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Gender, Media, and the White House: An Examination of Gender in the Media Coverage of Hillary Clinton, Bernie Sanders, and Ted Cruz in the 2016 Elections

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GENDER, MEDIA, AND THE WHITE HOUSE



An Examination of Gender in the Media Coverage of Hillary Clinton, Bernie Sanders, and Ted Cruz in the 2016 Elections

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the role of gender in the media coverage of Hillary Clinton, Bernie Sanders, and Ted Cruz in the 2016 election cycle. Analyzing newspaper articles, Twitter pages, and campaign advertisements, I compare the media coverage of these three candidates to their own campaign messages. My findings reveal that Clinton received more personal coverage than Sanders or Cruz, despite less of an emphasis on personal characteristics in her own campaign materials. I also find that Clinton received less coverage on “feminine issues” such as women’s health and paid family leave, despite her own campaign’s focus on these issues. I did not find these divergences in either the media coverage of Sanders or Cruz. Finally, I find that Clinton received substantially more negative personal coverage than her two male counterparts. I conclude that although common media narratives surrounding Clinton as a politically calculating, unfeminine, corrupt, politician are partially the result of her long career in the public spotlight and her status as the frontrunner in this race, they are also substantially exacerbated by her position as the only woman who has come this close to breaking the political glass ceiling. The media’s uneven focus on masculine issues in Clinton’s media coverage, I argue, contributes to and reinforces the construction of these narratives.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

A recent *Washington Post* article released a new poll that confirms a popular narrative about presidential frontrunner Hillary Clinton—57% of Americans think that she is untrustworthy (Cillizza, 2016). Democratic and Republican opponents are circulating countless Internet memes that show close up images of Clinton laughing maliciously, with text that comments on her corrupt plans and her untrustworthy, even evil, character. One shows an unflattering picture of her making a stern face with hair tied back and a caption that reads: “Hillary Clinton—America’s Evil Mother-in-Law.” Hillary Clinton “nut cracker” dolls are selling on the Internet with the slogan “no more nuts in the White House.” Is it a coincidence that these images and narratives that are disseminating about this stern, untrustworthy, ball-busting political candidate have gained so much traction for the only female politician in the United States who has come this close to breaking the glass ceiling?

The United State continues to lag behind other countries in electing a female executive leader. Although worldwide women account only for 7% of executive leaders, since Sirimavo Bandaranaike was elected prime minister of Sri Lanka in 1960, over 70 women have been elected to executive positions (Jalalzai, 2013). Why does the United States, a country that prides itself on supporting women’s equality and has a large qualified pool of educated women to run for office, still lag behind other countries in electing a female president?

This thesis puts these two questions into conversation by examining the way the mainstream media frames female candidates running for office. I ask whether newspaper articles cover female candidates such as Hillary Clinton differently than their male counterparts today. I specifically examine the newspaper coverage of Hillary Clinton, Bernie Sanders, and Ted Cruz in the 2016 primary elections in the two months leading up to the Iowa caucuses. I compare the

content of the media coverage of these three candidates to their own, self-generated, campaign messages and ask whether or not the media more accurately cover the content of the male candidates' campaigns than they do Hillary Clinton's campaign. Finally, I specifically consider the gendered narratives that the media use to frame each candidate and compare them to the narratives constructed in the candidate's campaign advertisements and Twitter Pages.

Chapter 2 provides a literature review of scholarship that investigates women running for various political offices and how the media may cover them differently from male candidates. Chapter 3 provides an overview of my own methodology, explaining how I collect and analyze newspaper articles, Tweets, and campaign advertisements about each candidate. Chapter 4 provides a breakdown of the tone and content of the newspaper articles written about each candidate, Chapter 5 analyzes the candidates own campaign messages, and Chapter 6 compares how well the media coverage matches up with the campaign messages for each candidate.

I conclude by arguing that the media has built an overly-masculine image around Hillary Clinton throughout her career, making journalists less likely to cover her stances on feminine issues, such as women's health and paid family leave, despite her own campaign's attempt to do so. I argue that while Clinton has a unique political career that may contribute to the numerous negative narratives surrounding her in the media, her success as a woman in a masculine dominated political sphere has exacerbated negative depictions of Clinton as an unfeminine, untrustworthy, politically calculating politician.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Although women are undeniably underrepresented in the United States government, explaining this phenomenon is no easy task. Political science and communication scholars have taken a variety of approaches to better understand women's underrepresentation in the US government. While most scholars agree that women have historically faced barriers to obtaining elected positions, there is less concordance on the nature and extent of these barriers and whether or not women running for president today still face significant gender discrimination in the media and among voters. Part of the difficulty in identifying gender discrimination today is that we live in a society that openly condemns sexism and often assumes women have achieved equality to men (Anderson and Sheeler, 2014). Sexism and gendered language often operate on a subtle level that is difficult to prove is the result of a candidate's sex in any one particular case. While my research focuses on presidential candidates, I first examine a wide range of literature that explores women's access to various elected political positions to better understand broader trends in the media narratives, experiences, and public perceptions of women in US politics.

Executive v. Legislative

One approach scholars have used to conceptualize the role of gender in the United States political arena is to examine differences between women's successes and shortcomings in executive and legislative positions. To this day only 36 women have served as governors, reaching an all time high of 18% in 2009. Only about half of the states in the US have ever elected women governors at all and only twelve of the hundred largest cities in the United States currently have female mayors. In contrast, a significantly higher percentage of women have occupied legislative and judicial positions, averaging around 25%. Within the White House itself, although women have made inroads in occupying cabinet positions over the past few

presidential administrations, no woman has ever served as head of Departments of Defense, Treasury, or Veterans Affairs (Dolan, Deckman, and Swers 2016). Finally, few women have come close to winning their parties bid for a presidential election and we still have yet to see a woman Vice President or President. These trends alone suggest that gender plays a significant role in influencing women's access to and success in obtaining executive positions.

Rose's introductory chapter to her book *Women and Executive Office* (2013) establishes a useful framework to explain this phenomenon. Rose identifies five defining characteristics of executive positions that differentiate them from legislative ones. The first three are related to the leadership aspects of these positions—executive positions feature solitude and personal responsibility, they are subject to a great amount of external scrutiny, and they typically are situated on top of a broad organizational structure or hierarchy. Rose argues that because so few women currently occupy executive positions their status as the “only” is exacerbated and they inherently face greater amounts of external scrutiny than men in the same positions (Rose, 2013). The other two characteristics that Rose identifies are related to the subject matter of executive positions—executive leaders traditionally respond to policy initiatives rather than initiate new ones and they typically are policy generalists who can respond to a wide range of issues rather than policy specialists who focus on policies within a specific area.

Most scholars agree that the language surrounding executive leadership, particularly the presidency, is predominantly masculine. Political campaigns are often characterized by analogies to war and sports, more traditionally masculine domains (Carroll and Fox, 2006). Similarly, political language often reinforces the “great man” model of presidency, with the war hero often constructed as the perfect presidential candidate (Rose and Lawrence, 2010). Numerous studies have found that the public typically associates presidential positions with foreign policy and

military issues, more traditionally masculine domains. A 2004 study, for instance, finds that 61 percent of survey participants believed that a man could better handle a military crisis than a woman. Those same participants said that they strongly valued leaders who could handle national security and defense issues, particularly in a post-911 era (Lawless, 2004). This presents a challenge to women who may not be able to embody the masculine protector image that men do, simply due to their gender.

In contrast, women have made greater inroads in obtaining legislative positions, which focus more on soft issues such as health care and education, and emphasize collaboration rather than unilateral leadership (Rose and Lawrence, 2010). Scholars who have studied the United States presidency comparatively have found that women have had much more success securing executive positions in parliamentary systems where executives have less concentrated power, don't enjoy fixed terms, and are elected by their own party rather than the general public (Jalalzai 2013, Monopoli 2006). Some scholars have even argued that the United States constitution itself sets up a masculinized ideal for the president that has survived to this day. Monopoli (2006) argues: "Hamilton felt that the executive must have the ability to act unilaterally, without having to engage of arguably more feminine or communal behaviors, like collaboration or consultation." Monopoli maintains that the masculinized vision of the ideal president that our founding fathers constructed and promoted continue to influence the public's perception of what a president should look like and how he (or she) should act.

Scholars have used both the gender trait hypothesis and the gender incongruity hypothesis as frameworks to support these findings. The gender trait hypothesis posits that voters use traits associated with men and women to judge the abilities of political candidates. Voters who may not have time to fully research various candidates typically use gender as a tool to

judge candidates, associating a female candidate with compassion and collaboration and a male candidate with leadership and confidence (Smith and Paul, 2007). Social incongruity hypothesis, rooted in social role theory, posits that men running for high level, authoritative positions will be judged favorably over women running for the same positions, simply because those positions are already dominated by men. A woman running for presidency, thus, would face greater barriers than a woman running for Senate, merely because we have yet to see a woman president. In a study conducted by Smith and Paul (2007), two groups of participants were given identical resumes, one with a man's name and another with a woman's name. In the case of senator positions, the participants rated the male and female candidates equally eligible for the position. In the presidential context, however, the group that received the man's resume rated the candidate higher than the group that received the woman's resume. This study indicates that internalized gender norms and expectations may negatively influence voter judgment of female candidates in the presidential context.

Even within the executive branch, scholars have found that women tend to occupy different types of executive positions than men. Based on this typical separation of issues, Fox and Oxley (2003) categorize executive positions into "feminine," "masculine," and "neutral" and find that between 1978 and 1998, women were significantly less likely to run for masculine positions such as governor, attorney general, and treasurer, and more likely to run for feminine executive positions such as superintendent of education or education board member. They specifically found that while women candidates ran for less than a quarter of "masculine" position types, they ran for 40% of the neutral positions and nearly 60% of the feminine positions. They did not, however, find a difference in success rates among the women candidates who ran for masculine, feminine, and neutral positions. In fact, in each case women had equal or

even slightly better success rates than their male counterpart. This denotes that internalized gender stereotypes may affect a woman candidate's decision to run or not run more than external gender biases such as sexist media coverage and voters themselves.

The Power of Language and the Media

Although some studies point to women's internalization of gender norms as the most important factor contributing to women's underrepresentation in US politics (Fox and Oxley, 2003), it would be impossible to fully understand the dynamics of any election without considering the role the media plays in shaping public opinion. Most voters in the United States rely exclusively on the media for information about candidates. Simply by choosing to select which stories are told and which are not, the media inherently has power to shape the American political landscape (Kahn, 1994). Furthermore, many scholars recognize that media has tremendous power to influence the way we perceive various groups of people by the way they frame stories. According to cultivation theory, repeated television watching has the power to "acculturate the public not with specific beliefs but with basic assumptions about society" (Falk 2008). Thus the question of whether or not, and to what extent, the media is biased against women, is essential to understanding the position of women in today's political landscape and potential barriers women candidates may face while running for office. Finally, even if media bias does not affect electoral outcomes directly, sexist media coverage may contribute to the internalization of gender norms and discourage other women from running for similar positions (Falk, 2008).

A seminal communications scholar in this field, Kathleen Hall Jamieson, conceptualizes women's underrepresentation in government as the product of the perpetuation of sexist language that is the result of a history of women's oppression. In her book *Beyond the Double*

Bind (1995), Jamieson argues that throughout history women have faced a series of double binds; they have been placed in a progression of related catch 22, no-win, situations. Jamieson traces the origins of the double bind back to Western theology and the idea of original sin. Because Eve tempted Adam, it was concluded that women are inherently sinful and the only way to redeem themselves is through childbearing, silence, and submission. Although most people today would not outwardly agree with this theology, Jamieson argues that remnants of the language behind it persist in the way we conceptualize women's appropriate role in our society. She asserts:

Historically, women have faced and transcended double binds. Until recently, however, as one was overcome, another, often a ghost of the one surmounted, took its place. Meanwhile, vestiges of the surmounted bind lingered in the language through which women were invited to view their new challenge (Jamieson, 1995).

Thus Jamieson suggests that through language, subtle forms of sexism and re-formulations of old double binds persist today. One example of this is a bind Jamieson calls the "womb/brain" bind. According to this bind, women can either have children or exercise their intellect, but cannot do both. Although women largely have overcome this bind by gaining access to education and proving that they can pursue careers while raising children, remnants of these ideas still linger in the language our culture, particularly the media, uses to discuss powerful women.

One example of a more recent manifestation of the womb/brain bind is the media reaction to Hillary Clinton's "cookies and tea" comment during Bill Clinton's campaign. After a debate where Bill was accused of funneling money to Hillary's firm, several reporters interviewed about the comment. Hillary insisted that she did not benefit from Bill's governorship and that she led an independent life apart from her husband. After reporters asked several follow-up questions, Hillary famously said: "you know, I could have stayed home and baked cookies and tea but what I decided to do was fulfill my profession which I entered before my husband was in public life."

Within a few hours, several networks broadcasted the sound bite, quickly dropping the context of the comment and framing Hillary as an ultra-feminist who had attacked and offended stay-at-home mothers (Jamieson, 1995). Clearly underlying this framing is the media's discomfort with a woman pursuing her career and while raising children, rooted in the assumption that women cannot successfully do both.

Although some might argue that media outlets merely reported a public statement that Hillary made that would have offended people anyway, Jamieson points out that most media outlets chose to focus their stories solely on this short comment in a long interview and did not contextualize the comments. Moreover, few video cameras at the event even bothered to record Hillary's follow up clarification comment, only a few minutes later. Jamieson's analysis reveals the importance of considering the context in which news reporters choose to report their stories as a way to identify potential bias in their reporting.

Media Coverage of Senatorial, Gubernatorial, and House Elections

While it will be essential to specifically look at women presidential candidates for this project, because this group of women is so small, literature that examines how gender plays a role in the media coverage of congressional, gubernatorial, and House elections offers an important starting point to understanding systematic trends in the way the media may frame female and male political candidates differently.

A seminal political science scholar in this field, Kim Kahn, has found significant differences in the media coverage of women in senatorial and gubernatorial races than that of their male counterparts between 1982 and 1988 (Kahn, 1994). In an examination of the news coverage of 26 US senate races, for example, Kahn finds that regardless of their status as incumbents, challengers, or candidates in open races, female candidates overall received less

news coverage than male candidates. Kahn also finds that the types of coverage differed for male and female candidates. She finds that horse race coverage, or coverage that focuses on who is winning or losing the race, was discussed in 27 percent of articles on female senatorial candidates and only 21 percent of articles on male candidates. Moreover, in senatorial races women were more frequently described as “somewhat competitive” and men were more frequently described as “competitive,” indicating that the media tends to frame women candidates as less viable than their male counterparts (Kahn, 1994).

Finally, Kahn examines qualitative differences in the types of coverage between male and female candidates. She discovers that in both senatorial and gubernatorial races, women received less issue coverage than their male counterparts, despite the fact that women discussed policy issues in their campaign advertisements more than men did. She also concludes that the media in general was more likely to discuss “male” issues centered around the economy and foreign policy than “female” issues centered around education and health care. Despite this broader trend and the fact that women actually discussed “male” issues more frequently in their own campaign advertisements than men did, women were more likely to be written about in relationship to female issues than men were. Kahn thus convincingly concludes that “the correspondence between the issues presented in the news and the issues highlighted in the candidate’s advertisements is greater for male candidates in both senatorial and gubernatorial races” (Kahn, 1994).

James Devitt’s analysis of gubernatorial races also finds differences in the way the media frames male and female candidates. Devitt studies the local newspaper coverage of four gubernatorial races in 1998 with female candidates throughout the country. Analyzing the coverage of the candidates on a paragraph level he discovers that although there was no

difference in the amount of coverage of male and female candidates, female candidates received less issue coverage and more personal coverage than their male counterparts. Devitt also finds that the gender of the reporter affects how they covered the candidates—while female reporters used an equal percentage of issue frames and personal frames for male and female candidates, male reporters wrote significantly more personal frames for female candidates (18.2 percent) than for their male counterparts (10.4 percent). This suggests that the reporters' own identity may influence how they frame their stories (Devitt, 2002).

In a similar follow up study, Jalalzai (2006) finds that women senatorial and gubernatorial candidates running between 1992-2000 received significantly more media coverage than their female predecessors. Specifically she finds that there was no difference in the amount of media coverage that these candidates received and no differences in the amount of horserace coverage that these candidates received. While she discovered no differences in the “viability” coverage of female senatorial candidates she did find that the media was more likely to question the viability of female gubernatorial candidates than the viability of male gubernatorial candidates. This may explain the lower success rates and occupancy of women in gubernatorial positions during this time period.

Similarly, a study of looking at 15 senatorial and gubernatorial races in both 2006 and 2008 finds compelling evidence for qualitative differences in the media coverage of male and female candidates (Dunaway, Lawrence, Rose & Weber, 2013). In an analysis of over 10,000 local newspaper articles, the authors categorize stories into horserace/strategy stories, issues stories, and trait focused stories. In both the senatorial and gubernatorial context, they find that that issue stories were the most common in male vs. male elections, less common in male v. female elections, and the least common in female vs. female elections. They also found that, in

the case of gubernatorial elections, trait coverage stories were disproportionately larger in elections with at least one female candidate than in male v. male elections. This was not the case in senatorial elections, where the number of trait-coverage stories was relatively equal for all types of elections. This finding supports the hypothesis that women running for executive positions, in this case gubernatorial positions, may face greater media obstacles than those running for legislative positions. The authors, however, are hesitant to argue that their findings necessarily have negative implications for women candidates. They suggest that if their personality traits fit with the office they seek, such coverage could even be beneficial for women. The study, however, fails to take into account the tone of the coverage of these elections, which could potentially affect voter decisions and success rates on a more fundamental level.

In a more recent study, Lawless and Hayes (2015) find no difference in the media coverage of male and female candidates in 350 US House districts during the 2010 midterms. Examining the number of articles written about each candidate, the number of times the candidates' sex was mentioned, how often the candidates' personality traits were mentioned, and how issue-focused the coverage was for each candidate, they found no significant differences in the quantity of these mentions for male and female candidates. Additionally, they tested the common hypothesis in previous literature that the media would more frequently cover feminine traits for women and male traits for men. In categorizing trait descriptions into four gendered categories—competence and leadership for men and empathy and integrity for women—they found no substantial difference in the qualitative ways male and female candidates were covered. Similarly they find that male and female candidates are equally likely to be associated with both “women’s issues” and “men’s issues.” These findings lie in stark contrast to the Kahn’s 1994 study, which suggested significant media bias exists in each of these categories. Lawless and

Hayes hypothesize that these different findings are a result of a cultural shift in attitudes toward female candidates along with the decrease in novelty of female candidates. Moreover, they argue that other factors other than gender, such as party affiliation and incumbency, have become more important indicators of voter choice. The media has perhaps mirrored this change in voter attitude, at least in House elections.

Analyzing Women Presidential Candidates

What does this imply for women who want to break the glass ceiling and run for president? Scholars studying this question face inherent methodological challenges—primarily a small *n*. Although some accounts estimate that more than one hundred women have run for president since 1872, few of those candidates received enough press coverage or funding to be considered competitive (Falk, 2008), at least until more recent elections. Thus while scholars agree on some of the fundamental ways that the presidency has functioned as a masculine space, there has been less agreement over whether or not women running for president actually face significant levels of gender bias in the media or among voters, or whether simply not enough women have run for office (perhaps themselves affected by socialized gender roles). Many scholars have turned to the case studies of women who have run for president to begin to negotiate the answer to this question.

In their article “The Real ’08 Fight: Clinton versus Palin” Lawrence and Rose utilize Jamieson’s concept of the double bind to argue that women candidates must negotiate their masculine and feminine qualities in different political contexts in order to succeed. They find that neither Clinton nor Palin fully “ran as a woman” but both candidates did emphasize their gender in certain contexts. While they do not conclude that either candidate experienced gender discrimination, they recognize the double bind that women who seek to run for president are

placed in—they must come off as presidential and thus embody certain masculine traits, without abandoning their gender altogether. Monopoli (2006) notes that “women are disadvantaged because they are thought not to possess agentic, masculine traits, while at the same time they are criticized if they are too agentic and masculine.” Similarly, Palmer and Simon contend that “women candidates can’t afford not to be nice [or they will] immediately be branded as a bitch” (137).

A prominent communications scholar, Erika Falk, finds historical evidence for the continued perpetuation of these various double binds. Falk traces the historical roots of gendered media bias by looking at the media portrayal of eight female presidential candidates between 1872 and 2004. She argues that, despite the progress that women have made in advancing their positions in society as a whole, the press has not changed the way it covers female candidates (Falk, 2008). Falk finds that in each of these women’s campaigns, the media served to create and reinforce assumptions about women’s awkward and unlikely role as viable presidential candidates. Using a systematic analysis of the newspaper coverage of these candidates and their male counterparts, Falk finds compelling evidence of the prevalence of media bias in each of these campaigns. She finds, for example, that women received almost twice as much emotional description as men, reinforcing the stereotype that women are more emotional and less rational than men. She also discovers that women’s families were mentioned in one of every five articles that she examined whereas men’s families were only mentioned in one of every ten articles. This supports Jamieson’s claim that the media continues to support the womb/brain bind by disproportionately drawing attention to female candidates families and reminding the public that they are mothers and wives too.

Another significant difference that Falk discovers in the newspaper coverage of men and women, is the way candidates are named in articles. Of the four women in Falk's analysis that had held electoral titles (Smith, Chisholm, Schroeder, and Moseley Braun), honorary titles were dropped 32 percent of the time. Men's honorary titles were only dropped 11 percent of the time. Women were also slightly more likely to be called by their first names than men. Finally, Falk observes that women candidates were significantly more likely to be discussed as potential vice presidential candidates than their male counterparts. Articles regularly framed women candidates as truly aspiring the vice presidency, despite their claims to the contrary. Male candidates were rarely, if ever, framed in this light. This illustrates a clear example of the media distorting the true intention of women candidates while perpetuating the assumption that women candidates were not truly viable options for presidency.

Studies of more recent political candidates have come to similar conclusions. Meeks (2013) examines the media coverage of Elizabeth Dole, Sarah Palin, Hillary Clinton, and Claire McCaskill running for both executive and non-executive positions. She finds that in the cases of all candidates, women running for executive positions received more media coverage that focused on novelty labels, gendered political issues, and gendered character traits than their male counterparts. This gap was particularly evident when running for executive positions. Lawrence and Rose (2010) argue that Hillary Clinton experienced more "exit talk" in the 2008 presidential run—speculation that she would exit the race—in the media than comparably historic male counterparts, suggesting this coverage may have influenced her exit.

Another study specifically examines the media coverage of Elizabeth Dole in the 1999 primary elections and compares it to the media coverage of her male running mates (Aday and Devitt, 2001). Analyzing newspaper articles on a paragraph level, the authors categorize

candidate coverage into three frames similar to those identified by Dunaway, Lawrence, Rose & Weber—issue frames, personal frames, and strategy frames. While the authors found no difference in the overall quantity of coverage that Dole received, they did find that a significantly smaller proportion of paragraphs on Dole were framed in terms of policy than her male counterparts and more were framed in terms of personal traits.

Beyond the media, some scholars have suggested that women have particularly struggled with fundraising more than men. Especially in light of the *Citizens United* decision, fundraising has become an increasingly important element of any successful political campaign. Farrar-Myers and Boyea (2013) find that women have particularly struggled in obtaining funds from business PACs, which could make a huge difference in a candidate's overall fundraising success. This trend may be exacerbated by gender bias in the media, however, if business PACs are led to believe women candidates are not likely to win the election.

While most scholars agree that the executive branch is a gendered space, some scholars are cautious to conclude that women candidates running for executive positions truly face greater barriers than their male counterparts. In her book, *He Runs, She Runs* (2013) Deborah Brooks argues against the conventional wisdom that women candidates face a double bind in running for office. She argues that given the multitude of issues that affect a candidate's viability, we should not be too quick to conclude that gender was the reason behind Clinton and Palin's failure in the 2008 elections, for example. She also points out that as more and more women become visible in the political arena, women's presence in the executive sphere won't be seen as such an anomaly among journalists and voters. Thus as foundational scholarship is critical to understanding the traditional gendered nature of the executive branch, it will be essential for new scholars to

continually reassess women's position in the executive branch and the challenges they may or may not face to entering it, as more women visibly crack away at the executive glass ceiling.

The Case of Hillary Clinton

While scholars have recognized the difficulty in making broader generalizations based on single presidential candidates, it would be impossible to fully understand the dynamics of gender and female presidential candidates without looking closely at Hillary Clinton. As a senator, a First Lady, an initial front runner in the 2008 presidential election, Secretary of State, and now a front runner in the 2016 election, Hillary Clinton is not the typical test case for a woman running for president. Lawrence and Rose respond to these theoretical objections by pointing out that “by definition, *any* woman to have reached the milestones of the Clinton candidacy in terms of fame, fundraising, and votes won would have been [considered] ‘too unique’” (Lawrence and Rose, 2010). Thus while any study of Hillary Clinton must be cautious to recognize her uniqueness, it would almost be absurd to ignore her case altogether.

One way to address this concern is to study the history of Clinton's media coverage before running for presidency in 2008. Tucker-McLaughlin and Campbell do just that by studying the media coverage of Hillary Clinton from 1993 to 2008. This includes her time as First Lady, her time running for Senate, and her time running for the 2008 presidential election. Using grounded theory, the authors find two common themes across the media coverage of Clinton—one that characterizes her as an innovator, and the other as voiceless. Although the innovator image itself has a positive connotation, the authors find that the media often spun Clinton's innovator image in a negative light. A story that describes Clinton as the First Lady to occupy an office in the West Wing, for example, implies that she is breaking a tradition rather than breaking ground for First ladies (Tucker-McLaughlin and Campbell 2015).

Dittmar (2013) takes into consideration the media coverage of Bill Clinton during Hillary's campaign. She argues that in general during the 2008 campaign media coverage of the various candidates' spouses in the election (Bill Clinton, Michelle Obama, Elizabeth Edwards), reinforced traditional gendered spousal expectations in a way that disadvantaged Hillary Clinton. She found that despite Bill Clinton's limited presence on the campaign trail, articles about Hillary were more frequently framed in relationship to her spouse than articles about her male counterparts. Dittmar argues that "The paradox in which Hillary Clinton was both the most competitive female candidate for president to date and a candidate perpetually profiled in the shadow of her husband may not be a paradox at all" (Dittmar, 2013). Other scholars are more cautious to make this conclusion, however, given Bill Clinton's history as former President of the United States (Rose and Lawrence, 2010).

In their book *Hillary Clinton's Race for the White House: Gender Politics and the Media on the Campaign Trail* Rose and Lawrence (2010) look extensively at the media coverage of Clinton's 2008 campaign. The authors attempt to mitigate the theoretical challenges of studying one candidate by acknowledging the uniqueness of Hillary Clinton, studying the media coverage of her male counterparts, and closely examining the more subtle ways gender bias plays out in the media. They posit that other scholars are often quick to accuse the media of gender bias, especially in presidential campaigns. This is because particularly in the presidential context, the media tends to focus on horse race coverage, defining moments (frequently gaffe moments), and master personal narratives/trait coverage. Whether or not men and women may experience the same proportions of these types of coverage, the authors do acknowledge that the "game frame" may actually more negatively affect women than men. They point out that "The media's focus on

'personal' characteristics' and campaign gaffes is particularly fertile ground for sex stereotyping" (Rose and Lawrence, 2010).

In examining the 2008 campaign, Rose and Lawrence (2010) find that Hillary Clinton experienced a much higher percentage of negative coverage in the news stories they analyzed (23%) than Obama (16%). While the authors are hesitant to isolate gender as a factor behind this difference in coverage, they do find specific ways that the coverage of Clinton was gendered. They find, for example, that Hillary Clinton's daughter was mentioned significantly more than Obama's daughters, and so was her husband. They also found that the media was more receptive to covering stories on racist comments about Obama than it was to covering stories of sexist comments about Hillary. They discovered that the "race card" was mentioned almost twice as often as the "gender card" in campaign articles. Finally, they found that Hillary appeared in fewer sound bites on television, suggesting that she had less control over her own message than Obama did.

Finally, Rose and Lawrence found that while all candidates were equally likely to receive horse race coverage, the horse race coverage of Hillary Clinton was particularly negative. They also suggest that this potential gendered bias toward Hillary, specifically toward the end of her campaign, was amplified on online news pages. They assert that "following the lead of the mainstream news outlets, in which a key theme was Clinton's unseemly and unfeminine fight to the death for the Democratic nomination, a common theme in the world of the Web was Clinton as a power hungry killer" (Rose and Lawrence, 2010). While Rose and Lawrence do not find evidence for overt, systematic sexism toward Hillary Clinton in the media, their findings do support some of the findings in earlier literature that the media qualitatively covers women differently than men. Their comprehensive analysis of the campaign also shows the need to look

at more subtle factors in the media that could reflect gender bias, that move beyond merely compiling quantitative data on the types of coverage these candidates receive.

Considering Social Media

More recent scholars in the media and communications field have recognized the need to examine the implications of social media outlets, such as Facebook and Twitter, for female presidential candidates. Anderson and Sheeler (2014), for example, argue that the use of memes in the Internet age has fostered a post-feminist movement, which is largely disadvantageous to female candidates running for presidency. They first claim that the implications of post-feminism—the belief that gender inequity problems have already been solved—is problematic for women presidential candidates because it diminishes the public’s awareness of potential sexism toward that candidate and assumes that the playing field is equal for women and men. While examining the famous “Texts to Hillary Clinton” blog and Hillary Clinton’s re-purposing of the memes in her #Tweetsfromhillary Twitter, the authors argue that Internet humor fosters a simplistic and post-feminist vision of women which is actually disadvantageous for presidential candidates, including Hillary Clinton herself.

The original “Texts to Hillary” blog features a photo of Hillary Clinton as Secretary of State on a military airplane texting on her phone and wearing large sunglasses. In a series of different memes, Clinton receives and answers texts from various other powerful politicians and celebrities. In one example, Obama texts her “Hey Hil, Watchu doing?” and Hillary responds, “running the world.” Although on a surface level, this branding of Clinton as an alpha, “badass,” woman who can run the world appears to celebrate female empowerment, Anderson and Sheeler argue that the perpetuation of this image and the belief that women have achieved equality to men “ultimately undermines [s] feminist policy by denying the material consequences of

sexism.” They further contend that this meme was only successful in a context when Hillary was not running for president because “depictions of Hillary running the world are only appealing when she is not actually running it.” This argument would imply that Clinton may not be able to capitalize on this image as easily when running for president. The authors conclude that the post-feminist humor particularly flourishes on the Internet because it is “broadly appealing—a cheery alternative to the ostensible intellectual drudgery of feminist conscious raising.”

Whether or not Anderson and Sheeler’s claim that the “Texts from Hillary” blog may undermine feminist policies and Hillary Clinton’s current presidential campaign, their article raises a valuable point about the importance of analyzing social media as a medium to understand how candidates attempt to control their image and how their image is perceived by the public and alternative media outlets. They assert: “In postmodern political culture, candidate image is a hyperreal amalgamation of image fragments generated by the individual politician, her/his campaign, news framing, and political pop culture” (Anderson and Sheeler, 2014). Especially given the importance of Twitter in the past few elections, the Internet may serve as a valuable place to analyze the role of gender in the upcoming presidential election.

Conclusion

Clearly a significant body of scholarship has begun to identify both subtle and systematic ways the media may reinforce gender stereotypes for both male and female political candidates. Numerous studies have found systematic trends in the way newspaper articles characterize male and female politicians in all levels of government, more frequently emphasizing personal and character traits for women and issue coverage for men. Other studies have found women are more frequently described in reference to their family and their appearance than men are, reinforcing and perpetuating the language behind a history of women’s exclusion from the public

sphere. More recent scholars have disputed these claims. I have shown in this literature review that there while there is considerable disagreement about the degree of and the extent of these trends today, most scholars agree that historically the executive branch and the presidency has particularly functioned as a masculine space. As more and more women run for president it will be essential to build off the work of previous scholars and determine the extent to which the media is bias against women today, the role the internet and social media may play in perpetuating this bias, and more subtle, qualitative ways women candidates may be reported differently than men.

CHAPTER 3: METHODS

As I have shown in the literature review, many scholars face inherent methodological challenges when trying to identify the presence and extent of media bias against women in the presidential context. Because scholars have such a small n to work with, studies that find differences between the media coverage of male and female candidates in the presidential context are at danger of assuming differences in coverage are based on gender, when they may simply be the result of differences in how these particular candidates campaign, what issues they emphasize, how they present themselves, and the overall narrative they form throughout the campaign.

I designed my research methodology to correct for this possibility by directly analyzing the campaign messages of one female presidential candidate, Hillary Clinton, and two male presidential candidates, Bernie Sanders and Ted Cruz, in the 2016 elections and comparing these messages to the media coverage of those candidates. My overarching research question asks:

Does the media portrayal of the male candidate's campaigns more accurately reflect their message than the media portrayal of Hillary Clinton's campaign?

The Candidates

The 2016 primary elections offer a unique opportunity to study the role of gender in presidential campaigns. Hillary Clinton is running for a second time as the frontrunner of the democratic race and Carly Fiorina was one of the many Republican candidates competing for the Republican nomination. Unfortunately, Fiorina did not stay in the election cycle long enough for me to include her in my analysis because she had limited media coverage in the months leading up to the Iowa Caucuses. Future research, however, should look more specifically at Fiorina's candidacy and the potential role that gender played in her loss of momentum.

My project focuses on the media coverage of Hillary Clinton, her main democratic male opponent, Bernie Sanders, and one of her Republican male opponents, Ted Cruz. Although there are significant differences between the Republican and Democratic primary races that I acknowledge throughout my analysis, I specifically chose to include a second male Republican with a substantially different political platform and style than Bernie Sanders. This was designed to see if I found any similarities in the media coverage or the accuracy of the media coverage between these two immensely different male candidates that contrasted to the media coverage of Hillary Clinton. If I noticed that Cruz and Sanders had certain similarities or higher accuracy rates in their newspaper coverage than Clinton, that provides a more compelling case that differences in Clinton's media coverage are due to her gender and not outside factors like the particularities of her opponents' campaign style alone.

Given the uniqueness and sheer number of the Republican candidates in this election cycle, picking a male Republican candidate to focus on was not an obvious choice. I initially eliminated the frontrunner, Donald Trump, because of the unprecedented nature of his candidacy. His outrageous statements, his lack of support from the Republican establishment, and the unconventional nature of his personality and campaign style led me to conclude that he would not be a good "test-case" to understand the typical media coverage of a Republican male candidate. Another constraint I faced was that I had to collect the newspaper articles about candidates as they were coming out and thus needed to choose a candidate that was doing well enough in the polls that he would not drop out of the race or disappear in the media. I considered focusing on Ben Carson, who was polling second in the race in early December, but then decided he too was not a good "test-case" candidate, given his status as a former neurosurgeon and the only African American in the entire primary.

As Ted Cruz began surging in Iowa polls in mid-December, I finally settled on him for my Republican male choice. I predicted that he would be one of the longer lasting candidates who could manage to maintain high levels of media coverage in December and January even with Trump's heavy media presence, which overshadowed more conventional candidates like John Kasich, Marco Rubio, and Jeb Bush. Unlike these candidates, Cruz portrayed himself as an anti-establishment candidate who could appeal to a unique conservative block of evangelical voters. Although he too does not represent the typical "test-case" for a Republican candidate, he at least utilized a somewhat more traditional campaign style without letting Trump's media coverage dominate his own.

Timeline

For the scope and timing of this project I decided to focus on two essential months leading up to the Iowa Caucuses—December and January. Studying a two-month time period allowed me to gather enough newspaper articles and campaign materials to analyze ongoing trends without attempting to analyze too much information presented over a wider range of events and circumstances. I chose to examine the time period leading up to the Iowa caucuses because by this point the candidates had campaigned for long enough to have established their campaign platforms, but the public had not voted yet and the media still had considerable influence over public's perception of each candidate. Moreover, each candidate accelerated their campaign efforts during this time period, the public grew more interested in the candidates, and the media captured high levels of anticipation and excitement over the Iowa caucuses.

Finally, during this time period many of the candidates concentrated their campaigns in Iowa, which allowed me to better compare the different ways the candidates appeal to the same block of voters in a particular geographic location. Had I waited until later in February and March, the

candidates would have started campaigning to different blocs of voters in a wider range of locations.

Media Coverage

I examined the newspaper coverage of Clinton, Sanders, and Cruz between December 1st 2015 and January 25th 2016. My main objective was to understand the overall narratives constructed about the tone and content of each candidate's campaign. I asked the following questions to guide my analysis:

- What issues do the articles emphasize for each particular candidate?
- How many articles are written about each issue and how do the articles portray the candidate's stance on the issues?
- How much does the media cover feminine and masculine issues for each candidate?
- How do the articles present the candidate's personal history, character, and personality?
- What percentages of articles utilize issue frameworks, what percentages utilize personal frameworks, and what percentages utilize horse race frameworks for each candidate?

Newspaper Analysis

I analyzed nine newspaper articles a week for each candidate, three from three different newspaper sources, during the eight-week time span. I collected articles from two of the most highly circulated national newspapers—The Wall Street Journal and The New York Times, and the most highly circulated newspaper in Iowa, the Des Moines Register. I chose the two national newspapers because they are widely circulated and contribute to the broader national understanding of the election cycle. Additionally the New York Times is slightly more liberal and the Wall Street Journal is slightly more conservative. This helps balance out potential bias in the coverage of the conservative and liberal candidates. I chose to use one local Iowa newspaper

to better understand the local perspective on the tone and content of these candidates' campaigns in Iowa.

Using Proquest's Search engine I randomly selected three articles per week from each newspaper on each candidate throughout the eight-week time span. I prioritized articles that focused solely on the candidate, but if necessary included articles that mentioned the candidate in some capacity. I did not include op-eds or editorials. If there were less than three articles in a given week, I would collect an additional article from the week before or after. I examined a total of 72 articles per candidate, and 216 articles overall. For each article, I noted the author, date, main points, the types of frameworks utilized, the issues mentioned, and the overall focus of the article.

Analyzing Candidates Messages

In order to analyze each candidate's message I focused on two major sources: the candidate's Twitter pages and the candidate's campaign advertisements circulated in Iowa and New Hampshire in the months of December and January. Although these are only two of a variety of forums that the candidates used to convey their campaign message, Twitter and campaign advertisements are two essential and distinct platforms that candidates utilize to communicate with different blocks of voters today. Campaign advertisements have traditionally been one of the central forums scholars have investigated to understand political candidate's campaign messages. After Obama's revolutionary use of social media in 2008, however, more and more scholars are looking at social media platforms, particularly Twitter pages, to examine the way candidates communicate their messages to voters (Spaeth, 2009). Although Social Media is growing more important in political candidates' campaigns, it has by no means replaced more traditional modes of communication, like campaign advertisements, which presidential

candidates continues to circulate and spend large amounts of money on. Candidates most likely use Twitter to communicate with younger, more liberal voters on a more national scale and campaign advertisements to communicate with older, more moderate voters in specific states. My analysis seeks to gain a more wholistic understanding of each candidate's campaign messages by putting the narratives they construct in these two distinct forums into conversation. Moreover, unlike a candidate's website, which is more static and requires voters to search out themselves, both of these forums allow candidates to communicate with voters in an ongoing way and reach out to them directly.

While Twitter and campaign ads offer a strong window into understanding the candidates' messages it is also important to acknowledge their limitations. The media often cover specific events such as stump speeches or debates. Given my own time limitations I was not able to include a direct analysis of these events for this project. Future research on these events should be done to gain an even deeper understanding of the candidate's campaign messages during the primaries.

Overall I will broadly seek to both qualitatively and quantitatively answer the following questions:

- What issues are the candidates emphasizing most?
- What overall narratives does the candidate build?
- How does the candidate present their personal life and personality?
- Proportionately, how much of the candidates campaign material focus on issues, how much focus on their personal life, and how much focuses on the status of the campaign itself?

Twitter

Twitter has become an essential social media tool in presidential campaigns since the 2008 elections. Each candidate currently has active Twitter pages with millions of followers and daily Tweets about their campaigns. The sheer number and shortness of each Tweet allowed me to more quantitatively assess what issues the candidates emphasized, what events they responded to, and proportionally how much they emphasized personal tweets, issue tweets, campaign involvement tweets, etc.

I analyzed the Twitter activity for Cruz, Sanders, and Clinton between December 1st and January 25th. I randomly collected four tweets a day from each candidate's Twitter page and did not include "re-tweets." For the few days in which a candidate tweeted less than four times, I collected the exact number of tweets they tweeted that day. Overall I collected between 214 and 221 Tweets for each candidate and 650 tweets in total.

Campaign Advertisements

Campaign advertisements offer a second important forum to analyze the candidates' campaign messages. Campaign advertisements have historically been an important forum for candidates to communicate with voters. Because the candidates were primarily campaigning in Iowa and New Hampshire during the months of December and January, I analyzed all of the available campaign ads circulated in these two states during these months for each candidate. I analyzed 9-13 advertisements for each candidate and a total of 32 advertisements. For each ad I examine the extent to which the candidates utilized issue and personal frameworks, the issues they emphasized most, and the traits they highlighted about their personality or character. I also consider the way the candidates construct their gender in each campaign advertisements and the role that gender may play in their choice to highlight particular voices in their ads.

Conclusion: Putting it All Together

In the final part of my analysis I compared my quantitative and qualitative findings of the campaign messages to the media coverage of those messages. I particularly compared the proportion of issue and personal stories utilized for each candidate, the exact issues emphasized, and the proportion of feminine and masculine issues, to the equivalent in the candidates' campaign materials. I conclude by comparing the analyses of each candidate to determine whether or not certain campaigns better match up to their media coverage than others and whether or not the media more accurately portrays the male candidate's campaign messages than the campaign message of Hillary Clinton.

CHAPTER 4

NEWSPAPER COVERAGE ANALYSIS

Although Americans increasingly learn about presidential elections through alternative news sources such as social media or cable television shows, a recent Pew survey confirms that 36% of Americans still look to print newspapers to learn about presidential elections and 48% utilize online news sources (Gottifried, Barthel, Shearer, & Mitchel, 2016). Moreover, social media users and alternative online news sources frequently re-post or reference articles from major newspapers, indicating that the narratives major newspapers use to report candidates may trickle down into the conversations on social media sites such as Facebook and Twitter. Finally, newspapers are often seen as the best source of “objective” news in the increasingly unreliable world of the Internet. Thus while Americans today receive their news from an expanding pool of news sources, traditional major newspapers continue to function as a core source for the dissemination of “accurate” information. This chapter thus examines the newspaper coverage of Hillary Clinton, Bernie Sanders, and Ted Cruz from three central newspaper sources in December and January.

To better understand how the media systematically covered each candidate, I first looked at the frequency of the three framings commonly used to cover presidential candidates—horse race, issue, and personal. I define horse race frameworks as stories that specifically reference a poll conducted about the candidate, issue frameworks as stories that describe or reference one or more issues that a candidate claims to support or oppose, and personal frameworks as stories that reveal a candidate’s personality, character, or history. Because several of the articles used multiple frameworks to describe a candidate, I categorized articles that employed multiple

frames multiple times. An article, for example, that covered a candidate's stump speech and described both the issues the candidate discussed as well as how their personality came across while discussing those issues, would be counted both in the issue framework and personal framework categories.

Table 1: Overall Framework Coverage by Candidate

Candidate	Horse Race	Issue	Personal
Clinton	33%	69%	64%
Sanders	39%	81%	54%
Cruz	58%	57%	56%

Table 1 reveals substantial differences in the frequencies of frameworks that the media utilized to cover each candidate. These results both support and negate previous research that examines how the media covers male and female candidates. Hillary Clinton, for example, received the most personal coverage and the least horse race coverage out of all of the candidates. Previous scholars have found that women typically receive more personal and horse race coverage and less issue coverage than their male counterparts (Kahn, 1994, Devit, 2002, Falk, 2008). My results thus support the findings that women receive more personal coverage than men but not the findings that they receive more horse race coverage than men.

We cannot decisively conclude that Clinton's gender is the reason behind her greater amount of personal coverage. Clinton, as former first lady, senator, and Secretary of State, arguably has a more interesting and dynamic career history than her male counterparts, which could account for her higher amount of personal coverage. On the other hand, the media has already covered Clinton extensively throughout all phases of her career and writing about personal elements of her past does not provide particularly new or compelling news. Bernie Sanders, on the other hand, has served as an Independent Party senator for 16 years and has had

considerably less past media coverage. It is thus somewhat surprising that we do not see more personal articles about Sanders that introduce his past and his personal story to voters. Even more surprising is the fact that Clinton received more personal coverage than Ted Cruz. Cruz is notorious for his extreme, uncompromising actions as a Senator, and is disliked by many of his Senate colleagues (Horowitz, 2016). Additionally, the Republican primaries as a whole have been characterized much more by personal attacks than the Democratic primaries. Clinton is a candidate who does not have an extreme personality and has participated in a more issue-centered primary race. The fact that Clinton received more personal coverage than a candidate who has a history the public knows little about as well as a candidate with an extreme personality participating in a competitive, personal-attack oriented primary, provides compelling evidence that Clinton's greater amount of personal coverage in *this* campaign cycle could be at least in part due to her gender.

Scholars who have studied women running for elected office may be surprised to see that Hillary Clinton received the least horse race coverage of the three candidates. Here, it is also important to consider the particularities of this race. It makes sense that Ted Cruz, competing against nine other candidates in the Republican race, would receive significantly more horse race coverage, 58%, than Sanders with 39% and Clinton with 33%. The fact that Clinton received slightly less horse race coverage than Sanders is somewhat more surprising. Previous literature that has looked at horse race coverage of women candidates has often focused on women who were not front-runners seeking to increase their name recognition and viability (Kahn, 1994). Hillary Clinton, however, has remained the frontrunner since she announced her candidacy in April of 2015. Unlike women who may be behind in the polls, horse race coverage that shows Clinton in the lead may actually favor her candidacy. There are two potential explanations for

Clinton's smaller amount of horse race coverage. The first is that frontrunners typically receive less horse race coverage than competitors, especially if they hold a consistent lead over their opponents. A second possibility is that if women typically receive less positive coverage than men, journalists would be less likely to employ a horse race frame for Clinton because that would be to her advantage. Later in the chapter I will go into more detail about the specific types of horse race that each candidate received.

Previous scholars have also found that women tend to receive less issue coverage than their male counterparts. I find that 69% of stories written about Clinton utilize issue frameworks. This is slightly less than her Democratic male counterpart, Bernie Sanders, who received 81% issue coverage, but more than her Republican male counterpart, Ted Cruz, who only received 57% issue coverage. Again, it makes sense that Cruz, participating in a Republican race that is often framed as a competitive game with nine other candidates, would receive less issue coverage than his Democratic counterparts. The fact that Clinton received more issue coverage than Cruz thus does not rule out the possibility that gender played a role in determining the amount of issue coverage journalists used to describe *Democratic* candidates. Chapter 6 will further explore this question by looking into how much Clinton and Sanders focused on issues in their own campaign materials. First, I will examine the tone and content of each category of coverage to gain a more thorough understanding of the most common narratives that the media construct about each candidate.

Issue Coverage

Many scholars have hypothesized that the media will cover more feminine issues for female candidates and more masculine issues for male candidates. To test this hypothesis I use Sheckel's categorization scheme to categorize every issue I come across as either masculine or feminine (Sheckel, 2011). Table 2 shows a categorization scheme of all of the issues encountered

and how I categorized these issues. Although it may not be immediately obvious, I included “regulation of the corrupt financial industry” as a feminine issue. While the financial industry is related to the economy, which is a masculine domain, I included it as a feminine issue because of the way it is framed in the media. Unlike the typical masculine framing of the need to grow the economy, the media has framed the regulation of the financial industry issue as an

Masculine Issues	Feminine Issues
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Foreign Policy • Terrorism • Combating ISIS • Gun Control • Tax Proposals • Economy • Job creation • Income inequality • Veterans rights • Gun Rights • Death Penalty • Immigration • Constitution rights • Eminent Domain • Police Brutality • Need for political revolution 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Health Care • Women’s Rights (Equal pay, reproductive rights) • Regulation of corrupt financial industry • Alzheimer’s research • Same sex marriage/ LGBTQ Rights • Free tuition for public universities • Campaign Finance Reform • Climate change • Paid family leave • Pro-life • Pro-marriage • Civil rights/ systematic racism • Marijuana • College affordability • Union Workers rights • Heroin epidemic • Religious Liberty

Table 2: Categorization of Masculine and Feminine Issues

ethical one. Sheckel includes “ethical/moral decline” as a feminine category. The articles written about Bernie Sanders all suggest that he condemns the corrupt and unethical behavior of billionaires on Wall Street. While some articles also cover Sanders’s discussion of income inequality and the need to strengthen the economy for everyone, which I do classify in the masculine issue category, his particular stance on Wall Street is fundamentally rooted in an

Candidate	Articles with only Feminine issues	Articles with only Masculine Issues	Both feminine and masculine issues
Hillary Clinton	12%	36%	52%
Bernie Sanders	41%	7%	52%
Ted Cruz	7 %	56%	37%

Table 3: Masculine and Feminine Issue Coverage

ethical argument that these

billionaires are corrupt. Similarly, the argument for campaign finance reform is centered around the idea that our political system is corrupt and in decline. Thus I categorize campaign finance reform as feminine issues as well.

Overall my findings do not support the hypothesis that journalists are more likely to cover male issues for male candidates and feminine issues for female candidates. In fact, in the cases of Hillary Clinton and Bernie Sanders I found the exact opposite. Table 3 shows that about half of the issue articles for both Hillary Clinton and Bernie Sanders covered both masculine and feminine issues. Many of the articles included in this category were articles about stump speeches where candidates discussed a wide range of issues from health care to national security. The articles that only cover one type of issue are more revealing. Clinton received a much higher proportion of “masculine only” issue coverage—36%, compared to Sanders, who only received

7% masculine only issue coverage. Sanders, on the other hand, received a much higher percentage of “feminine only” issue coverage, compared to both Clinton (12%) and Cruz (7%). Cruz received the greatest amount of masculine issue coverage, 56 percent, which can be explained by the prominence of terrorism and immigration as themes in the Republican primaries. Tables 4, 5, 6 show a breakdown of the top issues covered for each candidate.

Issue	Frequency in Issue Articles
Regulation of Wall-Street + Financial Industry	33%
Health Care	26%
Foreign Policy + ISIS	14%
Income inequality	12%
Free tuition for public universities	10%
Campaign Finance Reform	9%
Gun Control	9%
Need for political revolution	7%
Climate change	5%
Paid family leave	5%
Economy + Jobs	5%
Veterans rights	5%

Table 4: Top Issues in Sanders’s Coverage

Issue	Frequency in Issue Articles
Terrorism + Combating ISIS	30%
Health Care	26%
Gun Control	18%
Tax Proposals	18%
Economy + Job creation	14%
Women’s Rights (Equal pay, reproductive rights)	14%
Regulation of financial industry	6%
Alzheimer’s research	6%
LGBTQ Rights	6%

Table 5: Top Issues in Clinton’s Coverage

The top issue discussed in the media coverage of both Hillary Clinton and Ted Cruz was foreign policy, most often in relationship to terrorism and ISIS, a highly masculine issue. For Bernie Sanders, however, this was only the third most common issue mentioned in his media coverage,

Issue	Frequency in Issue Articles
Foreign Policy + Terrorism / ISIS	39%
Ethanol/RFS Debate	17%
Immigration	15%
Pro-life	12%
Pro-marriage	10%
Anti Obamacare	10%
Gun Rights	10%
Religious liberty	7%
Death Penalty	5%
Campaign finance reform	5%
Constitutional rights	5%

Table 6: Top Issues in Cruz's Coverage

with less than half of the percentage of foreign policy coverage than Hillary Clinton and Ted Cruz. Given the context of this race these findings are not surprising. Perhaps it is almost undeniable that Hillary Clinton, as former Secretary of State, has experience with foreign policy. The emphasis in the media on Clinton's foreign policy, however, did not always portray her experience in a positive light. Some articles, for example, covered the voices of liberal Democrats who accused Clinton's foreign policy as overly hawkish, or, as Bernie Sanders himself claimed, resembling the foreign policy of former vice presidency Dick Cheney (Wall Street Journal, 2016). The second most common issue for both Clinton and Sanders was health care, which is a feminine issue.

Exactly 26% of both candidates' issue related articles discussed health care. This makes sense, given that health care has always been important to Democrats, particularly in this election cycle. Furthermore this issue came up in several debates and became an important point of contention between the two candidates on the

campaign trail. Table 4 reveals that the most common issue covered for Sanders was the regulation of the financial industry. This, along with his high number of health care coverage stories explains why he received the most “feminine issue” coverage out of the three candidates.¹

Ted Cruz also received a large proportion of media coverage on his foreign policy. A comment he made in the Republican debates, that he would “carpet bomb” ISIS got particular media attention in this category. Cruz also received a large amount of coverage about his stance opposing the Renewable Fuel Standard (RFS), which was a particularly controversial stance during his time caucusing in Iowa, a state highly dependent on government subsidization of ethanol. In Iowa the RFS led a large campaign protesting Cruz. The media covered this protest along with Cruz’s response, which was that he did not support any government interference or subsidization, regardless of the industry. Following the ethanol debate Cruz received a sizeable amount of coverage on immigration, a common topic in the Republican primaries, and his conservative stances on social issues such as his opposition to gay marriage, abortion, and Obama-care.

Overall, it is clear that the media emphasizes a distinct pattern of issue coverage for each of these three candidates. My results do not confirm previous scholarship that finds women are more likely to be covered on feminine issues and men are more likely to be covered on masculine issues. In the case of Sanders and Clinton, my results suggest the exact opposite—the female candidate received a much higher percentage of male issue coverage and the male candidate received a much higher percentage of female issue coverage. Ted Cruz, as a

¹ To see if these results stayed consistent if I categorized “regulation of the financial industry” as masculine issue, I ran the analysis using this alternative scheme. Under this categorization Sanders received more masculine coverage than feminine coverage, but still substantially less masculine coverage than Clinton or Cruz. I further discuss the implications of this alternative analysis in the conclusion.

Republican candidate in a completely different race, unsurprisingly received the highest amount of male issue coverage. Chapters 5 and 6, which look into greater depth at the candidate's own messages, and will allow me to analyze the extent to which the media reflects accurately each of these candidate's messages.

Personal Coverage

As mentioned earlier, Hillary Clinton received the most personal coverage of the three candidates and Sanders received the least; Table 7 provides an extensive breakdown of the types of personal coverage that each candidate received. The top three categories for Hillary Clinton present her in a negative light, and the top 2-3 categories for her male counterparts present them in a positive light. Clinton was most frequently covered as having a corrupt or questionable personal history. Some of these articles were related to a controversy that arose in March of 2015 about Clinton's use of a private email server to conduct official Secretary of State business. It is notable that ten months later articles are still being published about the email scandal despite the fact that Clinton already testified before Congress, the issue has largely been resolved, and her main competitor, Bernie Sanders, even told Clinton in a debate in October "the American people are sick and tired of hearing about your damn emails" (CNN, 2015). The other articles that questioned her personal history came from an attack instigated from the Sanders campaign, however. Sanders brought to light Clinton's acceptance of large speaking fees from corporations like Goldman Sachs, and implied that she did those corporations favors in returns. Another article suggested that Bill Clinton's acceptance of large speaking fees in foreign countries influenced Clinton's foreign policy as Secretary of State (Wall Street Journal, 2015). Given the prominence of these types of stories it is unsurprising that the next two most common descriptors used for Clinton are politically calculating and untrustworthy.

Table 7: Personal Media Coverage by Candidate

Clinton				Sanders		Cruz	
Descriptor	Frequency			Descriptor	Frequency	Descriptor	Frequency
Corrupt/ Questionable History	10	Email Scandal	6	Visionary, Revolutionary Inspirational	7	Uncompromising/ unwavering	9
		Speak Fees	4				
Politically calculating	9			Honest/ Sincere	7	Anti- establishment	7
Un- trustworthy	7			Passionate/ Fiery/ Bold	6	Personable/ Likable/ Charismatic/ Has swagger	6
Confident/ Fierce/ Energetic/ Passionate	4			Powered by people	5	Morally above campaign disputes	5
Opponent basher	4			Anti- establishment	5	Conservative purist	5
Sexist: Did not handle Lewinsky scandal well	3			Consistent/ Uncompromising/ good record	4	Good sense of humor	4
Can relate to voters	2			Good sense of humor	2	Stubborn	3
Not likable	2			Gutless/ Courageous	2	Not tough enough on certain policies	3
Tenacious/ can get things done	2			Victim of Establishment attacks	2	Hypocritical/ Untrustworthy	3
Pragmatic	2			Grumpy	2	Faithful	2
Sharp campaign Tone	2			Connects well to voters	2	Committed	2
Cerebral/ rational	2			Angry	1	Liar	2

Well organized	2	Has swagger	1	Passionate	2
Experienced	1	Philosophy resembles MLK	1	Rude/pushy	1
Forceful	1	Intellectual/gentle	1	Angry	1
Panicky	1	Idealistic	1	Good debater	1
Aggressive	1	Questionable behavior: using congressional Twitter for campaign	1	Questionable behavior: did not declare loan	1
				Good judgment	1
				Extreme	1

While it is impossible to fully know whether or not Clinton’s gender contributed to the intense and harsh media coverage of these issues, comparing this media coverage to the media coverage of similar potentially corrupt behavior may be a telling first step. Both Bernie Sanders and Ted Cruz were involved in similar potentially corrupt behaviors but did not received nearly the same amount of coverage, or negative framings for those activities. In December, for example, people working on the Sanders’ staff accidentally obtained access to Hillary Clinton’s campaign data, supposedly because the DNC accidentally gave the Sanders campaign access to that data. The DNC responded initially by temporarily cutting off Sanders access to the data, and the Sanders campaign responded by threatening to sue the DNC. Unlike the email scandal, the media regularly framed the events as a “feud” between the DNC and the Sanders campaign, rather than a scandal or an investigation, as the email scandal has been framed. In fact, many articles highlighted Sander’s claim that he was being unfairly attacked by the “establishment” DNC who was working in favor of the Clinton candidacy. Finally, when Sanders apologized for the data breach, media outlets quoted voters who were impressed with his apology, suggesting it

showed he was honest and sincere (Des Moines Register, 2015). Although Clinton also has apologized numerous times for the email mix up, the dominant narrative we see in her news coverage is that voters see her as untrustworthy and politically calculating.

Similarly, Ted Cruz was accused by opponents in the Republican race of not declaring a loan that he had taken out from Goldman Sachs during his campaign. Like both the email scandal and the data breach, Cruz responded by saying he merely had forgotten to do the paperwork and declare the loan. Although this behavior may have caused a big scandal for Clinton, there was only one newspaper article I found written exclusively about the loan about Ted Cruz. Finally, one article questioned Sanders' use of his congressional Twitter page for campaign purposes. The article implied that if he was paying staff to tweet for him from Congress, it was suspicious that he was posting about issues relevant to his presidential bid. This story was also only mentioned in one of the articles written about Sanders and did not become a dominant media story like Clinton's email scandal or her acceptance of speaking fees.

One of the dominant narratives surrounding Hillary Clinton was that she is a politically calculating career politician. Given the "anti-establishment" mood of both primary races one could argue that this critique had nothing to do with her gender. Additionally it is undeniable that Clinton has a long career in various high level positions in both the executive and legislative branches of government. That said, my results suggest that she has been punished disproportionately for displaying political behavior than her male counterparts. One way we can begin to understand this phenomenon is by using social incongruity theory, which suggests that women who display traditionally male behavior may be punished for doing so because they are violating gender norms (Meeks, 2012). While Meeks argues that there may be some wiggle room for women politicians to display male behavior through the creation of a "subtype" or the

perception of individual women as exceptions who can violate gender norms, she suggests that women still have to navigate a fine line before they may be punished for going too far. She explains; “within leadership contexts, especially for executive roles, women performing masculine qualities have some latitude to gain positive evaluations, but if women go too far they may be viewed negatively because they are seen as too severely violating gender norms (Meeks, 2012). Thus in the case of Hillary Clinton, it is possible that the disproportionate amount of critique she has received simply for having a political career can partially be explained by her continuous and persistent violation of gendered expectations, as she has successfully navigated the male dominated domain of politics for so many years.

Horse Race Coverage

As discussed in the beginning of this chapter, Clinton received the least horse race coverage out of all the candidates and Cruz received the most. Figure 8 provides the breakdown of the types of horse race coverage received by each candidate. In the Democratic race in January I found that a large amount of horse race coverage given to Clinton and Sanders suggested that Clinton was losing ground and that Sanders was gaining momentum in Iowa and New Hampshire. This made up a much larger percentage of the stories than the horse race stories that Clinton received in December, which suggested that she was far ahead in the polls. Ted Cruz received extremely positive horse race coverage throughout December and January, particularly because he made such a huge leap in the polls.

While the large amount of horse race coverage that Clinton received that suggested she was losing momentum was not particularly beneficial for her campaign, it would be difficult to isolate her gender as the reason behind this type of coverage. The media often exaggerate the competitiveness of presidential races in order to write more exciting stories. It thus makes sense

that they would choose to cover more polls that showed Sanders had a chance and that Clinton was losing ground, than polls that showed Clinton remained in the lead. That said it is also possible that Clinton's large amount of negative horse race coverage may have been exacerbated by journalists' reluctance to accept her as a successful female politician who has a chance at winning the election. Without a male frontrunner to compare to Clinton I cannot definitively make this claim. Future research should investigate whether or not female frontrunners receive less positive horse race coverage than male frontrunners in similar elections.

Table 8: Horse Race Coverage Breakdown

Clinton				Sanders				Cruz				
Losing lead in IA and NH	15	Polls tightening in IA	7	Gaining momentum in IA/NH	16	Polls tightening in IA	5	Gain in IA	19	Gaining in polls	3	
		Losing momentum in general	4			Gaining momentum in general	5				Leading in polls	16
		Losing in IA poll	2			Winning in IA poll	2					
		Losing in NH poll	1			Ahead in NH poll	5					
		Tight in NH	1			Tight in NH	1					
Front-runner, Far ahead in polls	5		Has no chance/unlikely to win		3	Gaining momentum nationally		10				
Polling as untrustworthy	3		Hypothetical win against Trump (by larger margin than Clinton)		2	Equally as competitive as Trump		6				
Hypothetical win against Trump	1		Behind with black voters		2	Winning conservative block		4				
Polls well with older voters	1		Polling well with young voters		2	Competing for second with Rubio		2				

		Losing momentum	1	Hypothetically does best in head to head matchups against Democrats	2
		Catering to independents	1	Only has factional support	1

Conclusion

My data suggest that the media tells a very distinct story about each of these three candidates. It also both confirms and negates previous scholars' work that predicts how the media covers female candidates differently than their male counterparts. Hillary Clinton received the most personal coverage of the three candidates, which supports the conventional wisdom in the field. It also finds that the quality of the personal coverage was disproportionately negative when compared to her male counterparts. The top personal coverage stories for Clinton imply that she has a corrupt political history and that she is politically calculating. I suggest that these stories received disproportionate attention compared to stories about her male counterparts displaying similar political behavior. I also find that Clinton receives a much higher percentage of male issue coverage than Sanders, with a much greater emphasis on foreign policy. Finally I find that Clinton received the least horse race coverage of the three candidates, and that most of her horse race coverage shows her losing momentum in the polls. Overall the newspaper coverage of these three candidates begins to reveal a gendered story. In the next chapters I will look at how candidates portray their own campaigns to see how much the stories told about the candidates match up with their own messages.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYZING CANDIDATE’S CAMPAIGN MESSAGES

PART 1: TWITTER

Twitter is becoming an increasingly important platform for presidential candidates to communicate directly with voters. Unlike a typical presidential campaign website or a political advertisement, Twitter gives candidates the opportunity to respond quickly and constantly to their surrounding political environment. All three of the candidates whose Twitter pages I looked at sent out multiple tweets a day during the months of December and January. In the days leading up to the first Iowa primaries, Cruz, Sanders, and Clinton tweeted ten to fifteen times a day. This large amount of Twitter activity reveals that each of these candidates placed value on the use of their Twitter pages as a way to get out their messages and communicate with voters. This chapter will provide an analysis of the Twitter activity for these three candidates in December and January.

Types of Tweets

Sanders, Cruz, and Clinton all used their Twitter pages in both distinct and overlapping ways. Table 9 breaks up the types of tweets that candidates used into six categories—issue tweets, emotional appeal tweets, personality/character tweets, opponent attack tweets, voter involvement tweets, and celebrity/organization endorsement tweets. I recorded tweets that meet the criteria for multiple categories in each category that they applied to. It is important to keep in mind that while some these variations reflect real differences in the strategies and moods of each campaign, others may simply reflect a different understanding of the function of Twitter as a way to complement the candidate’s campaign. Twitter is one of many platforms the candidates use to communicate with potential supporters and thus the frequency of each type of tweet tells us a

limited story about each candidates campaign message. My analysis will thus go beyond looking at the frequency of each type of tweet and look at the qualitative differences in Tweets to understand broader messages the candidates are trying to get across.

Candidate	Issue tweets	Emotional appeal	Personality Character Tweets	Opponent Attack	Voter involvement	Celebrity/ Organization Endorsement
Clinton	57%	51%	24%	18%	11%	8%
Sanders	78%	66%	17%	9%	14%	3%
Cruz	36%	46%	28%	16%	29%	18%

Table 9: Types of Tweets

Issue and Emotional Appeal Tweets

I define “issue tweets” as tweets in which a candidate mentions a particular issue or problem that the United States or the world is facing or a Tweet that proposes a particular policy they would enact to solve that issue. Bernie Sanders had the most “issue Tweets” out of the three candidates—78%, compared to Hillary Clinton with 57% and Ted Cruz with 36%. Interestingly, he also received the most “emotional appeal” tweets. I define “emotional appeal tweets” as tweets that are rooted in an emotional or moral logic. Given that tweets are so short, it makes sense that many of the tweets for all candidates utilized some kind of emotion or moral logic. Sanders, in particular, had a large number of issue tweets that were rooted in a moral or emotional argument. Figure 1 shows an example of a typical Sanders Tweet that references an issue in an emotional way. In this tweet Sanders uses an emotional appeal to convey his message

about the need to regulate Wall Street, by claiming that Wall Street is greedy and must be

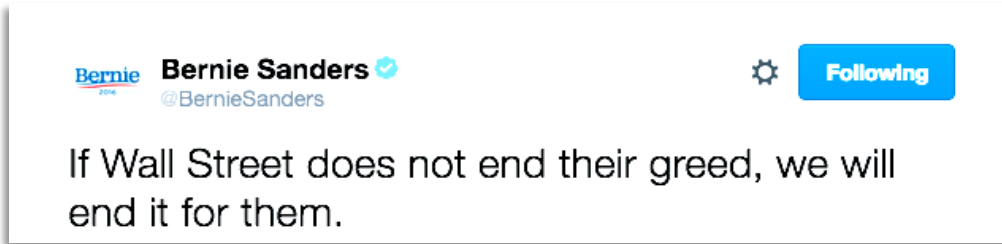


Figure 1: Typical Issue-emotion Sanders Tweet

stopped. Sander's was not the only candidate to talk about issues in an emotional way. 51% of Clinton's tweets and 46% of Cruz's tweets used emotional appeal. Although it may be surprising that Cruz had the least amount of emotional appeal tweets, he also had substantially less issue oriented tweets than the other two candidates. This suggests that issue-oriented tweets more frequently have an emotional appeal than other types of tweets, such as asking voters to donate to the campaign or providing a link to an outside source.

Breaking down Issue Tweets

What issues did each candidate talk about most on their Twitter pages? Tables 10, 11, and 12 provide a breakdown of the top issues each candidate tweeted about and the frequency of tweets in which those issues appeared.

Hillary Clinton

Hillary Clinton most frequently tweeted about women's issues—over one fifth of Clinton's tweets were related to equal pay for women, reproductive rights, or paid family leave. In tweets where Clinton defended reproductive rights, she would frequently bring up Planned Parenthood and remind users of Republicans' constant threat to defund it. In tweets

Table 10: Clinton's Top Issue Tweets

ISSUE	% ISSUE TWEETS
Women's Interests	22%
Gun Control	15%
Health Care	11%
LGBTQ Rights	11%
Combating ISIS + National Security	7%
Alzheimer's Research	6%
Strengthen Economy + Job creation	6%
Climate change	6%
Anti-Hate Speech + Supporting Muslims	4%
Immigration	4%
Voting rights	4%

about equal pay, Clinton would often frame the issue as part of a larger economic plan to strengthen middle class families and raise incomes, rather than just an isolated “woman’s issue.” On December 30th, 2015, for example, she tweeted: “We can make families stronger by cutting taxes, raising the minimum wage, and making sure that women get equal pay for equal work.” Here, she frames equal pay as part of a larger economic plan to strengthen middle class families. She often tweeted about paid family leave in a similar way—as an essential issue that doesn’t only effect women, but the economy as a whole.

Gun control was then second most common issue that Clinton discussed in her tweets. In early December after San Bernardino, Clinton posted several tweets about this tragic event and suggested that increased gun regulations could have helped prevent it. She

also praised Obama’s executive actions on gun control and promised to continue these regulations and expand on them. Following gun control, health care was one of the next top

issues on Clinton's Twitter page. Her health care related tweets would often praise Obama's Affordable Care Act and assert the need to build on the progress he's already made. Clinton's praise and self-association with the Obama administration was a consistent theme throughout her Twitter page. Beyond promising to build on Obama's work on gun control and health care, she often would tweet about building on Obama's progress in a more general way. On January 25th, 2016, she tweeted: "When it comes to protecting and building on President Obama's progress, there's only one candidate who will get it done."

Overall Clinton had significantly more Tweets about feminine issues than masculine issues. Coding for all issue tweets, I found that 62% of Clinton's tweets were about only feminine issues, 21% were about only masculine issues, and 17% were about both masculine and feminine issues. Perhaps most notably, Clinton's focus on national security and combating ISIS, a relevant masculine issue in this campaign season, was minimal. In fact, many Tweets in this category did not focus on ISIS alone, but on Donald Trump's comment about Muslims, and how this comment was a threat to national security. One potential explanation for Clinton's focus on feminine issues is that she was trying to appeal to a younger, more progressive voter base, given that young people are more likely to use a social media platform like Twitter.

Bernie Sanders's Issue Tweets

Although Bernie Sanders tweeted about many of the same issues as Clinton, Table 11 shows that Bernie Sanders tweeted about a distinct pattern of issues. The top issue that Sanders tweeted about was the regulation of the financial industry and corporate power. As mentioned earlier and shown in Table 9, many of these tweets used an emotional appeal by framing Wall Street, large corporations, and billionaires, as greedy and corrupt. The tweets were framed in a way that suggested that the country is going through a moral or ethical decline and that the

corruption on Wall Street is worse than it has ever been before. On January 16, 2016, for example, Sanders tweeted: “Three out of the four largest financial institutions are bigger now than before we bailed them out.” This idea, that the country is in decline and Obama’s support of the Wall Street bailout has made things worse, lies in sharp contrast to Clinton’s message that she would build on the progress that Obama made during his eight years in office.

Similarly, Sanders’s posts related to health care and social security frequently referenced the shortcomings of our current health care system and the greed of pharmaceutical companies as a major moral and ethical problem in the United States. Many of these Tweets suggested the US is morally behind other major developed countries. On December 28th, 2015, for example, he tweeted: “It is a national disgrace that the United States is the only major country that does not guarantee health care to all people as a right.” Again, these Tweets have a notably different tone than Clinton’s Tweets about building on the progress of Obama’s Affordable Care Act.

ISSUE	% ISSUE TWEETS
Regulation of Financial industry + Corporations	16%
Health care + Social Security	14%
College affordability	8%
Women’s interests	8%
Shrinking middle class	7%
Income inequality	7%
Climate change	6%
Campaign finance	6%
Living Wage Plan	5%
Criminal Justice + Police Brutality	5%
Immigration	5%

Table 11: Sanders’s Top Issue Tweets

As shown in Table 11, other top issues that Sanders highlighted on his Twitter page were college affordability and the need for free public universities, women's interests, with a particular emphasis on paid family leave, the shrinking middle class, and income inequality. Overall, like Clinton, Sanders's tweets reflected a greater emphasis on feminine issues than on masculine issues, but slightly less of an emphasis on feminine issues than Clinton. 58% of Sanders's issue tweets were focused on only feminine issues, 36% only masculine issues, and 6% both masculine and feminine issues. Although Sanders had fewer tweets about national security and defeating ISIS than Clinton, his focus on economic issues such as the shrinking middle class, income inequality, and a living wage plan, partially explain the slightly greater number of masculine issue Tweets we see from Sanders. That said Sanders's still tweeted significantly more about feminine issues than masculine issues, particularly in his emphasis on the need to regulate the corruption and greed on Wall Street, health care, and social security.

Ted Cruz's Issue Tweet Analysis

Although Cruz had significantly fewer issue tweets than his democratic counterparts, (36%), the issue tweets tell a very clear story about the issues he most emphasizes in his campaign. Exactly half of Cruz's issue Tweets were related to terrorism, ISIS, or national security. These tweets exhibited a notably masculine tone, by emphasizing his strong leadership, his role as commander in chief, and his promise to "utterly destroy" ISIS. Figure 2, a tweet highlighting a comment

Cruz made in a
Republican debate,
shows a typical way
Cruz presents his



Figure 2: Typical Cruz Tweet on ISIS

foreign policy. Here Cruz clearly is trying to portray himself as a tough, masculine leader who is not afraid to stand up to terrorists.

ISSUE	% ISSUE TWEETS
Terrorism, ISIS, National Security	50%
Immigration Secure borders	22%
Flat tax plan/abolish the IRS	9%
Repeal Obama-care	6%
Eminent domain	4%
Defending the pledge of allegiance	4%
Defense of 10 commandments	3%
San Bernardino	3%
Pro life	3%
Defending the cross	1%
Fracking	1%
Constitution	1%
Business growth	1%

Table 12: Cruz's Top Issue Tweets

Most of Cruz's Tweets about ISIS were simple reiterations of the claim that if only a stronger president came into office, the US could defeat ISIS. On December 16, 2015, he tweeted: "America can win again, and we will win again. Our strategy is simple, we win, they lose." Cruz used similar rhetoric in his next top category of tweets—immigration and securing the borders. In these tweets he often framed securing the borders as a national security issue, using the common refrain "border security is national security" (December 17, 2016).

After terrorism and immigration, which made up 72% of all of his issue tweets, Cruz tweeted most about his flat tax plan, his promise to repeal Obama-care, and his defense of other various conservative issues. Overall Cruz tweeted

overwhelmingly about masculine issues. 79% of his tweets talked about only masculine issues, 8% focused on both masculine and feminine issues, and 13% focused on only feminine issues.

Personality Tweets

The next category of tweets I examined is titled “personality/character” tweets. These are tweets that highlight a candidate’s experience or character, or that reveal a candidate acting in a way that demonstrates an aspect of their personality. I included silly tweets or photos in this category. For example, one of Hillary Clinton’s tweets was a “selfie” taken of her and Jimmy Fallon making goofy faces. Other more traditional personality tweets included tweets in which a candidate would describe an element of their personality or character that make them well qualified for president. In Cruz’s personality tweets, for example, he frequently referred to himself as an anti-establishment, conservative, principled political outsider. Out of the three candidates Cruz had the most personality tweets—28%, followed by Clinton with 24% and Sanders with 17%.

The most common Tweets about Clinton’s personality portrayed her as determined, experienced, and able to stand up to “backwards republicans.” Tweets that talked about Clinton’s experienced often emphasized her foreign policy experience as Secretary of State, something that her opponent Bernie Sanders has less of. There is a tweet quoting the democratic debate, for example, that states: “We have a choice: elect a president with years of experience working with other leaders to keep the world safe, or not #DemDebate” (January 17, 2016). There were also a significant amount of tweets that seemed to portray a more personable side of Clinton by showing her interacting with supporters or popular celebrities.

The most common Tweets related to Sanders’s personality portrayed him as courageous, honorable, bold, and not afraid to stand up a corrupt political system. One tweet, for example,

from January 4th states: “At this moment in history we need proven leadership that’s prepared to stand up to the wealthiest and most powerful people in this country.” Although Sanders had the least number of outright personality tweets (17%), it is important to consider that many of his issue tweets, which I have shown most frequently talked about the greed on Wall Street, may implicitly add to the image of Sanders as a person with integrity, above the corruption he critiques. These Tweets were not included in my official personality tweet count, but contribute to a similar narrative that the personality tweets tell.

Opponent Attack Tweets

In the next category of Tweets, “opponent attack” I include tweets in which the candidate attacks either an opponent in their own party or in the opposing party. Out of the three candidates Clinton had the most opponent attack tweets, 18%, followed by Cruz with 16% and Sanders with only 9%. The vast majority of Clinton’s “opponent attack” tweets were tweets in which she criticized a Republican opponent or the Republican Party in general. For example, after Donald Trump made his comment about temporarily banning all Muslims from entering the country, Clinton responded with several Tweets condemning Trump’s comment. Figure 3 shows an example of a typical Republican “opponent attack” tweet from Clinton’s Twitter page. In this tweet Clinton not only attacks Trump for making a hateful comment but also suggests his comment is a threat to

our national security.

Given the

simultaneous moral

and practical critique

of Trump’s comment, I coded this



Figure 3: Typical Clinton Opponent Attack Tweet

tweet as both an emotional appeal tweet and an issue tweet in addition to an opponent attack tweet. Many of Sanders's opponent attack Tweets were also directed at the Republican Party. In the case of Ted Cruz, about half of his "opponent attack" tweets were directed at other Republicans, particularly Marco Rubio, while the other half were directed at the Democratic Party and the "Obama-Clinton administration."

Voter/Celebrity Involvement Tweets

An examination of "voter involvement" reveals one of the more prominent differences in the ways the candidates understood the function of their Twitter pages. Voter involvement tweets include tweets that encouraged voters to attend events, donate or volunteer for the campaign, or listen to a radio interview with the candidate. They also included tweets that posted fan letters from voters, or even tweets that directly responded to voter comments on Twitter. Out of the three candidates Cruz used his page the most to encourage this voter involvement—29% of his tweets involved direct communication with voters, most often encouraging them to donate or volunteer. Sanders and Clinton, who had respectively 14% and 11% voter tweets, used their pages less frequently for this function. Clinton's tweets in this category often featured letters from young girls who were inspired by her campaign and Sanders's Tweets in this category often encouraged Iowa and New Hampshire voters to turn out and "join the revolution."

Finally, I categorized "celebrity/organization endorsement" Tweets as tweets in which a candidate would quote someone who endorsed them or show them interacting with a celebrity or organization that supported their campaign. Cruz had the most celebrity/organization endorsement tweets, 18%, followed by Clinton with 8% and Sanders with only 3%. Cruz frequently referenced endorsements by Glenn Beck, Rick Perry, and Steve King, Clinton highlighted endorsements by Madeline Albright, Cecile Richards (the president of Planned

Parenthood), and Bill Clinton, and Sanders' few tweets in this category referenced the New York Times editorial board praising his immigration policy.

Gender plays a visible role in the voter involvement and celebrity endorsement tweets of both the Clinton and Cruz campaigns. Clinton's campaign emphasized the involvement of women and young girls as strong supporters of her campaign. Many of these endorsements suggested that Clinton would not only particularly advance women's rights as president, but that she would inspire generations of young girls to be as ambitious leaders of the future. In these categories more than any of the others it was evident that Clinton wanted to emphasize the symbolic importance of her being the first woman elected into office. She frequently highlighted endorsements from strong, important women like Albright, Richards, and even the famous woman soccer player, Abby Wambach. She also frequently posted letters from young girls who were inspired by her campaign. Figure 4 shows an example of this type of tweet.

Cruz, on the other hand, most frequently highlighted support from successful male conservative colleagues who emphasized his unwavering, conservative, strong principles. Sanders

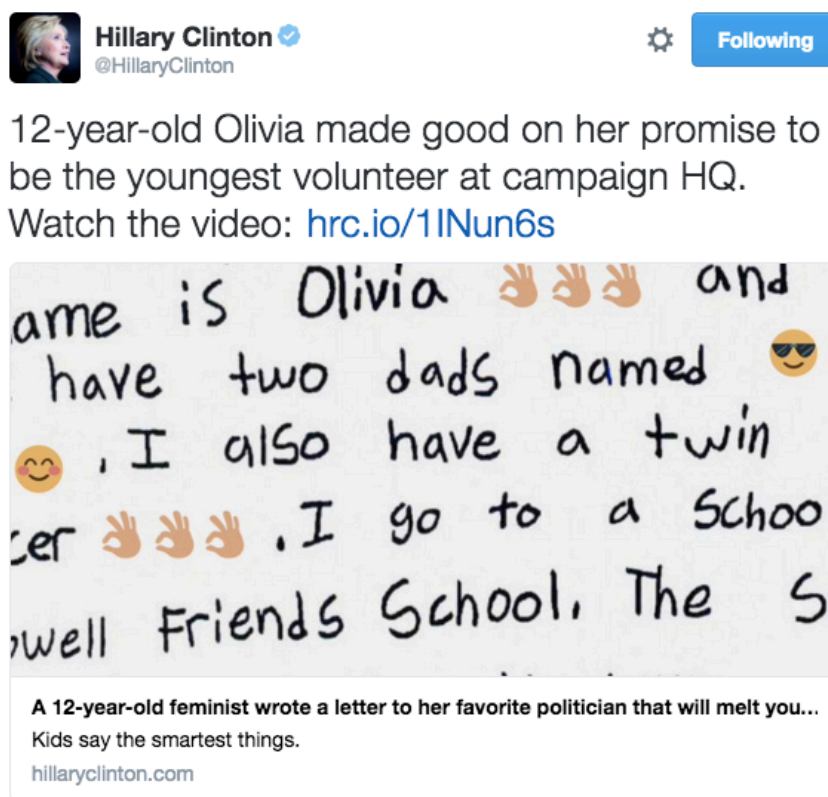


Figure 4: Hillary Tweet showing young girl's support

voter involvement/celebrity endorsements overall had less of a gendered element and focused more on his “peoples” campaign message.

In sum, each candidate’s Twitter page tells a distinct story about the campaign messages. Out of the three candidates Sanders had the most issue Tweets and Cruz had the least. Clinton highlighted feminine issues on her Twitter page with a particular focus on women’s rights. Sanders emphasized the regulation of the financial industry and the general moral decline of our current political establishment. Cruz emphasized the need to combat ISIS and elect a tough, masculine, presidential leader. In keeping with her focus on feminine issues, several of Clinton’s celebrity and voter endorsement Tweets emphasized her as an inspirational female figure whose career should inspire generations of women to come. Cruz’s endorsements, in stark contrast, emphasized his toughness, his principles, and his ability to keep the country safe. Sanders did not have as many celebrity endorsements, but often encouraged voters to join his grassroots, revolutionary campaign. The next section will further investigate the candidates’ messages by examining their campaign advertisements.

PART 2: CAMPAIGN ADVERTISEMENTS

Beyond Twitter, campaign advertisements continue to be an important and distinct avenue for candidates to communicate their campaign messages. There are two important distinctions between Twitter and campaign ads that may have a significant effect on the issues and stories we see in each forum. First, Twitter is a relatively new phenomenon and typically attracts younger users. More traditional campaign advertisements played on radio and TV are thus most likely aimed at an older, perhaps more moderate, voter base. Secondly, unlike Twitter campaign advertisements can be catered to a particular region or state where those ads are aired. Because the candidates were primarily campaigning in Iowa and New Hampshire during the months of December and January, I analyze all of the available campaign ads circulated in these two states during these months for each candidate. I analyzed 9-13 advertisements for each candidate and a total of 32 advertisements.

Types of Advertisements

I separated each campaign ad into one of three categories—ads with an issue focus, ads with a character focus, and ads that were a combination of the two. Although most of the advertisements I looked at had some combination of issue and character focus, I only included ads in this category that had an equal emphasis on the candidate's character and on the issue itself. For example, many of Ted Cruz's issue ads about immigration, had an equal emphasis on his record on fighting the "gang of 8 bill" as well as his unwavering promise to secure the border. I categorized issue ads as ads that were framed through a particular issue or problem in which the candidate proposed specific solutions to. I categorize character ads as ads that may focus on particular important qualities in the candidate, highlight the candidate's experience, tell the candidate's personal story, or highlight qualities that would make them a good leader. Some

of these ads referenced multiple issues, but still primarily focused on the candidate's character in their support for those issues.

Candidate	Issue Focus	Character Focus	Combination
Clinton	50%	30%	20%
Sanders	31%	38%	31%
Cruz	11%	33%	56%

Table 13: Types of Campaign Ads by Candidate

Table 13 provides a breakdown of the type of campaign ads for each candidate. Clinton had significantly more ads that were issue focused, 50%, than her two male counterparts. Sanders had the most character ads, 38%. This differs from the pattern we see on his Twitter page, where he had the least amount of character/personality Tweets. That said, Sanders still had substantially more issue-focused ads than Cruz, who had the most “combination” ads.

Hillary Clinton's Campaign Advertisements

Table 14 shows a breakdown of the issues talked about in Hillary Clinton's campaign advertisements. As shown in the chart, the top issue emphasized by far was health care, with 70% of her ads mentioning health care or health related problems, and 30% with a health care focus. Many of these health care ads showed video footage of American families who could not afford health care or medication. In her ad titled “Aidan,” for example Clinton shows the story of a mother, Lynn, who cannot afford medication for her sick son, Aidan. Clinton then goes on to explain her plan to address the problems of the high cost of drugs, with specific proposals such as cracking down on price gouging and capping out of pocket costs. During the first part of Clinton's narration the music has a distinctly solemn tone and we see video footage of Lynn at the drug store looking concerned as she buys medication and Lynn giving the medication to her

young son Aidan. After Clinton explains her plan, the background music shifts to a more hopeful tone and video footage is shown of Lynn hugging her son, laughing with her son, and finally, hugging Hillary Clinton. While Clinton does not specifically talk about women's issues, her choice to highlight the story of a single mother and highlight maternal images such as the mother playing with her son and later, Clinton embracing the mother herself, gave the overall ad a feminine tone. Although the ad was primarily issue-focused, the imagery behind it contributed a depiction of Clinton as a nurturing, motherly figure.

Not all of Clinton's ads talked about feminine issues or portrayed Clinton in such a feminine manner. Unlike her Twitter page, which did not discuss foreign policy very frequently, the second most emphasized issue for Clinton in her campaign advertisements was her foreign policy. 50% of Clinton's advertisements mentioned her foreign policy stances and 20% focused solely on her foreign policy. One potential explanation for this difference is that Clinton was appealing to an older voter base in these advertisements, with voters who may care more about national security than younger voters. Additionally, many of the advertisements that mentioned Hillary Clinton's foreign policy also emphasized her character and experience as Secretary of State. The quality of having experience may be more appealing to an older voter base than a younger voter base, who may be more attracted to a candidate who emphasizes change.

Hillary Clinton's ads about national security portrayed her character in a slightly more masculine manner, emphasizing her toughness and commitment to her role as a world leader. An ad titled "Secure," for example, opens with Clinton speaking in a passionate voice saying "America is not just electing a president it is electing a commander in chief and that choice matters." She then goes on to point out that domestic issues such as strengthening the economy and making health care more affordable depend on making sure we are "safe at home." This

perhaps shows that she is trying to appeal to voters who may not see domestic issues as more important than foreign policy issues. The ad ends with footage of Clinton making a speech saying “I will get up every single day and do whatever it takes to make sure our country is safe and strong.” This statement contributes to an image of Clinton as not only tough, but also hard-

Table 14: Issues in Clinton Campaign Ads

Issue	% Ads in which issue appears	% Ads with issue as primary focus
Health Care	70%	30%
Foreign policy	50%	20%
Women’s Issues	40%	0%
Economic Plan to strengthen middle class	30%	10%
Gun control	10%	10%
Danger of GOP candidate	10%	10%
Human Rights	10%	0%

working and determined.

Although Clinton’s campaign ads did not focus as directly on women’s issues as her Twitter page, with no ads that primarily focuses on women’s issues, she does mention women’s issues in conversation with other issues in 40% of her

campaign advertisements. Her ads about the economy, for example, mentioned equal pay for women as one of the specific policies she would pursue. Two of her character ads also mentioned her history of pursuing women’s rights at a UN convention in China and fighting against women’s abuse internationally. Finally, her one ad that attacked the GOP party emphasized their plan to defund Planned Parenthood.

Overall Clinton had more ads that focused on primarily masculine issues, 50%, than those that focused on only feminine issues, 30%. That said, an overall analysis of the content in the ads suggests she mentioned feminine issues more frequently than masculine issues in her ads. This indicates that although some of Clinton’s campaign ads portrayed her as a more traditional

masculine candidate, she continually weaved feminine issues and perspectives into these advertisements.

Bernie Sanders Campaign Advertisements

Like on his Twitter page, the most common issue that Sanders discussed in his campaign advisements was our rigged, corrupt political economy, an issue that appeared in 46% of his ads during the months of December and January and was the primary focus of 23% of his advertisements. These ads frequently also talked about the need to create a living wage, support working families, and overcome the large income gap in our country. These ads were mostly presented in a dark tone, discussing the danger of the high levels of corruption behind our current

Issue	% Ads in which issue appears	% Ads with issue as primary focus
Rigged, corrupt political economy	46%	23%
Health Care/social security	38%	23%
Living wage, working families	23%	8%
Inequality	23%	8%
College affordability	23%	0%
Foreign Policy	15%	8%
Veterans Rights	15%	0%
Climate Change	15%	0%
Equal Pay for women	15%	0%

Table 15: Sanders Campaign Advertisements

political system.

One of the ads about the regulation of Wall Street that got a particular amount of attention because of the Clinton campaign's reaction to the ad, is called "Two Visions." In this ad Bernie Sanders starts out by saying: "there are two democratic visions for regulating Wall Street," suggesting that his vision differs distinctly

from his democratic competitor, Hillary Clinton. He continues, "One says its okay to take

billions from big banks, then tell them what to do” (Sanders, Two Visions). He then explains his own vision, which is to break up the big banks and close tax loopholes that benefit large banks. In this advertisement Sanders subtly accuses Clinton of having close ties to the banks on Wall Street by accepting their money. In this ad Sanders also constructs a narrative of himself as the only candidate unafraid to stand up to Wall Street. He concludes the ad with a close up of him looking at the camera and asking: “Will they like me? [referring to big banks] No. Will they begin to follow the rules if I am President? You better believe it.” Here he continues to paint himself as an outsider to traditional corrupt political behavior who is not afraid to stand up to big banks.

After regulation of the financial industry, Sander’s next top issue discussed was health care and social security. Many of these ads discussed the corruption of large pharmaceutical companies, utilizing a similar tone as the ads about the corruption of big banks. In one of these ads, for example, titled “Mari,” a nurse narrates an advertisement about the current problems in our health care system. She explains how many people don’t have access to health care because they can’t afford it. She then explains that “Bernie Sanders understands how pharmaceutical companies and major medical companies are ripping us off” and that “the system is rigged.” She also speaks about his character by pointing out that “Bernie tells the truth and he has been consistent.” Again, although this advertisement focuses on health care, it contributes to the same narrative of Sanders fighting against powerful institutions that are taking advantage of working Americans. Additionally, like Clinton’s ad that focused on the struggles of a young single mother, Sanders’s choice to focus on the story of a female nurse shows that he, too, may be trying to show that he supports women and listens to their individual stories.

A recurring set of images that we see in several of Sanders's campaign ads is video footage of individuals doing their daily jobs, interacting with Sanders, laughing, and cheering for Sanders. One ad, titled "America," particularly exemplifies this theme. The ad has no words but is set to Simon and Garfunkel's folk rock song, "America". The ad starts by showing images of various people doing daily activities—a man milking a cow, a woman working in an office, a father walking in a snow covered yard with his daughter, and a family with a young baby eating at the dinner table. It then goes on to show ecstatic supporters at Bernie events—a couple dancing with a Bernie banner in the background, people shouting with Bernie signs, and Bernie shaking hands and laughing with voters. During the chorus of the song "They all come to look for America" there is a montage of headshots of people from a set of diverse ages and ethnicities with the text on the screen that displays the words in the song. Although neither Bernie nor his supporters actually speak in the ad, Sanders still conveys a clear message—that he cares about all types of Americans and that his campaign is giving ordinary Americans hope for the America that they are looking for. This sentiment of hope is solidified by the final image of the ad, footage of Sanders laughing and grinning after giving his campaign speech.

Overall Sanders had significantly more ads that primarily focused on feminine issues than masculine issues. That said, he had less of a focus on explicit "women's issues," which were only mentioned in 15% of his ads, in reference to equal pay for women. In terms of character traits, his ads often referenced his character in a more masculine way—highlighting his courageous attitude, his ability to lead, and stand up to powerful corporations. These characteristics, which Sanders or supporters would often express vocally, were coupled with more feminine caring images of him hugging supporters and interacting with voters on the ground.

Ted Cruz's Campaign Advertisements

The issues emphasized in Ted Cruz's campaign advertisements clearly echo the issues he talked about on his Twitter page. The top two issues in Cruz's campaign ads were terrorism/foreign policy and the need to secure our borders. The ads related to these issues often constructed Cruz's character in a masculine way, emphasizing his courage, conviction, and ability to lead as a commander in chief. Many of these ads also emphasized the danger our country is in under the Obama administration and his promise to stand up to our enemies.

Cruz's ad titled "win," which discusses both border security and terrorism, particularly embodies these themes. The ad starts out with Cruz speaking directly to the camera, formally dressed, in a room with an American flag in the background. He begins: "Securing our borders

Issue	% of ads in which issue appears	% of ads with issue as primary focus
Terrorism/ Foreign Policy	44%	22%
Immigration, Securing our borders	33%	33%
Trump's values	11%	11%
Religious liberties	11%	11%
Repeal Obama-care	11%	0%
National debt	11%	0%
Strengthen families	11%	0%
Pro-life	11%	0%
Gun rights	11%	0%

Table 16: Cruz Issue Advertisements

and stopping illegal immigration is a matter of national security." He then goes on to explain that he fought hard to defeat President Obama's bipartisan "Gang of 8 Amnesty plan," which, he says would have allowed Obama to admit Syrian refugees and ISIS terrorists. The ad ends with video footage of Cruz speaking at a campaign rally, declaring: "When it comes to defeating radical Islamic terrorism I think we need to rediscover Ronald

Reagan's strategy—we win, they lose.” This theme of domination and winning has a clear masculine tone and seeks to make Obama and Clinton's foreign policy look weak in comparison. Finally, Cruz implicitly suggests that all outsiders are enemies by equating illegal immigrants with ISIS terrorists and stating that illegal immigration is primarily a national security issue. Cruz's focus on “the enemy” contributes to his efforts to portray himself as a masculine leader who can protect our country.

Besides national security, Cruz emphasized his pure principles, his religion, and his support for traditionally conservative issues such as his pro-life stance, his desire to “strengthen families,” and his support of gun rights. One ad, an endorsement from Iowa representative Steven King, particularly emphasizes Cruz's faith as an important reason to support him. He says “for almost a year now my prayer has been that god would raise up a leader that he will use to restore the soul of America.” He then goes on to say that Senator Ted Cruz is that leader because he understands that we need to defeat the Islamic State, cut down national debt, and strengthen families. Representative King ends with a call to Iowans to caucus on February first and “do [their] duty for God and country.” Although the issues that King mentions have nothing to do with religion, his endorsement is clearly framed as a way to remind voters of Cruz's faith and appeal to that Evangelical conservative voter base in Iowa.

Overall, other than Cruz's focus on religious liberties and his stance on abortion, the issues that his ads discuss are overwhelmingly masculine. This emphasis fits in with the masculine character he clearly attempts to embody through his focus on tough leadership and national security. This masculine message is very clear throughout both Cruz's advertisements and his Tweets.

Conclusion

Overall, it is clear that while there are some variations in the issues and traits emphasized on each candidate's Twitter pages and in their campaign advertisements, there are certain narratives that are consistent throughout the candidates' campaign materials. Although Clinton did not emphasize women's issues as distinctly in her campaign advertisements as on her Twitter page, she still weaved in women's issues into 40% of her advertisements. Moreover, while she talked more about foreign policy in her campaign advertisements than on her Twitter page, her focus on feminine issues such as health care is consistent in both forums. Bernie Sanders consistently emphasized the need to regulate the financial industry and overthrow a corrupt political system throughout his campaign materials. Ted Cruz repeatedly emphasized the need to combat ISIS and protect our country from outside threats. The next chapter will compare these narratives to the newspaper narratives about each candidate explored in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 6

COMPARING CANDIDATE MESSAGES TO NEWSPAPER COVERAGE

Overall the top issues that I found in each candidate's campaign materials were reflected in their media coverage to some degree, with some inevitable variations in how much the candidates emphasized particular issues and the tone and content of the coverage. My findings suggest that these variations were more prominent in the newspaper coverage of Hillary Clinton than for Cruz or Sanders. Specifically I find that Hillary Clinton's emphasis on women's issues and feminine issues on both her Twitter page and in her campaign advertisements were not reflected in her media coverage, which focused on her position on masculine issues.

Additionally, Clinton's personal coverage emphasized negative masculine traits despite her attempt to portray a more caring, feminine image on her Twitter page and in her campaign advertisements. The overall personal coverage for Cruz and Sanders, on the other hand, better reflected both the issues and the personal traits that they highlighted in their campaign materials.

In this chapter I argue that the media has constructed a narrow image of Hillary Clinton that prevents them from accepting new narratives that she has put forth in her campaign this season. Because journalists are more likely to focus on negative masculine traits of Clinton, they are also more likely to cover her stances on masculine issues, better fitting into the narrative of Clinton as defying feminine norms. Finally, the media was more likely to punish Clinton for engaging in typical "masculine" political behavior. In this chapter I first compare the different types of coverage by the media to the candidate's message types. I will then show that the media did a better job covering the most emphasized issues for Cruz and Sanders than for Clinton.

Finally, I will re-consider the personal coverage of all three candidates by comparing it to the personal narratives they built in their own campaigns.

Comparing Types of Messages

As you may recall, Chapter 4 looks at the frequency of three types of frameworks in the newspaper coverage of each candidate—issue frameworks, personal frameworks, and horse race frameworks. In their own campaign materials, candidates utilized little to no horse race frameworks to convey their messages, but as shown in Chapter 5, they did use both issue and personal frameworks on their Twitter pages and in their campaign advertisements. This section will examine the extent to which differences between candidates in the frequency of issue and personal frameworks reflect real differences in their campaign materials. The direct quantitative comparison of the “types” of frameworks utilized for each candidate on its own is somewhat limited because tweets and campaign advertisements have different formats than written newspaper articles, which may bring out certain types of frameworks more than others. A newspaper article, for example, has more flexibility to utilize multiple frameworks to cover a candidate than a tweet. These limitations considered, my analysis focuses on the relative amount of personal and issue coverage of each candidate compared to the relative amount of personal and issue frameworks utilized in each candidate’s campaign materials. This relative comparison offers an entry point into understanding whether or not variations in the frequencies of frameworks utilized to cover each candidate reflect real differences in the tones of those candidates’ campaign messages.

Personal Coverage

In Chapter four I revealed that Hillary Clinton received more personal coverage, 64%, than her male counterparts. One potential explanation for the media’s greater emphasis on

personal coverage for Clinton is that she emphasized her character more than Sanders and Cruz. This was not the case. On Clinton's Twitter page she tweeted only 24% of the time about her personality or character. This was slightly more than Sanders, who tweeted 17% of the time about his character, but less than Cruz who tweeted 28% of the time about his character. Additionally, Clinton's campaign advertisements emphasized her character slightly less than both those of Cruz and Sanders. Only 50% of Clinton's ads utilized a character or combination framework compared to 69% for Sanders and 89% for Cruz. Thus, if anything, Clinton's campaign materials had overall slightly less of an emphasis on her character and personality than her two male counterparts. Ted Cruz, on the other hand, emphasized his personality and character on his Twitter Page and in his campaign advertisements more than both Sanders and Clinton. The fact that Cruz received more personal coverage than Sanders, thus more accurately reflects differences in their campaigns. Given Cruz's heavy emphasis on personal coverage, it is surprising that he received less personal coverage than Clinton. This supports the hypothesis that women receive more personal coverage than men, controlling for Clinton's own campaign message.

Issue Coverage

In Chapter four I show that Sanders received the most issue coverage of the three candidates and Cruz received the least. This finding matches up fairly accurately with the candidates' Twitter pages but less accurately with their campaign advertisements. Sanders had the most issue tweets out of the three candidates, 78%, followed by Clinton with 57% and Cruz with 36%. In terms of campaign advertisements, however, Clinton had more issue focused ads, 50%, compared to Sanders with 31% and Cruz with only 11%. We can thus concretely conclude that the fact that Cruz received the least issue coverage of the three candidates accurately reflects

the tone of his campaign materials and perhaps the tone of the Republican race in general. Considering the democratic candidates' Twitter pages and campaign advertisements together, however, suggests that the greater number of issue stories about Sanders than the number of issue stories about Clinton does not reflect an overall greater emphasis on issues in Sanders campaign materials. Just looking at the results from these two campaign forums, one may speculate that all things being equal in the amount candidates emphasize issues male candidates such as Sanders are more likely to receive issue coverage than their female counterparts. Further research into other forums that the candidates utilized to share their messages would need to be done to further support this claim.

Breaking Down the Issues

Sanders

The issues most emphasized in the media coverage of Sanders match up well with those most emphasized in his campaign materials. On Sanders's Twitter page, he focused the largest number of his issue-tweets on the regulation of the financial industry, Wall Street, and large corporations. Similarly, the most-mentioned issue in his campaign advertisements was the need to fix our rigged, corrupt, political economy. Finally, regulating Wall Street and the financial industry was the top issue that appeared in articles about Sanders, reflecting an accurate coverage of his campaign. The same parallels are found in the Twitter Page, campaign advertisements, and newspaper coverage of health care and social security, the second most common issue talked about for Sanders in all of these forums.

The next top issue mentioned in articles about Sanders was foreign policy/ISIS, which was not a top issue mentioned in his Twitter page and only the sixth top issue mentioned in his campaign advertisements. He did, however, have an entire ad devoted to his foreign policy. One

potential explanation for the greater frequency of ISIS as an issue that appeared in articles about Bernie Sanders is that foreign policy and ISIS was an issue that was generally present in the news during this campaign season and an issue that was slightly more prevalent in Clinton's campaign. Many of the articles collected about Sanders talked about Clinton's campaign as well and her foreign policy stance. This might explain the greater focus on foreign policy in Sanders media coverage.

The next top issues mentioned in Sanders media coverage at fairly even frequencies— income inequality, free tuition for public universities, climate change, paid family leave and campaign finance reform—were all top issues in Sanders' campaign materials. Gun control was another issue that appeared in the media coverage of Sanders but not as much on his Twitter page or in his campaign advertisements. Again, this was an issue that Clinton emphasized and thus may have come through in articles that discussed Clinton and Sanders in conversation. Overall, besides a greater emphasis on foreign policy and gun control in his media coverage, we see a fairly clear match up between the top issues emphasized in Sander's campaign and the top issues we see in his media coverage.

Another way to understand how well the media covers the candidates' messages is to look at the coverage of particular types of gendered issues and see how it matches up to the candidate's own emphasis on specific gendered issues. Table 17 shows a break down of the masculine and feminine issue types on Bernie Sanders's Twitter page, in his campaign advertisements, and in his newspaper coverage. Although there is some variation in how much masculine or feminine issues were discussed in conversation versus discussed alone (most likely due to differences in the type of forum), overall all three categories reveal a greater emphasis on feminine issues than masculine issues in Sanders campaign. Sanders campaign ads and

newspaper article issue focus match up particularly well. This is most likely because these venues leave more room to discuss multiple issues in conversation. That said, in each of the three forums we see a clear focus on feminine issues emphasized in Sander’s campaign.

Forum	Feminine Only Issue Discussion	Masculine Only Issue Discussion	Both Feminine and Masculine Issue Discussion
Tweets	58%	36%	6%
Campaign Ads	50%	8%	42%
Newspaper Articles	41%	7%	52%

Table 17: Sanders’s Gendered-Issue Breakdown

Cruz

Cruz’s media coverage mostly reflected the issues he emphasized in his campaign materials. Cruz’s heavily emphasized his foreign policy and his stance on ISIS on his Twitter page and in his campaign advertisements. Similarly 39% of the issue articles I collected focused on his foreign policy. The second top issue in Cruz’s campaign material was immigration and the need to secure our borders. This was the third top issue in his newspaper coverage, with 15% of issue articles collected mentioning his immigration policies.

One divergence in the media coverage of Cruz and his campaign materials was his stance on ethanol and the renewable fuel standard. Although this was the second top issue mentioned in his newspaper coverage, with 17% of Cruz’s issue articles focused on the controversy, it was an issue that he did not mention at all in his own campaign materials. As discussed in Chapter 4, Cruz’s unpopular stance on the renewable fuel standard led to the creation of an anti-Cruz campaign in Iowa, which organized a bus to follow his own campaign around and continually protest his candidacy and his stance on renewable fuel. This strong reaction among Iowans to

Cruz's position on ethanol is certainly news worthy—these activists did not only publically announce that they did not support Cruz, they actively campaigned against him. The news coverage of Cruz's stance on this issue thus does not reflect a misrepresentation of Cruz's campaign, but rather an issue that was brought up consistently and forcefully by Cruz's opponents.

The other issues top issues mentioned in the media coverage of Cruz at fairly equal frequencies—his pro-life stance, his promise to repeal Obama-care, and his focus on religious liberties, were all reflected in his Twitter page and in his campaign advertisements. His pro-marriage stance, which was mentioned in 10% of articles written about him was not reflected as much in his campaign materials. However, this pro-marriage stance is often masked in language that emphasizes religious liberties (such as the right of a priest to refuse marrying a homosexual couple) or the need to strengthen families. He also may have discussed this issue more to particular conservative audiences in Iowa that he knew would agree with him, than on a national Twitter page or in a more widely viewed campaign advertisement.

Cruz's flat tax plan was the third top issue he tweeted about but was not an issue reflected as much in his newspaper coverage. This is not a huge gap in media coverage, however, for several reasons. First, Cruz's tax plan was not mentioned at all in any of his campaign advertisements. Secondly, only 36% of Cruz's Tweets were issue tweets, so he clearly did not place as much value on Twitter as a mode to communicate his stance on issues. Finally, even though it was the third top issue he tweeted about, he only tweeted about his flat tax plan 9% of the time, compared to terrorism 50% of the time and immigration 22% of the time. Thus while perhaps there is a slight discrepancy in the media's coverage of Cruz's stance on this issue, it clearly is not a defining issue in Cruz's campaign. Overall, although there were some variations

in the media coverage of Cruz and his campaign materials, we see that the defining issues that are reflected in his campaign materials at extremely high frequencies—ISIS and the need to secure our borders—are also reflected in high frequencies in his media coverage.

Forum	Feminine Only Issue Discussion	Masculine Only Issue Discussion	Both Feminine and Masculine Issue Discussion
Tweets	13%	79%	8%
Campaign Ads	22%	56%	22%
Newspaper Articles	7%	56%	37%

Table 18: Cruz Gendered Issue Breakdown

Finally, Table 18 shows the

comparison of the types of issues emphasized in Cruz’s campaign to the types of issues in his newspaper coverage. Again, while there are variations in the exact percentages in masculine only/ versus both masculine and feminine discussion due to differences in each forum, we still see an overall alignment in the focus on more masculine issues than feminine issues in Cruz’s campaign materials and his media coverage. This is not surprising due to the heavy emphasis on ISIS and immigration in both the campaign materials and newspaper coverage.

Clinton

The top issues emphasized in Hillary Clinton’s media coverage did not match up as well with the top issues in her campaign as it did for her male counterparts. The number one issue covered in articles about Hillary Clinton was terrorism and the need to combat ISIS—this was an issue mentioned in 30% of articles about Clinton. Looking at Clinton’s Twitter page alone, it would seem that the media highly overstates her emphasis on foreign policy in her campaign. On her Twitter page foreign policy was only the fifth top issue that she tweeted about, representing

7% of her issue tweets. Clinton's campaign advertisements did emphasize her foreign policy more, however. Clinton's foreign policy was mentioned in 50% of her advertisements and two of the ten ads primarily focused on her foreign policy. Overall it was the second most emphasized issue in her advertisements. That said, a closer look at her foreign policy advertisements shows that the media's coverage of Clinton's foreign policy differed from her foreign policy emphasis in her campaign advertisements. The vast majority of the articles written about Clinton focused on her plan to combat terrorism and ISIS. In her campaign advertisements, however, Clinton does not mention ISIS once. Rather, she emphasizes her experience as Secretary of State and her preparedness to be a world leader. Like in the case of Sanders, it is possible that the media over-emphasized ISIS in Clinton's media coverage because ISIS is currently a highly covered timely news issue in general.

Several of the next top issues emphasized in the media coverage of Clinton better reflected the issues emphasized in her campaign materials. Health care, for example was the second top issue mentioned in her media coverage, the most emphasized issue in her campaign advertisements, and the third most emphasized issue on her Twitter page. Gun control was the next top issue covered in her media coverage, the second top issue on her Twitter page, and another top issue in her campaign advertisements.

The most obvious discrepancy between the campaign coverage of Clinton and the issue most emphasized in her campaign was women's issues—women's issues, including paid family leave, abortion, and equal pay, were the top issues that Clinton tweeted about, making up 22% of her issue tweets. They were also mentioned in 40% of her campaign advertisements, clearly representing a fundamental component of Clinton's campaign message. Despite this focus, women's issues were only discussed in 14% of articles sampled, tied with the economy for the

fifth top issue discussed in newspaper articles about Clinton. Clearly there is a distinct gap between Clinton's emphasis on women's interests and her coverage of this issue in the media. Unlike some of the discrepancies we saw in Cruz's and Sanders's issue coverage, whose top two campaign issues were at least highly covered by the media, this was a defining issue in all of Clinton's campaign materials and was vastly understated in her media coverage.

Other feminine issues that Clinton emphasized on her Twitter page were also under-emphasized in her media coverage. LGBTQ rights, for example, was tied for the third most tweeted about issue on her Twitter page, but was tied for only the sixth most talked about issue in her campaign coverage. On the flip side, the media tended to over-emphasize Clinton's stance on more masculine issues. Her tax proposals, for example, were tied for the third most frequently discussed issue in Clinton's media coverage, even though they only appeared in 3% of her issue tweets and did not appear in any of her campaign advertisements.

Table 19 provides a breakdown of the comparison of masculine/feminine issue discussion in Clinton's tweets, campaign advertisements, and newspaper coverage. The Table shows that Clinton's Twitter focuses heavily on feminine issues. Her campaign ads talked most frequently

Forum	Feminine Only Issue Discussion	Masculine Only Issue Discussion	Both Feminine and Masculine Issue Discussion
Tweets	62%	21%	17%
Campaign Ads	30%	10%	60%
Newspaper Articles	12%	36%	52%

Table 19: Hillary Clinton Gender Issue Breakdown

about feminine and masculine issues together, but she still had more feminine-only issue

advertisements—30%—compared to only 10% masculine-only issue advertisements. One caveat that is not reflected in this graph is that 40% of her ads focused primarily on one masculine issue, compared to 30% which focused on primarily one feminine issue. The table still reveals that Clinton weaved in feminine issues into more of her advertisements than she did masculine issues. Her newspaper coverage, however, is heavily skewed toward a focus on more masculine issues. Only 12% of newspaper articles talked about Clinton’s stance on only feminine issues, compared to 36% that talked about her stance on only masculine issues. Clearly the media’s greater focus on Clinton’s stance on masculine issues misrepresents her campaign’s greater focus on feminine issues. This degree of misrepresentation was not found in the media coverage of either Bernie Sanders, who emphasized more feminine issues like Clinton, nor Ted Cruz, who emphasized more masculine issues.

Personal Coverage

Although I did not quantitatively measure the frequency of the specific personal characteristics mentioned about each candidate on their Twitter pages and campaign advertisements, it was easy to determine that there was a greater discrepancy between the personal characteristics that Clinton highlighted in her campaign materials and those that the media covered, compared to her male counterparts.

As you may recall in chapter four, the top personality traits mentioned in the campaign coverage in Clinton were articles that questioned her corrupt political history, articles that suggested she was politically calculating, and articles that described her as un-trustworthy. On her Twitter page she emphasized her qualities as determined, experienced, and able to stand up to backwards Republicans. Similarly, the campaign advertisements that focused on her character repeatedly emphasized her experience, determination, and ability to “get the job done.” Only one

of the 72 articles I examined clearly highlighted Clinton’s experience and only two described her as tenacious, or able to get the job done. Another common descriptor used by the media was “opponent basher”—articles that suggested Clinton slams or attacks opponents—perhaps reflects her own depiction of herself as able to stand up to Republicans. While the media often does exaggerate fights between candidates for their own purposes, these adjectives were not commonly used to describe Sanders or Cruz, who both criticized their opponents in their campaign materials. Cruz, in particular, participated in a race that was full of opponent attacks, so it is surprising that this narrative was found more in Clinton’s coverage than in Cruz’s.

The personality traits for Sanders and Cruz matched up better with their own depictions of themselves in their campaign materials. Several of Sander’s campaign advertisements described him as visionary or showed him inspiring huge crowds of people—these were the top descriptors in Sanders campaign advertisements. His Twitter page and campaign ads also emphasized his honesty, sincerity, and boldness, all characteristics frequently used to describe Sanders in his media coverage. Cruz’s top descriptor in his media coverage was “uncompromising/unwavering.” Although not everyone would perceive this as a positive characteristic, Cruz frequently emphasized his “unwavering principles” both on his Twitter page and in campaign advertisements. In his campaign materials he also repeatedly described himself as a candidate who would be able to “shake up the establishment.” The second most common personal descriptor used to describe Cruz as “anti-establishment”—accurately reflecting his own depiction of himself in his campaign.

Implications

How can we begin to explain the discrepancies in Clinton’s newspaper coverage to her own campaign messages? Before considering gender, there are a few important particularities to

note about Hillary Clinton's candidacy that may partially explain her uneven media coverage. First of all, Hillary Clinton is the only of the three candidates who went into the race as the frontrunner. Frontrunners typically receive more attacks, especially by the opposing party. Some of the more negative personal media coverage thus may reflect a greater number of Republicans attacking Clinton because they are more threatened by her candidacy than the candidacy of Sanders. Additionally, Clinton does have more of a political history of tense relationships with the media than any of the three candidates. Journalists may be less likely to perceive her campaign materials at face value, given what they already know about her political history.

That said, it is also important to consider how to account for that tense relationship in the first place. I suggest here that Clinton's gender and continual presence as a female in a male dominated domain has exacerbated her tense relationship with the media, and her political history and connection with the former president of the United States, has made it more difficult for her to create new narratives about herself as a candidate for presidency. Her status as "an only" in a masculine sphere has increased the public and media's memory and critique of her past and made it more difficult for her to control her own current campaign message.

One clear manifestation of this lack of control that may not be obvious by simply reading newspaper articles is the media's heavy emphasis on covering masculine rather than feminine issues for Clinton's candidacy, despite her campaign's own greater focus on feminine issues. Previous research suggests that the media has a limited number of frameworks for covering female candidates. These include characterizations of female candidates as a mother, a child, a seductress, or an 'iron maiden.' Throughout her career, the media has often utilized the "iron maiden" framework to describe Hillary Clinton—suggesting that she is overly and unnaturally masculine and that she has lost touch with her femininity. Scholars have found that her 2008

media coverage, in particular, utilized this framework by emphasizing her toughness. (Dolan, Deckmen, and Swers, 2016).

Clinton's 2016 campaign perhaps made a concerted effort to fight this stereotype by highlighting her stance on feminine issues and women's issues, emphasizing her relationship with women on her Twitter page, devoting ads that share the stories of women and families, and actively seeking and highlighting endorsement from major women's organizations such as Planned Parenthood, or feminist icons such as Madeline Albright and Gloria Steinem. These efforts were not reflected in Clinton's media coverage, which overly emphasized her stance on masculine issues such as ISIS and her tax proposals, and underemphasized her discussion specifically of women's issues such as abortion, equal pay, and paid family leave. Perhaps the media were less willing to cover Clinton's stance on these issues because that would contradict the established narrative of Clinton as a politically calculating iron maiden who is unconcerned with more feminine issues. Some scholars, such as Lawrence and Rose (2010) argued that Clinton should have "ran as a woman" in 2008 to fight stereotypes of her as an overly masculine, stern woman. It seems that in this election this is exactly what Clinton tried to do. Despite her efforts, however, the media still seem to refuse to accept this more feminine image of Clinton.

The particular political circumstances of the 2016 election cycle perhaps provided a prime context to exacerbate this narrative, especially with the presence of one of the most progressive and radical candidates that Democrats have seen in years, Bernie Sanders. Like Clinton, Bernie Sanders focuses more on feminine issues in his campaign. He also introduces a new "anti-establishment" narrative the election cycle, which provides a forum to amplify the narrative of Clinton as the masculine, establishment candidate. In this context, she is more likely to be perceived as someone with a corrupt political history than as someone who is experienced

and well qualified for the job. Clinton's gender as a woman, also contributes to a popular narrative among progressives that she "bought into" a male establishment system rather than fought against it. These narratives I would argue, would not catch on as easily to a male candidate, who most likely would not have had to work so hard to become part of the political system in the first place.

CONCLUSION

Isolating gender as the reason behind the type of media coverage of any one particular candidate is a challenging, if not almost impossible task. This thesis has shown, however, that in a snapshot of newspaper articles and campaign materials, we can observe concrete differences in the type and accuracy of media coverage between the one female candidate in the race, Hillary Clinton, and two of her male counterparts with vastly different messages in the 2016 elections. Given the particularities of Clinton's history, it is important to realize that she does not represent all female candidates. That said, I have shown that her gender negatively influences her media coverage, perhaps just in a different way than other female candidates.

First, my research shows that Hillary Clinton received more personal coverage than her two male counterparts, Sanders and Cruz, despite the fact that she emphasized her character and personality least in her campaign materials out of the three candidates. This gap in media coverage is particularly reflected by the fact that Clinton received more personal coverage than Ted Cruz, a candidate with an extreme personality who emphasizes his character frequently in his campaign materials and has participated in a Republican primary highly focused on personal attacks. This finding supports previous scholarly research that shows the media utilizes personal frameworks to describe women candidates more than their male counterparts.

Secondly, my research shows that the personal coverage of Clinton was notably more negative than the personal coverage of Sanders and Cruz. Clinton was often characterized as a candidate with a corrupt political history who has participated in corrupt behavior to advance her own goals. As the only famous frontrunner with a political history in various high level positions, it is certainly probable that the particularities of Hillary Clinton's political history are

partially responsible for her greater amount of negative coverage and this narrative. That said, Clinton's relationship with the media has always been notably tense and it would be an oversight to not consider gender in the construction of the negative narrative that has been built around Clinton over the years.

One clear manifestation of differentiated coverage is the media's extreme obsession with Clinton's "email scandal." Even five months after the Benghazi hearings and after the issue had largely been resolved, the media still continued to focus on the Scandal in December and January. This perhaps contributed to the existing narrative that Clinton was untrustworthy. Although Sanders and Cruz both had similar technology mishaps that may have reflected some levels of corruption, these stories did not gain nearly as much attention in the news, even though they broke in the months of December and January.

Why does the media have so much success in continually constructing this narrative of Clinton as an untrustworthy, politically calculating candidate? One explanation is social incongruence theory. Clinton, as a successful politician in a man's world has defied the feminine norms time and time again. As former first lady she took an active role in the political administration of her husband, defying the image of a woman simply supporting her husband's actions. Now she has served as a Senator and Secretary of State, and is running for president for the second time. While for a man these years of experience may be portrayed in a positive light, for Clinton, they are portrayed as years devoted to suspicious career calculations and corrupt, power-hungry political activity.

Previous scholars have also shown that powerful women are often portrayed as an "iron maiden"—overly masculine and power hungry. During this particular election cycle, we see this manifested in the characterization of Clinton as politically calculating. My research shows that

not only is the media more likely to utilize these negative “iron lady” personal frameworks to cover Clinton, but they are also more likely to cover Clinton in relationship to her stance on masculine issues than feminine issues, despite the clear emphasis in her campaign on feminine issues. In this campaign in particular, although Clinton’s Twitter page and campaign advertisements specifically emphasized women’s rights as one of the major issues in her campaign, this was not one of the top issues emphasized in her media coverage. The same is true for her focus on feminine issues in general. In the case of Ted Cruz and Bernie Sanders, we do not see the same levels of discrepancy.

One possible explanation for the gap in Clinton’s media coverage is that the media in general tends to focus on masculine issues than feminine issues. When I classified “regulation of the financial industry” as a masculine issue, Sanders did receive more masculine coverage than feminine coverage, supporting this claim. Even with this alternative categorization, however, Sanders still received more feminine issue coverage than Clinton, despite her campaigns greater emphasis on feminine issues. Thus although the media may focus more on masculine issues overall, this does not fully explain the gap in Clinton’s media coverage. Other factors, such as the “iron maiden” narrative trailing Clinton and her tense relationship with the media, are clearly still at play. Again, my research overall demonstrates that Clinton was the candidate whose media coverage least reflected her own campaign materials, both in relationship to her issue and personal coverage.

Clearly, these findings have limitations. Future research should be done that looks at more of the newspaper coverage and different forums of campaign messaging during this election cycle to further investigate these results. Additionally future research should focus on other female candidates who have run for office, such as Carly Fiorina. That said, my findings do

contribute to a larger conversation of how the media handles female presidential candidates today. They suggests that Clinton's gender as a woman and as an "only" in a masculine domain has limited that control she has over her own campaign messages and her ability to shift popular narrative constructed about her own career and history today in the 2016 primary elections.

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