nomination by conducting a content analysis of three of Iowa's largest newspapers in the three months surrounding the Iowa Straw Poll, in which Dole finished a strong third. Newspaper content was coded for such items as candidate mentions, candidate focus, candidate quotations, candidate photographs, image frames, and issue frames (Bystrom, 2005). As predicted, the results indicated that the news media coverage was unequal in terms of coverage quantity; "Although polls consistently showed Elizabeth Dole as a distant runner-up to George W. Bush for the Republican nomination for president and ahead of Steve Forbes, she received less media coverage in Iowa" (Bystrom, 2005, p. 129). In addition, the quality of Dole's coverage also differed when compared to her male opponents. For example, Dole was less likely to be quoted than her male counterparts, was ranked third in terms of issue coverage when compared to Bush and Forbes, and was ranked second in terms of being described by appearance (Bystrom, 2005). Bystrom (2005) concluded that "voters in Iowa in the critical stage of the campaign leading up to the Iowa caucuses...read less about Dole and learned less about her issue positions and how she would perform as president compared to her male opponents" (p. 132).

Caroline Heldman, Susan Carroll, and Stephanie Olson (2000) also focused on the news media coverage of Elizabeth Dole's presidential campaign using a content analysis of a sample of stories mentioning the names of Republican primary candidates, which were retrieved from the Lexis-Nexis newspaper database, from March 12, 1999, two days before Dole announced the formation of her exploratory committee, to October 19, 1999, the day before Dole announced her withdraw from the primary. In addition, the researchers took a secondary sample of news articles mentioning Dole in order to focus exclusively on the coverage of her campaign. The newspaper content was then coded for candidate traits and background coverage, issue coverage, and horserace coverage (Heldman et al., 2000).

Heldman et al. (2000) noted that during the time period analyzed Dole was a strong second to Bush in the polls, had high favorability ratings, and even was shown beating Gore in a head-to-head hypothetical election; the researchers argued that such factors should have resulted in Dole receiving generally less coverage then Bush, the front-runner, but more than her other male rivals. However, the results indicated Dole was third in overall quantity of coverage, falling behind Bush and John McCain and was also less likely than Bush and McCain to receive in-depth coverage. In terms of the quality of coverage, the amount and type of Dole's issue coverage was on par with her male counterparts (Heldman et al., 2000). However, Dole received more coverage on her personality and appearance than her male counterparts, and a "number of the references to Dole's personality and appearance were demeaning and personal, and probably would not be used when describing male candidates for the highest office in

the land" (Heldman et al., 2000, p. 12). In addition, Dole received an equal amount of horserace coverage as Bush, but the overall tone of Bush's horserace coverage was overwhelmingly positive, while the overall tone of Dole's horserace coverage was overwhelmingly negative (Heldman et al., 2000). In addition, Dole was often framed by journalists as the "first woman" to make a serious bid for a major party nomination and focused on her gender more than other aspects of her campaign, "suggesting implicitly, if not explicitly, that she was a novelty in the race rather than a strong contender with a good chance of winning" (Heldman et al., 2000, p. 12). The researchers concluded,

> Our findings indicate that Elizabeth Dole received a differential amount of media coverage than the male Republican presidential hopefuls, she received a different type of coverage along gender lines, and her in-depth coverage was decidedly gendered in ways that likely hindered her candidacy... All told, it is clear that Elizabeth Dole's candidacy was covered differently in the media in a number of different ways due to her gender. (Heldman et al., 2000, p. 13)

Another research project looked at the media coverage of female candidates for national office from the perspective of being the "first" woman to run for an office. Diane Heith (2001) looked at the media coverage of 1984 female vice presidential candidate Geraldine Ferraro and 2000 female Republican presidential primary candidate Elizabeth Dole, as well as 2000 Jewish vice presidential candidate Joe Lieberman, as "firsts" for their respected races. Using television coverage data from the Vanderbilt archives and newspaper coverage data from Lexis-Nexis, Heith (2001) found that Dole was covered as being a "first woman" candidate in 15 percent of her

newspaper articles and in 5 percent of her television coverage. In addition, 38 percent of the newspaper articles about Dole mentioned her appearance, whether her clothing, style, or female behaviors (Heith, 2001). Heith (2001) concluded that, despite other factors, Dole's unsuccessful bid for the Republican nomination may have been related to her media coverage, particularly when the press was more likely to cover the "lipstick watch" or to focus on gender for her than the male candidates.

Erica Falk and Kathleen Hall Jamieson (2003) took a different approach to investigating news media coverage of female presidential contenders by focusing on the coverage of Margaret Chase Smith's bid for the Republican nomination in 1964. Smith was the first woman to be elected to both houses of Congress and is considered the first woman to make a serious bid for a major party nomination for the presidency. Falk and Jamieson (2003) conducted a content analysis of three newspapers from 1964 and found that Smith received "less coverage, less serious coverage, and a minimization of her accomplishments" by the news media (p. 48). Specifically, Smith was less likely to be covered in terms of her issue stances and often had the title "Senator" dropped from her name in favor of "Mrs." In addition, much of the coverage framed Smith as not seriously campaigning for the presidency but rather for the vice presidential spot, despite her constant statements to the contrary (Falk & Jamieson, 2003). Falk and Jamieson (2003) also noted that the news media often referred to Smith's "first woman" status, which they contended "may have promoted the idea that women are less normal and more risky in the political sphere" (p. 49). The idea of women in politics as unnatural, also prevalent in coverage of Smith's

campaign, reinforced the stereotypes that women are too emotional and irrational to hold public office (Falk & Jamieson, 2003). The researchers concluded,

> [T]hese patterns in the press coverage may collectively contribute to making women appear less normal in the political sphere by giving them less coverage, dropping their political titles, and repeatedly framing them as firsts... The press coverage may also contribute to making women appear less suited to the presidency by portraying them as irrational and emotional and by dismissing their presidential ambitions as actually vice presidential ones. Although these attitudes may reflect societal beliefs, they also reinforce them by adding to the climate that makes political office and women seem incompatible. (Falk & Jamieson, 2003, p. 50)

After reviewing the scholarly literature on female presidential contenders, a few observations are worth noting. Most notably, the body of knowledge focused on women seeking the presidency is relatively small, and the research projects conducted on news media coverage of female presidential candidates are even more scant and limited. The literature on news media coverage of women seeking the presidency is particularly limited in scope and method, as the studies look at only one female candidate, only a small handful of her male opponents, and typically only one news media outlet. In addition, as with the literature on news media coverage of female candidates for other levels of political office, there is a general lack of theoretical framework and effects orientation in the literature on news media coverage of female presidential hopefuls. By including analysis of more than one female presidential contender and more than just a few of her male opponents in the primary field, by focusing on more than one type of news media, by grounding the research in a theoretical framework, and by tapping into the effects of news media coverage via a

mixed method approach, the understanding of how the news media both cover and impact the efforts of females vying for the highest office in the nation could be greatly enhanced.

Summary of Literature Review

This chapter looked at the scholarly literature related to news media coverage of female presidential candidates. First, the body of knowledge on gender stereotypes indicates that voters use such stereotypes when evaluating political candidates. Second, literature on the political communication theories of framing and second-level agenda setting contends that the news media can influence voters' understanding of campaigns and elections. Third, scholarly research highlights that female political candidates often receive disparate news coverage when compared to male candidates. Finally, research projects indicate that disparate news media coverage and gender stereotypes may hinder the efforts of women seeking the United States presidency. The findings of previous research guided the formation of the research questions and methods used in this project, which will be presented in the next chapter.

Chapter III: Foundations of the Research Project

Statement of Research Questions and Hypotheses

A review of the scholarly literature related to news media coverage of female presidential hopefuls highlights several noteworthy observations. First, the body of knowledge on gender stereotypes indicates that people do, in fact, make gender-based personal trait, issue position, and ideology inferences when assessing female and male political candidates. Second, the political communication theories of framing and second-level agenda setting contend that the news media impact citizens' understanding of political issues and events, such as campaigns and elections. Third, the stream of research focused specifically on news media coverage of female political candidates indicates that the news media, at least to some extent, do cover female candidates differently than male candidates. Interestingly, however, very little research, particularly since Kahn's pioneering projects, has taken an effects-oriented or theory-driven approach, leaving a notable gap in the body of knowledge. In addition, the research appears to be rather stagnant in terms of method by focusing primarily on one type of news media and by utilizing one basic research method.

Finally, the literature on female presidential candidates is rather negligible. Notwithstanding, research projects anticipating the arrival of a woman on the presidential scene have indicated that many structural barriers exist for women seeking the presidency and that, most pertinent to this current investigation, gender stereotypes and disparate news media coverage may hinder the efforts of women vying for the highest elective office in the land. However, research conducted specifically on news

media coverage of female presidential candidates has been particularly scarce. In addition, such research entails many of the same theoretical and methodological shortcomings as research on female political candidates in general. More specifically, the research typically focuses on only one female presidential hopeful, only a handful of her male opponents, and only one type of news media, leaving the understanding of trends and effects of such coverage rather incomplete. Therefore, this current research project aims to fill in several of these gaps in three primary ways: by focusing on the current trends and impact of news media coverage of female presidential candidates; by expanding the research method in new directions; and by extending the understanding of the framing and second-level agenda setting functions of the news media in the electoral context.

Based on the findings of previous research and the specific goals of this current research project, several research questions and hypotheses have been developed. Previous research has indicated that female candidates are covered more frequently in terms of strategy and personal frames than issue frames and are often covered in generally stereotypical ways; for example, female contenders are frequently covered in terms of their gender and appearance or in reference to stereotypically feminine issues and personal traits. Previous research has indicated that the sex of the journalist may have an impact on the coverage of female candidates. In addition, very few research projects have looked at differences in news media coverage of female candidates across various types of news media. Past research has also revealed that female political contenders increasingly receive equal quantities of coverage when compared

to male candidates. However, previous research also revealed that news media coverage of female political candidates differs in terms of quality when compared to male political candidates. Therefore, the following research questions and corresponding hypotheses focus on the news media coverage of female presidential hopefuls. For the purposes of the research questions and hypotheses, strategy frames are defined as mentions of campaign strategies or events (i.e. polls, fundraising, etc.) in reference to the candidate, issue frames are defined as mentions of public policy issues (i.e. education, military, etc.) in reference to the candidate, and personal trait/life frames are defined as mentions of the candidate's personal traits (i.e. warmth, strength, etc.) or of the candidate's personal life (i.e. gender, family, marital status, qualifications, etc.).

RQ1: How are female presidential candidates in recent primary elections covered by the news media, particularly in terms of strategy frames, issue frames, and personal trait/life frames?

H1: Female presidential candidates receive more strategy coverage and personal trait/life coverage than issue coverage.

H2: Female presidential candidates receive more negative strategy coverage than positive strategy coverage.

H3: Female presidential candidates receive more stereotypically feminine issue coverage than stereotypically masculine issue coverage.

H4: Female presidential candidates receive more stereotypically feminine personal trait coverage than stereotypically masculine personal trait coverage.

H5: Female presidential candidates receive more coverage of some aspects of their personal lives, such as gender, family, and appearance, than other aspects of their personal lives, such as qualifications.

RQ2: Do female and male journalists use different frames when covering female presidential candidates?

RQ3: Do newspapers and newsmagazines use different frames when covering female presidential candidates?

RQ4: Are female presidential candidates in recent primary elections covered differently by the news media when compared to male presidential candidates?

H1: Female presidential candidates receive equal coverage in terms of amount and prominence when compared to male presidential candidates.

H2: Female presidential candidates receive more strategy coverage when compared to male presidential candidates.

H3: Female presidential candidates receive more negative strategy coverage when compared to male presidential candidates.

H4: Female presidential candidates receive less issue coverage when compared to male presidential candidates.

H5: Female presidential candidates receive more stereotypically feminine issue coverage and less stereotypically masculine issue coverage when compared to male presidential candidates.

H6: Female presidential candidates receive more personal trait/life coverage when compared to male presidential candidates.

H7: Female presidential candidates receive more stereotypically feminine personal trait coverage and less stereotypically masculine personal trait coverage when compared to male presidential candidates.

H8: Female presidential candidates receive more personal life coverage related to gender, family, and appearance and less personal life coverage related to qualifications when compared to male presidential candidates.

As previously noted, the goal of this research project is to not only describe how the news media cover female presidential contenders but to also investigate how such coverage may influence potential voters' evaluations of candidates, thereby also expanding the understanding of the framing and second-level agenda setting functions of the news media. Due to the exploratory nature of this endeavor, particularly in relation to presidential contenders, one research question was developed to guide the research.

> RQ5: What is the impact of female and male news coverage and candidate sex on issue competency evaluations, personal trait evaluations, political ideology evaluations, and election viability evaluations of presidential primary candidates by potential voters?

Overview of the Research Method

As noted by Kahn (2003), a need exists to incorporate more comprehensive research methods in the body of knowledge focused on media news coverage of women in politics.

> In general, scholars need to spend more time looking creatively at gender differences in media coverage... To explore these questions, researchers will need to adopt innovative and complimentary research designs. Multi-methodological approaches, relying on experiments, content analysis, field research, and traditional surveys, should be employed. (Kahn, 2003, p. 186)

Thus, this research project implements an "innovative and complimentary" research design by using a mixed method approach, which includes a traditional quantitative content analysis with a qualitative element and a factorial experimental design, corresponding with the goals set forth by the research questions.

Content Analysis

Overview and Suitability of Content Analysis. In order to address the first four research questions, a content analysis of news media content was conducted to assess the news media coverage of female presidential candidates, as well as their male counterparts, in recent primary elections. Bernard Berelson provided the classic definition of a content analysis in 1952 when he described content analysis as "a research technique for objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication" (p. 18). According to Stempel (2003), "Content analysis is a formal system for doing something we all do informally rather frequently – draw conclusions from observations of content" (p. 209). The ten basic steps to conducting a content analysis are as follows: selecting a topic, selecting a sample, defining units of analysis, constructing categories, creating a coding form, training coders, collecting the data, measuring coder reliability, analyzing the data, and reporting the results (Singletary, 1994). In addition, these four primary methodological challenges confront researchers conducting content analyses: sampling of content, selection of unit of analysis, category construction, and reliability of coding (Stempel, 2003). While content analysis appears, at least from the literature review, to be the most common method in which to investigate news media coverage of female candidates, Deacon, Pickering, Golding, and Murdock's (1999) definition of the method lends additional credence to its use in this project.

> The purpose of content analysis is to quantify salient and manifest features of a large number of texts, and the statistics are used to make broader inferences about the

> processes and politics of representation. (Deacon et al., 1999, p. 116)

Therefore, this research project used a primarily quantitative content analysis with a descriptive qualitative component. Quantitative description of news media content is a natural manner for investigating the relationship between the independent variable of candidate sex and the dependent variables of news media coverage, which for the purposes of this study are measured in terms of strategy coverage, issue coverage, and personal trait/life coverage. In addition, qualitative observations regarding the news media coverage of the female presidential contenders allow for additional insight and depth of analysis. In fact, such observations may reveal understated disparities that numbers from the quantitative analysis alone may fail reveal; according to Miller (2001) such subtle differences are critical when analyzing how the news media cover female and male political candidates.

> ...differences in coverage are not always obvious. They can be quite subtle and overlooked. Analysis that fails to capture the nuances of those differences can produce false and misleading conclusions about our real world electoral conditions and their possible impacts. (Miller, 2001, p. 97)

Sample of Primary Races, Time Period, and Presidential Candidates. This research analyzed news media coverage of the 2000 Republican presidential primary and the 2004 Democratic presidential primary; the two races were selected for three reasons. First, each primary contest involved one female presidential candidate among a group of male presidential contenders, none of whom had a presidential or vice presidential incumbency advantage. Second, the two primaries provided the

opportunity to look at the phenomenon in contests for both major political parties. Finally, both primaries occurred in the most recent decade, which gives the analysis the potential to set benchmarks against which to compare news media coverage of future female presidential candidates.

The time period selected for this analysis was the three-month period prior to the day of the female candidate's announcement of withdrawal from the race, which was from July 19, 1999, to October 19, 1999, for the 2000 Republican primary and from October 14, 2003, to January 14, 2004, for the 2004 Democratic primary This time period is appropriate for the purposes of this research project because it represents a period in which the field of candidates stabilized and eliminates disproportionate coverage due to announcements of candidacy or withdraw. In addition, the three-month period in both races also represents a time segment leading up to the first primaries and caucuses of the election season, a time in which the news media appear to have heightened interest in the primary races.

All active candidates in the primary election during the period of analysis were included; however, those candidates who withdrew from the race during this time period were eliminated from the sample. For the 2000 Republican primary, news media content was coded for seven candidates: Gary Bauer, George W. Bush, Elizabeth Dole, Steve Forbes, Orrin Hatch, Alan Keyes, and John McCain (See Table 3.1). Excluded from the sample were Lamar Alexander and Dan Quayle, both of whom dropped out of the contest during the time period studied. In addition, it should be noted that Pat Buchanan was also excluded from the analysis, because he appeared

Table 3.1: Sample of 2000 Republican Primary Candidates[1]

Candidate	Description	Entered/Withdrew
Gary Bauer	Head of Family Research Council	Jan. 31, 1999/Apr. 12, 1999
George W. Bush	Texas Governor	Mar. 07, 1999/nomination at RNC
Elizabeth Dole	Former Red Cross President	Mar. 10, 1999/Oct. 20, 1999
Steve Forbes	Magazine Publisher	Mar. 16, 1999/Feb. 11, 2000
Orrin Hatch	United States Senator	Jul. 01, 1999/Jan. 26, 2000
Alan Keyes	Talk Show Host	Jun. 17, 1999/Jul. 2000
John McCain	United States Senator	Apr. 13, 1999/Mar. 09, 2000

[1] From CNN/All Politics. (2005). Who's in, who's out. Retrieved October 23, 2005, from http://www.cnn.com/ELECTION/2000/resources/whosin.whosout/

to be courting the Reform Party for its party nomination during this time period. For the 2004 Democratic primary, news media content was coded for nine candidates: Carol Moseley Braun, Wesley Clark, Howard Dean, John Edwards, Richard Gephardt, John Kerry, Dennis Kucinich, Joseph Lieberman, and Al Sharpton (See Table 3.2). Excluded from analysis was Bob Graham, who dropped out of the contest prior to the time period of interest.

Sample of News Media Content. The sample included news media coverage of the candidates from two common types of political news sources, newspapers and newsmagazines, in order to gain a comprehensive description of news media coverage of female presidential contenders, as well as their male counterparts. Two major newspapers, *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times*, were used in the analysis, as both are elite newspapers with nationwide readerships. In addition, the analysis included content from three national newsmagazines, *Newsweek*, *Time*, and *U.S. News and World Report*. The newspaper and newsmagazine content was collected via a

Table 3.2: Sample of 2004 Democratic Primary Candidates[1]

Candidate	Description	Entered/Withdrew
Carol Moseley Braun	Former United States Senator	Feb. 20, 2003/Jan. 15, 2004
Wesley Clark	Retired Four Star General	Sept. 17, 2003/Feb. 11, 2004
Howard Dean	Former Vermont Governor	May 31, 2002/Feb. 18, 2004
John Edwards	United States Senator	Jan. 02, 2003/Mar. 03, 2004
Richard Gephardt	Former House Minority Leader	Feb. 19, 2003/Jan. 20, 2004
John Kerry	United States Senator	Dec. 01, 2002/nomination at DNC
Dennis Kucinich	United States Representative	Feb. 18, 2003/defeat at DNC
Joseph Lieberman	United States Senator	Jan. 13, 2003/Feb. 03, 2004
Al Sharpton	Head of National Action Network	Jan. 22, 2003/Mar. 15, 2004

[1] From CNN.com Specials. (2005). Who's in, who's out. Retrieved on October 23, 2005, from http://www. cnn.com/ELECTION/2004/special/president/candidates/whos.in.out.html

Factiva database search for news articles mentioning the first and last names, as well as nicknames and middle initials when appropriate, of the candidates of interest in the full text of the article. Letters-to-the-editors, graphics, photographs, market news, republished news, and miscellaneous news content, such as obituaries, were excluded from the analysis.

Interestingly, it should be noted that one of the original goals of this research project was to include television network evening newscasts in addition to newspapers and newsmagazines. However, a preliminary search for television network evening newscasts revealed little coverage of the female contender in the 2000 Republican primary and no coverage within the parameters of the study for the female contender in the 2004 Democratic primary. While such a finding is interesting in its own right and will be mentioned in the discussion section of this project, the television network

evening newscasts provided insufficient coverage of female presidential contenders in the two races of interest for meaningful analysis. Thus, the sample of news media content used for the content analysis portion of this research project was limited to newspaper and newsmagazine content.

Two-step Analysis. The content analysis portion of this research project used a two-step approach: the first step collected all articles mentioning the female candidates during the three-month period and analyzed the articles by specifically focusing only on the female presidential contenders; the second step collected a sample of articles from the three month period and analyzed the articles by looking at both the female and male presidential hopefuls. This approach emulates the work of Heldman et al. (2000), who found that the depth of their analysis was enhanced by looking specifically at the female presidential contender's coverage, in addition to her coverage in comparison to her male rivals.

> We use the in-depth Dole data set to identify and document the patterns most evident in the coverage of Elizabeth Dole as a candidate. We then use the multi-candidate data set to compare Dole's coverage to that of the major male contenders for the Republican nomination. (Heldman et al., 2000, p. 3)

Therefore, to answer RQ1, RQ2, and RQ3, as well as to glean the maximum amount of descriptive analysis of the female candidates' news media coverage, all articles mentioning the names of Elizabeth Dole and Carol Moseley Braun in the newspapers and newsmagazines during the three-month period were analyzed and coded specifically for the female candidates only. Two hundred and seventy-nine articles were coded for the female candidate content analysis.

To address RQ4 and the corresponding set of hypotheses, an analysis of newspaper and newsmagazine articles mentioning the names of the female candidates and the male candidates during the three-month period was conducted. However, given the large number of articles obtained from the database search for the full field of candidates, the study used a systematic sample of newspaper coverage. A constructed month sample was created by randomly selecting a day in the first week of coverage (i.e. Wednesday of the first week of coverage) and by systematically selecting the next day of the week in the next week of coverage (i.e. Thursday of the second week of coverage); this process was repeated for the entire three month period. Rather than a sample, all campaign articles published in the newsmagazines were included in the analysis because the weekly publication resulted in a more manageable number of articles for analysis, as compared to the daily newspapers. From the sample of newspaper and newsmagazine content, 480 articles were analyzed for the female-male candidate content analysis.

Unit of Analysis, Category Construction, and Code Sheet. For the female candidate analysis, the unit of analysis was the news article because each article was coded for only one candidate; thus, the 279 articles in the analysis resulted in 279 individual cases or candidate article references. Because every individual candidate mentioned the article was coded for separately for the female-male candidate content analysis, the unit of analysis was each candidate reference per article; thus, the 480 articles in the analysis resulted in 1,205 individual cases or candidate article references. Kahn's (1996) category constructs and coding sheets were used as guides

for this analysis but were updated based on more recent research and tailored to the needs of this specific research project. The categories constructed for the content analysis revolved around the three common news frames that emerged from the body of literature on news media coverage of female candidates: strategy frames, issue frames, and personal trait/life frames.

Strategy frames were conceptualized as the presence or absence in each article of mentions regarding the horserace, polls, campaign fundraising, campaign events, or other strategy topics, such as campaign organization or campaign advertisements, in reference to the candidate. In addition, the tone of the strategy coverage references was recorded as being positive (i.e. the candidate is ahead in fundraising), negative (i.e. the candidate is behind in fundraising), a combination of positive and negative (i.e. the candidate is behind in overall fundraising but just raised a lot of money at a fundraising event), or neutral (i.e. the candidate attended a fundraising event). Issue frames were conceptualized as the presence or absence in each article of mentions regarding public policy issues in reference to the contender and were coded as feminine, masculine, other, or mixed issue references. Only issues that have been consistently found to be identified with female contenders (i.e. education, environment, health care, poverty, and women's issues) and male contenders (i.e. agriculture, business, defense, government spending, economy, military, trade, and taxation) were considered stereotypically feminine or stereotypically masculine issues. Issues that have not been found consistently to be associated with female or male candidates (i.e. campaign finance, gun control, school prayer, etc.) and issues that

involve elements of both stereotypically feminine and masculine issues (i.e. social security, which blends government spending and the elderly) were considered 'other' issues. If the candidate was referred to only in terms of feminine issues in the article, the candidate reference was recorded as a feminine issue reference; if the candidate was referred to only in terms of masculine issues in the article, the candidate reference was recorded as a masculine issue reference. Likewise, if the candidate was referred to in terms of unclassifiable issues, the reference was recorded as an 'other' issue reference. Mentions of a mixture of issue types in the article in reference to the candidate were considered 'mixed' issue references.

The personal trait frames were conceptualized as the presence or absence in each article of mentions regarding the candidate's personality, which were coded as feminine, masculine, other, or mixed trait references. As with the issue frames, only personal traits that in the literature have been associated consistently with women (i.e. warmth, compassion, inconsistency, emotion, etc.) and men (i.e. strength, courage, independence, good humor, etc.) were considered stereotypically feminine or masculine personal traits; unclassifiable traits were considered 'other' traits. If the candidate was referred to only in terms of feminine traits in the article, the candidate reference was recorded as a feminine trait reference; if the candidate was referred to only in terms of masculine traits in the article, the candidate reference was recorded as a masculine trait reference. Likewise, if the candidate was referred to only in terms of unclassifiable traits, the reference was recorded as an 'other' trait reference. Mentions of a mixture of trait types in the article in reference to the candidate were considered

'mixed' trait references. In addition, the presence or absence in each article of references to the candidate's personal life, including his or her gender, family, appearance, qualifications, etc., was also recorded.

General information regarding the news article was also recorded, such as article length, article type (i.e. news or op-ed), reporter sex (i.e. male, female, male and female, or cannot determine), and article focus (i.e. strategy-focus, issue-focus, personal-focus, mixed-focus, or other). The coder also indicated the extent of candidate coverage (i.e. primary subject, secondary subject, or mentioned with no information) and recorded the primary focus of the article in reference to the candidate (i.e. strategy-focus, issue-focus, personal-focus, mixed-focus, or other), as well as the overall tone of the article in reference to the candidate (i.e. positive, negative, positive and negative mixed, or neutral). In addition, the coder noted whether the candidate was mentioned by name in the headline and lead sentence, whether the candidate was the first or only contender mentioned in the article, and whether the candidate was quoted in the article.

Several items on the coding sheet were not specifically utilized in the analysis stage of this current research project because the items were outside of the scope of the research questions; however, such information was coded to maintain a record of the article for general reference and future research purposes.

In addition to the quantitative analysis, the coding sheet included space for qualitative observations to provide additional insight and depth of analysis that numbers alone may overlook. (See Appendix A for code sheet)

Inter-coder Reliability. The primary researcher for this project coded all news media content and worked with a secondary coder, as recommended by Stempel (2003),

> [i]f you are doing all of the coding for the study yourself, the reliability problem remains every bit as real, although perhaps not so complex. If possible, you should have a second person work with you initially and also have that person do some spot checking with you. By working with another person, you will have to clarify some definitions and procedures, and you will have to develop an objective approach. (p. 216)

A trained secondary coder was present at the initial stage of coding, and the primary and secondary coder worked together to finalize the coding sheet. In addition, Stempel (2003) suggested that "if you have a second person helping you...you could use that person in making your reliability check" (p. 216). Thus, approximately 10 percent of the articles were re-coded by the trained secondary coder to ensure coder reliability at both the beginning and at various points throughout the analysis.

Coder reliability was obtained for the female candidate content analysis and the female-male candidate content analysis by using the Holsti Formula to find an overall percent agreement for each analysis. While some researchers argue that the percent agreement approach to coder reliability has limitations, other researchers argue that "the appropriate thing to report here is simply the percentage agreement between coders" and that "percentage of agreement is the most direct measure, and it is an accepted way of reporting reliability" (Stempel, 2003, p. 216). Thus, percentage agreement is deemed a sufficient measure of coder reliability for the purposes of this research project, which was specifically to provide a reliability check on the one

primary coder. For the female candidate content analysis, 25 articles were coded by both the primary coder and the secondary coder and resulted in a 95.0 percent agreement. For the female-male candidate content analysis, 48 articles were coded by both the primary coder and the secondary coder and resulted in a 92.9 percent agreement.

Experiment

Overview and Suitability of Experiment. Another goal of this research project is to move beyond merely describing news media content by employing a theory-driven and effects-oriented method. As noted by Singletary (1994), many content analyses are merely descriptive and lack depth of insight. Therefore, in addition to the content analysis of news media coverage, an experimental design was used to investigate the impact of news media frames on potential voters' evaluations of candidates, as well as the influence of gender stereotypes in such evaluations. As noted by Grabe and Westley (2003), "[t]he controlled experiment is, when carried out rigorously, the most powerful method of seeking answers to research questions about cause and effect available to the social scientist" (p. 267).

Factorial experimental designs are useful when "a researcher is interested in investigating the simultaneous effects of more than one independent variable on dependent variables" (Grabe & Westley, 2003, p. 280). In fact, Kahn (1996) argued that a factorial design "allows for the examination of the impact that gender differences in coverage have on people's views of [omitted] candidates" (p. 58). A factorial experimental design is equally well suited for investigating the impact of

gender stereotypes in the electoral context. Thus, according to Kahn (1996), several conclusions can be drawn from such a design.

> By holding the sex of the candidate constant and only manipulating the type of press coverage, we can determine whether differences in news presentations influence people's perceptions of male and female candidates... By holding coverage constant and altering the sex of the candidate, we look at whether people rely on sex stereotypes to draw distinctions between identical male and female candidates... By allowing the type of coverage and the sex of the candidate to vary, we examine the cumulative impact that candidate coverage and the candidate's gender have on people's views. (Kahn, 1996, p. 61).

Experimental Design. Based on the work of Kahn (1996), this research project used a factorial design to assess the impact of news media coverage and gender stereotypes on candidate evaluations by potential voters. The factorial design involved two manipulated variables: candidate sex (i.e. female or male) and article type (i.e. female article or male article). In other words, two independent variables were of interest, including candidate sex and article type, while the dependent variables were various aspects of candidate evaluation, specifically measured in terms of candidate viability, issue competency, personal trait/life assessments, and ideology. Thus, a 2x2 factorial design divided this experiment into four conditions: (1) female candidate/female article; (2) female candidate/male article; (3) male candidate/female article; (4) male candidate/male article (See Table 3.3).

Instruments. Using the experimental designs of Kahn (1996), Sapiro (1981-1982), and Gordon and Miller (2001) as a guide, the researcher selected two

Table 3.3: 2x2 Factorial Design Conditions

Experimental Conditions	
Female Candidate/ Female Article	Female Candidate/ Male Article
Male Candidate/ Female Article	Male Candidate/ Male Article

newspaper articles from the 2000 Republican presidential primary as stimulus articles for this experiment. Actual news articles were selected as the stimuli to increase the external validity of the experiment and to follow the leads of Sapiro (1981-1982) and Gordon and Miller (2001) of using actual political discourse in the experiment. One article was adapted primarily from a candidate profile written about Elizabeth Dole in *The Washington Post* (Von Drehle, 1999a) with a minor amount of content pulled from another Dole profile written by the same author (Von Drehle, 1999b). The second article was adapted from a candidate profile written about George W. Bush in *The Washington Post* (Von Drehle, 1999c). Specific references to the names of Elizabeth Dole or George W. Bush, the Republican Party, or other identifiers of the candidate, the election year, or the political party were either removed or replaced with information for a hypothetical presidential primary candidate in the 2008 presidential election.

These articles were selected because they were comparable in terms of topic, and each represented some of the more subtle differences in the news frames associated with female and male presidential contenders as indicated in past research

and this research project. More specifically, the articles presented subtle differences in coverage of horserace and fundraising, gender, and appearance. In addition, the articles focused primarily on campaign strategy and candidate personality but also briefly mentioned issues; for example, both articles included a brief list of issue concerns of the candidate, including such issues as the military and education. Likewise, stereotypically feminine and masculine personality traits were present in both articles, such as warmth and good humor in the Bush article and toughness, moodiness, and emotion in the Dole article; however, it should be noted that Bush was covered more predominantly in terms of compassion and Dole was covered more predominantly in terms of toughness. While it is not claimed that these articles are perfect mirrors of typical female and male presidential candidate coverage, they do represent some of the more subtle differences in news frames associated with such candidates and, perhaps more significantly, represent actual coverage that readers may have encountered about a female and male candidate in a recent presidential primary.

Thus, two articles for the experiment were based on the real Elizabeth Dole article; one included the name of a hypothetical female contender and one included the name of a hypothetical male contender. Likewise, two stimulus articles were based on the actual George W. Bush article; one included the name of a hypothetical female contender and one included the name of a hypothetical male contender. Therefore, each condition of the factorial experimental design was fulfilled. (See Appendix B, Appendix C, Appendix D, and Appendix E for stimulus articles) It should be noted that the newspaper articles provided participants with only a small amount of

information about the contenders and the primary election. However, this may provide an ideal situation in which to investigate the impact of voting cues, such as news media coverage and gender stereotypes; as previously noted, research on gender stereotypes has indicated that the use of voting cues is particularly notable when voters have little information regarding an election, which, in reality, is often the case, whether by necessity or choice (McDermott, 1997).

Via an online questionnaire, participants were asked to read one newspaper article, which fell into one of the four conditions previously outlined, about a hypothetical presidential primary candidate in the 2008 presidential race and to complete a candidate evaluation questionnaire. The same candidate evaluation questionnaire was used for each experimental condition and was designed to measure the common gender-based inferences cited by the gender stereotype research noted in the literature review: issue position inferences, personal trait/life inferences, ideology inferences, and candidate viability inferences. Thus, participants rated the candidate's competency levels on various issues, which correspond with stereotypically feminine and masculine issues as indicated by previous research. The issue competency items were measured on a four-point scale (1 = poor, 2 = fair, 3 = good, 4 = excellent). Similarly, participants rated the candidate in terms of how well they thought the contender was described by several personality traits and characteristics that, according to previous research, correspond with stereotypically feminine and masculine personality traits. The personal trait items were also measured on a four-point scale (1 = not well at all, 2 = not too well, 3 = quite well, 4 = extremely well).

Participants also evaluated the political ideology of the candidate. This item was measured on a five-point scale (1 = very conservative, 2 = conservative, 3 = moderate, 4 = liberal, 5 = very liberal). In addition, candidate viability was measured by asking participants to indicate whether they would vote for the contender and whether they thought the candidate would have a good chance of winning the race. The viability items were also measured on a four-point scale (1 = not at all likely, 2 = not very likely, 3 = somewhat likely, 4 = very likely). Participants were not provided with neutral options, such as 'don't know' or 'cannot determine,' due to the hypothetical nature of the candidate evaluations.

Finally, following the lead of Rosenwasser and Dean (1989), participants selected personal characteristics and issue competency areas they associate with a successful presidential candidate. In addition, participants were asked to provide some demographic information, including age, sex, political ideology, and voting behavior. (See Appendix F for the questionnaire)

Participant Sample. The participant sample was derived from a convenience sample of students from various undergraduate majors, including journalism, electronic media, public relations, advertising, and speech, in the College of Communication and Information at the University of Tennessee in Knoxville, Tennessee; course instructors invited students to participate in the experiment on a voluntary basis. Obvious external validity concerns exist when narrowing the sample to younger citizens who are often considered politically apathetic; however, such a sample is justifiable, and perhaps even desirable, in this investigation for several

reasons. First, while many investigations have used secondary analyses of previously collected survey data to examine gender stereotypes, the overwhelming majority of such experiments have relied consistently on student samples (Sapiro,1981-1982; Huddy & Terkildson, 1993a, 1993b; Leeper, 1991; Rosenwasser & Dean, 1989; Rosenwasser et al., 1987; Rosenwasser & Seale, 1988). While such an appeal to tradition alone does not completely justify the use of a student sample, Huddy and Terkildson (1993a) lend further credence to the use of such a sample.

> While college students might be considered inappropriate respondents because higher education teaches them not to endorse gender stereotypes or at least not to use them, there are several reasons for thinking that our results would not be essentially different among a representative sample of adults. First, it is clear that college students endorse gender stereotypes. Almost all research conducted on the incidence, measurement, content, and structure of gender stereotypes has relied on student participants [citations omitted]. While this may be lamentable, it suggests that gender stereotypes exist even among college students. (Huddy & Terkildson, 1993a, p. 507)

College students also represent a suitable sample, because they embody a unique group of voters. Unlike many older groups of voters, college students in the recent decade grew up with images and examples of powerful women, whether political figures, such as Margaret Thatcher, Madeline Albright, or Sandra Day O'Connor; corporate figures, such as Oprah Winfrey or Martha Stewart; or fictional figures, such as Glenn Close portraying the vice president in the movie *Air Force One* and Geena Davis cast as the president on ABC's "Commander in Chief." In addition, while college students in general may be politically apathetic, they do represent an

important block of leaders, community members, and voters in the future of the nation.

Finally, it should be noted that the purpose of this experiment is specifically to investigate the reaction (i.e. candidate evaluations) to a stimulus (i.e. candidate sex and/or article type) without the specific goal of generalization to the larger public. By selecting the experimental method, rather than a survey method or secondary analysis, the goal of this research is to test the existence of such effects rather than to make generalizations of such effects to the general population. As noted by Grabe and Westley (2003),

> [E]xperiments are effective in testing causal relationships but not effective in making population estimates... In other words, what can be statistically inferred and generalized is that under the same experimental conditions the same cause will have the same effect. We cannot make statistically accurate generalizations of the findings to a larger population. Statistical generalization depends on random sampling that is typically not practiced in experimental research... Because experimental researchers are usually less concerned about generalizing to large populations than survey researchers, random sampling from a population is not important to experimentalists. What is important is random assignment of subjects to experimental conditions. (p. 272-273)

Therefore, while the participant sample for this investigation was not randomly selected, measures were taken to ensure random assignment of conditions; the newspaper articles and questionnaires were electronically administered so that the four conditions were rotated for each participant completing the questionnaire. In addition, while generalization was not the specific goal of this research project, if effects are

revealed in the experiment, such results could be used as a catalyst for more generalizable research efforts.

> Yet, that does not mean that we are completely unable to make generalizations about experimental findings. In fact, by replicating experiments with different groups of subjects over time and finding the same results, experimental researchers are empowered to make nonstatistical generalizations, or logical inferences, about their findings. (Grabe & Westley, 2003, p. 273)

Approval from the Human Subjects in Research Board at the University of Tennessee was obtained for the experimental portion of this research project. (See Appendix G for approval form)

Summary of Foundations

This chapter listed the research questions and hypotheses that guided the research and described the mixed methods design of the research project. In the next chapter, the data collected from the content analysis and experiment will be presented and interpreted.

Chapter IV: Data Analysis and Findings

Content Analysis

As previously noted, the content analysis portion of this research project was broken into two distinct analyses, one for media coverage of the female candidates and a second for female and male candidates, both of which included a primary quantitative and secondary qualitative element. The 279 news articles coded for the female candidate analysis provided the data for RQ1, RQ2, and RQ3, while the 480 news articles coded for the female-male candidate content analysis provided the data for RQ4.

The statistical analysis for the content analysis portion of the research project was performed with the SPSS statistical program and with the assistance of the Statistical Counseling Center at the University of Tennessee. The quantitative analysis of the news media content used frequency tables, crosstabulations, and chi-square tests.

Frequency tables provided basic information about the data, such as the number of articles in various variable categories for the female candidate analysis. In addition, crosstabulations compared various categorical variables relevant to the research questions and hypotheses, such as candidate sex and the presence or types of specific news frames. A crosstabulation is defined as "a table that contains counts of the number of times various combinations of values of two variables occur" and is suggested for use when "you want to look at the relationship between two variables that have a small number of values or categories" (Norusis, 1999, p. 111). Thus,

crosstabulations essentially allow a researcher to look at the relationships among and between different categorical variables and to determine whether occurrences of one categorical variable tend to coincide with occurrences of another categorical variable (Younger, 2003). Chi-square tests are then used to test for statistically significant differences among the variables. If a researcher is concerned with whether two categorical variables from the data are independent from each other, the chi-square test of independence, also referred to as Pearson's chi-square, can be used (Singletary, 2004; Younger, 2003). If the chi-square value is large and the significance value is small, or typically less than 0.05, it is likely that at least two variables of interest are not independent and have some type of relationship or association (Norusis, 1999; Younger, 2003).

The following sections present the data analysis and findings of the content analysis portion of the research project. The sections will be organized by research question and will provide the quantitative analysis along with relevant tables. In addition, observations from the qualitative analysis will be included at the end of the section.

Research Question One. The first research question asked how female presidential candidates in recent primary elections were covered by the news media, particularly in terms of strategy frames, issue frames, and personal trait/life frames. To answer RQ1, 279 news articles were coded for the female candidates only; 172 articles in the sample included a mention of the female candidate in the 2000 Republican primary campaign race, Elizabeth Dole, while 107 articles in the sample

included a mention of the female candidate in the 2004 Democratic primary campaign, Carol Moseley Braun.

Research Question One – Hypothesis One. In order to describe how the female presidential candidates were covered in relation to strategy frames, issue frames, and personal trait/life frames, five hypotheses guided the analysis. RQ1-H1 conjectured that female presidential candidates receive more strategy coverage and personal trait/life coverage than issue coverage. To test this hypothesis, the number and percentages of articles mentioning the female candidates in terms of campaign strategy, issue, and personal trait/life frames were obtained.[1] Of the 279 news articles sampled for this analysis, 221 (79.2%) mentioned the female candidates in terms of campaign strategy, 86 (30.8%) referred to the female candidates in relation to issues, while 158 (56.6%) mentioned some aspect of the female candidates' personal lives including qualifications, and 99 (35.5%) mentioned some aspect of the female candidates' lives excluding qualifications (See Table 4.1).

In addition, non-parametric chi-square tests conducted on each variable found significant differences when the percentages of the news frames from the sample were compared to what would be expected if the coverage of each frame was balanced. The

[1] At this point, it should be noted that two measures of personal trait/life coverage were used throughout this analysis; the first includes qualifications, such as mentions of job titles, previous work experience, and education, as an element of the personal trait/life variable, while the second excluded qualifications as a component of the personal trait/life variable. While it is arguable that qualifications is an important component of personal trait/life coverage, it was a concern of the researcher that the amount of personal trait/life coverage would be inflated due to the newspaper practice of referring to presidential candidates by their job titles, which was coded in this analysis as a qualification mention. Thus, throughout the analysis of the news media content, the personal trait/life coverage variable will be described in two manners: personal trait/life with qualifications and personal trait/life without qualifications.

Table 4.1: News Frames in Female Presidential Candidate Coverage

	No		Yes	
	Count	%	Count	%
Strategy	58	20.8%	221	79.2%
Issue	193	69.2%	86	30.8%
Personal Trait/Life With Qualifications	121	43.4%	158	56.6%
Personal Trait/Life Without Qualifications	180	64.5%	99	35.5%

chi-squares revealed that the female candidates received more strategy coverage (x^2 = 95.229, p-value < 0.001) than expected and less issue coverage than expected (x^2 = 41.036, p-value < 0.001). The female candidates received more personal life/trait coverage than expected when qualifications were included in the analysis (x^2 = 4.907, p-value = 0.027) and less personal life/trait coverage than expected when qualifications were excluded from the analysis (x^2 = 23.516, p-value < 0.001).

Therefore, the data provides partial support for RQ1-H1; the news articles were clearly more likely to cover the female candidates in terms of strategy frames than personal trait/life frames and issue frames. The news articles also appeared more likely to cover the female candidates in terms of personal trait/life frames than issues frames, although the difference between personal life/trait frames and issue frames became less noteworthy with the qualifications category removed from the analysis.

Research Question One – Hypothesis Two. Looking more specifically at the strategy coverage of the female candidates, RQ1-H2 proposed that female presidential

candidates receive more negative strategy coverage than positive, combination of positive and negative, or neutral strategy coverage. In order to test this hypothesis, three elements of strategy coverage were analyzed: overall strategy coverage, horserace coverage, and fundraising coverage. Of the news articles referring to some aspect of the female candidates' campaign strategies, 11.8 percent were categorized as positive, 24.4 percent as negative, 16.3 percent as positive and negative, and 47.5 percent as neutral. Of the news articles specifically referring to the female candidates in terms of the horserace, 23.4 percent referred to the female candidate in a positive manner, 44.7 percent in a negative manner, 16.0 percent in a positive and negative manner, and 16.0 percent in a neutral manner. Of the articles specifically mentioning the fundraising aspect of the female candidates' campaign strategy, 10.3 percent were positive in nature, 61.5 percent were negative, 2.6 percent were both positive and negative, and 25.6 percent were neutral. (See Table 4.2)

In addition, non-parametric chi-squares were conducted for each variable to determine whether the percentages noted above were different than what would be expected if the strategy coverage was balanced in terms of positive, negative, positive and negative, and neutral coverage. Significant differences were found in each category with more neutral coverage evident than expected in the overall strategy variable (x^2 = 67.018, p-value < 0.001), and more negative coverage evident than expected in the horserace variable (x^2 = 20.809, p-value < 0.001) and fundraising variable (x^2 = 32.077, p-value < 0.001).

Table 4.2: Tone of Female Presidential Candidate Strategy Coverage

Overall Strategy Tone

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Positive	26	11.8
	Negative	54	24.4
	Positive and Negative	36	16.3
	Neutral	105	47.5
	Total	221	100.0

Horserace Tone

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Positive	22	23.4
	Negative	42	44.7
	Positive and Negative	15	16.0
	Neutral	15	16.0
	Total	94	100.0

Fundraising Tone

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Positive	4	10.3
	Negative	24	61.5
	Positive and Negative	1	2.6
	Neutral	10	25.6
	Total	39	100.0

Therefore, the data provided limited support for RQ1-H2. The tone of the news articles mentioning the female candidates in reference to general campaign strategy was not overwhelmingly negative; in fact, the news articles appeared much more likely to take a neutral approach when discussing various elements of the female candidates' campaign strategies than a negative, positive, or positive and negative approach. However, when two specific variables often associated with negative coverage of female political candidates were individually analyzed, it appears that the news articles were more likely to take a negative approach to covering the female candidates in terms of the horserace and fundraising than a positive, positive and negative, or neutral approach.

Research Question One – Hypothesis Three. To take a more in-depth look at the issue coverage of the female candidates, RQ1-H3 stated that female presidential candidates receive more stereotypically feminine issue coverage, such as coverage related to health care, education, and poverty, than stereotypically masculine issue coverage, such as coverage related to the economy, the military, and foreign affairs. Of the news articles mentioning the female candidates in reference to issues, 20.9 percent referred to the female candidate in relation to only stereotypically masculine issues, 19.8 percent referred to the female candidate in relation to only stereotypically feminine issues, while 29.1 percent mentioned the female candidate in relation to only issues that could not be classified as stereotypically masculine or feminine issues, and 30.2 percent mentioned the female candidate in relation to a mixture of masculine, feminine and/or unclassifiable issues (See Table 4.3). A non-parametric chi-square

Table 4.3: Types of Female Presidential Candidate Issue Coverage

Issue Type

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Masculine	18	20.9
	Feminine	17	19.8
	Other	25	29.1
	Mix	26	30.2
	Total	86	100.0

test revealed no statistically significant difference between the observed number of articles in each category and the expected number of articles if the coverage type were equal between the categories (x^2 = 3.023, p-value = 0.388). Therefore, RQ1-H3 is not supported; the female candidates appear to have received rather equal amounts of stereotypically masculine and feminine issue, as well as other issue or mixed issue, news media coverage.

Research Question One – Hypothesis Four. To look in more detail at the personal trait coverage of the female candidates, H4 proposed that female presidential candidates receive more stereotypically feminine personal trait coverage, descriptions such as warm, caring, and honest, than stereotypically masculine personal trait coverage, descriptions such as tough, strong, and independent. Of the 38 news articles mentioning the female candidates in relation to a personal trait, 21.1 percent referred to the female candidate in relation only to stereotypically masculine traits; 23.7 percent referred to the female candidate in relation only to stereotypically feminine traits, while 23.7 percent mentioned the female candidate in relation to personality

traits that could not be classified as stereotypically masculine or feminine traits, and 31.6 percent mentioned the female candidate in relation to mixture of masculine traits, feminine traits and/or unclassifiable traits (See Table 4.4). A non-parametric chi-square test revealed no statistically significant difference between the observed number of articles in each category and the expected number of articles if the coverage type were equal between the categories (x^2 = 0.947, p-value = 0.814). Therefore, RQ1-H4 is not supported; news media coverage did not portray the female candidates according to stereotypically masculine and feminine personal traits.

Research Question One – Hypothesis Five. In an effort to glean more specific information about how news media cover the personal lives of the female candidates, H5 proposed that female presidential candidates receive more coverage about some aspects of their personal lives, such as gender, family, and appearance, than other aspects of their personal lives, such as qualifications.

Table 4.4: Types of Female Presidential Candidate Personal Trait Coverage

Trait Type

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Masculine	8	21.1
	Feminine	9	23.7
	Other	9	23.7
	Mix	12	31.6
	Total	38	100.0

In terms of personal life coverage, 11.5 percent of the news articles mentioned the female candidates' gender, 9.7 percent mentioned the female candidates' spouse or marital status, 1.4 percent mentioned their children or parental status, 1.8 percent mentioned the female candidates' other family members, 4.3 percent mentioned their physical appearance, 2.2 percent mentioned the female candidates' clothing or accessories, 7.2 percent mentioned the female candidates' past life experiences unrelated to specific qualifications, while 33.0 percent mentioned the female candidates' qualifications (See Table 4.5). It should be noted that some articles did not mention personal life frames or mentioned personal life frames not relevant to this hypothesis. Therefore, from the frequency table alone, it is clear that qualification coverage, which included mentions of job titles, work experience, and education, surpassed coverage of other individual personal life characteristics, including the gender, family, and appearance categories. However, adding up the personal life mentions often associated with stereotypical coverage of female candidates, specifically gender frames, family frames, and appearance frames, revealed that such mentions were present in approximately one-third of the articles, which is rather equal to the amount of qualifications references. Therefore, RQ1-H5 is not supported; qualifications references in the articles about the female candidates were not underrepresented in comparison to other personal life categories.

Research Question Two. In addition to describing how the news media covered the female presidential candidates, this research project also followed the lead of previous research projects by looking at the differences in how female and male news

Table 4.5: Female Presidential Candidate Personal Life Coverage

	No		Yes	
	Count	%	Count	%
Gender	247	88.5%	32	11.5%
Spouse/Marital Status	252	90.3%	27	9.7%
Children/Parental Status	275	98.6%	4	1.4%
Other Family	274	98.2%	5	1.8%
Physical Appearance	267	95.7%	12	4.3%
Clothing/Accessories	273	97.8%	6	2.2%
Past Life Experience	259	92.8%	20	7.2%
Qualification	187	67.0%	92	33.0%

journalists covered the female candidates. Thus, R2 asked whether female and male journalists use different news frames when covering the female presidential candidates.[2] Bylines were categorized as female or male author as judged by traditional male and female first names. Female journalists wrote 52 of the news articles included in the analysis, while male journalists authored 169 of the news articles. In order to shed light onto this inquiry, crosstabulations and chi-squares were conducted for each of the strategy frame, issue frame, and personal trait/life frame variables (See Table 4.6)

In terms of strategy frames, female journalists covered the female candidates in relation to campaign strategy in 76.9 percent of their articles, while male journalists covered the female candidates in relation to campaign strategy in 83.4 percent of their

[2] For the purposes of this inquiry, only articles that had male reporter(s) and female reporter(s) were included in the analysis. Several articles included a mixed-sex reporting team or had reporters with names that could not be identified with a sex, which were excluded from the analysis.

Table 4.6: Differences in News Frames by Journalist Sex

News Frames	Female	Male	Chi-Square	P-Value
Strategy	76.9%	83.4%	1.136	0.286
Issue	42.3%	24.3%	6.355	0.012*
Personal Life/Trait With Qualifications	67.3%	54.4%	2.695	0.101
Personal Life/Trait Without Qualifications	46.2%	32.0%	3.512	0.061

* denotes p-value < 0.05

articles. The difference in these percentages is not statistically significant, indicating that female and male journalists were equally likely to cover female presidential candidates in terms of campaign strategy (x^2 = 1.136, p-value = 0.286). In addition, female and male journalists did not differ at the 0.05 level of statistical significance in terms of the tone of overall strategy coverage (x^2 = 5.721, p-value = 0.126), horserace coverage (x^2 = 6.476, p-value = 0.091), and fundraising coverage (x^2 = 5.391, p-value = 0.068).

In relation to issue coverage, female journalists mentioned female candidates in terms of issues in 42.3 percent of their articles, as compared with 24.3 percent of the articles by male journalists. The difference in the use of issue frames by the female and male journalists is significant at the 0.05 level, indicating that female journalists were more likely than male journalists to mention the female candidates in reference to an issue or issues (x^2 = 6.355, p-value = 0.012). However, when looking at specific issue types, such as stereotypically feminine or masculine issues, there appears to be no statistically significant difference in terms of the types of issues female and male journalists mentioned when covering female presidential candidates (x^2 = 5.219, p-value = 0.156).

Finally, when looking at personal trait/life coverage of the female presidential candidates, female journalists referred to some aspect of the female candidates' personal traits/lives including qualifications in 67.3 percent of their articles and some element of the female candidates' personal traits/lives excluding qualifications in 46.2 percent of their articles. Male journalists mentioned some aspect of the female candidates' personal traits/lives including qualifications in 54.4 percent of their articles and some element of the female candidates' personal traits/lives excluding qualifications in 32.0 percent of their articles. The statistical significance of the difference in the personal trait/life with qualifications variable (x^2 = 2.695, p-value = 0.101), as well as in the personal trait/life without qualifications variable (x^2 = 3.512, p-value = 0.061), is not significant at the 0.05 level. In addition, looking at the differences between female and male journalists in terms of more specific categories within the personal trait/life variable, no statistical significance was found for the trait type category (x^2 = 0.379, p-value = 0.944), the children/parental status category (x^2 = 1.586, p-value = 0.208), the other family category (x^2 = 0.005, p-value = 0.944), past life experience category (x^2 = 5.762, p-value = 0.124), and the qualifications category (x^2 = 2.918, p-value = 0.088).

However, statistically significant differences were found in other personal life categories. For example, female journalists mentioned the gender of the female candidates in 25.0 percent of their articles, while male journalists referred to gender in 8.9 percent of their articles. This difference is statistically significant at the 0.05 level, indicating that the female journalists were more likely than the male journalists to

mention the gender of the female presidential candidates (x^2 = 9.344, p-value = 0.002). Likewise, female journalists mentioned the spouse or marital status of the female candidates in 23.1 percent of their articles, while male journalists made such references in 6.5 percent of their articles. This difference is statistically significant at the 0.05 level, indicating that female journalists were more likely than male journalists to mention the spouse or marital status of the female presidential candidates (x^2 = 11.707, p-value = 0.001).

Female journalists also mentioned the female candidates in reference to physical appearance in 9.6 percent of their articles and in reference to clothing or accessories in 7.7 percent of their articles, while male journalists referred to physical appearance in 3.0 percent of their articles and clothing or accessories in 1.2 percent of their articles. The differences between female and male journalists in terms of physical appearance coverage of the female candidates (x^2 = 4.079, p-value = 0.043) and clothing or accessories coverage of the female candidates (x^2 = 6.378, p-value = 0.012) were statistically significant at the 0.05 level; however, it should be noted figures in each category are based on small numbers. (See Table 4.7)

Research Question Three. Another goal of this research project was to look at whether different types of news media covered female presidential candidates differently. Therefore, R3 asked whether female presidential candidates were covered differently by two news media outlets, specifically newspapers and newsmagazines. Of the 279 articles included in the analysis, 248 articles came from *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times*, and 31 came from *Newsweek*, *Time*, and *U.S. News &*

Table 4.7: Differences in Personal Life Categories by Journalist Sex

Personal Life Categories	Female	Male	Chi-Square	P-Value
Gender	25.0%	8.9%	9.344	0.002*
Spouse/Marital Status	23.1%	6.5%	11.707	0.001*
Children/Parental Status	3.8%	1.2%	1.586	0.208
Other Family	1.9%	1.8%	0.005	0.944
Physical Appearance	9.6%	3.0%	4.079	0.043*
Clothing/Accessories	7.7%	1.2%	6.378	0.012*
Past Life Experience	13.5%	7.1%	5.762	0.124
Qualifications	46.2%	33.1%	2.918	0.088

* denotes p-value < 0.05

World Report. To answer this research question, crosstabulations and chi-squares were conducted for both news media types and each of the campaign strategy, issue, and personal trait/life variables (See Table 4.8).

In relation to amount of strategy coverage, 81.0 percent of newspaper articles covered the female candidates in terms of campaign strategy, while 64.5 percent of newsmagazine articles covered the female candidates in terms of campaign strategy. The difference in these percentages is statistically significant, indicating that newspapers were more likely to cover the female presidential candidates in terms of campaign strategy than newsmagazines (x^2 = 4.574, p-value = 0.032). However, newspapers and newsmagazines did not differ at the 0.05 level of statistical significance in terms of the tone of overall strategy coverage (x^2 = 4.916, p-value = 0.178), horserace coverage (x^2 = 3.272, p-value = 0.352), and fundraising coverage (x^2 = 2.333, p-value = 0.506).

Table 4.8: Differences in News Frames by News Medium

News Frames	Newspaper	Newsmagazine	Chi-Square	P-Value
Strategy	81.0%	64.5%	4.574	0.032*
Issue	31.9%	22.6%	1.112	0.292
Personal Life/Trait With Qualifications	58.1%	45.2%	1.868	0.172
Personal Life/Trait Without Qualifications	34.7%	41.9%	0.634	0.426

* denotes p-value < 0.05

In addition, 31.9 percent of newspaper articles mentioned the female candidates in relation to issues, while 22.6 percent of newsmagazine articles mentioned the female candidate in relation to issues; this difference is not significant at the 0.05 level (x^2 = 1.112, p-value = 0.292). Likewise, when looking at specific issue types, including stereotypically feminine issues and stereotypically masculine issues, no statistically significant difference was found in the types of issues newspapers and newsmagazines referred to when covering female presidential candidates (x^2 = 2.983, p-value = 0.394).

In terms of personal trait/life coverage, newspapers made reference to some aspect of the female candidates' personal traits/lives including qualifications in 58.1 percent of their articles and some element of the female candidates' personal traits/lives excluding qualifications in 34.7 percent of their articles. Newsmagazines mentioned some aspect of the female candidates' personal traits/lives including qualifications in 45.2 percent of their articles and some element of the female candidates' personal traits/lives excluding qualifications in 41.9 percent of their articles. The differences in both the personal trait/life including qualifications variable

(x^2 = 1.868, p-value = 0.172) and the personal trait/life excluding qualifications variable (x^2 = 0.643, p-value = 0.426) are not statistically significant at the 0.05 level.

Looking the differences between newspapers and newsmagazines in terms of more specific categories within the personal trait/life variable, no statistical significance was found among the various categories of personal trait/life (x^2 =1.440, p-value = 0.696), the gender category (x^2 = 0.746, p-value = 0.388), the spouse/marital status category (x^2 = 0.415, p-value = 0.519), the children/parental status category (x^2 = 0.507, p-value = 0.476), the other family category (x^2 = 0.636, p-value = 0.425), the physical appearance category (x^2 = 0.392, p-value = 0.531), the clothing/accessories category (x^2 = 0.766, p-value = 0.381), and the past life experience category (x^2 = 0.330, p-value = 0.566). It should be noted that several of these categories included very small numbers of articles, particularly the children/parent status and other family categories.

The only statistically significant difference within the personal trait/life variable found in the comparison of newspaper and newsmagazine coverage occurred in the job qualifications category, which included mentions the candidate's job title, work experience, or education. Newspapers mentioned some aspect of the female candidates' job qualifications in 36.7 percent of their articles, while newsmagazines mentioned the female candidates' job qualifications in 3.2 percent of their articles. This difference is statistically significant at the 0.05 level (x^2 = 13.965, p-value < 0.001), indicating the newspapers were more likely than newsmagazines to make references to some aspect of the female candidates' qualifications. (See Table 4.9)

Table 4.9: Differences in Personal Life Categories by News Medium

Personal Life Categories	Newspaper	Newsmagazine	Chi-Square	P-Value
Gender	10.9%	16.1%	0.746	0.388
Spouse/Marital Status	10.1%	6.5%	0.415	0.519
Children/Parental Status	1.6%	0.0%	0.507	0.476
Other Family	5.9%	0.0%	0.636	0.425
Physical Appearance	4.0%	6.5%	0.392	0.531
Clothing/Accessories	2.4%	0.0%	0.766	0.381
Past Life Experience	6.9%	9.7%	0.330	0.566
Qualification	36.7%	3.2%	13.965	0.000*

* denotes p-value < 0.05

Research Question Four. To investigate the news media coverage of female presidential candidates from another angle, the fourth research question asked whether female presidential candidates in recent primary elections were covered differently by the news media when compared to male presidential candidates. To answer this inquiry, a sample of 480 newspaper and newsmagazine articles from the 2000 Republican primary and the 2004 Democratic primary were included in the analysis. All articles mentioning the names of the candidates included in the sample, as previously discussed, were analyzed, and each news article was coded for each individual candidate mentioned, thus resulting 1,205 separate cases or candidate article references.

Research Question Four – Hypothesis One. The first hypothesis contended that female presidential candidates receive equal coverage in terms of amount and prominence when compared to male presidential candidates. In terms of quantity, the front-runners in the two primary races, George W. Bush in the 2000 Republican

primary and Howard Dean in the 2004 Democratic primary, were mentioned in the largest number of news articles, while the two female candidates, Elizabeth Dole and Carol Moseley Braun, were ranked tenth and fourteenth respectively. Therefore, while some male candidates were ranked above the female candidates and other male candidates were ranked below the female candidates, both women fell in the lower half of the ranking in terms of quantity of news media coverage, at least when measured by the number of articles in which each candidate was mentioned (See Table 4.10). Therefore, little support is provided for RQ4-H1's contention that the female candidates receive equal amounts of coverage when compared to the male candidates.

The second part of RQ4-H1 focused on the prominence of news media coverage, which was measured in this analysis by the candidate focus, the candidate headline, the candidate lead, the candidate first/only, and the candidate quote variables. First, the candidate focus variable categorized the candidate as a primary focus of the article, as a secondary focus, or as a mere mention with no information. The candidate was the primary focus in 3.9 percent of the female references, was a secondary focus in 96.1 percent of the female article references, and was a mere mention in none of the female articles. The candidate was the primary focus in 15.8 percent of the male article references, was a secondary focus in 82.6 percent of the male article references, and was a mere mention in 1.6 percent of the male articles references. The differences in these percentages are statistically significant at the 0.05 level, indicating that female candidates were less likely to be the primary focus and

Table 4.10: Candidate Article References

Candidate

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Dean	193	16.0
	Bush	184	15.3
	Kerry	116	9.6
	Lieberman	97	8.0
	Clark	95	7.9
	Gephardt	93	7.7
	Edwards	88	7.3
	McCain	75	6.2
	Forbes	56	4.6
	Dole	49	4.1
	Kucinich	39	3.2
	Sharpton	34	2.8
	Bauer	30	2.5
	Braun	29	2.4
	Hatch	22	1.8
	Keyes	5	.4
	Total	1205	100.0

more likely to be a secondary focus in their coverage when compared to male candidates (x^2 = 9.575, p-value = 0.008).

In terms of whether the candidate was mentioned by name in the article's headline, the female candidates were mentioned in the headlines of 2.6 percent of their article references, while male candidates were mentioned in the headlines of 11.9 percent of their article references. This difference is statistically significant at the 0.05 level, which leads to the conclusion that even when stories mentioned the female candidates, their names were less likely to appear in the headlines than male candidates (x^2 = 6.202, p-value = 0.013). Likewise, the candidate was mentioned by name in the lead sentence in 5.2 percent of the female article references, while the candidate was mentioned in the lead sentence in 13.9 percent of the male article references. This difference is also statistically significant, indicating that the female candidates were less likely than their male counterparts to appear in the lead sentence of their coverage (x^2 = 4.739, p-value = 0.029). Female candidates were also the first or only candidates mentioned in 14.3 percent of their article references, while male candidates were the first or only candidates mentioned in 40.8 percent of their article references. Such a difference is also statistically significant, revealing that female candidates were less likely than the male candidates to be the first or only candidate mentioned in their coverage (x^2 = 21.251, p-value < 0.001). The only prominence category that was not statistically significant was the candidate quote category (x^2 = 1.503, p-value = 0.220). The candidate was quoted in 23.4 percent of the female

article references and in 30.0 percent of the male article references; thus, female and male candidates were equally likely to be quoted in their respective article references.

Therefore, virtually no support was found for RQ4-H1; the female candidates appear to have received less prominent coverage when compared to the male candidates in terms of overall article focus, as well as being mentioned less frequently in headlines or lead sentences or being the first or only candidate mentioned in their article references (See Table 4.11).

Research Question Four – Hypothesis Two. Looking specifically at strategy coverage, RQ4-H2 conjectured that female presidential candidates would receive more strategy coverage when compared to male presidential candidates. Using the overall strategy variable, female candidate references mentioned campaign strategy in 75.0 percent of the cases, while male candidate article references mentioned campaign strategy in 76.4 percent of the cases, not statistically significant and indicating that female and male candidates received equal amounts of strategy coverage ($x^2 = 0.079$, p-value = 0.778). In addition, no statistically significant differences were found when

Table 4.11: Differences in Prominence of Coverage by Candidate Sex

Prominence Categories	Female	Male	Chi-Square	P-Value
Candidate Primary Focus	3.9%	15.8%	9.575	0.008*
Candidate Headline	2.6%	11.9%	6.202	0.013*
Candidate Lead	5.2%	13.9%	4.739	0.029*
Candidate First/Only	14.3%	40.8%	21.251	0.000*
Candidate Quote	23.4%	30.0%	1.503	0.220

* denotes p-value < 0.05

looking at the specific categories of horserace coverage (x^2 = 0.335, p-value = 0.563) and fundraising coverage (x^2 = 0.010, p-value = 0.921). Therefore, RQ4-H2 is rejected; the female candidates received equal amounts of strategy coverage when compared to their male counterparts.

Research Question Four – Hypothesis Three. Also focusing on strategy coverage, RQ4-H3 contended that female presidential candidates received more negative strategy coverage when compared to male presidential candidates. In terms of tone of the strategy coverage overall, female candidates received positive strategy coverage in 15.8 percent of their article references that mentioned strategy, negative coverage in 21.1 percent, mixed positive and negative coverage in 14.0 percent, and neutral coverage in 49.1 percent of such references. Male candidates received positive strategy coverage in 32.0 percent of their article references mentioning strategy, negative coverage in 17.4 percent, positive and negative coverage mixed in 14.6 percent, and neutral coverage in 36.0 percent of such article references. These differences closely approached statistical significance at the 0.05 level, indicating that female candidates were marginally less likely to receive positive coverage and slightly more likely to receive neutral coverage than the male candidates (x^2 = 7.475, p-value = 0.058).

In addition, analysis of the horserace and fundraising categories provided greater depth insight to the strategy coverage. Differences in horserace coverage also approached the 0.05 level of significance with female candidates receiving slightly less positive and slightly more negative coverage than the male candidates (x^2 = 7.649,

p-value = 0.055). Differences in fundraising coverage were significant the 0.05 level with female candidates receiving less positive and more negative coverage than their male counterparts (x^2 = 20.017, p-value = 0.001). Therefore, the data provides limited support for RQ4-H3; female candidates were marginally less likely to receive positive overall strategy coverage, were slightly more likely to receive negative horserace coverage, and were significantly more likely to receive negative fundraising coverage when compared to their male counterparts (See Table 4.12).

Research Question Four – Hypothesis Four. Focusing specifically on issue coverage, RQ4-H4 contended that female presidential candidates received less issue coverage when compared to male presidential candidates. Female candidate references mentioned issues in 36.4 percent of the cases, while male candidate article references mentioned issues in 42.5 percent of the cases. No statistical significance was found for the issue category at the 0.05 level (x^2 = 1.101, p-value = 0.294), indicating that female and male candidates received equal amounts of issue coverage and providing no support for RQ4-H4.

Research Question Four – Hypothesis Five. Looking at issue type, RQ4-H5 proposed that female presidential candidates received more stereotypically feminine issue coverage and less stereotypically masculine coverage when compared to male presidential candidates. The data revealed that female candidates were covered in terms of only stereotypically masculine issues in 21.4 percent of their issue article references, only stereotypically feminine issues in 28.6 percent of their issue article

Table 4.12: Differences in Strategy Coverage Tone by Candidate Sex

Overall Strategy Tone * Candidate Sex Crosstabulation

		Candidate Sex	
		Female	Male
Strategy Tone	Positive	15.8%	32.0%
	Negative	21.1%	17.4%
	Positive and Negative	14.0%	14.6%
	Neutral	49.1%	36.0%
Total		100.0%	100.0%

$x^2 = 7.475$, p-value = 0.058

Horserace Tone * Candidate Sex Crosstabulation

		Candidate Sex	
		Female	Male
Horserace Tone	Positive	31.8%	61.2%
	Negative	40.9%	22.1%
	Positive and Negative	13.6%	7.3%
	Neutral	13.6%	9.5%
Total		100.0%	100.0%

$x^2 = 7.649$, p-value = 0.055

Fundraising Tone * Candidate Gender Crosstabulation

		Candidate Sex	
		Female	Male
Fundraising Tone	Positive	10.0%	59.6%
	Negative	70.0%	15.2%
	Positive and Negative	.0%	7.9%
	Neutral	20.0%	17.2%
Total		100.0%	100.0%

$x^2 = 20.017$, p-value = 0.001

references, unclassifiable issues in 25.0 percent of their issue article references, and a mixture issue types in 25.0 percent of such article references. Meanwhile, male candidates were referenced in terms of only stereotypically masculine issues in 44.7 percent of their issue article references, only stereotypically feminine issues in 12.1 percent of their issue article references, unclassifiable issues in 22.3 percent of their issue article references, and a mixture of issue types in 20.9 percent of such article references (See Table 4.13). These differences were statistically significant at the 0.05 level (x^2 = 9.099, p-value = 0.028). This finding indicates that, while female and male candidates were equally likely to receive mixed or other types of issue coverage, female candidates were less likely to be covered in terms of stereotypically masculine issues and more likely to be covered in terms of stereotypically feminine issues when compared to the male candidates, thus providing support for RQ4-H5.

Research Question Four – Hypothesis Six. The sixth hypothesis centered on the personal trait/life coverage of the candidates and proposed that female presidential

Table 4.13: Differences in Issue Coverage Type by Candidate Sex

Issue Type * Candidate Sex Crosstabulation

		Candidate Sex	
		Female	Male
Issue Type	Masculine	21.4%	44.7%
	Feminine	28.6%	12.1%
	Other	25.0%	22.3%
	Mix	25.0%	20.9%
Total		100.0%	100.0%

x^2 = 9.099, p-value = 0.028

candidates received more personal trait/life coverage when compared to male presidential candidates. As previously noted, two variations of the overall personal trait/life variable were used in the analysis, the first included the qualifications category and the second excluded the qualifications category. The analysis of the personal trait/life including qualifications showed that female candidates received personal trait/life coverage in 48.1 percent of their article references, while comparable coverage of male candidates totaled 70.8 percent. Such a difference was significant at the 0.05 level, indicating that male candidates were more likely to received personal life/trait coverage when the qualifications category was included in the variable ($x^2 = 17.608$, p-value < 0.001). However, when mentions of qualifications, such as job titles, work experience, and education, were removed from the variable, female candidates received personal trait/life coverage in 36.4 percent of their article references, while male candidates received such coverage in 31.7 percent of their article references. This difference is not statistically significant, indicating that female and male candidates received almost equal amounts of personal life/trait coverage without qualifications ($x^2 = 0.708$, p-value = 0.400). Using either version of the variable, no support was found for RQ4-H6; female candidates were not more likely to receive personal trait/life coverage than male candidates.

Research Question Four – Hypothesis Seven. Focusing specifically on the types of personal trait coverage received by the candidates, RQ4-H7 asserted that female presidential candidates received more stereotypically feminine personal trait coverage and less stereotypically masculine personal trait coverage than male

candidates. Female candidates received stereotypically masculine personal trait coverage in 30.0 percent of their personal trait article references, stereotypical feminine personal trait coverage in 20.0 percent of their personal trait article references, unclassifiable personal trait coverage in 20.0 percent of their personal trait articles, and a mixture of personal trait types in 30.0 percent such references. Likewise, male candidates received stereotypically masculine personal trait coverage in 23.4 percent of their personal trait article references, stereotypically feminine personal trait coverage in 23.0 percent of their personal trait article references, unclassifiable types of personal trait coverage in 20.7 percent of their article references, and a mixture of personal trait types in 32.9 percent of such article references. These differences were not statistically significant, indicating that female and male candidates received similar types of coverage in terms of stereotypically masculine and feminine personal traits and providing no support for RQ4-H7 (x^2 = 0.238, p-value = 0.971).

Research Question Four – Hypothesis Eight. The eighth hypothesis focused on more specific categories within the personal trait/life variable and proposed that female presidential candidates received more personal life coverage related to gender, family, and appearance and less personal life coverage related to qualifications when compared to male candidates.

For the family-related categories, including mentions of spouse/marital status (x^2 = 0.041, p-value = 0.839), children/parental status (x^2 = 0.481, p-value = 0.488), and other family members (x^2 = 1.681, p-value = 0.195), no statistically significant

differences were found in the coverage of the female and male candidates. Likewise, no statistically significant differences were found in the appearance categories, including references to physical appearance (x^2 = 0.004, p-value = 0.950) and clothing/accessories (x^2 = 1.037, p-value = 0.309), in the coverage of the female and male candidates. It should be noted that the counts within several of the categories for the family-related and appearance-related variables were small for the female candidates. In addition, no statistically significant difference was found in the past life experience category (x^2 = 0.461, p-value = 0.497).

Two categories within the personal life variable did reveal statistically significant differences in how the female and male candidates were covered by the news media. First, the female candidates were significantly more likely to receive coverage mentioning their gender than the male candidates (x^2 = 67.391, p-value < 0.001). Female candidate references referred to candidate gender in 11.7 percent of the cases, while male candidate article references mentioned candidate gender in 0.6 percent of the cases. Second, the female candidates were significantly less likely to receive coverage of their qualifications than the male candidates (x^2 = 45.429, p-value <0.001). More specifically, female candidate references mentioned candidate qualifications in 22.1 percent of the cases, while male candidate article references mentioned candidate qualifications in 61.2 percent of the cases. This coincides with the previous finding that the male candidates were more likely to be covered in terms of personal traits/lives with the qualifications included in the variable than the female candidates.

Therefore, it appears that the female candidates were equally as likely to be covered with family-related and appearance-related frames when compared to the male candidates; however, the female candidates were more likely to be covered in terms of their gender and less likely to be covered in terms of their qualifications when compared to their male counterparts (See Table 4.14). Thus, RQ4-H8 is partially supported by the data.

Qualitative Observations and Examples. As previously discussed, sections on the content analysis code sheets were reserved for qualitative observations that struck the researcher as interesting and important. A few themes in these observations emerged, which are worth noting; such trends both support and further describe some of the main findings of the quantitative analysis. A few of the most dominant trends will be discussed in the following pages with examples from the articles that highlight the observations.

Table 4.14: Differences in Personal Life Categories by Candidate Sex

Personal Life Categories	Females	Males	Chi-Square	P-Value
Gender	11.7%	0.6%	67.391	0.000*
Spouse/Marital Status	3.9%	3.5%	0.041	0.839
Children/Parental Status	1.3%	2.6%	0.481	0.488
Other Family	4.3%	1.3%	1.681	0.195
Physical Appearance	2.6%	2.5%	0.004	0.950
Clothing/Accessories	0.0%	1.3%	1.037	0.309
Past Life Experiences	7.8%	10.2%	0.461	0.497
Qualifications	22.1%	61.2%	45.428	0.000*

* denotes p-value < 0.05

The first, and perhaps the most obvious and pervasive, trend involved the negative strategy coverage of the female candidates in the news articles. According to the quantitative analysis, female presidential candidates were often covered with negative tones in reference to their campaign strategy, particularly their fundraising efforts. These quantitative findings were clearly supported by the qualitative observations, as the negative coverage of the female candidates, particularly in relation to fundraising, was a persistent theme in the articles mentioning the female contenders. It is important to note, however, that while several male contenders, particularly the front-runners appeared to receive more positive strategy coverage than the female candidates, other male candidates appeared to have received equally or more negative coverage when compared to the women in the race. Below are several examples of the negative coverage of the female candidates, particularly focusing on fundraising mentions.

> She was once the hottest ticket on the Republican circuit, her splashy political debut last winter blared across the front pages. Then came the painful bumps: Top adviser quits; fundraising stalls; husband disses wife's prospects. Now Elizabeth Dole – capitalizing on her gender, a strong showing in last month's Iowa straw poll and a series of upcoming policy speeches – is attempting to position herself as the undisputed No. 2 in a field dominated by Texas Gov. George Bush. Yet even as she enjoys a rare "second look" that other candidates only dream of, many political observers question whether Dole has the money, message or staff to convert her historical candidacy from novelty to nominee. – *The Washington Post* (Connelly, 1999, p. A10)

> Six weeks ago, Mrs. Dole surprised campaign watchers, many of whom had declared her Presidential bid a model of lost opportunities, by placing a strong third in the Iowa straw poll. And since then, she has crisscrossed the country, drawing enthusiastic crowds familiar with the Dole name and intrigued by the first

woman to make a viable bid for the White House. But her campaign remains something of a puzzle to outsiders. Although national polls show her running second to Gov. George W. Bush of Texas, she has been able to raise only about a tenth of the money he has collected. In addition, her campaign has lost three top advisers, including two spokesmen in the last month... Recent days have seen a wave of speculation that her fundraising problems would soon force her to drop out. And even avid supporters have taken to promoting Mrs. Dole as a fine choice – for Vice President. – *The New York Times* (Schemo, 1999a, p. A28)

Former Senate majority leader Robert J. Dole has begun an aggressive campaign to coax money from the Republican establishment to keep his wife's underfunded presidential campaign going, according to GOP sources. Despite her strong showing in last month's Iowa straw poll, and national surveys that show her running a distant second in the GOP field, top advisers told Elizabeth Dole that she would have to consider quitting the race if she does not have adequate fundraising. – *The Washington Post* (Von Drehle & Balz, 1999, p. A01)

This is Ms. Braun's life in pursuit of the Democratic presidential nomination. She pays nine workers. She has no field offices in New Hampshire or Iowa. As of the fall, she had raised just $350,000 for the year – a speck in the sea of campaign cash. Hers certainly does not look like a realistic run to the White House. – *The New York Times* (Davey, 2003, p. A40)

There's not much money...only about $125,000 raised in the third quarter, and about the same amount of debt. And there's not much paid staff... The national headquarters of the Carol for President campaign is some rented rooms in a South Side office building. It feels temporary in there, with none of the crackle and frenzy of some other campaigns. The phone rarely rings. – *The Washington Post* (Gerhart, 2003, p. C01)

Braun is widely regarded as having little chance of winning the nomination. As of Sept. 30, she had raised only about $350,000, far less than most of her rivals. She has only a skeleton campaign staff and said yesterday that she is relying on "volunteer organizations" in the key early test states of Iowa and New Hampshire. – *The Washington Post* (Walsh, 200, p. A12)

> So why garrote a man [Kucinich] who is polling, no matter where you look, between 1 and 3 percent – somewhere between Carol Moseley Braun and lint? – *The New York Times* (Sella, 2003, p. 6-32)

Another trend in the news coverage of the female candidates involved personal traits. The quantitative analysis indicated that female and male candidates were equally likely to receive coverage in terms of stereotypically feminine personal traits, such as warmth, compassion, and inconsistency, and stereotypically masculine personal traits, such as strength, strong leadership, and independence. This was equally noted in the qualitative analysis, but where the quantitative analysis looked at the combination of personality traits in each article, the qualitative analysis picked up on trends in specific personality traits. The most noticeable trend in this regard involved the lack of coverage describing the female candidates as warm and compassionate. In addition, there were several instances were the female candidates were described as ambitious and tough, a traditionally male personality trait. Below are a few such examples.

> Dole doesn't want to symbolize good table manners. She wants to be president. Out on the campaign trail, she shows only her formidable side... Indeed, Dole is all business... And CEO Dole is tough, too. – *The Washington Post* (Von Drehle, 1999a, A07)

> But she has the record of a classic Washington rapid riser, and the reputation of a goal-setting, image-conscious, workaholic boss. She's pushing a tough-on-foreign-policy, hawkish-on-defense platform. – *The Washington Post* (Von Drehle, 1999b, A01)

> Carol Moseley Braun, unfailingly cool and cordial in past debates, seemed roused by the bickering over race. Ms. Braun pivoted off Mr. Sharpton's exchange with Dr. Dean to ask why Mr. Gephardt, as House Democratic leader, had not pressed harder to protect affirmative action programs. And she demanded to know how Mr.

> Edwards could vote regularly with President Bush in Congress yet attack Dr. Dean so readily... Ms. Braun was just as blunt with Mr. Sharpton... – *The New York Times* (Purdum & Nagourney, 2004, p. A01)

As the quantitative analysis pointed out, the female candidates were significantly more likely than their male counterparts to be mentioned in terms of their gender. Such a finding was dually noted in the qualitative observations, as well as the sometimes stereotypical of the references to the female candidates' gender. Below are several examples of gender references.

> A heavily female crowd turned out to hear Elizabeth Dole outline her foreign policy platform in an auditorium at the College of Charleston, drawn more by the marvel of a woman running seriously for President than by the subject of her speech... "It's just the whole idea of her being the first woman running for President," said Laura Bogan, a senior majoring in business and marketing. "I think it's just kind-of neat that she's running." – *The New York Times* (Schemo, 1999b, p. A23)

> Is this the curse of a female candidate – never let them see you emote? "I was disappointed," a Cornell College sophomore, Joanna Noyer, said after hearing Dole. "She didn't address any women's issues." – *The Washington Post* (Von Drehle, 1999a, A07)

> Dole is a transitional figure, connecting the long past in which a women could not seriously run for president with the likely future in which women will run as a matter of course. – *The Washington Post* (Von Drehle, 1999b; A01)

> Elizabeth Dole, despite her years in as a force in Washington, has a North Carolina girlhood, complete with an army of college sorority sisters to help out. – *The New York Times* ("A Place," 1999, p. A24)

> "Elizabeth Dole has been traveling with young male aides throughout the course of the campaign, and it's never been a problem," said Linda DiVall, who is Mrs. Dole's pollster. "Though some of them do have to carry her purse." – *The New York Times* (Henneburg, 1999, p. 4-1)

> Though she is often referred to as the only woman in the race, in many ways, Ms. Braun fits no simple categories. Divorced with a grown son,

> she quotes Abraham Lincoln, but also from "Monty Python" and "Star Trek." She rides horses and motorcycles... In the audience that afternoon was Dr. Jocelyn Elders, the former surgeon general. She has not decided whom to support, but predicted to a visitor, with no hesitation or apology, that Ms. Braun would not win... "We're still a country that votes, that prefers to vote, for white men – even women do," said Dr. Elders. "We've got to get over that." – *The New York Times* (Davey, 2003, p. A40)

> Before the start of the last Democratic presidential debate, Carol Moseley Braun, the lone woman in the field of nine, sought out Gov. Jennifer Granholm of Michigan for a quick word. "Step into my office," Ms. Braun, the former ambassador to New Zealand, motioned to the governor, pushing open a door in the hallway of the Fox Theatre in downtown Detroit. A moment later, the pair emerged. "The women's room," Ms. Granholm said knowingly, "is where the power is." – *The New York Times* (Nagourney, Rutenburg, Toner, Wyatt, Wiloren, & Halbfinger, 2004, p. 1-20)

Observations regarding other personal life mentions are also worth noting. The quantitative analysis indicated that female and male candidates were equally as likely to receive coverage regarding their appearance, whether their physical appearance or their clothing and accessories. The qualitative observations noted this trend but were also able to assess the substance of the appearance coverage, which was not possible via the quantitative analysis. In addition, the qualitative observations indicated that appearance was not an overwhelming news frame in the coverage of the female candidates, but when it was covered it was quite eye-catching. Perhaps the most striking aspect of the appearance coverage of the female candidates, however, was the arguably stereotypical nature of the references; a few examples are included below.

> See her on the campaign trail. She has the posture, makeup and well-spoken demeanor of a beauty pageant contestant, which she used to be. No matter how rigorous the campaign schedule, her clothes are

immaculate and perfectly coordinated. She favors the peacock palette of the country-club Republican wife – not just Manhattan black and Washington power reds, but also light blues, bright yellows, vibrant greens. Her hair is conservative, her smile is full and even, her manner is earnest. Her cadence and honey accent make instantly clear where she got the nickname Sugarlips. She looks the absolute flower of the Old South. – *The Washington Post* (Von Drehle, 1999b, p. A01)

GOP presidential candidate Elizabeth Dole has a new bangs-free, unpoufy coiffure. "She does have a softer look; her hair's a little flatter," says an aide. A Dole friend confided that the do is about a month old. "It's not only softer, it's easier to maintain. I think she looks more modern." No official comment from the Dole campaign. – *The Washington Post* (Grove & Berselli, 1999, p. C03)

Known for carefully rehearsing speeches down to her trademark catch in her throat, Mrs. Dole cuts an equally meticulous figure before voters and donors, with outfits matched down to the polish on her fingernails. – *The New York Times* (Schemo, 1999a, p. A28)

Elizabeth Dole tries to coordinate the color of her suit and shoes to the stage where she speaks, but the attention is so minute it backfires and makes her seem like a martinet." – *The New York Times* (Dowd, 1999, p. A27)

The focus on women actually began before the straw poll when early numbers showed Dole losing by up to eight to one. To consolidate her base, she assiduously courted sororities and businesswomen. She softened her stiffly coiffed hair and took to wearing simpler blouses and suits. –*Newsweek* (Howard, O'Donnell, Stevenson, & Stefanakos, 1999, p. 4)

Braun goes to every Democratic debate, though, always smiling in the team pictures, often wearing a good television red... She is the most ladylike campaigner, in her St. John knit suit – "the uniform," she calls it – and her good pumps, her hair pulled back in a sleek chignon. – *The Washington Post* (Gerhart, 2003, p. C01)

Among the Democratic presidential candidates, one of the most common fashion ticks is the rolling up of the shirt sleeves as a symbolic gesture of informality, camaraderie and machismo. All of the candidates do it, except of course, Carol Moseley Braun, who always looks as though she is headed to an afternoon worship service. Such is the burden of being the only female candidate struggling to appear wise,

> moral, feminine, tough, and yet not intimidating. – *The Washington Post* (Givhan, 2003, p. C01)

In addition, the quantitative analysis also indicated that the articles were equally likely to reference the spouses or marital status of the female and male candidates. While that was clearly evident in the qualitative analysis, the unique nature spouse references to Elizabeth Dole, the only married female candidate in the analysis, are worth mentioning. For the majority of candidates, their spouse and marital status mentions were rather brief and unmemorable. However, references to Elizabeth Dole's politically famous husband appeared both more substantial and conspicuous; two such examples are included below.

> Elizabeth Dole was mentioned in the late '70s as a possible congressional candidate in North Carolina. More recently, she considered running for governor in her home state. Either choice might have put her on the road to the White House... Instead, she built a reputation on wifely loyalty, learning the ropes and honing her skills as a campaigner in the service of her husband's dream. – *The Washington Post* (Von Drehle, 1999b, A07)

> The Bush campaign is dealt a severe blow when Bob Dole announces he will not endorse him. Sensing an opportunity, Elizabeth Dole makes meat loaf for dinner (Bob's favorite). – *The New York Times* (Ruprecht, 1999, A17)

In terms of the trends revealed in the female-male candidate analysis, the most striking observation by the researcher was the almost anti-stereotypical masculine nature of a noteworthy number of male candidate personal references. For example, the excerpts below reveal how the news media sometimes covered the male candidates in what are arguably stereotypically feminine ways in terms of personal trait/life coverage.

Democrat Dick Gephardt has a secret weapon in his campaign to push President Bush out of the White House: He bakes pies. "I've the best chance to beat Bush," he tells us, "because he can't make pie at all." In fact, if elected, Gephardt will introduce pies to state dinners. – *U.S. News & World Report* (Bedard, Streisand, Mazzetti, & Kaplan, 2003, p. 8)

After the shootings a moist-eyed George W. Bush said, "There seems to be a wave of evil passing through America." – *Time* (Van Biema, Hylton, Mitchell, & Tartakovsky, 1999, p. 42)

At a meeting of Democrats in Parkersburg, Iowa, Senator John Edwards is listening closely as a woman describes her struggle to afford a nursing home for her ailing mother... Mr. Edwards draws closer to her, fixing her in his steel-blue gaze, his face earnest and sympathetic. – *The New York Times* (McKinley, 2004, p. A01)

Espousing these populist views, Senator Edwards, who is 50 but looks much younger, was considered a hot prospect in Washington two years ago – a kind of Bill Clinton in the making. But these days, with the country jittery over war and the economy, he must convince voters that he is more than a handsome face. – *The Washington Post* (McKinley, 2004, p. A01)

"People will say to me, 'Now wait a minute, how old are you?'" Mr. Edwards told voters on Saturday at a home in Portsmouth, flashing the boyish grin and wrinkle-free face that are a blessing and a curse. – *The Washington Post* (Archibold, 2004, p. 1-12)

The Rev. Al Sharpton is wearing a blue suit, a deep storing blue that whispers gravitas; his tie and shirt are equally conservative. But the black suede shoes give it away. This is no ordinary dark-suit pol. "For the first time in my career, I'm a little bit nervous," says Sharpton, 49, his hair, graying at the temples and pulled back into some odd hybrid of a bun and ponytail. – *U.S. News and World Report* (Samuel, 2003, p. 14)

As 2003 began, [Howard Dean] was virtually unknown – a short, thick-necked hockey dad who used to be Governor someplace up North. – *Time* (Cloud & Orecklin, 2003, p. 108)

Howard Dean may lack experience at the federal level, but it is undeniable that he is becoming a more substantial presidential candidate. Word on the campaign trail is that the good doctor has added

> 20 pounds to his once-compact body politic. Rival campaigns claim he has acquired a new wardrobe to accommodate his new, er, heft. – *The Washington Post* (Milbank, 2003, p. A04)

> When John Kerry went to Boulder recently for a "waffle breakfast" at the University of Colorado, the Rocky Mountain News published an unhelpful account, asking "Is it John Kerry's Beatles-era haircut that doesn't appeal to students sporting today's shorter styles?" The paper quoted history graduate student Eric Morgan saying, mid-waffle "He does need a haircut. I think if he trimmed it back it would be nice." Don't even get us started on Rep. Dick Gephardt's eyebrows. – *The Washington Post* (Milbank, 2003, p. A04)

> Presidents of the United States often request television time for major addresses. At Wednesday's Democratic presidential debate held by Planned Parenthood, Rep. Dennis J. Kucinich (Ohio) suggested a new twist on this tradition: a reality show to help him find a first lady... The Web site PoliticsNH.com. taking Kucinich at his word, began a "Who wants to be a First Lady?" competition. And the first SWF has already applied: Gina Marie, 33, a brunette from New Jersey who works at a sheriff's office and promises she would provide "the partnership our president deserves." – *The Washington Post* (Milbank, 2003, p. A04)

The last major trend noted in the qualitative observations was an almost self-awareness on the part of the news media of their coverage of the female candidates. An example of this is below, in which the journalist made certain to reference the male candidates' dress after mentioning the attire of Braun. Perhaps the most striking example of this self-awareness was found in a *Washington Post* opinion piece by the newspaper's ombudsman or "readers' representative," which specifically criticized the paper's coverage of Elizabeth Dole; a portion of the opinion piece is also below.

> Carol Moseley Braun, resplendent in a dark suit (as were all of the men on the stage)... – *The New York Times* (Halbringer, 2005, p. A15)

> Here's something I don't get: Why isn't Elizabeth Dole's campaign for president getting more attention?... In two recent weeks of Washington Post coverage, the archives showed 15 articles referring to Dole. Picking a couple of candidates for comparison, there were, in the same

> time period, 22 references to John McCain and 23 to Steve Forbes. George W. Bush had 46 references... Why is a candidate who is unique in the annuals of presidential politics, draws large crowds, and came in third in the Iowa straw poll – after Bush who has practically been crowned, and Forbes, who virtually bought second place – getting so little coverage? – *The Washington Post* (Overhoiser, 1999, p. A29)

Therefore, the observations and examples noted in the qualitative analysis of the news content supported and provide additional insight into the quantitative findings. It should also be noted that other findings from the quantitative analysis, particularly in terms of prominence and qualification coverage, were also noted by the qualitative observations, but are not easily represented in examples. However, it was quite evident that the female candidates were less likely to be the focus of the articles in which they were mentioned and that the female candidates were less likely to have their qualifications, particularly their job titles, attached to their names when compared to the male contenders. The only quantitative finding that was not obvious to the researcher while reading the articles was the greater likelihood of female candidates to be discussed in relation to stereotypically feminine issues.

Experiment

As previously discussed, the experimental portion of this research project involved a factorial experimental design via an online questionnaire that placed participants in one of four conditions: female candidate/female article, female candidate candidate/male article, male candidate/female article, male candidate/male article. Each participant was assigned to one condition, read a newspaper article about a hypothetical presidential primary candidate, and completed a candidate evaluation questionnaire, which evaluated the candidate in terms of issue competency, personal

traits, ideology, and viability. The participant sampling procedure was one of convenience with course instructors inviting students to participate in the experiment on a voluntary basis.

The participant sample included 232 students in journalism and electronic media, advertising, and public speaking courses at the University of Tennessee. In terms of sex, 163 (70.3%) of the participants were female and 69 (29.7%) were male. In terms of political ideology, 20 (8.6%) participants categorized themselves as very conservative, 77 (33.2%) as conservative, 78 (33.6%) as moderate, 48 (20.7%) as liberal, and 9 (3.9%) as very liberal. In addition, 222 (95.7%) of the participants indicated that they plan to vote in the 2008 presidential election.

As with the content analysis data, the statistical procedures for the experimental data were performed with the SPSS program and with the assistance of the Statistical Counseling Center at the University of Tennessee. The primary statistical procedure used to analyze the experimental data was analysis of variance. Analysis of variance is useful when a researcher seeks to look at differences in the means of dependent variables when the cases are grouped into several categorical independent variables or factors. In addition, analysis of variance allows the researcher to determine whether the means are equal for all of the categories of a factor and whether there is interaction between two different factors (Norusis, 1999; Springer, 2006).

Two types of analysis of variance procedures were used in the analysis of the experimental data: two-by-two multivariate analysis of variance and two-by-two

analysis of variance. Two-by-two multivariate analysis of variance tests (MANOVAs) were used to look at the impact of the independent variables of candidate sex and article type, as well as potential interaction between the variables, in relation to measures involving the means of multiple dependent variables of interest (for example, the means of the multiple dependent variables under the issue competency measure). If significance was found in the MANOVA test, two-by-two analysis of variance tests (ANOVAs) were used to look at the impact of the independent variables of candidate sex and article type, as well as any potential interaction, on the means of specific dependent variables (for example, the means of the specific dependent variables under the issue competency measure). ANOVAs were also performed to investigate the impact of the independent variables on the means of the measures that involved only one individual variable (for example, the means for the single variable under the candidate ideology measure). In addition, means tables were obtained to provide more detail about the impact of the independent variables on specific dependent variables. In sum, the use of the analysis of variance procedures allowed for the investigation of the impact of the independent variables of candidate sex and article type on the various candidate evaluation measures, as well as for the interaction of the variables on such measures (Springer, 2006).

The following section presents the data analysis and findings of the experimental portion of the research project with appropriate tables.

Research Question Five. Due to the exploratory nature of the experimental design, one broad research question guided the research. Specifically, RQ5 asked,

what is the impact of female and male news coverage and candidate sex on evaluations of presidential candidates in relation to issue competency, personality traits, ideology, and viability?

In relation to the issue competency evaluations, the sex of the candidate ($F_{10,219}$ = 5.028, p-value < 0.001) and the type of article ($F_{10,219}$ = 4.604, p-value < 0.001) both had significant effects on the issue evaluations of the candidates; no significant interaction between the two variables was present when looking at issue evaluations ($F_{10,219}$ = 1.634, p-value = 0.098) (See Table 4.15). The sex of the candidate had a significant impact on the evaluation of the candidate in relation to military issues, honesty and integrity in government, education, health care/health issues, Social Security/Medicare, poverty/homelessness, and terrorism/homeland security. The type of article had a significant impact on the evaluation of the candidate in relation to military issues, education, Social Security/Medicare, foreign/international affairs, terrorism/homeland security, and taxation/government spending (See Table 4.16).

Table 4.15: Significance of Candidate Sex and Article Type on Overall Issue Evaluations of the Candidate (MANOVA)

Multivariate Tests

Effect	Wilks' Lambda	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.
Intercept	.028	750.230[a]	10.000	219.000	.000
candidate	.813	5.028[a]	10.000	219.000	.000
article	.826	4.604[a]	10.000	219.000	.000
candidate * article	.931	1.634[a]	10.000	219.000	.098

a. Exact statistic

Table 4.16: Significance of Candidate Sex and Article Type on Specific Issue Evaluations of the Candidate (ANOVA)

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Source	Dependent Variable	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
candidate	Military Issues	6.559	1	6.559	11.971	.001
	Honesty and Integrity in Government	12.166	1	12.166	18.840	.000
	Education	6.348	1	6.348	12.146	.001
	Healthcare/Health Issues	6.213	1	6.213	10.244	.002
	The Economy	.297	1	.297	.527	.468
	Social Security/Medicare	5.234	1	5.234	10.107	.002
	Foreign/International Affairs	.277	1	.277	.378	.539
	Poverty/Homelessness	6.205	1	6.205	6.974	.009
	Terrorism/Homeland Security	2.745	1	2.745	4.807	.029
	Taxation/Government Spending	.677	1	.677	1.109	.293
article	Military Issues	2.470	1	2.470	4.507	.035
	Honesty and Integrity in Government	.056	1	.056	.087	.768
	Education	2.154	1	2.154	4.122	.043
	Healthcare/Health Issues	.030	1	.030	.050	.823
	The Economy	.014	1	.014	.026	.873
	Social Security/Medicare	2.170	1	2.170	4.189	.042
	Foreign/International Affairs	5.942	1	5.942	8.113	.005
	Poverty/Homelessness	2.908	1	2.908	3.268	.072
	Terrorism/Homeland Security	2.540	1	2.540	4.448	.036
	Taxation/Government Spending	3.720	1	3.720	6.095	.014

More specifically, the female candidate, regardless of article type, was evaluated by the participants as better at dealing with honesty and integrity in government, education, health care/health issues, Social Security/Medicare, and poverty/homelessness; the male candidate, regardless of coverage type, was evaluated as better at dealing with military issues and terrorism/homeland security. Likewise, the candidate in the female article, regardless of candidate sex, was rated as more competent at handling military issues, education, foreign/international affairs, and terrorism/homeland security; the candidate in the male article, regardless of candidate sex, was rated as more competent at handling Social Security/Medicare and taxation/government spending. (See Table 4.17)

The participant sex variable was analyzed, resulting in no statistically significant interaction between the variables of interest (candidate sex * participant sex: $F_{10,215} = 0.472$, p-value = 0.907, article type * participant sex: $F_{10,215} = 1.774$, p-value = 0.067, candidate sex * article type * participant sex: $F_{10,215} = 1.820$, p-value = 0.059). However, the participant ideology was also analyzed in relation to the candidate sex, article type, and issue competency variables, revealing that the self-reported ideologies of the participants did appear to have some degree of interaction with the variables of interest.[3] While there was no significant interaction between the candidate sex and participant ideology variables ($F_{20,422} = 0.871$, p-value = 0.625) or the article type and participant ideology variables ($F_{20,422} = 1.114$, p-value = 0.331), a three-way interaction between the candidate sex, article type, and participant ideology

[3] It should be noted that for the purposes of statistical analysis, the participant ideology responses were collapsed into three categories: conservative, moderate, and liberal.

Table 4.17: Significant Differences in Specific Issue Evaluation Means by Candidate Sex and Article Type

Candidate Sex

		Candidate	
	Dependent Variable	Female	Male
Mean	Military Issues	2.275	2.613
	Honesty and Integrity in Government	3.313	2.854
	Education	3.276	2.944
	Healthcare/Health Issues	2.824	2.496
	Social Security/Medicare	2.614	2.313
	Poverty/Homelessness	2.732	2.405
	Terrorism/Homeland Security	2.358	2.576

Note. 1 = poor, 2 = fair, 3 = good, 4 = excellent

Article Type

		Article	
	Dependent Variable	Female	Male
Mean	Military Issues	2.547	2.341
	Education	3.207	3.014
	Social Security/Medicare	2.367	2.561
	Foreign/International Affairs	2.620	2.299
	Terrorism/Homeland Security	2.572	2.362
	Taxation/Government Spending	2.405	2.659

Note. 1 = poor, 2 = fair, 3 = good, 4 = excellent

variables was revealed ($F_{20,422}$ = 1.841, p-value = 0.015) (See Table 4.18). More specifically, interaction between the three variables appeared to have a statistically significant effect on the specific issues of the military and poverty/homelessness (See Table 4.19).

The analysis further indicated that there was significant interaction between the article type and participant ideology variables for the female candidate in relation to military issue competency (F = 4.280, p-value = 0.016). Moderate participants rated the female candidate in the female article as better at dealing with military issues than the female candidate in the male article, while liberal participants rated the female candidate in the male article as better at dealing with military issues than the female candidate in the female article; no significant difference was revealed for the conservative participants (See Figure 4.1). A t-test confirmed these findings; the liberal participant finding reached significance at the 0.05 level (p-value = 0.011), while the moderate participant finding reached significance at the 0.10 level (p-value = 0.097). The analysis did not reveal significant interaction between the article type and participant ideology variables for the male candidate (F = 1.024, p-value = 0.363). When the analysis was further broken down for the poverty/homelessness variable, no significant interaction between the article type and participant ideology variables was found for the female candidate (F = 2.773, p-value = 0.067) or the male candidate (F = 0.854, p-value = 0.429).

Table 4.18: Significance of Candidate Sex and Article Type on Overall Issue Evaluations of the Candidate with Participant Ideology (MANOVA)

Multivariate Tests

Effect		Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.
candidate * partideo	Wilks' Lambda	.922	.871[a]	.079	422.000	.625
article* partideo	Wilks' Lambda	.902	1.114[a]	20.000	422.000	.331
candidate * article * partideo	Wilks' Lambda	.846	1.841[a]	20.000	422.000	.015

a. Exact statistic

Table 4.19: Significance of Candidate Sex, Article Type, and Participant Ideology on Specific Issue Evaluations of the Candidate (ANOVA)

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Source	Dependent Variable	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
candidate * article * partideo	Military Issues	4.833	2	2.416	4.517	.012
	Honesty and Integrity in Government	.925	2	.463	.702	.497
	Education	.820	2	.410	.783	.458
	Healthcare/Health Issues	1.096	2	.548	.895	.410
	The Economy	2.634	2	1.317	2.330	.100
	Social Security/Medicare	1.300	2	.650	1.246	.290
	Foreign/International Affairs	2.524	2	1.262	1.771	.173
	Poverty/Homelessness	5.383	2	2.691	3.048	.049
	Terrorism/Homeland Security	1.014	2	.507	.889	.412
	Taxation/Government Spending	.344	2	.172	.276	.759

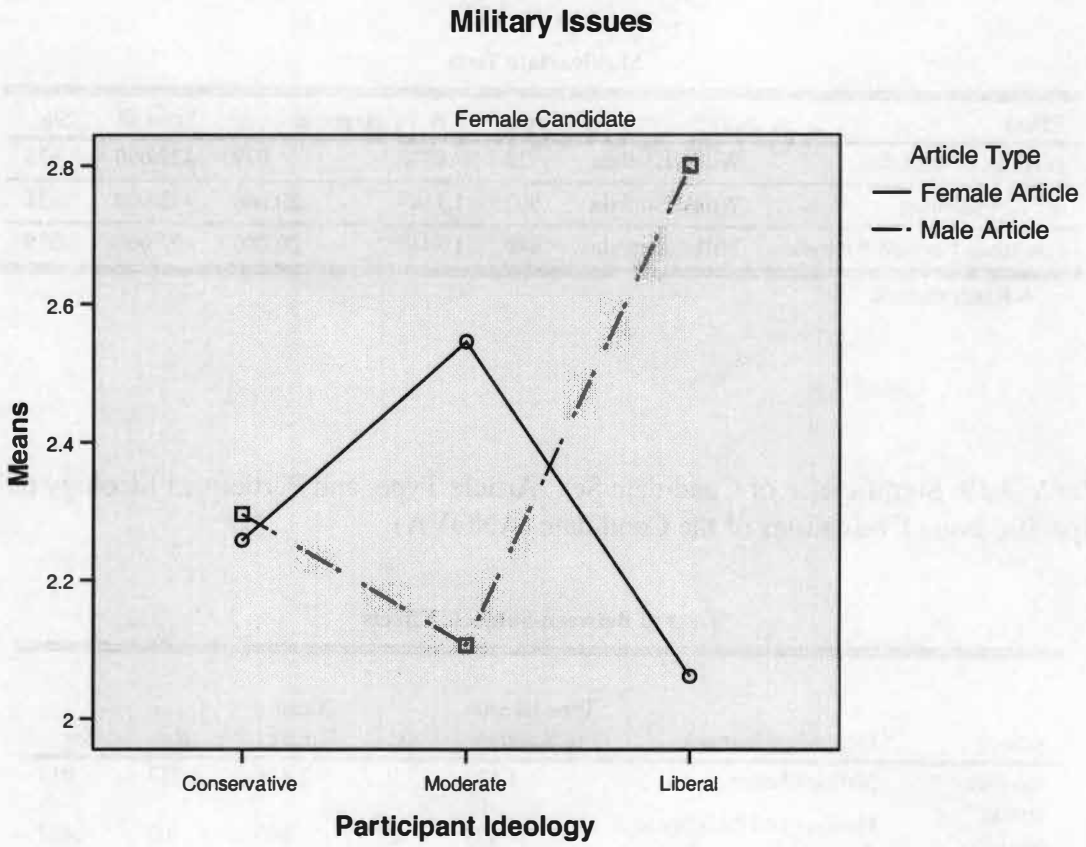


Figure 4.1: Interaction Between Candidate Sex, Article Type, and Participant Ideology for Military Issue Evaluations of the Female Candidate

Next, looking at personal qualities, candidate sex ($F_{10,219} = 4.443$, p-value < 0.001) and article type ($F_{10,219} = 13.846$, p-value < 0.001) both had a significant impact on the personal evaluations of the candidates; no significant interaction existed between the two variables when looking at personal evaluations ($F_{10,219} = 0.948$, p-value = 0.490) (See Table 4.20). Candidate sex had an effect on evaluations of the compassion, honesty, warmth, and knowledge categories, while article type had an effect on evaluations of the compassion, leadership, warmth, toughness, knowledge, attractiveness, and qualification categories (See Table 4.21). More specifically, the female candidate was rated as more compassionate, honest, warm, and knowledgeable than the male candidate, regardless of coverage type. No such effects were found for the male candidate. Meanwhile, the candidate in the female article was rated as a stronger leader, tougher, more knowledgeable, more attractive and more qualified than the candidate in the male article, regardless of candidate sex. The candidate in the male article was rated as more compassionate and warm than the candidate in the female article, regardless of candidate sex. (See Table 4.22)

The participant sex variable was also analyzed, resulting in no significant interaction between the variables of interest (candidate sex * participant sex: $F_{10,215} = 0.879$, p-value = 0.553, article type * participant sex: $F_{10,215} = 0.440$, p-value = 0.925, candidate sex * article type * participant sex: $F_{10,215} = 0.663$, p-value = 0.758). Likewise, the participant ideology variable was also analyzed, resulting in no significant interaction with the variables of interest (candidate sex * participant ideology: $F_{20,422} = 0.885$, p-value = 0.606, article type * participant ideology: $F_{20,422} =$

Table 4.20: Significance of Candidate Sex and Article Type on Overall Personal Evaluations of the Candidate (MANOVA)

Multivariate Tests

Effect	Wilks' Lambda	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.
Intercept	.016	1371.836[a]	10.000	219.000	.000
candidate	.831	4.443[a]	10.000	219.000	.000
article	.613	13.846[a]	10.000	219.000	.000
candidate * article	.959	.948[a]	10.000	219.000	.490

a. Exact statistic

Table 4.21: Significance of Candidate Sex and Article Type on Specific Personal Evaluations of the Candidate (ANOVA)

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Source	Dependent Variable	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
candidate	Compassionate	7.527	1	7.527	15.627	.000
	Strong Leadership	.190	1	.190	.451	.503
	Honest	8.255	1	8.255	17.951	.000
	Ambitious, Driven	.833	1	.833	2.246	.135
	Warm	14.339	1	14.339	32.282	.000
	Tough	.689	1	.689	1.077	.301
	Knowledgeable	2.194	1	2.194	4.536	.034
	Attractive	.019	1	.019	.034	.853
	Family-Oriented	1.964	1	1.964	3.445	.065
	Qualified	.830	1	.830	1.718	.191
article	Compassionate	5.803	1	5.803	12.047	.001
	Strong Leadership	2.819	1	2.819	6.689	.010
	Honest	.986	1	.986	2.143	.145
	Ambitious, Driven	1.127	1	1.127	3.038	.083
	Warm	6.477	1	6.477	14.581	.000
	Tough	14.211	1	14.211	22.195	.000
	Knowledgeable	1.920	1	1.920	3.970	.048
	Attractive	36.671	1	36.671	65.976	.000
	Family-Oriented	.122	1	.122	.214	.644
	Qualified	3.138	1	3.138	6.497	.011

Table 4.22: Significant Differences in Specific Personal Evaluation Means by Candidate Sex and Article Type

Candidate Sex

		Candidate	
	Dependent Variable	Female	Male
Mean	Compassionate	3.262	2.901
	Honest	3.259	2.881
	Warm	3.354	2.856
	Knowledgeable	2.993	2.798

Note. 1 = not well at all, 2 = not too well, 3 = quite well, 4 = extremely well

Article Type

		Article	
	Dependent Variable	Female	Male
Mean	Compassionate	2.923	3.240
	Strong Leadership	3.203	2.981
	Warm	2.937	3.273
	Tough	2.806	2.310
	Knowledgeable	2.987	2.804
	Attractive	3.441	2.644
	Qualified	2.910	2.676

Note. 1 = not well at all, 2 = not too well, 3 = quite well, 4 = extremely well

1.145, p-value = 0.300, candidate sex * article type * participant ideology: $F_{20,422}$ = 1.366, p-value = 0.135).

Turning to candidate ideology evaluations, only the type of article (F = 11.702, p-value = 0.001), not the sex of the candidate (F = 0.509, p-value = 0.476), had an impact on the evaluations of political ideology. In addition, there was no interaction effect between the candidate sex and article type variables (F = 0.008, p-value = 0.929) (See Table 4.23). The candidate in the male article was rated as more liberal than the candidate in the female article, regardless of candidate sex (See Table 4.24). In addition, when the sex of the participant was analyzed with the variables, a significant interaction did appear between the participant sex and candidate sex variables (candidate sex * participant sex: F = 8.580, p-value = 0.004, article type * participant sex: F = 2.538, p-value = 0.113, candidate sex * article type * participant sex: F = 0.371, p-value = 0.543). More specifically, male participants rated the female candidate as significantly more liberal than female participants; a t-test confirmed this finding (p-value = 0.007). (See Table 4.25; See Table 4.26; See Figure 4.2) When looking at the self-reported ideology of the participants in relation to the variables of interest, no significant interaction was revealed (candidate sex * participant ideology: F = 0.068, p-value = 0.934, article type * participant ideology: F = 0.435, p-value = 0.648, candidate sex * article type * participant ideology: F = 0.311, p-value = 0.733).

In terms of candidate viability, two specific measures were of interest. One measure used a set of variables; the first asked the participants whether they thought

Table 4.23: Significance of Candidate Sex and Article Type on Ideology Evaluations of the Candidate (ANOVA)

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Dependent Variable: Candidate Ideology

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Intercept	1715.365	1	1715.365	2784.609	.000
candidate	.314	1	.314	.509	.476
article	7.209	1	7.209	11.702	.001
candidate * article	.005	1	.005	.008	.929

Table 4.24: Differences in Ideology Evaluation Means by Article Type

Article Type

Dependent Variable: Candidate Ideology

	Article	
	Female	Male
Mean	2.550	2.903

Note. 1 = very conservative, 2 = conservative, 3 = moderate, 4 = liberal, 5 = very liberal

Table 4.25: Significance of Candidate Sex and Article Type on Ideology Evaluation of the Candidate with Participant Sex (ANOVA)

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Dependent Variable: Candidate Ideology

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Intercept	1435.267	1	1435.267	2426.202	.000
candidate	.569	1	.569	.963	.328
article	10.005	1	10.005	16.913	.000
partsex	2.596	1	2.596	4.388	.037
candidate * article	.264	1	.264	.446	.505
candidate * partsex	5.076	1	5.076	8.580	.004
article * partsex	1.502	1	1.502	2.538	.113
candidate * article * partsex	.220	1	.220	.371	.543

Table 4.26: Difference in Ideology Evaluation Means by Candidate Sex with Participant Sex

Candidate * Participant Sex

Dependent Variable: Candidate Ideology

		Candidate	
	Participant Sex	Female	Male
Mean	Male	3.148	2.702
	Female	2.575	2.797

Note. 1 = very conservative, 2 = conservative, 3 = moderate, 4 = liberal, 5 = very liberal

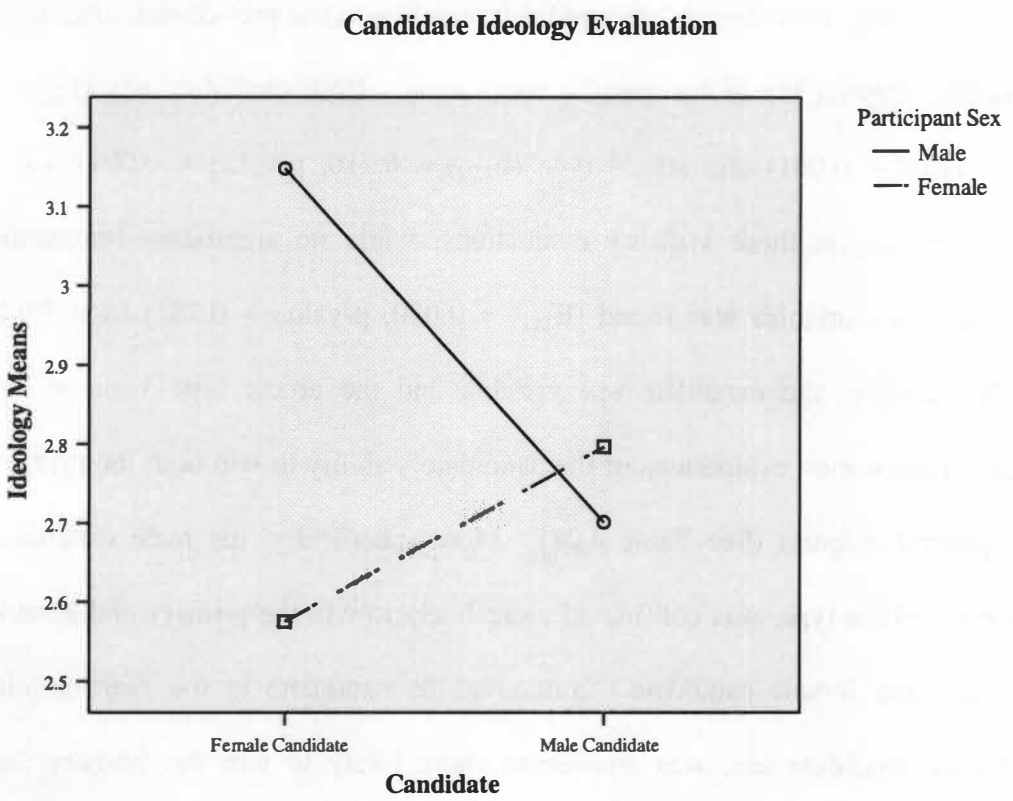


Figure 4.2: Interaction Between Candidate Sex and Participant Sex for Ideology Evaluations of the Candidate

the candidate would win the primary the election, while the second asked the participants whether they thought the candidate would win the presidential election if the candidate secured his or her party's nomination. Both candidate sex ($F_{2,227}$ = 15.486, p-value < 0.001) and article type ($F_{2,227}$ = 6.710, p-value = 0.001) had a significant impact on these viability evaluations, while no significant interaction between the two variables was found ($F_{2,227}$ = 0.020, p-value = 0.981) (See Table 4.27). In addition, the candidate sex variable and the article type variable had significant influence on evaluations of the candidate's ability to win both the primary and the general election (See Table 4.28). More specifically, the male candidate, regardless of article type, was considered more likely to win the primary and general election than the female candidate. Similarly, the candidate in the male article, regardless of candidate sex, was considered more likely to win the primary and general election than the candidate in the female article (See Table 4.29).

Table 4.27: Significance of Candidate Sex and Article Type on Evaluations of the Candidate's Likelihood to Win (MANOVA)

Multivariate Tests

Effect	Wilks' Lambda	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.
Intercept	.048	2240.970[a]	2.000	227.000	.000
candidate	.880	15.486[a]	2.000	227.000	.000
article	.944	6.710[a]	2.000	227.000	.001
candidate * article	1.000	.020[a]	2.000	227.000	.981

a. Exact statistic

Table 4.28: Significance of Candidate Sex and Article Type on the Candidate's Likelihood to Win Specific Elections (ANOVA)

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Source	Dependent Variable	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Intercept	Candidate Primary Win	1644.914	1	1644.914	3663.068	.000
	Candidate General Election Win	1406.158	1	1406.158	2859.204	.000
candidate	Candidate Primary Win	6.399	1	6.399	14.249	.000
	Candidate General Election Win	14.231	1	14.231	28.937	.000
article	Candidate Primary Win	5.320	1	5.320	11.846	.001
	Candidate General Election Win	3.620	1	3.620	7.361	.007
candidate * article	Candidate Primary Win	.010	1	.010	.022	.882
	Candidate General Election Win	.017	1	.017	.035	.853

Table 4.29: Differences in Candidate Likelihood to Win Specific Elections Means by Candidate Sex and Article Type

Candidate Sex

		Candidate	
	Dependent Variable	Female	Male
Mean	Candidate Primary Win	2.503	2.836
	Candidate General Election Win	2.220	2.717

Note. 1 = not at all likely, 2 = not very likely, 3 = somewhat likely, 4 = very likely

Article Type

		Article	
	Dependent Variable	Female	Male
Mean	Candidate Primary Win	2.518	2.822
	Candidate General Election Win	2.343	2.594

Note. 1 = not at all likely, 2 = not very likely, 3 = somewhat likely, 4 = very likely

Participant sex was also evaluated with the variables of interest, resulting in no significant interaction (candidate sex * participant sex: $F_{2,223} = 0.338$, p-value = 0.741, article type * participant sex: $F_{2,223} = 0.284$, p-value = 0.753, candidate sex * article type * participant sex: $F_{2,223} = 0.524$, p-value = 0.593). Likewise, analyzing the self-reported ideology of the participants in relation to the variables of interest also revealed no significant interaction (candidate sex * participant ideology: $F_{4,438} = 1.125$, p-value = 0.344, article type * participant ideology: $F_{4,438} = 1.084$, p-value = 0.364, candidate sex * article type * participant ideology: $F_{4,438} = 0.330$, p-value = 0.858).

The other viability measure focused on whether the participants would vote for the primary candidate for president if the candidate won his or her party's nomination. The analysis indicated that candidate sex (F = 0.046, p-value = 0.831) and article type (F = 0.138, p-value = 0.711), as well as the interaction between the two variables (F = 0.495, p-value = 0.482), had no significant impact on how likely the participants were to indicate that they would vote for the candidate (See Table 4.30). Participant sex was also analyzed with the variables of interest, resulting in no significant interaction

Table 4.30: Significance of Candidate Sex and Article Type on Likelihood of Candidate Vote (ANOVA)

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Dependent Variable: Candidate General Election Vote

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Intercept	1497.573	1	1497.573	2147.110	.000
candidate	.032	1	.032	.046	.831
article	.096	1	.096	.138	.711
candidate * article	.346	1	.346	.495	.482

(candidate sex * participant sex: F = 0.416, p-value = 0.519, coverage type * participant sex: F = 0.738, p-value = 0.391, candidate sex * coverage type * participant sex: F = 1.692, p-value = 0.195).

However, when analyzing the self-reported ideology of the participants in relation to the likelihood of vote variable, significant interaction was found between the candidate sex and participant ideology variables (F = 4.883, p-value = 0.008), while no significant interaction was found between the article type and participant ideology variables (F = 2.302, p-value = 0.102) or the three variables of candidate sex, article type, and participant ideology (F = 0.436, p-value = 0.647) (See Table 4.31). More specifically, regardless of article type, conservative participants indicated that they were more likely to vote for the male candidate than the female candidate, while

Table 4.31: Significance of Candidate Sex and Article Type on Likelihood of Candidate Vote with Participant Ideology (ANOVA)

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Dependent Variable: Candidate General Election Vote

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Intercept	1380.189	1	1380.189	2037.116	.000
candidate	.470	1	.470	.694	.406
article	.020	1	.020	.030	.863
partideo	.741	2	.371	.547	.579
candidate * article	.520	1	.520	.768	.382
candidate * partideo	6.617	2	3.309	4.883	.008
article * partideo	3.119	2	1.560	2.302	.102
candidate * article * partideo	.590	2	.295	.436	.647

liberal participants indicated that they were more likely to vote for the female candidate than the male candidate; no such difference was found for moderate participants (See Figure 4.3). These findings were confirmed by t-tests; the liberal participant finding reached significance at the 0.05 level (p-value = 0.039), while the conservative participant finding reached significance at the 0.10 level (p-value = 0.075).

Finally, participants were asked to list three issues in which they feel a successful presidential candidate should have competency, as well as three personal traits they feel a successful presidential candidate should have. The first response for each participant was coded into specific categories and ranked in terms of percentages. The top three responses to the issue competency question were military/war (26.3%), education (22.8%), and the economy (15.9%). The top three responses to the personality trait question were honesty/trustworthiness/morality (41.4%), strong leadership (29.7%), and intelligence/knowledge/experience (9.9%). See Tables 4.32 and 4.33 for a complete list of participant responses.

Summary of Data Analysis and Findings

This section described the news media coverage of the female presidential candidates in recent primary elections, as well as the influence of such coverage and gender stereotypes on potential voters' evaluations of presidential primary candidates. More specifically, the analysis revealed that the news media covered female and male presidential candidates quite equally in many ways; however, an emphasis on negative

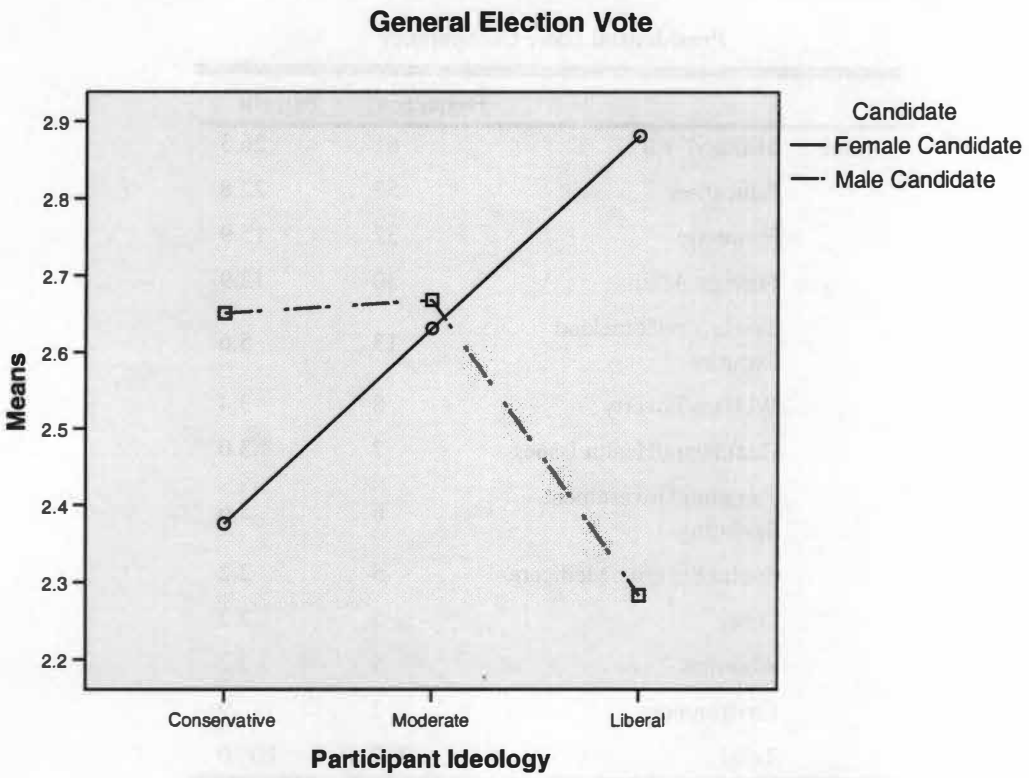


Figure 4.3: Interaction Between Candidate Sex and Participant Ideology on Likelihood of Candidate Vote

Table 4.32: Presidential Issue Competency Responses

Presidential Issue Competency

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Military/War	61	26.3
	Education	53	22.8
	Economy	37	15.9
	Foreign Affairs	30	12.9
	Terrorism/Homeland Security	13	5.6
	Welfare/Poverty	8	3.4
	Healthcare/Health Issues	7	3.0
	Taxation/Government Spending	6	2.6
	Social Security/Medicare	5	2.2
	Other	5	2.2
	Abortion	5	2.2
	Environment	2	.9
	Total	232	100.0

Table 4.33: Presidential Personal Trait Responses

Presidential Personal Traits

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Honest/Trustworthy/Moral	96	41.4
	Strong Leader	69	29.7
	Intelligent/Knowledgeable/ Experienced	23	9.9
	Other	23	9.9
	Tough/Strong/Decisive/ Independent	16	6.9
	Charismatic	5	2.2
	Total	232	100.0

fundraising and gender and a de-emphasis on qualifications were noted in the coverage of the female candidates. Also noteworthy is that the female and male journalists appeared to cover the female candidates in significantly different ways. Finally, potential voters' evaluations of a hypothetical presidential primary candidate were significantly impacted by both article type and candidate sex. Most significantly, the candidate appearing in the male article and the male candidate were considered more likely to win the primary and presidential elections than the candidate appearing in the female article and the female candidate. In the next section, these findings will be summarized and discussed. In addition, the limitations of the research project will be addressed and directions for future research will be suggested.

Chapter V: Discussion, Limitations, and Future Research

News Media Coverage of Female Presidential Candidates

Several noteworthy findings emerged from this in-depth look at news media coverage of female presidential contenders in recent primary elections. These findings will be discussed in the followings sections by looking at the strategy coverage, the issue coverage, and the personal trait/life coverage, as well as the quantity and prominence of coverage, of the female presidential candidates.

Strategy Coverage. First, in terms of strategy coverage, the content analysis of the female candidates' coverage revealed that the female presidential hopefuls were more likely to be covered in terms of their campaign strategies than either the issues or their personal lives/traits. The analysis also indicated that the female candidates, although most likely to be covered in a neutral tone, were more likely to be covered in a negative tone in terms of their overall strategy coverage, rather than in either a positive tone or a mixture of positive and negative tones. Similarly, the women received significantly more negative strategy coverage than positive, positive and negative, or neutral coverage in relation to the horserace and their fundraising. In addition, no difference in the quantity of strategy coverage was revealed when comparing the female candidates to their male counterparts. Notwithstanding, a difference in the tone of the strategy coverage was revealed; the female candidates received marginally less positive overall strategy coverage, slightly more negative horserace coverage, and significantly more negative fundraising coverage when compared to the male candidates.

These findings primarily correspond with previous research. For example, in her investigation of female senatorial candidates, Kahn (1996) found that "negative resources are discussed by the media more frequently for female candidates" and "the substance of [horserace] coverage is more negative for female candidates" (p. 49). Likewise, a research project specifically investigating the strategy frames of a female presidential candidate found that

> Bush and Dole were equally likely to be discussed in terms of the horserace and fundraising, but the tone of this coverage was overwhelmingly favorable to Bush and almost all negative with regard to Dole. Bush was usually described as the "front-runner" and a skilled fund-raiser. Dole was most often described as a candidate lacking fund-raising abilities and a real chance of obtaining the nomination. The negative slant of Dole coverage confirms findings of earlier studies that female candidates receive more viability coverage emphasizing their unlikely prospects for victory. (Heldman, et al., 2000, p. 12)

What is perhaps most interesting about the findings of this current research project is that the negative strategy coverage of the female presidential contenders held up despite the comparison of the female candidates to the entire field of male candidates, including male candidates at the top and bottom of the pack in terms of the horserace and fundraising. However, the most noteworthy finding of this research project, in terms of both statistical significance and general prevalence, is the overwhelmingly negative tone of the female candidates' fundraising coverage. Such a finding should not come as a surprise, as both female candidates included in the analysis faced serious fundraising obstacles in their campaigns, a reality reflected in media coverage.

For example, Elizabeth Dole reported just over $1.3 million in fundraising in the third quarter of the primary election, which encompassed the time period of interest in this research project, while George W. Bush reported more than $20.4 million, Steve Forbes reported over $11.0 million, John McCain reported over $3.1 million, Gary Bauer reported over $2.8 million, and Orrin Hatch also reported $1.3 million. Only Alan Keyes reported less money than Dole, raising $584,707 ("Campaign 2000," 2006). The unusualness of Dole's situation is that she reported the second-lowest amount of fundraising dollars, while the news media consistently reported her as having the second-highest or third-highest amount of support in the polls. For example, according to a CNN/Time poll conducted in July of 1999, Dole placed second after Bush when respondents were asked who they would want to be the 2000 Republican presidential nominee ("Poll," 1999).

Similarly, Carol Moseley Braun's campaign fund ranked at the bottom of the Democratic pack in the 2004 presidential primary, raising only $150,616 in the fourth quarter, the time period of interest in this research project. Meanwhile, Wesley Clark reported more than $10.3 million; Howard Dean, $15.9 million; John Edwards, $1.9 million; Richard Gephardt, $2.9 million; John Kerry, $5.2 million (including personal loans to his own campaign); Dennis Kucinich, $2.8 million (including bank loans); and Joe Lieberman, $2.1 million. Only Al Sharpton reported less money than Braun did during this period, reporting $137,451 (including a loan to himself) ("The Money," 2006). During this time, however, Braun also consistently placed toward the bottom of the polls, as indicated by an October 2003 CNN/USA Today/Gallup poll, which

found Braun polling at four percent, followed only by Edwards and Kucinich ("Clark Remains Ahead," 2003).

According to Kahn (1996), "conventional wisdom...contends that female candidates are often at a disadvantage with regard to campaign fundraising" (p. 49). Likewise, Farrar-Myers (2003) wrote that "money is the factor that has barred a woman from running successfully for the highest office in the land" and that "the image Elizabeth Dole left the electorate with in 1999 [is] that a woman cannot run because she cannot raise enough money" (p. 84, 85). The most significant finding of this current research project in terms of strategy coverage is clearly the overwhelmingly negative nature of the female candidates' fundraising coverage. However, given the dismal status of the female candidates' fundraising situations, one must ask whether the news media reflect, perpetuate, or both reflect and perpetuate the fundraising hurdles facing women seeking the presidency. In addition, the lack of fundraising dollars coupled with negative fundraising coverage may create a vicious cycle for candidates in such situations; as noted by Aday and Devitt (2001), "when a candidate is being outspent dramatically, press coverage – also known as 'free media' – is one of the only ways to get one's message out and reach voters" (p. 70).

Issue Coverage. The analysis of the female candidates' news coverage revealed that women were less likely to be covered in terms of the issues than either their campaign strategies or their personal traits/lives. However, coverage of the female candidates was spread equally across all coding categories pertaining to issues – stereotypically feminine issues, stereotypically masculine issues, unclassifiable

issues, and a mixture of issue types. Interestingly, female journalists were more likely than male journalists to cover the female candidates in relation to issues; however, no difference was found in the types of issues mentioned by the female and male journalists in reference to the female candidates. When compared to the male candidates, the female candidates received equal amounts of issue coverage; however, the female candidates received more stereotypically feminine issue coverage and less stereotypically masculine issue coverage than the male candidates.

These findings both diverge and coincide with the conclusions of previous research. For example, several research projects have found that female candidates receive less issue coverage when compared to their male counterparts. Kahn's (1996) research on senatorial candidates found "[t]he tendency of the press to downplay issue concerns for women candidates is remarkably consistent" (p. 51). Likewise, research on Elizabeth Dole's news media coverage has found that "Dole received less issue coverage than both Bush and Forbes" (Bystrom, 2005, p. 131) and that "voters would have found it difficult to learn what she stood for and how her plans for leading the country differed from those of her male rivals" (Aday & Devitt, 2001, p. 69). However, Heldman et al.'s (2000) research harmonized with the findings of this current project, finding that the amount of Dole's issue coverage "did not differ much from her male counterparts" (p. 12).

Previous research has also indicated that female candidates are more likely to be covered in terms of stereotypically feminine issues and male candidates are more likely to be covered in terms of stereotypically masculine issues, as was the finding of

this research project. For example, Kahn's (1996) analysis of senatorial campaigns indicated that "'female issues' receive somewhat more attention for female candidates [percentage omitted] than for male candidates" (p. 51). However, research specifically focused on the issue coverage of the 2000 Republican primary has indicated that the types of issue coverage received by Dole was not significantly different from that of her male counterparts; the candidates appeared to be covered rather equally in terms of such issues education, foreign affairs, defense, taxation, agriculture, the economy, and abortion (Bystrom, 2005; Heldman et al., 2000).

Therefore, findings related to the issue coverage of female presidential candidates appear to be rather mixed in terms of both amount and type of such coverage. Perhaps the findings of this current research project suggest that the amount of issue coverage for female and male presidential candidates evens out when looking at more than one primary and a larger field of candidates. In addition, the finding of this research project in terms of issue coverage type is reported with a note of caution; this finding was not noticeable in the qualitative observations. Likewise, this analysis did not evaluate the campaign messages of the candidates; perhaps the coverage of the issues was more a reflection of the issues stressed by the candidates themselves rather than blatant stereotyping on the part of the news media. In fact, Kahn (1996) emphasized that "women may choose to concentrate on such issues as education and health policy, while men may stress their commitment to such issues as the economy and defense policy" (p. 10-11). One also cannot help but wonder how the overwhelming issue of the military operations in the Middle East during the 2004

Democratic primary affected the type of issue coverage for both female and male candidates in this analysis.

In addition, this research project is not alone in concluding that female journalists mentioned the female presidential candidates more frequently in terms of issues than male journalists. For example, Aday and Devitt (2001) found that "male reporters were about half as likely as female reporters to include issue-framed paragraphs in stories about Dole" (p. 67). Aday and Devitt's (2001) finding held up in this research project, despite the inclusion of a significantly larger field of candidates and a second primary election. In addition, both Aday and Devitt's (2001) analysis and this current analysis noted significantly more male than female bylines among campaign stories in the sample. Slightly less than a quarter (52 of 221) of the stories in this analysis carried female bylines. These findings suggest that an increased presence of female journalists reporting on primary elections might change the make-up of the issue coverage for all presidential contenders. The implications of this finding are perhaps best stated by Aday and Devitt (2001).

> While women reporters covered [Dole] more substantively than men reporters did, there were far fewer women than men covering the campaign for the newspapers included in this study. The combination provided a powerful one; a woman making a bid in the male-dominated world of politics being covered by an almost equally male-dominated press-corps. (Aday & Devitt, 2001, p. 70)

Personal Trait/Life Coverage. According to the analysis of the female candidates' coverage, their personal traits/lives ranked second in the amount of coverage, behind campaign strategies, with issue coverage ranking third. As

previously noted, any mention of a job-related title was coded in the qualifications category because even the mere mention of a job title gives readers an important cue about the candidate's personal life, particularly his or her career path. However, due to the journalistic practice of including titles in practically every reference to candidates, the personal trait/life variable was also re-coded to look at the candidates' personal trait/life coverage without the inclusion of the qualifications variable. While personal life/trait coverage still ranked second when compared to issue and campaign strategy coverage in the analysis of the female candidates' articles, this produced an interesting result when comparing the personal life/trait coverage of the female and male candidates. Female candidates received significantly less personal trait/life coverage than male candidates with the inclusion of the qualifications category but received equal personal trait/life coverage with the exclusion of the qualifications category.

In relation to personal trait type, the quantitative analysis portion of this research indicated that the female candidates were mentioned equally in terms of all categories of personality traits -- stereotypically feminine, stereotypically masculine, unclassifiable, or a mixture of traits. Likewise, when compared to the male candidates, the female candidates were covered equally in terms of stereotypically feminine and masculine personal traits. Therefore, the personal trait coverage of the female presidential candidates was not overwhelmingly feminine in nature although, as noted in the discussion of qualitative impressions, some news articles exhibited stereotypically feminine descriptions of both Dole and Braun.

Looking at specific personal life categories, female candidates were most likely to covered in relation to their qualifications, followed by their gender, their spouse/marital status, and their past life experiences. In addition, female journalists were significantly more likely than male journalists to mention the gender, spouse/marital status, physical appearance, and clothing/accessories of the female candidates. The only such difference that emerged when comparing newspapers and newsmagazines occurred in the qualifications category; specifically, newspapers were more likely than newsmagazines to mention the female candidate's qualifications, particularly their job-related titles. Finally, when comparing the female candidates' personal life coverage to that of the male candidates, the only differences that surfaced were in the gender and qualifications categories. Female candidates were more likely to be covered in relation to their gender and less likely to be mentioned in relation to their qualifications than male candidates.

Several aspects of the personal trait/life findings of this research project are noteworthy. First, the finding that the female candidates received equal amounts of personal life/trait coverage, or even less such coverage when qualifications were included in the variable, is counter to what has been found in some previous research projects on female presidential contenders. For example, Aday and Devitt (2001) contended, "One thing is clear, [readers] were far more likely to read about [Dole's] personal traits than her opponent's personal traits" (p. 62). Likewise, Heldman et al. (2000), found, "The press paid more attention to Dole's personality traits and appearance then to the traits of the other candidates" (p. 12). Notwithstanding,

Bystrom's (2005) findings indicated that "contrary to expectations and previous research results, Dole received less attention to her appearance and personality, especially compared with front-runner Bush" (p. 130). Thus, the findings regarding the amount and type of personal trait/life coverage of female presidential contenders are quite mixed, perhaps depending on the definition of the variable and the specific elections, candidates, and news media of interest.

What is perhaps one of the most striking findings of this research project is the overwhelming equality in many aspects of the female and male candidates' personal trait/life coverage, such as mentions of appearance and family; this indicates a break from some previous research findings. For example, Heldman et al.'s (2000) study on Elizabeth Dole found that "[a] number of the references to Dole's personality and appearance were demeaning and personal, and probably would not be used when describing male candidates for the highest office in the land" (p. 12). Such a finding was clearly not present in this research project; in fact, the qualitative observations revealed many instances of demeaning and critical appearance references to the male, as well as the female, candidates.

Notwithstanding, two significant differences emerged when comparing the personal life coverage of the female and male candidates: a de-emphasis on the female candidates' qualifications and an emphasis on the female candidates' gender. In terms of qualification mentions, it is important to note that the two female candidates in this analysis were not current officeholders at the time of the primaries and thus did not have official titles, which were the most common references coded under the

qualifications category. However, it is equally important to note that a few of the male candidates were also not current officeholders but were often mentioned with a title; for example, it was unlikely to find a reference to Howard Dean without his being described as the former governor of Vermont. Therefore, particularly through the mentions of job-related titles, readers were more likely to learn about the career qualifications of the male candidates than the female candidates. This may have serious implications for female presidential hopefuls, especially for those with little name recognition. Interestingly, only one other study on the news media coverage of female presidential candidates addressed this issue. Falk and Jamieson's (2003) account of Margaret Chase Smith's 1964 presidential bid contended, "By removing Chase Smith's honorary title in favor of a more common one, the papers diminished her accomplishments and political experience in favor of her marital status" (p. 49).

In addition, as noted in the qualitative observations, the references to the female candidates' gender were both eye-catching and quite arguably stereotypical in nature. According to Heldman et al. (2000), such gender references suggest "implicitly, if not explicitly, that she was a novelty in the race rather than a strong contender with a good chance of winning" (p. 12). This finding also emphasizes the important question, "[w]hen does she stop being a woman candidate for president and become just a candidate?" (Clift & Brazaitis, 2003, p. xii). Finally, the finding that female journalists were more likely than male journalists to cover the female candidates in terms of their gender, spouse/marital status, physical appearance, and clothing/accessories is quite noteworthy. This finding coupled with the finding that

female journalists were more likely to cover female presidential contenders with issue frames presents a catch-22; a greater number of female reporters covering presidential primaries may result in increased issue coverage, as well as increased gender, marital status, and appearance coverage, for female presidential candidates.

Quantity and Prominence of Coverage. In addition to looking at specific news frames, this research project also attempted to investigate the quantity and prominence of the female candidates' coverage. The nature of looking at a large group of male candidates in comparison to a small group of female candidates made the analysis of quantity quite difficult. However, it is important to note that Elizabeth Dole and Carol Moseley Braun placed in the lower half of the candidate pack, tenth and fourteenth respectively, in terms of number of article mentions; this is particularly surprising, considering Dole's consistent second and third place finish in the polls throughout the time period of interest. Additionally, the need for this research project to look beyond the sample of the female and male candidate coverage to retrieve enough articles for in-depth analysis of the female candidates' coverage and the decision to drop the television evening news content due to complete lack of coverage of Carol Moseley Braun are perhaps even more telling about the quantity of news media coverage received by the female candidates. Notwithstanding, it is important to note that several of the male candidates, particularly Gary Bauer, Steve Forbes, Orrin Hatch, Alan Keyes, Dennis Kucinich, and Al Sharpton received rather equal or even less coverage than the female candidates.

The prominence of news media coverage was measured in this research project by the extent of candidate focus in the article, whether the candidate was mentioned by name in the headline or lead sentence of the article, whether the candidate was the first or only candidate named in the article, and whether the candidate was quoted in the article. On all these variables except the candidate quote variable, the female candidates were significantly less likely to be prominently covered than the male candidates. In fact, the qualitative analysis clearly observed that the female candidates were often just a secondary focus of the articles and rarely prominently covered in the articles; however, this was true of some of the less successful male candidates as well. These findings are consistent with previous research on female presidential hopefuls. For example, Heldman et al. (2000) found that "Dole did not receive an amount of media coverage consistent with her standing as the number two candidate throughout the entire time period examined" (p. 12). Likewise, Bystrom (2005) concluded that "a woman candidate for president may be subjected to the same media biases as other women running for lower office in terms of quantity of their coverage" (p. 131). It is important to note, however, that the front-runners in the primaries included in this analysis appeared to receive the greatest quantity of news media coverage; if female candidates emerge as front-runners in a primary election, this finding would clearly need to be revisited.

Influence of News Media Coverage and Gender Stereotypes

In addition to describing news media coverage of the female presidential candidates, this research employed an experimental design to investigate whether

participants who read an article adapted from a candidate profile about either Elizabeth Dole or George W. Bush would evaluate candidates differently. Approximately half of the participants received the Dole article, while about half received the Bush article; likewise, approximately half of the participants saw the name of a hypothetical female candidate in the article they received, while about half saw the name of a hypothetical male candidate. The articles represented some subtle differences revealed in the content analysis; for example, the Dole article made specific reference to gender and included negative fundraising coverage, while both articles discussed the candidates' appearance in rather stereotypically manners. In addition, the articles both mentioned stereotypically masculine and feminine issues in reference to the candidates, as well as stereotypically masculine and feminine personal traits, although the Bush article focused more on compassion, while the Dole article focused more on toughness.

Interestingly, no significant interaction was revealed in the analysis between the article type and the candidate sex variables. Therefore, conclusions should be drawn individually for the two main variables, article type and candidate sex, which will be discussed separately in the following sections.

Significance of Article Type. In terms of issue competencies, participants rated the candidate appearing in the Dole article as more competent in dealing with the military, education, foreign affairs, and terrorism/homeland security than the candidate appearing in the Bush article, regardless of candidate sex. They also rated the candidate appearing in the Bush article as being more competent in dealing with

Social Security/Medicare and taxation/government spending than the candidate appearing in the Dole article, regardless of candidate sex. Interestingly, even though the candidates appearing in both articles were referenced in terms of two of the same issues, specifically military and education, the candidate appearing in the Dole article was rated higher on those issues than the candidate in the Bush article. For issues mentioned in only one of the articles, such as foreign affairs in the Dole article and taxation in the Bush article, the candidates were rated higher for the issue appearing in their articles. In addition, the candidate in the Dole article was rated as better at dealing with terrorism/homeland security, while the candidate in the Bush article was rated as better at dealing with Social Security/Medicare; interestingly neither of these two issues were directly addressed in the articles. No such differences were found for several other issues not addressed in the article, such as honesty and integrity in government, health care/health issues, the economy, and poverty/homelessness.

Therefore, the issues in which the articles described the candidates appeared to translate rather directly into the issue competency evaluations by the potential voters. In addition, some aspect of the Dole article, perhaps the description of her being tough, gave the candidate appearing in that article -- regardless of sex -- an edge on the issues appearing in both articles. These findings, indicating that news media coverage can influence issue competency evaluations of candidates, are quite noteworthy, given this project's finding that the female candidates were more likely to be covered in terms of stereotypically feminine issues and less likely to be covered in stereotypically masculine issues than male candidates. However, it is equally important to note that

this could work to the advantage and/or disadvantage of female and male candidates, as the participants in this research project indicated that the top two issues in which they thought a successful candidate should be competent were military/war, a stereotypically masculine issue, and education, a stereotypically feminine issue.

In terms of personal traits, participants rated the candidate in the Dole article, regardless of candidate sex, as a stronger leader, tougher, and more knowledgeable than the candidate in the Bush article, while participants rated the candidate in the Bush article, regardless of candidate sex, as more compassionate and warmer than the candidate appearing in the Dole article. The candidate appearing in the Bush article was rated higher only in relation to the traits mentioned in the article, specifically warmth and compassion, than the candidate appearing in the Dole article. Likewise, the candidate in the Dole article was rated higher than the candidate in the Bush article in relation to toughness, a trait specifically mentioned in the article. The candidate in the Dole article, however, was also rated higher in terms of strong leadership and knowledge. It is difficult to assess what these findings mean for female and male presidential candidates because such candidates were found to be covered equally in terms of stereotypically feminine and masculine personality traits in the analysis of their news media content. However, it is clear that the traits mentioned in the articles for the candidates translated into the evaluations of the candidates. Perhaps most noteworthy in this regard, the news media coverage, by referring to the candidate in the Dole article as strong and tough, appeared to work to the advantage of the candidates, as he or she was rated higher in other personal traits, even those not

specifically mentioned in the article. This was particularly applicable for strong leadership, which participants reported as the second most important personal trait for a successful presidential candidate.

While the qualifications and appearance of both candidates were discussed in the articles, the candidate appearing in the Dole article was rated as more attractive and qualified than the candidate appearing in the Bush article. These findings are not surprising given the content of the female article, which described Dole's appearance in a much more flattering manner than Bush's appearance and referred to Dole's hard work and success in Washington. In addition, the candidate in the Bush article was also rated as more liberal than the candidate in the Dole article. While there is no way to assess why this finding occurred, one could speculate that framing the candidate in the Bush article as compassionate and the candidate in the Dole article as businesslike had some effect on the ideology evaluations of the candidates.

Most markedly, however, potential voters indicated that the candidate in the Bush article, regardless of candidate sex, would be more likely to win the presidential nomination and presidential election than the candidate in the Dole article, despite the fact that participants indicated that they would be equally likely to vote for the candidates appearing in either article. Again, this finding appears to indicate that some aspect of the Bush article influenced the participants to rate the candidate appearing in that article as more viable than the candidate appearing in the Dole article. This finding is particularly interesting given the rather positive evaluations of the candidate in the Dole article in relation to issue competency and personal traits and

the correspondence of such evaluations with what the participants desired in a successful presidential candidate. Therefore, one can only speculate that focus on positive strategy and fundraising coverage in the Bush article and the emphasis on negative strategy and fundraising coverage in the Dole article was largely responsible for the differences in viability evaluations. This finding is consistent with an earlier experimental design study measuring the impact of news media coverage of female and male candidates on potential voters' evaluations of candidates. Although taking a much different approach by looking at incumbent and challenger female and male senatorial candidates, Kahn (1992) also found that "[c]andidates who receive male candidate coverage are always viewed as more viable than candidates who receive female candidate coverage" (p. 510). Such a finding may have serious implications for female presidential contenders, as previous research and this current research have found negative strategy coverage, particularly negative fundraising coverage, to be rather commonplace in the news media coverage of female presidential hopefuls.

Significance of Candidate Sex. In addition to investigating the impact of the female and male news articles on the evaluations of the presidential primary candidates, the factorial experimental design also allowed for the examination of the influence of gender stereotypes on potential voters' evaluations of candidates. As noted by Kahn (1996), "[j]ust as the news media distinguish between men and women candidates in their coverage, voters are likely to consider the gender of the candidate when forming impressions of the [omitted] candidate" (p. 65). The potential voters in this research project appeared to use gender stereotypes when evaluating candidates'

issue competency, personal traits, and viability, typically along the lines of previous research findings.

Participants rated the female candidate, regardless of article type, as better than the male candidate at handling traditionally feminine issues, such as honesty and integrity in government, education, health care/health issues, poverty/homeless, as well as Social Security/Medicare. Participants also evaluated the male candidate along traditionally stereotypical lines, rating him as better than the female candidate at handling military issues and terrorism/homeland security. However, no candidate gender-based differences were noted for the issues of the economy, foreign affairs, and taxation/government spending. These findings coincide with the findings of previous research concerning issue competencies of female candidates (Sapiro, 1981-1982; Leeper, 1991; Kahn 1996). Interestingly, previous research projects using similar experimental designs as this research project found little support for issue competency effects for male political candidates (Sapiro, 1981-1982; Leeper, 1991; Kahn 1996). However, Gordon and Miller's (2001) found that a hypothetical male presidential candidate was considered better at handling the economy and the military. Likewise, this research project found two such instances; the male presidential candidate was rated as better at handling issues related to the military and terrorism. Perhaps such issue competency stereotypes are more pronounced for male candidates at the presidential level. In addition, one cannot help but wonder whether the discrepancy in the findings of previous research and this current research is related to the magnitude of voter concerns regarding terrorism since the September 11, 2001,

attacks and current military operations in the Middle East. Interestingly, the issue competencies associated with the female and male candidates may serve to advantage both women and men seeking the presidency as the top two areas of issue competencies for successful presidential candidates listed by the participants were military/war and education.

In relation to personal traits, participants evaluated the female candidate, regardless of article type, as being more compassionate, honest, warm, and knowledgeable than the male candidate. Interestingly, compassion, honesty, and warmth are often considered traditionally feminine personal traits, while according to Kahn (1996) knowledge has been traditionally more associated with men. Such gender-based personal trait effects were not found for the male candidate. These findings, except for the higher rating of the female candidate as knowledgeable, agree with previous research. For example, Gordon and Miller (2001) found that a hypothetical female presidential candidate was rated as more compassionate, honest, and moral than a hypothetical male presidential candidate. Likewise, Kahn (1996) also found that participants rated female candidates as more honest and compassionate than male candidates, while such effects were not found for the male candidates; she concluded, "people do use stereotypes to distinguish between male and female candidates, yet these stereotypes always lead to more positive evaluations of women candidates" (p. 66). One can clearly see how being associated with higher levels of such qualities as honesty could benefit female candidates, particularly as participants

in this research project listed honesty as the most important personal trait for a successful presidential candidate.

As a more exploratory measure, the political ideologies of the candidates were also evaluated by the participants, as literature on gender stereotypes has indicated that female candidates are typically rated as more liberal than male candidates, regardless of political party affiliation (Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993b; Alexander & Anderson, 1993; McDermott, 1997). No differences were found in evaluations of candidate ideologies for the female and male candidates in this research project, which goes against previous research findings. However, this is the only area of candidate evaluation in which the gender of the participant had an interaction; male participants rated the female candidate as more liberal than did female participants.

Perhaps the most remarkable finding, however, is that the male candidate was rated as more likely to win the presidential nomination and presidential election than the female candidate, despite rather positive evaluations of the female candidate on specific issue competencies and personal traits and despite the fact that the potential voters indicated that they would be equally likely to vote for the female candidate or the male candidate. This finding corresponds with previous experiments involving the viability of female presidential contenders. For example, Gordon and Miller (2001) found that a hypothetical male presidential candidate was considered more viable than a hypothetical female presidential candidate. A similar finding led Rosenwasser and Dean (1989) to conclude that "even though a woman has the same qualifications and characteristics as a man, she may still be less likely to be elected to a very prestigious

office, such as that of President" (p. 84). This finding also coincides with the research of Sapiro (1981-1982), who found that "respondents may not show evidence of differential evaluation in their own vote intentions but they do distinguish between John and Joan in judging their chances of success...respondents had lower expectations for a woman's success than for a man's" (p. 74, 75). Likewise, this current research project, conducted more than 20 years after Sapiro's (1981-1982), leaves those seeking greater understanding of role of gender stereotypes in evaluations of candidate viability with the same question.

> Are these results projections of the respondents' own prejudices or are they based on the knowledge that women do not achieve political office as often or as easily as do men? We cannot tell from these data. (Sapiro, 1981-1982, p. 75)

Theoretical Implications. Previous studies that investigated news media coverage of a female presidential candidate have stopped short of looking at the impact of such coverage in potential voters' evaluations of presidential candidates. For example, while one research project noted that the "potential ramifications are serious," no study to this point has specifically investigated such ramifications (Aday & Devitt, 2001, p. 69). In fact, any speculation on the consequences of the coverage of female presidential candidates was just that, speculation. As noted by another research project, "the actual impact of this gendered coverage on her candidacy is not known" (Heldman et al., 2000, p. 13). By dismissing the media effects approach to investigating news media coverage of female presidential candidates, past research has

missed opportunities to extend the comprehension of this political phenomenon and to expand the understanding of significant political communication theories.

Although this experiment was somewhat exploratory in nature, particularly because no such design has been utilized to investigate the news media coverage of female candidates on the presidential level, the findings clearly indicate that the participants translated the news frames used in the Dole and Bush articles into their evaluations of the hypothetical presidential candidates. These findings lend a great deal of credence to the theories of framing and second-level agenda setting, which revolve around the notion that by using particular news frames to cover issues, topics, or people, the news media not only tell citizens "what to think about" but also "how to think about it" (McCombs & Shaw, 1993).

However, the major findings of the experimental portion of this research project do not point to all-powerful effect of the framing and second-level agenda setting functions of the news media. This finding is particularly noteworthy, because some political communication and media scholars have argued that second-level agenda setting, particularly by incorporating the theory of framing, reverts to the out-dated hypodermic needle or magic bullet paradigm of media effects research; "[t]he new dimension of framing reopens the possibility of a powerful media effects model" (Griffin, 1997, p. 385). Instead, the findings of this research found that article type and candidate sex had no significant interaction, indicating that another voting cue, the sex of the candidate, had an independent and significant impact on the evaluations of the candidates. Therefore, while the findings of this research do indeed support Walter

Lippman's (1922) claim that the news media make the connection between "the world outside and the pictures in our heads," the findings also indicate that other significant cues make similar connections in the context of presidential primary elections (p. 3).

Limitations of the Research Project

After discussing the findings of the research project, it is important to note its limitations. In the following sections, the limitations of the content analysis and experiment portions of the research project will be addressed.

Content Analysis. The content analysis portion of the research project involves several limitations, particularly due to the sample of news media content selected for analysis. An abundance of news media content from a variety of news media outlets exists for the two primary elections of interest. However, given the constraints on time and resources inherent in this research project, only a relatively small portion of the news media content in existence was selected for analysis by sampling specific print news media outlets and specific time frames. While the sampling procedure selected prominent print news media outlets and a significant number of news articles, the findings of the content analysis can only be generalized to the specific print news media outlets and time periods selected for this research project, not all news media coverage of female and male presidential candidates.

Likewise, the content analysis also focused on only two primary elections in the most recent decade, this choice necessitated because only two presidential primary races in the past decade have involved female candidates vying for the nominations of the two major political parties. Thus, the analysis essentially combined two primary

races with quite distinctive characteristics; for example, the two primary races involved two different political parties, different sets of issue concerns, and different groups of candidates, each with their own unique qualities. In addition, the two female presidential candidates included in this analysis were particularly distinct. For example, Elizabeth Dole does not have children, and Carol Moseley Braun is not married; thus, one might find less coverage of these traditionally stereotypical female personal life frames than if both candidates had husbands and children. Likewise, Dole and Braun were not currently holding offices at the time of the primary race, perhaps resulting in diminished qualification coverage. In addition, Dole is Caucasian, while Braun is African America; thus, race may be another factor at play in the news media coverage of these two women that was not addressed in the research project. It is also worth noting that Dole and Braun ran quite different campaigns in dissimilar races; for example, the 2000 race had a clear front-runner and appeared rather focused on domestic issues, while the 2004 race did not have such a distinct front-runner and was heavily focused on the issues of war and terrorism.

Despite the unique nature of the primary races and the presidential candidates, combining the races and candidates for this analysis does provide an overall look at the news media coverage of primary races involving female and male candidates in the past decade. In addition, it is in many ways quite desirable to have two unique primary elections and two distinct female contenders, as well as distinct male contenders, represented in the sample in order to investigate whether coverage trends revealed in past research persisted beyond just one primary race and one group of

candidates. While analyzing the distinctions between these two primary elections and the specific candidates was not a goal of this current research project, neither does such a comprehensive approach to the analysis claim to provide insight into nuances of each race and the specific candidates.

It is also worth mentioning that for the comparison of the female and male candidates, two female candidates were compared to 14 male candidates. The use of chi-square tests eliminated the statistical concerns about comparing two disproportionate groups of candidates, and the 16 candidate comparison also allows for a more comprehensive analysis of the field of candidates. For example, if Elizabeth Dole were compared only to her closest rivals during the time period of interest, George W. Bush and Steve Forbes, differences in news coverage may be gleaned that might be quite different than if she were compared to candidates at the bottom of the polls; thus, looking at the whole field of candidates provides a more accurate and realistic picture of the multi-candidate primary elections. In addition, it is, perhaps, also significant to note that the two female candidates in the sample represent two very different types of candidates, particularly in terms of viability. Thus, the sample included two female presidential candidates, as well as a group of male presidential candidates, which represent various types of primary contenders. Finally, this limitation reflects reality; there were simply a greater number of male candidates than female candidates in the primary elections included in this analysis. However, comparing more equally numbered groups of male and female presidential candidates would appear, at least logically, to be more ideal; such an analysis could be

a future possibility if women participate in presidential primary elections in equal numbers as men.

It should also be noted that the use of online databases to obtain the news content is another limitation to this research project; for example, the online articles did not include photographs, thus limiting the scope of the analysis to only non-pictorial elements of the news content. In addition, as noted by Hansen (2003), online databases may also provide imprecise and inconsistent results and lack exact correspondence with the original print versions. Therefore, the findings of this research project should be considered with such limitations in mind.

A final limitation to the content analysis portion of the research project involves the specific approach to news media content coding. As previously mentioned, one primary coder coded the news media content, which may result in less reliability and more human error. To diminish potential threats to reliability, a secondary coder analyzed 10 percent of the news media content, which resulted in an acceptable percent of coder agreement. Notwithstanding, using at least two primary coders would be desirable for future research.

Experiment. The experimental design also involved several limitations, primarily associated with the student sample and the stimulus articles. As previously discussed, while exclusively sampling students as participants is in many ways justifiable, the choice also involves obvious threats to generalizability; the findings of this research project cannot extend beyond students in journalism, electronic media, advertising, and public speaking courses at one university. Therefore, it would be

desirable for future experimental research on this topic to seek a more demographically mixed group of participants. In addition, the demographics of the participant sample used in this research revealed an overabundance of female participants and conservative participants. While the voluntary nature of the experiment did not allow for control along demographic lines and participant sex and participant ideology did not have major impact on the main variables of interest in the analysis, it would nonetheless be advantageous to obtain greater equality in terms of participant sex and participant ideology in future research.

Likewise, the selection of the stimulus articles for the experiment also limits the generalizability of the findings. As previously indicated, two actual articles were selected from the 2000 Republican primary, a candidate profile on Elizabeth Dole and a candidate profile on George W. Bush, which were similar in focus and represented some of the subtle differences in coverage of female and male presidential candidates found in this and previous research projects. Nonetheless, the articles were somewhat specific to the candidates and primary election, particularly for issues and personal traits, although candidate, party, and ideology cues were removed from each article. While the real news articles were selected to increase external validity and to provide insight into how news frames and candidate sex may impact evaluations of presidential primary candidates, the fact remains that the findings of the experiment can only be accurately generalized to the two specific articles selected for the experimental design.

In addition, the online nature of the experiment may have contributed to diminished external validity as participants typically do not read newspaper articles about political candidates in an online questionnaire format preceded with a statement making it clear that the article is both hypothetical and part of an experimental research project. The online format was arguably not as artificial as a laboratory setting; participants could complete the questionnaire at any computer, including the computer in which they are accustomed to reading online news. Notwithstanding, the nature and format of the online news articles and questionnaire were clearly not comparable to reading news on an online version of a newspaper.

Suggestions for Future Research

The findings of this research project have added to the understanding of how the news media cover female presidential candidates in primary elections, while also providing some insight into how news frames and gender stereotypes may influence potential voters' evaluations of presidential primary candidates. However, more research on this topic is needed to establish a greater understanding of the news media's influence, as well as the influence of gender stereotypes, on voters' evaluations of female presidential hopefuls.

For example, future research on this topic would benefit by looking at more news media sources in the content analysis. In addition, one specific finding of the content analysis of news media coverage of the female presidential candidates particularly warrants more scholarly attention. This research project indicated that female journalists covered the female presidential candidates differently than male

journalists, particularly in terms of increased issue, gender, spouses/marital status, and appearance coverage. Future research would be well-advised to look in more detail at this phenomenon in an effort to increase the understanding of how the gender make-up of newsrooms affects what citizens see and hear about female presidential candidates. Additionally, future research could add to the depth of understanding regarding this topic by looking at the political, societal, and institutional factors contributing to differences in news frames for female and male presidential contenders. As argued by Carragee and Roefs (2004), framing research should not "neglect frame sponsorship and the asymmetrics in power that influence the ability of sponsors to shape the news agenda" (p. 227).

In addition, future research would benefit by continuing to add a media effects element to the investigation of news media coverage of female presidential contenders. This research project attempted to lay out a framework for such an experimental approach, resulting in noteworthy findings regarding how some of the news frames associated with female and male presidential candidates, as well as candidate sex, influence potential voters' evaluations of presidential primary candidates. However, the approach used in this project also entailed several limitations, particularly in terms of sampling. Future research would benefit by replicating and fine-tuning this approach, which provides the opportunity to extend theory and add the crucial "so what?" lacking in many research projects relying on content analyses alone.

Another possible venue for such research is to delve farther into the past. Looking at the news media coverage of women seeking the presidency outside of the recent decade could allow for the investigation of changing trends in news media coverage of female presidential contenders. Using a more longitudinal approach, analyzing the news media coverage of female presidential candidates in the 1900s, including Margaret Chase Smith in the 1960s, Shirley Chisholm in the 1970s, and Pat Schroeder in the 1980s, would allow for a greater understanding of the trends in news media coverage of women seeking the presidency throughout recent history. As contended by Carragee and Roefs (2004),

> Because journalists define issues over time and because sponsors often restructure their issue frames given changing political conditions, frames evolve, and particular frames may gain or lose prominence in the news media... By ignoring the evolution of frames over time, some researchers have advanced a static conception of the framing process. (p. 216)

Perhaps the most fruitful area for future research on this topic lies in the potential of women participating in presidential primaries at the same rate as men, thereby eliminating a limitation of this current research project where a single female in each race was compared to a large group of male candidates. Similarly, the potential for future research would be greatly increased if a woman emerges as her party's front-runner. While Elizabeth Dole and Carol Moseley Braun represent upper-middle and bottom tier candidates, respectively, having a female front-runner would even out the analysis when comparing the news media coverage of the female contenders to the coverage of their male counterparts. Finally, if a woman wins her

party's presidential nomination, the opportunities for future research describing news media coverage of her and comparing it to that of a male opponent are numerous. Such opportunities may be more reality than fantasy with media speculation running rampant about Hillary Clinton's much anticipated bid for the 2008 presidential nomination, as this example from CNN indicates.

> If she runs for President, Clinton will bring to the race more assets and experience than almost anyone who has never run before -- and the kind of liabilities that would send other politicians into permanent rehab. Which may explain why a Clinton ally, aware of all her pluses and minuses, last week struck a fatalistic chord about a 2008 race. "Let's just get it on," he said. (Duffy, 2006)

In sum, systematically investigating trends in news media coverage of female presidential candidates and the impact of such coverage on evaluations of presidential candidates is a ripe area of scholarship, which provides opportunities to increase both the practical understanding of news media practices in presidential elections and theoretical understanding of news media impact on voter evaluations of presidential candidates.

Concluding Remarks

In 1992, *New York Times* syndicated columnist Anna Quindlen stated, "You've got to wonder, approaching a new century, when America will begin to take seriously the idea of being led by a woman. The concept heretofore has always been presented as a cross between a futuristic fantasy and a sitcom premise. Cue the laugh track" (Braden, 1996, p. 194). Just a little more than a decade later, the idea of women leading the nation is increasingly more of a reality than fiction. Recent history has

clearly demonstrated a slow, yet steady, increase in the number of women serving in the highest levels of office throughout the nation, and while "women are still rarely presidents and prime ministers ... now women have been reaching these high positions" around the world (Center for American Women and Politics, 2005a; Jalalzai, 2004, p. 104). While the United States has yet to elect a woman to the highest office in the land, recent history has witnessed female contenders, such as Elizabeth Dole in the 2000 and Carol Moseley-Braun in the 2004, running noteworthy primary campaigns for the United States presidency. However, previous research has indicated that the news media often cover female presidential candidates differently than male presidential candidates in sometimes obvious but most often subtle ways, that the news media frame information and shape the public's understanding of political events, and that voters continue to use gender stereotypes when evaluating political candidates; this research project confirms these contentions.

By looking at presidential primary elections in the recent decade involving female candidates and by extending the scope of the research into the media effects tradition, this research project has expanded the knowledge of how female presidential contenders are covered by the news media, as well as the potential impact of such coverage and gender stereotypes on potential voters' evaluations of presidential candidates. The most noteworthy findings of this research project found that newspapers and newsmagazines covered the female candidates in recent presidential primary elections in a relatively equal manner when compared to the male candidates. However, subtle, yet significant, differences did surface, particularly in terms of the

emphasis on negative fundraising and gender in the news media coverage of the female presidential hopefuls. In addition, potential voters reading articles about hypothetical presidential primary candidates evaluated the contenders differently depending on whether they read news content adapted from an article about Elizabeth Dole or adapted from an article about George W. Bush and whether they read a news article about a female candidate or a male candidate, perhaps most strikingly rating the candidate in the male article and the male candidate as more viable than the candidate in the female article and the female candidate. In sum, perhaps the best manner in which to conclude the findings of this research project is through the words of Geneva Overhoiser, then ombudsman at *The Washington Post,* in her opinion piece regarding the news media coverage of Elizabeth Dole's presidential bid.

> So, the other day, among a group of friends, I came right out and did it: I asked whether the public might be taking Dole less seriously, whether she might be having more trouble raising money and getting media coverage, because she's a woman – a question that is looked upon with great distain these days. Of course not, came the refrain. We're beyond that. Maybe. (Overhoiser, 1999, p. A29)

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APPENDIXES

Appendix A: Content Analysis Coding Instructions/Code Sheet

Coding Instructions

I. General Instructions

Carefully read these instructions and explanations before coding. If questions arise during the coding process, please feel free to contact the researcher.

Candidates are referred to by last names or abbreviations of last name only. Below is a list of the candidates referred to on the code sheet.

2000 Republican Primary	2004 Democratic Primary
Bauer = Gary Bauer	Braun = Carol Moseley Braun
Bush = George W. Bush	Clark = Wesley Clark
Dole = Elizabeth Dole	Dean = Howard Dean
Forbes = Steve Forbes	Ed = John Edwards
Hatch = Orrin Hatch	Gep = Richard Gephardt
Keyes = Alan Keyes	Kerry = John Kerry
McCain = John McCain	Kuc = Dennis Kucinich
	Lieb = Joseph Lieberman
	Sharp = Al Sharpton

II. Article Description

At the top of each code sheet, provide basic information about the article. For the publication name, please use the following abbreviations:

New York Times = NYT; Washington Post = WP
Newsweek = NW; Time = TIME; US News & World Report = US

For the date, article number, location, and length of the article, please enter the information provided at the top of the article. For the type of news article, please circle the appropriate category using either the section number, article description, or your best judgment as a reference: News = a straight news or feature story; Op-Ed = an opinion piece or editorial. For the sex of reporter, please circle the appropriate category: M = male; F = female; MF = male and female; ? = cannot determine. For the focus of the article, please read the article and determine what the overall focus of the article is in reference to the campaign and circle the appropriate category: SF = strategy focused; IF = issue focused; PF = personal focused; MIX = a mixture of strategy, issue, and/or personal foci; NA = not about primary election or issue.

III. General Information

Carefully look at article content in order to code for the article characteristics. For yes/no categories use the following scale: 1 = yes, 0 = no. For tone categories, use the following scale: 1 = positive, 2 = negative, 3 = positive and negative, 4 = neutral. When determining whether the overall tone of the article, headline, or lead sentence is positive, negative, or neutral use an overall impression; for example:

Candidate is probable winner = Positive
Candidate is ahead in public opinion polls = Positive

Candidate is ahead in fundraising = Positive
Campaign organization is running smoothly = Positive
Candidate is endorsed by influential individuals or groups = Positive
Candidate is praised by individuals or groups = Positive
Candidate receives positive reaction at a public event = Positive
Candidate has a positive experience with the press = Positive
Candidate is attending a campaign event = Neutral
Candidate is probable loser = Negative
Candidate is behind in public opinion polls = Negative
Candidate is behind in fundraising = Negative
Campaign organization is struggling = Negative
Candidate is involved in a scandal = Negative
Candidate is not endorsed by influential individuals or groups = Negative
Candidate is criticized by individuals or groups = Negative
Candidate receives negative reaction at a public event = Negative
Candidate has a negative experience with the press = Negative

IV. Strategy Frames

Determine if the candidate is referred to in terms of campaign strategy frames and then determine the tone of the strategy frame coverage. The categories include mentions of horse race and polling, fundraising, endorsement, campaign appearances/events, and other campaign strategies, such as campaign message, advertisements, campaign scandals, image strategies, and the like. For yes/no categories use the following scale: 1 = yes, 0 = no. For tone categories, use the following scale: 1 = positive, 2 = negative, 3 = positive and negative, 4 = neutral. When determining whether the tone is positive, negative, or neutral, use an overall impression of the strategy frame and refer to the appropriate portions of the tone descriptions listed above; for example:

Horse Race and Polling – Candidate is the front-runner; Candidate ahead in polls = Positive
Fundraising – Candidate is behind in fundraising = Negative
Endorsement/ Support – Candidate is endorsed by influential individuals or groups = Positive
Campaign Appearance/Event – Candidate appears at a campaign event = Neutral
Other – Candidate's campaign organization is struggling = Negative

V. Issue Frames

Determine if the candidate is referred to in terms of issue frames and then record the specific issues mentioned in reference to the candidate. For yes/no categories use the following scale: 1 = yes, 0 = no.

VI. Personal Frames

Determine if the candidate is referred to in terms of personal frames and then record the specific personal traits mentioned in reference to the candidate. In addition, record if of the candidate is referred to in terms of other areas of their personal life as indicated on the coding sheet. For yes/no categories use the following scale: 1 = yes, 0 = no.

VII. Comments

A blank space is provided for general comments or unique observations on the last page of the coding sheet. Comments do not need to be provided for each section, but please include comments for observations not accurately assessed by the provided categories alone.

Sample Code Sheet

Article Number:
Publication:
Date:
Article Location:
Article Length:
Article Type: News or Op-Ed
Reporter Sex: M – F – MF – ?
Article Focus: SF – IF – PF – MIX – NA

PRIMARY	Cand	Cand
GENERAL INFORMATION Describe the articles in reference to the candidate. For yes/no categories use the following scale: 1 = yes, 0 = no. For tone categories use the following scale: 1 = positive, 2 = negative, 3 = positive and negative, 4 = neutral		
Is the candidate… 1 = a primary focus of the article? 2 = discussed briefly but with some information? 3 = just mentioned by name with no information?		
Does the article refer to the candidate primarily in terms of… 1 = campaign strategy 2 = issue position 3 = personal traits/life 4 = an equal mixture of two or more of the above mentioned frames 5 = none of the above		
What is the overall tone of article in reference to candidate		
Is candidate mentioned by name in headline?		
What is the overall tone of headline in reference to candidate		
Is candidate mentioned by name in lead sentence?		
What is the overall tone of lead sentence in reference to candidate?		
Is candidate the first (versus other contenders) or only candidate mentioned?		
Is the candidate quoted in the article?		
STRATEGY FRAMES Record if the following strategy frames are used in reference to the candidate. Use the same scales for yes/no and tone categories as described above.		
In general, does the article mention the candidate in reference to campaign strategy?		
What is the overall tone of the campaign strategy coverage?		
Does the article mention the candidate in reference to the horse race or polls?		
Overall tone of horse race or poll references		
Does the article mention the candidate in reference to fundraising or funds?		
Overall tone of fundraising or funds references		
Does the article mention the candidate in reference to endorsements or support?		
Overall tone of endorsements or support references		
Does the article mention the candidate in reference to specific campaign events?		
Overall tone of campaign event references		
Does the article mention the candidate in reference to other campaign strategies?		
Overall tone of other campaign strategy references		

ISSUE FRAMES

Record if the following issues are mentioned in reference to the candidate.

Use the same scale for yes/no categories as described above.

In general, does the article mention the candidate in reference to an issue?		
Abortion		
Business Regulation		
Budget/Government Spending		
Campaign Finance		
Civil Rights/Racial Discrimination/Affirmative Action		
Drugs		
Economy		
Elderly		
Education		
Employment/Jobs/Outsourcing		
Environment		
Foreign Affairs		
Gay Rights/Gay Marriage		
Gun Control		
Health care		
Health Issues (general)		
Military/Defense/War		
Religion/School Prayer		
Social Security/Medicare		
State/Local Issues		
Taxation		
Terrorism/Homeland Security		
Women's Issues		
Welfare		
Other:		
Other:		
Other:		

PERSONAL FRAMES

Record if the following personality traits are mentioned in reference to the candidate.
Use the same scale for yes/no and tone categories as described above.

In general, does the article mention the candidate in reference to personal traits/life?		
Active		
Ambitious, Driven		
Aggressive, Combative		
Attractive		
Boastful		
Charming		
Coarse		
Compassionate		
Competitive		
Complaining		
Confident		
Consistent		
Courageous		
Cruel		

Dependent		
Dishonest, Untrustworthy		
Emotional		
Enterprising		
Gentle		
High Strung		
Honest, Trustworthy		
Inconsistent		
Independent		
Insensitive		
Intelligent, Informed		
Jolly, Good Humored		
Passive		
Poised		
Logical, Analytical		
Reckless		
Robust		
Sensitive		
Sentimental		
Strong		
Strong Leader		
Talkative		
Tough		
Unemotional		
Unexcitable		
Unintelligent, Uninformed		
Warm		
Weak		
Weak Leader		
Other:		
Other:		
Other:		
Does the article mention the candidate's gender?		
Does the article mention the candidate as candidate as a "first"?		
Does the article mention the candidate's marital status or spouse?		
Does the article mention the candidate's parental status or child(ren)?		
Does the article mention the candidate's other family (parents, siblings, etc.)?		
Does the article mention the candidate's physical appearance (hair, height, etc.)?		
Does the article mention the candidate's clothing, accessories, etc.?		
Does the article mention the candidate's job qualifications (title, jobs, edu, etc.)?		
Does the article mention the candidate's race/ethnicity?		
Does the article mention the candidate's past life experiences (youth, war, etc.)?		
Does the article mention the candidate's other qualities? (age, religion, wealth, etc.)?		

COMMENTS

Article Characteristics:

Strategy Frames:

Issue Frames:

Personal Frames:

Appendix B: Experiment Female Candidate-Female Article*

CAMPAIGN 2008
Gilmore Trying to Turn Drawing Power Into Staying Power
Alex Brannon
FINAL
A07

The crowd is so large inside the University of Tennessee student center that people are stuck outside, peering through the windows for a glimpse of presidential primary candidate Anne Gilmore.

It's like this everywhere she goes. At previous stops on this two-day campaign swing through eastern Tennessee, Gilmore filled a banquet hall, a high school gym, a lecture hall and a hospital auditorium, most notably with women and young people. Her campaign doesn't have much money, and it doesn't have a strong organization or weighty endorsements. It has one strength: Anne Gilmore, one of the three most-admired women on the planet, according to one Gallup poll.

People want to see her. Jan McMahan showed up at a Gilmore campaign event in Oak Ridge on Thursday with her 6-year-old niece, Jenny. "Whenever Jenny's manners aren't good at the dinner table, we tell her Anne Gilmore is never going to invite her to dinner at the White House like that," McMahan said.

See her on the campaign trail: She has the posture, makeup and well-spoken demeanor of a beauty pageant contestant, which she used to be. No matter how rigorous the campaign schedule, her clothes are immaculate and perfectly coordinated. She favors the peacock palette of the country club wife – not just Manhattan black and Washington power reds, but also light blues, bright yellows, vibrant greens. Her hair is conservative, her smile is full and even, her manner in earnest. Her cadence and honey accent make instantly clear where she got the nickname Sugarlips.

But she has the record of a classic Washington rapid riser, and the reputation of a goal-setting, image conscious workaholic boss. Gilmore does not want to symbolize good table manners. She wants to be president. Out on the campaign trail, she shows only her formidable side.

Indeed, Gilmore is all business. On the campaign trail, she likes to stick to a carefully choreographed routine. Her report to potential shareholders in the Gilmore 2008 campaign follows a simple logic: First, she assures her listeners that it doesn't matter that she is undercapitalized. The primary's front-runner, Gov. Jason Sommers, has some $37 million in the bank, and while her other major opponent for the party's nomination, business tycoon Charlie Gardner, has a vast personal fortune to draw on, while she has less than a million on hand. But she has shown, she says, that she can turn out supporters "without spending millions of dollars."

Next, she reports on the polls. Not the ones that show her falling to the back into her party's pack, a distant third place at best. She stresses the upbeat. One of her favorites, a recent news organization poll, shows her with the highest favorability rating of any primary election candidate.

The rest of her stump speech is a variable mixture--part resume, part strategic plan. Depending on her mood and rhythms, she emphasizes past or future. In Oak Ridge on Thursday, she was all programs. And Gilmore is tough, too. She promised two domestic priorities as president: improving education and fighting drugs. Both, she said, hinged on a strong military and a muscular, pragmatic foreign policy.

When she dwells on her experience, as she did Friday at the University of Tennessee, Gilmore seems bent on proving a point no one has contested. If Donald Trump can talk of running for president, why should Anne Gilmore, a governor, have to justify herself?

Is this the curse of a female candidate--never let 'em see you emote? "I was disappointed," a University of Tennessee sophomore, Becky Stallings, said after hearing Gilmore. "She didn't address any women's issues."

Perhaps it was revealing that Gilmore turned poetic only once during two days in Tennessee--at a banquet designed to honor women's achievement, an event she attended with her husband, former senator Chad Sandusky.

Gilmore was every bit as businesslike as before, but she seemed free of a need to prove her toughness. She showed her heart: "What happened to that simple gift, a world without worry?" she asked. She wondered whether "the substitution of regulation for responsibility is a sort of Puritanism for people who have forgotten about character." She said that "while we can never return to an age of innocence . . . we can move on to an age of rediscovery."

*Adapted from Von Drehle, D. (1999a, October 17). Campaign diary; Dole trying to turn drawing power into staying power. *The Washington Post*, p. A07; and Von Drehle, D. (1999b, October 13). Dole's role: Bridging the part and the future; pioneering candidate's popularity reflects traditional roots. *The Washington Post*, p. A01.

Appendix C: Experiment Female Candidate-Male Article*

CAMPAIGN 2008
In Tennessee, Gilmore Hits Rhetorical Notes
Alex Brannon
FINAL
A01

Looking relaxed and sounding eager, Gov. Anne Gilmore barnstormed across Tennessee today with her heart on her sleeve, hoping to show that she can touch voters as effectively as she has tapped the checkbooks of her party's elite.

Her pitch: a sunny mixture of economic and political messages with a neighborly dose of love. Gilmore, who has emerged as the front-runner in the primary race, drew her greatest cheers when she defended the idea that politicians can be compassionate, and when she promised to lead from principle, not from the polls.

"Prosperity alone is simply materialism," said Gilmore, striking a tone she is likely to carry throughout her primary campaign. "The success of America has never been proven by cities of gold, but by citizens of character."

Things continued to go well for the woman whose political career has been a brief but vertical blur. She may be the most anticipated untested candidate since Dwight D. Eisenhower. For months she has tended her state's legislature, raised record-breaking amounts of campaign funds, collected influential endorsements, and soared in the polls, while the other candidates churned out the miles in search of support. But now that she's in the race, she told an audience of 500 at a lunchtime barbecue, she is in it all the way. "There's no turning back," Gilmore said, "and I intend to be the next president of the United States."

Eisenhower had the distinction of having led the victorious forces of global freedom in World War II. What distinguishes Gilmore? A well-known name, an army of endorsements and more than $15 million in early contributions. Is there more? That's what Tennessee, and the whole political world -- the news contingent numbered in the hundreds -- watched today to see.

Everywhere she went, Gilmore was greeted by large crowds -- much larger than normal for so early in the campaign -- and the audiences seemed eager to like her. She pushed broad themes rather than specific plans, such themes as lower taxes, a stronger military, better schools, and stronger communities. She emphasized tone over detail, promising a "positive, hopeful, inclusive" campaign. "A campaign that attracts new faces and new voices."

Ronald Hockersmith was among the first to meet to governor, and Gilmore locked up his vote in roughly 10 seconds. "Boy, are we glad to see you!" the retired railroad worker told the candidate over the thrum of throbbing music at the airport hangar where Gilmore arrived.

The Gilmore staff dubbed the four-day campaign swing through Tennessee and Georgia the "Great Expectations" tour. As reporters climbed onto the plane to Tennessee, they found piled on their seats: T-shirts emblazoned "I Have Great Expectations for Governor Gilmore," star-shaped foam toys labeled "Squeeze to lower expectations," and laminated scorecards marked "How Did She Do?" (Possible grades: "Grand Slam," "Triple," "Double," "Single" and "Back to Minors.").

Gilmore boarded the chartered MD-80 shortly after sunrise in Philadelphia, picked up the on-board microphone and, peering through reading glasses, greeted the media throng: "This is your candidate speaking," she said. "Please stow your expectations securely in the overhead bin as they may shift during the trip and they could fall and hurt someone -- especially me. . . ." Later, the candidate worked her way through the cabin with her craggy profile, the crooked mouth on the brink of a smile, the up-shooting eyebrows, and her shirt sleeves rolled up, chatting and laughing.

Upon arrival, her day was spent at picnics, at meetings with supporters, saying thanks to key organizers. With her husband, Chad, at her side, Gilmore next addressed a fund-raising luncheon for Rep. Glenn Brooks. There, she drew cheers when she asked, "Should our party be led by someone who boasts of a hard heart?" Gilmore answered, "No, we're generous of heart."

That rang a bell with Andrew Davis, a self-employed businessman, who said he has so far resisted efforts to enlist him as a precinct captain for Gilmore, but is leaning toward joining the campaign. But Becky Winfield said she still needs to hear more. While praising the speech, she complained that "I didn't hear her say anything about the environment. . . . I'd like to hear her on what she'll do for the American farmer."

Winfield plans to consider all the candidates before she decides. Gilmore "spoke generally and I can't disagree with anything she said. Who would disagree with someone who wanted a better America?" she said.

*Adapted from Von Drehle, D. (1999, June 13). In Iowa, Bush hits rhetorical notes, trail. *The Washington Post*, p. A01.

Appendix D: Experiment Male Candidate-Female Article*

CAMPAIGN 2008
Matthews Trying to Turn Drawing Power Into Staying Power
Alex Brannon
FINAL
A07

The crowd is so large inside the University of Tennessee student center that people are stuck outside, peering through the windows for a glimpse of presidential primary candidate Nathan Matthews.

It's like this everywhere he goes. At previous stops on this two-day campaign swing through eastern Tennessee, Simpson filled a banquet hall, a high school gym, a lecture hall and a hospital auditorium, most notably with women and young people. His campaign doesn't have much money, and it doesn't have a strong organization or weighty endorsements. It has one strength: Nathan Matthews, one of the three most-admired men on the planet, according to one Gallup poll.

People want to see him. Jan McMahan showed up at a Gilmore campaign event in Oak Ridge on Thursday with her 6-year-old niece, Jenny. "Whenever Jenny's manners aren't good at the dinner table, we tell her Nathan Matthews is never going to invite her to dinner at the White House like that," McMahan said.

See him on the campaign trail: He has the posture and well-spoken demeanor of a body-building contestant, which he used to be. No matter how rigorous the campaign schedule, his clothes are immaculate and perfectly coordinated. He favors the colorful palette of the country club husband – not just Manhattan black and Washington power reds, but also light blues, bright yellows, vibrant greens. His hair is conservative, his smile is full and even, his manner in earnest. His cadence and honey accent make instantly clear where he got the nickname Sugarlips.

But he has the record of a classic Washington rapid riser, and the reputation of a goal-setting, image conscious workaholic boss. Matthews does not want to symbolize good table manners. He wants to be president. Out on the campaign trail, he shows only his formidable side.

Indeed, Matthews is all business. On the campaign trail, he likes to stick to a carefully choreographed routine. His report to potential shareholders in the Matthews 2008 campaign follows a simple logic: First, he assures his listeners that it doesn't matter that he is undercapitalized. The primary's front-runner, Gov. Jason Sommers, has some $37 million in the bank, and while his other major opponent for the party's nomination, business tycoon Charlie Gardner, has a vast personal fortune to draw on, while he has less than a million on hand. But he has shown, he says, that he can turn out supporters "without spending millions of dollars."

Next, he reports on the polls. Not the ones that show him falling to the back into his party's pack, a distant third place at best. He stresses the upbeat. One of his favorites, a recent news organization poll, shows him with the highest favorability rating of any primary election candidate.

The rest of his stump speech is a variable mixture--part resume, part strategic plan. Depending on his mood and rhythms, he emphasizes past or future. In Oak Ridge on Thursday, he was all programs. And Matthews is tough, too. He promised two domestic priorities as president: improving education and fighting drugs. Both, he said, hinged on a strong military and a muscular, pragmatic foreign policy.

When he dwells on his experience, as he did Friday at the University of Tennessee, Matthews seems bent on proving a point no one has contested. If Donald Trump can talk of running for president, why should Nathan Matthews, a governor, have to justify himself?

Is this the curse of a male candidate--never let 'em see you emote? "I was disappointed," a University of Tennessee sophomore, Becky Stallings, said after hearing Matthews. "He didn't address any women's issues."

Perhaps it was revealing that Matthews turned poetic only once during two days in Tennessee--at a banquet designed to honor women's achievement, an event he attended with his wife, former senator Jane Sandusky.

Matthews was every bit as businesslike as before, but he seemed free of a need to prove his toughness. He showed his heart: "What happened to that simple gift, a world without worry?" he asked. He wondered whether "the substitution of regulation for responsibility is a sort of Puritanism for people who have forgotten about character." He said that "while we can never return to an age of innocence . . . we can move on to an age of rediscovery."

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Appendix E: Experiment Male Candidate-Male Article*

CAMPAIGN 2008
In Tennessee, Matthews Hits Rhetorical Notes
Alex Brannon
FINAL
A01

Looking relaxed and sounding eager, Gov. Nathan Matthews barnstormed across Tennessee today with his heart on his sleeve, hoping to show that he can touch voters as effectively as he has tapped the checkbooks of his party's elite.

His pitch: a sunny mixture of economic and political messages with a neighborly dose of love. Matthews, who has emerged as the front-runner in the primary race, drew his greatest cheers when he defended the idea that politicians can be compassionate, and when he promised to lead from principle, not from the polls.

"Prosperity alone is simply materialism," said Matthews, striking a tone he is likely to carry throughout his primary campaign. "The success of America has never been proven by cities of gold, but by citizens of character."

Things continued to go well for the man whose political career has been a brief but vertical blur. He may be the most anticipated untested candidate since Dwight D. Eisenhower. For months he has tended his state's legislature, raised record-breaking amounts of campaign funds, collected influential endorsements, and soared in the polls, while the other candidates churned out the miles in search of support. But now that he's in the race, he told an audience of 500 at a lunchtime barbecue, he is in it all the way. "There's no turning back," Matthews said, "and I intend to be the next president of the United States."

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The Matthews staff dubbed the four-day campaign swing through Tennessee and Georgia the "Great Expectations" tour. As reporters climbed onto the plane to Tennessee, they found piled on their seats: T-shirts emblazoned "I Have Great Expectations for Governor Matthews," star-shaped foam toys labeled "Squeeze to lower expectations," and laminated scorecards marked "How Did He Do?" (Possible grades: "Grand Slam," "Triple," "Double," "Single" and "Back to Minors.").

Matthews boarded the chartered MD-80 shortly after sunrise in Philadelphia, picked up the on-board microphone and, peering through reading glasses, greeted the media throng: "This is your candidate speaking," he said. "Please stow your expectations securely in the overhead bin as they may shift during the trip and they could fall and hurt someone -- especially me. . . . Later, the candidate worked his way through the cabin with his craggy profile, the crooked mouth on the brink of a smile, the up-shooting eyebrows, and his shirt sleeves rolled up, chatting and laughing.

Upon arrival, his day was spent at picnics, at meetings with supporters, saying thanks to key organizers. With his wife, Jane, at his side, Matthews next addressed a fund-raising luncheon for Rep. Glenn Brooks. There, he drew cheers when he asked, "Should our party be led by someone who boasts of a hard heart?" Matthews answered, "No, we're generous of heart."

That rang a bell with Andrew Davis, a self-employed businessman, who said he has so far resisted efforts to enlist him as a precinct captain for Matthews, but is leaning toward joining the campaign. But Becky Winfield said she still needs to hear more. While praising the speech, she complained that "I didn't hear him say anything about the environment. . . . I'd like to hear him on what he'll do for the American farmer."

Winfield plans to consider all the candidates before she decides. Matthews "spoke generally and I can't disagree with anything he said. Who would disagree with someone who wanted a better America?" she said.

*Adapted from Von Drehle, D. (1999, June 13). In Iowa, Bush hits rhetorical notes, trail. *The Washington Post*, p. A01.

Appendix F: Experiment Candidate Evaluation Questionnaire

The following questionnaire focuses on evaluations of presidential primary candidates (i.e. candidates running for their political party's presidential nomination). You must be at least 18 years old to participate in this research project. Participation in this questionnaire is completely voluntary, so you may opt out of the questionnaire at any time. For your privacy, the questionnaire responses will be strictly anonymous and confidential. In addition, the questionnaires will be analyzed in the aggregate, or as a whole, as opposed to individually. Participation indicates that you are at least 18 years old and acknowledges your informed consent regarding the voluntary, anonymous, and aggregate nature of the questionnaire, as well as its general purpose.

The last section of the questionnaire will direct you to a separate questionnaire, which asks you to enter your University of Tennessee NetID (the first part of your University of Tennessee email address), as well as the course number (for example, JEM 200) and instructor name of the class for which you are participating in this research project. This information is collected separately from the first questionnaire, will not be linked to your previous responses, and will be used only to provide your instructor with a list of students participating in the research project.

The questionnaire should take approximately 10-15 minutes to complete. If you have questions at any time about the study or the procedures, you may contact the researcher, T.J. Shoop, at tshoop@utk.edu or 865.974.8200. If you have questions about your rights as a participant, contact the Office of Research Compliance Officer at 865.974.3466.

Please click on the "I agree" box below if you agree with the following statement: I have read the above information and agree to participate in this research project.

[ ] I agree [ ] I do not agree

Please carefully read the attached news article about a hypothetical candidate for the 2008 presidential primary (i.e. the candidate is running for a political party's presidential nomination). While reading the article, you may have developed some mental image or picture of the candidate. Based on the article you just read and the image of the candidate in your mind, please answer the following questions about the candidate.

How you think the candidate would be at handling the issues listed below?

Military/Defense/War	Poor	Fair	Good	Excellent
Honesty and Integrity in Government	Poor	Fair	Good	Excellent
Education	Poor	Fair	Good	Excellent
Health care/Health Issues	Poor	Fair	Good	Excellent
The Economy	Poor	Fair	Good	Excellent
Social Security/Medicare	Poor	Fair	Good	Excellent
Foreign/International Affairs	Poor	Fair	Good	Excellent
Poverty/Homelessness	Poor	Fair	Good	Excellent
Terrorism/Homeland Security	Poor	Fair	Good	Excellent
Taxation/Government Spending	Poor	Fair	Good	Excellent

How well do you think the following personality traits describe the candidate?

Compassionate	Not Well At All	Not Too Well	Quite Well	Extremely Well
Strong Leader	Not Well At All	Not Too Well	Quite Well	Extremely Well
Honest	Not Well At All	Not Too Well	Quite Well	Extremely Well
Ambitious	Not Well At All	Not Too Well	Quite Well	Extremely Well
Warm	Not Well At All	Not Too Well	Quite Well	Extremely Well
Tough	Not Well At All	Not Too Well	Quite Well	Extremely Well
Knowledgeable	Not Well At All	Not Too Well	Quite Well	Extremely Well
Attractive	Not Well At All	Not Too Well	Quite Well	Extremely Well
Family-Oriented	Not Well At All	Not Too Well	Quite Well	Extremely Well
Qualified	Not Well At All	Not Too Well	Quite Well	Extremely Well

How would you describe the candidate's political ideology?

a. very conservative b. conservative c. moderate d. liberal e. very liberal

What do you think is the likelihood that the candidate will win the presidential primary election (i.e. will be the political party's presidential nominee)?

a. not at all likely b. not very likely c. somewhat likely d. very likely

Suppose the candidate won the primary (i.e. is the political party's presidential nominee) and the presidential election was held today. What is the likelihood that you would vote for the candidate for the United States presidency?

a. not at all likely b. not very likely c. somewhat likely d. very likely

Suppose the candidate won the primary (i.e. is the political party's presidential nominee) and the presidential election was held today. What do you think is the likelihood that the candidate would win the election for the United States presidency?

a. not at all likely b. not very likely c. somewhat likely d. very likely

Please list the top three personality traits (i.e. honesty, strong leadership, etc.) you think that a successful presidential candidate should have.

_____
_____
_____

Please list the top three political and/or social issues (i.e. military, education, etc.) that you think a successful presidential candidate should be good at handling.

_____
_____
_____

Please provide the following demographic information.

What is your age? ____

What is your sex?

a. male b. female

How would you best describe your political ideology?

a. very conservative b. conservative c. moderate d. liberal e. very

Do you plan to vote in the 2008 presidential election?

a. yes b. no

--- link to separate questionnaire ---

You will now be asked to enter your University of Tennessee NetID, as well as the course number and instructor name of the class for which you are participating in this research project. This information is collected separately from the first questionnaire, will not be linked to your previous responses, and will be used only to provide your instructor with a list of students participating in the research project. If you are not participating in this project for a specific course, you may close this window now.

What is your University of Tennessee NetID (the first part of your University of Tennessee email address)?

_____

What is the course number (for example, JEM 200) of the class for which you are participating in this questionnaire?

_____

What is the instructor's name for the class for which you are participating in this questionnaire?

_____

– End of questionnaire. Thank you for your participation. –

Appendix G: Human Subjects in Research Board Compliance

FORM A

Certification for Exemption from IRB Review for Research Involving Human Subjects

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A. PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR(s) and/or CO-PI(s) (For student projects, list both the student and the adviser.)**:**

Tiffany J. Shoop – Ph.D. Candidate

Dr. Dorothy Bowles – Dissertation Committee Adviser

B. DEPARTMENT:

College of Communication and Information – School of Journalism and Electronic Media

C. COMPLETE MAILING ADDRESS AND PHONE NUMBER OF PI(s) and CO-PI(s):

Tiffany J. Shoop
7108 West Arbor Trace Drive
Apartment #505
Knoxville, TN, 37909
865.806.9544

Dr. Dorothy Bowles
333 Communications Building
College of Communication & Information
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, TN 37996-0333
540.974.4454

D. TITLE OF PROJECT:

News Media Coverage of Women Seeking the United States Presidency (Dissertation)

E. EXTERNAL FUNDING AGENCY AND ID NUMBER (if applicable)**:**

N/A

F. GRANT SUBMISSION DEADLINE (if applicable)**:**

N/A

G. STARTING DATE (NO RESEARCH MAY BE INITIATED UNTIL CERTIFICATION IS GRANTED.)**:**

February 22, 2006

H. ESTIMATED COMPLETION DATE (Include all aspects of research and final write-up.):

August 01, 2006

I. RESEARCH PROJECT

1. Objective(s) of Project (Use additional page, if needed.):

The goal of this research project is investigate how the news media cover female and male presidential contenders and how such coverage impacts potential voters' evaluations of candidates. Therefore, a set of research questions and corresponding hypotheses seek to increase the understanding of how news frames associated with female and male candidates impact evaluations of presidential contenders, as well as the impact of gender stereotypes on candidate evaluations. Below is the list of research questions relevant to the questionnaire-based portion of the research project.

RQ: Do news frames commonly used in the coverage of female and male presidential contenders influence voters' evaluations of the candidates?

RQ: Do voters' employ gender stereotypes when evaluating presidential contenders?

2. Subjects (Use additional page, if needed.):

Participants will include adult students in various courses in the College of Communication and Information (and perhaps various student organizations) at the University of Tennessee. Participation will be voluntary, but extra-credit may be assigned for participation if desired by course instructors. Approximately 200 participants are needed to complete the questionnaire.

3. Methods or Procedures (Use additional page, if needed.):

A 2x2 factorial experimental design will be utilized to measure the impact of male/female news coverage and candidate gender on evaluation of candidates by potential voters. Via an online questionnaire, each participant will be asked to read one news article about a hypothetical candidate in the 2008 presidential primary (the article will fall into one of four conditions – female candidate/female coverage, male candidate/female coverage, female candidate/male coverage, male candidate/male coverage). Next, the participants will be asked to complete a candidate evaluation questionnaire, which asks the participants to evaluation the candidate on various measures, such issue competency, personality traits, and candidate viability. Participants will also be asked to list the three most important issues they feel a successful presidential candidate should be competent at handling and the three most important personality traits a successful presidential candidates should have. In addition, some basic demographic information will be collected from the participants, including age group, sex, and political ideology. Finally, participants will be asked to indicate whether they plan to vote in the 2008 presidential election. The data will be collected with the online questionnaire system, and statistical analysis will be run using SPSS.

Due to the nature of the questionnaire, participation in the questionnaire is anonymous and confidential, because no identification will be linked to the questionnaire responses. However, in order to provide proof of participation for extra-credit purposes, students will be directed to a separate questionnaire upon completion of the primary questionnaire, which will ask for their NetID, course number, and instructor's name. This questionnaire will generate a list of those

participating in the questionnaire, which will allow the instructors to record who has completed the questionnaire; however, the students' responses will not be linked to that list by the researcher for data analysis, ensuring confidentiality and anonymity of the participants' responses.

4. CATEGORY(s) FOR EXEMPT RESEARCH PER 45 CFR 46 (See instructions for categories.):

The research project involves an online survey procedure, which will not be recorded in a manner in which the participants' responses will not be linked to identification or placed at risk. – (2) Research involving the use of educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures or observation of public behavior, unless: (i) information obtained is recorded in such a manner that human subjects can be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects; and (ii) any disclosure of the human subjects' responses outside the research could reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation.

J. CERTIFICATION: The research described herein is in compliance with 45 CFR 46.101(b) and presents subjects with no more than minimal risk as defined by applicable regulations.

Principal Investigator: Tiffany J. Shoop, signed 02.15.2006

Student Adviser: Dorothy Bowles, signed 02.16.2006

Department Review Committee Chair: Benjamin Bates, signed 02.17.2006

APPROVED:
Department Head: Sally McMillan, signed 02.18.2006

COPY OF THIS COMPLETED FORM MUST BE SENT TO COMPLIANCE OFFICE IMMEDIATELY UPON COMPLETION.

Rev. 01/2005

Official Approval Notification Received 02.20.2006

Dear Ms. Shoop and Professor Bowles

Thank you for submitting your Form A application for review of your research protocol involving the use of Human Subjects, for the project titled "News Media Coverage of Women Seeking the United States Presidency."

After review, the Committee has approved your application. You may begin data collection with your receipt of this confirming letter. A copy of your application will be forwarded to the University of Tennessee Research Compliances Service.

I hope that your research goes well. Remember to inform us if there are any significant changes in your protocol, or if you encounter any unanticipated difficulties with research participants.

Sincerely,
Benjamin J. Bates

Vita

Tiffany Jane Shoop was born in Fort Knox, Kentucky and raised in Shippensburg, Pennsylvania. She graduated *summa cum laude* and Phi Beta Kappa from Virginia Tech in 1999 with a Bachelor of Arts degree in Political Science and Communication Studies with concentrations in legal studies and journalism. She also earned her Master of Arts degree from Virginia Tech in 2001, graduating in the Department of Communication's first graduate class with a concentration in journalism and political communication. In May 2006, she completed the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in the College of Communication and Information at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, where she concentrated in journalism and political communication. Her research interests include news media coverage of political campaigns, particularly those involving female candidates, and historical research on various political communication topics. She has presented her research at various academic conferences and has most recently received the top student paper award in the history division at the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication Southeast Colloquium for her work on Thomas Jefferson and freedom of the press. In the fall of 2006, she will be employed as an Assistant Professor of Mass Communication at Shenandoah University in Winchester, Virginia.

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