

BACKWARD IN HIGH HEELS: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF MAJOR
NEWSMAGAZINES COVERING HILLARY CLINTON'S 2008 CAMPAIGN

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ABSTRACT

This critical discourse analysis looked at newsmagazine coverage of Hillary Clinton's 2008 campaign for the Democratic nomination. The research sought to understand if there was any difference in the language used to write about Clinton and Barack Obama, and if the content focus of the articles differed between the two candidates. Using framing and feminist theory, the research showed that much of the reporting on Clinton was sexist, but uses coded sexism rather than overt showings.

This is important to understand because coded sexism is much more likely to survive without being identified as sexist. Journalists should understand the power of their words and how they can inadvertently cast subjects in a certain light. Coded words used to describe Clinton were certainly present in the reporting and could ultimately affect readers' perception of Clinton and other female politicians.

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Keywords: Hillary Clinton, female politicians, feminism, newsmagazines, campaign, gendered language, sexist

Chapter One: Introduction

When I began graduate work at the University of Missouri, I came in with a year's worth of full-time reporting experience. Although most entry-level journalism jobs are usually a general assignment position, mine was quite specific. I was a music critic and journalist at the Austin alternative weekly, *The Austin Chronicle*. I landed the job that I had dreamed of since I naively thought that all music journalists rode on tour buses and drank with the band after work. And to an extent, as I began to carve out my spot among Austin music and culture critics, my life consisted of daily concerts and a fair amount of beer.

During the Texas legislature's 83rd session, there was an omnibus abortion bill that I had paid special attention to since it had been introduced. I crossed the dimly lit hallway between the music office and news and managed to successfully convince the news editor to let me contribute to the reporting on the controversial bill. It was the first time that I had reported from the Capitol, and from the moment I set foot into the marbled rotunda, I was hooked. Each day the bill came up for debate, I headed to the Capitol. From the press gallery I watched the drama unfold, from Sen. Wendy Davis' now-famous filibuster to the eventual passage. The entire time I watched, researched, and asked questions. I had never been more proud of my work.

My music editor, Raoul Hernandez, pulled me aside one evening after the session had ended. I had already turned in my two-weeks notice and let the *Chronicle* family know that I would be heading to the University of Missouri in the fall. I was still hesitant about going back to school after only a year as a full-time professional, and I found

myself hoping that he would ask me to stay onboard. Instead, he encouraged me to stop writing about music completely. Initially, I was shocked. I had spent my entire undergraduate career working toward this goal and felt that my abilities were being questioned. Instead, Hernandez had more practical advice. After having worked with me for two years, one while I was still a student at the University of Texas, he commented that he had never seen my writing as passionate as when I wrote about politics. He saw in my writing what I felt as I sat in the Senate chamber, that I was finally doing something important.

So when I arrived at MU in August 2013, I threw all of my energy into political writing and reporting. During my first semester I pitched and wrote a freelance piece for *Dissent* on Missouri's failed gun nullification bill. As I worked on this piece, which I spent two months reporting, I worked with *Vox* magazine as the digital managing editor. While there, I refined the skills that I gained as a multimedia journalism major, working with student digital editors to manage social media and website story presentation. The next year, I spent five months covering reproductive health and higher education legislation for the *Jefferson City News Tribune* and *Columbia Missourian* for the Advanced Reporting class. Since May, I have boiled down complicated political topics at both state and national levels for the women's site Bustle. And leading up to the 2014 midterm elections, I wrote a *Vox* cover story on millennial voting habits and why they have disengaged from the political process. In the past two years, I have feel like I've upheld one of the tenets of journalism — serving as a watchdog for our government.

When I leave the graduate school, I want to pursue political reporting with the eventual goal of becoming a political columnist. I understand that I must first master the

nuances of political reporting before I begin to inject my own opinion and analysis, and I believe that an entry-level job covering politics will be what gets me there. That is why I chose Washington, D.C. as the location for my professional project. I have the opportunity to expose myself to political coverage at the national level and learn from seasoned reporters who will show me the ins and outs of the nation's capital.

Chapter Two: Weekly field notes

Week one: January 19 – January 23

A week of firsts! It was my first week working at Scripps and my first seminar with Barbara. I feel like throwing my hat in the air and spinning around like Mary Tyler Moore, but I haven't and I won't. It is way too cold for that.

Scripps is better than I could have hoped. Everyone in the office has been ludicrously helpful in making me feel oriented and comfortable. At the same time, they expect what I feel is the right amount of independence. The first few days have been a lot of valuable introductions to the Scripps team, including sit-downs with key figures such as bureau chief Ellen Weiss and my supervisor Phil Pruitt. In the first week I have pitched two stories. My first, which was about the 20-week abortion bill in the House, published on Thursday, and the other will publish next Wednesday.

<http://www.newsnet5.com/decodedc/a-coup-by-republican-women-blocked-action-on-the-anti-abortion-bill>

I have almost finished pulling all of the stories on Hillary Clinton from the three major news magazines that I identified. I know when we were discussing my research we weren't sure about the volume of the articles, but it seems that this should be manageable without having to further narrow the scope.

Tom Rosenstiel's lecture on Friday was really interesting. Initially I thought it would be the same journalism-has-no-money speech, but Rosenstiel went beyond on that. He touched on something that *WIRED* features editor Mark Robinson brought up during his visit for the Missouri Honor Medal, which is the idea of websites making money

based on time spent on a page rather than the number of views. Rosenstiel echoed Robinson's idea that this could be profitable for longform journalism, especially because people are growing more comfortable reading on smaller screens. That is encouraging for someone who has studied both online journalism tactics and still has a deep love of in-depth reporting.

All in all, it was a great first week. The move east seems to be paying off thus far; plus, it is warmer here than Missouri. But it's still colder than Texas.

Week two: January 26 – January 30

My supervisor, Phil Pruitt, said it best when he explained my position to Barbara Cochran this week — I am being treated like a member of the staff. In the office, I am expected to come in with ideas and understand how my skills are best utilized. As someone who has spent time in professional newsrooms both as an intern and a full-time staff member, my internship with Scripps feels less like a glorified transcriptionist and more like a temporary digital reporter (though wouldn't it be great if it turned into full-time?).

This week I finished my third story for Scripps. In a piece slated for Monday I wrote about how bills are named, which I will send along in my notes next week. I also published a fun piece on the politics behind the Super Bowl, in which I combed through campaign donations to find out where money from players, coaches and owners of the Seattle Seahawks and New England Patriots ends up. It got a lot of traffic on Twitter, and I was sure to take advantage of the fact that "Super Bowl" was trending at the times that I blasted it out.

<http://www.newsnet5.com/decodedc/super-bowl-politics-theres-even-gridlock-on-the-gridiron>

I have pitched three more stories for next week, and Phil and I are teasing out which ones we think would be best for DecodeDC. This week I dived into the social media sphere of the blog, which I always enjoy. Scripps doesn't have an official social media editor, so I am splitting duties with another digital reporter with Twitter and Facebook posts. I really enjoy social media and outreach, so I think I will have a lot of opportunity to make the audience grow.

I enjoyed our visit to Sen. Roy Blunt's office and talking with his communication shop. It made me evaluate how I talk to press secretaries and communication heads. I think the most valuable nugget I walked away with is to be more specific about my deadlines and what I want. I have a tendency to be pretty vague about the nature of the interview other than my topic, but I think I would have more success getting through to legislators if I explained that a lot of the time I really only need a quote or background. That visit intrigued me. I think that if I found a legislator that I could support, I would really enjoy working on a congressperson's press team. That's something to consider when I start looking for jobs in Washington.

Week three: February 2 – February 6

Is it strange that I am still feeling like I am missing a class? I have these recurring dreams that I have a final for a class that I haven't been to all semester. It is the same dream I had after I graduated from undergrad. My friend's mom she still has it to this day. I am waiting for the cold-sweat mornings to stop.

In a way, Scripps is a bit like a class, or a crash course is probably more accurate. I receive pretty minimal direction on the assignments that I have, but that works well for someone like me. I think that Ellen probably recognized that when she offered me the internship. But when they say that it isn't a lot of handholding, they *really* mean it.

One thing I appreciate is that if anything is changed in my stories I am consulted. I'm not accustomed to that even from editors in a professional newsroom. Raoul, my old boss, would rip apart my stories to beyond the point of recognition and not bat an eye, but Phil will consult me on even the most minor changes. It is refreshing, especially as I am still learning the voice that Scripps is looking for.

I published three stories this week, one that I'd written the week before and two more than I wrote this week. I am now a net neutrality expert, even if becoming one meant my brain feeling like mush at the end of the day.

<http://www.newsnet5.com/decodedc/surprise-surprise-theres-a-partisan-divide-in-the-net-neutrality-debate>

<http://www.newsnet5.com/decodedc/decoding-the-net-neutrality-debate>

<http://www.newsnet5.com/decodedc/whats-the-strategy-behind-those-catchy-legislation-titles>

I have two more stories in the works right now. I'm particularly excited about a review of the White House task force on sexual assault, which I have found hasn't been looked at with much scrutiny.

I am making headway in coding my articles for my project. I am ready to be done so I can look at the findings comprehensively, but I have some work to do before that.

The Bloomberg visit was amazing this week. I thought the insight from the White House correspondents was valuable, especially seeing the paths they went on to get there. Essentially, it reinforced a hunch that I already had — you can use your expertise in certain subjects to make yourself invaluable. Now I'm working on figuring out exactly what my strengths are, and I hope to demonstrate that value to Scripps or another company that will (hopefully) hire me after my internship is finished.

Week four: February 9 – February 13

Happy Presidents Day, everyone! Through some fellow journalism nerds on Twitter, I learned that it is “presidents” and not “president’s,” which I think that only big time AP sticklers and journalism nerds would appreciate.

This week I published three different pieces, two fun ones about Mercury being in retrograde and a beer debate (really) forming in Congress, and the other a reported piece I did on the White House sexual assault task force. Suffice to say, I'm keeping busy.

Sexual assault task force: <http://www.newsnet5.com/decodedc/white-house-sexual-assault-task-force-has-taken-first-steps-on-long-complicated-mission>

Beer debate: <http://www.newsnet5.com/decodedc/beer-storm-brewing-on-capitol-hill>

Mercury and politics: <http://www.newsnet5.com/decodedc/can-washington-weirdness-be-blamed-on-mercury>

Dick Meyer, a columnist for Scripps, stopped by my desk this week and told me that he'd been reading my stuff. He had a lot of positive feedback about my style and voice, which as an aspiring columnist I sincerely appreciated. He also had some advice — just let 'em have it.

“Don’t hold back. Just purge it out and let them edit it down. You’ll never get it as good as the first time on the second purge.”

Since I started at Scripps, I’ve felt myself trying to do more news pieces. In some situations I understand that importance, but I understand more and more that I am there because of my voice. That is a huge compliment. And it’s advice that I will try to follow. Side note: Why do all writers *love* vomit metaphors? I remember my editor at the *Chronicle*, Raoul, using one when he was talking me through first drafts.

I am almost finished coding the articles for my research, and I expect that I should start on analysis in the next week or so. I am also looking at past projects to see how they are presented, because I know formatting is a big deal when turning the final product in.

Week five: February 16 – February 20

The advice that I always hear from seasoned journalists is to always have new ideas. Story ideas, social media innovation, different angles to think - you’re trained to be a walking ideas factory. But as an intern you aren’t always used in such a way. The thing about walking in to established newsrooms is that they do the things they do because it already works. When I was at *Texas Monthly* I was privileged to work on a lot of interesting projects and stories, but those were mostly things that the newsroom already had in the pipeline.

Because DecodeDC is a relatively new addition to the Scripps family, I feel like I’m working with moving parts rather than a well-oiled machine. There is still so much room for innovation because there are virtually no parameters in place. I feel like I say this all the time, but this internship could not have worked out better.

I worked on a newsletter prototype this week, which turned to an explainer on why Obamacare is back in the news. I sent it to my supervisor, Phil, and we determined that the format could work even better as a new feature on the website rather than a newsletter. We both walked away from the meeting feeling very energized, and I can't wait to work on it more.

I also wrote a piece about PAC names and how absurd they are (Reaganation, for example). <http://www.newsnet5.com/decodedc/pac-names-who-comes-up-with-this-stuff-and-whats-the-mission>

I have a few bigger story ideas that I am kicking around, including something on the Supreme Court and why they don't livestream proceedings. Barbara, I'd love to talk to you about this soon.

I've started rounding up all of the coding I've been doing that and making sure it is well-organized, but I expect to begin a deep dive into my results this week. I feel comfortable about my progress thus far and know I will be able to have everything to the committee well before I defend in April.

Week six: February 23 – February 27

It was a busy week in politics. The Keystone XL pipeline veto, the FCC's net neutrality vote, the narrowly skimmed DHS shutdown – all things that I am now well-versed in that I would have had absolutely no clue how to talk about two months ago.

I dug into the Keystone pipeline for the first time this week and looked into how it became a symbol for both sides of the argument. It was an interesting lesson in cutting through the spin that Republicans and Democrats feed you. At the base of the Keystone

Pipeline debate, it was neither a job creator nor an environmental disaster. Yet that is the accepted rhetoric behind the pipeline, one that experts agree has little to no basis in fact.

So moral of the story, always dig beyond what the talking heads on either side are telling you, because the chances are that one (or more) of them is at *least* embellishing the truth.

Here is my piece on Keystone:

<http://www.newsnet5.com/decodedc/breaking-down-the-keystone-pipeline-fight>

I also wrote another piece about symbolism on the Senate floor, inspired by Jim Inhofe:

<http://www.newsnet5.com/decodedc/what-congress-needs-is-more-snowballs>

I thought the visit from the Inspectors General was interesting, if even to find out how to best access the information available. I was also curious to hear how people who work with journalists so much perceive their requests for information. I was bothered by something that Ms. Serchak said, however, which was the insistence that journalists don't need overly specific information, and rather should just get the broad strokes of what they want.

I understood that her point was to ask us to be more specific, but something about it seemed like some sort of information control that I wasn't comfortable with. I'm sure this is coming from years of having to deal with non-specific requests, but something about the assumption that journalists should just expect only filtered information was very off putting to me.

I'm still chugging along coding articles. I didn't get quite as much as I wanted to finished this week because I was at the office pretty late most nights. But I think this week I should have some more time to focus on it.

Week seven: March 2 – March 6

I've introduced Storify to the DecodeDC team, and you'd think they'd seen magic. I learned about the tool during undergrad, and I have used it so much since then. I keep waiting for everyone else to catch on and understand how easy it is to use. But until then, I continue to look impressive. This week I used it to build my Obamacare deep dive, which we developed as part of what could become an ongoing series. I'm pleased with how the first one came out.

<http://www.thedenverchannel.com/decodedc/why-are-we-still-talking-about-obamacare-everything-you-need-to-know-about-the-headlines>

I also wrote two more stories this week (I stayed busy, clearly). One was a quick, visual round-up of how the GOP embraced selfies at CPAC:

<http://www.newsnet5.com/decodedc/cpac-takaway-the-gop-has-embraced-selfies>

And the other was a profile of run for America and its founder, David Burstein. I actually interviewed him for my "Millennial Dilemma" story that I published in *Vox*, so it was nice to speak with him again.

This week I was feeling under the weather and didn't make it to the seminar.

Week eight: March 9 – March 13

This week I primarily focused on helping Dick Meyer with a presidential app idea that he had that would rate the presidents based on what qualifications you think they should have. I took all of the potential 2016 contenders (or at least the ones that are known) and researched their history and background. It was a little more intern-ish work than I usually do for Scripps, but I learned a lot of interesting things. For example, did

you know that Bobby Jindal legally changed his name to Bobby after watching *The Brady Bunch*?

I also wrote a piece about state-incurred costs of caring for veterans. The study, which was done by Brown University, was really interesting, but something told me the story would be difficult to write. I should've listened to my gut. The piece wasn't very long, but it took me forever to get through it. Phil asked me if I wanted to take it on, and I think that I was just too eager to please in this case.

<http://www.thedenverchannel.com/decodedc/cost-of-caring-for-afghanistan-iraq-veterans-extends-beyond-federal-government-to-states>

This week we didn't have seminar, and I went into work earlier but left around midday so I could catch up on research. It's hard to organize your thoughts when you've spent so much time focusing on a particular topic. You'd think it would be the opposite – that things would just flow out of you because you've done so much. But even beginning to scratch the surface on what I should be writing about it daunting at this point.

Week nine: March 16 – March 20

I'm desperately trying to keep my anxiety about the job search in check and finish out strong at Scripps. I spoke with my supervisor about the possibility of staying on after my internship was up. There *might* be a spot opening up, but it's hard to know until the new budget comes in on April 1. Until then, I'm crossing my fingers. I'd really like to stick around Scripps, but I've been applying at other positions in D.C., too.

I finished my longest reported piece for Scripps last week, which, strangely enough, was a news story originating from my hometown. It's strange how these things

come full circle. I did a deep dive into states' alternatives for lethal injection drugs as stocks are running low.

<http://www.newsnet5.com/decodedc/execution-drug-supply-is-running-low-and-states-are-looking-for-lethal-backup-plans>

In lighter news, I also wrote about how the Koch brothers ruined March Madness.

<http://www.newsnet5.com/decodedc/koch-brothers-first-they-bought-their-way-into-politics-but-now-theyre-in-march-madness>

In the upcoming week, I'm going to focus on finishing three larger assignments that I have surrounding same-sex marriage. I've also volunteered to do an analysis of DecodeDC's Twitter account and create a strategy that they can use going forward. It's nice to get back into the social media side of things in an analytical way. So far it seems like DecodeDC doesn't have a designated social media point person, which I believe hurts their voice and penetration. Hopefully I can help with solve that issue.

I've *finally* finished all of the coding that I have, and thank God I spent time making sure it was organized in a way that made sense to me. I don't think the analysis portion will take me too long to write because I've been so entrenched in that line of thought. I'm still on track to have a draft to Jen on April 7.

I can't believe this is all winding up so quickly.

Also, the seminar with Mike McCurry this week was great. I loved his stories and insight on how his own decisions really changed how the White House briefings work. I am glad that he recognized that briefings are only raw ingredients and not actual news. It's nice to hear someone who still sees value in the press, unlike Jeb Bush, who said that all reporting would be automated within 20 years.

Week ten: March 23 – March 27

It's interesting that so much of my Texas political writing has circled back to benefit me in D.C. This week I wrote about Ted Cruz and his announcement, and how his decision to launch his campaign in such religious roots could affect his campaign at large.

<http://www.newsnet5.com/decodedc/cruz-preaches-to-the-tea-party-choir-and-prays-for-a-revival>

I also turned in the first of my three big assignments as part of our same-sex marriage coverage, which was a multimedia intensive overview of how politicians' views on gay marriage have changed (or not) overtime. We've been planning a big event on same-sex marriage with our partner station in Cincinnati, WCPO. My coverage will run in conjunction with that, including a large scale look at the issues surrounding the upcoming Supreme court case and a look at why SCOTUS does not allow streaming during arguments.

Which brings us to the visit this week! It was a very conveniently timed visit to the Supreme Court. I'd never seen the inside of the court, so it was really interesting to see where the action happens. I thought that the visit with Deputy Public Information Officer Patricia McCabe Estrada was fascinating. It was so refreshing to hear someone who was so concerned with educating the press about how the courts worked. You can tell that the public information office makes a concerted effort to make the court as open and understandable as possible.

My research is still coming. I'm starting to organize my thoughts and understand exactly what I need to say based on what I found.

Week eleven: March 30 – April 3

Well, just as the clock was ticking down Scripps put some time in the meter. My supervisor approached me last week and told me that they would like to extend my internship for another month and will hopefully I have a job offer at the end of it. I'm still keeping my options open, but I would be so happy to stay on if I can.

I've wrapped up all of my same-sex marriage stories, which will all be published in the next week. I wrote about the fight for cameras in the Supreme Court (you'd be surprised how many people think that the arguments are on C-SPAN), a deep look into some of the key figures in the case, and a look into how major figures have changed their opinion on same-sex marriage over the years. I'll be sure to send those links when they're posted.

I really enjoyed our visit with the media lawyers at Covington and Burling. I've taken two media law classes now and always find those issues interesting. I'm glad someone could give me an answer on social media embedding, because I feel like that is a huge gray area legally speaking. I imagine it will start to come up more, or at least people will stop caring about trying to retain ownership over things they post on social media.

I'm doing the last push on my research, which is insane! But Jen will have a copy of it this week, and hopefully there won't be any major hiccups between now and the time I'm scheduled to defend.

Week twelve: April 6 – April 10

In light of political activity of the past few weeks and me turning in a thesis draft, I think this GIF is very appropriate:

<http://mangatopia.net/main/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/its-happening-ron-paul-gif.gif>

Yes, you read that right, I turned in my thesis analysis draft. Now I'm editing and revising it, plus putting together the complete formatted project. Jen and I have set a target date of April 22 to have a copy to the full committee. So, hooray!

This week I published two pieces. The first was about the Facebook data surrounding the announcement of Rand Paul and Ted Cruz. Surprisingly, Cruz came out head and shoulders above Paul.

<http://www.thedenverchannel.com/decodedc/facebook-face-off-its-rand-paul-vs-ted-cruz>

The second piece I wrote was about the state-level abortion restrictive abortion measures that have become particularly pervasive this year. Abortion access is something that I've followed for a long time, and it's interesting that the stories can keep popping up en masse. They often seem like the same story, but if you take the time to dig into the details it's fascinating to see how anti-abortion activists keep shifting their legislative tactics.

<http://www.thedenverchannel.com/decodedc/anti-abortion-forces-taking-action-at-the-state-level>

The rest of the week I worked on putting together a slideshow of iconic married couples for our upcoming same-sex marriage event with WCPO. It was kind of relaxing to work on something completely outside of political writing, but it is oddly difficult to think of 50 iconic married couples. Seriously, try me. I bet I included them.

I loved the visit to the Washington Post. It was humbling to meet someone as accomplished as Jeff Leen, and I thought the decision to bring in young journalists made the visit very relatable. I don't have the investigative journalist gene, but I love that there are still places that are so willing to devote time and resources to that kind of work, especially when people are expected to work at such breakneck speeds (ahem, me).

Chapter Three: Self-evaluation

I couldn't have asked for a better internship than with the DecodeDC team at the Scripps Washington bureau. At Scripps I became part of the staff immediately – really. I wrote a story the first day I arrived. The internship taught me how to assert myself and make myself a unique asset within an established newsroom.

Although I would receive stories from Ellen Weiss, the bureau chief, or Phil Pruitt, the digital editor and my supervisor, I was primarily responsible for finding and pitching my own stories. There was little supervision throughout the process, which left me to my own successes or failures, largely.

Phil was a great resource when I asked him to be, but it wasn't his custom to be involved with every single step of the story writing process. For someone like me, who came into graduate school with a considerable amount of experience under my belt, that kind of environment was both challenging and rewarding. At times I felt as if I was taking things in the complete wrong direction with stories. Maybe I was adding too much voice, or maybe this wasn't exactly what Scripps was expecting in its end product. But I learned that my best work came about when I trusted my gut and took the stories where I wanted them to go. Sometimes there was more pushback than I would've liked from my editors. Phil and Ellen never seemed quite sure how far they wanted me to get away from the mainstream news, so one day it seemed as if I had a lot of freedom, then the next I felt that they wanted a hard news story. But the experience taught me how to operate in the happy medium between alternative weekly freedom and a more classic newsroom.

I believe that I was able to add a unique voice to DecodeDC. When Ellen hired me, she was clearly interested in my experience with Bustle – high-volume, snappy, and filled with voice. I quickly established that I had no problem pushing boundaries with my writing and taking DecodeDC to the thin line between smart analysis and snark.

I was also able to use my social media expertise to help attract more Twitter followers. During my time at DecodeDC, I created a Twitter strategy book that combined their current stats and advisories for future use. I was lucky to have the flexibility to put something like that together, which mostly stemmed from the fact that DecodeDC had zero kind of strategy when I walked in the door.

I cannot emphasize enough how lucky I feel that I landed at Scripps. If anything else, the nail biting that went into finding an internship taught me a lot about a life lesson that my dad has been trying to drill into me for years – sometimes the best things are worth waiting for.

I felt that I was successful in the research component of my professional project. I found things that I was expecting, such as the battle terms employed for Clinton and the gendered terms, but I also found a lot of things that I didn't expect. For example, I was surprised to find that mainstream newsmagazines were comfortable calling Clinton by her first name. Although I have read blogs that use her first name, I would've never expected to find it in *TIME*, *Newsweek*, or *US News & World Report*.

If I were to do the analysis again I would probably cut the sample size down and focus on a smaller number of articles. I feel that I had a lot of good information and got a great overview of the sexist writing that Clinton faced in 2008, but I'm guessing that

drilling harder into fewer articles would have revealed even more examples of sexism and gendered language.

I had two major takeaways from the Friday seminars with Barbara Cochran. Several of the guests – including Mike McCurry, Tom Rosenstiel and Bridget Ann Serchak – mentioned that the Obama administration has severely restricted press access. Instead of using the press as a vehicle for its message, the administration uses social media to communicate it directly to the public. The speakers indicated this was a challenge to the press, and I took it as one. Rather than getting discouraged about a lack of access, I challenged myself to work around it. Instead of relying on quotes from the administration, I dug deeper and parsed the messages it was putting forward.

Second, Luis Clemens' message about diversity in sourcing resonated with me. I've challenged myself to make sure I am including women as sources, something he highlighted on our visit to NPR. Women represent half of the population of the world, and it is absurd that most people quoted in the news are men. The news should be an accurate representation of every fabric of U.S. life, which includes women and minorities. I want to push myself to increase racial diversity in the sources I use.

Chapter Four: Physical evidence

This chapter will include 10 of my work samples from my time at the Scripps Washington bureau. Each of these appeared on the DecodeDC vertical, which is distributed across the Scripps newspaper sites. The articles ran with a photo, which I did not include in this project. I have also included links to and information about my other pieces not included here at the end of this chapter.

[Anti-abortion forces taking action at the state level](#)

by Abby Johnston

WASHINGTON, D.C. - Limiting abortion resurfaced as a Republican campaign promise in the 2014 midterms. But the chatter that helped make some candidates into congressmen largely died after a 20-week abortion bill stalled right out of the gate. At the state level, however, abortion foes are still at it – and they're doing more than talking.

According to the Guttmacher Institute, which tracks and reports data on abortion legislation, there have been 322 restrictive abortion measures filed across 43 states in the [first quarter of 2015](#). That number isn't particularly shocking compared to recent years. Since 2010 there has consistently been a high volume of restrictions floated in statehouses, but most never see a governor's pen. The real 2015 surge is the number of bills that have – and will become – law.

“The kind of year we're looking at around abortion restrictions is one that we're going to see well into the double digits,” said Elizabeth Nash, the Guttmacher Institute's senior state issues associate.

The Guttmacher Institute reported that, as of April 1, nine restrictive abortion measures already had been enacted at the state level. Since the report was published, Arkansas and Kansas signed two more abortion-related bills. This stands in sharp contrast to this time last year when only three measures had become law.

Nash said that an uptick in successful legislation is common after an election year. This fall, Arkansas and Arizona ushered in two new Republican governors – Arkansas' Asa Hutchinson and Arizona's Doug Ducey – who have both signed multiple abortion measures into law in their first 90 days in office. Arkansas, with its five, seemed particularly aggressive; perhaps the Republican-controlled House and Senate were eager for action after eight years of Democratic vetoes under former governor Mike Beebe.

The 2015 salvo is also remarkable because of two first-of-their-kind restrictive bills. On Tuesday, Kansas Gov. Sam Brownback signed a bill banning the [most common](#) second-trimester abortion method, which anti-abortion groups call “dismemberment abortions.”

“The Unborn Child Protection From Dismemberment Abortion Act is the first of what we hope will be many laws banning dismemberment abortions,” National Right to Life President Carol Tobias said in a statement. “This law has the power to transform the landscape of abortion policy in the United States.”

Similar bills, inspired by model legislation from National Right to Life, have been filed in Missouri and South Carolina. Oklahoma's iteration is [waiting on a signature](#) from Gov. Mary Fallin.

A second pioneering restriction has been enacted in Arizona and Arkansas which requires providers to inform women that abortions [can be reversed](#). According to a case study by Dr. George Delgado, medical director of the Culture of Life Family Services in San Diego, taking progesterone can reverse a medication-induced abortion.

The bill's supporters say it will give women as much information as possible. Critics say that it turns women into test subjects for a largely disputed method.

"We'd never seen language like this before," Nash said. "Abortion counseling has been used as a vehicle to promote misleading and inaccurate information, and this is the newest way that we're seeing that happen."

But although these approaches are new, the motive is not. By not reinventing the wheel, it makes it easier for abortion opponents to further legislate abortions.

"So many restrictions have been adopted over the past four years that what we see now, often times, are bills that look at existing restrictions to make them more burdensome," Nash said. "Part of some of the rhetoric is, 'Well, we already require abortion counseling. This is just one more piece of information.' It makes it sound benign when it's not."

The assault on abortion access has been nearly constant in the last four years. But with a midterm push and a few new tricks, the 2015 battles could be more detrimental.

[Execution drug supply is running low, and states are looking for lethal backup plans](#)
by Abby Johnston

WASHINGTON, D.C. - A bulky wooden chair outfitted with leather straps sits in Huntsville's Texas Prison Museum, still fully functional, but unused in its faux death chamber. But before its retirement in 1964 this electric chair, dubbed Old Sparky, carried out 361 executions. For visitors, the chair stands as an illustration of how far Texas has advanced in capital punishment – a relic of what some consider past barbarism. But with a dwindling supply of lethal injection drugs in the U.S., states have started looking to bygone execution methods – not unlike Old Sparky – as a backup plan.

If Texas goes through with Kent Sprouse's execution April 9, it will have exhausted its last dose of pentobarbital, the lethal injection drug it has used since 2012. That leaves the state, which has the macabre distinction of being the nation's leading executioner, with three more April executions and no plan as to how to carry them out. Jason Clark, a spokesperson with the Texas Department of Criminal Justice, said the department is "exploring all options, including the continued use of the pentobarbital or alternate drugs."

But could "all options" also include plugging Old Sparky back in?

That's what officials in other states are considering. This month, Alabama's House of Representatives voted on a bill that, in case of a continued drug shortage, would bring back the electric chair. And in May, the Tennessee Supreme Court will hear a challenge to the state's attempt to bring back the electric chair.

And if the electric chair sounds antiquated in this age of lethal injection, just consider the firing squad.

The Utah state legislature passed a bill this month that would reauthorize death by a firing squad if lethal injection drugs cannot be secured 30 days before an inmates' scheduled execution. Rep. Paul Ray, the bill's sponsor, decided to draft it after he learned last year that Utah had no execution drugs.

"It became apparent at that time that we needed a plan B just in case," Ray said. "We're still two or three years out on our next execution, but my thought was, 'Well, let's get something in place now. Just in case we need it, it'll be there.'"

Legislation to allow firing squads in Arkansas also was introduced this year, along with a failed attempt in Wyoming. Oklahoma, meanwhile, is toying with a new take on the gas chamber. The Oklahoma House passed a bill earlier in March that would allow nitrogen chamber executions. Like its predecessor, nitrogen chambers would involve an airtight

chamber, but instead of filling it with poison gas, the nitrogen would cause death by asphyxiation.

But it isn't some nostalgia for brutality fueling this wave of states seemingly backpedaling on progress. It's increasingly becoming a necessity. A recent GAO report shows that the U.S. faces a widespread drug shortage that started in 2007.

As the stock of drugs began to dwindle, few domestic suppliers were able to keep up with the deadly demand. So states turned to European pharmacies. It turned out to be a temporary fix, as one by one Italian, German and Dutch suppliers cut off drugs supplies when they discovered they were being used to kill. The companies' bans reflect a larger cultural difference – the U.S. is the only Western country that still carries out executions.

Keeping dates with death

But if the aim was to stymie executions, the plan looks like it backfired.

“Our hand has kind of been forced without the availability of drugs,” Ray said. “There’s still support for the death penalty, so you have to have a way to do that.”

He continued, “The interesting thing is that these companies in Europe are opposed to the death penalty so they withhold these drugs. They seem to be opposed to the firing squad over there. But they’re the reason we’re using the firing squad. They need to understand that they might not like what we’re doing, but they’re the reason we’re doing it.”

Most of the state legislation, however, is nothing but the sketching of a backup plan. Still, with the clock ticking for 2015’s roster of death row inmates, 10 across the country and six in the state, Texas needs a solution – fast. Even for trigger-happy Texas, it’s unlikely that there will be a sudden shift to another form of execution – or at least not in the next month. Meghan Ryan, a law professor at Southern Methodist University, pointed out that even if states dodge the problems that lethal injections pose, new methods would be open to judicial scrutiny.

“The problem with going to other methods of execution is that there are potentially constitutional concerns about that, just like there are constitutional concerns about what states are doing now in experimenting with different lethal injection cocktails,” Ryan said. “We’re sort of in a state of uncertainty regarding executions in general.”

Ryan said that the state push for lethal injection alternatives could hit a snag under the Eighth Amendment’s bar on cruel and unusual punishment. It is unclear if bringing old techniques out of retirement when lethal injections exist would hold up in court.

“The idea that punishments ought to be evolving toward more humane methods of execution suggests that moving backward, such as toward the electric chair or firing squad, might be questionable or possibly unconstitutional,” Ryan said.

Texas does have a stockpile of the sedative midazolam that it could adopt into its protocol with the stroke of a pen. But the controversial drug, which replaced the depleted sodium thiopental in some states’ drug cocktails, has been used in three botched executions. Most notably, it was part of the horrific death of Oklahoma inmate Clayton Lockett last April, which drew worldwide attention to lethal injection practices.

“Every Department of Corrections in the country is looking at all of this,” said Deborah Denno, a law professor at Fordham University and expert on lethal injections. “They’re very aware that if they do anything wrong, and they’re so capable of it, that this is going to set into motion a series of questions about this entire process.”

And if midazolam’s link to botched executions wasn’t enough, there’s the upcoming Supreme Court case brought by three Oklahoma death row inmates that centers on the drug. The case, which is set to be argued April 29, has already led judges in Florida and Oklahoma to halt executions until the court reaches a decision. So for now, it seems that midazolam’s reputation will keep Texas – or any other state – from touching its stash.

“My sense is that they’re probably scrambling to find a compounding pharmacy in this country that would make more pentobarbital for them. That would be my first guess,” Denno said.

The long-term solution to lethal injection drug shortages will take time and likely many court battles to sort out. But it’s time that Texas, at least, doesn’t have – unless it wants to do what Ohio did when it halted executions indefinitely after one was botched in 2014. The chances of that in the Lone Star state? Slim, especially since there have been no efforts for the state to take a break from its busy schedule.

“Knowing the history of Texas and other states that are advocates of capital punishment, I think they will do what they can to try to keep executions in line and on schedule,” Ryan said.

Much like the rest of the country, the next steps for Texas are unclear. The Supreme Court’s guidance on midazolam usage could clear pathways for states to use the drug. On the flip side, it could completely bar it, sending the U.S. on another pharmaceutical scramble. Or perhaps the frustration of switching from one drug to another, each step taken with unsure footing, will lead states to alternatives like in Utah.

Meanwhile, Old Sparky is still on display.

[Facebook face-off: It's Rand Paul vs. Ted Cruz](#)

by Abby Johnston

WASHINGTON, D.C. - Ever since President Obama harnessed the mystical power of “the Internet” to boost his 2008 campaign, the Republican Party has been scrambling to catch up.

With 2016 on the horizon, many Republicans are trying to prove they can tweet just as well as any Democrat. But before they take on the social media machine that is the Democratic Party, they'll have to face each other - and it looks like Texas Sen. Ted Cruz won the first social media scuffle.

According to Facebook data, 2.2 million people garnered 5.7 million Facebook interactions related to Cruz's March 23 announcement in the first 24 hours. By contrast, in the first 24 hours after Kentucky Sen. Rand Paul's announcement on Tuesday, 865,000 people generated 1.9 million interactions.

To give that some context, Facebook reports that in the 90 days leading up to the announcements 70,000 people per day were posting about Cruz compared to Paul's 67,000. Basically, Paul has some work to do.

Facebook also reported the top political issues brought up in relation to the candidates in the week leading up to their announcements. Foreign policy and international relations came in at the top of Cruz's list and second on Paul's. Cruz also was associated frequently with education and energy issues.

Leading Paul's list was LGBT issues, likely in light of the backlash against Indiana's religious freedom that, [until Wednesday](#), he hadn't commented on. Unsurprisingly for a man selling signed copies of the Constitution as part of his campaign swag, constitutional issues also made Paul's top three.

As someone who is trying to [aggressively court](#) the Silicon Valley crowd and raise online funds, Paul's Facebook flop is surprising – especially since Cruz failed at one of the most basic levels of Internet trolling by not securing the proper URLs before his announcement. So now, [TedCruz.com](#) is a giant banner ad for Obama and immigration reform.

The first wave of Internet buzz is just starting to subside, but it's a long road to the Republican primaries. Get your selfie sticks ready, senators. You'll need them.

[Update your LinkedIn profile: Run for America wants you to be a U.S. Representative](#)
by Abby Johnston

WASHINGTON, D.C. - Looking for a new job? Here's one that was posted on LinkedIn [last week](#) — it's got a \$174,000 base salary, you only have to work 132 days of the year and there's free travel to the D.C. headquarters. The only catch? You've got to fix our government gridlock.

Or that's the hope, anyway, behind [Run for America](#)'s application for the U.S. House of Representatives. Launched by millennial evangelist David Burstein, Run for America aims to recruit talented leadership from outside of the political machine — “No prior experience in elected office is necessary (indeed, preferred).” In the first 24 hours, 150 people applied to the House of Representatives. Using LinkedIn.

Job Description - U.S. Representative

During this volatile period of change, the House is in need of visionary leaders to reverse its historically low public favorability and help the institution overcome divisions that have left its management deadlocked on issues of critical national importance. Run for America seeks to recruit and support a dozen highly accomplished, innovative, future-focused, and passionate candidates for the U.S. House of Representatives in 2016.

Upon election, Representatives are afforded a two-year contract, which can be renewed following a public performance review every two years. Representatives are expected to work tirelessly on behalf of their constituents and their country in the pursuit of the citizenry's general welfare and a more perfect Union.

From the applications and a nomination system, Run for America will choose 12 House candidates to support in 2016. From there, the organization will function as a one-stop political consulting shop. There will be training, promoting, and, most importantly, money.

It's a strange concept. Politicians seem to be in an elite (read: well-financed) position that is unattainable for most, but the job post points out that the only hard rules are that you are at least 25, a U.S. citizen for seven years and a resident of the district you run in. There's a good chance that you, yes, you would be eligible to run for the House.

“We've tried for the past several decades to let people with background and experience in politics to help us get things done in politics,” Burstein said. “That's not been working out particularly well.”

By removing the giant, dollar-sign shaped roadblock and giving hopefuls a support system to help navigate the political maze, Burstein believes that Run For America can attract people who can actually run the country – not just run for office.

“Basically the process is, one of the party committees says, ‘How much money can you raise? How many political connections do you have?’” he said. “That’s maybe a great criteria for helping someone get elected, not a particularly great criteria for making sure people govern. We don’t have people who actually have strong backgrounds as leaders.”

And here’s *more* radical thinking behind Run for America: It’s nonpartisan. The group will focus on finding people who are willing to move things forward regardless of political affiliation.

“Typically we’ve talked about ideology from the left or from the right,” he said. “We believe it’s time for an ideology of action, which is not about compromise and not about the idea that we are trying to seek a middle ground. Our bias is toward action.”

It sounds like crazy talk – attracting smart leaders who will do things such as make *decisions* and pass *laws* -- but with Congress’ dismal [16 percent approval rating](#), there’s really nowhere to go but up.

Now, if Run for American can recruit people who don’t mind having America’s voters as their HR managers ...

[Cruz preaches to the Tea Party choir – and prays for a revival](#)

by Abby Johnston

WASHINGTON, D.C. - By my count, there were three cowboy hats, two camo outfits and four Rand Paul shirts in the crowd at Liberty University on Monday. But what I couldn't keep up with on television during Sen. Ted Cruz's fiery 2016 announcement speech was the number of times religion was referenced.

Cruz painted his vision of the rebirth of America fueled by "courageous conservatives" who also, it seems, share Cruz's deep-rooted Christian faith. So announcing his candidacy for the GOP nomination and, hence, for the White House, at Liberty, which touts itself as the world's largest Christian university, was preaching to the (*very* holy) choir.

But how will Cruz campaign to – and possibly govern – the growing number of Americans who have separated from religion?

Surely he is targeting other people, too.

Let's let this snippet from the speech speak for itself:

"What is the promise of America? The idea that – the revolutionary idea that this country was founded upon, which is that our rights don't come from man. They come from God Almighty."

Or what about this one?:

"Today, roughly half of born-again Christians aren't voting. They're staying home. Imagine instead millions of people of faith all across America coming out to the polls and voting our values."

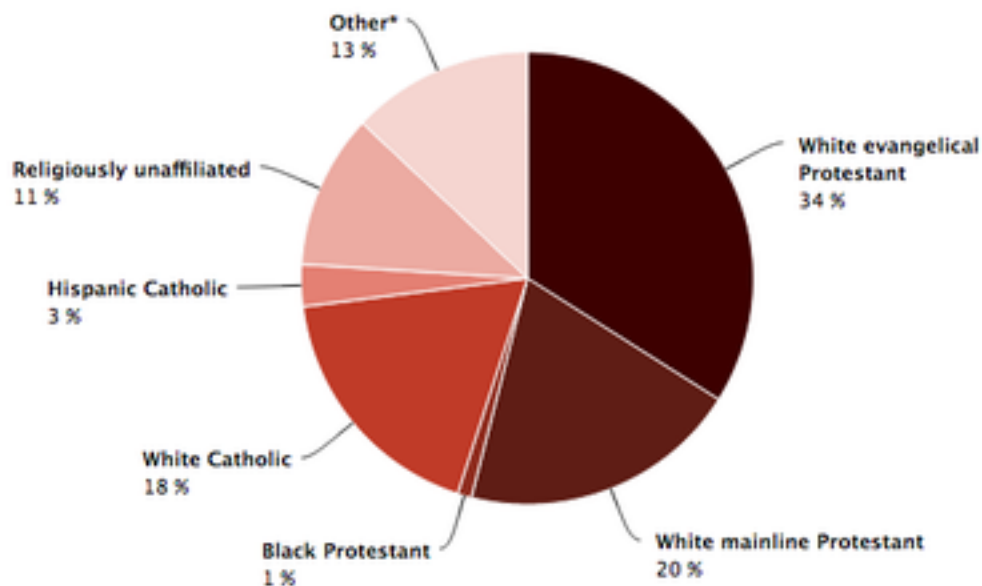
Clearly Cruz is sticking with his Tea Party supporters – the conservative Christians who boosted him to prominence and have stuck by him even as he -- to some people's way of thinking -- shot himself in the foot.

How big is the Christian voting base? Could appealing to them exclusively really work?

[A Pew poll](#) of 2012 Republican voters revealed that 34 percent were white evangelical Protestants, with white mainline Protestants taking the second largest slice at 20 percent. Only 11 percent of GOP voters identified as religiously unaffiliated. So by those numbers, Cruz feasibly appeals to most Republican voters.

2012 Religious Composition of Republicans/Republican Leaners

Of all registered voters who identify with or lean toward the Republican Party, 87% are non-Hispanic whites, 5% are Hispanic, 2% are black, and 4% are of some other race or of mixed race. White (non-Hispanic) evangelical Protestants comprise about a third (34%) of all Republican or Republican-leaning voters. One-in-five are white (non-Hispanic) mainline Protestants, 18% are white (non-Hispanic) Catholics, and 11% are religiously unaffiliated. Thirteen percent belong to other groups, including 3% who are Mormons and 1% who are Jewish.



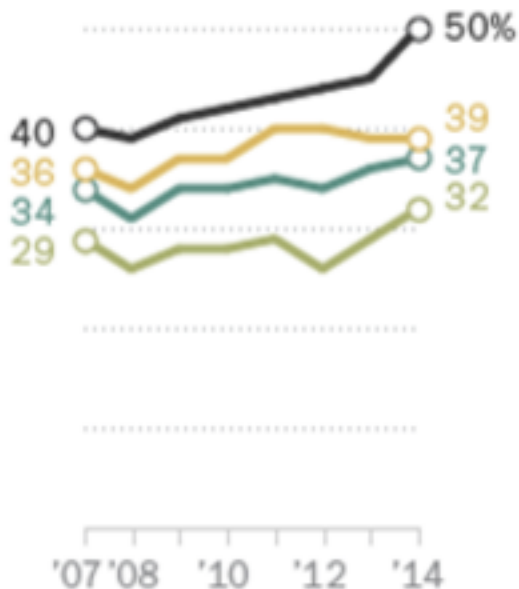
Pew Research Center

But Ted Cruz's problem with alienating non-religiously affiliated voters can be neatly summed up by one group in particular – millennials.

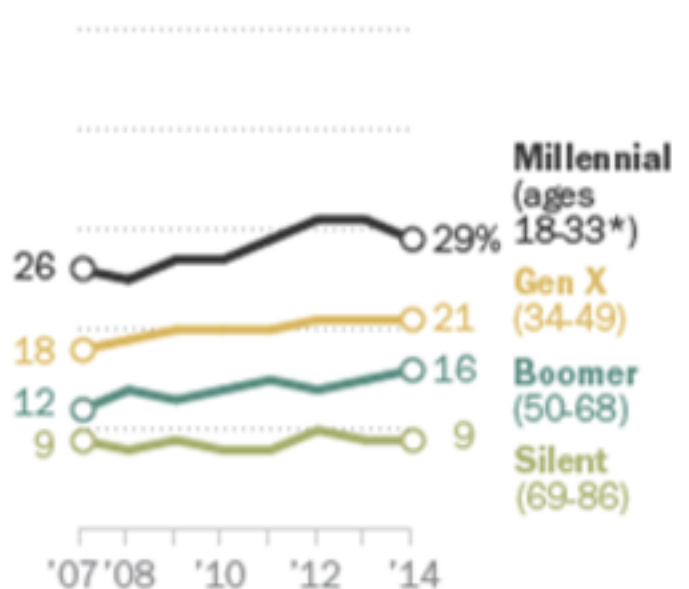
The increasingly valuable voting bloc is both unattached to political parties and religion, [according to a 2014 Pew poll](#). So they wouldn't feel inclined to vote for Cruz on the basis of his party or his religious fervor.

Millennials: Unmoored from Institutions

Percent who consider themselves political independents



Percent of adults in each generation who are religiously unaffiliated



* Age ranges are for 2014

Source: Data points represent totals based on all Pew Research surveys of the general public conducted in that calendar year.

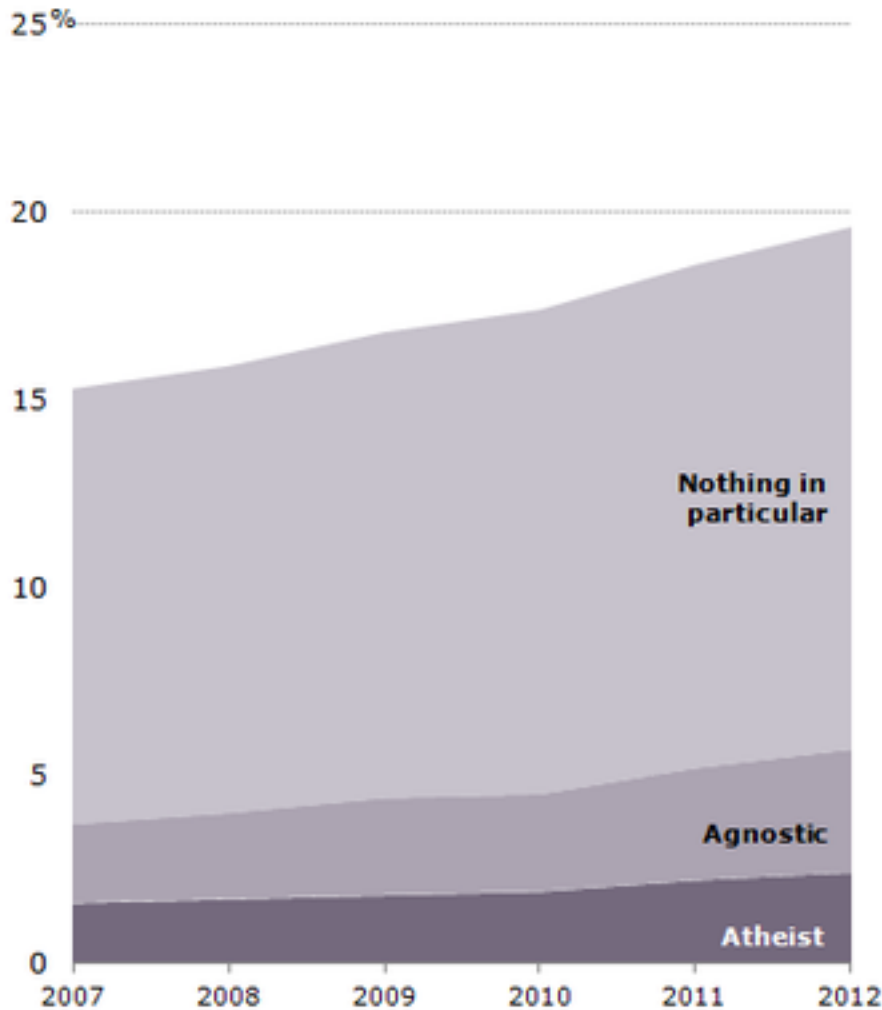
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Pew Research Center

Although it is more prominent among younger Americans and Democrats, there's also a downward trend in religious affiliation.

Between 2007 and 2012, [according to Pew](#), the population that considered themselves Christians dropped 5 percent. Meanwhile, those who considered themselves unaffiliated jumped 4.3 percent.

Growth of the Religiously Unaffiliated



Source: Aggregated data from surveys conducted by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, 2007-July 2012.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

So Cruz' Christian chorus could get him past the primaries, but the general election could be a different story. Particularly if, as he posited in the speech, "half of born again Christians aren't voting."

What else does Cruz's portrait of America entail?

The last person that used "imagine" that much in a single oeuvre was John Lennon. But Cruz imagines all the people living life without the IRS, Obamacare or net neutrality regulations, which isn't quite as catchy of a song, but worked as a rousing speech.

For all of the hellfire and brimstone, there wasn't much that addressed the key points of social conservatism that typically ignite Christian voters. Cruz briefly touched on preserving the "sanctity of human life" and the "sacrament of marriage," but most of his speech was spent on issues outside of the biblical guidance.

Cruz's collage of Christian values with deeply right-wing policy is further proof that he is going for a Tea Party revival and not looking to include more moderate Republicans or independents.

Why was announcing at Liberty University such a big deal?

Liberty University was founded in 1971 by the Southern Baptist televangelist Jerry Falwell. Falwell was the leader of the Moral Majority, a political organization aimed at getting Christians to the voting booth.

Before it dissolved in 1988, the Moral Majority supported Ronald Reagan and George H.W. Bush in their successful presidential bids, raising money and using TV and radio ads to bill opponents as anti-Christian.

Liberty University, in a way, is a symbolic cross-section of politics and Christianity. But what worked for Falwell is not today's reality. Cruz's religion-centric bid might have come three decades too late.

[How the Obamas won the Internet: When viral videos become viral messages](#)

by Abby Johnston

WASHINGTON, D.C. - What do screaming goats, ice buckets and the Obamas have in common? They have all gone viral. The Internet has become a bizarre universe where the First Lady and pop stars collide. Where President Obama [stone faces](#) Zach Galifianakis as he asks what should be done about North IKEA. The Obamas have effectively become the United States' unhip Internet parents. They make outdated pop culture references, have absolutely no shame, and yes, they sometimes embarrass you. But beneath that there's a powerful marketing tool for their initiatives.

In the latest chapter in this divisive campaign, Michelle Obama slow danced with Big Bird to Aerosmith and pushed shrieking pop culture guru Billy Eichner around in a shopping cart as he read Gwyneth Paltrow's 1999 Oscar acceptance speech for "Shakespeare in Love."

[video]

FLOTUS teamed up with Eichner to promote her new healthy eating program that encourages (read: bribes) kids to eat fruits and vegetables packaged with "Sesame Street" characters. Even in the mélange of absurdity that message isn't lost. You walk away from the video – shot in the produce section of a D.C. supermarket – with the unshakable knowledge that Mrs. Obama expects you to do better than Kraft mac n' cheese tonight.

This new approach could be a response to the public's changing media diet. Although television is still the public's main source for news, viewership is declining. According to [2013 data](#), Fox News claims the most prime-time viewership at 1.75 million, which is more than competitors CNN and MSNBC combined. Compare that to Obama's latest BuzzFeed video, which raked [in 15 million views](#) in its first 8 hours.

Unlike stagnant, talking-head announcements, these videos are shareable. Which would you be more inclined to post on a friend's wall – a televised press conference reminding you about the ACA enrollment deadline or a video of the president of the United States throwing finger guns? And with 30 percent of the population [getting news from Facebook](#), a viral video could be the most effective PSA.

Just as he did with Zach Galifianakis the year before, Obama turned to BuzzFeed for a last-minute push before the Affordable Care Act's open-enrollment deadline. Taking a contrarian's POV, the resulting video made Obama look just as idiotic as anyone else who still uses the word "YOLO." But he managed to repeat the enrollment deadline three times in less than 2 minutes. Could Obama's selfies be the reason for this year's record?

There's no "BuzzFeed sent me here" box to check on enrollment, but the president's repeat strategy could say something about its effectiveness.

Naturally, a selfie-stick wielding president has drawn a fair share of criticism.

But those critics are largely ignoring the message behind it all. No one logically believes that the Obamas are contributing to the vast well of Internet absurdity just for the hell of it. They're willing to loosen up a little for the sake of promoting what they believe is the greater good. Yes, it's different than what we've seen before, but it just might be crazy enough to work.

But, who knows, maybe the Obamas have permanently tainted the *absolutely pristine* valor of the presidency! One thing we do know for sure - they've won the Internet.

[Holder claims credit for drop in federal drug prosecutions, but is that the whole story?](#)

by Abby Johnston

WASHINGTON D.C. - On Tuesday, outgoing Attorney General Eric Holder lauded declines in federal drug prosecutions, a cornerstone of his Smart on Crime initiative and, perhaps, a cherry on top of his tenure.

At the National Press Club, Holder outlined a new data set which shows that drug offenders facing mandatory minimum sentences have fallen in the last year. That decline, Holder argued, is indicative of the success of policies he implemented during his tenure at the Department of Justice, but research shows that there could be something else at play.

According to data from the U.S. Sentencing Commission [obtained by the Associated Press](#), there has been a 13 percent drop in cases where prosecutors asked for the mandatory minimum sentences for federal drug cases. There was also a 6 percent dip in the number of federal drug trafficking prosecutions.

All of this looks great for Holder, whose Smart on Crime initiative called for policy reform for non-violent drug offenders. Could the program, which was rolled out in summer 2013, have contributed to the drop in drug prosecutions? Holder, at least, seems convinced that he had something to do with it.

“For years prior to this administration, federal prosecutors were not only encouraged – but required – to always seek the most severe prison sentence possible for all drug cases, no matter the relative risk they posed to public safety,” Holder said [in his Tuesday speech](#). “I have made a break from that philosophy. While old habits are hard to break, these numbers show that a dramatic shift is underway in the mindset of prosecutors handling nonviolent drug offenses.”

There is certainly a shifting “mindset,” but it might not be the prosecutors, policy makers or even Holder himself at the root of it – research indicates that it could be larger shift in public opinion.

Peter Enns, an assistant political science professor at Cornell, [published a paper](#) last spring that showed a striking correlation between incarceration rates and the public’s attitude toward being tough on crime. Enns explored how the court of public opinion has influenced the policies and legislation from a distance, making it a [“fundamental determinant”](#) of the changes of the incarceration rate.

Could this pattern extend to softening on drug policies? A [Pew Research](#) poll released last April showed that 67 percent of Americans wanted the government to focus on treatment for drug users rather than prosecution.

Additionally, 63 percent of respondents said it was a “good thing” that states were moving away from mandatory prison sentences for non-violent drug crimes. In 2001, only 47 percent thought it was a positive step.

Holder may have been a strong voice in calling for shift in police tactics, but he hasn't been the only one.

[White House sexual assault task force has taken first steps on long complicated journey](#)
by Abby Johnston

WASHINGTON, D.C. - One in five. That's the [staggering number](#) of U.S. women that will be a victim of rape or attempted rape in college, the same statistic that President Obama continually touts as he pushes for reform.

On Jan. 22, 2014, President Obama announced the White House task force on college campus sexual assault, a massive interagency effort toward making college campuses safer for women and men. The president's plan, unprecedented in its scope, was applauded by many advocates and survivors across the nation. But now, a year after the task force was formed, it's time to ask: What has it actually done?

In its first report released last April, the task force laid out an ambitious schedule. Some of those benchmarks were nebulous, such as assessing "promising" policy language or exploring models for how campuses should deal with perpetrators. But other dates were more concrete: the call to launch a pilot sex-offender rehabilitation program, which they did, or the slew of resources for campus officials on Title IX requirements and survivor support, some of which have been delivered and some that haven't.

But the goal probably shouldn't be to tap toes over deadlines. We all know government agencies aren't good with those, in the first place. And combating campus sexual assault is way too complicated for a rush delivery on solutions.

The biggest take away from the task force's first year is how it has approached the issue. For years, the focus of sexual assault has been on the victim. What were you wearing? Were you drunk? Why would you walk alone that late at night? The task force, in line with [many survivor advocates](#), aims to shift that blame.

The task force's [It's On Us](#) campaign begins that long haul. The collaboration with [Generation Progress](#), a millennial-focused activist group, promotes bystander intervention, something that has been largely overlooked in existing campus training programs.

"It's a very important piece of the program because it's one that's not often talked about," said Kristin Avery, campaign manager for It's On Us. "We really want to get everybody thinking about how they can take part in this issue that's in the national conversation every single day and what people on an individual level can do to help end a very big problem."

Since its launch in September, there have been 261 It's On Us events at campuses across the nation, and organizers are already planning engagement pushes around spring break and March Madness. But bystander intervention is only a means to a much bigger end.

“Our larger goal is to really change the culture around sexual assault,” Avery said. “We want to change the way that it's talked about and the way that it's dealt with on college campuses.”

That culture change could be essential to arriving at a solution. A [recent report](#) from the Pentagon shows that cases of sexual assault at three military academies has decreased, but more than 40 percent of the students who came forward feared retaliation for reporting the incident. That fear underscores the need for change.

The task force's thorough refocus on campus sexual assault has shocked longtime advocates.

“It was unfathomable to me that a presidential administration could take campus sexual violence this seriously,” said Meg Stone, who has worked with sexual assault survivors for 22 years. “It's unfathomable that the response would not just be this law-enforcement only or services only, that it was this holistic, multi-tiered response to sexual violence. It was one of those things that I couldn't imagine something this good would come out of a presidential administration, and then it did.”

But in its reframing, the task force left out an important and proven sexual assault prevention program – self-defense. Stone is director of [IMPACT Boston](#), a self-defense curriculum that gives students the tools to defend themselves in the moment of assault. She said that though the plan provides good intervention and aftermath care for victims, there is a key element missing. The prevention.

“It is unbelievable to me that they're not investing more – not just in any self-defense training,” Stone said. “It's not just any person who took karate, it's well-trained, highly skilled, highly qualified people who can present self-defense in a way that makes totally clear that the person that perpetrates is responsible for that act and the person who is the intended victim is not, and to give students the practical tools that have actually been shown by research to reduce victimization rates.”

Although she emphasized that the shift away from victim blaming is positive, Stone said taking defense out of the equation also takes away one of the most effective methods of prevention. [A study](#) done at the University of Oregon shows that a group of women who took a self-defense course reported much lower instances of sexual assault.

“The reality is that we have little tiny shreds of evidence about what make people more or less likely to rape,” Stone said. “I would love to be doing whatever one could do to have a person who would have otherwise perpetrated sexual violence have a change of heart that impacted their behavior for the rest of their lives. What I do know is that people who have the skill set and the support and the permission and the socialization that says, ‘If someone chooses you as the intended target of sexual violence, you’re not their prey. Here’s what you can do.’ I know that works.”

“I do this not because it is my most lofty goal, but because it is the most effective thing I know,” she added.

In a [Washington Post op-ed](#), self-defense instructors and anti-violence educators Lauren Taylor and Lynne Marie Wanamaker echoed Stone’s concerns, saying that it was “wrong to omit self-defense from its prevention recommendations.” They, too, believe that it is a practical solution for victims.

“We would never tell women that they ‘should’ take a self-defense class: Prescribing behavior is the very opposite of empowerment,” Taylor and Wanamaker wrote. “The only thing we’d say women ‘should’ do is feel free to move in both the public and private spheres without fear. In the absence of such freedom, we believe that women’s self-defense is a valuable — and increasingly proven — tool to prevent sexual assault.”

So self-defense is one piece of the puzzle of preventing sexual assault. But as it turns out, there are a *lot* of pieces, and the task force has already put some into place.

There’s [NotAlone.gov](#), a resource for survivors and schools dealing with sexual assault victims. There are the Title IX guidelines given to school administrators. There are toolkits, data dumps.

The White House task force aims to be more than an empty gesture that has faded away; it seems like a genuine drive to change a pervasive, dangerous part of campus culture. Still, looking at horrific fallout from sexual assault cases at institutions such as Vanderbilt University, where two former football players [were convicted](#) for aggravated rape and sexual battery just this month, it’s clear they have a long way to go.

[Beer storm brewing on Capitol Hill](#)

by Abby Johnston

WASHINGTON, D.C. - Craft brew v. big beer is a debate as old as Sierra Nevada, which with a scant 35-year history isn't actually *that* old, but it's divisive nonetheless.

You likely know the two camps well: There's the mustached man who offers his opinion on the latest Dogfish Head pilsner to whomever will listen. Further down the bar, there is the weathered Miller High Life loyalist unabashedly ordering his sixth bottle of the classic lager. One side wants aromatic brew and robust flavor profiles. The other says, "Shut up and drink the beer, dammit."

Now the craft vs. big beer debate is brewing outside of late-night watering holes (and Super Bowl commercials) and bubbling up in congressional hearings. Unfortunately for our elected officials, they won't be able to drink beer--craft or otherwise--during the proceedings.

[video]

Two conflicting beer excise tax bills have been served this session, the [Small BREW](#) (Brewer Reinvestment and Expanding Workforce) Act and the [Fair BEER](#) (Brewers Excise and Economic Relief) Act. While, both aim to overhaul a 1986 statute, in practice they are about as similar as a pale ale and a chocolate stout. And as is true with most things beer, different tastes have Congress and the industry split.

Small BREW proposes taxing a producer's first 60,000 barrels of beer at \$3.50 per barrel. The next tier, 60,000 to two million barrels, would be taxed at \$16, and anything above that would levy an \$18 tax. Fair BEER wouldn't tax producers who make less than 7,143 barrels and collect a \$3.50 tax per barrel on production between 7,144 and 60,000 barrels. The high-output production, or over 60,000, would be taxed exactly like the Small BREW act.

Essentially, there's a big guy-little guy feud fermenting in Congress.

Almost 90 percent of beer producers in the U.S. wouldn't be taxed under the Fair BEER Act. Rep. Steve Womack, R-Ark., who introduced the bill in the House, said this reform will promote expansion in both large and small breweries.

"Our tax policies shouldn't discourage the growth and continued success of an industry that supports jobs for more than two million Americans, and it shouldn't pick the winners and losers in the market," Womack said in a statement. "This comprehensive reform bill

supports brewpubs, microbrewers, national craft brewers, major brewers, and importers alike and encourages their entrepreneurial spirit, which is exactly the spirit we need to get America's economic engine going again.”

The Beer Institute, whose biggest members include Anheuser-Busch, Heineken and MillerCoors, has also thrown support behind Fair BEER. (Not to get off track, but you've got to think the Beer Institute would be a fun place to work.)

Sen. Ben Cardin, who introduced the Small BREW bill, reiterated concerns from the craft-brew promoters at the Brewers Association that money saved by big beer producers would largely be reinvested overseas, ultimately hurting “funky” brewers who want to make beers with names like [Genghis Pecan](#).

“The federal government needs to be investing in industries that invest in America and create real jobs here at home,” Cardin said in a statement. “With more than 3,200 small and independent breweries currently operating in the US, now is the time to help this industry – and our economy - keep growing stronger.”

The Small BREW Act is also supported by the Congressional Small Brewers Caucus, which is a real and hysterical thing. Oh, what a rowdy bunch they must be. Meanwhile, all of this talk of beer makes me want one - my only requirement is that it's cold. But Congress and the beer community at large seem dead-set on clouding the beer excise tax debate like a Hefeweizen. I guess you can't make everyone hoppy.

[A coup by Republican women blocked action on the anti-abortion bill](#)

by Abby Johnston

WASHINGTON, D.C. - Call it a coup by Republican women. That's what thwarted a House vote on a controversial anti-abortion bill, interrupting the legislative celebration planned by their own party on the 42nd anniversary of *Roe v. Wade*.

Opponents of the measure successfully whipped up enough support to scare the House out of a vote, which was set to coincide with the annual March For Life on Thursday. But Wednesday evening, as thousands of activists flooded into D.C., the GOP leadership surrendered.

Citing the bill's [narrow rape and incest exceptions](#), Rep. Renee Ellmers, R-N.C., and Jackie Walorski, R-Indiana, withdrew their co-sponsorship of the Pain-Capable Unborn Child Protection Act on Tuesday. Along the way, they convinced a group of Republican women to join them on the warpath against the 20-week abortion ban. Many of them were concerned that only women who had reported rape to law enforcement would still be eligible for an abortion after five months.

[National Journal reported](#) that Ellmers, even before backing away from the bill, had cautioned against it in a closed-door session with House Republicans last week.

“We got into trouble last year, and I think we need to be careful again; we need to be smart about how we're moving forward,” Ellmers told National Journal. “The first vote we take, or the second vote, or the fifth vote, shouldn't be on an issue where we know that millennials—social issues just aren't as important [to them].”

The sudden reversal certainly looks embarrassing, especially when party leaders swore that the vote would push through as late as Wednesday afternoon. But the equivocation is significant.

Could this be a sign that the Republican Party is listening to women?

For years, conservative men have been the most avid anti-abortion supporters. And with women representing only 20 percent of the House, it's not surprising that men dominate the conversation on any debate, let alone abortion.

But of the 16 Republicans [who took the floor in support of the bill](#) Wednesday, only one was female (granted, bill sponsor Rep. Marsha Blackburn, R-Tenn., was managing the floor debate).

True, there has been a recent uptick in female legislators' involvement with anti-abortion measures. In the 112th Congress, Republican women in the House sponsored only two of the 19 anti-abortion bills—less than 11 percent of all anti-abortion legislation

The next year, female GOP legislators co-sponsored 30 percent of anti-abortion measures. Female House members have already filed or co-sponsored two anti-abortion bills since the new session of Congress began in January.

If for no other reason than to make them more attractive to younger constituents, female GOP legislators in the House seem to have recognized that sweeping abortion restrictions aren't feasible. The simple fact that the party divided over the severity of the restrictions instead of gleefully banning together to lob stones at *Roe v. Wade* is something of a GOP landmark.

“These attacks are so dangerous, extreme and unpopular that House Republicans can't even get their membership lined up behind them,” Planned Parenthood Action Fund President Cecile Richards [told the Huffington Post](#). “This should be an important message to politicians who continue to ignore the majority of the public who want Congress to focus on policies to move women forwards rather than taking them back.”

Women taking agency over the issue could be the best PR move that Republicans have made this session. During a hearing on last year's version of the bill, sponsor Rep. Trent Franks, R-Ariz., caused [public outrage](#) when he said that the number of pregnancies resulting from rape are “very low.” Maybe with women at the helm, the GOP can avoid missteps when talking about abortion (Remember [Todd Akin?](#)).

Although President Obama had promised it a swift veto, the Pain-Capable Unborn Child Protection Act was a token of appreciation to the March For Life crowd for a half-century of attacks on abortion access.

The anti-abortion activists won't go home completely empty handed. The House voted instead on Rep. Christopher Smith's, R-N.J., bill to [permanently bar federal abortion funding](#). It passed 242-179.

Other work done for DecodeDC:

[Even bake sales aren't immune to political wrangling](#) by Abby Johnston, February 17, 2015

[Decoding the net neutrality debate](#) by Abby Johnston, February 4, 2015

[Surprise, surprise: There's a partisan divide in the net neutrality debate](#) by Abby Johnston, February 6, 2015

[Cost of caring for Afghanistan, Iraq veterans extends beyond federal government to the states](#) by Abby Johnston, March 11, 2015

[Why are we still talking about Obamacare? Here's everything you need to know about the headlines](#) by Abby Johnston, March 3, 2015

[Breaking down the Keystone pipeline veto](#) by Abby Johnston, February 26, 2015

[PAC names: Who comes up with this stuff? And what's the mission?](#) by Abby Johnston, February 20, 2015

[What's the strategy behind those catchy legislation titles?](#) by Abby Johnston, February 2, 2015

[Can Washington weirdness be blamed on Mercury?](#) by Abby Johnston, February 9, 2015
[Political shifts \(or not\) on same-sex marriage: A multimedia look at politicians' views](#) by Abby Johnston, April 8, 2015

[Decoding the Supreme Court's same-sex marriage docket](#) by Abby Johnston, April 8, 2015

[ICYMI: Good things happened in Washington this week](#) by Abby Johnston, March 6, 2015

Chapter Five: Analysis component

Introduction

When George H.W. Bush took office in 1989, he had 12 grandchildren. There were no speculative headlines asking if he would be able to balance time doting on the grandchildren with leading the nation. No one conjectured that his role as a grandfather would in any way compromise his role as president (Fruman, 2014). However, on April 17, 2014, Chelsea Clinton, daughter of political power couple Bill and Hillary Clinton, announced that she was expecting a child that fall. In a *USA Today* article published online the day of the announcement of Chelsea's pregnancy, the subject turned to the grandmother-to-be and potential presidential hopeful Hillary Clinton.

“Former president Bill Clinton and his wife have made no secret of their wish for a grandchild. It's unclear how Chelsea's pregnancy will affect Hillary Clinton, who is considering a race for president in 2016” (Camia, 2014, p. 5).

On April 12, Clinton announced her 2016 run, making it clear that her granddaughter wouldn't stop her from running to president. In fact, the Clinton camp has made being a grandmother a part of the campaign strategy. It seems that Charlotte Clinton Mezvinsky is being used to soften the candidate's image.

The standards for women in politics are often structured through antiquated views of a woman's societal value (Anderson, Diabah, & hMensa 2011; Manning, 2006; Taylor, 2010). This is clearly demonstrated by the suggestion that Hillary's presidential aspirations could be derailed by the birth of her first grandchild. Mitt Romney, who ran

for president in 2012, had 18 grandchildren during his presidential bid but was never framed as a grandfather over being a viable political candidate (Boxer, 2012).

Research has established that women and men in politics are framed differently according to their gender, but the framing goes beyond the basic facts presented about the candidates. As Clinton gears up for a 2016 run, watchdog groups have already emerged with the sole task of calling out media outlets for using sexist, coded language when writing about the candidate. It is perceived as a problem even outside the world of feminist academia. This critical discourse analysis, or the study of how language contributes to social practice, identified how the language magazines use to write about female politicians differs from how they write about male politicians, specifically using the 2008 campaigns of Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama for the Democratic nomination. Using media framing and feminist theory as its theoretical framework, this analysis identified the gender differences in news magazine coverage of Clinton and Obama and how that is creating systematic barriers for women who want to enter politics. This critical discourse analysis looked at the overall content focus in each candidate and uses established research to decode the descriptors used for Clinton particularly.

There have been many studies that look at the media framing of female political figures, but the magazine coverage of Clinton and her primary opponent for the Democratic nomination, Obama, offers a chance to update those findings. Clinton is a particularly interesting candidate to study because of her political background and her viability as a candidate.

Despite an increase in the number of women in political roles that have moved them away from being novelty political figures, they are still fighting a system that casts

them as outsiders. Political writing about women still perpetuates stereotypes and gender bias that can have detrimental effects on their credibility as a political candidate (Anderson et al., 2011, Entman, 2010).

Addressing the inherent sexist frames used in political writing is key to eradicating the imbalance between the number of men and women in public office. Not only are these media frames reinforcing gender stereotypes, but they are also harmful to women who want to enter politics and voters who may already be reluctant to vote for women. Media framing plays a central role in the way that women politicians are viewed, setting the lens through which the public understands and thinks of these women. In a secondary layer, the patriarchal systems that women in politics operate in, and thus which the journalists writing about them view them through, are also harmful for women's success and the public's perception of women in politics.

Theoretical frameworks

Framing

Some scholars maintain that second-level agenda setting is equivalent to framing. McCombs (1997) suggested that "framing is the selection of a restricted number of thematically related attributes for inclusion on the media agenda when a particular object is discussed." Although this study does not choose to equate second-level agenda setting with framing, there are some inherent biases that contribute to what is perhaps a media contribution to the reinforcing sexist stereotypes, which could be attributed to the patriarchal construct of our society.

Tankard, Hendrickson, Silberman, Bliss, and Gahnem define a media frame as “the 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” (1991, p.3). Unlike McCombs’ (1997) idea that the media are choosing these elements as part of a media agenda, Tankard et al.’s definition of media framing paints framing as a wider idea. Framing, rather, incorporates a wide view of society as a factor, while agenda setting is more of a conscious act (Weaver, 1991).

Media framing focuses on how issues are reported and what is emphasized in that reporting. This is important in the context of this research because it offers a two-pronged approach for looking at the portrayal of women in the media — how they are reported on, and what precisely is focused on in the report. Because established scholarship has shown that women are generally characterized by their physical appearance rather than their policy making, this framework will be crucial to this research.

Framing is important for this research in particular, because of the rising number of voters who do not consistently side with a particular party. Media framing has the most impact on voters who lack a strong ideological conviction, the “swing” voters. If media coverage of women continues to be framed through harmful stereotypes identified in past research, coverage of female candidates could potentially turn a large part of the voting population against her (Entman, 2010).

Winfrey & Carlin looked at media coverage of both Alaska Governor Sarah Palin and Sen. Hillary Clinton during their 2008 campaigns for vice president and Democratic presidential nominee, respectively. By using media framing and research on the use of sexist language, Winfrey & Carlin identified different brands of sexism faced by the two

candidates, but each dealt with stereotypes employed by the media that were, at least in some capacity, harmful to their separate campaigns (2009). Winfrey & Carlin used four stereotypes of professional women established in Rosabeth Moss Kanter's landmark book on women and power structures, *Men and Women of the Corporation*. The iron maiden stereotype is distinguished by adjectives such as "cold" or "intimidating," and is often applied to women who exhibit traditionally masculine traits of ambition or aggression. The sex object stereotype can manifest in a wide range of discourse, from sexual harassment to dress, and includes adjectives such as "sexy" or "pretty." The mother stereotype usually focuses on the woman as a mother or exhibiting motherly traits, and plays out in discourse with words such as "compassionate" and "honest." Finally, the pet stereotype evokes the idea that women should be unduly praised for their accomplishments or that a woman's role is mainly as a support system. The stereotype is characterized by descriptors such as "precocious" and "cheerleader" (Kanter, 1977). They found that women are often represented by the media as a combination of these four stereotypes, each used in a way that can both harm and enhance their reputations (Winfrey & Carlin, 2009).

In their study of the media's portrayal of female candidates in gubernatorial and Senate primary races, Bystrom, Robertson, and Banwart point out that there are significant differences in the way men and women are framed in the media. This study was interesting because it compared women and men directly to each other, and while it found that women tended to be the focus of the coverage, there were still many stereotypes at play that resulted in the coverage slanting toward the male candidate. The study did note that the stereotypes and shortcuts that the media and audiences often rely

on to stereotype women in politics can sometimes work to the candidates' advantage. For instance, women are considered more warm and loving (2009).

Feminist theory

The second framework, feminist theory, will be crucial to interpreting the findings and could help shed light on why women are still so scarce in politics and how gendered political reporting contributes to the phenomena. Feminist perspectives and research challenge and question patriarchal systems that society operates through, with the promise of overturning the patriarchy as an accepted reality (Hesse-Biber, 2012). Political reporting, which is still largely dominated by men, is often done through a male perspective by virtue of men being the ones to control the stories. This is reflective of the attitudes that women are faced with when they want to enter the political realm. Harp and Tremayne highlight the pervasive ideology that outlines the politics and political blogging — that under the patriarchy women are expected to occupy private spheres, where men are encouraged to take on leadership roles such as political positions (2006). Patriarchal underpinnings in society have relegated women to domesticity, where men are free from duties like housework and caring for children.

This manifests itself in the language used to discuss women and men. Feminist linguists have identified that language centers itself on men rather than women, in a phenomenon that Hellinger (2001) calls male as norm (MAN). Although in English there has been an increase in the feminization of language, such as adopting feminine suffixes (congresswoman) to words that are generally relegated to men, women still often find themselves feeling invisible in their own language (Hellinger, 2001). This is a byproduct

of the patriarchy rooting itself in language, transforming it into a field where women are viewed as secondary parts of a language and, by extension, society. Using feminist framework in application to language will allow a critical look at how the patriarchal systems have invaded the language we use to speak and report on women.

This research will apply the findings of previous research that shows that politics are framed through masculinity (Anderson et al., 2011; Everitt, 2005; Manning, 2006). Women in politics must learn to embrace both their masculine and feminine attributes in order to be successful (Griswold, 2007). Because gender plays a critical role to the female politician, this critical discourse analysis will use feminist theory to explain the political disparity between men and women. It will also use gender schema as an idea of how reporters and readers use shortcuts to digest information about candidates (Entman, 2010).

Literature review

Media and politics

Media play an essential role in politics and political engagement. The public depends on the media for its news, and count on news to chronicle the successes, failures, and the often gray areas in between those extremes of elected officials. The media can help create and foster feelings about politicians, including trust in political figures, their efficacy as officials, and general political knowledge. Studies have shown that media have a direct impact on political trust in particular, which could eventually lead to larger effects like decreased civic engagement (Corrigan-Brown & Wilkes, 2014).

With such an integral role in shaping political beliefs and perceptions, political journalists should exercise caution in how they cover political candidates. In a study on

political reporters and their relationships with political sources, Revers (2011) noted that even though journalists were hesitant to burn bridges by publishing negative stories about their sources, many said that they felt a sense of satisfaction that was tied to fulfilling a journalistic duty if it indeed came to that point. Although journalists are seemingly thrilled with the idea of perpetuating some sort of journalistic integrity, there are still underpinnings of subjectivity that go into journalism (Revers, 2011). It is especially important, then, that journalists be conscious of the way they frame political figures. For reporters covering women in particular, the subjective influences that leak into reporting could have detrimental effects on women candidates, who are already represented far less at the voting booths.

Framing is often lumped under the umbrella of cognitive media effects along with agenda-setting and priming, but when examining political communication Scheufele (2000) proposes that the group be broken up and examined with its own categorical differences. Framing and agenda setting still have similar characteristics that are key to understanding when conducting research on political communication. Partisanship, for example, has a significant effect on how audiences consume political news. Less-partisan readers tend to be affected more by all three of the cognitive media umbrella elements. Information processing in audiences is also researched in the same way. But when re-examining the three media effects, framing differs from agenda-setting and priming in two major ways. First, framing relies on the hierarchy of the frames used in the media rather than the media agenda. This indicates that framing is more of an implicit effect of larger power structures rather than an intentional act by the media. Agenda-setting and priming also focus on the salience of the audience; whereas framing examines how the

audience is framing the information presented (Scheufele, 2000). Overall, the updated definition of framing puts more responsibility on how the audience views political information in the context of existing power structures.

Gender in politics

Research on political coverage of women has established that campaigns of women are traditionally marked by five characteristics that reveal themselves in news discourse. First, women receive less attention than male counterparts though as women become less of an anomaly in the political sphere that has started to shift (Wasburn, 2011). Second, reporting on women focuses on personal and trivial aspects such as their appearance, family and lifestyle rather than central campaign issues. Third, women face harsher character attacks and how those perceived drawbacks would affect their performance in office. Fourth, women are generally asked about their positions on policy that is traditionally geared toward women such as abortions, education and childcare while questions about the economy and the military are left for male candidates. Finally, the news media will question a woman's ability to influence others if she is elected to office (Wasburn, 2011).

While women certainly can use the "feminine" attributes identified by Wasburn (2011) to their advantage, they also become more susceptible to more rigid frameworks and closely held stereotypes that make it difficult to influence the media's agenda (Aalberg & Jenssen, 2007). In countries such as Sweden and Norway, where women hold around 40 percent of cabinet positions, the issue of a candidate's gender has become nearly obsolete (Aalberg & Jenssen, 2007; Matland, 1994). Not so in the United States. In

2013, the U.S. had a record-breaking 19 percent of U.S. congressional seats filled by women. By continuing to perpetuate women's role in politics differently from men's, the media contribute to a cyclic and systematic barrier to women participating in the political sphere (Aalberg & Jenssen, 2007).

Research has shown that the characteristics associated with men serve them as public speakers, which is a central role of politicians and one of the main sources of political reporting. Men are generally perceived as domineering figures: aggressive, assertive, and freed of emotion. Women, by contrast, are expected to be submissive, able to counter the emotionless male with warmth. In politics, still operating under the ideals of the patriarchy, women's personal rhetoric is at odds with the qualities that make a successful politician (Manning, 2006).

Language

Feminist linguistic theorists have defined feminism as “the practice of challenging the linguistic systems as well as the structures and institutions it produces, including education, politics, religion, and the economic system” (Manning, 2006, 111). Language reinforces gender power structures, and without taking steps to mitigate semantics that reinforce these stereotypes, the media will continue to perpetuate harmful gender roles about politicians (Anderson et al., 2011; Manning, 2006).

The very nature of politics, particularly in an age of increased partisanship that necessitates strength and will, puts women at a disadvantage. Because these stereotypical characteristics have been inextricably linked to gender roles and the constructs of language, they often play out in political writing. Werner and LaRussa (1985) and

Brosioff and Merrill (1998) created a list of gender-specific characteristics to women: being soft-spoken, emotional, subjective, self-effacing, uncertain, humble, compliant, submissive, sincere, cooperative, fair-minded, and optimistic. Men, by contrast are characterized as being ineffective listeners, emotionally inexpressive, categorical, certain in their use of language, and dominating (Ivy & Backlund, 2004). Manning (2006) characterizes these traits in the context of communication as women having emotional connections, while men assume the role of experts.

Firmly rooted in semantics and a reliance on stereotyped gender characteristics, the language used in political reporting interprets all politicians in masculine terms (Anderson et al., 2011; Everitt, 2005; Manning, 2006). Using language that inherently favors men perpetuates the idea that women are in some way intruding in the political realm, effectively making and maintaining their status as outsiders in a male-dominated world (Anderson et al., 2011). Because the public relies on the media as a watchdog, the images formed through semantics and the frames put forth by news outlets can have powerful effects on the public's perception of female politicians.

In order to be successful in politics, Griswold (2007) asserted that women must at once embrace masculine and feminine rhetoric as part of their political speech. When they deviate too far from the personal, warm rhetoric that have become a part of the feminine ideal, women are scrutinized in the media and by the public. If they embody this rhetoric, however, they are decried as politicians for lacking leadership qualities. So how, then, can we pick a middle ground for reporting on both men and women? Griswold (2007) argued that gender-neutral language and representation in the media causes two major problems: It introduces the idea that gender and politics should be separated, and

that gender neutral language is not powerful enough to reinforce or change much in the way of women in politics. Rather, women should be able to tap in equally to male and female rhetoric to become successful politicians.

Political writing tends to include violent language more suited to the aggressive nature of men constructed by the media. Images of warmongering, violence, and confrontation are reinforced by verb usage like “fought” and “battled.” These forceful and powerful word choices have become go-to metaphors for political action in reporting (Griswold, 2007; Manning, 2006; Nacos, 2005). When more “masculine” terms are applied to women in politics, they are generally used as either a snide compliment or an insult. When *The Wall Street Journal* reported Nancy Pelosi’s vote gathering for health care reform in 2010, it employed adjectives like such as “stalwart,” “imposing,” “formidable,” “arm-twisting,” “pressure maker,” and “threatening,” giving Pelosi the nickname, “the Slaughter Solution” (Taylor, 2010). These needlessly aggressive descriptors were designed specifically to give Pelosi the image of a cutthroat, manipulative politician (Taylor, 2010). Even when women are characterized in a positive light, words such as “trailblazer” only reinforce the idea that women are still political outsiders fighting for their chance (Anderson et al., 2011).

Research questions

I have identified three research questions that I answered through my critical discourse analysis:

RQ1: What are the differences, if any, in the language used to report Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama's candidacies for the 2008 Democratic presidential nomination in *TIME*, *Newsweek* and *US News & World Report*?

RQ2: What prominent stereotypes, including those of iron maiden, sex object, mother and pet as established by Rosabeth Moss Kanter in her book *Women of the Corporation*, are presented in the language used to describe Hillary Clinton?

RQ3: What major content focus do the articles about Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama have in terms of their status as a parent, a policymaker, education, or other areas?

Methodology

Political reporting is a prime area for critical discourse analysis, because in itself it is a living, breathing power structure. Chilton and Schaffner (2002, p. 5) define politics as “a struggle for power, between those who seek to assert and maintain their power and those who resist it.” Critical discourse analysis lets researchers look at language as structure informed by historical social orders. The goal of critical discourse analysis is not only to identify problems in these linguistic constructions but also to view them as changeable rather than absolute (Locke, 2004). Locke offers several key attributes of critical discourse analysis: It looks at social orders as changeable and socially constructed, it views these as pervasive societal norms rather than the will of the individual, it accepts that ideology affects discourse, and it says societal power is an effect of privilege (2004).

Critical discourse analysis is most appropriate for my research topic because it will allow me to operate with the understanding that power structures, mainly the patriarchy, have affected how women are reported in the media. By using critical discourse analysis, I do not assume that journalists' reporting is intentionally slanted in favor of men, but rather can view their words through the idea that the United States is still operating under a patriarchal boundary that is reinforced, often times implicitly, in our daily lives. Understanding the boundaries and hurdles that the patriarchy has presented in language will allow an examination of how this affects women who are running for office. This takes it a step beyond simply identifying that the problem exists, which has already been established, but takes a look into the specific ways that language does this. Van Dijk notes that critical discourse analysis is used to reveal structures that already exist in society, thus it will allow me to examine the ideas of how the patriarchy affects the media representation of women, and allow me to apply feminist theory in not only identifying the limitations that the patriarchy places on women's representation in political reporting, but also look at them from an idea of how that has an impact on their career as a whole (1993).

Taylor used critical discourse analysis to examine an interview former Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi granted with *The New York Times Magazine*, centering on her experience as a woman in politics. Taylor was able to look critically at the feminine attributes perceived in Pelosi's demeanor and apply them to a broader of idea of how these come into play with women in the political sphere (2012). Critical discourse analysis will enable me to look at this kind of coded language that, according to research,

is rampant among women in politics. It will allow me to take a deeper dive beyond the surface of some kind of fishy adjectives.

Van Dijk identifies that critical discourse analysis is not as fleshed out as other research methods, which could be a potential drawback to using the method with my research. In order for critical discourse analysis to be effective, we must draw from existing power structures that define and course through the veins of daily life (1993). That is why using feminist theory is key to my research. Feminist theory assumes that gender parity is not present in women's lives, and thus will establish a structural divide between men and women in politics and the language used to report on the two genders.

For this research, I chose the three news magazines with the highest circulations in 2008 according to the Audit Bureau of Circulations — *TIME* (3,374,000), *Newsweek* (2,720,000), and *US News & World Report* (1,721,000). Although they were included in the category of news magazines, I have also chosen to exclude *The New Yorker* and *The Economist* because both have more niche audiences, with *The New Yorker* focusing more on literary work and *The Economist* on economic reporting. The magazines I have chosen are marketed to some of the largest audiences and are likely to have nonpartisan reporting. Because of their wide audience, I expect these magazines to be more reflective of what news society is consuming as a whole rather than niche or partisan magazines such as *Mother Jones* and *Slate*.

I analyzed articles published between December 1, 2007 and June 30, 2008, using “Hillary Clinton” and “Barack Obama” as my search terms. The timeframe encompassed the beginning of the primary calendar, including the Iowa caucus and New Hampshire primary race, and stretched through to Clinton's concession to Obama on June 7, 2008.

Each of the magazines' articles were found using different databases. I accessed the *Newsweek* archive using Factiva, filtering out opinion and online-only pieces for a total of 163. *US News & World Report* keeps its complete archive on its website, and by setting my date parameters and using the search terms I found over 150 articles. I then whittled the *US News* pieces down by throwing out any that were filed as a blog or under the opinion section, bringing the total to 114. *TIME* has its own paid archive of the magazine, and I paid the \$3.99 monthly fee to have access to the 114 articles that I needed for this research, also deleting any that were filed under opinion.

I created a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet to keep the coding process streamlined. Along with noting basic information like the name of the article, the author and the publication, I used five different columns to sort the coding information. "Major content focus BO" tracked the article's main focus on Obama as a candidate, policymaker, his education or his family. "Major content focus HC" looked at the same broad-stroke information but focused on Clinton. This allowed me to easily look at the how the content of the articles describes the candidate in areas such as their family, education, and professional experience. For the second part of the coding process I focused on Hillary Clinton. Using the "Kanter" column, I indicated which of Kanter's four stereotypes of professional women the author employed, if any. I chose between four options in this column - mother, pet, iron maiden and sex object. Under the "Kanter words" column, I listed which words were used in this frame by using the descriptors Kanter provided and others that I found were similar. In the final column, simply titled "notes," I put down any differences that wouldn't neatly fit in the other columns that I believed would be useful to my research. This was valuable for me in tracking any other trends I saw

emerging or indicating when I thought a column served as a particularly good example of something. Finally, when noting the author, I changed any female writers to be highlighted yellow so I could understand if the writer's gender had anything to do with the way that he or she chose to frame the candidates or influenced the language.

Findings

The first of my three research questions was certainly the widest, but it also gave me the most flexibility to look for problematic linguistic usage in the magazine pieces I read. For the findings for this question, I primarily turn to the "notes" section of my coding, in which I noted my reactions about the choices that writers used when chronicling Clinton's campaign. These allowed me to look beyond the words and broad focus points and really get into the idea of how the writers' choices about Clinton as a candidate influenced their descriptions.

Billary

One of the most notable tropes was the recurrence of Bill Clinton in the writing. The former president was active in Hillary Clinton's campaign, particularly in the early stages around the Iowa caucus and New Hampshire primaries, so it was unsurprising that he appeared in the reportage for his stump speeches. But even beyond campaign reportage Bill became a central part of the conversation, with almost speculative type pieces about how Clinton would potentially run her presidency alongside her husband. This was particularly striking to me because even when Clinton's campaign did not involve Bill, his absence and his influence was an integral part of the pieces.

“Billary” was evoked several times to refer to the Clintons on the campaign trail. This term found its way into each of the publications, but it was never reported in a journalistic fashion. It was accepted as a common colloquialism that wouldn’t seem out of place on a blog, but seemed strange employed in actual campaign reporting. Anytime Billary was referenced their relationship was a central part of the conversation, and it typically cast the candidate Clinton in a negative light.

Clinton was frequently painted as having lost control of her husband, who was still hungry for the spotlight after his own presidency. There were several articles in the research devoted to her lack of control. *US News & World Report* seemed particularly fixated on the phenomenon of Clinton controlling her husband. “Former President Bill Clinton Tones it Down to Help His Wife, Hillary,” “Who Can Keep Bill Clinton in Line?,” “Bill Clinton Asks For a Second Chance,” all focused on Clinton’s failures to control her husband and how it could hurt her and ultimately hurt her campaign.

But Clinton wasn’t just painted as a failing wife. She was also a beneficiary of former President Clinton’s political success. In *Newsweek*’s “Calling in a Late Family Intervention,” *US News*’ “Clinton Fights For Voters in Obama Territory,” Clinton’s success, at least partially, was attributed to her husband’s background. He becomes almost as integral to the story as she does. Her experience as First Lady is also evoked frequently when the writers mention Bill. Granted, this was also a huge part of Clinton’s campaign rhetoric. She often used her experience as First Lady to tout her diplomacy abilities. But though she was painted as an aggressive First Lady with an active role in her husband’s presidency, it is just the opposite when she is the candidate. As a candidate it was speculated that she would run a “co-presidency” with her husband that, according

to many of the articles, would be an equal playing field. The former president was never painted as an intrusion, but a partner. It was almost as if they were running a campaign for his third term.

Although Michelle Obama was out on the campaign trail with her husband, she was rarely written about in the articles. The only piece I encountered in my research that discussed her at length, “Just Don’t Know What To Do with Myself,” also contained interesting commentary about how strange it was that the former President Clinton was often lambasted for campaigning for his wife, yet Michelle Obama was largely left out of the conversation.

Yet this seems almost unavoidable. The Clintons were political superstars, both from their time in the White House and separate accomplishments. Michelle, on the other hand, was virtually unknown before Obama came out as a candidate in the 2008 primary. Both of the Clintons were subjects of interest; whereas Michelle, until Obama became the Democratic nominee, was not a compelling figure to the media.

Hillary Clinton as a woman’s champion

It was almost never backed up with actual statistics, but Clinton was always painted as popular amongst women. It is true, in certain states and at certain points of the campaign, Clinton polled better among women, but throughout the campaign that support faltered. It wasn’t an across-the-board fact about the campaign, but it was continuously promoted as a fact. In the same way, Obama was propped up as the champion of black Americans. But although this was mentioned as one of his key voting demographics, the specifics of the bloc weren’t discussed in the articles — unlike the women. Articles

danced around the fact that Obama was popular among African Americans largely because he could represent them in an unprecedented way. The articles, however, had no problem saying that women were voting for Clinton – or at least perceived to – for the same reasons. In a *US News & World Report* article, “Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama Look For Ways to Break Out,” Kenneth Walsh went as far as to say that women voted for Clinton as a point of “gender pride.” Other articles explored the women who did not feel obligated to vote for Clinton because of their shared gender as a sort of anomaly. In another article for *US News*, Nikki Schwab chronicled these types of voters, going into great pains to establish Obama’s growing bloc of women voters and painting them as some sort of outlier.

But if African Americans decided not to vote for Obama, they weren’t discussed at length or really at all. There was something about women voting for Clinton that was at once expected but also able to be defied. Black Americans either didn’t have that luxury or the writers were uncomfortable discussing it as a possibility. It was often recognized in the articles that the two candidates would break boundaries, but only one of those groups seemed off limits to discussion.

First of her name

AP and Chicago style dictate that if you have two people in the same family, both of them will need to be referred to by their first name. But with Clinton she was frequently referred as simply “Hillary.” Often this was in lieu of referring to her husband by his first name. The former president frequently had a work around in his name, either referring to him by his former title or letting him simple remain “Clinton.” His wife,

however, was nearly always “Hillary” if she was referred to in the same article as he was, even if she was mentioned higher in the article than she was.

But more surprising was the fact that even when there was no other Clinton in the article, Hillary was still, at times referred to by her first name. *TIME* was particularly flagrant in calling the senator by her name. It seemed that this flouted not only AP style, but the publication’s guidelines as well. There was no instance that I saw in the articles that I coded from any publication in which Barack Obama was referred to only by his first name. Even in *TIME*, where the writers seemed very comfortable calling Clinton by her first name, Obama was always referred to in proper AP style.

This was extremely surprising to me. As I was pulling articles initially, before I had thrown out all of the online-only pieces, I saw a lot of headlines that referred to Clinton as “Hillary.” I was surprised that articles such as “Letting Hillary Be Hillary,” “What Does Hillary Want?” and “Hillary’s Hidden Hand” were not a product of blog style, or at least a choice from an editorial. This could be an area of future research, because I believe that Clinton’s first name was used as a function of her gender. It is unclear if Sarah Palin, however, was ever called Sarah in print publications in a similar manner.

Although campaign materials put out by her own staff frequently refer to Clinton by her first name, other candidates such as Rand Paul, who also have campaign slogans using their first name, are never referred to as simply “Rand.” Clinton may have used “Hillary” as part of her brand, but that shouldn’t mean that reporters should use it - especially when she is the only candidate they call by first name.

Prominent stereotypes:

Iron maiden

In assigning's Kanter's stereotypes of professional women to the writing about Clinton, the iron maiden depiction was used almost three times as much as any of the others in the adjectives and descriptors. Kanter summarizes the iron maiden stereotype as women who were "stereotyped as tougher than they are," and "trapped in a more militant stance than they might otherwise take." There has been a lot of chatter – both academic and from media critics —about Clinton's frequent characterization as aggressive and cutthroat. In journalistic writing, I was shocked by how many palpable examples there were of this. Out of all of the coding work I've done, the depiction as iron maiden was the least buried in its own rhetoric. There were few times in my coding where I employed a feminist lens to find these terms, rather, I could easily pick out the abundantly clear examples of how Clinton was cast as the militant candidate.

Across each of the publications, but most notably in *TIME* and *Newsweek*, there were strong words used to describe both Clinton and her campaign strategy. In "It's Not Over Yet," *TIME*'s Karen Tumulty called the candidate, who was struggling to stay relevant in the Democratic primary race, "cajoling" and "arm-twisting," to both her potential voters and to her political equals. Her colleague Joe Klein wrote that she was a "robo-pol," a "tireless" force on the campaign trail who was waging an "assault" on the Obama campaign. *Newsweek* called her "overbearing" and "penetrating," and in a separate article she was "confrontational" and "chilling."

Some of the examples of the iron maiden stereotype weren't quite so overt. Her campaign was often described as having "bitterness" to it when she was being foiled by

the Obama campaign, which was generally depicted with throw-no-punches niceties. She was also described on several occasions as being “ruthless” against her opponent Obama. Generally, if Clinton and Obama were mentioned in equal amounts, the negative adjectives about Clinton were severely reduced. But when she was discussed more in the article, the writer seemed to take license to use such characterizations.

The iron maiden stereotype was reinforced with the constant use of battle terms when referencing Clinton’s actions toward Obama. The literature review indicated that battle terms were often employed in political writing, something that this research easily reinforced. Across each of the publications words such as “battle,” “combat” and “fighting” were used frequently. Occasionally the adjectives and verbs were more colorful, including “slugfest,” “knock-down, drag-out” and “tooth-and-nail.”

Pet

Although infrequent, Clinton was occasionally painted as her husband’s pet, or as Kanter describes the stereotype, “a cheerleader for shows of prowess.” In the context of the campaign, this stereotype most often came up in when Clinton was perceived to be softening her image. This maybe meant letting Bill or Chelsea serve as a surrogate on the campaign trail or allowing herself to get “misty,” as *Newsweek* put it. The pet stereotype often came up alongside her former role as First Lady, called Bill’s “cheerleader,” by *Newsweek* article “How They Have Lost.”

Most frequently, Clinton’s characterization as a pet wasn’t neatly defined. She was almost never written as the deferent campaigner or wife who would define this categorization, but the writing about her took on those qualities, just not as the primary

characterization. On seven occasions, I used both iron maiden and pet to code the articles. This was usually in a situation in which Clinton was being painted as the preeminent loser, and used words such as “haughty,” “weak,” “hopeless” and “vainglorious.” In these cases, her confidence was underscored by her perceived inability to call the fight against Obama, who had taken an almost insurmountable lead over Clinton by May 2008. The press put her as the victim to her own campaign, with people around her forced to take the reins and allow her to act as a flailing figurehead. She was at once cast as unstoppable and an inevitable failure. Thus, the writing about Clinton, in these cases, embodied the battling strength of a candidate willing to fight and the failing campaigner who needed to be helped along by her husband and support staff to continue.

Mother and sex object

Clinton was never depicted using the mother or sex object stereotype. Based on the predominant findings of this critical discourse analysis, this is unsurprising. Kanter’s mother stereotype generally depicts women as caring and understanding, a description that was never afforded to Clinton. Rather, the writers in this study framed her as the relentless go-getter, which landed her easily in the realm of an iron maiden rather than a gentle mother.

Clinton’s appearance was rarely discussed, so it is also unsurprising that she wasn’t characterized as a sex object. Kanter’s explanation of the stereotype goes beyond it being an overtly sexual one, but to also encompass a woman who is described with overly feminine traits. The only time that I found in my coding that Clinton was remotely characterized as feminine were the references to her getting “misty” at a campaign event

in New Hampshire. Even still, that fell into the pet category rather than the sex object, because it was her showing emotion rather than using her femininity.

Major content focus

The major content focus of the two candidates was usually the same. If Barack Obama was being discussed as a candidate, there were few times when the magazine's focused on a completely different area for Hillary Clinton. For an overwhelming majority of the articles, both of the candidates were framed as candidates or policymakers. The articles rarely delved primarily into other aspects of Clinton's life such as family, but none of the articles I analyzed did this with Barack Obama. The rare instances in which family was mentioned as the primary focus for Clinton was mostly due to the fact that it talked about her husband as the primary focus of her campaign, but not necessarily from a technical campaign aspect. Her husband's presidency and his established reputation in the press seemed to take precedence over her experience as both First Lady and a New York senator to the point that, as Obama was being discussed for his merits as a candidate, Clinton was talked about as a sideshow to her husband.

A few times, the focus also widened to include her daughter, Chelsea. The Obama girls were never mentioned, though that wasn't necessarily surprising within the context of my research. When she was growing up in the White House, Chelsea was often left out of the press. There were several articles that spoke specifically to this fact, juxtaposed with the idea that now, as a consenting adult, Chelsea had chosen to throw herself into the press machine alongside her parents. "Chelsea Finds Her Voice" and "Chelsea Come Lately," referenced the woman who Maureen Dowd called in *The New York Times* "mute

Chelsea.” As a public figure who grew up in the spotlight, it didn’t seem strange that her decision to campaign for her mother made headlines. The Obama girls, both significantly younger and unable to make an independent contribution to their father’s campaign, would have been bizarre for the press to mention.

Author’s gender

I found that the author’s gender made little difference in the way that Clinton was portrayed on both a larger scale and at a linguistic level. In a big picture sense, Clinton was overwhelmingly portrayed as an iron maiden and the articles focused on her as a candidate. There was no significant variation between male and female writers in this, although I documented many more pieces written by men. In a linguistic sense, women were not kinder to the candidate. They were just as likely to use harsh adjectives or call her by her first name as their male colleagues, or at least based on the sample size I could not conclude that they were more likely.

Conclusion

Ultimately, I made significant headway in addressing my three research questions, restated here:

RQ1: What are the differences, if any, in the language used to report Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama's candidacies for the 2008 Democratic presidential nomination in *TIME*, *Newsweek* and *US News & World Report*?

RQ2: What prominent stereotypes, including those of iron maiden, sex object, mother and pet as established by Rosabeth Moss Kanter in her book *Women of the Corporation*, are presented in the language used to describe Hillary Clinton?

RQ3: What major content focus do the articles about Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama have in terms of their status as a parent, a policymaker, education, or other areas?

There were certainly differences in the writing around Clinton and her campaign and Obama's. Ultimately, the media used words that simply would not be easily reversible to use for Obama, such as "ruthless" and "ice queen." Although it can be argued that Obama's campaign tactics were much different than Clinton's and those descriptors might not apply, there would be no feasible situation, from what the research revealed, in which any of those negative words would be used to describe Obama or any other male candidate.

Preceding the 2012 election, the Women's Media Center released its "chart of reversibility," or words that the organization found were used to describe women and countered by the male equivalent of that word. The list was derived from case studies done for the center's "Guide to Gender Neutral Coverage of Women Candidates and Politicians," and though the guide didn't look specifically at Clinton's coverage, many of the semantic differences were similar. For example, a writer might call a female candidate "opinionated," but choose to call a man "knowledgeable." Other examples included calling a woman "shrill," which was applied to Clinton several times in the analyzed articles, but calling a man "determined."

The Women's Media Center guide was not used as part of my backbone of scholarly work, but it was an interesting thing to run across after my coding had concluded. Many of the words that were used to describe Clinton in the coding sheets, such as "nagging," "aggressive," "shrill," "ice queen," and "cold," also made an appearance on the chart of reversibility, each coupled with the male equivalent of the descriptor.

It was surprising that there were no instances of Clinton's appearance that came up in the articles, which I expected would be a difference between her and Obama. Neither of the candidates was noted for their dress or appearance in the newsmagazines, neither in a positive or negative light.

The biggest difference in coverage of Clinton and Obama was the fire-and-ice dynamic the media painted of the two candidates. At the earlier stages of the campaign, Obama's tactics were rarely mentioned; whereas, Clinton was painted as a warrior queen on the "ruthless" path to the nomination. This echoed research from Bystrom, Robertson, and Banwart, which showed that women in politics are generally the primary focus of an article (2009). But as Clinton's nomination lost its inevitability, Obama's strategy as the cool, calm and collected candidate was painted more vigorously by the media. Although it might be true that Clinton was a more aggressive candidate, the way that she was written about revealed gender stereotyping from the press. Unfortunately, unlike previous research revealed, this gender slant was not the warm and loving boost that can sometimes help female candidates (Bystrom et al., 2009).

One of the differences that I did not anticipate while conducting this analysis was how much Clinton's husband played a role in the reporting about her. Former President

Bill Clinton was inextricably linked to Clinton's campaign whether he was out stumping for her or standing on the sidelines. Many of the political achievements she touted were partially credited to him, as were many of her political failures.

Michelle Obama did not appear as frequently in press coverage of her husband as Bill appeared in Clinton's. As a former president, he is a person of interest. Further research could be done to understand if Clinton's husband was mentioned so frequently as a result of her being a woman or if it was simply because he had existing star power heading into the campaign. This could be achieved by choosing a female candidate with a relatively unknown spouse running against a male candidate whose spouse had similar unrecognizability.

Kanter's iron maiden stereotype surfaced most frequently in the reporting on Clinton, which was unsurprising to me given my existing knowledge of the candidates' reputation in the press. Clinton was rarely cast into the pet stereotype, and when she was it was because Bill made an appearance in the story. And never once was Clinton painted as the sex object or mother. I believe that her primary role as an iron maiden surfaced most frequently because of the qualities that Clinton as a candidate possesses – tough, tenacious, and commanding. Further research could explore female candidates or politicians with a different leadership style to see if Kanter's other stereotypes make their way into the coverage.

Much like Winfrey & Carlin's (2009) study, I found that Kanter's iron maiden was a detrimental factor to Clinton's campaign. Clinton was consistently painted as a relentless fighter, something that typically wouldn't be admonished in a candidate. But as Clinton fought for her political life, so to speak, she was at once praised and chided for

her tenacity. Obama emerged as the cool-headed frontrunner, and Clinton was painted as “vainglorious” for staying in the race in what the writer indicated was past her prime. This reinforced previous findings that women in politics must learn how to play both sides of the coin in gender roles (Griswold, 2007). Because Clinton could not be deferent to a man in conceding the nomination sooner, she was singlehandedly splitting the Democratic party. But if she had conceded, she would have let down her backers, who in certain states were still numerous, and betrayed the image the press painted of her as the woman who wouldn’t stop. The press both expected her to maintain the fighter attitude and concede.

The struggle to balance the both male and female qualities in the descriptions of Clinton, however, appeared even before writers started inadvertently calling for her withdrawal. On several occasions, writers depicted Clinton as attempting to “humanize” herself in some way to match Obama’s charisma. This was often followed by indications that she had, in some way, failed. According to past research, the qualities that Clinton was charged with having should have helped her credibility as a public speaker, and thus her campaign. Public speakers are generally successful if they are aggressive, free of emotion, and assertive, traits that are generally associated with men rather than women, who tend to be characterized as submissive (Manning, 2006). Clinton was sometimes referred to as a robot, generally unfeeling in her speeches. But when Clinton took a softer approach to her campaigning, she was called out for being ineffective. The masculine terms typically employed in political writing were generally used to insult Clinton. Much like Taylor’s (2010) discourse analysis of Nancy Pelosi, Clinton was painted as manipulative through words like “formidable” and “confrontational.”

This played out most prominently as Clinton's campaign started losing traction in April 2008. Although the media gave her credit for being unrelenting in her candidacy, noting that this was one of the most recognizable traits about Clinton, it also seemed like a call for her to step aside. There were pieces dedicated to hypothesizing, through the context of her time as first lady, why she wouldn't just concede the campaign. The pieces seemed to point the finger at Clinton for dividing the Democratic primary vote.

Yet simultaneously, Clinton was held up for her historic role as one of the first truly viable female presidential candidates. Several articles spoke about her voter base, noting that her supporters, mostly identified as women, would be angry if she decided to step aside. Thus, articles lacked any kind of real resolution for the candidate. Writers were never willing to commit to either side of the conundrum of if Clinton should step aside, thus letting down her voting base, or stay in the race, ultimately hurting the Democratic party. In that was she was held to a double standard.

There was little difference in the content focus between Obama and Clinton. Both of the politicians were overwhelmingly written about in the context of their campaigns. I was a bit surprised that there was not more about Bill Clinton's affair while in the White House and the potential implications on his wife's campaign. I thought that, given the Clintons' background with the press, those details would become part of the reporting on Clinton. Rather, the newsmagazine coverage I analyzed did not expressly mention the affair. When the affair was alluded to, which was only occasionally, it was usually used as a portrait of how Clinton now held a tight leash on her husband, which contributed to her iron maiden stereotype.

Wasburn (2011) found that female candidates were asked more frequently about issues that specifically related to women. I found this to be true, but not necessarily from a policy standpoint. Clinton was frequently discussed in terms of her female voting bloc. As one of the first viable female presidential candidates, Clinton was held up as a symbol for women breaking barriers. She addressed this status in speeches, and it was certainly talked about in the newsmagazine articles about her. But by holding her up as a champion of women, the press also cast her as a symbol of everything women had to lose if Clinton did not secure the nomination. Many of the articles painted her female voting bloc as potentially angry or disappointed if she didn't win, but not because it was a candidate that they had supported, but because she was a woman.

Wasburn's (2011) study was particularly interesting to revisit because of its five established characteristics of women's campaigns in news discourse. This critical discourse analysis did not reveal, as Wasburn's did, that women were reported on less than men in a campaign or that the focus of the coverage would be on non-policy related issues. It did, however, back up Wasburn's findings that the media would question a woman's credibility in office and that women were typically asked more about topics related to women (2011).

The newsmagazine coverage of Clinton often hypothesized about what kind of president she would be. The most popular conclusion, it seemed, is that she would share her presidency with her husband or that her successful election would be Bill's third term in office. The implication was that she either was running as a divisive way for Bill to resume power in the White House or that she was incapable of making decisions on her own. Wasburn (2011) found that women's qualifications were questioned by other

candidates and in the press. Although there was evidence in the reporting that other candidates called Clinton's qualifications into question, my analysis found that the press did this on its own without outside voices.

In the coverage of Hillary Clinton's campaign, it was clear that the media tried to foist sexist expectations onto Clinton that did not belong, but not necessarily in the overtly feminine ways that many people think of when they talk about sexist writing. Through the linguistic choices of the writers, the newsmagazine coverage in this critical discourse analysis revealed a wider problem with women in politics. The media tried to sort Clinton into a categorical box of iron maiden, but then criticized her for fitting their expectations, and typically the country's expectations for a strong leader.

A similar critical discourse analysis of Clinton's expected 2016 run could build upon this research. Perhaps with women appearing more and more frequently in politics – and without the shock of a viable female candidate for the first time – updated newsmagazine coverage of Clinton would not be rife with sexist underpinnings. It is also unclear if Clinton's background in the press had anything to do with her special brand of notoriety in her 2008 Democratic primary campaign. Research that focused on lesser-known female candidates would also be a useful look into how female candidates are characterized.

This research is particularly significant as Hillary Clinton heads out on the 2016 campaign trail. Clinton will likely face many of the things that I have pointed out here from her 2008 campaign, but they won't be met without scrutiny. There are already groups, such as the "HRC Super Vols," who have pledged to call out sexist writing about Clinton the in the mainstream media. There is increased awareness of the problems

Clinton faced from the media in 2008, and with research like my analysis, there can be more awareness of exactly how pervasive gendered language is in political writing.

The benefits of this research are not just for Clinton, however. All female candidates can benefit from the media's awareness of gendered language in reporting, because it could potentially stop them from being outsiders in the political world. When there are differences in the way female politicians are written about compared with male politicians, it inevitably will cast women as an exception to the rule. If the press can be aware of and mitigate the gendered writing about female politicians, there is a potential for more women candidates to feel comfortable stepping forward.

I used past research of media coverage of female candidates as a foundation for my research. This update both reinforces and contradicts trends other researchers have identified. For example, female candidates are continuing to appear in the media more frequently, but they are still questioned for their leadership skills. Although women are becoming more visible in politics that exposure hasn't led to increased confidence in their abilities. This critical discourse analysis provided the groundwork for continued research on Clinton and women in politics. It would be helpful for someone to conduct a similar critical discourse analysis after the 2016 election to understand if there have been any shifts in the last eight years.

This research is also a benefit to the field of journalism as it continues to diversify and write about groups that are traditionally not covered – such as female politicians. From my experience, many newsrooms tend to be filled with mostly white men. Their subjects, often times, are mostly white men. There needs to be a disruption in the media that is written by, for, and about white men, and allowing gendered language and clear

differences in the writing about female and male politicians will not further that goal. Research like this analysis will help bring these issues to light, which I believe will help the profession of journalism as a whole.

The most disturbing differences in the writing about Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama will continue to surface in other campaigns until society recognizes that sexism can exist outside of overt misogyny. Sexism is deeply engrained in the fabric of our society, but it seems that many people are only willing to define sexism by obvious cheek-pinching type acts. It's doubtful that we'll see that kind of treatment from the media in 2016, but there will undoubtedly be subtle examples of sexism that many won't recognize as such.

Identifying coded sexist language and trends can help journalists and society as a whole understand that sexism doesn't stop at cat calling or even wage disparity. If the media was more aware of the language used to discuss Clinton, it would perhaps stop it from being perpetuated. In turn, the information that readers received about female candidates wouldn't have a sexist tilt, which could ultimately help voters make better choices about candidates. Journalists have the power to influence people with their words. Therefore, it is important for reporters to understand the implications of their semantic choices.

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Appendix A: Coding book

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
Article name	Author	Source	Major content focus BO	Major content focus HC	Kanter	Kanter words	Notes
Like Father, Like Candidate	Kenneth Walsh	US News	Child	Child	Pet	Affluent, self-doubt	Why do we need to focus on fathers anyway? Hillary seems like an anomaly because her father taught her to play baseball. Focused more on her than him. BO also an outsider because he doesn't have a father
Clinton Defeats Obama in New Hampshire	Alex Kingsbury	US News	Policymaker	Policymaker	Iron maiden	harping	Hillary described her own experience, which means she was "harping" on Obama's. Paints Obama as mild-mannered candidate
Headed for a Showdown	Kenneth Walsh	US News	Policymaker	Policymaker	Iron maiden	Likeability	Hillary characterized as "stressed out, exhausted" when behind in polls, but Obama never was. Also weird detail to include
The Debate Over The Dream	Kenneth Terrell	US News	--	Policymaker	Pet	forged by Bill Clinton	Reference to Hillary using her husband's experience as her own, painting Obama as a talker while she was a doer
Clinton, Obama Embroiled in Race Debate	Liz Halloran	US News	Policymaker	Family	Pet	soothing, wifely role	Talking about how she is channeling things through her husband on race, she's viewed as both a handler and benefitting from him as a watchdog
Romney, Clinton Lead in Massachusetts	Kent Garber	US News	Policymaker	Family	Pet	"regal" yacht trips	Compared Hillary to Romney as a Massachusetts bid. His was based on experience, but hers was based on social connections with the Kennedys, which filtered through Bill
Race a central issue for Clinton, Obama in Georgia As Super Tuesday Approaches, McCain, Romney, Clinton and Obama Must Convince Voters Their Right for the Job	Emma Schwartz	US News	Policymaker	Policymaker	Iron maiden	she's a doer	Bill and Hillary discussed, but it's HILLARY's name that is used. They never call Bill Clinton "Bill"
	Kenneth Walsh	US News	Policymaker	Policymaker	Iron maiden, pet	"calculating," "ruthless"	Framed at once as ruthless, but also a part of her husband's playing card. Speculation without attribution that Bill would be "too influential" in the campaign.
Former President Bill Clinton Tones It Down to Help His Wife, Hillary	Liz Halloran	US News	Policymaker	Family	Pet	"control" over campaign and the husband	This addresses Hillary's perceived lack of control over her campaign and her husband.
Clinton Fights For Voters in Obama Territory	Kenneth Walsh	US News	Policymaker	Policymaker	Iron maiden	"criticized"	It seems as if these campaign updates stay pretty neutral. Although it did mention her husband Bill quite superfluously.
California Race Tightens; McCain, Clinton Still in the Lead	Justin Ewers	US News	Policymaker	Policymaker	Pet	"reaping rewards"	Uses Bill's history with California to get votes in the primaries. Also assumption that women strongly support Hillary, but no real evidence to back that up.
Chelsea Finds Her Voice	Nikki Schwab	US News	--	Family	Mother	"the choice was Chelsea's"	Evidence offered for race-based voting. Chelsea stumping for mom after remaining silent, idea that she was maybe forced out
Democrats' Split Decision Forecast Came True	Kenneth Walsh	US News	Policymaker	Policymaker	Pet	"experience as first lady"	Her experience as a first lady is mentioned before her experience as a senator almost always, but no one ever goes into the details of how that is important. It was also used for BO, but still it seems like a strange way to characterize Super Tuesday
Clinton, Obama Lay Groundwork in Texas, Ohio	Nikki Schwab	US News	Policymaker	Policymaker	Iron maiden	"assault" on voters	Still mentioning first lady experience first, but never going into what she did as first lady. Also, she is painted as a shoe-in for women who want to see a lady in the Oval as a point of "gender pride."
Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama Look For Ways to Break Out	Kenneth Walsh	US News	Policymaker	Policymaker	Iron maiden	"gender pride" "tell Bill honestly when he messes up"	Refers to Hillary by her first name again. Subtle speculation that she can't "keep him in line," echoing earlier ideas
Who Can Keep Bill Clinton in Line?	Kenneth Walsh	US News	--	Family	Pet		Refers to her by her first name again. Not standard AP practice is it? But if so, they never do the same with him. This touts accomplishments of Bill, which seems to be a theme.
Bill Clinton Asks For a Second Chance	Liz Halloran	US News	--	Family	Pet	"candidate Hillary"	
Obama Energized From Weekend Sweep	Nikki Schwab	US News	Policymaker	Policymaker	Iron maiden	--	She was referred to as Senator Clinton for the first time. It is strange that Barack's senate seat is brought up frequently but hers is not
Meet the Superdelegates: Clinton, Obama Fight For Party Elite	Nikki Schwab	US News	Policymaker	Policymaker	Pet	"Billary"	Used her as a part of her husband. Very superfluous use of the term.
Meet the Superdelegates: Democratic Governors Evenly Endorsing Obama and Clinton	Nikki Schwab	US News	Policymaker	Policymaker	--	--	
Like Voters, Black Politicians are Split on Hillary and Obama	Bret Schulte	US News	Policymaker	Policymaker	--	--	Her first name was used in the headline, but there was no reference to her husband, and Obama's last name was used
Meet the Superdelegates: Many Congress Members Reluctant to Choose Between Obama, Clinton	Nikki Schwab	US News	Policymaker	Policymaker	--	--	The pieces focused on votes don't tend to characterize either of the candidates. Hillary benefits from this because it clears her from sexist language.
Meet the Superdelegates: Clinton, Obama Court Party Members of All Ages	Nikki Schwab	US News	Policymaker	Policymaker	--	--	Another in which the candidates aren't really characterized. The Superdelegate chatter led the coverage away from characterizations.
After Losses, Clinton Campaign Focuses on Superdelegates	Liz Halloran	US News	Policymaker	Policymaker	Pet	"slapdown" "fighting" "aggressively," "complained," "didn't return the favor"	Painted in battle terms as she struggled to hold on to relevance. No talk about Obama's surge amongst white women even though that's been the whole argument.
Clinton, Obama Clash over NAFTA, Iraq in Debate	Liz Halloran	US News	Policymaker	Policymaker	Iron maiden		Painted as if she owed something to Obama for saying she'd be a good candidate. Her failed aggression was foiled by Obama's "unflappability"
Clinton, Obama in Dead Heat Going into Texas, Ohio	Kenneth Walsh	US News	Policymaker	Policymaker	Iron maiden	"combative," "angry," "fighter"	Painted as the "fire" to Obama's "ice." Flappability was referenced again. The idea that she somehow can't keep her cool is painted as a negative. Called a "fighter" as a negative
Clinton, Obama Make Push for Neglected White Male Voter	Nikki Schwab	US News	--	--	--	--	When attracting male voters it was always Obama who was listed as the alternative to Edwards, never Hillary. This was the focus of both the quotes and the journalist.
Clinton's Wins in Texas and Ohio Put Obama on the Defensive	Kenneth Walsh	US News	Policymaker	Policymaker	Pet	"sense of humor"	Mention of core constituencies, which for Hillary did not include women (older Americans, Hispanics), for Barack still young people and African-Americans. Drop the widespread assumption when it doesn't fit.
Eager Texans Wait Hours to Caucus for Obama and Clinton	Adam Volland	US News	Policymaker	Policymaker	Iron maiden	"chiding"	Using even Clinton's voting base to make her appear catty. Also, the appearance of the "Obama mamas" was a testament that women also voted for Barack.
Clinton, Obama Race About to Get Nasty	Kenneth Walsh	US News	Policymaker	Policymaker	Iron maiden	"fighter," "attacks"	Again, the narrative was dropped. Outlines Clinton's anticipated attacks on Obama in great detail, but fails to do the same for him. His attacks, though promised, are barely touched on.
Clinton Hopes Pennsylvania is the Next Ohio	Nikki Schwab	US News	Policymaker	Policymaker	Iron maiden	"slammed"	The Clinton campaign, trying to make up ground, is now on the offensive. They are using a lot of aggressive terms to describe it.

Clinton Says 'No' to a Caucus Do-over	Kenneth Walsh	US News	--	Policy maker	Iron maiden, pet	"fuss," "muster"	Seem to be painting the caucus do-over and lack of alternative on Clinton, even though she seems to be reasonable in her thought that it would frustrate a lot of voters. Her comments "wouldn't make things any easier," as if she's the one that could magically fix everything. Meanwhile, who is asking Obama?
Mississippi Primary Unlikely to Boost Obama Significantly	Kenneth Walsh	US News	Policy maker	Policy maker	--	--	More evidence that if the major content focus is on Obama or on strategy of some sort, everything seems to be more neutral. The only thing is that he is never questioned on how he will fix these problems, where as she is. Saying that Obama is launching counterattacks, the only "attack" referenced is that Clinton says he is inexperienced, but then they strangely bring in that one of her supporters said something racist about Obama, trying to tie it to her even though she said she didn't support it
Clinton and Obama Continue Attacks After Mississippi Primary	Kenneth Walsh	US News	Policy maker	Policy maker	Iron maiden	"counterattack," "dustup"	There is a significant amount of attention paid to Ferraro's comments about Obama not being in the position if he is white, but nearly nothing on the fact that Clinton was called a "monster" by Obama staffer. Comparatively not a lot of coverage.
Young Voters Could Put Obama or Clinton in the White House	Nikki Schwab	US News	Candidate	Candidate	--	--	"hope," "change," there was no negative portrayal of Obama, saying that he could attract the youth vote
Clinton and Obama Clash Over Staff Comments, Do-Over	Kenneth Walsh	US News	Candidate	Candidate	Iron maiden	"monster"	There is a significant amount of attention paid to Ferraro's comments about Obama not being in the position if he is white, but nearly nothing on the fact that Clinton was called a "monster" by Obama staffer. Comparatively not a lot of coverage.
Democratic Race Turning Into a Schoolyard Squabble	Kenneth Walsh	US News	Candidate	Candidate	Iron maiden	"gutter politics," "tooth and nail," "little to mollify"	Both of the candidates are accused of attacks, but the Clinton campaign is lambasted way more.
Obama's 'Realness' Excites Crowds in Pennsylvania	January Payne	US News	Candidate	--	--	--	Characterized for his warmth, interaction with crowd, no mention of Hillary, but there isn't really a piece that focuses on her strategy only
Experts Debunk Clinton's Electoral Vote Idea	Justin Ewers	US News	Candidate	Candidate	Iron maiden	"slugfest"	"Debunk" seems to indicate that they have made the argument invalid, but rather it isn't an invalid argument rather than one that wouldn't go in Hillary's favor.
Obama and Clinton Reach Out to Voters in Pennsylvania	Nikki Schwab	US News	Candidate	Candidate	Iron maiden	"lowering herself," "serious issues"	Looks for two different perspectives on Obama's change in plan to go for a lighter approach, but with Hillary it goes to one source that says she is "lowering" herself, which splits her direction. This, even though she was criticized for not seeming human enough.
Clinton and Obama Fight for Last Major Delegate Prize in Pennsylvania	Katherine Skiba	US News	Candidate	Candidate	Iron maiden, mother	"inspires older women"	Rocky Balboa link, but arguing that it took a sequel for Rocky to win.
Clinton Sticks to Criticizing Bush in Speech to Members of the Press	Nikki Schwab	US News	Candidate	Candidate	Iron maiden	"batter," "lambasted," "bitter"	Hillary apparently "lambasted" President Bush, but the quotes didn't reflect that at all. Also, is it that strange to criticize a sitting president while you're campaigning? Probably not.
Clinton and Obama Lock in Iraq Positions During Debate	Kenneth Walsh	US News	Candidate	Candidate	Iron maiden	"In command," "confident," "criticized," "attacks"	Clinton is criticized for her attacks on Obama, but Obama is barely touched on for not having a huge stance. Also, it goes into her attacks on him for not having a stance and how she is perceived as unlikeable for it. Seems unpertinent to the article.
Voters See Very Different Healthcare Plans From Obama, Clinton, and McCain	Michelle Andrews	US News	Policy maker	Policy maker	--	--	Generally favorable about her plan, talks to people about the merits of it. Doesn't go into the nuts and bolts of Obama.
Despite Pennsylvania Win, Clinton and Obama Have Similar Chance of Beating McCain	Liz Halloran	US News	Candidate	Candidate	Iron maiden	"argued,"	Kind of presenting Clinton as being super cocky about her ability to win, which seems like it would be a good strategy...?
Many Women Don't Feel Obligated to Vote for Clinton	Nikki Schwab	US News	Candidate	Candidate	--	--	Primarily numbers driven, but it is about the fact that women don't feel "obligated" to vote for women. Which like, fuck. Of course they don't. There hasn't been anything about if black people feel obligated to vote for Obama.
Clinton and Obama Make Last-Ditch Effort in Pennsylvania	Kenneth Walsh	US News	Candidate	Candidate	Iron maiden	"fussing," "fuming," "nasty duel," "toughness,"	Both of the candidates are pictured as fighting each other, but it's hard to think that "fussing" or "fighting" would be used for two men.
Clinton's Pennsylvania Victory Exposes Vulnerabilities for Her and Obama	Kenneth Walsh	US News	Candidate	Candidate	Iron maiden	"tenacity," "untrustworthy," "discredited," "negativity," "criticized"	What does her winning have to do with her being tough or tenacious? Also, she is criticized personally, where Obama is criticized for a campaign strategy.
Online Search Help Decode Voters' Thoughts About Clinton and Obama	Nikki Schwab	US News	Candidate	Candidate	--	--	"Weak with white voters" is the most he got. Also, they mention Obama criticizing Hillary but not by name, which is the same... But it seems like a praise. They always detail her next attack move and never his.
Clinton and Obama Locked in Tight Race in Indiana	Nikki Schwab	US News	Candidate	Candidate	Iron maiden	"pummeled"	Interesting that the internet searches are mostly about her policy, but it seems that the media only talks about her personal stuff.
Hillary Clinton's Team Sees Her Gaining Traction	Kenneth Walsh	US News	Candidate	Candidate	Pet	"hitting her stride"	Not too much characterization because it's talking campaign strategy pretty heavily.
Gas and Integrity Fuel Clinton-Obama Duel	Michael McAuliff	US News	Candidate	Candidate	Iron maiden	"smack" "game face"	New campaign strategy tells everyone how now she'll do better. She is always smacking or criticizing or something negative, whereas Obama just "responds."
Barack Obama Wins North Carolina, Hillary Clinton Squeaks by in Indiana	Celeste Katz and David Saltonstall	US News	Candidate	Candidate	Iron maiden	"declared victory on her own," "preaching," "cut into," "march"	Painted as obstinant, she won't "throw in the towel," kind of making her look like she is disillusioned.
Indiana and North Carolina Help Reinforce Demographic Patters for Clinton and Obama	Nikki Schwab	US News	Candidate	Candidate	Iron maiden	"quoting," "ardently chasing"	Obama is cast as some victorious victor while Hillary Clinton clings on to hope.
Why Clinton Stands to Lose Millions	Bret Schulte	US News	--	Candidate	Pet	--	More chatter about how she should drop out, this time done through the context of her money and the millions she stands to lose
Presidential Candidates Have Little Opportunity to Talk About Education	Dana Hawkins-Simons	US News	Policy maker	Policy maker	--	--	Heavily policy-focused article, so it really stays away from her characteristics, which has kind of been the norm.
Why Clinton Won't Quit	Kenneth Walsh	US News	Candidate	Candidate	Iron maiden, pet	"sad," "dangerous," "fight," "unimpressive," "hopeless," "difficult," "self-importance," "vainglorious," "selfish"	This makes Hillary seem like some conceited, horrible, selfish person. The amount of adjectives in this is absurd. They would never talk about a man in the way and dare to speculate on intentions like this and put it as a news article. The longer her campaign stretches on the more that she is cast as a fighter, but futile one. They seem willing to say that she is fighting an uphill battle and casting her as some sort of stubborn, stupid woman.
A Clinton Win in West Virginia Over Obama Could Be Too Little, Too Late	Kenneth Walsh	US News	Candidate	Candidate	Iron maiden	"dwindling hope," "irrelevant,"	The longer her campaign stretches on the more that she is cast as a fighter, but futile one. They seem willing to say that she is fighting an uphill battle and casting her as some sort of stubborn, stupid woman.
Clinton's Women Supporters Angry and Sad as Campaign Comes Closer to an End	Liz Halloran	US News	--	Candidate	Iron maiden	"vulnerabilities," "disappointment," "naive"	This addresses the sexist media coverage, using sexist terms, but only from television. It still isn't addressing the coded language. It also makes a lot of assumptions about Clinton's supporters and uses coded language to describe even her voters.
Hillary Clinton Still Sprinting as Barack Obama Closes in on a Win	Michael Saul	US News	Candidate	Candidate	Iron maiden	"epic battle," "face each other,"	It's strange to see the journalists that aren't regular writers for US News. Maybe it is that they know less about the candidates, but they seem to not do as much analysis on character.
The Clock is Ticking for the Clinton Campaign	Kenneth Walsh	US News	Candidate	Candidate	--	--	Again, very technical, so not a lot of time to analyze.
Democratic Party Needs to Heal and Unite to Beat McCain	Liz Halloran	US News	Candidate	Candidate	Pet	"stubbornly," "hanging," "damage"	Now Clinton has turned into the pet because she has been beaten but won't get out of the way.
Barack Strikes Back	Richard Wolfe	Newsweek	Candidate	Candidate	Iron maiden	"blows," "harsher," "tough,"	One of the only pieces I've seen that focuses on Obama's weaknesses, says that he is flustered. But it did make the comment that if he can't stand up to Hillary Clinton how can he stand up to Kim Jong Il?
Bracing for the Gender Neutral Test	Andrew Romano	Newsweek	--	Candidate	--	--	This is actually pretty insightful. And in discussing and acknowledging the gender differences it somehow avoids the coded language.
Putting on Their Game Faces	Richard Wolfe, Eleanor Cliff, Holly Bailey	Newsweek	Candidate	Candidate	Iron maiden	"combat," "exploiting," "vulnerabilities," "tussle," "insulting," "grinding," "formidable,"	Clinton is body slamming Republicans. They paint her as tough, but unlike Obama being this faceless person they criticize him for being too soft.
Calling in a Late Family Intervention	Richard Wolfe	Newsweek	Candidate	Candidate	Mother	"humanize," "intervention"	Bill seems to be running the show, or at least being a "free agent" within her campaign, giving the idea that she needs her family to help her. Does recognize the balancing act of being tough and "humanized."
How to Run for President, YouTube Style	Karen Breslau, Catharine Skipp	Newsweek	Candidate	Candidate	Pet	"robotic," "confrontational," "chilling," "screamed," "handle pressure," "nursing guilt," "mask of command," "humanize," "ruthlessly,"	This was less of the writer calling her robotic than tapping into the general public's assessment, but it was presented with a degree of certainty "robotic laugh."
Hillary's Hidden Hand	Sally Bedell Smith	Newsweek	--	Candidate	Iron maiden	"angry," "diminutive," "slammed"	Painted Hillary as some sort of usurper here, waging war against her husband it get things done and taking charge during her time as First Lady. Referred to her by her first name (but did Bill, too).
Letting Hillary Be Hillary	John Meacham	Newsweek	Candidate	Candidate	Iron maiden	--	Hillary's balance of being both a candidate and ealing with the caricatures that have been created about her during her life in the public uses a lot of coded language that indicate that her natural role isn't a leader (mask of command)
A Dispute Over the Dream	Ellis Cose	Newsweek	Candidate	Candidate	Iron maiden	--	Discusses the angry campaign Hillary is running that is trying to highlight her own experience over Obama's.

The Wrong Experience	Fareed Zakaria	Newsweek	Candidate	Candidate	Pet	"conditioned," "terrified," "coffs," "stubborn," "haughty," "vindictive,"	Talking about the Republican "party of ideas," but only extends limits of Dems to Hillary and not Barack. This addressed voter expectations of both candidates, but focused heavily on Hillary and the potential shortcomings of her campaign because of her sensitivity and background of being part of the "two-headed monster." Ultimately concluded that voters wouldn't know which Hillary to expect, the victim of the bulldog.
The Expectation Gap	Richard Woffle	Newsweek	Candidate	Candidate	Iron maiden, pet	--	Assumes that she is there to strengthen Hillary's voting bloc of women.
Chelsea Come Lately	Arian Campo-Flores	Newsweek	--	Candidate	--	--	Weird that they are talking about her finances?
Accounting 101	Mark Hosenball	Newsweek	--	Candidate	--	--	
A Perennial Press Opera	Evan Thomas	Newsweek	Candidate	Candidate	Iron maiden	"minions," "burned," "one and future queen," "pledging," "intimidating," "jollier,"	Hillary's press relationship poisoned by time in the White House, the press going easier on Obama (which they admit is true), but they posit that Hillary and her camp are purposefully avoiding too much involvement with media. Comes off as scheming.
How Deep in the Hearts of Texas?	Arian Campo-Flores	Newsweek	Candidate	Candidate	Iron maiden	"beat," "robotic,"	Latino brand loyalty for Hillary, but some find her too contrived and robotic. Again, getting into technicalities makes the writing a lot more neutral. This was mostly discussing Obama, which also helps.
Good for the Jews?	Michael Hirsch	Newsweek	Policymaker	Policymaker	--	--	
						"woman who doesn't quit," "penetrating," "embarrassed," "revenge," "paranoia," "overbearing," "conceded gracefully,"	She is asked to fill a double role in this, one as the woman who never quits and one that knows when to bow out to preserve the Clinton legacy. She is cast simultaneously as someone who needs to be an avid cheerleader and a tireless fighter. Also calls her by her first name. Again.
How They Have Lost	Jonathan Darman	Newsweek	--	Candidate	Iron maiden, pet	"cheerleader!" "tough-minded" "gutsiness," "loy," "doggedness," "rigid," "human," "softer," "allowed herself to get misty,"	Again, Hillary, Hillary, Hillary. Stop calling her that. There is always another way to avoid saying Bill, but never Hillary. This was going on about Hillary's lack of organization and, again, reinforces the press's obsession with her becoming "human?"
Always Their Own Worst Enemies	Evan Thomas	Newsweek	--	Candidate	Iron maiden	--	Other than making them seem a little sneaky, this was focusing on a rule and not her character.
A Delegate Loophole?	Michael Isikoff	Newsweek	Candidate	Candidate	--	--	Talked about Hillary's comeback, the idea that she could defy these type of inevitabilities to make a comeback, but did so by calming down here screeching tendencies.
The Voters' Revenge	Nancy Gibbs, David Von Drehle	Time	Candidate	Candidate	Iron maiden	"Ice Queen," "flat and forced," "screeched,"	

The Spoiler	Joe Klein	Time	--	Candidate	Iron maiden, pet	"co-candidacy," "muddling," "weak,"	This is simultaneously complimentary of Hillary's ability to lead and awful about her ability to lead with Bill and handle him. It posits that her presidency would be shared with her husband and that he is her one weakness.
Assessing Clinton's 'Experience'	Michael Duffy	Time	--	First Lady	Iron maiden, pet	"deserve," "smash," "war," "knock-down, drag-out struggle," "chilling,"	Gets after her for being involved but not solely for health care reform, also cites her husband as killing it which shouldn't matter.
Clinton's Collateral Damage	Karen Tumulty	Time	Candidate	Candidate	Iron maiden	"knockout punch," "conning," "battling," "defensive," "attacks,"	Focus on the Clinton campaign as "scorched-earth," getting to the point that Clinton's poll numbers were weaker while she was being "sweet," but admonishing her for being aggressive.
Still in it to Win it	James Carney	Time	Candidate	Candidate	Iron maiden	--	Hillary needs to make a case for why she is staying in the race. Obama's attacks are always mentioned as an afterthought rather than a primary issue.
The Incredibly Shrinking Democrats	Joe Klein	Time	Candidate	Candidate	Iron maiden	"assault," "robots," "tireless," "terms of	This one focuses on Obama and his faults a little more. Uses a lot of the same terms used to describe Hillary (embittered), but also paints him as a newbie in a positive, nonreactive way. Meanwhile, Hillary is somewhat of a robot who can't be bothered to be human.
What Does Hillary Want?	Karen Tumulty	Time	Candidate	Candidate	Iron maiden	"surrender," "shatter," "cajoling," "arm-twisting," "courtship,"	Talking terms of surrender for the Dems nomination. Switches between using "Clinton" and "Hillary," but also does that for Bill. Clinton took particular glee in beating Obama in Massachusetts? How is that quantifiable? But, this one characterizes both campaigns as kind of manipulative and troublesome.
It's Not Over Yet	Karen Tumulty	Time	Candidate	Candidate	Iron maiden	--	Post mortem after Obama's win: He had a grassroots campaign that tapped into his community organizing roots, she had too much money and political clout. Not really overly critical other than hinting that she is kind of an elitist.
How Obama Did It	Karen Tumulty	Time	Candidate	Candidate	Iron maiden	"formidable,"	Focuses on the idea that Hillary is trying to paint the media as ganging up on her. It does admit that they press goes soft on Obama, but it isn't very apologetic about it.
Hillary's SML Strategy	James Poniewozik	Time	Candidate	Candidate	Pet	"barb," "lame,"	
We Must Stand Up to Japan	Michael Schuman	Time	--	Candidate	Iron maiden	"derogatory"	Makes Hillary seem out of touch, recycling old geopolitical arguments.

Appendix B: Project proposal and literature review

This is my project proposal as approved by committee before I headed to Washington, D.C. The only change in my proposal was how I accessed the articles. I used the database Factiva to access *Newsweek*, and the websites of *TIME* and *US News & World Report* to access those archives. I originally thought I would use Lexis Nexis to access the articles needed for my analysis, but they were unavailable on that database.

Introduction

When I began graduate work at the University of Missouri, I came in with a year's worth of full-time reporting experience. Although most entry-level journalism jobs are usually a general assignment position, mine was quite specific. I was a music critic and journalist at the Austin alternative weekly, *The Austin Chronicle*. I landed the job that I had dreamed of since I naively thought that all music journalists rode on tour buses and drank with the band after work. And to an extent, as I began to carve out my spot among Austin music and culture critics, my life consisted of daily concerts and a fair amount of beer.

During the Texas legislature's 83rd session, there was an omnibus abortion bill that I had paid special attention to since it had been introduced. I crossed the dimly lit hallway between the music office and news and managed to successfully convince the news editor to let me contribute to the reporting on the controversial bill. It was the first time that I had reported from the Capitol, and from the moment I set foot into the marbled rotunda, I was hooked. Each day the bill came up for debate, I headed to the Capitol. From the press gallery I watched the drama unfold, from Sen. Wendy Davis' now-famous

filibuster to the eventual passage. The entire time I watched, researched, and asked questions. I had never been more proud of my work.

My music editor, Raoul Hernandez, pulled me aside one evening after the session had ended. I had already turned in my two-weeks notice and let the *Chronicle* family know that I would be heading to the University of Missouri in the fall. I was still hesitant about going back to school after only a year as a full-time professional, and I found myself hoping that he would ask me to stay onboard. Instead, he encouraged me to stop writing about music completely. Initially, I was shocked. I had spent my entire undergraduate career working toward this goal and felt that my abilities were being questioned. Instead, Hernandez had more practical advice. After working with him for two years, one while I was still a student at the University of Texas, he commented that he had never seen my writing as passionate as when I wrote about politics. He saw in my writing what I felt as I sat in the Senate chamber, that I was finally doing something important.

So when I arrived at MU in August 2013, I threw all of my energy into political writing and reporting. During my first semester I pitched and wrote a freelance piece for *Dissent* on Missouri's failed gun nullification bill. As I worked on this piece, which I spent two months reporting, I worked with *Vox* magazine as the digital managing editor. While there, I refined the skills that I gained as a multimedia journalism major, working with student digital editors to manage social media and website story presentation. The next year, I spent five months covering reproductive health and higher education legislation for the *Jefferson City News Tribune* and *Columbia Missourian* for the Advanced Reporting class. Since May, I have boiled down complicated political topics at

both state and national levels for the women's site Bustle. And leading up to the 2014 midterm elections, I wrote a *Vox* cover story on millennial voting habits and why they have disengaged from the political process. In the past two years, I have felt like an integral part of one of the key tenants of journalism — serving as a watchdog for our government.

When I leave the graduate school, I want to pursue political reporting with the eventual goal of becoming a political columnist. I understand that I must first master the nuances of political reporting before I begin to inject my own opinion and analysis, and I believe that an entry-level job covering politics will be what gets me there. That is why I chose Washington, D.C. as the location for my professional project. I have the opportunity to expose myself to political coverage at the national level and learn from seasoned reporters who will hopefully show me the ins and outs of the nation's capital.

Professional skills component

I will be interning at the Washington D.C. bureau of the media conglomerate E.W. Scripps for the spring 2015 semester. I will be working with DecodeDC, a new online-based podcast and blog purchased by Scripps in July 2013. The project was started by Andrea Seabrook, a longtime National Public Radio political correspondent, with the goal of making political issues applicable to audience's day-to-day lives. DecodeDC uses graphics, blogs, podcasts, and online interactive features to deliver political news in an entertaining and useful way.

The nascent podcast and blog are still evolving in their scope, and in the next year will be turning out more content than ever before. I will be working on blogging,

podcasts, and web interactive elements for the site, which will give me a hands-on experience with political reporting and analysis. The Washington bureau chief Ellen Weiss was most interested in my experience with Bustle and web design, and she assured me that I would have ample opportunity to write posts for the blog and work on graphics for the website. My background in digital media will make me an asset to the DecodeDC team. My professional background working with blogs and websites and my multimedia journalism degree from the University of Texas have given me the skills to meaningfully contribute to a developing web-based project.

I will be working with Phil Pruitt, Scripps' director of digital content. He will serve as my on-site supervisor and will oversee the work that I am doing at the D.C. office. I will be working directly with Pruitt and receive assignments from him though I am also encouraged to bring my own ideas to the team. I will work at DecodeDC five days a week for seven hours a day, with time allotted for the Friday seminars with Barbara Cochran. My appointment will begin January 12, 2015, and end May 1, 2015.

I will be blogging, creating podcasts, and building interactive elements for the site, which will serve as the abundant physical evidence needed to complete my graduate degree. DecodeDC is still a small operation, and Weiss assured me that this will not be a coffee-fetching internship. When I present my professional project, I will have a bundle of blogs, podcasts, and web elements that I have created that will serve as a testament to my direct involvement at DecodeDC.

I will submit weekly field notes to my committee members, Jennifer Rowe, Barbara Cochran, and Ryan Thomas, detailing what professional work I have done at

Scripps and progress with my scholarly research component. These notes will also include what was discussed in the Friday seminar I will attend with Barbara Cochran.

Research topic

When George H.W. Bush took office in 1989, he had 12 grandchildren. There were no speculative headlines asking if he would be able to balance time doting on the grandchildren with leading the nation. No one conjectured that his role as a grandfather would in any way compromise his role as president (Fruman, 2014). However, on April 17, 2014, Chelsea Clinton, daughter of political power couple Bill and Hillary Clinton, announced that she was expecting a child that fall. In a *USA Today* article published online the day of the announcement, Chelsea's pregnancy, the subject turned to the grandmother-to-be and potential presidential hopeful Hillary Clinton.

“Former president Bill Clinton and his wife have made no secret of their wish for a grandchild. It's unclear how Chelsea's pregnancy will affect Hillary Clinton, who is considering a race for president in 2016” (Camia, 2014, p. 5).

The standards for women in politics are often structured through antiquated views of a woman's societal value (Anderson, Diabah, & hMensa 2011; Manning, 2006; Taylor, 2010). This is clearly demonstrated by the suggestion that Hillary's presidential aspirations could be derailed by the birth of her first grandchild. Mitt Romney, who ran for president in 2012, had 18 grandchildren during his presidential bid but was never framed as a grandfather over being a viable political candidate (Boxer, 2012).

Research has established that women and men in politics are framed differently according to their gender. This critical discourse analysis seeks to identify how the

language magazines use to write about female politicians differs from how they write about male politicians. Using media framing and feminist theory as its theoretical framework, this analysis will identify the gender differences in media representation and how that is creating systematic barriers for women who want to enter politics. This critical discourse analysis of magazine articles about Hillary Clinton during her 2008 bid for president will serve as an examination of the differences between coverage of men and women in politics.

There have been many studies that look at the media framing of female political figures, but the magazine coverage of Clinton and her primary opponent for the Democratic nomination, Barack Obama, offers a chance to update those findings. Clinton is a particularly interesting candidate to study because she has many of the tools and experience that made her an extremely qualified candidate.

Despite an increase of women in political roles that have moved them away from being novelty political figures, they are still fighting a system that casts them as outsiders. Political writing about women still perpetuates stereotypes and gender bias that can have detrimental effects on their credibility as a political candidate (Anderson et al., 2011, Entman, 2010). If Clinton decides to run in 2016, her role as a grandmother to her first grandchild, Charlotte Clinton Mezvinsky, will perhaps become just as central in Clinton's media coverage as her stance on foreign policy.

Addressing the inherent sexist frames used in political writing is key to eradicating the imbalance between the number of men and women in public office. Not only are these media frames reinforcing gender stereotypes, but they are also harmful to women who want to enter politics and voters who may already be reluctant to vote for

women. Media framing plays a central role in the way that women politicians are viewed, setting the lens through which the public understands and thinks of these women. In a secondary layer, the patriarchal systems that women in politics operate in, and thus which the journalists writing about them view them through, are also harmful for women's success and the public's perception of women in politics.

Theoretical frameworks

Framing

Some scholars maintain that second-level agenda setting is equivalent to framing. McCombs (1997) suggested that "framing is the selection of a restricted number of thematically related attributes for inclusion on the media agenda when a particular object is discussed." Although this study does not choose to equate second-level agenda setting with framing, there are some inherent biases that contribute to what is perhaps a media contribution to the reinforcing sexist stereotypes, which could be attributed to the patriarchal construct of our society.

Tankard, Hendrickson, Silberman, Bliss, and Gahnem define a media frame as "the 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" (1991, p.3). Unlike McCombs' (1997) idea that the media are choosing these elements as part of a media agenda, Tankard et al.'s definition of media framing paints framing as a wider idea. Framing, rather, incorporates a wide view of society as a factor, while agenda setting is more of a conscious act (Weaver, 1991).

Media framing focuses on how issues are reported and what is emphasized in that reporting. This is important in the context of this research because it offers a two-pronged approach to looking at women in the media — how they are reported on, and what precisely is focused on in the report. Because established scholarship has shown that women are generally characterized by their physical appearance rather than their policy making, this framework will be crucial to this research.

Framing is important for this research in particular, because of the rising number of voters who do not consistently side with a particular party. Media framing has the most impact on voters who lack a strong ideological conviction, the “swing” voters. If media coverage of women continues to be framed through harmful stereotypes identified in past research, coverage of female candidates could potentially turn a large part of the voting population against her (Entman, 2010).

Winfrey & Carlin looked at media coverage of both Alaska Governor Sarah Palin and Sen. Hillary Clinton during their 2008 campaigns for vice president and Democratic presidential nominee, respectively. By using media framing and research on the use of sexist language, Winfrey & Carlin identified different brands of sexism faced by the two candidates, but each dealt with stereotypes employed by the media that were, at least in some capacity, harmful to their separate campaign (2009). Winfrey & Carlin used four stereotypes of professional women established in Rosabeth Moss Kanter’s landmark book on women and power structures, *Men and Women of the Corporation*. The iron maiden stereotype is distinguished by adjectives such as “cold” or “intimidating,” and is often applied to women who exhibit traditionally masculine traits of ambition or aggression. The sex object stereotype can manifest in a wide range of discourse, from sexual

harassment to dress, and includes adjectives such as “sexy” or “pretty.” The mother stereotype usually focuses on the woman as a mother or exhibiting motherly traits, and plays out in discourse with words such as “compassionate” and “honest.” Finally, the pet stereotype evokes the idea that women should be unduly praised for their accomplishments or that a woman’s role is mainly as a support system. The stereotype is characterized by descriptors such as “precocious” and “cheerleader” (Kanter, 1977). They found that women are often represented by the media as a combination of these four stereotypes, each used in a way that can both harm and enhance their reputations (Winfrey & Carlin, 2009).

In their study of the media’s portrayal of female candidates in gubernatorial and Senate primary races, Bystrom, Robertson, and Banwart point out that there are significant differences in the way men and women are framed in the media. This study was interesting because it compared women and men directly to each other, and while it found that women tended to be the focus of the coverage, there were still many stereotypes at play that resulted in the coverage slanting toward the male candidate. The study did note that the stereotypes and shortcuts that the media and audiences often rely on to stereotype women in politics can sometimes work to the candidates’ advantage. For instance, women are considered more warm and loving (2009).

Feminist theory

The second framework, feminist theory, will be crucial to interpreting the findings and could help shed light on why women are still so scarce in politics and how gendered political reporting contributes to the phenomena. Feminist perspectives and research

challenge and question patriarchal systems that society operates through, with the promise of overturning the patriarchy as an accepted reality (Hesse-Biber, 2012). Political reporting, which is still largely dominated by men, is often done through a male perspective by virtue of men being the ones to control the stories. This is reflective of the attitudes that women are faced with when they want to enter the political realm. Harp and Tremayne highlight the pervasive ideology that outlines the politics and political blogging — that under the patriarchy women are expected to occupy private spheres, where men are encouraged to take on leadership roles such as political positions (2006). Patriarchal underpinnings in society have relegated women to domesticity, where men are free from duties like housework and caring for children.

This manifests itself in the language used to discuss women and men. Feminist linguists have identified that language centers itself on men rather than women, in a phenomenon that Hellinger (2001) calls male as norm (MAN). Although in English there has been an increase in the feminization of language, such as adopting feminine suffixes (congresswoman) to words that are generally relegated to men, women still often find themselves feeling invisible in their own language (Hellinger, 2001). This is a byproduct of the patriarchy rooting itself in language, transforming it into a field where women are viewed as secondary parts of a language and, by extension, society. Using feminist framework in application to language will allow a critical look at how the patriarchal systems have invaded the language we use to speak and report on women.

This research will apply the findings of previous research that shows that politics are framed through masculinity (Anderson et al., 2011; Everitt, 2005; Manning, 2006). Women in politics must learn to embrace both their masculine and feminine attributes in

order to be successful (Griswold, 2007). Because gender plays a critical role to the female politician, this critical discourse analysis will use feminist theory to explain the political disparity between men and women. It will also use gender schema as an idea of how reporters and readers use shortcuts to digest information about candidates (Entman, 2010).

Literature review

Media and politics

Media play an essential role in politics and political engagement. The public depends on the media for its news, and count on news to chronicle the successes, failures, and the often gray areas in between those extremes of elected officials. The media can help create and foster feelings about politicians, including trust in political figures, their efficacy as officials, and general political knowledge. Studies have shown that media have a direct impact on political trust in particular, which could eventually lead to larger effects like decreased civic engagement (Corrigan-Brown & Wilkes, 2014).

With such an integral role in shaping political beliefs and perceptions, political journalists should exercise caution in how they cover political candidates. In a study on political reporters and their relationships with political sources, Revers (2011) noted that even though journalists were hesitant to burn bridges by publishing negative stories about their sources, many said that they felt a sense of satisfaction that was tied to fulfilling a journalistic duty if it indeed came to that point. Although journalists are seemingly thrilled with the idea of perpetuating some sort of journalistic integrity, there are still underpinnings of subjectivity that go into journalism (Revers, 2011). It is especially important, then, that journalists be conscious of the way they frame political figures. For

reporters covering women in particular, the subjective influences that leak into reporting could have detrimental effects on women candidates, who are already represented far less at the voting booths.

Framing is often lumped under the umbrella of cognitive media effects along with agenda-setting and priming, but when examining political communication Scheufele (2000) proposes that the group be broken up and examined with its own categorical differences. Framing and agenda setting still have similar characteristics that are key to understanding when conducting research on political communication. Partisanship, for example, has a significant effect on how audiences consume political news. Less-partisan readers to be affected more by all three of the cognitive media umbrella elements. Information processing in audiences is also researched in the same way. But when re-examining the three media effects, framing differs from agenda-setting and priming in two major ways. First, framing relies on the hierarchy of the frames used in the media rather than the media agenda. This indicates that framing is more of an implicit effect of larger power structures rather than an intentional act by the media. Agenda-setting and priming also focus on the salience of the audience, whereas framing examines how the audience is framing the information presented (Scheufele, 2000). Overall, the updated definition of framing puts more responsibility on how the audience views political information in the context of existing power structures.

Gender in politics

Research on political coverage of women has established that campaigns of women are traditionally marked by five characteristics that reveal themselves in news

discourse. First, women receive less attention than male counterparts though as women become less of an anomaly in the political sphere that has started to shift (Wasburn, 2011). Second, reporting on women focuses on personal and trivial aspects such as their appearance, family and lifestyle rather than central campaign issues. Third, women face harsher character attacks and how those perceived drawbacks would affect their performance in office. Fourth, women are generally asked about their positions on policy that is traditionally geared toward women such as abortions, education and childcare while questions about the economy and the military are left for male candidates. Finally, the news media will question a woman's ability to influence others if she is elected to office (Wasburn, 2011).

While women certainly can use the "feminine" attributes identified by Wasburn (2011) to their advantage, they also become more susceptible to more rigid frameworks and closely held stereotypes that make it difficult to influence the media's agenda (Aalberg & Jenssen, 2007). In countries such as Sweden and Norway, where women hold around 40 percent of cabinet positions, the issue of a candidate's gender has become nearly obsolete (Aalberg & Jenssen, 2007; Matland, 1994). Not so in the United States. In 2013, the U.S. had a record-breaking 19 percent of U.S. congressional seats filled by women. By continuing to perpetuate women's role in politics differently from men's, the media contribute to a cyclic and systematic barrier to women participating in the political sphere (Aalberg & Jenssen, 2007).

Research has shown that the characteristics associated with men serve them as public speakers, which is a central role of politicians and one of the main sources of political reporting. Men are generally perceived as domineering figures: aggressive,

assertive, and freed of emotion. Women, by contrast, are expected to be submissive, able to counter the emotionless male with warmth. In politics, still operating under the ideals of the patriarchy, women's personal rhetoric is at odds with the qualities that make a successful politician (Manning, 2006).

Language

Feminist linguistic theorists have defined feminism as “the practice of challenging the linguistic systems as well as the structures and institutions it produces, including education, politics, religion, and the economic system” (Manning, 2006, 111). Language reinforces gender power structures, and without taking steps to mitigate semantics that reinforce these stereotypes, the media will continue to perpetuate harmful gender roles about politicians (Anderson et al., 2011; Manning, 2006).

The very nature of politics, particularly in an age of increased partisanship that necessitates strength and will, puts women at a disadvantage. Because these stereotypical characteristics have been inextricably linked to gender roles and the constructs of language, they often play out in political writing. Werner and LaRussa (1985) and Brosioff and Merrill (1998) created a list of gender-specific characteristics to women: being soft-spoken, emotional, subjective, self-effacing, uncertain, humble, compliant, submissive, sincere, cooperative, fair-minded, and optimistic. Men, by contrast are characterized as being ineffective listeners, emotionally inexpressive, categorical, certain in their use of language, and dominating (Ivy & Backlund, 2004). Manning (2006) characterizes these traits in the context of communication as women having emotional connections, while men assume the role of experts.

Firmly rooted in semantics and a reliance on stereotyped gender characteristics, the language used in political reporting interprets all politicians in masculine terms (Anderson et al., 2011; Everitt, 2005; Manning, 2006). Using language that inherently favors men perpetuates the idea that women are in some way intruding in the political realm, effectively making and maintaining their status as outsiders in a male-dominated world (Anderson et al., 2011). Because the public relies on the media as a watchdog, the images formed through semantics and the frames put forth by news outlets can have powerful effects on the public's perception of female politicians.

In order to be successful in politics, Griswold (2007) asserted that women must at once embrace masculine and feminine rhetoric as part of their political speech. When they deviate too far from the personal, warm rhetoric that have become a part of the feminine ideal, women are scrutinized in the media and by the public. If they embody this rhetoric, however, they are decried as politicians for lacking leadership qualities. So how, then, can we pick a middle ground for reporting on both men and women? Griswold (2007) argued that gender-neutral language and representation in the media causes two major problems: It introduces the idea that gender and politics should be separated, and that gender neutral language is not powerful enough to reinforce or change much in the way of women in politics. Rather, women should be able to tap in equally to male and female rhetoric to become successful politicians.

Political writing tends to include violent language more suited to the aggressive nature of men constructed by the media. Images of warmongering, violence, and confrontation are reinforced by verb usage like "fought" and "battled." These forceful and powerful word choices have become go-to metaphors for political action in reporting

(Griswold, 2007; Manning, 2006; Nacos, 2005). When more “masculine” terms are applied to women in politics, they are generally used as either a snide compliment or an insult. When *The Wall Street Journal* reported Nancy Pelosi’s vote gathering for health care reform in 2010, it employed adjectives like such as “stalwart,” “imposing,” “formidable,” “arm-twisting,” “pressure maker,” and “threatening,” giving Pelosi the nickname, “the Slaughter Solution” (Taylor, 2010). These needlessly aggressive descriptors were designed specifically to give Pelosi the image of a cutthroat, manipulative politician (Taylor, 2010). Even when women are characterized in a positive light, words such as “trailblazer” only reinforce the idea that women are still political outsiders fighting for their chance (Anderson et al., 2011).

Research questions

I have identified three research questions that I seek to answer through my critical discourse analysis:

- i. RQ1: What are the differences, if any, in the language used to report Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama's candidacies for the 2008 Democratic presidential nomination in *TIME*, *Newsweek* and *US News & World Report*?
- ii. RQ2: What prominent stereotypes, including those of iron maiden, sex object, mother and pet as established by Rosabeth Moss Kanter in her book *Women of the Corporation*, are presented in the language used to describe Hillary Clinton?
- iii. RQ3: What major content focus do the articles about Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama have in terms of their status as a parent, a policymaker, education, or other areas?

Methodology

Political reporting is a prime area for critical discourse analysis, because in itself it is a living, breathing power structure. Chilton and Schaffner (2002, p. 5) define politics as “a struggle for power, between those who seek to assert and maintain their power and those who resist it.” Critical discourse analysis lets researchers look at language as structure informed by historical social orders. The goal of critical discourse analysis is not only to identify problems in these linguistic constructions but also to view them as changeable rather than absolute (Locke, 2004). Locke offers several key attributes of critical discourse analysis: It looks at social orders as changeable and socially constructed, it views these as pervasive societal norms rather than the will of the individual, it accepts that ideology affects discourse, and it says societal power is an effect of privilege (2004).

Critical discourse analysis is most appropriate for my research topic because it will allow me to operate with the understanding that power structures, mainly the patriarchy, have affected how women are reported in the media. By using critical discourse analysis, I do not assume that journalists’ reporting is intentionally slanted in favor of men, but rather can view their words through the idea that the United States is still operating under a patriarchal boundary that is reinforced, often times implicitly, in our daily lives. Understanding the boundaries and hurdles that the patriarchy has presented in language will allow an examination of how this affects women who are running for office. This takes it a step beyond simply identifying that the problem exists, which has already been established, but takes a look into the specific ways that language

does this. Van Dijk notes that critical discourse analysis is used to reveal structures that already exist in society, thus it will allow me to examine the ideas of how the patriarchy affects the media representation of women, and allow me to apply feminist theory in not only identifying the limitations that the patriarchy places on women's representation in political reporting, but also look at them from an idea of how that has an impact on their career as a whole (1993).

For this research, I have selected the three news magazines with the highest circulations in 2008 according to the Audit Bureau of Circulations — *TIME* (3,374,000), *Newsweek* (2,720,000), and *US News & World Report* (1,721,000). Although they were included in the category of news magazines, I have also chosen to exclude *The New Yorker* and *The Economist* because both have more niche audiences, with *The New Yorker* focusing more on literary work and *The Economist* on economic reporting. The magazines I have chosen are marketed to some of the largest audiences and are likely to have nonpartisan reporting. Because of their wide audience, I expect these magazines to be more reflective of what news society is consuming as a whole rather than niche or partisan magazines such as *Mother Jones* and *Slate*.

I will analyze articles published in December 2007, which will encompass the beginning of the primary calendar with the Iowa caucus (January 3, 2008) and the New Hampshire primary (January 8, 2008). Article analysis will extend to the end of June 2008, the same month when Clinton conceded the nomination to Obama (June 7, 2008). I will pull each of the news articles that appeared in print during that time period, throwing out any opinion pieces, and will use the Lexis Nexis database to access them. I will use Kanter's four stereotypes of professional women to code the articles, focusing on

identifying the gendered language that she finds is indicative of these stereotypes. This part of the coding process will primarily focus on the adjectives the writers employ to describe Hillary Clinton. As I am coding the articles, I will also take note of the gender of the reporter to see if any patterns emerge in the way the candidates are covered by a particular gender. I will also look at the major content focus of the articles and categorize what aspects of the two candidates the article focuses on. This will allow me to look at the how the content of the articles describes the candidate in areas such as their family, education, and professional experience in a more complete way than the adjectives.

Taylor used critical discourse analysis to examine an interview former Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi granted with *The New York Times Magazine*, centering on her experience as a woman in politics. Taylor was able to look critically about the feminine attributes perceived in Pelosi's demeanor and apply them to a broader of idea of how these come into play with women in the political sphere (2012).

Van Dijk identifies that critical discourse analysis is not as fleshed out as other research methods, which could be a potential drawback to using the method with my research. In order for critical discourse analysis to be effective, we must draw from existing power structures that define and course through the veins of daily life (1993). That is why using feminist theory is key to my research. Feminist theory assumes that gender parity is not present in women's lives, and thus will establish a structural divide between men and women in politics and the language used to report on the two genders.

Possible publications

I have identified the following academic journals for publication: *Mass Communication & Society*; *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy: A Quarterly Journal of Research and Policy Studies*; *Women's Studies in Communication*.