A STUDY OF GENDER STEREOTYPES IN THE NEWS COVERAGE OF

THE 1984 AND 2008 VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS

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LEE BOGGS

Dr. Stacey Woelfel, Thesis Supervisor

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The undersigned, appointed by the dean of the Graduate School, have examined the thesis entitled

A STUDY OF GENDER STEREOTYPES IN THE NEWS COVERAGE OF
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presented by Lee Boggs,

a candidate for the degree of master of arts,

and hereby certify that, in their opinion, it is worthy of acceptance.

Professor Stacey Woelfel

Professor Glenn Leshner

Professor Catherine Rymph

Professor Timothy Vos

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A STUDY OF GENDER STEREOTYPES IN THE NEWS COVERAGE OF
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Lee Boggs

Dr. Stacey Woelfel, Thesis Supervisor

ABSTRACT

Although females have campaigned for offices in the executive branch of the U.S. government, none have been elected. According to some scholars and researchers, one of the reasons females have been unable to break through is due to the type of coverage they received from news organizations. Studies have shown gender stereotypes influence how political campaigns and policies involving candidates of the opposite gender are framed. The goal of this study was to determine if the coverage given to female vice-presidential candidates in the 1984 and 2008 presidential campaigns reflected gender stereotypes. This study conducted a quantitative content analysis of two sources from two elections for four candidates (two females and two males), evaluating the total coverage, policy coverage, character coverage, and tone of quotes coverage for males and females. The research found that females received more coverage on feminine policy, characteristics, and total coverage, while one dominated the masculine category and the other was equal to the male in negative quotes. The compiled findings indicate that gender stereotypes were applied within the sources' news coverage of female candidates.

Chapter 1
Introduction

Although females have tried, none have ever been elected to the executive branch of government in the United States. Men outnumber women in top elected offices for several reasons: women rarely run for office, lack political resources, run in hopeless races, are stereotyped by voters, and treated unequally by media outlets, according to Kahn and Goldenberg (1991). In 2009, females held 18% of the seats in the 111th United States Congress, while males held 82% (womenincongress.house.gov). While women have made some progress in claiming legislative seats, one has yet to be elected as president or vice president. Expanding on Kahn and Goldenberg's (1991) study of quantity and substance differences for females in political journalism, this research will use quantitative content analysis to measure how gender stereotypes in executive-level elections are framed by national newspapers.

An example of framing with gender stereotypes can be found in interview questions posed to Geraldine Ferraro, who was asked on *Meet the Press* if the Soviets would take advantage of her being a woman and in *New Republic* if she was strong enough to launch nuclear missiles (Falk, 2008). *The Associated Press* asked Ferraro about her living arrangements if she were to be elected Vice President (Witt, Paget, & Matthews, 1994). During the Democratic National Convention, Tom Brokaw with NBC News announced, "Geraldine Ferraro … The first woman to be nominated for vice president … Size 6" (Baird, 2008, para. 1). In an interview with Sarah Palin, Charles Gibson with ABC News asked how she would balance a family of seven being Vice

President (ABC News website, 2008). Others asked if she would continue cooking for her family and commented on her glasses and hair (Baird, 2008). LexisNexis revealed no similar questions and comments for either Joe Biden or George H. W. Bush.

The *Meet the Press* interview and the Brokaw announcement are examples of gender marking, reporting the sex of a candidate as it relates to the candidate's political office. In some of the news coverage referred to by Falk (2008) of Ferraro's vice-presidential bid, 27% of articles contained gender marking. How female candidates are portrayed by media outlets is important because giving females less coverage, critiquing their attire, emphasizing their emotions, and placing family over profession can combine to reduce the audience's acceptance of her as a viable, serious, and dedicated candidate (Falk, 2008).

Dealing in specifics of framing, females tend to receive less policy coverage, more personal coverage, and less positive coverage. Payne (2009) found Hillary Clinton received more negative coverage and less total coverage than Barack Obama, but she did score higher on the economy issue, which is typically dominated by male candidates. Kahn and Goldenberg (1993) had similar findings among U.S. Senate candidates, with coverage concentrating more on females' viability and less on policy, with the viability coverage being more negative for females than for males. But a 2009 content analysis of two online news websites during the early 2008 democratic primary revealed that Clinton received the same amount of issue coverage as John Edwards and more than Obama (Wojdynski, 2009). So there are instances in which the female candidate doesn't always receive less policy coverage.

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With 24 years separating the elections, Kahn and Goldenberg (1991) indicate that coverage may differ. In their comparison study of two elections, they deliberately chose elections two years apart so that the coverage would reflect current practices. But because this study deals with vice presidential nominees and not senators, as was the case for Kahn and Goldenberg, these are the two closest elections for the executive level. Considering Kahn and Goldenberg's opinion about the impact that time passage has on coverage practices makes this comparison study even more relevant as it will be among the first to test if gender influences reporters framing in the same manner after nearly two-and-a-half decades.

Framing is applicable because it refers to "persistent patterns of selection, emphasis, and exclusion which furnish an interpretation of events" (Norris & Carroll, 1997 p. 2). Framing also affects decisions between choices that are dependent upon the way the options are presented (Tversky & Khaneman, 1981). So this research is advantageous in that it can create awareness among reporters about how their framing of content can be influenced by gender biases.

One of the more recent studies found that gender stereotypes influenced news coverage of Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama's campaigns in the 2008 Democratic primary (Payne, 2009). However, a limitation of the study was that it did not explore the role that race might have played in the coverage. Since the competition was between an African-American male and a Caucasian female, Payne said additional analysis is needed in which race is not a potential factor. Race was not a factor in the 1984 and 2008 vice-presidential campaigns since both campaigns were between Caucasian males and females. Those campaigns feature Bush and Ferraro in 1984 and Biden and Palin in 2008.

Many framing studies have researched gender stereotypes in political journalism. But unlike most previous studies, which were only able to analyze executive level contests between Caucasian males, this study will have the unique opportunity to analyze the news coverage of male and female candidates in two vice-presidential campaigns 24 years apart. The only presidential campaigns featuring males and females of the same race on major party tickets were the 1984 and 2008 vice-presidential elections. Hertog and McLeod (2001) said "To develop an idea of the evolution of frames, you must develop frame models from at least two time points and then compare the content and structure at different time points" (p. 151). Comparing and contrasting the data from two time periods will help illustrate whether or not frames for this topic have evolved over more than two decades.

Analyzing the frames for vice-presidential campaigns is unique because the amount of framing research for that office is limited. No vice-presidential framing studies such as this one could be found during the literature review portion of this study, so it will help expand the limited research on this specific topic within the field of political journalism. As Angie Miller stated in her 2005 thesis, which conducted a content analysis of the 2004 presidential campaign, "the more studies done on the elections and the more information garnered, the better-informed and more reliable hypotheses can be about bias in the media" (p. 2). While more is not always better, the research on gender framing in vice-presidential campaigns is limited, so it is needed to advance the overall body of gender framing research.

While much literature could be found addressing framing of gubernatorial, legislative, and presidential elections, this will be among the few to focus on vice-

presidential candidates and among the first to compare and contrast two vice-presidential campaigns featuring a male and female. Understanding how campaigns for this executive level office are framed is important because of how policy and character are portrayed for the second-in-command. For example, a presidential candidate who might be perceived as lacking experience could nominate a running mate with perceived experience and possibly improve the ticket's strength in that area. According to research conducted at the University of Alabama, both Ferraro and Palin were framed as inexperienced (The Palin Watch, 2008). So how the 1984 and 2008 vice-presidential candidate's experience and other characteristics were framed in regards to gender stereotypes will benefit the overall body of framing research.

Comparing and contrasting news coverage of two elections will help illustrate whether or not gender stereotypes have changed over more than two decades. For example, Heith (2003) found that 27% of news articles about Ferraro contained gender-specific wording. By comparison, Clinton received 11.5% of gender-specific coverage, less than half of what Ferraro received, while Obama, received .8% of gender-specific coverage" (Payne, 2009, p. 39). Few conclusions if any can be drawn from the Ferraro and Clinton studies because the details for each are different. However, the Clinton-Obama study indicates a bias among reporters, whether they are aware of their biases or not. "One explanation is that gender stereotypes are so deeply rooted that it is nearly impossible for people to separate themselves from them entirely, even when they consciously reject the stereotypes" (Payne, 2009, p. 45). If this study reveals that framing was affected by gender stereotypes, then evaluating the results from two similar elections

will at least serve as a reminder to news organizations that biases can linger and should

be addressed.

Chapter 2
Literature Review

This study will draw from the body of framing literature to analyze how gender stereotypes were portrayed in the 1984 and 2008 vice-presidential campaigns. In regards to framing theory, this literature review will explore the concept of framing, how framing is used in political journalism, and how framing is used to portray gender in political journalism to tie the theory with this research.

The Concept of Framing

Framing refers to how information is presented by the news media. Pavlik (2001) said "On the theoretical level, a frame is used as a central organizing idea for making sense of pertinent events and processes" (p. 312). Jamieson and Waldman (2003) defined framing as "the structures underlying the depictions that the public reads, hears, and watches" (p. xii). Benoit (2007) said framing is influenced by points of view, and he also noted that various perspectives lead to differing evaluations. "Influencing the frame (or context or perspective) used to understand and evaluate a person or event can therefore shape our attitudes toward that person or event" (Benoit, 2007, p. 208).

According to Schefele and Tewksbury (2007), framing is a necessary tool to condense complex information that can be easily understood by a specific audience. Frames help journalists efficiently package and present information for the audience within a context, therefore they are unavoidable, but how those frames "will emerge in practice is not preordained" (Gitlin, 1980, p. 274). How frames emerge in practice is determined by the individual reporter's opinions and beliefs, and even by the news

organization's culture, values, and routines, according to Weaver and Wilhoit (1996). In their research, Weaver and Wilhoit found that "journalists perceived organizational context and journalistic training as the most influential factors affecting newsworthiness" (Bolack, 2001, p. 151).

The decision-maker, as referred to by Tversky and Kahneman (1981), "is controlled partly by the formulation of the problem and partly by the norms, habits, and personal characteristics of the decision-maker" (p. 453). The selection and omission process is controlled by how reporters or the decision-makers interpret reality. "This is the essence of how a press frame operates: It highlights certain features of reality and not others, determining what finds its way into news and what is omitted" (Jamieson & Waldman, 2003, p. 42). Tankard (2001) quoted a newspaper editor as saying that the most important decision a reporter will make is when he/she chooses the frame. One reason for that is because reporters frame a story a certain way and select information that fits within the frame and omit information that does not (Gitlin, 1980).

While frames typically develop and evolve with little to no direct instructions from anyone "Ordinarily, editors and managers do not have to dictate the frames reporters will use in their stories. Frames take shape in a process influenced by many external and internal factors; seldom are they enforced so explicitly from above" (Jamieson & Waldman, 2003, p. 151). However, frames can be and have been established from the top down. Jamieson and Waldman (2003) recalled the inter-office memos within CNN and a couple of newspapers instructing reporters how to report the news and what to include or what not to omit following 9/11.

Frames spread throughout the industry because reporters adopt the storylines from other reporters (Jamieson & Waldman, 2003). While frames are mostly not discussed within newsrooms, they are the result of the culture that exists within a news organization, and occur in "persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual" (Gitlin, 1980, p. 7). Once frames become institutionalized, frames can be reinforced within the organization by the culture that exists within newsrooms (Norris, 1997).

Gitlin (1980) found frames were used similarly throughout the industry in print and broadcast mediums. While organizations differed "in the range of their frames – at times respecting movements, at times trivializing them, at times attributing menace to them – and in the relative contradictoriness and complexity of their stories," those differences were "variations on the same themes, within a hegemonic whole" (Gitlin, 1980, p. 302-303). Jamieson and Waldman echoed a similar sentiment, noting that framing is evident in stories, commentaries, and jokes. "Ideas, interpretations, and conclusions pass among the reporters, creating a consensus on which facts are important and how stories should be reported" (Jamieson & Waldman, 2003, p. 42).

In addition, Pavlik (2001) said some reporters determine the frame of a story before collecting all the information. They approach a story with a preconceived idea of how to frame it. "The simple fact is that in most traditional newsrooms the culture of journalism is to determine the basic nature of a story before assembling all, or even most of, the facts" (Pavlik, 2001, p. 312). Pavlik said that beat reporters have a limited number of episodic frames and at least one is used when formulating a story. For example,

education beats in New York City typically frame the story as tension between the mayor and school chancellor.

Framing Politics

While there are many categories of news frames – horse-race (polls), episodic (personal narrative), thematic (societal causes), conflict (good vs. bad) – Nelson and Willey (2001) addressed four from scholarly research that are relevant to politics: collective action frames, decision frames, news frames, and issue frames (p. 246). Collective action frames present events as injustices that demand government attention. Decision frames present choices and how the interpretation of the choices affects human behaviors. News frames, as previously discussed, presents the content within a structure. Issue frames are content specific, regarding policies and problems, along with explanations and solutions, and candidates are one source for that frame.

When reporting on public affairs, journalists use frames "to organize and interpret political events and issues in particular ways" (Porto, 2001, p. 3). In a study of the 2000 presidential election, Porto analyzed the content in two Brazilian newspapers and found that reporters most often applied horse-race and episodic frames to their articles and ignored substantive issues. Porto said the Brazilians mirrored the framing of their U.S. counterparts. In the U.S., for example, Benoit's (2007) study of the *The New York Times* found that more coverage was given to horse-race and character than to policy. In addition, "the news also has a tendency to focus on scandals" (Benoit, 2007, p. 193).

Reporters incorporate the candidate's issue frame "indirectly via quotations and other borrowing from the source that is reported as part of a news story" (Nelson & Willey, 2001, p. 247), thus making it part of the news frame. "News events are framed

within the prevailing paradigm of social and political reality, reinforcing stereotypes, existing political agendas, and prevailing conventional wisdom" (Pavlik, 2001, p. 313). When a candidate can summarize an issue with a tagline, like "tax-and-spend," and the media structures an article around that tagline, then the media is in essence framing the candidate's issue for public distribution. This is important to know about framing politics because when voters rely on the media for a debate summary, for example, then the media is contributing to voters' campaign knowledge, thus impacting how the voter perceives a candidate (Reber & Benoit, 2001).

Entman (1993) and Tankard (2001) discussed how the media's selection and saliency of content compose framing. Entman said the media select a perceived reality to frame guided by the communicators' own belief systems. So as a component of political news, framing "plays a major role in the exertion of political power," and "the power of a frame can be as great as that of language itself" (Entman, 1993, p. 5). Having the authority to select quotes and present a point of view gives the journalist "considerable power" (Gibson, Hester, & Stewart, 2001, p. 69). Tankard said a reporter's emotions, beliefs, and attitudes are components of framing, which use media presentation "to define a situation, to define the issues, and to set the terms of a debate" (p. 96).

Entman's reference to language brings up another point. The media choose which quotes to publicize and quotes "can be a powerful journalistic tool that can be used to influence the audiences' perceptions of reality and judgments of issues" (Gibson, Hester, & Stewart, 2001, p. 68). However, the media are not solely responsible for framing, because as Entman notes, reporters are responding to their perceptions of reality, so a candidate's own words can lead to the formation of a frame. "The select choice of words

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becomes a frame for a certain issue, and therefore becomes associated with that issue" (Eargle, Esmail, & Sullivan, 2008, p. 11).

A candidate's own comments, more than the comments made against him/her by their opponent, can help initiate the frame, according to Jamieson and Waldman (2003). For example, in 2004, Al Gore said during a CNN interview, "During my service in the United States Congress, I took the initiative in creating the Internet" (CNN website, 1999). Jamieson and Waldman (2003) said Gore was framed as being untrustworthy, and presentation of comments such as that one could have contributed to the untrustworthy frame. A similar situation occurred in 1996 when Bob Dole referred to himself as a "bridge to a time of tranquility, faith, and confidence in action" (Benoit, 2007, p. 208). This evolved into an age frame, presenting Dole as a "bridge to the pass" and Bill Clinton as a "bridge to the future" (Benoit, 2007). The point here is that the media frames an issue, but others contribute to the creation of that frame.

Framing Gender in Politics

The role of vice president is traditionally characterized as having feminine qualities, acting as the weak, dependent, subservient partner to the strong, independent, individualistic president (Bostdorff, 1991). Vice presidents are expected to be cheerleaders for and stand by and protect their running mates, keeping their own ideas and beliefs to themselves, much like the role of traditional housewives. When females have been nominated to serve as vice president, reporters may frame the candidates with gender stereotypes, ironically questioning females' toughness for a role that is traditionally feminine, according to Bostdorff (1991).

Bostdorff (1991) said this happens partly because the thinking is that men morph from dominant to submissive, meaning they can resume being dominant, while women are naturally submissive and cannot, without some effort or challenge, acquire dominance. Bush was already considered masculine enough to fill a feminine role, Bostdorff said, but Ferraro had to first prove herself a masculine leader. She also had to overcome media outlets highlighting her femininity.

After Ferraro was tapped as Walter Mondale's running mate in 1984, opponents began highlighting her gender with slogans such as "Tits and Fritz" (Bostdorff, 1991, p. 12). A study by Heith (2006) discovered that 30% of the news coverage of Ferraro as a vice-presidential candidate referred to her hair, makeup, and clothing. In addition, Kahn (1996) found that media outlets apply masculine angles to stories 72% of the time for male candidates, but only 41% of the time for female candidates, despite candidates mentioning masculine traits in their own campaigns 67% and 91%, respectively.

For the purpose of this study, gender stereotypes are defined as qualities applied to a candidate based on "characteristics assumed to be shared by social groups, irrespective of the individual's personal qualities, abilities, or experience" (Norris & Carroll, 1997, p. 8). One explanation for gender stereotyping is Berger and Luckman's (1966) social construction of reality model, which states social reality is socially constructed when members of the society interact and form, over time, beliefs based on that interaction of how one another should act within their societal roles. Dines and Humez (2003) summarized gender stereotyping, stating that the feminization of a female to a woman "begins at birth and requires intensive socialization" (p. 4).

Gaye Tuchman tied gender stereotyping and the media together with her theory of symbolic annihilation. Six years before Ferraro became the first woman to run as vice president with a major party, Tuchman published **"*The symbolic annihilation of women by the mass media*"** (1978). In it, Tuchman said the media's portrayal of adult females as needing childlike protection, being under represented, and portrayed as incompetent results in news consumers questioning females' ability to lead (1978). Symbolic annihilation can have a "momentous" impact nationally, and the media's promotion of it through gender stereotypes could "accurately predict the future" (Tuchman, 1978, p. 7).

From this perspective, Tuchman (1978) said the media omit, trivialize, and condemn females based on the gender stereotypes prescribed to them over time by social norms and reinforced in the news. Dickerson (2001) said that the news culture is complex, and working within it leads reporters to "reproduce culturally embedded ways of seeing the world, including stereotyping" (p. 173). Reproducing culturally embedded ways lead to continued gender stereotyping in the media and encourages additional stereotyping because "The social narratives that are created by the packaging of a story validate the expected frames of new stories that continue to legitimize particular interpretations of issues and events over others" (Voss, 2004, p. 2).

When Clinton campaigned for the presidency, a traditionally masculine role, she received more gender-oriented treatment. She was given more coverage on personal aspects and less on policy issues than Obama and was the target for gender-related comments (Payne, 2009). Clinton noticed the difference in gender treatment and stated that media outlets were indifferent to sexist comments during the 2008 primary campaign (Coyle, 2009). For Clinton, the data suggest that when she aspired for an executive office,

a traditionally masculine role, she became a gender stereotype target, because in legislative elections, she received more equal coverage. When she campaigned for the Senate, a 2006 content analysis of *The New York Times* determined that most of the news coverage that Clinton received was neutral and her candidacy was covered mostly on policy issues and not on her role as first lady, her gender, or gender stereotypes (Busher, 2006).

Reporters have the authority to choose which details to include or exclude about a topic. Kahn and Goldenberg (1991) suggested that "The news media, by covering male and female candidates differently, may hinder a woman's possibility of success in the political arena" (p. 181). Based on previous studies, reporters have, intentionally or not, allowed gender stereotypes to influence their news coverage of political campaigns featuring a female and a male.

Previous Studies

A review of previous studies show some print reporters' writing styles question female candidates' leadership, toughness, and strength for national offices. Reporters argue that such questions must be answered, and the candidate proven competent, in case of a national emergency. But past studies conclude reporters do not always question male candidates in the same manner or on the same policy issues.

Kahn and Goldenberg (1991) studied 26 U.S. Senate races in 1982, 1984, and 1986, analyzing content from the largest newspaper in each state with a race that fit their criteria. In addition to articles and editorials, they included letters-to-the-editor and political cartoons, and divided the research into quantity and substance (horserace, issue, trait) (1991). Kahn and Goldenberg (1991) found news coverage focused primarily on

females' viability instead of their stance on policies. They also found female reporters placed more emphasis than male reporters on feminine policy issues and traits. The research stated neither the number of coders nor the coding method.

Norris and Carroll (1997) conducted a multi-year study of news coverage of gender in campaigns from 1980-1996. They utilized an internet search of major U.S. newspapers, a content analysis of gender stories in *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* and a critical qualitative reading of select stories. They asserted that the framing of elections and gender are consistent because of industry practices.

> First, other scholars have observed a tendency towards "pack journalism" (Sabato 1988) and preferences among journalists for narrative "pegs" around which to organize their stories (Bird and Dardenne 1997). As a result of shared news-room cultures, journalistic routines, and organizational structures, the selection of news stories by different journalists has been found to be fairly predictable. (Norris & Carroll, 1997, p. 3)

Norris and Carroll (1997) also looked for continuity among the number of female candidates and voter behavior, which they said is exaggerated by media outlets in an effort to "focus on drama and novelty and to emphasize change rather than continuity" (p. 4). For example, when Ferraro ran for the vice presidency, some reporters proclaimed 1984 as the "Year of the Woman," but the phrase was also used in subsequent elections and became especially prevalent in 1992 (Norris & Carroll, 1997). They concluded "that the news media often tend to use relatively simple frames as a way of conveying to their readers a straightforward narrative, written around a particular 'peg' or story-line," whereas, some elections were dominated by one gender-related frame while others

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contained multiple frames (p. 16). The study thanked three people for their coding and data entry assistance, but it stated neither the number of people used for coding nor the coding method.

Bystrom, Robertson, & Banwart (2001) examined the news coverage of female gubernatorial and senatorial candidates. Compared to the findings in previous research of general elections, Bystrom et al. (2001) found that female candidates were treated more equally in some respects and received more coverage overall. After measuring for positivity, negativity, and neutrality, it was determined that female candidates were treated almost equally as male candidates in gubernatorial and senatorial races (Bystrom et al., 2001). Nevertheless, gender stereotypes did exist. Even in news articles deemed positive, "the novelty of womanhood, rather than their issue positions, stood at the foreground of the news piece" (Bystrom et al., 2001, p. 2009). They were surprised to find that female candidates in some primaries were portrayed as too tough and, for male candidates, traditional feminine policies issues and traits, such as honesty and health care, were prescribed equally and sometimes moreso.

Bystrom et al. (2001) used four coders. They gave a detailed explanation of the training and pilot test. They also said the sample was 707 articles and 10% of the sample was used to test intercoder reliability. However, they did not specify how many articles were coded by each coder in either the pilot or the reliability test.

Major and Coleman's (2004) study of gender stereotypes involving a white female (Kathleen Blanco) and a minority male (Bobby Jindal) was conducted after the Louisiana gubernatorial race. Much coverage was given to Blanco's gender, promoted by the candidate herself, and Jindal's race, but the findings indicated the news coverage was

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positive in both instances (Major and Coleman, 2004). Unlike most studies, appearance was not a topic of coverage, but Blanco still received more coverage of feminine policy issues, despite her 20-year career as an elected official. Jindal received more coverage of masculine policy issues, despite having never been elected.

> This election offered reporters an ideal opportunity to break the bonds of stereotyping. Here, a woman had strong experience with typically male issues, and a man had similar experience with typically female issues. Yet, the media still aligned the woman with female issues and the man with male issues. (Major and Coleman, 2004, p. 327)

Major and Coleman (2004) coded 50% of the population. The sample was 258 articles. They used and trained two coders on 10% of the articles. They did not explain how the coding was split between the two coders.

Feehan (2006) conducted a content analysis of newspapers covering four gubernatorial campaigns, three of which contained female/male candidates, from 2000 to 2002. She excluded articles with less than 300 words, "based on the idea that an article of this length would not have a significant impact on the reader, nor would have ample space to present a clear tone toward the candidate" (2006, p. 24), but provided no research to support that idea.

Feehan found that gender affected the article content, and when stereotypes emerged, it was regarding the female candidate. "The results did not show any glaring dependence on gender stereotypes, but the few exceptions to these results occurred at the expense of the women" (p. 49). She also found that female candidates received less news coverage regarding family than males, but noted that the "unique prominence" of the males' wives possibly affected the results (p. 31). Females won in three of the four races.

Feehan (2006) attributed the female victories to the lack of gender stereotypes within the candidates' campaigns.

Feehan provided detailed information regarding how each element of the study was coded in the sample of 100 articles. However, she provided no details about the coder(s), how the articles were divided among coders, or the pilot test.

Like the Blanco-Jindal race, Payne's study of the 2008 Democratic Primary between Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton featured a multi-racial campaign. Payne focused on the communicator's role and applied a combination of two theories – media frames and selection of reality – to the research of gender stereotypes in newspaper coverage. The study borrowed media frames from Scheufele and Tewksbury, who defined how framing affects audiences, and Entman, who defined how individual communicators portray reality by magnifying specific aspects of it (Payne, 2009). Payne summarized this two-pronged theoretical approach as "frames will refer to the aspects of reality newspapers choose to highlight when discussing male and female political candidates" (p. 8). Payne addressed how the news was framed and presented to the audience.

Payne's quantitative content analysis found that Obama received statistically significant more issue coverage. The amount of attribute coverage for either candidate was not statistically significant. Payne (2008) said attributes could have been skewed by Obama's race. Obama received more total coverage and it was more positive; Clinton's total coverage was more negative, which Payne suggested could be attributed to their reversed leadership styles. "Based on Embry et al.'s findings, Obama's more feminine leadership style may have led to Clinton being viewed in a more masculine light, and

thus, more negatively" (Payne, 2008, p. 49). Gender stereotypes are more detrimental to a female candidate's campaign than a male candidate's campaign, according to Payne's findings. "This study's research shows that, for the most part, gender-related assumptions affect female candidates far more negatively than males" (Payne, 2008, p. 49).

Payne used two coders, but gave no details about the coders. The sample size was 84 articles. One of them coded 10% of the sample. The percentage of coded articles by the second coder was not provided.

Benoit's (1996) functional theory of political campaign discourse states that all political candidates' communications are used to self-promote (acclaim), criticize the opponents (attack) and take up for one's self (defense). Benoit and Reber (2001) used this theory as the basis for their content analysis of debates and the newspaper coverage of those debates. Benoit and Reber (2001) noted that the theory's major categories are functions (acclaims, attacks, and defenses) and topics (policy and character) (p. 35).

Benoit and Reber (2001) found that the debates were more positive than negative, with more acclaims made, but the news coverage was more negative than positive, with more attention given to attacks. They said the news coverage focused more on attacks because "Attacks may be, in general, more interesting than acclaims. Attacks are certainly more dramatic. They may also highlight differences between the candidates, although candidates can certainly differ in their acclaims as well" (2001, p. 40).

de Vreese (2005) divided framing into two approaches: inductive and deductive. The former does not pre-define frames but allows frames to appear during the analysis; the latter defines and operationalizes the frames prior to analysis and is favored by most scholars (de Vreese, 2005). Wimmer and Dominick (2006) made a similar observation in

reference to constructing the content categories, noting two ways to create the categories: emergent coding (categories are created after examining the content) and a priori coding (categories are based on theory and concepts before examining the content). According to Neuendorf (2002) "All decisions on variables, their measurement, and coding rules must be made before the observations begin" (p. 11). Therefore, this study will follow the precedents set by the previously reviewed research and employ deductive framing and a priori coding.

When taking an empirical approach to media framing, Tankard (2001) suggested three possible methods: the media package, framing as a multidimensional concept, and the list of frames approach. All of those methods conduct a quantitative content analysis in a systematic manner, increasing the likelihood of achieving exhaustive frame sets and mutually exclusive frame categories, unlike a qualitative approach (Tankard, 2001).

Gamson and Modigliani's (1989) media package combines various sources of content about a topic to create a paragraph "presenting the keywords and common language that would help identify a particular frame" (Tankard, 2001, p. 99). The paragraph is composed of paraphrased material and direct quotes from multiple sources, like pamphlets and advocate writings, which suggests the frame and identifies the catchphrase (Tankard, 2001). Gamson and Modigliani utilized the media package for a study about nuclear power, in which the coders achieved an intercoder agreement of 80% (Tankard, 2001).

Framing as a multidimensional concept is based on Swenson's (1990) content analysis of abortion news coverage in which she coded eight dimensions defining story framing: writer's gender, article placement, pro-choice terms, pro-life terms, woman's

rights/fetus's rights focus, article's morality orientation, discussion of when life begins, and fetus terms (Tankard, 2001). Using one coder to code the material twice, Swenson's (1990) percentages of intercoder agreement were around 100% (Tankard, 2001).

The list of frames approach is based on research by Tankard, Hendrickson, Silberman, Bliss, & Ghanem (1991). They developed a theoretical definition of framing as "a central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration" (p. 100). They said the first step in this approach is to "identify a list of frames for the particular domain under discussion," and then "To assist coders with the content analysis, each frame would then be defined in terms of specific keywords, catchphrases, and images" (p. 101).

Tankard et al. identified 11 framing mechanisms – headlines/kickers, subheads, photos, photo captions, leads, selection of sources/affiliations, selection of quotes, pull quotes, logos, statistics/charts/graphs, and concluding statements/paragraphs of articles – to show how the media presents an issue or event. In 2001, Dickerson's content analysis defined the structural elements as headlines, lead emphasis, backgrounding, and length of stories, number of stories, and selection and placement of quotations (p. 166). "These are means through which frames become salient" (Bantimaroudis & Ban, 2001, p. 177).

Like Swenson, Tankard et al. (1991) tested list of frames on the abortion issue. They started out with six categories, but were only able to reach acceptable coder reliability after condensing the categories into two. It then reached 89% intercoder agreement. Tankard gave examples of two other researchers, Hendrickson (1994) and Maher (1995), who adopted the list of frames approach and gained intercoder agreements

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of 87% and 94%, respectively. Hendrickson utilized two frame categories and Maher four (Tankard, 2001).

One interesting omission from the previous mentioned list of frames is the sentence/paragraph. A news article about abortion, for example, may not refer to an attribute of abortion in any of the list of frames, but could contain sentences/paragraphs that do. In another example, an article could contain all the list of frames regarding abortion, and all those mechanisms be coded as neutral, but unanalyzed sentences/paragraphs within the article be potentially coded.

In Fahy's review of analysis problems, he said "Some researchers have rejected the sentence as the unit of analysis. They are then faced with uncertainty about what to code" (2001). When exploring this topic, a review of the articles about the candidates revealed that, in addition to or in absence of candidates being mentioned in the elements, there were sentences and paragraphs in the articles that pertained to their policies and or characters.

Chapter 3
Methodology

Hypotheses

    H1. Female vice-presidential candidates will receive more total coverage than males.

    H2. Female vice-presidential candidates will receive less masculine policy coverage than males.

    H3. Female vice-presidential candidates will receive more feminine policy coverage than males.

    H4. Female vice-presidential candidates will receive more character coverage than males.

    H5. Female vice-presidential candidates will receive more negative coverage than males.

Hypotheses Term Explanations

- *Total Coverage* refers to the number of category references and total number of news articles that each individual vice-presidential candidate received.

- *Masculine Policy Coverage* refers to the portion of total coverage that each candidate received regarding topics he/she could influence as an elected official: economy, defense, and crime.

- *Feminine Policy Coverage* refers to the portion of total coverage that each candidate received regarding topics he/she could influence as an elected official: education, environment, and healthcare.

- *Character Coverage* refers to the portion of total coverage pertaining to the candidates' personal characteristics or attributes: gender, experience, personal appearance, personal religion, and family.

- *Negative Coverage* refers to how policy and character are portrayed within quotes made by candidates or others.

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Method

  This study's focus on the framing of gender stereotypes in the news coverage of vice-presidential campaigns is suitable for Tankard's list of frames approach and Fahy's suggestion of sentence/paragraph analysis. Like Maher and Hendrickson, the list of frames may be modified, depending on the content, therefore, sentences/paragraphs that included a reference to a candidate in the articles were analyzed and were included as an element within the list of frames.

  Regarding Tankard's 11 elements with the list of frames, they were modified to five. Those five elements included headlines, leads, selection of quotes, sentences/paragraphs referring to a candidate by name, and concluding paragraph. The total amount of coverage was calculated for each candidate.

  Total coverage has been used and measured in other studies (Payne 2009; Dickerson, 2001). Total coverage measures quantity. More is not necessarily better for a candidate. However, if one candidate received more total coverage than the competitor, it would show that the media are giving more attention to one candidate over another, making that candidate, and the frame of that candidate, more salient.

  Sample: Neuendorf (2002) stated that "Unfortunately, there is no universally accepted set of criteria for selecting the size of a sample" (p. 88). The desired confidence level and standard error (SE) are 95% and 5%, respectively. Placing the desired confidence level and SE into formulas to determine the sample size, Neuendorf (2002) suggested at least 384 articles for a 95% confidence level with a 5% SE. For example, Major and Coleman (2008) coded 284 articles with a 95% confidence level and 5% SE in the Blanco-Jindal study.

From the population of articles, a sample was created following Neuendorf's (2002) guidelines. The 522 article sample was 43% of the population. The sample was created with a simple random sampling. The primary researcher's sample was created using Stat Trek, an online random generator. Duplicate entries were not allowed. The leftover numbers were drawn from a box to create the other two coders' samples.

Sample selection involved multi-staging. Multi-staging identifies the content, sources, and dates (Wimmer & Dominick, 2005). For this study, the population included the candidates as content, newspapers as sources, and time frames as dates.

Candidates: This study had four vice-presidential candidates. Republican George H. W. Bush and Democrat Geraldine Ferraro were the 1984 candidates. Democrat Joe Biden and Republican Sarah Palin were the 2008 candidates. Both elections were firsts in that Ferraro was the first female Democratic vice-presidential nominee and Palin was the first female Republican vice-presidential nominee for a major party. All four candidates held an elected office when selected as running mates. George H. W. Bush was the only incumbent vice president.

Sources: Since the vice-presidential campaigns are for federal office, it is fitting for national newspapers to be the sources. As national newspapers, *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* are specific publications that "often receive attention in purposive samples" (Riffe et al., 1998, p. 86), and Norris and Carroll (1997) noted both publications "are widely regarded as 'papers of record' and which influence coverage in the regional press" (p. 4).

The population was retrieved from *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* as the sources. Only the articles retrieved from LexisNexis for those two publications

were analyzed. If there were additional articles from either source that are not located in the LexisNexis database, then those articles were not included.

Although New York is Ferraro's home state, *The New York Times* is a national newspaper, unlike the other candidates' home state newspapers, so locale-based bias, while possible, wasn't concerning. None of the candidates claimed Washington, DC, as their home area, so *The Washington Post* is region neutral.

Search terms for each candidate included their commonly printed names (Joe Biden, Joseph Robinette Biden, and Joseph R. Biden; George Bush, George Herbert Walker Bush, and George H.W. Bush; Geraldine Ferraro, Geraldine Anne Ferarro, and Geraldine A. Ferraro; and Sarah Palin, Sarah Louise Palin, and Sarah L. Palin), along with gender titles (Mr., Mrs., and Ms.) and professional titles (Senator, Sen., Representative, Rep., Vice President, VP, Governor, and Gov.).

Time Frames: The time frames in this study were well defined. Each began and ended with specific dates but varied for each election because the candidates' nominations were all announced at various times. The time frames began with the initial announcement of when they were named as the vice-presidential candidates until the day of the election.

In the 1984 campaign, Ferraro's selection was announced on July 12. Since Bush was already the incumbent Vice President (re-nominated on August 23), Ferraro's nomination date was the starting point for both of those candidates. The day of the 1984 election was November 6 for a total of 118 days from Ferraro's announcement to Election Day. In the 2008 election, Biden's announcement was made on August 23, and Palin's almost a week later on August 29. Election Day 2008 was November 4 for a total

of 74 days from Biden's nomination and 68 days from Palin's nomination to Election

Day.

Unit of Analysis

In a content analysis, the unit of analysis must contain an identifiable message or

communication content (Neuendorf, 2002). The unit of analysis for this study was a news

article. A content analysis of news articles categorizes words, phrases, paragraphs and

other elements with similar meaning, such as synonyms or connotations, in a manner that

the content can be measured (Weber, 1985). Using Tankard's (2001) list of frames

method and Fahy's sentence/paragraph analysis, the elements – headlines, leads, quotes,

paragraphs that refer to the candidates, and concluding paragraphs – were the units of

data collection for each news article. **H1**: The total number of units of analysis for each

candidate were calculated to determine if female candidates received more total coverage

than male candidates.

Categories

This study followed Tankard's (2001) minimization of categories theory with the

goal of successful intercoding reliability. Categories were mutually exclusive and

exhaustive. According to Wimmer and Dominick (2006), a study will produce face

validity if "an instrument adequately measures what it purports to measure if the

categories are rigidly and satisfactorily defined and the procedures of the analysis have

been adequately conducted" (p. 171).

In this case, policy, character, and quote tone were the categories. According to

Tankard (2001), "A smaller number of frame categories can help to improve the

reliability of coding" (p. 105). While Tankard (2001) noted that "the trade-off may be to

sacrifice some of the actual complexity and diversity of framing in order to achieve coder reliability" (p. 105), this wasn't the case for this study because the three categories – policy, character, and tone – covered the scope of the research. There were sub-categories, however, and Tankard (2001) did not specifically address sub-categories.

Three categories, policy, character, and quote tone, were constructed for each candidate. Based on Major and Coleman (2008), the policy category included sub-categories of the economy, environment, education, healthcare, crime, and defense. Major and Coleman (2008) said policy can be subdivided into feminine (education, healthcare, and environment) and masculine (economy, defense, and crime) policy. **H2**: The policy categories were coded and analyzed to determine if female candidates received less masculine coverage than males. **H3**: The policy categories were coded and analyzed to determine if female candidates received more feminine coverage than males. Policy categories of energy and religion were also coded, but ultimately did not fit within the scope of this study because those issues were not gender specific.

The character category included gender, experience, family, personal appearance, and personal religion. Previous research has found that newspapers report personal information about women more frequently than that of men. Devitt's (1998) study found that the media were more likely to report about a female candidate's characteristics than a male's. "Compared to their male opponents, newspapers paid more attention to female candidates' personal characteristics, such as their age, personality, and attire" (Devitt, 1998, p. 11). The character category included those qualities, plus personal religion because the pro-abortion/pro-life debate was expected to be a factor. **H4**: The character

categories were coded and analyzed to determine if female candidates received more character coverage than males.

The quote tone category included sub-categories for acclaim, attack, and defense. Quote one was measured based on Benoit's (1996) functional theory of political campaign discourse, in which he states that voters base their decisions on a candidate's use of messages to promote their policy and image (acclaim), discredit their opponents' (attack), and defend themselves. This study coded quotes about the candidates that were made by the candidates or others. While the hypothesis addresses the negative aspect, all three areas will be coded to evaluate how the negative aspect compares to the positive.

H5: The quote tone categories were coded and analyzed to determine if female candidates received more negative coverage than males.

Coding

Coding was conducted by the researcher (male) and two coders (females). The two coders were not be aware of the hypotheses. Coders were provided with a codebook and trained on how to use the coding sheets, following the coding protocol example set by Riffe et al. (1998). The coding training was followed by a trial test of a few articles, revisions to the code book and coding sheets, pilot testing for intercoder reliability, and the final test (Neuendorf, 2002). The pilot test included 10% of articles from the sample as suggested by Neuendorf (2002). The intercoder reliability results were acceptable following the pilot test, so the results were calculated with the total results.

The researcher and coders split the sample for the final test. The researcher coded the majority of samples. The two coders divided the remainder. Scharrer (2002)

conducted a similar study and split the sample between coders, 60-20-20. This study was split similiarly to Scharrer's.

Intercoder reliability was calculated using average pairwise percent agreement with ReCal (Reliability Calculation for the Masses). The nominal data was analyzed for goodness-of-fit. The chi-square test, which is used for hypotheses with one independent and one dependent variable that are measured at the nominal level, determined goodness-of-fit and level of significance (Neuendorf, 2002; Wimmer & Dominick, 2006).

Chapter 4
Findings

A search of LexisNexis for the 1984 and 2008 campaigns returned 1,720 news articles. Searching LexisNexis for individual candidates resulted in duplicate articles. For example, if candidate A and B were included in the same article, the search would add one article to each candidate's total. To eliminate duplicates, a search for candidates in the same race was conducted for both candidates simultaneously using the connector "or." This approach reduced the population to 1,205 articles without duplicates.

From a population of 1,205 articles, the sample was created based on Neuendorf's guidelines of creating a sample. This study's sample size was 474, approximately 40% of the population. After the pilot test sample was added, the total sample size increased to 522 articles (43% of the population). The primary researcher coded 302 articles, coder one 120 articles, and coder two 100 articles, an approximate 58-23-19 percent split.

Intercoder-Reliability Results

Prior to the pilot test, the coders trained for approximately four hours. The pilot test was conducted by randomly selecting 10% of the sample from the population using an online random number generator (Stat Trek). Each coder completed the pilot test independently. The results from the coders' pilot tests were compiled and analyzed.

A three-coder test requires reliability calculation for each variable (ReCal). Acceptable analysis levels are .70-.90, depending on the test (Lombard, Snyder-Duch, & Bracken, 2002). Percent agreement was calculated for this study (ReCal), and analysis levels should be in the upper range for percent agreement (Lombard et al., 2002). The

intercoder reliability test for three coders with nominal data determined that the percent

agreement was within the acceptable range (See Table 1) specified by Lombard et al.

(2002).

Table 1

Intercoder Reliability Results

Variable	Percent Agreement
Crime	97.9
Defense	93.6
Economy	95.8
Education	97.9
Environment	97.9
Healthcare	97.9
Energy	95.8
Religion	100.0
Experience	87.5
Family	84.4
Gender	89.6
Personal Appearance	95.8
Personal Religion	93.7
Quote – Acclaim	87.5
Quote – Attack	89.6
Quote – Defend	89.6
None of the Above	80.2

Measurements

Coders worked independently on the final test sample. In analyzing the final

sample test results, the differences between the candidates and the years were calculated,

compared, and contrasted by total frequencies (counts), percentages, and goodness-of-fit

(chi-square). The chi-square goodness-of-fit test is appropriate when comparing

frequencies of data between groups (Preacher, 2001; Neuendorf, 2002), and has been

applied in similar content analysis research studies (Miller, 2005; Feehan, 2006; Payne,

2009).

Population

After removing duplicates from the population (1,720 articles), 1,205 articles

remained (See Table 2). *The Washington Post* had 38.1% more articles than *The New*

York Times, including 103% more in the Bush-Ferraro contest, but 17.4% less in the

Biden-Palin contest. Bush-Ferraro received 41.6% of *The New York Times* coverage and

58.4% of *The Washington Post* Coverage. Biden-Palin received 63.3% of *The New York*

Times coverage and 36.7% of *The Washington Post* coverage. *The Washington Post* gave

59.1% more coverage to the 1984 race than the 2008 race. *The New York Times* gave

52.2% more coverage to the 2008 race than the 1984 race. Comparing the 1984 and 2008

elections, Bush-Ferraro received the most coverage. They had 17.9% more coverage than

Biden-Palin.

Table 2

Population (1,205) in LexisNexis Search after Duplicate Removal

	1984	2008
Sources	Bush-Ferraro	Biden-Palin
The New York Times	213	299
The Washington Post	439	254
Totals	652	553
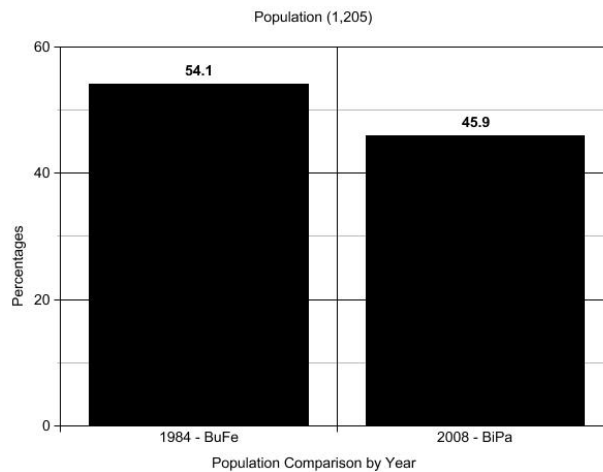
Note. The search dates are between 07/12/1984-11/06/1984, Bush and Ferraro; 08/29/2008-11/04/2008, Palin; and 08/23/2008-11/04/2008, Biden.

Sample

From a combined sample of 522 articles, the number of articles was totaled (See Table 3). *The New York Times* gave 43.9% more coverage to the 2008 campaign than the 1984 campaign. *The Washington Post* gave 70.2% more coverage to the 1984 campaign than the 2008 campaign. Bush and Ferraro accounted for 41.2% of articles from *The New York Times* and 62.8% from *The Washington Post*. Biden and Palin accounted for 58.8% of articles from *The New York Times* and 37.2% from *The Washington Post*.

Table 3

Number of Sample Articles (522)

	1984	2008
Sources	Bush-Ferraro	Biden-Palin
The New York Times	91	130
The Washington Post	189	112
Totals	280	242
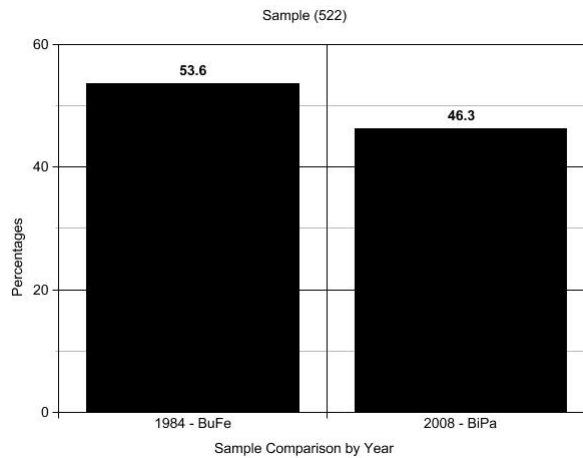
Total Coverage – Sample Articles

H1. Female vice-presidential candidates will receive more total coverage than males.

The number of times that a sample article referenced a candidate at least once was totaled (See Table 4). The female candidates received more coverage than the males in both races and sources. *The New York Times* gave 62.6% of the coverage to Ferraro and 37.4% to Bush, and 69% to Palin and 31% to Biden. *The Washington Post* gave 58.9% of the coverage to Ferraro and 41.1% to Bush, and 61.9% to Palin and 38.1% to Biden.

Table 4

Number of Sample Articles (522) Referencing Each Candidate

	1984		2008	
Sources	Bush	Ferraro	Biden	Palin
The New York Times	34	57	48	107
The Washington Post	90	129	51	83
Totals	124	186	99	190
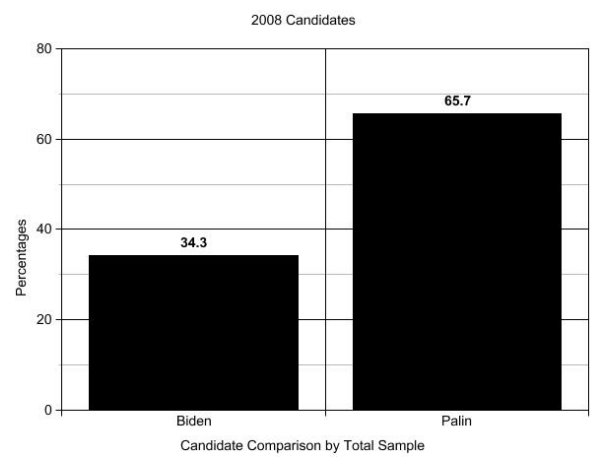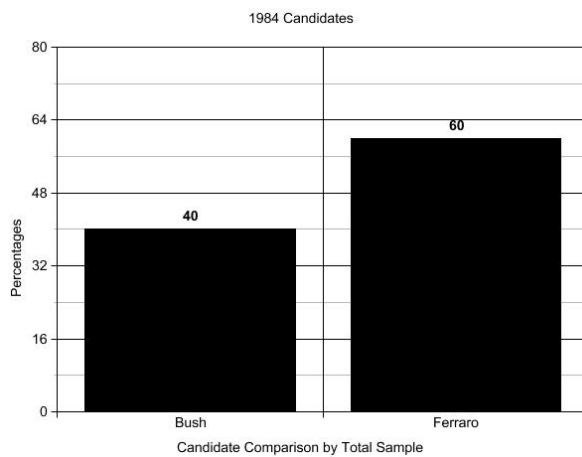
Ferraro was given 67.6% and 43.3% more coverage than Bush in *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, respectively. Palin was given 122.9% and 62.7% more coverage than Biden in *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, respectively.

Comparing the 1984 and 2008 races, Bush and Ferraro received more coverage than their counterparts from *The Washington Post*; Biden and Palin received more coverage in *The New York Times*. *The New York Times* gave 87.7% more coverage to Palin than to Ferraro; *The Washington Post* gave 55.4% percent more coverage to Ferraro than to Palin. *The New York Times* gave 41.2% more coverage to Biden than to Bush; *The Washington Post* gave 76.5% percent more coverage to Bush than to Biden. Overall,

Ferraro was given 50% more coverage than Bush; Palin 91.2% more than Biden. Bush was given 25.3% more coverage than Biden; Palin was given 2.2% more than Ferraro.

At the 5% level of significance, the data provided enough evidence to reject the null hypothesis (See Table 5). The frequency table below shows there is enough evidence to conclude that female vice-presidential candidates received more total coverage than males. The P-value = 0.01 < 0.05, therefore hypothesis H1 is supported for both female candidates, and H0 is rejected.

Table 5

Total Coverage - Samples

Row #	Category	Observed	Expected #	Expected
1	Ferraro	186	155	50.000%
2	Bush	124	155	50.000%

	gender
Chi-Square(a)	12.400
df	1.000
Asymp. Sig.	.000

Row #	Category	Observed	Expected #	Expected
1	Palin	190	144.5	50.000%
2	Biden	99	144.5	50.000%

	gender
Chi-Square(a)	28.654
df	1.000
Asymp. Sig.	.000

Total Coverage – Coded Variables

     The number of times each candidate was mentioned among the coded variables within the headline, lead, body, or conclusion was totaled (See Table 6). The total number includes the "None of the Above" category. This category was checked when a candidate was mentioned by name within a headline, the lead, the body, or the conclusion, but the reference did not apply to any of the variables. The "None of the Above" category was included to help calculate total coverage.

Table 6

Number of Coded Elements/Variables (4,356) Referencing Each Candidate

	1984		2008	
Sources	Bush	Ferraro	Biden	Palin
The New York Times	227	397	291	1114
The Washington Post	410	865	274	778
Totals	637	1262	565	1892
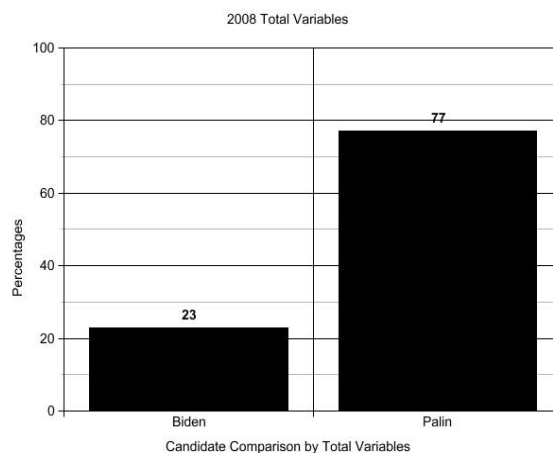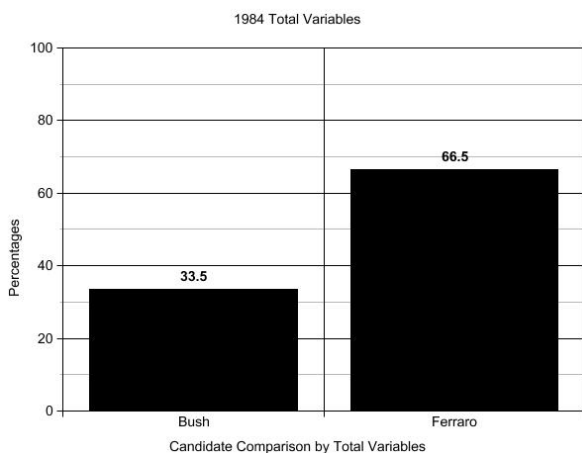
Ferraro and Bush received 66.5% and 33.5% respectively of the total variables coded from both sources. There were 63.6% and 67.8% coded variables regarding Ferraro and 36.4% and 32.2% regarding Bush in *The New York Times* and *The*

Washington Post, respectively. Ferraro had 74.7% and 110.6% more coding from each source than Bush.

Palin and Biden received 77% and 23% respectively of the total variables coded from both sources. There were 79.3% and 74% coded elements regarding Palin and 20.7% and 26% regarding Biden in *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, respectively. Palin had 282.8% and 183.9% more coding from each source than Biden.

Comparing the 1984 and 2008 races, Bush and Ferraro received more coded variables than their counterparts from *The Washington Post*; Biden and Palin received more coverage in *The New York Times*. *The New York Times* gave 180.6% more coverage to Palin than to Ferraro; *The Washington Post* gave 11.2% percent more coverage to Ferraro than to Palin. *The New York Times* gave 28.2% more coverage to Biden than to Bush; *The Washington Post* gave 49.6% percent more coverage to Bush than to Biden. For all variables coded, Ferraro had 98.1% more coded variables than Bush; Palin 234.8% more coded variables than Biden. Palin had 49.9% more coded variables than Ferraro; Bush had 12.7% more than Biden.

Masculine Categories

H2. Female vice-presidential candidates will receive less masculine policy coverage than males.

The number of times candidate references were coded for masculine policy categories (crime, defense, and economy) was totaled (See Table 7). Bush and Ferraro were equally coded for crime. Bush was coded more for defense and economy by 15.2% and 69.7% increases, respectively. Palin received more coded variables than Biden in all categories: crime 16.7% increase; defense 16.3% increase; and economy 428% increase.

Table 7

Total Coded Variables (517) for Masculine Policy Categories

	1984		2008	
Masculine Policies	Bush	Ferraro	Biden	Palin
Crime	5	5	6	7
Defense	76	66	49	57
Economy	56	33	25	132
Totals	137	104	80	196
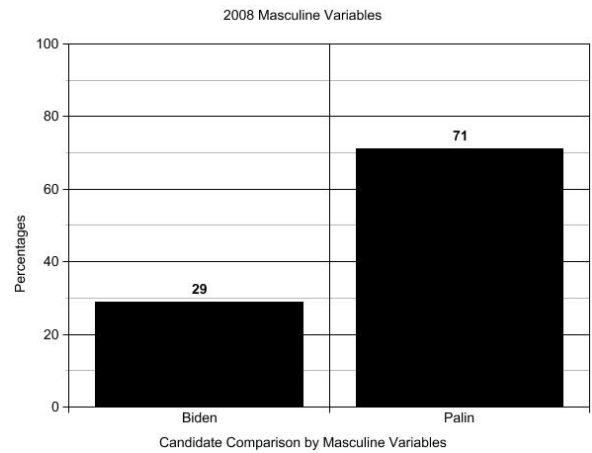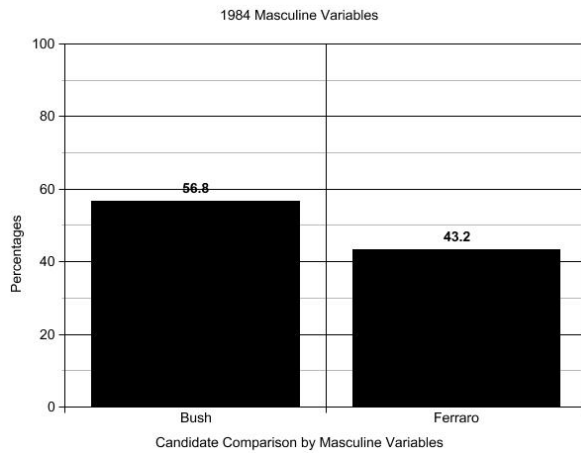
Comparing the 1984 and 2008 races, more variables were coded for Biden than Bush (20% increase) and Palin than Ferraro (40% increase) for crime, but more coverage was given to Bush than Biden (55.1% increase) and Ferraro than Palin (15.8% increase) for defense. More coverage was given to Bush than Biden (124% increase) and Palin than Ferraro (300% increase) for economy. For all masculine variables coded, Ferraro had 31.7% more coded variables than Bush; Palin 145% more coded variables than Biden. Bush received 71.3% more than Biden; Palin 88.5% more than Ferraro.

At the 5% level of significance, the data provided enough evidence to reject the null hypothesis for Bush-Ferraro, but not for Biden-Palin (See Table 8). The frequency table below shows there is enough evidence to conclude that Ferraro received less

masculine policy coverage than Bush. For Ferraro, the P-value = 0.034 < 0.05, therefore

hypothesis H2 is supported, and H0 is rejected. For Palin, the P-value = 0.01 < 0.05

reflects Biden's masculine coverage, therefore H2 is not supported, and there is a failure

to reject H0.

Table 8

Variables – Masculine Policy

Row #	Category	Observed	Expected #	Expected
1	Ferraro	104	120.5	50.000%
2	Bush	137	120.5	50.000%

	gender
Chi-Square(a)	4.519
df	1.000
Asymp. Sig.	.034

Row #	Category	Observed	Expected #	Expected
1	Palin	196	138	50.000%
2	Biden	80	138	50.000%

|	gender
Chi-Square(a)	48.754
df	1.000
Asymp. Sig.	.000

Feminine Categories

H3. Female vice-presidential candidates will receive more feminine policy coverage than males.

The number of times candidate references were coded for feminine policy categories (education, environment, and healthcare) was totaled (See Table 9). Ferraro and Palin received more coverage than the males in each category. Ferraro received more in education (600% increase) and healthcare (750% increase). Palin received more in environment (1000% increase) and healthcare (750% increase). Bush and Biden had no coverage for environment and education, respectively.

Table 9

Total Coded Variables (166) for Feminine Policy Categories

	1984		2008	
Feminine Policies	Bush	Ferraro	Biden	Palin
Education	1	7	0	18
Environment	0	9	3	33
Healthcare	2	17	8	68
Totals	3	33	11	119

1984 Feminine Variables

91.7

8.3

Percentages

Bush   Ferraro

Candidate Comparison by Feminine Variables

2008 Feminine Variables

91.5

8.5

Percentages

Biden   Palin

Candidate Comparison by Feminine Variables

Comparing the 1984 and 2008 races, more variables were coded for Palin than

Ferraro for education (157.1% increase), environment (266.7% increase), and healthcare

(300% increase). More coverage was given to Biden than Bush for environment and

healthcare (300% increase). For all feminine variables coded, Ferraro had 1000% more

coded variables than Bush; Palin 981.8% more coded variables than Biden. Biden

received 266.7% more than Bush; Palin 260.6% more than Ferraro.

At the 5% level of significance, the data provided enough evidence to reject the

null hypothesis (See Table 10). The frequency table below shows there is enough

evidence to conclude that female vice-presidential candidates received more feminine

policy coverage than males. The P-value = 0.01 < 0.05, therefore hypothesis H3 is

supported for both female candidates, and H0 is rejected.

Table 10

Variables – Feminine Policy

Row #	Category	Observed	Expected #	Expected
1	Ferraro	33	18	50.000%
2	Bush	3	18	50.000%

	gender
Chi-Square(a)	25.000
df	1.000
Asymp. Sig.	.000

Row #	Category	Observed	Expected #	Expected
1	Palin	119	65	50.000%
2	Biden	11	65	50.000%

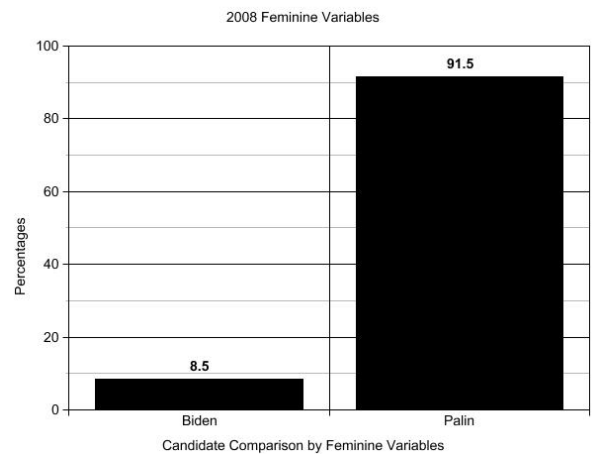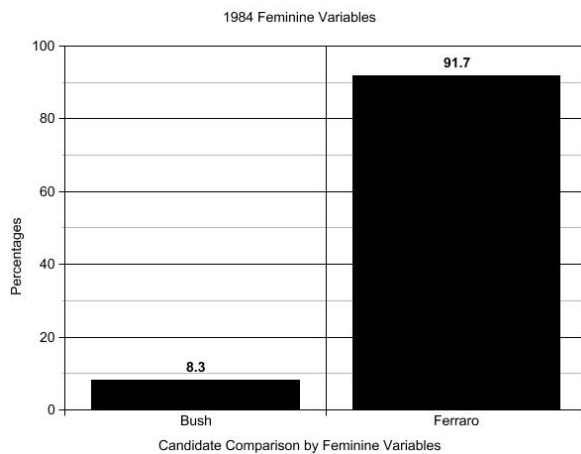|	gender
Chi-Square(a)	89.723
df	1.000
Asymp. Sig.	.000

Character Categories

H4. Female vice-presidential candidates will receive more character coverage than males.

The number of times candidate references were coded for character categories (experience, family, gender, personal appearance, and personal religion) was totaled (See

Table 11). Ferraro and Palin received more coverage than the males in each category.

Ferraro received more in experience (112.2% increase), family (2114.3% increase),

gender (1620% increase), personal appearance (333.3% increase) and personal religion

(4200% increase). Palin received more in experience (329.2% increase), family (278.9%

increase), gender (2062.5% increase), personal appearance (528.6% increase) and

personal religion (1000%).

Table 11

Total Coded Variables (1,454) for Character Categories

	1984		2008	
Characteristics	Bush	Ferraro	Biden	Palin
Experience	41	87	72	309
Family	7	155	57	216
Gender	10	172	8	173
Personal Appearance	3	13	7	44
Personal Religion	1	43	3	33
Totals	62	470	147	775
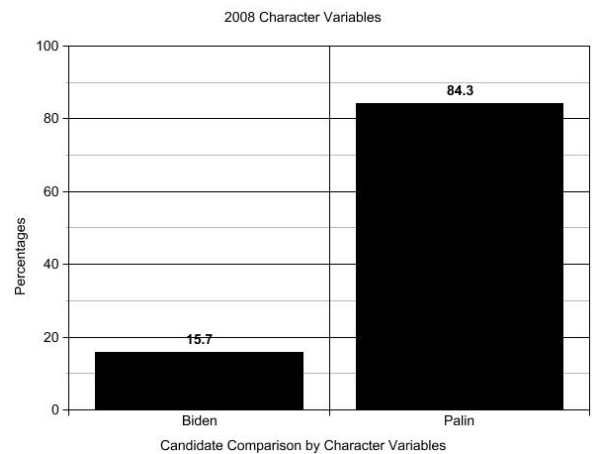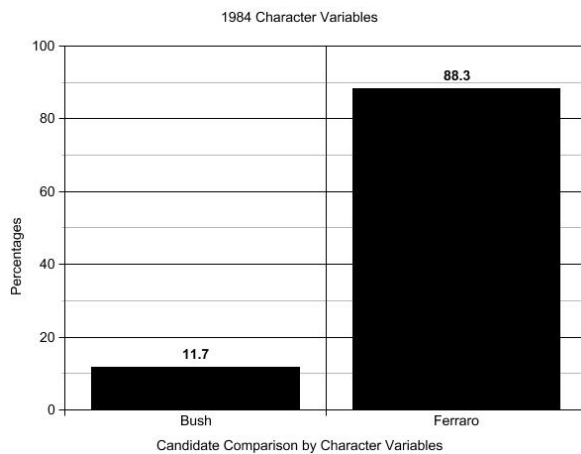
Comparing the 1984 and 2008 races, more variables were coded for Biden and

Palin than Bush and Ferraro in experience (75.6% and 255.2% increase), family (714.3%

and 39.4% increase), and personal appearance (133.3% and 238.5% increase). Palin and Ferraro was given almost equal (1% increase) coverage for gender. There was a 25% gender increase for Bush over Biden. Ferraro received more coverage than Palin for personal religion (30.3% increase); Biden received a 300% increase over Bush. For all character variables coded, Ferraro had 658.1% more coded variables than Bush; Palin 427.2% more coded variables than Biden. Biden received 137.1% more than Bush; Palin 64.9% more than Ferraro.

At the 5% level of significance, the data provide enough evidence to reject the null hypothesis (See Table 12). The frequency table below shows there is enough evidence to conclude that female vice-presidential candidates received more character coverage than males. The P-value = 0.01 < 0.05, therefore hypothesis H4 is supported for both female candidates, and H0 is rejected.

Table 12

Variables - Characteristics

Row #	Category	Observed	Expected #	Expected
1	Ferraro	470	266	50.000%
2	Bush	62	266	50.000%

	gender
Chi-Square(a)	312.902
df	1.000
Asymp. Sig.	.000

Row #	Category	Observed	Expected #	Expected
1	Palin	775	459.5	50.000%
2	Biden	144	459.5	50.000%

	gender
Chi-Square(a)	433.255
df	1.000
Asymp. Sig.	.000

Tone Categories

*H5. Female vice-presidential candidates will receive more negative coverage than males.*

The number of times candidate references were coded for tone (acclaim, attack, and defend quotes) was totaled (See Table 13). Ferraro and Palin received more coverage than the males in each category. Ferraro received more in acclaim (303.2% increase),

48

attack (8.5%) and defend (48.8% increase). Palin received more in acclaim (209.8%

increase), attack (172.5% increase), and defend (217.4% increase).

Table 13

Total Coded Variables (929) for Quote Tone Categories

	1984		2008	
Quote Tone	Bush	Ferraro	Biden	Palin
Acclaim	31	125	51	158
Attack	82	89	51	139
Defend	43	64	23	73
Totals	156	278	125	370

1984 Tone Variables — Bush 35.9, Ferraro 64.1 (Candidate Comparison by Tone Variables)

2008 Tone Variables — Biden 25.3, Palin 74.7 (Candidate Comparison by Tone Variables)
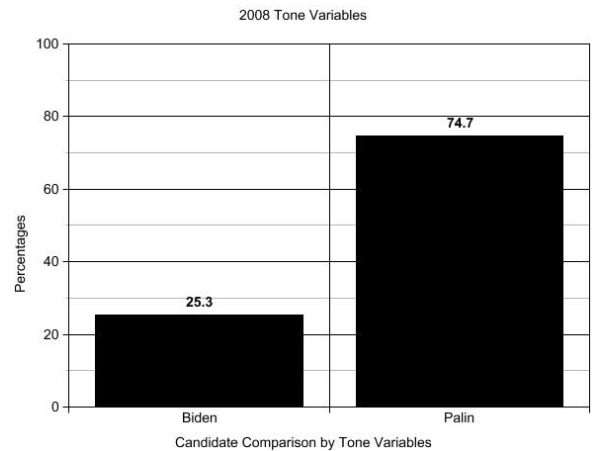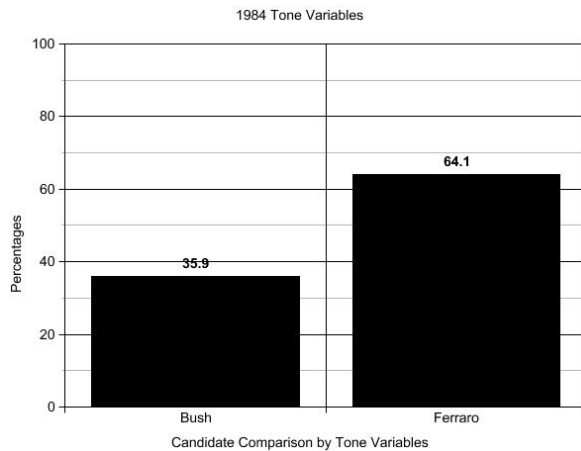
Comparing the 1984 and 2008 races, more tone variables were coded for Palin

than Ferraro in each category: 26.4% increase acclaim, 56.2% increase attack, and 14.1%

increase defend. Bush was given more coverage than Biden for attack (60.8% increase)

and defend (86.9% increase). Biden was given more coverage than Bush for acclaim

(64.5% increase). For all tone variables coded, Ferraro had 78.2% more coded variables

than Bush; Palin 196% more coded variables than Biden. Bush received 24.8% more than

Biden; Palin 33.1% more than Ferraro.

At the 5% level of significance, the data provide enough evidence to reject the null hypothesis for Biden-Palin, but not for Bush-Ferraro (See Table 14). The frequency table below shows there is enough evidence to conclude that Palin received more negative coverage than Biden. For Palin, the P-value = 0.01 < 0.05, therefore hypothesis H5 is supported, and H0 is rejected. For Ferraro, the P-value = 0.592 < 0.05, therefore H5 is not supported, and there is a failure to reject H0.

Table 14

Variables – Negative Tone

Row #	Category	Observed	Expected #	Expected
1	Ferraro	89	85.5	50.000%
2	Bush	82	85.5	50.000%

	gender
Chi-Square(a)	.287
df	1.000
Asymp. Sig.	.592

Row #	Category	Observed	Expected #	Expected
1	Palin	139	95	50.000%
2	Biden	51	95	50.000%

	gender
Chi-Square(a)	40.758
df	1.000
Asymp. Sig.	.000

Chapter 5
Conclusions

This research was important for three reasons. First, it addressed how gender frames are applied to executive-level elections. Second, it expanded the research on the news framing of gender stereotypes. Third, it compared and contrasted the frames used in two similar elections, decades apart, illustrating the framing of gender stereotypes in each. With four of the five hypotheses supporting each female candidate, the findings broaden the overall body of research on framing.

With all the information compiled and analyzed during this research, the overall finding is that gender stereotypes, with a couple of exceptions, are applied more to female vice-presidential candidates than to males. The finding that Palin received more masculine policy coverage than Biden, and Ferraro received close to equal negative coverage as Bush, for better or worse, is encouraging. But the finding that both Ferraro and Palin received more total coverage, more feminine coverage, and more character coverage, 24 years apart, indicates reporters' approach to covering genders remains unbalanced.

In all instances of the total coverage of this research, the female candidates received more coverage than the male candidates. Even after duplicates were removed from the population and the sample was selected, the females were given at least a third more total coverage than the males. Among the total variables coded from both sources, Ferraro was coded more than Bush by approximately 2-to-1, and Palin was coded more than Biden by approximately 5-to-1, implying not only that females received more total

coverage, but that the amount of coverage given to a female candidate increased considerably in the second vice-presidential campaign with female and male candidates.

The gap in total coverage is notable. Comparing the difference between Bush-Ferraro and Biden-Palin, the total gap in coverage increased 82.4% due to the drop in coverage for the male candidate in 2008. The difference in coded variables increased 138.4% between the two elections due to the drop and rise in coded variables for the male and female candidates, respectively, in 2008. The differences in the masculine and negative categories increased 357.4% and 1935.3%, respectively, in 2008.

Based on total coverage alone, the attention given to Ferraro and Palin was greater than Bush and Biden. On the surface, it might appear that more coverage equals better treatment. However, to fully understand how total coverage is used to frame gender stereotypes, the categorical differences among the candidates must also be considered.

The Bush-Ferraro race and the Biden-Palin race unexpectedly differed on masculine policy coverage. While the Bush-Ferraro race fit the gender stereotype, the Biden-Palin race did not. This is important because it may imply there has been a shift from the 1984 race to the 2008 race in how reporters question female candidates' ability to handle crime, defense, and the economy. However, the difference in coverage that Palin received compared to Biden was disproportionate and indicates reporters might have changed how they frame female candidates and masculine policies.

Palin was coded more often than Biden for defense, but for different reasons. Most of the time Biden was coded for defense was due to reporters referring to him as a foreign relations expert, mentor to Barack Obama, or committee chairman. When Palin was coded for defense, it was often due to reporters questioning her ability to serve as

commander-in-chief and being lampooned for her comment about the proximity of Russia to Alaska.

The economy was top news in 2008. Since Palin was in the same party with President George W. Bush, reporters would connect her and running mate John McCain with Bush's economic policies. She was also the governor of Alaska, so she was associated with all the economic issues there. To the contrary, reporters would often connect Biden with economic recovery policies.

As expected, the Bush-Ferraro and Biden-Palin races showed females received more feminine policy coverage. The difference was so great that the male candidates were each coded by nearly 1000% less in each election. Percentage wise, there appeared to be no change in the amount of coverage given to male and female candidates in each election. There was less than a 1% difference between Bush and Biden and Ferraro and Palin. These findings imply that gender stereotypes influence feminine policy coverage, and reporters could give more balanced coverage by questioning candidates equally.

Regarding the individual feminine variables, Palin's role as governor of Alaska could account for her high score on the environment. The 2008 oil crisis was expected to have had a greater impact on Biden's coding, but it did not. The healthcare coding could have been skewed by Ferraro and Palin's stances on abortion. To correct that in the future, reporters should given equal attention to the males' stances on abortion. Even if reporters choose to frame abortion as a feminine healthcare issue, there are other healthcare matters that reporters could explore with the male candidates. In 1984, for example, reporters could have asked Bush about his stance on funding HIV research. As

long as reporters continue to apply gender stereotypes to issues like abortion, then female candidates will continue to disproportionately receive feminine policy coverage.

The character category produced similar results as the feminine category. The difference in character coverage from 1984 to 2008 was 35.1%, due to the slight rise and drop of coded variables for the male and female candidates, respectively, in 2008. Again, percentage wise, the difference in the amount of coverage given to male and female candidates in each election was closer than the other categories: 34.2% for the males and 4.7% for the females, with the increase being greater for both genders in 2008.

Like the feminine category, the character category vividly displayed reporters' unequal treatment of genders. Both female candidates received significant more character coverage than the males. While the percentage of Bush's and Biden's character coverage was in the teens, Ferraro's and Palin's percentage of character coverage was in the mid-80's. Among the categories, two of Ferraro's coded variables and three of Palin's were in the triple digits.

Among all character variables, experience had the smallest gap, but even then the percentage differences where in triple digits for the females. The coding for the male candidates for religion, an issue presumably unrelated to gender according to the prior research, was nearly non-existent. Biden and Ferraro, for instance, were both Catholics, and at the time, the potential first Catholic vice-president, yet Ferraro's religion was mentioned 43 times; Biden's once.

As the literature review predicted, reporters gave greater attention to the females' family, gender, and personal appearance. However, for both females' family references, investigations increased the number of coded instances in that category. The females'

gender references primarily pertained to their role as a first and how their gender would impact the race. But there were also instances of gender stereotyping, like questioning how Palin would care for a child with Down's Syndrome if elected VP. The females' wardrobe, dress, and hairstyle received much attention, unlike the males.

The quote tone categories were coded quotes that could be interpreted as positive (acclaim), negative (attack), or defensive. For example, if a candidate made a negative quote or if someone made a negative quote about a candidate, then it was coded as attack. So a candidate's coded variables means that he/she either made a negative comment or one was made about him/her.

The attack quotes for Ferraro and Bush were too close in number to be statistically significant, but considering that Bush was the incumbent and a member of the party in power, it would have been understandable if the negative quotes had been higher for him. In comparison, Palin's negative score was almost 3-to-1 higher than Biden's, despite Biden's 30-year career in the Senate.

The difference in negative tone between the two elections increased 1935.3% in 2008 due to the rise of coded variables for Palin. On the other hand, it's encouraging the positives and the defenses were more in line with each other between the elections. But like the negatives for Palin, the positives were higher for the females than the males. So in these cases, the positives were unequally matched between the genders as well.

Limitations

The differences could be due to gender framing, but there could be other factors at play as well. The circumstances surrounding each candidate's campaign varied. In the 1984 election, Bush was the incumbent VP. He had already been vice president for four

years and assumedly had been vetted by the media as the vice-presidential candidate during the 1980 campaign. Ferraro, already a congresswoman, was making her first run for an executive branch office. So in addition to being the first female VP candidate on a Democratic ticket, Ferraro's entry into an executive level campaign was a frame unique to her.

Palin was in a similar situation in the 2008 election. She was a sitting governor, making her first run for an executive branch office. Palin was the first female VP candidate on a Republican ticket and, unlike Biden, a new face on the national scene. Bush's incumbency, Ferraro's and Palin's newness, and Biden's longevity were possible influences.

In addition, Republicans controlled the White House in the 1984 (Ronald Regan-George Bush) and 2008 (George W. Bush-Dick Cheney) elections. How news coverage of the candidates was affected by the opinion polls of the White House was not measured in this study. Also, whether or not one's political affiliation or ideology influenced the coverage was not evaluated.

Future Research

Total coverage is one implication that gender stereotyping is a factor, but the elements of an article were combined for the total in this study. An idea for future content analysis is for researchers to measure the list of frames individually. Knowing if the males or females received more mentions in the headlines alone, for example, would help provide a better understanding of the total coverage variable.

Like the research on Hillary Clinton in the presidential primary, the economy issue for Palin did not reflect prior findings. In the 24 years since Ferraro, this and the

prior studies' findings on females and the economy issue imply that the framing of gender stereotypes for that category might have changed. In future research on gender stereotypes in executive level races, the definition of masculine categories should be re-evaluated.

The feminine policy and character categories demonstrate the need for future research of gender stereotyping. But instead of analyzing if these categories apply, as they have been shown repeatedly that they do, researchers should gauge *why* the categories are applied more to females than to males. A survey of reporters' understanding of or views on gender stereotypes in political news coverage, for example, might help reveal why females continue to eclipse the males in these categories.

In future studies that measure tone, researchers should consider the source of the quote. In many of the negative comments, the target and/or source were from the opposite party. The same was true for positive and defense quotes. Knowing the source would not have changed the numbers in this study, but it might have helped provide a clearer understanding of what the numbers reflect.

Code Book

The coding terms below are defined to analyze the headlines, first paragraphs, last paragraphs, sentences, and quotes. The definition is preceded by the coding number.

<u>Elements</u>
Newspaper – Specify the paper in which the article was printed, either The New York Times or The Washington Post.
Article Number – Specify the number of each article.
Headline – A headline is defined as the words across the top of a news article.
First Paragraph (Lead) – The first paragraph is the lead paragraph of a news article.
Last Paragraph (Conclusion) – The last paragraph is the concluding paragraph of a news article.
Body Sentence/Paragraph – The sentence/paragraph are those within the body of a news article, between the first and last paragraphs, referring to a candidate by name. The reference can be made by the reporter, candidate, or other source.
Quote – A quote is signified by quote marks and has a verb; i.e., "The candidate ran for office" or The candidate "ran for office." Do not code individually quoted words; i.e., The candidate said he voted for the "bill."
Paragraph Number – Specify the number of the paragraph in which a sentence/quote is coded.

Coding Terms – The coding terms are defined as the words used in the headline, first paragraph, last paragraph, and sentence/quote in relation to a candidate.

<u>Candidate</u>
0 – **Neither**: No reference to any candidate. If "Neither" is selected, proceed to the next section.
1- **Biden, Bush**: Male candidates.
2 – **Palin, Ferraro**: Female candidates.
- Do not code references to the tickets: Reagan-Bush, Mondale-Ferraro, Obama-Biden, McCain-Palin.
- Do code references to comparisons: Bush-Ferraro, Biden-Palin.
- Be sure the highlighted name is referring to a candidate, not a family member, i.e., Barbara Bush. Only code the family member as family when the candidate is mentioned in the same sentence.

<u>Content: Policies and Issues</u> *(references to candidate's legislation, laws, votes cast, etc.)*
3 – **Crime**: References to crime policies and issues, such as law enforcement, illegal immigration, criminals, victims, juveniles, prisons, judicial system, laws, gun control, etc.
4 – **Defense**: References to military policies and issues, such as war, terrorism, allies, enemies, weapons, national security, homeland security, etc.

5 – **Economy**: References to jobs policies and issues, such as budget, taxes, deficit, employment, the dollar, funding, workforce, social security, retirement, etc.

6 – **Education**: References to education policies and issues, such as schools, teachers, students, pass/failure rates, drop-out rates, funding, etc.

7 – **Environment**: References to environment policies and issues, such as global warming, climate change, pollution, weather, temperatures, natural disasters, etc.

8 – **Healthcare**: References to healthcare policies and issues, such as abortion, hospitals, diseases, medicines, cures, prescriptions, health insurance, insurance companies, public option, Medicare, Medicaid, etc.

9 – **Energy**: References to energy policies and issues, such as gas prices, oil, drilling, alternative energies, etc.

10 – **Religion**: References to religious policies and issues, such as freedom of religion, prayer on government property, religious symbols on government property, etc.

Content: Personal Attributes *(references about candidate's life, personality, beliefs, etc.)*

11 – **Experience**: References to a candidate's experience, such as jobs, positions, committees, sub-committees, caucuses, offices, educational degrees, etc.

12 – **Family**: References to a candidate's family, such as spouse, children, parents, extended family, etc.

13 – **Gender**: References to a candidate's gender and/or the impact of their gender, such as female, male, wife, husband, father, mother, son, daughter, grandfather, grandmother, etc.

14 – **Personal Appearance**: References to a candidate's personal appearance, such as hair, makeup, clothes, physical features, etc. (Not references to campaign/media appearances.)

15 – **Personal Religion**: References to a candidate's personal religion, such as faith, church attendance, beliefs, etc.

16 – **Quote-Acclaim**: Whole complimentary (complimenting, supportive, encouraging, positive, bragging, boasting, etc.) quote made by and/or about a candidate.

    Example whole – "The candidate will be a good VP."

17 – **Quote-Attack**: Whole critical (criticizing, challenging, sarcastic, negative, putting down, etc.) quote made by and/or about a candidate.

    Example whole – "The candidate will not be a good VP."

18 – **Quote-Defend**: Whole defensive (defending, guarding, protecting, resisting, taking up for, etc.) quote made by and/or about a candidate.

    Example whole – "Stop criticizing the candidate."

19 – **None of the Above**: Codes 3-18 do not apply.

Appendix 2
Coding Sheets

Newspaper (Circle One #):   1 – The New York Times   2 – The Washington Post
Article Number:

Headline				(Check all that apply)
Candidate		0 - Neither	1 - Bush	2 - Ferraro
3	Crime			
4	Defense			
5	Economy			
6	Education			
7	Environment			
8	Healthcare			
9	Energy			
10	Religion			
11	Experience			
12	Family			
13	Gender			
14	Personal Appearance			
15	Personal Religion			
16	Quote - Acclaim			
17	Quote - Attack			
18	Quote - Defend			
19	None of the Above			

First Paragraph				(Check all that apply)
Candidate		0 - Neither	1 - Bush	2 - Ferraro
3	Crime			
4	Defense			
5	Economy			
6	Education			
7	Environment			
8	Healthcare			
9	Energy			
10	Religion			
11	Experience			
12	Family			
13	Gender			
14	Personal Appearance			
15	Personal Religion			
16	Quote - Acclaim			
17	Quote - Attack			
18	Quote - Defend			
19	None of the Above			

Last Paragraph				(Check all that apply)
Candidate		0 - Neither	1 - Bush	2 - Ferraro
3	Crime			
4	Defense			
5	Economy			
6	Education			
7	Environment			
8	Healthcare			
9	Energy			
10	Religion			
11	Experience			
12	Family			
13	Gender			
14	Personal Appearance			
15	Personal Religion			
16	Quote - Acclaim			
17	Quote - Attack			
18	Quote - Defend			
19	None of the Above			

Sentence Paragraph #:				(Check all that apply)
Candidate		0 - Neither	1 - Bush	2 - Ferraro
3	Crime			
4	Defense			
5	Economy			
6	Education			
7	Environment			
8	Healthcare			
9	Energy			
10	Religion			
11	Experience			
12	Family			
13	Gender			
14	Personal Appearance			
15	Personal Religion			
16	Quote - Acclaim			
17	Quote - Attack			
18	Quote - Defend			
19	None of the Above			

Coding Sheet 2
Newspaper (Circle One)   1 – The New York Times   2 – The Washington Post
Article Number:

Sentence	Paragraph #:	(Check all that apply)

Candidate		0 - Neither	1 - Bush	2 - Ferraro
3	Crime			
4	Defense			
5	Economy			
6	Education			
7	Environment			
8	Healthcare			
9	Energy			
10	Religion			
11	Experience			
12	Family			
13	Gender			
14	Personal Appearance			
15	Personal Religion			
16	Quote - Acclaim			
17	Quote - Attack			
18	Quote - Defend			
19	None of the Above			

Sentence	Paragraph #:	(Check all that apply)

Candidate		0 - Neither	1 - Bush	2 - Ferraro
3	Crime			
4	Defense			
5	Economy			
6	Education			
7	Environment			
8	Healthcare			
9	Energy			
10	Religion			
11	Experience			
12	Family			
13	Gender			
14	Personal Appearance			
15	Personal Religion			
16	Quote - Acclaim			
17	Quote - Attack			
18	Quote - Defend			
19	None of the Above			

Sentence	Paragraph #:	(Check all that apply)

Candidate		0 - Neither	1 - Bush	2 - Ferraro
3	Crime			
4	Defense			
5	Economy			
6	Education			
7	Environment			
8	Healthcare			
9	Energy			
10	Religion			
11	Experience			
12	Family			
13	Gender			
14	Personal Appearance			
15	Personal Religion			
16	Quote - Acclaim			
17	Quote - Attack			
18	Quote - Defend			
19	None of the Above			

Sentence	Paragraph #:	(Check all that apply)

Candidate		0 - Neither	1 - Bush	2 - Ferraro
3	Crime			
4	Defense			
5	Economy			
6	Education			
7	Environment			
8	Healthcare			
9	Energy			
10	Religion			
11	Experience			
12	Family			
13	Gender			
14	Personal Appearance			
15	Personal Religion			
16	Quote - Acclaim			
17	Quote - Attack			
18	Quote - Defend			
19	None of the Above			

Coding Sheet 3

Newspaper (Circle One #):   1 – The New York Times   2 – The Washington Post
Article Number:

Headline			(Check all that apply)
Candidate	0 - Neither	1 - Biden	2 - Palin
3 Crime			
4 Defense			
5 Economy			
6 Education			
7 Environment			
8 Healthcare			
9 Energy			
10 Religion			
11 Experience			
12 Family			
13 Gender			
14 Personal Appearance			
15 Personal Religion			
16 Quote - Acclaim			
17 Quote - Attack			
18 Quote - Defend			
19 None of the Above			

First Paragraph			(Check all that apply)
Candidate	0 - Neither	1 - Biden	2 - Palin
3 Crime			
4 Defense			
5 Economy			
6 Education			
7 Environment			
8 Healthcare			
9 Energy			
10 Religion			
11 Experience			
12 Family			
13 Gender			
14 Personal Appearance			
15 Personal Religion			
16 Quote - Acclaim			
17 Quote - Attack			
18 Quote - Defend			
19 None of the Above			

Last Paragraph			(Check all that apply)
Candidate	0 - Neither	1 - Biden	2 - Palin
3 Crime			
4 Defense			
5 Economy			
6 Education			
7 Environment			
8 Healthcare			
9 Energy			
10 Religion			
11 Experience			
12 Family			
13 Gender			
14 Personal Appearance			
15 Personal Religion			
16 Quote - Acclaim			
17 Quote - Attack			
18 Quote - Defend			
19 None of the Above			

Sentence **Paragraph #:**			(Check all that apply)
Candidate	0 - Neither	1 - Biden	2 - Palin
3 Crime			
4 Defense			
5 Economy			
6 Education			
7 Environment			
8 Healthcare			
9 Energy			
10 Religion			
11 Experience			
12 Family			
13 Gender			
14 Personal Appearance			
15 Personal Religion			
16 Quote - Acclaim			
17 Quote - Attack			
18 Quote - Defend			
19 None of the Above			

Coding Sheet 4

Newspaper (Circle One) 1 – The New York Times 2 – The Washington Post
Article Number:

Sentence	Paragraph #:		(Check all that apply)	
Candidate		0 - Neither	1 - Biden	2 - Palin
3	Crime			
4	Defense			
5	Economy			
6	Education			
7	Environment			
8	Healthcare			
9	Energy			
10	Religion			
11	Experience			
12	Family			
13	Gender			
14	Personal Appearance			
15	Personal Religion			
16	Quote - Acclaim			
17	Quote - Attack			
18	Quote - Defend			
19	None of the Above			

Sentence	Paragraph #:		(Check all that apply)	
Candidate		0 - Neither	1 - Biden	2 - Palin
3	Crime			
4	Defense			
5	Economy			
6	Education			
7	Environment			
8	Healthcare			
9	Energy			
10	Religion			
11	Experience			
12	Family			
13	Gender			
14	Personal Appearance			
15	Personal Religion			
16	Quote - Acclaim			
17	Quote - Attack			
18	Quote - Defend			
19	None of the Above			

Sentence	Paragraph #:		(Check all that apply)	
Candidate		0 - Neither	1 - Biden	2 - Palin
3	Crime			
4	Defense			
5	Economy			
6	Education			
7	Environment			
8	Healthcare			
9	Energy			
10	Religion			
11	Experience			
12	Family			
13	Gender			
14	Personal Appearance			
15	Personal Religion			
16	Quote - Acclaim			
17	Quote - Attack			
18	Quote - Defend			
19	None of the Above			

Sentence	Paragraph #:		(Check all that apply)	
Candidate		0 - Neither	1 - Biden	2 - Palin
3	Crime			
4	Defense			
5	Economy			
6	Education			
7	Environment			
8	Healthcare			
9	Energy			
10	Religion			
11	Experience			
12	Family			
13	Gender			
14	Personal Appearance			
15	Personal Religion			
16	Quote - Acclaim			
17	Quote - Attack			
18	Quote - Defend			
19	None of the Above			

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