

THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY

SCHREYER HONORS COLLEGE

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

Does the Media Portray Liberal Female Candidates for President Differently than Conservative Female Candidates? A Content Analysis of Newspaper Media from Elizabeth Dole and Hillary Clinton's Presidential Campaigns.

JULIE FRASCO

SPRING 2010

A thesis

submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for baccalaureate degrees in Political Science and International Studies

with honors in Political Science

Reviewed and approved* by the following:

Lee Ann Banaszak
Associate Professor
Thesis Supervisor

Gretchen Casper
Associate Professor
Honors Adviser

* Signatures are on file in the Schreyer Honors College

Abstract

Scholars studying political science and gender have proven that the media portrays female candidates running for office differently by examining the content of media during political races between men and women. The research indicates that these differences can be explained by gender stereotyping in reporting and expectations for women to take liberal stances on issues. Most often women are portrayed as the underdog and the public focus moves to their appearance and family more than their positions on issues. However, little research has been conducted on the effects that partisanship has on the media portrayal of candidates in campaigns for President. The goal of this study is to determine if there is a difference in the media portrayal of two past female presidential candidates- one Republican and one Democrat. Would it be that the conservative candidate will be portrayed less favorably because their orientation towards issues and character traits are contradictory to what the media and public expects of a traditional female candidate? In order to find answers to these pertinent questions, data is collected through coding national newspaper articles on two recent Presidential campaigns, Elizabeth Dole and Hillary Clinton. During coding the researcher looks for mentions of specific character attributions and issue coverage. Results show that there is a difference in the framing of these two candidates in certain character attributions and issue coverage but overall, Hillary Clinton was portrayed less favorably than Elizabeth Dole. More often Clinton, the liberal candidate, was portrayed more negatively in relation to character attributions, but received more issue coverage on Republican “owned” issues.

Table of Contents

List of Tables and Figures.....	iii
Acknowledgements.....	iv
Introduction.....	1
Relevant Literature and Research Questions	4
Data Measurements and Collection Methods	9
Results.....	13
Analysis.....	25
Conclusion	30
Bibliography.....	32
Appendices	
A List of Articles Used in Coding	34
B Coding Instructions	41
C Definitions of Traits, Issues, and Family and Appearance	42
Academic Vita.....	

List of Tables and Figures

Table A	Average Mentions of Trait Attributions before Iowa Primary	18
Table B	Average Appearance, Family and Issue Mentions before Iowa Primary	23
Figure 1	Average Mention of Trait Attributions before Iowa Primary	18
Figure 2	Average Mentions of Issues before Iowa Primary	23
Figure 3	Overall Tone in Articles on Scale of 1-5 (Negative to Positive)	24

Acknowledgements

I would like to extend a very sincere thank you to my thesis advisor, Professor Lee Ann Banaszak for all of her help and support. I know that her time is very valuable in the Department of Political Science and it means so much that she spent some of it guiding me through this project. I would also like to extend a thank you to the Schreyer Honors College, the Department of Political Science, my advisor, Professor Gretchen Casper, and Professor Berkman for all of their help along the way. Also, I could have never done all of the Excel work without the assistance from graduate student Andrew Sommers at the University of Pennsylvania. I also am grateful for the support of my family, especially Loren Frasco.

Introduction

When Elizabeth Dole declared her historical primary campaign for President, she was seen as a serious female candidate poised to win the Republican nomination in 2000. About ten months later she resigned from campaigning due to insufficient funding. Even before that happened, the media counted her out due to the astronomical amount of money future Republican nominee, George W. Bush had been able to fundraise. Almost ten years later, Hillary Clinton also declared she was initiating a historical campaign and declared she would be the first woman President of the United States. She ran for the Democratic presidential nomination in 2008. Through the beginning of her campaign, newspapers undoubtedly thought she would be the nominee, many political analysts were positive that she had what it took to be the first female President. In a turn of events, Clinton withdrew her name after she was unsuccessful in amounting enough super-delegates in the summer of 2008 because another candidate, the current President of the United States and media darling, Barack Obama, had succeeded at winning enough to clinch the nomination.

Both women have law degrees from prestigious institutions, impressive public service records, and connections established in politics through their own and their family's networks. Dole had served both Presidents Reagan and Bush, in Cabinet-level posts as the Secretary of Transportation and Secretary of Labor. Then, she was president of the Red Cross throughout much of the 1990s. Dole also had Presidential campaign experience as the spouse of Senator Bob Dole, who had run for President twice before. Clinton has an admirable public service career as a lawyer who fought for the underprivileged in Arkansas, served as a New York Senator and was also an active First Lady as the spouse of former Governor, then President Bill Clinton. Still, neither woman was able to clinch the nomination for either party. When we compare each female

candidate to their male counterpart in their respective elections, we see candidates with equal experience. Senator Clinton lost the Democratic Nomination to Barack Obama and Elizabeth Dole lost the Republican nomination to George W. Bush, but when we look at their political backgrounds we see that each had leadership experience and strong political networks. Both have family members who have led Presidential campaigns and have seen what it takes to survive in that level of politics; George W. Bush was the Governor of Texas and is the son of former President George H. Bush. Similar connections exist between Hillary Clinton and current President Barack Obama. In this case, both candidates were former Senators of very politically strategic states after successful public service and law careers.

There are numerous parallels that can be drawn between the two campaigns of Dole and Clinton including their use of impressive political networks, their political ambitions, and past leadership experiences that made them excellent Presidential candidates. Despite all of the similarities there remains one very important difference between these two women: Dole ran as a Republican candidate and Clinton as a Democratic candidate. Although the major media outlets including television, magazines, and newspapers have an obligation to report objectively despite partisanship and gender, one must question how successfully are they able to uphold this standard of journalism. This research intends to find if there is a difference between the media coverage of conservative female candidates versus liberal female candidates, specifically when looking at women who have run for President in the United States. Did Elizabeth Dole and Hillary Clinton receive the same quality of coverage as candidates or is there an important difference that can be explained by partisanship? Neither candidate won the nomination, but it is still important to know if the stereotypes that exist for female candidates are the same among both parties for the many future women who will run for elected office in the United States.

In this paper, I will build the foundation of my hypotheses through looking at the past research that has been done in the field. In my section “Relevant Literature and Research Questions”, I look at theories about female candidates and the media, literature about trait attribution and issue ownership, and Hillary Clinton and Elizabeth Dole’s campaign coverage. In the “Data and Measurements” section, I describe the quantitative part of my research, which consists of article coding from national newspapers. Next, in the “Results” section, I share the interesting findings and in “Analysis” I discuss the possible reasoning for what we see in the difference between the two candidates. In a section labeled, “Conclusion” I show how this research may prove to be an integral piece of the puzzle to understanding how female candidates are understood by the media when we consider partisanship and how this affects their chances of capturing a future Presidential nomination.

Relevant Literature and Research Questions

Many scholars have done research to understand the phenomenon of female political candidates and their relationship with the media in the United States. In the research I conduct here, the phenomenon of interest is female candidates and the media but examining an additional component: how a candidate's partisanship affects this interaction. I discuss below the literature about trait attributions people make to candidates and issues that are more likely to be partisan and gendered. Additionally, I look at literature about the media portrayal of female candidates and specifically the media coverage of Hillary Clinton and Elizabeth Dole that has been studied thus far. Most of the sources I use focus on media coverage of campaigns in newspaper articles, which is what I also do. All together these pieces of literature helped me create my two research questions, which are explained below.

Media Portrayal of Female Candidates

Various scholars including Kittilson and Fridkin have established the difference in media coverage between men and women. They determined that an uneven distribution of coverage of female candidates negatively impacts female candidates' chances of winning elections (2008). The media is more likely to distort female candidates' messages and portray them as less viable candidates (Kahn and Woodall, 1999). Although based on previous research we know that journalists do not employ simple gender stereotypes in coverage, they do report more frequently on personal characteristics of women more often than males, often noting their attire and personality over their accomplishments or experience (Kahn, 1994).

Trait Ownership and Issue Ownership

In addition, Hayes discussion of "trait ownership", which is built off of "issue

ownership” as discussed by Petroick explains that the beginning of trait perceptions by voters of candidates stems from each party owning certain issues on the national forum (2005; 2003/4). Because voters identify certain issues with each party, they therefore also identify character traits with each party. For example, the public views Republican candidates as strong leaders and moral with grasps on issues such as taxes, the size of government, and the military. On the other hand, Democrats are viewed as more compassionate and empathetic. Usually they “own” issues regarding social welfare. Issues classified as “masculine” are those such as taxes, foreign policy, and the economy. Stereotypical “feminine” issue coverage includes social issues, education, drugs, and gun control (Bystrom, 2004).

Since the 1990’s, men have increasingly supported more conservative politicians and identified with the Republican Party, while women have done the opposite (Kauffman, 2002). The increasing gender gap is important because women are traditionally thought to care more about social issues and societal welfare; therefore they more often identify with the Democratic party. This trend may be the reason why many people also expect female candidates to identify with the Democratic party and take on the respective issue platforms. Sometimes female candidates decide to not take on the traditional “female” issue positions that deal with compassion. Instead they campaign against the gender stereotype and portray themselves as a “tough gal”. The economy is often stressed as one of the most important issues in any political campaign and that is across gender lines. In fact, the economy is the most important issue in both Democrat and Republican female candidate platforms. The difference shows when candidates are asked about which other issues are most important to them. Women are more likely to answer that it is a social issue, more than men. Also, abortion is more often important to female candidates in both parties, than men (la Cour Dabelko & Herrnson, 1997).

Traits that candidates most often try to display include compassion for women and strength for men, but it likely that both sexes will try to portray themselves as having “masculine” traits such as competency and leadership. Ultimately, the most successful female candidates are ones who discuss issues more often such as taxes, healthcare, and women’s issues, while emphasizing their aggressiveness very often (Bystrom, 2004). People draw on stereotypes of women to attribute traits to them, where this does not happen with male candidates (Koch, 2002). Therefore I believe that the more emotional attributes will be attributed to the Democratic candidate while the Republican will maintain the more masculine attributes.

So, the gender gap shows that women are more often holding liberal views on issues of welfare and social equality and identifying with the Democratic Party. Therefore, it is contradictory to see a conservative woman running for elective office. I believe this contradiction in the minds of the media will lead to a negative opinion of the conservative female candidate. The idea that women are more often classifying themselves as Democrats, may lead to a negative reaction by the media when the public is exposed to women that do not fit this mold. Republican candidates are more likely to puzzle the electorate because there are “conflicting clues about their orientation” with their issue positions and gender. “Citizens receive two contradictory pieces of information when they attempt to construct a portrait of a Republican female candidate’s ideology. The candidate’s partisanship suggests conservatism but the candidate’s gender implies liberalism” (Koch, 2002, 453-462).

Campaign Coverage of Hillary Clinton and Elizabeth Dole

The campaign coverage of Hillary Clinton’s historical bid for President was deemed gendered by many observers. Some go as far to say that media made unethical decisions that hurt

her chances (Carroll, 2009). Traditionally, Presidents come from specific past areas of leadership experience such as governor, senator, vice President or military hero. Clinton was a Senator in New York at this point, qualifying her in this way (Duerst-Lahti, 27) Although we wouldn't advise to contribute Hillary's loss solely to gender stereotyping, the distasteful and often stereotypical press coverage may have been a major factor of why she did not succeed in becoming the first female President of the United States. Even when Clinton ran for Senator of New York there were examples of gendered news coverage that focused very often on her weight, dress, and hairstyles (Bystrom,172).

It has been found through previous research of content analysis in newspaper articles that the quality of coverage Dole received was much less issue coverage than personal characteristic coverage. She was quoted directly at a lower rate and her speeches were paraphrased at a higher rate, also. "Despite early polls that consistently placed her second behind George W. Bush among Republican contenders, she received far less press attention than others, " (Duerst-Lahti, 34). Though Bystrom says that Dole got equal press coverage on issues, she does note that Dole did receive more appearance coverage despite the equity in issue coverage. According to Aday and Devitt, one reason for this discrepancy could be that the reporters who wrote the articles during this time were male, (2001).

Female Candidate Appearance and Family

Traditional partisan and gender expectations are for a female candidate to hold liberal views. This may lend itself to discussion of a woman and her physical appearance more easily than conservative candidates. These factors make it more difficult for female candidates to use the media as a tool to get their platforms out to the public and maintain a positive professional

image. When female candidates are constantly mentioned in reference to their families it can stir up traditional images of women as housewives and mothers. According to Bystrom, it is inconsequential if the candidate race is two women against one another--there is still stereotypical media coverage (2004). In the South Bend Tribune, a newspaper in Indiana, the author described Elizabeth Dole in the following fashion in one article: "The fact that Elizabeth Dole recently had the guts to speak out in favor of gun control while in New Hampshire convinces me that she would not be intimidated by Slobodan Milosevic. Courage under fire--that's Elizabeth Dole. Joan of Arc with a hairdresser" (Russell, 1999). Here the author does not focus on the gun policy at hand, but mentions that she is like "Joan of Arc with a hairdresser" stirring up traditional images of women prioritizing their appearance.

Research Questions

Research Question 1: Knowing that the media coverage of women's campaigns will concern appearance and family more often than their positions on issues: Will the liberal female candidate receive more campaign coverage surrounding their appearance and family than the conservative candidate?

Research Question 2: Will the possible gender contradiction in the minds of the public lead to a less favorable overall tone in the articles about the conservative woman candidate, more so than about the liberal candidate?

Data Collection Method and Measurement

Case Selection

I chose to concentrate on the campaign media attention of Democrat Hillary Clinton for President and to compare it with, Elizabeth Dole's bid for President in 1999, a Republican running to be her party's nominee for the White House. Traditionally, only males have held the office of President in the United States. Duerst-Lahri theorizes this has occurred because of the nature of the institution of the Presidency, which includes a rigorous campaign season similar to a battle, leaves women out too easily (2004). She also argues that for a woman to win this office she must display masculine characteristics that match the institution while also retaining female traits. Women in Presidential elections are most often portrayed as liberal underdogs more often than their male contestants. Duerst is focusing specifically on the 2004 Presidential election where three women started out as potential Democratic candidates. Hillary Rodham Clinton, Jeanne Shaheen, and Carol Moseley Braun were all mentioned at sometime as possible candidates in this article. Although none of them would be the final Democratic candidate, it made a statement that women could be legitimate candidates in the Presidential race, possibly due to the previous campaign of Elizabeth Dole three years earlier.

Legitimacy and viability were two characteristics that I looked for when making my case selection. I wanted to ensure that there would be equal press coverage on each candidate. Also, I wanted each case to be one where the woman was a viable candidate for her party's nomination. I knew that I wanted to choose candidates from the two main political parties and those from the last fifty years. When you look at the entire universe of women who have run for a main party nomination within the past fifty years there are few including Shirley Chisholm in 1972, Carol Moseley Braun in 2004, Elizabeth Dole in 2000 and Hillary Clinton in 2008. Dole is the only

viable Republican candidate and that is why I chose her case to focus on. I also chose Clinton because her campaign was the closest a woman has come to winning the Democratic nomination. This supports the case selection of Hillary Clinton and Elizabeth Dole, both viable women Presidential candidates from the recent history in politics, yet of different political parties.

Data Collection Method

The data I use to answer my research questions comes from coding newspaper articles from national papers to see if there is an effect of partisanship in media coverage. Through the Lexis Nexus Database I am able to sort and locate articles from major national newspapers from each women's campaign. I looked at articles only from the beginning of the declared exploratory campaigns through the candidates withdraw. I want to only look at the media coverage while the candidate was actively campaigning. The articles were ordered by date in descending order and every fourth article was coded in order to make sure that the articles were evenly chosen through the campaign. In total 223 articles are coded, 112 from Dole's campaign and 111 from Clinton's. I decided to not use 'Opinion Editorials' because I wanted to look at the articles where the public would go to find out information about candidates, in full articles. A full list of articles that were coded for this research can be found at the end in Appendix A. Each article had specific source and citation information that includes the article title and the number of words.

Using predetermined definitions, I determine the traits attributed to the candidate in the article and the issues connected with the candidate. The following definitions allowed me to better guarantee inter-judge reliability; the intent was to be consistent throughout the coding process. To create reliable definitions, I utilized the Merriam-Webster Dictionary to find exact

definitions of each trait and then expanded on them to relate to the context of this research. The definitions I employed while coding the articles are in Appendix C.

I collected the data through the coding method where I would give a value to a mention of a trait or issue in the article. I was looking for mentions when the candidates had specific traits attributed to them such as: Empathy, Integrity, Honesty, Competence, Strength, and Leadership; and whether candidates were connected with specific issues like Environment, Healthcare, Education, Welfare, Economy and Foreign Policy and then Appearance, Family (Kahn & Woodall, 1999; Petrocik, Benoit, & Hansen, 2003/2004). I followed these authors' models when I designed my coding system. In their research they chose the issues mentioned above because they were traditionally "owned" by either the Republicans or Democrats. These authors also looked at appearance and family, as they are issues typically discussed in connection with female candidates. I also gave a value at the end for Overall Tone.

Trait attributions and issue mentions were measured on a scale of 0, 1, and -1. In this scale '0' denotes that the trait or issue was not mentioned in the article. A '1' denotes that the trait or issue was mentioned in a neutral or positive tone, and '-1' signals that the trait or issue was mentioned in a negative way or said to not have the certain quality. I decided to use this system because for a politician running in a campaign, any press is good press, so if they mentioned attributions or issues and they were not explicitly negative, I assumed that a wider base of people now knows the information. It is important to note how the media portrayed each candidate as possessing or lacking certain qualities, associating them with issues and mentioning their appearance or family. The full coding design can be found in the back in Appendix B.

Strengths of the Design

Strengths of this design are that it looks at party affiliation and gender in the Presidential race by comparing two female cases instead of comparing a male and a female, which is how most have traditionally done research on female campaigns and media coverage. By comparing two strong female cases it shows that each was a legitimate candidate and there is validity in comparing their historical campaigns. This design allows me to pull theories from the universe of women in politics and test them. I am able to see whether one female is more stereotyped than another in politics, which is not often the focus of research.

Results

When we compare Dole and Clinton's media attention in the time period through the declaration of their exploratory campaigns up until the first primary, we see the initial stereotypes and personality attributions the media has towards each candidate. This assumption is based on the fact that before the public has time to understand fully the platforms of both candidates, they are likely to pull from common knowledge and their personal schemas to view each candidate (Koch, 2002). Koch's theory does refer to the assumptions made by the public but I believe the media is often more extreme than the public. If the public has a tendency to make assumptions about candidates based on first impressions, I think that the media will do this even more.

Before the general election for President, there are many road markers on the campaign trail:

- The year before the election candidates most often declare their campaigns. In January of 1999, Elizabeth Dole first declared her campaign for President. Less than a decade later, Hillary Clinton declared her campaign for President in January of 2007.
- After one year of candidates declaring and withdrawing their names, those candidates remaining enter into early caucuses in Iowa and New Hampshire. Elizabeth Dole chose to withdraw from the campaigning citing fundraising difficulties after she placed third in the Iowa Straw Poll; the Straw Poll is a precursor to the actual primary.

- February is especially important in campaign season because of “Super Tuesday”, a phrase coined to explain the many important primaries that are held on this date. Many of the states that participate hold large number of delegates and this is a crucial time to gain momentum.
- When the summer comes in June and August, usually the candidate for each party is determined in each respective National Convention. In June of 2008 Hillary Clinton withdrew from the Democratic candidate race for Presidential nominee.
- From this point until November, candidates that won the nomination in each party campaign for President until the national election is held (Duerst-Lahti).

Both candidates in this research study withdrew from campaigning at different road marks on the campaign trail. Elizabeth Dole withdrew from campaigning before competing in any caucuses, besides the Iowa Straw Poll in early 2000. Hillary Clinton made it farther than any woman has so far in either party. She campaigned through most of the state’s primaries in the spring and summer 2008 before accepting defeat to Barack Obama in June. This is why in order to be more accurate, it is necessary to break the data into time periods.

“News coverage during the first year of any election focuses upon “aspirants,” doing things that would clearly help them with a presidential bid” (Duerst-Lahti, 19). The first year before the election that Duerst-Lahti describes is the time period that will be the focus of this research. I will look at the results for Elizabeth Dole from January 4, 1999 to October 30, 1999 (the date she withdrew) and for Hillary Clinton from January 21, 2007 to January 2, 2008. In this sample there are 153 articles. First, I will give the results for each character trait, then the issues, appearance and family, and last, overall tone.

Trait Attributions

I predict that the female candidates will be most often portrayed according to the stereotypical gender characteristics. This means that female candidates are most often framed as empathetic and honest, while male candidates are better leaders, stronger, and more competent. When I compare the results I expect that the conservative female candidate will be portrayed with more male characteristics and the liberal candidate will retain the “female” traits. People draw on stereotypes of women to attribute traits to them, I believe that the more emotional attributes will be attributed to the Democratic candidate while the Republican will maintain the more masculine attributes (Koch, 2002).

Candidate Empathy. The media did not often mention themes of empathy in connection to either candidate. Throughout the articles Dole was never coded as unempathetic (-1), yet empathetic qualities were only mentioned in 22 of the 112 articles, (21%). Clinton was framed as empathetic in 12 of the 43 articles (28%). These results are not significant; the chi-squared test statistic shows that at 2.08 the difference we see most likely occurred by chance. These data are shown below in Table A: Average Mentions of Trait Attributions before Iowa Primary and Figure 1.

Candidate Integrity. Hillary Clinton is portrayed as having integrity in 25 of 43 articles (51%). The media also frames Dole as having integrity in 64 of 112 articles (57%). The chi-squared statistic is 12.2, which means that the difference in mentions of integrity between the two candidates is significant. This shows that the media purposely portrayed the candidates differently and the difference most likely did not occur by chance.

Candidate Honesty. The media did not mention this characteristic often in either sample of articles. This was Hillary Clinton's weakest characteristic with a -5% mean rating. This means that the media more often framed this candidate as lacking honesty. Dole was portrayed as slightly more honest with a mean of 8%. This percentage is still much lower than other attributions made to candidates. This difference in portrayal is statistically significant, which means that we can reject that this difference in portrayal occurred by chance because the chi-squared statistic is 7.63. Therefore, we can assume that this difference in the media portrayal of each candidate as honest was on purpose. There was intent to attribute honesty to Elizabeth Dole, yet not to Hillary Clinton in the newspaper articles.

Candidate Competency. Looking at the average results, Dole was mentioned as competent in 33 articles (29%), while Clinton was illustrated as competent in 11 of 43 of the articles (23%). These values are very similar and show that the media portrayed both candidates as competent about the same amount of times in articles. Through the chi squared method of testing for significance I found that this difference is not significant with a value of only 2.81.

Candidate Strength. Strength is measured many different ways but the most prevalent is within the frame of outside support, for example, support from other legislators, super-delegates or constituents. The data shows that Hillary Clinton was more often framed in articles as strong. The media portrayed Hillary as having strength in 20 articles (47%). Elizabeth Dole was portrayed as not strong (-1) in 3 articles and strong in 36 of 112 total articles (30%). These results prove to be insignificant statistically, the chi-squared statistic is 3.72, therefore the difference between the two scores of strength probably occurred by chance.

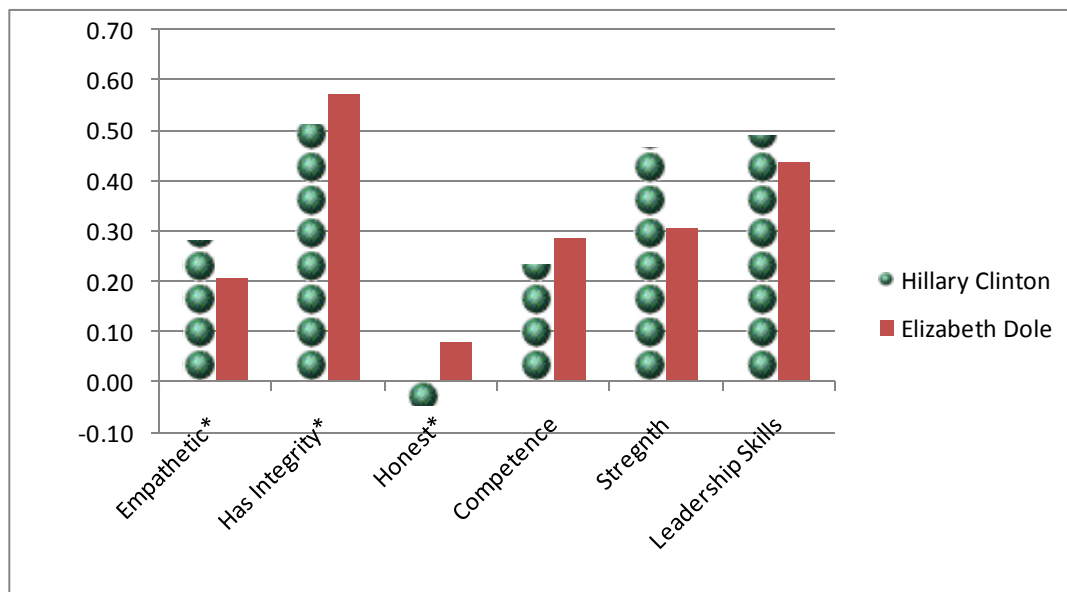
Candidate Leadership. As was the expected outcome for strength, the Republican candidate should be portrayed as a better leader according to traditional partisan trait attributions, but does this hold when comparing two female candidates? The results show that Hillary Clinton is actually framed by the media as a leader more often than is Elizabeth Dole. Leadership qualities are mentioned in 22 articles (49%) about Clinton and Dole in 49 articles (44%). The chi-squared significance test shows that the difference is not significant and most likely occurred by chance at 3.48.

Summary. My original hypothesis that the conservative candidate would be portrayed with more “male” traits was proven wrong. In fact, Hillary Clinton, the Democratic candidate, was more often framed as strong and having leadership skills. These are the two traits I assumed would be assigned to Dole. Hillary Clinton is not seen as empathetic or honest as I had thought she would be because she is a liberal female candidate. Dole did receive more mentions of integrity and competence, it seems they are more likely to be used in the description of the conservative candidate.

Table A: Average Mentions of Trait Attributions before Iowa Primary

Trait Attributions	Hillary Clinton	Elizabeth Dole
Empathetic*	0.28	0.21
Has Integrity*	0.51	0.57
Honest*	-0.05	0.08
Competence	0.23	0.29
Strength	0.47	0.30
Leadership Skills	0.49	0.44

* Significant at $p < .05$

Figure 1: Average Mentions of Trait Attributions before Iowa Primary

Candidate Appearance, Family and Issues Mentions

In this category I chose issues that were stereotypically covered for each party. Yet, I also wanted to look at issues that are typically regarded as “male” issues and “female” issues. For example, the public views Republican candidates as strong leaders and moral with grasps on issues such as taxes, the size of government, and the military. On the other hand, Democrats are viewed as more compassionate and empathetic hence they usually “own” issues regarding social welfare. Issues classified as “masculine” are those such as taxes, foreign policy, and the economy. Stereotypical “feminine” issue coverage includes social issues, education, drugs, and gun control (Bystrom, 2004). There are 6 core issues where I looked for mentions of in each article including Environment, Healthcare, Education, Welfare/Poverty, Economy, and Foreign Policy. I expected that the liberal candidate would receive less issue based coverage and more appearance and family coverage. Also, I hypothesized that the media would more often connect the liberal candidate with stereotypical “female” social issues such as the environment, healthcare, education and welfare/poverty because they relate to social welfare.

Candidate Appearance and Family. Clinton and Dole both received similar mean amounts of coverage on their appearances, Clinton in 6 of 43 (14%) and Dole in 17 of 112 articles (15%). The difference is insignificant according to the chi-squared test. Yet, each candidate received sizeable coverage of their families; Clinton’s family was mentioned in 27 of 43 articles (63%). Similarly, Dole’s family was a popular topic in articles, 46 of 112 articles (41%). This difference is significant with a chi-squared statistic of 5.88 and a probability of less than 2 % that this occurred by chance. This means that most likely it was the intention of the media to portray Hillary Clinton more often in connection with her family.

The amount of all of the average values on issues (excluding “other” category) for Hillary Clinton is 76%. Compare to the combined values in appearance and family 77%. This illustrates the comparison between how many of the articles mentioned her issues positions versus the portion of articles that discussed her appearance or family. The data for Dole shows a similar trend, of all the mean issue mentions we get a value of 52%, while the portion of articles that discuss her appearance and family is 56%. Also, the newspaper coverage of Clinton was also more likely to include a photograph with the article, in 15 of 43 articles (35%). Articles written about Elizabeth Dole through her campaign were less likely to include a photograph, 25 of 112 articles (22%). This difference in likelihood to include a photograph with the corresponding article is not statistically significant. These data are shown below in Table B: Average Appearance, Family and Issue Mentions before Iowa Primary and Figure 2.

Summary. Overall, on appearance the two candidates really did not differ much in average amounts of mentions by the media. Conversely, Hillary Clinton statistically shows that the media more often covered her family issues, more often than Elizabeth Dole. Both candidates also were highly likely to have pictures with their articles but Hillary Clinton was more likely although it is not statistically significant. The media more often covered each candidate’s appearance and family together, than all of the issues, too. This is what I had expected for the liberal candidate, but not the conservative candidate.

Candidate Issue Mentions. Again, there are 6 core issues chosen because they are traditionally related to gender and partisanship. Also, I hypothesized that the media would more often connect the liberal candidate with stereotypical “female” issues such as the environment, healthcare, education and welfare/poverty because they relate to social welfare.

Environment. The mean value for times that the media mentioned the environment in association with Hillary Clinton is 5%. For Elizabeth Dole the mean value is as following on the environment, 0%. This difference in issue portrayal for the candidates is significant with a 5.34 chi-square value.

Healthcare. On this issue, the media more often mentioned Hillary Clinton in association with healthcare in 30% of the articles. Elizabeth Dole was framed with issues associated with healthcare 15% of the time. This difference in the average mentions of healthcare as an issue is significant. The difference between the two averages is not likely by chance because the chi-squared statistic is 5.56.

Education. The media mentioned issues related to education in only 2% of the articles about Hillary Clinton. On the other hand, education was often an issue the media reported on for Dole, in 15% of the articles on average. This difference proves to be statistically significant at 5.00 value for the chi-squared statistic. Most likely the difference in education issue coverage did not occur by chance, but it is the opposite of what I had expected because the conservative candidate comes out ahead.

Welfare/Poverty. This issue was not often associated with either candidate during each of their campaigns. The media never mentioned welfare issues in articles about Hillary Clinton. The media covered only 1% of articles that related to Elizabeth Dole and this issue. Neither candidate received much issue coverage in this category nor was the difference significant.

Economy. Hillary Clinton and the economy were associated in 16% of articles. Elizabeth Dole was covered on the issue of the economy in only 8% of the articles. At 3.23 for the chi-

squared statistic, this value is almost significant but I cannot prove that this difference did not occur by chance.

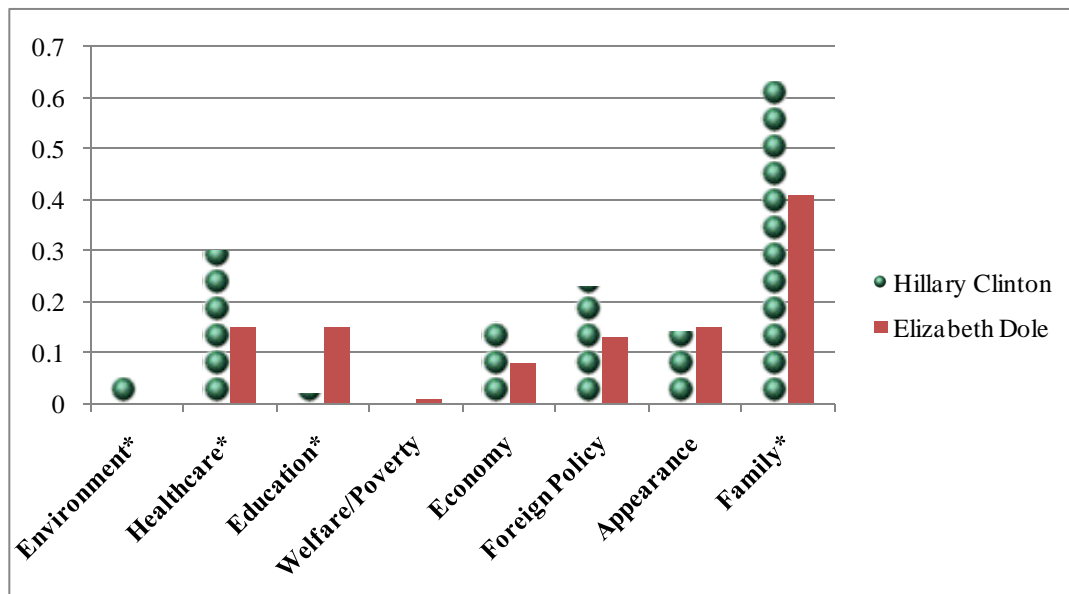
Foreign Policy. The mean value for times the media reported on Hillary Clinton in relation to foreign policy issues was 23%. While, on Elizabeth Dole they reported on foreign policy in 13% of the articles. Like with the issue of the economy, I cannot say that difference is significant.

Summary. In summation, the media did not report on issues for each candidate as I had hypothesized. The traditionally societal welfare issues were split between both the liberal and the conservative candidate; those include the environment and healthcare for Hillary Clinton. Then, Elizabeth Dole was more often covered on education and welfare and poverty. On the other hand, I thought that Dole's issue coverage would be higher on the economy and foreign policy but Clinton actually had higher average values in these categories.

Table B: Average Appearance, Family and Issue Mentions before Iowa Primary

Issues Mentioned	Hillary Clinton	Elizabeth Dole
Environment*	0.05	0.00
Healthcare*	0.30	0.15
Education*	0.02	0.15
Welfare/Poverty	0.00	0.01
Economy	0.16	0.08
Foreign Policy	0.23	0.13
Appearance	0.14	0.15
Family*	0.63	0.41
Photo	0.35	0.22

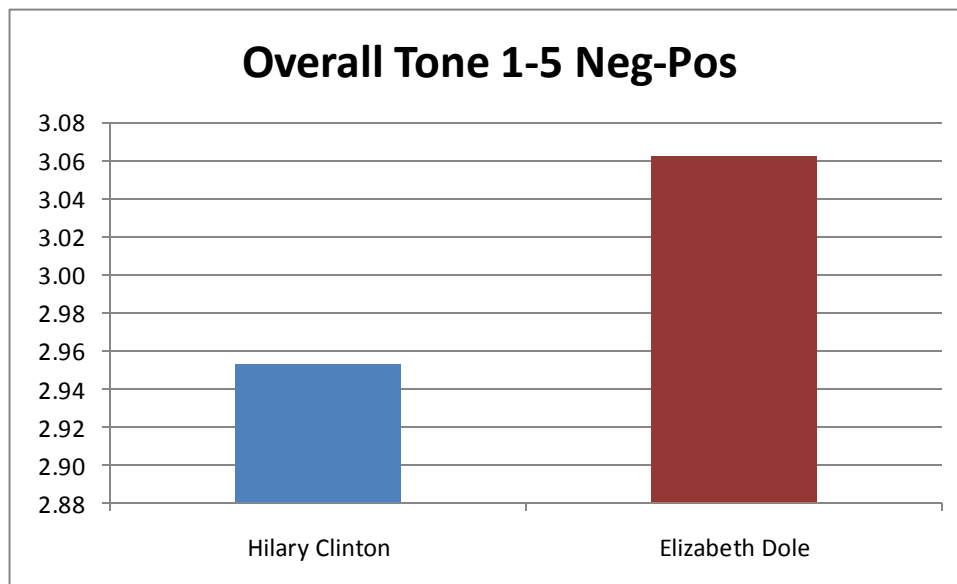
*Significant at $p < .05$

Figure 2: Average Mentions of Issues before Iowa Primary

Overall Tone of Article

Overall Tone of Article. On a scale of 1 (very negative) through 5 (very positive) I gave each article a rating of favorability. The mean value for overall tone in the articles is 3.06 for candidate Elizabeth Dole. She was described unfavorably (with values of 1 or 2) in 29 articles, neutrally (3) in 41 articles and favorably (4 or 5) in 42 articles. Hillary Clinton was portrayed less favorably overall; her mean value of tone is 2.95. She was portrayed unfavorably in 14 articles, neutrally in 14 articles, and favorably in 15 articles. For both candidates, the most articles fall in to the favorability category. The difference in the values is not significant when tested in the chi square test. These data are shown below in Figure 3: Overall Tone in Articles on Scale of 1-5. Although both candidates received more favorably articles than unfavorable, Elizabeth Dole was portrayed more positively. This does not follow the hypothesis where I assumed the media would portray the liberal candidate more favorably.

Figure 3: Overall Tone in Articles on Scale of 1-5 (Negative to Positive)



Analysis

The analysis of the results focuses on answering the two original research questions. I looked at the content of national newspaper articles in order to find if there is a difference between the portrayals of female candidates of different partisanship by the newspaper media. I analyzed each article to identify mentions of character traits, issues, and overall tone.

Research Question 1: Knowing that the media coverage of women's political campaigns will concern appearance and family more often than their positions on issues: Will the liberal female candidate receive more campaign coverage surrounding their appearance and family than the conservative candidate?

Hypothesis 1: The liberal female candidate will receive more gender stereotypical campaign coverage about their appearance and family, instead of issue coverage.

Research Question 2: Will the possible gender contradiction in the minds of the public lead to a less favorable overall tone in the articles about the conservative woman candidate, more so than about the liberal candidate?

Hypothesis 2: The newspaper media will portray the conservative candidate less favorably than the liberal candidate.

Candidate Appearance and Family. Overall, Clinton received more coverage on her appearance and family when we combine those mean values. This is consistent with my hypothesis that the liberal candidate would receive more news coverage on their family and appearance, than on issues. There are various possible reasons why this is the case. Duerst- Lahti found "that coverage of high-level female candidates, such as Hillary Clinton, tended to focus on

their physical appearance, clothes and personal life.” She says that this coverage hinders their credibility and accomplishments because they are always portrayed as connected to somebody else, rather than standing on their own (37). Bill Clinton is a former President of the United States, therefore he is apt to be mentioned in the media regularly. This does not change the fact that her personal life, her family, and appearance, were mentioned in articles about the same amount that her positions on issues were discussed. Newspaper journalists mentioned her appearance about as much as they did her opinion on the economy, despite the fact that there was a shattering recession happening across America at the time. Additionally, the media mentioned Hillary Clinton’s family as often as her positions on foreign policy and healthcare combined, two very important issue platforms in the 2008 election. Elizabeth Dole also has a relatively famous spouse, her husband is a former Senator and has run for President two times. Duerst- Lahti also acknowledges that Dole had, “presidential timber” because of her spouse (37). This could also contribute to the high percentage of articles that discuss Dole and her family.

Candidate Issue Mentions. My intention was to choose issues that are typically “owned” by the Democrats like healthcare, education and welfare, and other “owned” by the Republicans such as taxes, the economy, and foreign policy. I wanted to compare these examples of issue ownership by the parties to gender ownership of issues. It is known that women are most successful in elections when they emphasize “feminine” issues like social issues, education, and women’s rights, while maintaining aggressive character traits (Bystrom). I believe Hillary Clinton’s campaign coverage and strategy falls into this theory very well. On the issues, Clinton’s positions on the environment and healthcare were more often portrayed in newspapers than Dole’s. This follows the traditional partisan pattern, yet Clinton also received more mentions on average on the two important Republican and “masculine” issues: the economy and

foreign policy. Education, and to some extent welfare, were the only issues where Dole received more press on average than Clinton. I think this is the most interesting thing, that she captured both “Republican” issues over Elizabeth Dole. To me it seems that her status as a politician may have made the media take her more seriously right away. They knew she was a candidate to be taken seriously from the beginning and therefore portrayed her as so by covering her issue positions on the big issues. The economy and foreign policy are two important issues and it definitely says that the media took her more seriously as a candidate because over the higher average mentions.

It is important to point out that the political climate at the time does have a lot to do with the issues that are reported on in the media. In the 2000 election, education was an important issue because the horrific Columbine shooting that had recently happened and people were talking a lot about education and safety in schools. Therefore this could help explain why Dole received significantly more coverage on education and gun control issues.

These findings are interesting because they are inconsistent with the hypothesis that the liberal candidate would receive less issue coverage. So although Clinton did receive more press on her appearance and family, the media also mentioned her in connection with issues more often when we compare the two candidates. I believe this happened because Clinton was more widely known, formerly as a First Lady, and then as a New York Senator. Due to her notoriety, she may have just received more quality coverage during the first year of her campaign. It appears that her partisanship could have also benefited her. Hillary Clinton may have felt she could more easily discuss social issues and women’s rights in the media, but also show her aggressive side because she was well known.

Candidate Trait Attributions and Overall Tone. The traditional partisan characteristics that I would expect to see are not illustrated by these results. Instead of Hillary being seen as more compassionate like other Democrats, she is more often noted as strong and a leader. She is seen as more empathetic, which follows the traditional partisan and gender pattern, but that is about all. Building off of Hayes, I expected that because voters identify certain issues with partisanship, they therefore would also identify character traits with each party (2005). Again, where I expected Elizabeth Dole to look more like her fellow Republicans and “masculine”, Hillary Clinton actually captured these traits of strength and leadership, the economy and foreign policy.

For overall tone looking at my results, the media portrayed Elizabeth Dole more favorably than they did Hillary Clinton. Hillary Clinton had an overall score of 2.95 for tone and Elizabeth Dole received a 3.06, therefore the media sees Dole more favorably. This is not what I expected in my theory because Dole is the conservative candidate. I also believe the reason for this difference is that Clinton was judged very harshly as a candidate because of her past political weight. As a First Lady, she was known for pursuing her own agenda when she aggressively fought to try and pass healthcare. The scandals of the Bill Clinton administration may have also left a mark in the minds of many Americans who associate them always together. I believe this because she had more mentions in articles on the important issues like the economy and foreign policy and was seen as stronger and having more leadership skills. But in the end, the media sees her less favorably.

A similarity between Elizabeth and Hillary are their spouses’ comments having a negative effect on their campaigns. Bob Dole did not become very actively involved in his wife’s campaign, except for the few remarks he made in the press. These remarks often gave the

impression that while Bob Dole supported his spouse; he wasn't counting on her being the nominee. At one point he said that he was planning on contributing funds to John McCain. Bill Clinton regularly gave speeches and did appearances in support of Hillary. The constant reminder of the Clinton dynasty seemed to be very decisive among voters. In the media there was a clear trend that showed journalists writing hopeful reviews of her preliminary campaign speeches and others berating her as a 'carpet bagger' (a knock at her move from Arkansas to New York to run for Senator). Dole did not invoke this decisive language among journalists; in fact many complained that they did not know enough about her to form a clear opinion. From the beginning, many articles about Dole had a positive tone with an undercurrent of frustration from the lack of clear details they were able to pull from her platform. She certainly had the support of women, this is clear, but she was often accused of running for the Vice President slot with Bush. It may be that even though voters wanted to know more about Dole, the fact that they did not know everything about her (unlike Hillary Clinton) allowed her to maintain a more favorable image in the media.

So, my last hypothesis that the media would portray a conservative female candidate less favorably because they do not "fit this mold" proves to be untrue in this case, when pulling from Koch's theory (2002). Koch said that because a conservative candidate sends a mixed message through their gender and issue positions, they would be portrayed more negatively. When in fact, Hillary Clinton, who I predicted would be easy for voters to understand as a liberal female candidate, actually did worse in overall favorability.

Conclusion

This study was designed to test two hypotheses about media coverage of female Presidential candidates of different parties: one has proven to be true, the other false. My first hypothesis is supported by this research, that a liberal female candidate would receive more coverage on appearance and family over issues in the campaign when compared to a female conservative candidate. Yet interestingly, more often the liberal candidate, Hillary Clinton, received more trait mentions of leadership and strength over the conservative candidate, Elizabeth Dole. The media also mentioned Hillary Clinton's issue positions on conservative issues such as the economy and foreign policy more often than they did for Elizabeth Dole. On the contrary, the hypothesis that overall the media would portray the liberal candidate more favorably than the conservative candidate, proved to be false. In particular, the media portrayed Elizabeth Dole as more honest and having more integrity, in statistically significant levels, more than Hillary Clinton.

These results can be generalized to the whole universe of female candidates when looking at how the media portrays them and the effect of their partisanship. Yet, as with every election, these two cases had unique characteristics that affected how the media framed them as candidates. There are lurking variables that could be the source of different types of media coverage on each candidate besides their different party affiliation. The political background is an integral part to how the media portrayed each candidate. Hillary Clinton has been in many elected campaigns of both her and Bill Clinton. This means that the media has seen her a lot and may have a fixed vision of her in their minds. Elizabeth Dole did not have this same name recognition because she had never run for an office before this. Despite holding many important cabinet positions, she was not as widely known in elective politics, therefore the media was able

form a more positive image of her. Also, each woman had a different campaign strategy. For example, I examined how the media was framing each candidate-the other side is how the candidate was aiming to be framed by the media. There are two sides to campaign media coverage. It may be that Elizabeth Dole tried to discuss issues that were not strictly Republican issues, that is why she was covered less on these sorts of issues. The same goes for Hillary Clinton, it is possible her campaign wanted her to exude qualities of strength and leadership over more traditional “female” qualities like empathy, honesty and integrity.

The implications are that female candidates benefit by being portrayed as possessing traditionally “female” traits, like we see for Elizabeth Dole. She was seen as having integrity and honesty. As for issues, most often the media framed Dole with issues that are also traditionally “female” and the result was that she did fair better in overall tone ratings. Maybe the media was more comfortable seeing female candidates that portrays and discusses “female” traits and issues. The partisanship does not matter in this explanation. Hillary Clinton was untraditional as a candidate, as we have seen and this may explain her less favorable media image. This is a preliminary study to show that it is functional to compare two female candidates. I realize it is valuable to compare men and women when testing for evidence of gender stereotypes in media coverage. Although, the purpose of this research was to specifically take out the male element and focus on two historically important female Presidential campaigns. More research needs to be done in reference to this topic of female candidates and how the media portrays them depending on their partisanship in elections.

Bibliography

- Aday S. and Devitt J. (2001). Style over Substance: Newspaper Coverage of Elizabeth Dole's Presidential Bid. *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, Vol. 6 (2), 52-73.
- Bystrom, D.G., Banwart M.C., Kaid L.L., and Robertson T. (2004). *Gender and Candidate Communication: VideoStyles, WebStyles, NewsStyles*. New York: Routledge
- Carroll, S. J. (2009) Reflections on Gender and Hillary Clinton's Presidential Campaign: The Good, the Bad and the Misogynic. *Politics & Gender*, Vol.5 (1), 1-20.
- Duerst-Lahti, G. (2004) Presidential Elections: Gendered Space and the case of 2004 Thus Far. In *Gender and Elections*. (12-42). New York, NY. Cambridge University Press.
- Eck, D. & Ryan J. The Chi Square Statistic. *The Mathbeans Project*.
The National Science Foundation. Retrieved from
<http://math.hws.edu/javamath/ryan/ChiSquare.html>.
- Empathy, Integrity, Honesty, Competence, Leadership, Strength. (n.d.)
In *Merriam-Webster Dictionary online*. Retrieved from
<http://www.merriam-webster.com>
- Hayes, Danny. (2005) Candidate Qualities through a Partisan Lens: A Theory of Trait Ownership. *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 49 (4) 908-923.
- Kahn, K. F. (1994). Does Gender Make a Difference? An Experimental Examination of Sex Stereotypes and Press Patterns. *American Journal of Political Science*. Vol.38 (1) 162-195.

Kahn, K. F. & Woodall G. S. (1999). Different Portraits, Different Leaders?

In S. Thomas & C. Wilcox (Eds.), *Women and Elective Office*. (pp.81-93). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Kaufmann, K. M. (2002). Culture Wars, Secular Realignment, and the Gender Gap in

Party Identification. *Political Behavior*, Vol.24 (3) 283-307.

Kittilson, M. C. & Fridkin (2008). Gender, Candidate Portrayals and Election Campaigns:

A Comparative Perspective. *American Political Science Association*. (4) 371-391.

Koch, J. W. (2002) Gender Stereotypes and Citizens' Impressions of House Candidates'

Ideological Orientations. *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 46 (2) 453-462.

Midwest Political Science Association.

La Cour Dabelko K., Herrnson, P. S. (1997). Women's and Men's Campaigns for the U. S.

House of Representatives. *Political Research Quarterly*, Vol. 50, (1) 121-135.

Petrocik, J. R., Benoit, W. L., Hansen, G. J. (2003/4). Issue Ownership and Presidential

Campaigning, 1952-2000. *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 118, (4) 599-626.

Russell, M. (1999). *South Bend Tribune*, 10.

Appendix A: Complete List of Articles Used in Coding

Complete List of Articles Used in Coding			
Candidate	Newspaper	Article Title	Date
ED = 1	Pittsburgh Post Gazette	The Associated Press	Sat. 10/30/1999
1	Lancaster New Era	Races at Local Level key, GOP here told	Thurs. 10/28/1999
1	South Bend Tribune	Dole's decision doesn't dim accomplishments	Wed. 10/27/1999
1	Topeka Capital-Journal	Winner will have to garner women's votes	Wed. 10/27/1999
1	The Record	BUSH, FORBES EACH SPENT \$800,000 ON STRAW POLL	Tues. 10/26/1999
1	South Bend Tribune	Too much soft money, not enough hard	Mon. 10/25/1999
1	The Post and Courier SC	Campaign Cash shortage Time to raise individual limit	Mon. 10/25/1999
1	The New York Times	The Price Tag on a Nomination	Sun. 10/24/1999
1	Spokesman Review WA	Week in Review; A look back at the top stories from the last week	Sun. 10/24/1999
1	The Washington Post	The Real Campaign Money Problem	Sun. 10/24/1999
1	Lincoln Journal Star	Another causality	Fri. 10/22/1999
1	Pittsburgh Post Gazette	DOLE DROPS; OOUT HER POOR SHOWING WASN'T JUST A MONEY PROBLEM	Fri. 10/22/1999
1	San Jose Mercury News	The Skirt Among the Suits	Fri. 10/22/1999
1	The Washington Post	Money Talks; Dole Walks	Fri. 10/22/1999
1	The Boston Herald	Editorial; Liddy Dole's departure	Thurs. 10/21/1999
1	Daily News NY	Liddy Leaves Radce Cites Lack of Funds as Reason Shes Ending Prez Run	Thurs. 10/21/1999
1	Milwaukee Journal Sentinel	For want of money, Dole bows out	Thurs. 10/21/1999
1	Philadelphia Inquirer	Elizabeth Dole's Presidential Bid is over before it officially began	Thurs. 10/21/1999
1	The San Francisco Chronicle	Dole Paved Way to Her Own Exit--Real Campaign Nowhere to be seen	Thurs. 10/21/1999
1	Telegraph Herald IA	Dole ends run for presidency, blames money	Thurs. 10/21/1999
1	The Union Leader NH	Keyes: 'Moral crisis' worst in U.S. history. (AT A GLANCE) McCain reschedules. Bauer, Bush, Gore in state today	Thurs. 10/21/1999
1	USA Today	Out before a vote: 'Bottom line is money'	Thurs. 10/21/1999
1	The Washington Post	One Small Step for Womankind; Elizabeth Dole's Candidacy Became Merely the Symbol She Avoided	Thurs. 10/21/1999
1	Chicago Sun-Times	Dole Ends Campaign; Republican field narrows to seven	Wed. 10/20/1999
1	USA Today	GOP Women Rally not necessarily behind Dole	Mon. 10/19/1999
1	The Herakl- Sun NC	Dole dog in Salisbury, not on campaign trail	Thurs. 10/14/1999
1	St. Louis Post-Dispatch	NATION	Tues. 10/12/1999
1	Political Headlines	Dayton Daily News OH	Fri. 10/08/1999
1	University Wire IO	Three contenders emerge in GOP presidential race	Wed. 10/06/1999
1	Deseret News Salt Lake City	Presidential Campaign Briefs	Mon. 10/04/1999
1	Austin American-Statesman	Preserving the GOP for conservatives	Sun. 09/26/1999
1	The Patriot Ledger MA	Dole struggles to put campaign into high gear	Fri. 09/24/1999
1	The Herakl- Sun NC	Dole puts bite on backers at caviar-nibbling affairs	Thurs. 09/23/1999
1	Florida-Times Union	Campaign Notebook	Tues. 09/21/1999
1	The Washington Post	More Press for Elizabeth Dole	Tues. 09/14/1999
1	The Washington Post	Dole struggles to gain cachet as the Alternative to Bush	Sun. 09/12/1999

Complete List of Articles Used in Coding			
Candidate	Newspaper	Article Title	Date
1	The New York Times	Spokesman for Dole leaves campaign	Fri. 09/10/1999
1	St. Louis Post-Dispatch	Gore, Bradley are in dead heat in New Hampshire, Poll Shows	Mon. 09/06/1999
1	Florida-Times Union	PAC doesn't indicate 2000 run, Fowler says	Fri. 08/27/1999
1	USA Today	Dole campaign trying to build on momentum from Iowa strategists say showing in straw poll proves candidate can win	Mon. 08/23/1999
1	Post and Courier Edition	Bush, Dole ticket seen as a possibility	Fri. 08/20/1999
1	The Washington Times	A DOT driving record	Thurs. 08/19/1999
1	Pittsburgh Post Gazette	STRAW MAN: The Iowa Poll is Easy to Attack but serves a purpose	Tues. 08/17/1999
1	Topeka Capital-Journal	Analysis: Bush strong after straw poll, but no dramatic shifts in rank	Mon. 08/16/1999
1	Telegraph Herald IA	Straw poll could weed out some GOP hopefuls	Sun. 08/15/1999
1	Telegraph Herald IA	Dole seeks votes to offset Bush's financial muscle	Wed. 08/11/1999
1	The Times Union	Dole camp laments lack of aid from GOP leaders	Wed. 08/04/1999
1	The Herald- Sun NC	Elizabeth Dole stresses tax cuts in NC visit	Fri. 08/30/1999
1	Chatanoga Times Free Press	Cynicism of Voters Soaring, Poll finds	Mon. 07/19/1999
1	The Atlanta Journal and Constitution	Dole wants more limits on Net	Sat. 7/17/1999
1	The Washington Post	Hoping to be 'Part of History' Elizabeth Dole is wowing women voters, but her bid to overtake George W. Bush for the GOP prize remains an uphill struggle	Thurs. 07/15/1999
1	Palm Beach Post	Bush rakes in money; donors count winnings	Tues. 07/06/1999
1	Deseret News Salt Lake City	Hatch set for official launch	Wed. 06/30/1999
1	St. Louis Post-Dispatch	NATION	Sun. 06/27/1999
1	The Virginian Pilot	George W: FORTUNATE S	Tues. 6/22/1999
1	News & Record (NC)	Dole names publisher to direct fund raising; a local magnate will head Elizabeth Dole's national fund raising drive	Tues. 6/15/1999
1	The Atlanta Journal and Constitution	Campaign 2000: The road to the White House; The Gore campaign; Democrat vows to keep focus on family	Sun. 06/13/1999
1	Dayton Daily News (OH)	Political Digest	Sat. 06/12/1999
1	USA Today	Candidate has started to give out details on where she takes a stand	Tues. 06/08/1999
1	Morning Star NC	State Briefs	Wed. 06/02/1999
1	Portland Press Herald ME	Liddy Dole has a problem with a prominent Republican; her husband Bob just can't seem to face the fact that his role is to be her most faithful backer	Sun. 05/30/1999
1	The Atlanta Journal and Constitution	Chance for women's agenda; Both Elizabeth Dole (right) and Hillary Clinton are hindered by their husbands' behavior and helped by their political connections--- and both nov	Sun. 05/23/1999
1	Tulsa World OK	Gov. Bush may find caution can be risky	Sun. 05/23/1999
1	The Union Leader NH	(Political Notes) Join Dole camp, Smith urges lobbies for funds. Reform bill. River Protection. Gregg pushes	Sat. 5/22/1999
1	The Washington Post	Friendly Fire	Thurs. 05/20/1999
1	South Bend Tribune IA	Dole may donate to campaign of wife's rival for nomination	Tues. 05/18/1999
1	Telegraph Herald IA	Dole names Maquoketa native as her national political director	Tues. 05/18/1999
1	Austin American-Statesman	Bob Dole no dutiful campaigner for wife	Mon. 05/17/1999
1	The Atlanta Journal and Constitution	Campaign 2000; Coelho will run Gore's campaign	Wed. 05/12/1999
1	South Bend Tribune IA	Mark Russell	Sun. 05/09/1999
1	Daily News NY	Liddy Dole's Gender Politics	Thurs. 05/06/1999

Complete List of Articles Used in Coding			
Candidate	Newspaper	Article Title	Date
1	Seattle Post-Intelligencer	Quayle Campaign Advisers Agree to Forego paychecks	Sat. 05/01/1999
1	Austin American-Statesman	Dole's fund raising prompts questions about candidacy	Wed. 04/28/1999
1	USA Today	Phenomenal Job' early on, Dole says	Mon. 04/26/1999
1	University Wire IO	Dole to visit Iowa State U. gain for Tri Delta brunch	Fri. 4/23/1999
1	The Atlanta Journal and Constitution	Issues begin to close in on Elizabeth Dole campaign; Style proves popular: Presidential candidate may soon need more than appealing Everywoman image	Sun. 04/18/1999
1	News & Record (NC)	Politics Percolate as GOP seeks the White house; The absence of campaign finance reform mars democracy	Fri. 04/16/1999
1	The Washington Post	House Democratic Campaign Panel Raises Record \$6.8 million	Thurs. 04/15/1999
1	Seattle Post-Intelligencer	Pro-Life Elizabeth Dole downplaying abortion issue	Sat. 04/10/1999
1	Tulsa World OK	Walker weighs campaign jobs	Thurs. 04/01/1999
1	The Herald- Sun NC	Bob's hometown throws its support behind Elizabeth Dole	Wed. 03/24/1999
1	St. Louis Post-Dispatch	Abortion-Rights group challenges GOP hopefuls	Mon. 03/22/1999
1	Chicago Sun-Times	Forbes launches bid for presidency	Wed. 03/17/1999
1	University Wire IO	Presidential candidates take the race online	Wed. 03/17/1999
1	USA Today	Gephardt endorses Gore for 2000	Tues. 03/16/1999
1	Topeka Capital-Journal	GOP candidates hoping to neutralize abortion issue	Mon. 03/15/1999
1	The Times Union	Neither insider nor outsider	Mon. 03/15/1999
1	Lewistown Morning Tribune IO	Thank God Hillary and Elizabeth arent politicians	Sat. 03/13/1999
1	St. Louis Post-Dispatch	Elizabeth Dole gets closet to campaign; Committee to explore a bid for President is announced at Iowa Rally; Speech is light on specific issues	Thurs. 3/11/1999
1	USA Today	Elizabeth Dole announces exploratory committee	Thurs. 3/11/1999
1	Saint Paul Pioneer Press	Dole gives upbeat talk to women; She avoids mentioning possible Presidential Bid	Tues. 03/09/1999
1	The Atlanta Journal and Constitution	Elizabeth Dole confirms Presidency exploration	Sat. 03/06/1999
1	The New York Times	Dole to offer definite sign she plans race	Fri. 03/05/1999
1	Topeka Capital-Journal	Graves picks Bush as his candidate	Sat. 02/27/1999
1	University Wire IO	Mrs. Clinton and Mrs. Dole	Fri. 2/19/1999
1	Times-Picayune LA	Ambition runs deep inside beltway	Thurs. 02/18/1999
1	The Times Union	Dust off those carpet bags	Wed. 02/17/1999
1	The Washington Times	Mrs. Dole test waters in speech to educators	Tues. 02/16/1999
1	The Herald- Sun NC	TUESDAY Brief	Tues. 02/09/1999
1	University Wire IO	U. Illinois support for Dole starts to get momentum	Tues. 02/09/1999
1	Austin American-Statesman	The race is on in New Hampshire; Presidential primaries are a year	Mon. 02/08/1999
1	University Wire IO	Elizabeth Dole bid interests GOP activists	Tues. 2/2/1999
1	The Atlanta Journal and Constitution	Conservatives chide George W. Bush, Liddy Dole	Fri. 1/22/1999
1	South Bend Tribune	How about making it a 'Barry' good election in 2000?	Sun. 01/17/1999
1	Austin American-Statesman	Bauer swims against river of public opinion	Thurs. 1/14/1999
1	USA Today	Dole run would change face of politics	Mon. 1/11/1999

Complete List of Articles Used in Coding			
Candidate	Newspaper	Article Title	Date
	1 The Houston Chronicle	Much to like in Bush-Dole (or dole-Bush) Ticket	Wed. 01/06/1999
	1 South Bend Tribune IA	Elizabeth Dole quits Red Cross, eyes new way to 'serve country'	Tues. 01/05/1999
	1 The Record	Elizabeth Dole Opens the door; Quits as head of Red Cross to Explore White House Bid	Tues. 01/05/1999
	1 The Atlanta Journal and Constitution	Nation in Brief; Another Dole signals possible presidential bid	Mon. 01/04/1999
	1 Dayton Daily News (OH)	Mrs. Dole may seek GOP nod	Mon. 01/04/1999
	1 The New York Times	Elizabeth Dole may be leaving Red Cross post to run for President	Mon. 01/04/1999
HC=2	Austin American-Statesman	Hillary Clinton at the Alamo? That'd be unforgettable	Fri June 6, 2008
	2 The Atlanta Journal-Constitution	A Race to Remember	Wed. June 4, 2008
	2 New York Observer	On Obama's V-day, Clinton Loyalists sell a different reality	Wed. June 4, 2008
	2 The Washinton Post	Hillary Clinton raises the specter of the unspeakable	Sat. may 24, 2008
	2 Daily News NY	Bluer-Grass for Hil but Oregon win gives obama majority of elected delegates	Thurs. May 21, 2008
	2 The Denver Post	The week that was Mags take a small risk and call the race	Sunday May 18, 2008
	2 Daily News NY	Hil wins big in WVA but its too little too late pundits claim	Wed. May 14, 2008
	2 The Washington Post	Post Crucible Clinton	Tues. May 13, 2008
	2 Daily News NY	Hils no leader, sez Ted need nobler type for Baracks veep huffs Kennedy in Clinton smackdown	Sat. May 12, 2008
	2 The Record NJ	Clintons New Jersey backers stay loyal; Pascrell; She should follow her heart	Thurs. May 08, 2008
	2 Daily News NY	Hil zooms from grim to a grin	Sun. May 04, 2008
	2 Winston-Salem Journal NC	Former President says that his wife is devoted to helping working class	Thurs. April 24, 2008
	2 Daily News NY	I got the win, now gimme cash- Hillary	Wed. April 23, 2008
	2 The Virginia-Pilot VA	Playing politics playing politics The campaign in cartoons	Tues. April 22, 2008
	2 St. Louis Post-Dispatch	Presidential Buzz	Sun. April 20, 2008
	2 Daily News NY	Hil Fights on Rocky Road Clinton jabs back a Barack in Pa after bitter riff	Mon. April 14, 2008
	2 Albuquerque Journal	Clinton vos fight to the end; Duke city fundraiser exceeded goal of 150,000	Mon. April 7, 2008
	2 Deseret Morning News	Tuzla takes let media overlook raving reverend	Sun. April 6, 2008
	2 the salt lake tribune	Irreverent Dowd brings her sarcasm to Sundance	Fri. April 4, 2008
	2 Chattanooga Times Free Press	Democrats and the Clinton effect	Tues. April 1, 2008
	2 The Oregonian	Sen. Clinton's No. 1 fan visits	Tues. April 1, 2008
	2 The Oregonian	Bill brings on the Clinton show	Mon. March 31, 2008
	2 Daily News NY	Hillarys wealthy pals rip Pelosi warn her on superdelegates	Thurs. March 27, 2008
	2 New York Observer	Obama campaign stands by McPeak on Bill Clinton	March. 24, 2008
	2 New York Observer	Obama race speech keeps a main superdelegate on the fence	March 19, 2008
	2 Chicago Sun Times	Obama's camp: Hillary's Ireland claims are blamey; He says she exaggerates her role in peace progress	Sun. March 16, 2008
	2 Patriot News PA	Clinton faithful hope for glimpse, autograph/candidate evokes fond remembrances of husband's term	Wed. March 12, 2008
	2 Daily News NY	She's also a loose cannon on war	Sat. March 08, 2008
	2 Daily News NY	A monstrous oops for bam. Forced to decry remarks of adviser who lashes into Hil	Fri. March 07, 2010

Complete List of Articles Used in Coding			
Candidate	Newspaper	Article Title	Date
	2 The Houston Chronicle	Campaign 2008; Presidential race results	Thurs. march 06, 2008
	2 Plain Dealer (OH)	Not so fast; Barack Obama remains the Democratic frontrunner, but hillary Clinton's win in OH may prolong the contest	Wed. March 5, 2008
	2 Daily News NY	Hil Yuks it up with surprise on SNL	Sun. March 2, 2008
	2 Wisconsin State Journal	Clinton cuts a McCain commercial	Sun. March 2, 2008
	2 The Columbus Dispatch OH	Clinton upbeat on OH tour; Refusing to answer 'what if's' she puts focus on her ideas	Thurs. Feb 28, 2008
	2 Daily News NY	Pic'Dustup' No big deal, says barack	Wed. Feb 27, 2008
	2 Daily News NY	Note to Hillary; Get your vision checked	Tues. Feb 26, 2008
	2 Knight Ridder Washington Bureau	Clinton, Obama didn't always bash NAFTA	Mon. Feb 25, 2008
	2 Daily News NY	Shame on you' Obama.	Sun. Feb 24, 2008
	2 The Washington Post	If Obama went 0 for 10	Fri. Feb 22, 2008
	2 Inside Bay Area CA	Clinton's cred with Latinos questionable	Wed. Feb 20, 2008
	2 Austin American-Statesman	Clinton, Obama get eager help as their offices get going	Sun. Feb 17, 2008
	2 The Star Ledger NJ	For Clinton, shes Ms. Fix it Maggie Williams a fiercely loyal fighter for White House contender	Sun. Feb 17, 2008
	2 Chicago Sun Times	Bill touts Hillary's 'solutions'; Pleads for votes in the last big primary of the motnh	Fri. Feb 15, 2008
	2 New York Observer	David Shuster will return to NBC in time for debate	Fri. Feb 15, 2008
	2 San Antonio Express News	Latino vote crux of Texas primary	Tues. Feb 12, 2008
	2 The Roanoke Times VA	Eager Fans of Sen clinton see their hopes blown away	Mon. Feb 11, 2008
	2 The Columbus Dispatch OH	Senators from NY, AZ help cement their status with key wins early today in CA	Wed. Feb 06, 2008
	2 Albuquerque Journal	Gov. Plays hard to get, Richardson mum on Dem pick during visit	Mon. Feb 04, 2008
	2 Inside Bay Area CA	Chelsea Clinton woks Mills Collee crowd for mm	Sun. Feb 03, 2008
	2 Albuquerque Journal	Bill and Ted are most excellent for Democrats; Clinton, Kennedy stir up support, partisan passion in NM	Fri. Feb 1, 2008
	2 Deseret Morning News	Bill Clinton changes his campaign tactics	Thurs. Jan 31, 2008
	2 The Seattle Post-Intelligencer	Clintons come calling: Time to repay favors	Thurs. Jan 31, 2008
	2 Chicago Sun times	What were the clintons thinking?	Wed. Jan 30, 2008
	2 San Gabriel Valley Tribune	Ruben Navarette: Divisive Democratic campaigns focus on race	Wed. Jan 30, 2008
	2 The York Dispatch PA	Racial inferences taint the Clinton-Obama contest	Wed. Jan 30, 2008
	2 The Washington Post	Hobbled by hubby	Tues. Jan 29, 2008
	2 Pittsburgh Tribune review	Hillary's brown firewall	Mon. Jan 28, 2008
	2 Mobile Register AL	Easy to forget; Clinton once praised Reagan	Sun. Jan 27, 2008
	2 the salt lake tribune	Chelsea Clinton to campaign in Utah for Hillary	Sat. Jan 26, 2008
	2 The Washington Times	Hillary, Obama told in SC to tone down; New radio ads escalate war of words	Fri. Jan 25, 2008
	2 Tulsa World OK	Local Clinton supporters predict visit to city	Thurs. Jan 24, 2008
	2 The Star Ledger NJ	CLINTON counts on women, but youngest are balking	Wed. jan 23, 2008
	2 Albuquerque Journal	Many from Richardson camp back Clinton; Governor has yet to announce who he will endorse for president	Sat. Jan 19, 2008
	2 Las Vegas Review -Journal	Caucus notes	Fri. Jan 18, 2008

Complete List of Articles Used in Coding			
Candidate	Newspaper	Article Title	Date
2	Daily News NY	Hil. Bam plays divide, conquer says hes trying to drive wedge between her and black voters	Mon. Jan 14, 2008
2	Daily News NY	Hillary set to roll out big guns	Wed. Jan 09, 2008
2	New York Observer	Hillary, Triumphant, Finds her voice	Tues. Jan 08, 2008
2	The Washington Post	Mum's the word; Chelsea Clinton offers her candidate mother mostly silent support	Sat. Jan 05, 2008
2	Daily News NY	Team Hil; We'll mind your kids! Campaign offering teen sitters for caucusgoers	Wed. Jan 2, 2008
2	Chicago Sun Times	Front runners families fanning out across Iowa	Thurs. Dec 27, 2007
2	The Washington Post	Hillary Clinton embraces her husband's legacy	Sat. Dec 22, 2007
2	The Seattle Post-Intelligencer	The campaign season is a 70's show	Thurs. Dec 20, 2007
2	The Virginia-Pilot VA	Bad judgement and bad character	Thurs. Dec 20, 2007
2	The Seattle Post-Intelligencer	Candidates just aren't like the rest of us	Tues. Dec 18, 2007
2	Daily News NY	Sorry about that, Bam.	Fri. Dec 14, 2007
2	Palm Beach Post	yearning for a clinton- Bill- drives some supporters	Wed. Dec 12, 2007
2	Brattleboro Reformer	GOP stars sparkle in Keene Huckabee getting serious attention	Mon. Dec 03, 2007
2	The San Francisco Chronicle	Oprah's policial move	Tues. Nov. 27, 2007
2	New York Observer	Why is New School President endorsing an old foe?	Tues. Nov 20, 2007
2	The Houston Chronicle	The Hillary coin's two sides	Sun Nov 18, 2007
2	The Oregonian	The B word	Fri. nov 16, 2007
2	The University Wire	Election apathy leaves no one happy	Mon. Nov 12, 2007
2	The new York Post	Butt out- Bubba! Hill and Barack give him a swift kcik	Wed. Nov 07, 2007
2	Inside Bay Area CA	Bill Clinton's visit today has Oakland buzz	Fri. Nov 2, 2007
2	The Bismarck Tribune	Romney Wins Straw Poll in ND	Sat. Oct 27, 2007
2	The Seattle Post-Intelligencer	Clinton brings a message with Passion to Seattle Democrat spells out goal is shes elected president	Tues. Oct. 23, 2007
2	The Atlanta Journal-Constitution	Clinton scores coup in fight for black vote	sat. Oct 13, 2007
2	The University Wire	McAuliffe discusses Clinton's campaign at Columbia U.	Mon. Oct 08, 2007
2	Inside Bay Area CA	Sen. Clinton gets endorsement of Oakland's Mayor Dellums	Tues. Oct 2, 2007
2	Daily News NY	Hil gives birth to a \$20B Baby.	Sat. Sept. 29, 2007
2	Contra Costa Times CA	Hillary Clinton to host block party	Sun. Sept 23, 2007
2	Daily News NY	Gimme yer cash or hil ruins us all	thurs. Sept 06, 2007
2	Contra Costa Times CA	Clinton to raise funds in Orinda	Fri. Aug 10, 2007
2	Las Vegas Review -Journal	Rogers backs Clinton bid	Wed. July 18, 2007
2	Daily News NY	Elect Hil and Good times will return, Iowans Told	Wed. July 4, 2007
2	Tulsa World OK	Hillary Clinton's theme song blunder	Sun. july 1,2007
2	Investor's Business Daily	The Clintonos	Thurs. june 21, 2007
2	Daily News NY	Sopranos meet the clintons. Finally, Hil reveals fun side in net gag	Wed. june 20, 2007
2	Daily News NY	Bam sorry he hit hillary on India	Sat. June 16, 2007

Complete List of Articles Used in Coding			
Candidate	Newspaper	Article Title	Date
2	Morning Call PA	It's Bill, not Hill, for event in Montco; Former president to step in at fundraiser for NY sen.	Sun. Jun 10, 2007
2	Albuquerque Journal	Richardson Unfazed by LA snub	Fri. Jun 1, 2007
2	The Washington Times	Hillary clinton, don't disparage Mother Teresa	Tues. May 22, 2007
2	The Times Union	Eliminating the Hillary Clinton divide	Mon. April 30, 2007
2	St. Louis Post-Dispatch	Presidential Buzz Weekly Update on the Race for the White House	Sun. April 22, 2007
2	Daily News NY	Bam Boom! Hillary's gloom? Barack deals big blow to her dream of riding money machine to victory	thurs. April 5, 2007
2	The Hill	Clinton: It's just not fair	Fri. March 23, 2007
2	Investor's Business Daily	The First stone	Tues. March 6, 2007
2	Las Vegas Review -Journal	The Clintons lie 'with such ease'	Sun. Feb 25, 2007
2	Plain Dealer (OH)	Whose limelight is it, anyway?	Sun. Feb 18, 2007
2	Daily News NY	Obama's the elephant hunter dems need	Mon. Jan 22, 2007
2	Daily News NY	Hillary makes her story. I'll win it all, she vows in bid to be 1st woman prez	Sun. Jan 21, 2007

Appendix B: Coding Sheet

Coding Sheet			
Empathetic	Has Integrity	Honest	Competence
Strength	Leadership Skills	Environment	Healthcare
Education	Welfare/Poverty	Economy	Foreign Policy
Appearance	Family	Overall Tone	Photo
Other			

Appendix C: Definitions for Traits, Issues and Appearance and Family

Traits Attributed to Candidates:

<p><u>Empathy</u>-the action of understanding, being aware of, being sensitive to, and vicariously experiencing the feelings, thoughts, and experience of another. Example- sympathizing with woman's issues.</p>
<p><u>Integrity</u>-determined to uphold a high standard in all facets of the campaign, firm adherence to a code of especially moral or artistic value, "quality candidate", determination in past and future.</p>
<p><u>Honesty</u>-free from fraud or deception, but have sincere expression.</p>
<p><u>Competence</u>-properly qualified or adequate in speech or decision making, intelligent from education or having quality experience.</p>
<p><u>Strength</u>-the quality or state of being strong: capacity for exertion or endurance including strong financial standing in campaign fundraising.</p>
<p><u>Leadership Skills</u>-capacity to lead in past experiences, and have the ability to lead a quality campaign.</p>

Appendix C: Definitions for Traits, Issues and Appearance and Family Cont.

Issue Ownership:

<p><u>Environment</u>-issues related to the circumstances of climate, preservation, and living things, and ecological community issues such as renewable fuels.</p>
<p><u>Healthcare</u>- the circumstances or objects related to or of healthcare reform and general physical or mental wellness, including abortion. This includes the Red Cross for Elizabeth Dole only when they mention her stance/accomplishments for the Red Cross.</p>
<p><u>Education</u>- issues of or related to education reform including violence in schools and affordable college.</p>
<p><u>Welfare/Poverty</u>-issues of or related to the welfare system, housing and poverty.</p>
<p><u>Economy</u>-issues of or related to the economy, finance, market regulation, and taxes.</p>
<p><u>Foreign Policy</u>- issues of diplomacy, foreign relations, and interstate disputes, international drug trade, and defense.</p>

Appendix C: Definitions for Traits, Issues and Appearance and Family Cont.

Other:

Appearance-issues or related to candidate's physical appearance such as: dress, effects of aging, makeup, facial expressions, or outwardly viewable personality traits. Picture captions that state specific things about their appearance.

Family-issues related to candidate's family, which may include spouses, children or extended members, also those that have served in public office.

Overall Tone 1-5 (Negative to Positive)-

1-Candidate is described in outright negative language, predicting a loss or accusatory, may also include negative character flaws. (Very Negative)

2-Candidate is described unfavorably at times like when citing campaign loses or mistakes.

3-Candidate is described ambiguously or in a neutral tone.

4-Candidate is described with mostly positive language, could include citing past accomplishments or campaigning accomplishments.

5-Candidate is described very favorably overall like citing strengths or feats along campaign trail. (Very Positive)

Vita

Spring 2010

JULIE R. FRASCO

122 Iron Hill Rd.
New Britain, PA 18901
Tel: (267) 614-1714
Jrf5064@gmail.com

EDUCATION

Honors in Bachelor of Arts, Political Science, Schreyer Honors College at The Pennsylvania State University, State College, PA. May 2010

Bachelor of Science, International Studies, The Pennsylvania State University, State College, PA. May 2010, **Minor** in Spanish Language.

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

Undergraduate Thesis: *Does the Media Portray Liberal Female Candidates for President Differently than Conservative Female Candidates? A Content Analysis of Newspaper Media in Elizabeth Dole and Hillary Clinton's Presidential Campaigns.* May 2010.

Thesis Supervisor: Lee Ann Banaszak

HONORS AND AWARDS

Schreyer Honors College Travel Grant, 2009
Dept. of Political Science Enrichment funds to travel abroad Buenos Aires, Argentina
Spring 2010

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Related Experience

Internship with Congressman Patrick Murphy (PA-8), Doylestown, PA Winter 2009
Internship with the Public Assembly for Human Rights, Buenos Aires, Argentina Spring 2009
Internship with Highpoint Law Offices, Chalfont, PA Spring 2008

Affiliations

The Schreyer Honors College
Phi Eta Sigma Honor Society
Pi Sigma Alpha- The National Political Science Honors Fraternity

Social Outreach Chair- The Feminist Majority Leadership Alliance
Tutor- Student Support Services Program
Massage Assistant- American Spa and Retreat, State College, PA