1998

Women politicians in the media : a content analyis of selected 1996 and 1997 female/male gubernational races

Rosella Ann Rowlison
San Jose State University

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.sjsu.edu/etd_theses

Recommended Citation

Rowlison, Rosella Ann, "Women politicians in the media : a content analyis of selected 1996 and 1997 female/male gubernational races" (1998). *Master's Theses*. 1718.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.31979/etd.u63q-zkux>
https://scholarworks.sjsu.edu/etd_theses/1718

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Master's Theses and Graduate Research at SJSU ScholarWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in Master's Theses by an authorized administrator of SJSU ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact scholarworks@sjsu.edu.

INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

UMI

**A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor MI 48106-1346 USA
313/761-4700 800/521-0600**

**WOMEN POLITICANS IN THE MEDIA: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF
SELECTED 1996 AND 1997 FEMALE/MALE GUBERNATORIAL RACES**

A Thesis

Presented to

**The Faculty of the School of Journalism and Mass Communications
San Jose State University**

**In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science**

by

Rosella Ann Rowlison

August 1998

UMI Number: 1391541

UMI Microform 1391541
Copyright 1998, by UMI Company. All rights reserved.

**This microform edition is protected against unauthorized
copying under Title 17, United States Code.**

UMI
300 North Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, MI 48103

© 1998

Rosella Ann Rowlison

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

APPROVED FOR THE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM
AND MASS COMMUNICATIONS

Dr. Kathleen A. Martinelli

Dr. Ken Plowman

Dr. Gail Jardine

APPROVED FOR THE UNIVERSITY

ABSTRACT

WOMEN POLITICIANS IN THE MEDIA: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF SELECTED 1996 AND 1997 FEMALE/MALE GUBERNATORIAL RACES

by Rosella Rowlison

This thesis examined the major statewide newspaper coverage of three 1996 female/male gubernatorial races, and one 1997 race. All articles that appeared in *The Star Ledger* in Newark, New Jersey, *The Union Leader* in New Hampshire, *The Charleston Daily Mail* in West Virginia, and *The Kansas City Star* in Missouri, relating to the candidates during the general election, were coded. Each article was examined for certain frames and measured for the amount and type of coverage of female and male candidates. In the New Jersey race, the photographs were measured to compare column-inch coverage between the male and female candidates.

The study found that female gubernatorial candidates received less coverage and less positive media coverage than their male counterparts. Female candidates were framed stereotypically in each race, but there were only a few articles carrying these frames. Stereotypical frames included *The Glamour Girl*, *The Homemaker*, *The Wife*, *The All-Male Paradigm*, and *The Sport Terminology* frame. When female candidates were framed stereotypically and received less coverage or less positive coverage, it did not determine whether or not a female candidate would be elected. Incumbency was found to be a greater determinant of electability rather than gender.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis is dedicated to all my teachers who instilled in me a passion for learning. A special thank you to the following teachers: Rosie Kinoshita, Mrs. Slayton, Mrs. Elkins, Mrs. Elder, Mrs. Foreman, Mrs. Martini, Mrs. Carr, Mrs. Olmstead, Mr. Amelio, Mrs. Salewske, Mrs. Freiburg, Mrs. Lavorato, and Professor Colwill.

I thank my friends and family for their support during this the master's program. I thank Cynthia McCune for her help coding the data. I want to acknowledge and thank my committee members, Professor Kathleen A. Martinelli, Professor Ken Plowman, and Professor Gail Jardine, for their countless hours of proofreading, editing, and advising. I especially thank Dr. Martinelli for being my primary adviser. A special thank you goes to to my boyfriend Jim for his support, love, encouragement, and computer skills.

Lastly, I would like to acknowledge all the women who have been or have run for governor of their respective states. This thesis is dedicated to all of these courageous women. This thesis is also dedicated to the first female governor of the state of California.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. CHAPTER I--Introduction.....	1
Women in Government.....	1
Importance of Research/Purpose of Study.....	4
II. CHAPTER II--Literature Review.....	8
Media's Influence.....	9
Media's Reporting Styles/Methods Affect Candidates.....	10
Framing.....	11
Framing Eliminates the Candidate Before the Public Does.....	13
Stereotypical Frames.....	16
Horserace Frame.....	17
Homemaker Frame.....	18
The Wife Frame.....	19
The Cheerleader Frame.....	20
The Glamour Girl Frame.....	20
The Emotional Female Stereotype Frame.....	21
Catfight Frame.....	22
Sports Terminology Frame.....	23
All-Male Paradigm Frame.....	23
Priming.....	24
Female Journalists.....	26
Unequal Coverage.....	27

The Economic Factor.....	30
Women as Political Outsiders.....	31
Incumbency Variable.....	31
Summary and Research Questions.....	33
 III. CHAPTER III--Methodology.....	 36
Time Period.....	38
Gubernatorial Races.....	39
Selected Newspapers.....	41
 IV. CHAPTER IV--Results.....	 42
New Jersey Race.....	42
Table 1-Frequency Table of Articles Concerning Female and Male Gubernatorial Candidates.....	43
Table 2-Frequency Table of Positive, Negative, and Neutrally Toned Articles.....	44
Table 3-Photographic Coverage of Male and Female Candidates.....	47
Table 4-Headlines.....	48
Table 5-Frames.....	49
Table 6-Issues Primed.....	55
Missouri Race.....	55
New Hampshire Race.....	59

West Virginia Race.....	64
Common Themes in the Four Races.....	69
V. CHAPTER V–Discussion.....	70
Incumbents.....	71
Attacks.....	71
Political Fight Frame.....	72
Horserace Frame.....	73
Stereotypical Frames.....	73
Media's Influence.....	74
Incumbency Factor.....	76
Limitations of the Study.....	78
Areas fo Further Research.....	79
VI. References.....	81
VII. Appendices.....	85
Coding Tables-Frames Key.....	86
Coding Tables-West Virginia Race.....	87-89
New Hampshire Race.....	90-91
Missouri Race.....	92
New Jersey Race.....	93-97

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Women in Government

As the twenty-first century approaches, many political conversations have centered around the possibility of electing a female president of the United States. Many people ponder why a "progressive" country such as the United States has never elected a female chief executive. It should not be too suprising that a woman has never governed the United States, given the fact that very few women are in the pool of applicants from which presidential contenders are drawn. Many of the former U.S. presidents have been drawn from offices such as governor or senator. Specifically, the past three out of four presidents of the United States have been former governors.

The bad news for women is that currently, the United States has only two female governors out of 50 states, accounting for 4% of the governorships. By comparison, in the U.S. Congress there are 51 females in the House of Representatives (11.7%) and nine female Senators (9%). Based on the fact that only 14 women in U.S. history have been elected governor, it appears that it is more difficult for a woman to be elected governor than to be elected to any other office. The only offices more difficult for a woman to be elected to are the vice presidency and presidency of

the country (Center for the American Woman in Politics, 1997).

Women have better odds at winning local elections than being elected to state or national office. For example, 20.7% of the cities nationwide with a population of 30,000 or more have women mayors (CAWP, 1997). Despite such election success, women have made slower progress in obtaining higher elected office. In 1996, 120 women out of 217 won their primary elections for the House of Representatives. Of the 120 women who won their primaries, 42.5% of them or 51 won their general elections. Twenty-three percent of the women who ran for the House of Representatives in 1996 were elected. Nine female senatorial candidates out of 22 won their primaries (22.2% of the women who ran for Senate in the primary election). Out of the 22 women who filed for the Senate, only two won their general elections (9.09%). During that same year, the female gubernatorial races resulted in the fewest number of women elected than any other elected office. There were a total of nine women who filed for governor in 1996 and only one won (16.6%). Why have women had such a difficult time obtaining the state's highest elected office? Media coverage of female gubernatorial candidates may provide some insight into this question.

There are many factors that may explain why women lack representation in governorships that may not necessarily be gender specific. Variables such as media coverage, lack of

credentials/experience, unpopular party affiliation, personality, poor/inexperienced campaigning, lack of incumbency, poor/unpopular stances on issues, national and statewide elections vs. local elections, etc. might all help explain the female deficiency in governorships.

This study focuses on the media variable in gubernatorial elections. This variable has the potential to affect voters' decisions about candidates. Kim Fridkin Kahn explained that media shape rather than mirror the political landscape (Kahn, 1994). The media do not always mirror the issues the candidates want to talk about; instead, the media shape the political discourse by priming issues they want to discuss (Kahn, 1994). (The concept of priming will be further explained in the literature review.)

In the 1996 elections for governor, nine women filed for their state's highest elected position out of 12 open seats. Six women won their primaries but only one won the general election. Thus, women are running for governor, but they are not winning. Three of the six male candidates who contested the female gubernatorial candidates were incumbents.

The six females who ran for governor in the general election were split equally among political parties, three belonging to the Democratic Party and three to the Republican Party. The women belonged to a variety of professions such as teaching and certified public accounting, and held a variety of elected positions such as state treasurers,

auditors, and senators.

Being elected governor might be more difficult for women because the governor represents the largest constituency in the state and is thereby accountable to all the citizens in the state. A senator also represents all the people from his/her respective state, however, there are two senators to share the responsibilities and concerns of the citizens. A governor does not have a co-governor with whom to share the work. Members of the House of Representatives represent a much smaller jurisdiction than governors and do not have responsibility for as many people. It appears women find it easier to be elected to offices when the constituencies are smaller.

Importance of Study

The only academic study of gubernatorial races when a woman ran as a candidate, is the study of Nebraska's 1986 race between Kate Orr and Helen Boosalis. However, the Nebraska gubernatorial race was different from other gubernatorial races because it was the only race where two women ran against each other (Aden, Japp, & Proctor, 1988).

This study is one of the first to compare media coverage between female candidates who lost their race with those who won. Most of the literature on media coverage of female politicians has not focused on the correlation between media coverage and the candidate's successful and unsuccessful attempts in winning races. In addition, most studies on

media coverage of female politicians are very general. This study is unique in that it looks at newspaper coverage of three gubernatorial elections in 1996 and one in 1997 when women ran and lost, and also when women ran and won. Thus, there will be a basis for comparing the coverage of winners and losers, whereas much of the existing literature on female politicians in the media does not have this dynamic. While previous studies have shown that bias exists in media coverage of female candidates and politicians, this bias has not been measured nor has it been examined for a difference between media coverage of candidates who win versus coverage of candidates who lose. In addition, it is important to know if women running for the state's highest office are receiving equal coverage compared to their male counterparts to determine if gender bias exists in the media in political races. Thus, this study measured for differences in media coverage of men and women running for governor in the same four races.

It is essential to analyze media coverage in female gubernatorial races for five reasons. First, because there has been minimal research on women campaigning for governor. Second, research shows that the media do affect a person's voting decisions (Alger, 1994; Kahn, 1994; Patterson, 1994). Third, the results can help women who are already in political office who might want to understand the structure of the media. Fourth, journalists can learn from the results

because if bias does exist, the research can challenge journalists to be sensitive, aware, cautious, and strive for objectivity when covering female candidates versus succumbing to conventional formats. Fifth, female governors are a rarity and so the media variable should be examined to see whether there is a correlation between election coverage and the low number of female governors.

There have only been 14 female governors in the history of the United States: Nellie Taylor Ross, WY. (1925-27) ; Miriam "Ma" Ferguson, TX. (1925-27 & 1933-35); Lurleen Wallace, AL. (1967-68); Ella Grasso, CT. (1974-80); Dixy Lee Ray, WA. (1977-81); Martha Layne Collins, KY. (1984-87); Madeleine Kunin, VT. (1984-91); Kay Orr, NE. (1986); Rose Mofford, AR. (1988-91); Joan Finney, KS. (1991-95); Ann Richards, TX (1990-94); Barbara Roberts, OR. (1991-95); Christie Todd Whitman, NJ. (1994-present); and Jeanne Shaheen, NH. (1996-present).

There has been an obvious lack of female governors and a variety of variables might help explain why. This study is concerned with one variable of a woman's campaign--the media. The study will analyze whether the media is biased in their reporting of female candidates. The research will do this specifically by analyzing the newspaper coverage of three gubernatorial races in 1996 and one in 1997 where women ran on a major party platform. The questions this study will answer are: 1) Do female candidates receive equal coverage in

terms of column inches in comparison to male candidates in the 1996 and 1997 gubernatorial races? 2) Do the horserace or stereotypical frames predominate in election coverage of female candidates? 3) Do the media prime women's issues more often than male or neutral issues when covering female/male gubernatorial races? 4) Does incumbency equate to more media coverage? 5) Is there a relationship between media coverage and a woman's successful or unsuccessful runs for governor?

Researching the successes and failures surrounding female gubernatorial races is vital in discovering why there are so few female governors. Once women are considered viable candidates for governor, maybe the voting public will feel comfortable electing a woman to the vice presidency or presidency.

CHAPTER II

Literature Review

Women Politicians in the Media

Susan B. Anthony knew that news coverage was a key to getting the women's message to the public and that biased coverage was better than no coverage (Braden, 1996, p.1).

This literature review focuses on how female candidates and politicians are covered in the media. It reviews frames the media use to discuss female candidates and politicians. It also reviews the priming of women's issues in media coverage. The literature discusses unequal coverage of male and female candidates. Following the review is a summary of the literature findings on women politicians and candidates in the media as well as a section discussing the gaps found in the literature. Finally, the research questions and hypotheses will be stated based upon the results of the literature findings.

Let it be noted that the actions of certain media cannot be generalized and said to apply to every media venue. All journalists do not write in a biased, stereotypical fashion. Many examples in the following literature reveal inequitable

media coverage between male and female candidates. However, it is not the researcher's aim to claim that this type of coverage is the norm or the exception. Rather, the review sets out to uncover whether media bias exists and provide examples for building a case in which to test the likelihood of bias existing in the 1996-97 gubernatorial races.

Media's Influence

The media have a powerful influence in the political arena. Kim Fridkin Kahn stated that, "The news media shape rather than mirror the political landscape" (Kahn, 1994, p. 154). Thomas E. Patterson (1994) studied the media's influence in creating viable candidates and noted that voters in the United States rely heavily on the media for information about candidates and politicians. Patterson further explained that the media are often people's only view of their leaders. He noted in a 1976 study of the Presidential election, that people's beliefs about which candidate would win closely resembled the outcome predicted by the media. Kahn noted that the attention the media give to a candidate is important because citizens are unlikely to vote for an unfamiliar candidate (Kahn, 1994). In addition to being familiar with the candidate, voters should be knowledgeable about the candidate too. Dean A. Alger (1994) agreed that voters will usually choose a candidate they know something about.

Media Reporting Styles and Methods Affect Candidates

The style and methods the media utilize when covering politicians can hurt or benefit a candidate's race. An example of media coverage benefiting one candidate at the expense of another is the reporting of former President Jimmy Carter when he was running for president in the New Hampshire primaries. Reflecting on the 1976 presidential primaries, Patterson said that:

People's perceptions of the candidates' chances for nomination and election followed closely what the news coverage indicated those chances to be. When press accounts indicated uncertainty about likely winners and losers, the judgments of the electorate mirrored that uncertainty. When the news spoke of an almost certain winner, the voters expressed the same optimism for that candidate (Patterson, 1994, p. 177).

Carter led by 30% in the Iowa primaries. Because of his success in this one primary, the media gave him much more attention than any of the other candidates. Even though he only won in a small state with few electoral votes, the media showed him as a clear-cut winner across the board (Alger, 1994). Alger noted that, "The nature of the campaign coverage indicating him to be a winner appears to have a profound impact on the way people vote" (Alger, 1994).

Because media coverage of political candidates affects the way people vote, analyzing media coverage can be useful in determining whether the news will harm a candidate's viability. In Carter's 1976 election, the media coverage

produced a bandwagon effect. According to Patterson, the bandwagon is where "large numbers of voters choose to back the candidate who is ahead" (Patterson, 1994). Carter had received a lot of media coverage indicating him to be a winner and he was also elected president.

Framing

The media use frames when reporting news about political candidates. Framing is a procedure journalists use to bundle key concepts, stock phrases, and produce conventional images to reinforce communal ways of presenting developments (Norris, 1997). Frames serve to facilitate the understanding of events and information for the audience (McQuail, 1994). Pipa Norris (1997) noted that frames provide contextual clues giving order and meaning to complex problems, activities, and events. Frames guide the selection, presentation, and evaluation of information for journalists and readers by organizing the reading into familiar categories.

The concept of framing was introduced by sociologist Erving Goffman who studied frame analysis explaining that people select frames to make sense of what they experience (Baran & Davis, 1995). Framing is not as much what the media are thinking about but how they are thinking about it. Media frames can be either verbal or visual. They present discourse, interpret and select, and emphasize and exclude what they want (Norris, 1997).

A Washington correspondent, Leo Roten, sums up the

reason why journalists embody structures in disseminating their news. He posited:

The Washington correspondent must simplify issues for a public which has neither the background nor the time to analyze what it reads. They must emphasize personalities rather than forces. They must etch those personalities into sharp stereotypes which the reader can find analogous to the ordinary types of his own experience. They must inject into politics the element of melodrama (Braden, 1996, p.140).

Frames are a part of the structural/functional designs of the media. The media have to follow certain internal structural policies, patterns, and routines. Journalists work within gendered frames to simplify, prioritize, and structure the narrative flow of events of men and women in public life.

Framing can be harmful to political candidates because it does not always explain the whole story. In the 1996 elections, the media claimed it was the "soccer moms" who voted to elect the president and provided the margin of victory for the other candidates. The "soccer mom" frame was coined by a *Washington Post* journalist in July 1996. The journalist claimed, "soccer moms" were working mothers who were concerned with their kids' safety, education, and the future. The mothers in the "soccer mom" frame were from affluent households, drove Suburbans, and were consumed with children and family issues. The problem with this frame is that it leaves out women who are non-mothers, uneducated, or

from lower economic strata. Also, the frame does not address whether fewer men turned out to vote in the 1996 elections or whether there were any other explanations for the election results. The "soccer mom" frame was convenient but probably does not provide the whole explanation for the 1996 election results, explained Dr. Susan Carroll, Professor at the Eagleton Institute for Politics at Rutgers University, (National Women's Political Caucus Convention in Austin, 1997).

Frames not only exclude vital information, they are also misleading in other ways. An example is the "Year of the Woman" frame that the media used to explain why so many women took office in 1994. 1994 might have been the "Year of the Woman" in politics, but it was not the "Year of the Woman" in many other respects. It was not the "Year of the Woman" in terms of equal coverage. A 1994 study of the nation's top three news magazines found women referenced only 14% of the time compared to 86% of the time for men (Braden, 1996). The term, "The Year of the Woman" was ambiguous. The frame might have led people to think women were enjoying good-standing in areas besides politics (Braden, 1996).

Framing Eliminates the Candidate Before the Public Does

During the presidential primary races, the media prefer to focus on a few candidates who are rated the highest in the Gallup polls (Alger, 1994). Alger (1994) explained how in the 1984 democratic presidential primary race, the media

eliminated candidates after a couple of primaries in small states. After the media did that, many states never had an opportunity to vote on all the candidates. The media forces the candidates to leave the race before the majority of the population can vote on them (Alger, 1994).

Women are especially hurt by the media's system of providing more coverage for the higher rated candidates. Usually primary candidates have higher ratings in the polls because they can afford to buy primary election race ads. This can hurt women who want to run for office because women as a group make \$.72 to every dollar a man earns (Department of Labor, 1997). Female candidates can fundraise as can their male candidates but, as a whole, women collectively have less start-up money for campaigns because they earn less. Therefore, women have less capital which is important because start-up money is advantageous for candidates.

The creation of groups such as EMILY's List (Early Money is Like Yeast) "because it makes the dough rise," was founded to ensure female candidates would be supported financially to compete with their male candidates.

The majority of business leaders, CEOs, CIOs, and presidents in U.S. companies are male. This favorable standing affords male candidates financial networks that may be closed to many women. EMILY's List provides a critical network of support that mirrors "the old boys club" (Peradotto, 1995). This lack of available financial

resources causes the media to discount many women's viability as candidates.

The media are notorious for placing female candidates and politicians in convenient frames. Due to structural constraints journalists face, it is the desire of most media to report a story in as simple and concise a manner as possible. In newspapers, journalists may not have enough space to delve into lengthy policy discussions (Kahn, 1994). Journalists try to get politicians' messages into a few simple structural patterns (Blumler & Gurevitch, 1994).

According to Blumler and Gurevitch (1994), the media do not work well with complexity. They are not structured in a way that enables them to interpret and understand multidimensional personalities. Because the media have difficulty handling personal complexities, political women are viewed in a shallow context. Many political women wear different "hats," but the media's two-dimensional structure does not allow for bonnets, baseball caps, and straw hats. Blumler and Gurevitch (1994) agreed that the media are structured to view politics two-dimensionally. This structural/functional constraint can negatively affect political women who strive for a broader and better understanding of themselves. Instead, women are at times boxed in stereotypical frame the media rely upon to easily convey their message.

Ever since the first woman, Jeanette Rankin, was elected

to Congress, women politicians have often been framed differently than their male counterparts (Matthews, Paget, & Witt, 1994). Some of the common media frames used in covering women politicians and candidates are the *horserace* frame, which focuses on women's viability; the *queen of domesticity* which shows women as caretakers of the home and as the *Wives*; and the *Cheerleader*. Common frames focusing on appearance are the *Fashion Lady*, *Beauty Queen*, and *Glamour Girl*. The *weak and emotional female* is another frame as are the *catfight/rivalry* and the *sports terminology* frame. These frames all rely on traditional traits and roles that women have held in the past. Renowned feminist Betty Freidan discusses these traditional roles women played in her novel, *The Feminine Mystique*. "According to that feminine mystique which defined woman only as husband's wife, children's mother, server of physical needs of husband, children, and home, and never a person defining herself by her own actions in society" (Freidan, 1963, p. 12).

Stereotypical Frames

One of the reasons the media might stereotypically frame women is because it adds pizzazz to the story. The media might report about women's appearance and employ other stereotypical frames such as catfights because the media feel those subjects have more newsworthiness than issues and campaign policies. Braden contended that "The media have a long history of deriding women with political power or

seeking to neutralize their power by reminding audiences of their traditional roles" (Braden, 1996, p. 82). It is hard for journalists to conceptualize women outside of their traditional roles and frame of reference because writers often have a difficult time writing headlines for stories involving female candidates (Matthews, et al., 1994).

Horserace Frame.

Framing can be both harmful and beneficial to political women. One type of framing that hurts female candidates is horserace coverage (Kahn, 1994). In the horserace frame, media coverage of a race involving a woman focuses on whether she is winning or losing. In this frame, more women are shown to be trailing, in part, because they are less likely to be the incumbents and incumbents enjoy greater name recognition and therefore are the more viable candidates (Kahn, 1994). Kahn (1994) contended that because of this, female candidates are not as likely to win when the media uses horserace coverage to portray them. Horserace coverage focuses on women's viability rather than on evaluating them on their beliefs and policy proposals (Kahn, 1991). Braden agreed that media emphasize female electibility rather than their issues and policies (Braden, 1997).

Horserace coverage usually dominates primary elections (Norris, 1996). Kahn (1991), in her examination of senate races, concluded that horserace news coverage may specifically be an obstacle for women running for the Senate.

This is because many female senatorial candidate articles are more often filtered through this theoretical framework than are men's articles.

Patterson (1980) called horserace coverage the *game* and said 51-58% of news coverage on elections was about *the game*. About 27% of the articles written about female senatorial candidates focus on the horserace (Kahn, 1994). Kahn found that 6% more female political articles were framed in the horserace analogy than were articles about their male counterparts (Kahn, 1994). The media can get caught up in this horserace game when covering women because they do not run for public office as often as men (Johnston & White, 1994).

Homemaker Frame.

Braden noted that the media do not know how to focus on a female who does not fit the conventional role (Braden, 1996). This problem is solved by placing female candidates into previously associated roles with stereotypical frames. When the press does this it is trying to tap into existing cultural beliefs and match those beliefs.

The first stereotypical frame used to portray political women in the media is the homemaker role. This frame shows women in their traditional roles as the domestic cook and cleaner of the home. Women are, in fact, still asked by reporters if they can sew, cook, or clean (Braden, 1997). Matthews, Paget, and Witt (1994) noted that Congresswoman

Josie Heath was approached by a reporter and asked if she could video Mrs. Heath cooking breakfast for her family. When Heath dropped some eggs on the floor, the reporter began taking pictures of her cleaning them up.

During 1990, a Rhode Island reporter wanted to do a video shoot inside Congresswoman Claudine Schneider's bachelor pad. She wanted to see what was in her refrigerator (Matthews, et al., 1994). Asking a woman to open her home for a photo-op relegates women back to the home (Matthews, Paget, & Witt, 1994). Rita Manno, press secretary for New Jersey Governor Christie Todd Whitman, noted that she receives a lot of questions about whether Whitman sews or cooks and what it is like to balance family and work life. She said that men are never asked about managing both (Braden, 1997). Some people question female politicians' parental obligations if their children are young but do not question male politicians when they have young children.

The Wife Frame.

Female politicians are still referred to in relation to their husbands. New Jersey Governor Christie Todd Whitman was described in the *Washington Post* as the, "preppie wife of a millionaire investment banker" (Braden, 1997). This type of frame can hurt women because the actions of a spouse might become a liability for a female candidate. The husbands of female candidates undergo more scrutiny than male candidates' spouses because it is assumed that men are "big manipulators"

and "important advisers" to their wives, (Beasley, 1997). Both former vice presidential contender Geraldine Ferraro and Senator Diane Feinstein received a lot of criticism because of their husbands' activities (Matthews, et al., 1994).

The Cheerleader Frame.

Sometimes female politicians are referred to as cheerleaders. The beginning of a *New York Times* article on Carol Mosely-Braun described her as, "an ebullient den mother with a cheerleader's smile" (Matthews, et al., 1994). Other words like "perky" and "demure" are used to describe women and not men (Braden, 1997). These adjectives diminish women's serious status as candidates. This is because the words relegate images of political women to the status of pubescent girls. This can serve to lessen the political threat of female candidates.

Glamour Girl Frame.

Political women have received media attention for their appearance in a way that men have not. Frank Wilkinson, Communications Director of EMILY's List, noted, "It's perfectly acceptable to belabor appearance when it's a woman. No one would give two paragraphs to what kind of a suit a man was wearing" (Beasley, 1997, p. 212). Women have been judged more for their looks than men in the history of media. This emphasis on looks hurts women because it downplays women's actions.

The first congresswoman, Jeanette Rankin, was described

in relation to her physical appearance. One writer for *The Evening Mail*, said he was "glad (Ms. Rankin) was not freakish, or mannish, or standoffish, or shrewish." In Rankin's biography by Kevin Giles, it was reported that stories were written about her describing the Congresswoman as a lady about to faint but never about what she was going to do (Matthews, et al., 1994). Winifred Stanley in 1942 was labeled in the media as, "The new Glamour Girl in Congress." Even though she had a law degree, her looks were what was emphasized (Braden, 1996).

One common appearance frame focuses on how female politicians dress. Former Congresswoman Helen Gahagan Douglas was asked in 1944 what she would be wearing when she addressed the Democratic National Committee. After a press conference with Representative Gahagan, reporters wrote about her hat and how her knees were showing when she sat in a skirt (Braden, 1996). More recently, former Texas Governor Ann Richards received a lot of media attention for her hair style (Braden, 1996). Reducing female candidates to their appearance neutralizes women's power by emphasizing their roles as female sex objects and not as political contenders.

The Emotional Female Stereotype Frame.

Female politicians are sometimes stereotyped as emotional, blubbery fools. Jeanette Rankin was shown crying in Congress because of World War II and although men were crying too, they were not shown crying. Congresswoman

Pat Schroeder received a lot of media attention when she resigned from Congress, because she cried. Every time after that, when a male politician cried, the media would make reference to Schroeder's tearful exit (Matthews, et al., 1994).

Catfight Frame.

Women do not have the leeway to disagree with each other the way men do. When women disagree, the media usually frame it as an *unladylike catfight* (Matthews, et al., 1994). In the 1940s, former Republican Representative Clare Booth Luce and former Democratic Representative Helen Gahagan were portrayed as rivals because they were Congresswomen of opposing ideologies. They were portrayed as two women ready for a hair-pulling catfight. They had to make a pact between themselves not to discuss the same issues on the same day so the media could not magnify a minor political disagreement (Braden, 1996).

It is common for all-female candidate races to be reduced to "catfight" frames, because the either/or concept of a catfight frame fits the media's structure. Ideas of hate/like or good/bad fit the media format. This rivalry frame can be frustrating for women because they tend to be more interested in compromise and collaboration and less interested in controversy and conflict. Thus, while women are more comfortable with consensus building, it does not play well in the press because journalists want to report on

conflict (Braden, 1996). By portraying female candidates rivaling, the concept of female alliances and solidarity is diminished. Also, if voters find catfighting immature, the voters might view female candidates as immature and non-serious contenders.

Sports Terminology Frame.

An often overlooked aspect of politics, according to Former Chairperson for the National Women's Political Caucus Harriet Woods, is that it is inundated with sports terminology, which excludes women. The sports terminology frame transforms politics into a game. Woods claims that if people cannot picture a woman hitting a ball out of the park or making a touchdown, they will have a hard time envisioning her as a victor if those are the images that prevail in politics. This macho image of the political game is what hurts women in their media coverage, Woods claims (*Freedom Speaks Panel Discussion*, 1996).

All-Male Paradigm Frame.

Often, the woman politician is not viewed as the norm. Women have to mold identities as political leaders. Because of this, it is more important for a woman to establish credentials than for a man (Matthews, et al., 1994). There is less doubt that men are competent political leaders (Aden, Proctor, & Japp, 1988).

An editor-in-chief of *The New York Times* said the all-male paradigm is the normal one (Matthews, et al., 1994). In

1992, in Pacifica, CA, an all-female city council was elected--which made the news--but an all-male council would not have been newsworthy (Matthews, et al., 1994). The media have a tendency to make women in politics the focal part of a story, rather than focusing on the political aspect of the news story (Aden, et al., 1988). The all-male paradigm frame looks at gender first and political stances second.

All nine of the previously mentioned stereotypical frames focus on female candidates as women first, and as candidates second. This forces women to work harder to disseminate their messages. They have to combat these stereotypes by proving that as women they can do the job.

Priming

Priming is another tool journalists use in reporting the news of female political candidates. Shanto Iyengar provides an explanation of priming as the following:

"Priming refers to the changes in standards that people use to make political evaluations...By calling attention to some matters while ignoring others, television news influences the standards by which governments, presidents, policies, and candidates for public office are judged" (Iyengar, 1987).

Priming refers to weighing the issues in accordance with their perceived salience. The media usually prime political communication by focusing on political personalities rather than political ideas (McQuail, 1994). Iyengar (1987) says there is too much information about a candidate for a voter to take in, so priming becomes a key ingredient in political

reporting. Priming gives the audience topics and issues by which to measure and evaluate politicians. The media prime certain news around themes because this is the way viewers process information (Iyengar, 1987). Leonard Berkowitz and Jo Enkyung (1994) noted that priming of news calls attention to some issues while ignoring others. The "spiral of silence" can occur as a result of priming, encouraging other views to remain quiet and unheard. Graber (1988) noted that if the media do not inform people about certain events or topics, more likely than not, that event or topic does not exist in people's personal agendas. The maxim applies, "We don't know what we don't know."

Priming also can influence the public agenda. Iyengar and Kinder (1987) reasoned that television news might influence political judgments and choices through priming. Priming produces negative and positive effects for politicians. For example, in President George Bush's race for reelection in 1992, the media primed the issue of the economy. The economy was lagging in 1992, which did not bode well for Bush. Thus the media's priming the economy issue in the 1992 elections had positive benefits for candidate Bill Clinton and negative ones for President Bush.

When the media primes certain issues that are considered "female issues" (health care, education, day care), women have an advantage because candidates do better when they emphasize issues on which they enjoy favorable stereotypes,

(Braden, 1996). However, if the media primes issues associated with the male gender (crime, national security, immigration), male candidates have better chances. When Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait in 1990, many female candidates lost support because they lacked international credentials. This shows that certain issues are viewed as more male-oriented, such as war (Matthews, et al., 1994). Media priming plays an important role in whether a woman or man will be elected to public office.

When female candidates are discussed in the media, articles about them often prime "women's issues." Women's issues are those issues that are compatible with stereotypical women's traits such as warmth, compassion, and honesty. Health care, education, and day care are all examples of "women's issues." These issues are usually considered "softer" as compared to the "harder" stereotypical traits men embody such as strong, knowledgeable, and intelligent. Examples of "male issues" would be crime, national security, and immigration. Democratic pollster Celinda Lake explained that, "Women politicians are systematically moved to the left because they tend to be covered in terms of children's issues and abortion and not on the economy or trade policy" (Conference on Women Politicians in the Media, 1996).

Female Journalists

Political analyst Maureen Reagan noted that female

journalists are guilty of asking female candidates about "women's issues" and not other issues. Similarly, Kahn (1991) noted that female reporters place a greater emphasis on "female issues" when covering races. Senator Nancy Kassebaum claimed that journalists oversimplify and generalize issues regardless of being male or female. She stated, "They (the journalists) still pigeonhole and lump women together" (Braden, 1996). Congresswoman and former Democratic Vice Presidential candidate Geraldine Ferraro insisted that female reporters came down on her the hardest (Braden, 1996). Former Congresswoman Bella Abzug and former Kentucky Governor Martha Layne Collins both think women journalists should promote women's causes more but think females avoid it because of the traditionally second-class status assigned to "women's news" (Braden, 1996).

Unequal Coverage

Kahn and Goldenberg (1991) concluded that female candidates and politicians are not portrayed as much in the media as their male candidates and politicians. Johnston and White (1994) also agreed that male political candidates receive more media coverage than their female counterparts. Kahn (1994) noted that female senatorial and gubernatorial candidates receive less coverage (than male candidates) on policy issues.

A systematic analysis of news coverage of U.S. Senate campaigns between 1982-1986 demonstrated that the press does

cover women candidates less favorably than male candidates; this research showed the news media tended to spend less time talking about issues and more time talking about the viability of female candidates, (Kahn, 1994). Kahn also found that women receive less coverage than men in Senatorial races and that the coverage of women was mainly negative. Kahn and Goldenberg (1991) claimed that covering male and female candidates differently may influence the success of a female candidate by hindering her chances.

The placement of news of female candidates is, at times, unequal to men's. Matthews, et al. (1994) found that male politicians' credentials are mentioned sooner in articles about them whereas women's credentials are buried in the last paragraph. In a *New York Times* article covering Senate candidates Carol-Mosley Braun and Richard Williamson, Williamson was described in the first paragraph as "all business, like the corporate lawyer he is." Mosley-Braun's credentials were not mentioned until the 22nd paragraph even though she was also a lawyer, former federal prosecutor, and veteran state senator (Matthews, et al., 1994). In a *Washington Post* article about Pennsylvania senate candidates Lynn Yeakel and Arlen Specter, the *Washington Post* placed Specter's credentials first. The medium cited Specter as being a "crime-busting district attorney and mayoral hopeful," and Yeakel's credentials weren't noted until half way through the article (Matthews, et al., 1994).

Photos of female candidates appear less often in the media than photos of their male counterparts. In 1990 the front pages of 18 major newspapers were studied and only 11% of the photos featured female candidates (Matthews, et al., 1994). When women were in the photos, it was usually in a group shot and often-times with their spouses or children (Matthews, et al., 1994). This portrayal emphasizes a "benign" nature of women. For example, in the women's photographs, they are depicted more as wives and mothers rather than as political beings or authority figures. Johnston and White (1994) concluded that if women are not seen as much in the media, then they will not be the likely candidates.

The media discuss female politicians differently than male politicians because men dominate the media because more of them are in the top media management positions (Matthews, et al., 1994). According to a 1990 study, only 6% of the top media bosses are women and there are fewer female reporters for nightly newscasts. For many years, women journalists were not even allowed to cover politics (Matthews, et al., 1994). Women were banned from the press galleries and were told to cover "soft news" stories. Because men hold the top media positions, they can use the media as an instrument of social power to support dominant power groups and maintain the status quo (Donohue, and Olien, and Tichener, 1981).

Lack of media coverage is a problem for all women, not

just female politicians. A 1994 study of women in the newspaper found that men received 75% of the front page coverage references compared with 25% for women (Braden, 1996). Braden (1996) also found that front-page references to women slid to 19% in 1995. The average number of front page photos with females dropped from 39% in 1994 to 33% in 1995 (Braden, 1996). When portrayed in the media, women tended to be depicted as entertainers and sports figures. Men were found 82% of the time to be portrayed as authority figures and experts, while women were viewed as opinion makers only 51% of the time (Braden, 1996).

In the media's coverage of women opinion makers, female power appears to be viewed as dangerous, noted Caryl Rivers at the 1996 Conference on Women, the Media, and Politics. She cited 50 references to Hillary Clinton as "Lady Macbeth" and noted that males who express more controversial views are not described with such words of dread (Conference on Women Politicians in the Media, 1996).

The Economic Factor.

In the United States, a woman makes approximately \$.72 to every dollar a man earns, and women hold only two percent of top management positions in the top Fortune 500 companies, (Department of Labor, 1997). In a capitalistic society, value is attributed to economic productivity, and women as a group in capitalistic societies are in the lowest economic bracket. The problem, McQuail points out, is that "the

content of the news media always reflects those who finance the press" (McQuail, 1994, p. 206). Thus, because of their economic status, women might not receive the coverage they want and they cannot always afford to disseminate their own messages via political ads (Johnston & White, 1994).

Women as Political Outsiders.

One can logically deduce that male politicians are in the news more often because there are more male politicians. Another reason male politicians might be in the news more often is because more males are the chairs of committees and are senior members of Congress. Shoemaker and Reese (1991) posit that journalists rely on officials when reporting, so they end up quoting the chairpersons of the committees or the seniority members both of whom are usually male. Braden (1996) explains, "There are few women in Congress who have seniority or hold leadership positions" (p. 18).

Incumbency Variable.

Harriet Woods, the former Chairperson of the National Woman's Political Caucus and author of *Women Politicians*, noted that gender does not cause candidates to be defeated. She said it is a woman's lack of incumbency that weakens her chances of winning an election; however, women running for senator who are not opposing an incumbent receive about the same viability rates as those of men (Kahn, 1994). Jacobson (1987) noted that people hesitate to vote for candidates they know nothing at all about.

Incumbents enjoy a higher electibility rate because they have more name recognition with the voting public.

Approximately 45-60 percent of voters can recall the incumbent candidates' names compared with 20 to 30 percent recall for the challengers' names, (Jacobson, 1987). In a 1984 study of U.S. Congressmembers, incumbents' names were recalled and recognized at a higher rate, than non-incumbents (Cain, 1987). The general public recalled incumbents' names 32 percent of the time and the challengers name was recalled 12 percent of the time. Incumbents' names were recognized 82 percent of the time and challengers' names were recognized 43 percent of the time (Cain, 1987).

The benefits of incumbency are greater than solely name familiarity. Incumbents are also better liked than non-incumbents. Incumbents not only benefit from their previous publicity, they also benefit from the fact that they have experience in campaigns. A lack of campaign experience can hurt candidates' ability to influence media coverage of their election (Gordon & Kahn, 1997).

It has also been argued that incumbents benefit from their superior abilities to reach voters, because the people will remember the candidate because of the variety of ways incumbents come into contact with voters (Jacobson, 1987). Incumbents are much better known because they enjoy abundant resources for advertising themselves.

Summary and Research Questions

The results of the previous studies do not thoroughly explain how granting unequal coverage to male and female candidates impacts their races. For example, the literature does not reveal whether media coverage affects a woman's chance of being elected or not. One ambiguous finding in the literature was that only 11% of front-page photos featured female candidates, but the comment was not clear in denoting whether the remaining 89% of photos was devoted to male candidates. This statistic in itself can be misleading because it leaves out the factor of how many women were running versus how many men were running when the statistic was produced. The number of female candidates would greatly affect the statistic of front-page photos.

The literature review showed that at times the media have lacked seriousness in their coverage of political women. Because previous studies have found the media contain stereotypical framing and priming of female candidates and politicians, it is expected that a content analysis of the three 1996 and one 1997 gubernatorial elections will find the women contenders placed in stereotypical frames receiving less coverage, (Braden, 1996; Kahn, 1994; Norris, 1997). In the analysis, the researcher would expect to find female issues primed for female candidates more than male issues.

The literature has shown how news information about a candidate's issue position, traits, and viability all

influence the public's voting decisions.

Previous studies have found that women are framed like a horserace and stereotypically. The researcher will test the 1996-97 races to see if women are framed like a horserace or stereotypically.

Previous studies also found when women are campaigning, women's issues are primed more than in a race between two men. Given that all four races under study involve women, it is expected that women's issues will be primed more frequently.

Newspapers are supposed to have policies whereby both candidates, regardless of sex or incumbency, receive equal coverage. If this is true, it would be expected that female and male candidates would receive an equal amount. However the literature contends that women do not receive equitable coverage. On the basis of previous studies, also will test the following hypotheses:

- 1) Did the female candidates win when they were depicted as more viable candidates?
- 2) Is there a difference in media coverage between female candidates who win versus female candidates who lose a race?
- 3) Will the media prime "so-called" female issues more often than "so-called" male issues?
- 4) Do women receive the same amount of coverage as their male opponents?

5) Is incumbency a factor in determining whether a female gubernatorial candidate will win her election?

CHAPTER III

Method

A content analysis was performed on the major newspapers in each of the four states where female candidates ran for governor on a major party platform in 1996 and 1997. Three variables were measured in the content analysis to determine whether female gubernatorial winners and losers received different coverage and also to determine if female and male candidates received different coverage. Framing and priming theories provided the basis for the content analysis. Only the column inches of photographs of candidates in the New Jersey elections were measured because the researcher was able to analyze the *Newark Star Ledger* newspaper in the state of New Jersey, and photographs accompanied the copy. The Missouri, West Virginia, and New Hampshire races were analyzed by downloading the newspaper copy from the *Lexis Nexis* computerized information retrieval service, which does not post photographic coverage.

In each gubernatorial race, only the state newspaper with the largest circulation was analyzed for its election coverage. Every article including editorials pertaining to the gubernatorial election commencing after the primary elections and ending with the general election was collected and coded. Two coders analyzed the newspaper articles for reliability purposes.

Two of the elections under study involved women who won and two involved women who lost. Comparing the two races in which women won with the two in which women lost, enabled the researcher to draw a parallel comparison between media coverage of female gubernatorial winners and losers.

Each article was coded for framing by being placed in one of the following categories: no apparent frame (neutral), horserace frame, homemaker frame, wife frame, cheerleader frame, glamour girl frame, emotional woman frame, sports terminology frame, and the all-male paradigm frame. The frame was selected according to references made in the article. For example, stereotypical statements in an article such as, "the governor does cry," were placed in the emotional woman frame just like articles reporting on polls would fall into the horserace frame.

Since the literature claimed that women's issues are primed more than men's issues when female candidates run, this study also examined the 1996 and 1997 gubernatorial election coverage to discover whether the media primed female issues more than male issues. As discussed in the literature review, female issues are those issues associated with female characteristics such as education and health care, and male issues are those associated with male characteristics such as crime, immigration, and international issues. The issues discussed in the articles were coded into either female, neutral, or male categories.

The researcher tabulated how many articles were written about the male and the female candidate to find whether both sexes received fairly equal coverage. The articles were further measured according to whether the article favored the female or the male candidate, whether it was neutral, or whether it was negative towards the male or female candidate.

The 1997 New Jersey gubernatorial race and the 1996 Missouri race both had incumbents who ran and won. The New Jersey race had a female incumbent while the Missouri race had a male incumbent. These two races were analyzed to determine whether incumbency is a greater predictor in determining the outcome of gubernatorial races or whether the sex of the candidates is a stronger determinant.

The last item measured was the number of times a candidate's name appeared in a headline to compare whether female and male candidates received an equal amount of name attribution in headlines.

Time Period

News analysis of the 1996 and 1997 female/male gubernatorial races began the day after the primary election and terminated the day of the general election. This time period was selected for three reasons. First, the candidates in general elections are considered more viable than primary election candidates, because general election candidates already have the endorsement from their respective political parties so their party leaders believe they have desirable

qualities for elected office. Second, the endorsement also suggests that the candidates are serious. Third, not as many people vote in the primary elections as they do in the general elections so the media are likely to have influence on a greater number of voters in the general elections. The primary dates are as follows: Missouri, August 6; New Hampshire, September 10; New Jersey, June 3; and West Virginia, May 14.

Gubernatorial Races

The candidates whose news coverage will be discussed are: Jeanne Shaheen, the current governor of New Hampshire who ran against Ovide M. Lamontagne in 1996; Charlotte Pritt, who lost to Cecil Underwood for governor of West Virginia in 1996; incumbent Mel Carnahan who was challenged by Margaret Kelly for governor of Missouri; and incumbent Christie Todd Whitman, the incumbent governor of New Jersey, who was challenged by James McGreevey in 1997. This study compared media coverage between successful female gubernatorial candidates and unsuccessful candidates. In order to have an equal number of races where women were successful and unsuccessful candidates, the media coverage from Christie Todd Whitman's 1997, gubernatorial race was reviewed. In this study, Whitman is the only female gubernatorial candidate who ran in 1997; the others ran in 1996. Jeanne Shaheen was chosen because she was the only female candidate to win in 1996. Out of the five remaining

female candidates in 1996, two were chosen who lost their races. Janet Rzewnicki, who ran against Thomas Carper for governor of Delaware, was not chosen because the Dover newspaper is not on the Lexis/Nexis database and the data would have been too costly to collect.

The Washington state race between Ellen Craswell and Gary Locke was excluded because Craswell was an extremely right-winged candidate who made comments about packing the statehouse with "godly people." Also, she started a political action committee to elect "Bible-believing Christians" into office. The inclusion of her race might have skewed the results because of her extreme political/religious positions. Also, there are no extremely conservative male candidates in the research who made comments similar to Craswell's. People might not vote for Craswell because of her extreme positions. It would be difficult to determine her viability as a female candidate when her beliefs are so far from mainstream beliefs.

The remaining three states with female gubernatorial candidates who lost were Montana, Missouri, and West Virginia. Because only three of the six races involving women who ran for governor in 1996 will be analyzed, one winner and two losers, the 1996 female gubernatorial race from Montana was not included. The Montana race between Judy Jacobson and Marc Racicot was not included because the major state newspaper was not on the Lexis/Nexis.

Selected Newspapers

One newspaper for each race was studied. Statewide newspapers were chosen based on circulation, i.e. which papers' news coverage had the potential to affect the most people. Three of the newspapers in this study were found online using the Lexis/Nexis online information retrieval database. Each statewide newspaper was founded in the 19th century and is devoted to general news.

The Kansas City Star was the Missouri paper selected for analysis. The circulation is 338,793 daily, 320,950 on Saturday, and 555,488 on Sunday. In the state of New Hampshire *The Union Leader*, founded in 1863 and having a circulation of 68,496, was selected for review. *The Charleston Daily Mail* based in Charleston, West Virginia, was analyzed. It was founded in 1883 and has a daily circulation of 100,018 and a Sunday subscription of 105,018. In New Jersey, *The Star Ledger* was reviewed. The paper was founded in 1917 and has a circulation of 405,869 Monday through Friday, 371,058 for Saturday, and 605,627 on Sunday.

CHAPTER IV

Results

This study aimed to discover whether gender bias existed in the reporting of female political candidates by focusing on four gubernatorial elections, one in 1997 and three in 1996. It measured the number of articles written about the female and male candidates and compared the two figures. It measured qualitatively, the type of coverage female versus male gubernatorial candidates received by categorizing coverage as either positive, negative, or neutral. In addition, the study compared the number of headlines devoted to female and male candidates and compared the amount of photographic coverage (in the races where photographic information was available). Framing of candidates and priming of issues also were analyzed. The study coded frames found in the articles and, in particular, examined articles for stereotypical frames toward female candidates.

New Jersey Race (Christie Todd Whitman vs. James McGreevy.)

There were 194 articles coded from the 1997 New Jersey gubernatorial election coverage in *The Newark Star Ledger* during the New Jersey general election between June 3, 1997 and November 4, 1997 (see Table 1). The two candidates in this race on the two major party platforms were Christie Todd Whitman, the Republican incumbent, and James McGreevy, the Democratic challenger. The third candidate, Murray Sabrin

from the Libertarian party, will not be discussed because only the two major political party candidates were being examined.

The articles discussing each candidate separately, were coded for tone in three categories, positive, negative, and neutral. The articles discussing both candidates were also coded as positive, negative, or neutral in tone. Out of the 69 articles discussing both candidates, 65 of them were neutral toward the candidates and did not favor one over the other. Only four of the articles involving both candidates were negative towards the two politicians.

Table 1

Frequency Table of Articles Concerning Female and Male Gubernatorial Candidates

	Female Candidates	Male Candidates	Both	Total
New Jersey	83	42	69	194
New Hampshire	32	3	24	59
Missouri	5	17	8	30
West Virginia*	122	33	38	193

*Articles included Vent Line comments in West Virginia paper.

Table 2**Frequency Table of Positive, Negative, and Neutrally Toned Articles**

<u>Articles on Female Candidates</u>	<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Total</u>
Whitman, Christie Todd* New Jersey	30	13	42	83
Shaheen, Jeanne New Hampshire	8	17	7	32
Kelly, Margaret Missouri	1	3	1	5
Pritt, Charlotte West Virginia	51	52	19	122
<u>Articles on Male Candidates</u>	<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Total</u>
McGreevy, James New Jersey	14	6	22	42
Ovide Lamontagne New Hampshire	0	0	3	3
Mel Carnahan* Missouri	13	2	2	17
Cecil Underwood West Virginia	10	15	8	33

Table 2 (Continued)

<u>Articles on Both Candidates</u>	<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Total</u>
New Jersey	0	4	65	69
New Hampshire	1	0	23	24
Missouri	0	2	6	8
West Virginia	0	0	38	38

* Indicates the candidate was an incumbent

New Jersey Democratic gubernatorial candidate James McGreevy had 42 articles written about him while Republican candidate Christie Todd Whitman had 83 articles articles written about her (24 of which were non-campaign related) (See Table 2). McGreevy had 14 positively toned articles, six negative, and 22 articles had a neutral tone. Whitman had 30 articles depicting her in a positive light (the 16 articles framed in a horserace paradigm were positive articles for Whitman), 13 articles had a negative tone, and 42 articles had a neutral tone. Whitman enjoyed about twice the amount of coverage as McGreevy, with the paper having run twice as many articles on her during the general election months.

Whitman also received more photographic coverage than McGreevy during the general election months (See Table 3). This can be partly attributed to the fact that Whitman was in

nine non-campaign related pictures, all of which she was performing official gubernatorial duties and participating in events. Whitman was in 61 pictures while McGreevy was captured in 38. In addition to the newspaper carrying more photographs of Whitman, there was more column-inch coverage of Whitman's pictures compared to McGreevy's. Whitman had a total of 22,464 square column inches of photographic coverage, while McGreevy only received 8,265 square column inches of photographic coverage (See Table 3).

Whitman received more than double the column inches that her male challenger McGreevy received. The column inches were measured because it appeared that Whitman's photographs were often larger than McGreevy's. When articles were written about both candidates, Whitman was pictured more frequently than McGreevy.

Table 3Photographic Coverage of Male and Female Candidates

	<u>Number of Photos</u>		<u>Column Inch Photo Coverage</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
New Jersey	38	61*	8,265 inches	22,464 inches
New Hampshire	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Missouri	10*	9	N/A	N/A
West Virginia	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

*Indicates incumbents

In total, Whitman's name was mentioned in 40 headlines, 32 of which were neutral, six of which had a positive tone, and two that were negative in tone. McGreevy had 35 headlines, 26 of which were neutrally framed, three that had a positive tone, and six with a negative tone (See Table 4). There is not a large difference in the amount of times the male and female candidates' names appeared in the headlines.

Table 4Headlines

<u>Male</u>	<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Total</u>
New Jersey	3	6	26	35
New Hampshire	0	0	9	9
Missouri	5	2	6	13
<u>West Virginia</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>23</u>
Total for Races.....	10	9	61	80
<u>Female</u>				
New Jersey	6	2	32	40
New Hampshire	0	6	7	13
Missouri	0	0	7	7
<u>West Virginia</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>48</u>	<u>59</u>
Total for Races.....	15	10	94	119

The analysis of articles for frames found the following. (See Table 5) The horserace frame was found in 16 of the 196 articles. (Horserace articles were counted as favorable for the candidate who is ahead.) The Wife, Glamour Girl, Emotional Female, and Sports Terminology frames each were found once.

Table 5

<u>Frames</u>	<u>N.J.</u>	<u>N.H.</u>	<u>MO.</u>	<u>W.V.</u>	<u>Total</u>
Horserace	16	3	10	16	45
<u>Stereotypical Frames</u>					
Homemaker	0	0	0	2	2
The Wife	1	0	0	0	1
The Cheerleader	0	0	0	0	0
The Glamour Girl	1	0	0	4	5
Emotional Female	1	0	0	0	1
Sports Terminology	1	2	1	0	4
All-Male Paradigm	0	0	0	4	+ 4
Total Stereotypical Frames	4	2	1	10	17

Horserace articles depicted the candidates' standings according to various polls. The horserace frame was used often in the 1997 New Jersey gubernatorial race, in spite of the fact that in the 1993 New Jersey gubernatorial election, the polls were not accurate predictors of the election results, yet the journalists still relied on the horserace frame to package the election race.

The horserace articles not only framed the candidates in

terms of who was ahead in the polls, they also focused on which candidate was ahead in terms of fundraising. There were a few articles that kept running totals of how much money each candidate had and where it came from. This type of framing made the campaign fund-raising mimic a race.

Overall, in the Whitman/McGreevy race, the male candidate did not receive better media coverage than the female candidate. The female candidate received more coverage during the general election period in terms of number of articles, names in headlines, and pictures. Excluding the non-campaign coverage Whitman received as the female governor, she still received more election-period media coverage. Often, pictures of Whitman were larger than those of McGreevy when both candidates had pictures on the same page.

It appears *The Star Ledger* attempted to present both candidates in a non-biased fashion; however, Whitman clearly received the more favorable coverage. Based on this individual content analysis, one cannot conclude that female gubernatorial candidates receive less coverage than male candidates or that they receive more negative coverage. One can conclude that stereotypical frames were present in the New Jersey race, but given that they were only found four times, there was not a proliferation of these frames. There was an article in the New Jersey race that carried the emotional female stereotype. It devoted two paragraphs to

discussing whether Whitman cried. The article noted:

Whitman does cry. Shaw saw it twice during her 16 months of service. Once, she teared up while visiting terminally ill children at a Newark hospital. "I didn't know how to handle that, so I just hung back and let her have her feelings, Shaw said.

Another time, during private family dinner on election night four years ago, Whitman broke down when she toasted her older brother, Dan Toss. Five weeks earlier, she had been forced to fire him as her campaign manager when a poll showed her 21 points behind, (*Star Ledger*, 1997).

In contrast, the campaign coverage of her male challenger never discussed whether McGreevy cried. In the literature review, former Congresswoman Pat Schroeder noted that the media always wanted to focus on women crying in politics. She mentioned that the media rarely report when males cry. The discussion of whether or not the female candidate cried is an example of the emotional female stereotype. The implication is that if a woman cries she is somehow weak, and weak is not necessarily a characteristic people want in a leader.

One article about Whitman uses the *Glamour Girl* frame. In the article the reporter describes, "Whitman wearing a white satin full skirt with a navy blue sequined top." Whitman's opponent's dress is never detailed in any of the articles about him. Why the reporter felt compelled to describe Whitman's attire poses a question that might be explained by journalists' reliance on traditional frames when writing about female politicians. Even though stereotypical

frames were used in the New Jersey race, they did not seem to affect the female candidate's viability.

Some previous studies have found that women candidates are sometimes discussed using the wife frame (Braden, 1997). Whitman's husband's activities were scrutinized whereas McGreevy's wife's career was not discussed. This finding is consistent with the literature showing that female candidates' husbands are often placed under strict scrutiny. The newspaper wrote articles about Whitman's husband and discussed John Whitman's role in his wife's administration. Because he is a powerful businessman, the media carefully watched his actions. There were articles about Whitman's husband, John, possibly threatening Donald Trump's staff on behalf of John Whitman's wife. The New Jersey newspaper had difficulty accepting the possibility that Whitman's husband could be powerful and yet not involved in running any part of his wife's administrative agenda. The media appeared to be playing watchdog in this case.

Another frame appearing in the New Jersey race as well as in the other three races, is the *sports terminology* frame. In an article about the New Jersey race, Peter Shapiro, a Wall Street money manager and former Essex County Executive, stated that politics are covered like sports, "It's about who has many wins and losses and what the point spread is. It doesn't get covered like it's about a conflict of ideas."

One use of sports terminology in the Whitman race was a

comment made by Whitman's campaign manager, Tom Wilson, who said, "The Governor has been kind of *sitting on the sidelines* during the primary."

Other interesting findings in the Whitman/McGreevy race are the way Whitman was often photographed in sports clothes and shown participating in sporting events. In one picture, she was swinging a golf club, playing volleyball in another, and bike riding in a third. Whitman is even captured throwing a football to her son in a campaign advertisement. She appeared to be demonstrating and capitalizing on her athletic prowess in her campaign pictures. One might conclude that Whitman wanted to be perceived as a well-rounded candidate who could not only govern in a business suit, but could also have fun and play sports as well. Whitman's campaign strategy could be viewed as an example of a female candidate using the media to connect with male voters and to show she possesses what might be deemed "traditional" male qualities as well as female qualities. This might help Whitman become accepted into the "good ole' boys network."

Whitman appears to make great efforts in her campaign pictures to be viewed as an ordinary person by dressing casually. Whitman's decisions to "dress down" for the media might be a result of her desire not to be thought of as one of the wealthy, "old money," privileged types. Whitman is always pictured with a smile on her face and appears to be

enjoying herself. She is often shown shaking hands with people. It is apparent in this race that the female candidate knows how to use the media to her benefit.

The issues primed in the New Jersey race were the neutral issues of automobile insurance and property taxes. Issues associated with stereotypical female and male traits were not primed in this election (see Table 6).

Table 6**Issues Primed**

<u>Male</u>	<u>Immigration</u>	<u>Crime</u>	<u>International Issues</u>
<u>(War)</u>			

New Jersey**New Hampshire****Missouri**

West Virginia	x
----------------------	----------

<u>Female</u>	<u>Education</u>	<u>Health Care</u>	<u>Abortion</u>	<u>Domestic</u>
----------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------	------------------------	------------------------

Violence

New Jersey	x		x	
New Hampshire	x	x		x
Missouri	x		x	
West Virginia				

Neutral**New Jersey--property taxes and automobile insurance****New Hampshire--taxes****Missouri--video gambling and electricity****West Virginia--gun control (NRA)****Missouri Race (Mel Carnahan vs. Margaret Kelly)**

The Missouri general election race was the shortest of all four races. The general election commenced August sixth,

1996 and ended with elections on November 4, 1996. During this three-month period, only 30 articles were found covering the election in *The Kansas City Star*. In this race, Mel Carnahan, the Democratic incumbent, was challenged by Margaret Kelly, the Republican candidate. The third candidate, Mark Oglesby, an independent, will not be discussed here because only the coverage of the two major political party candidates were examined in this study.

Ten of the 30 articles covering the election had horserace frames (See Table 4). Four of these horserace articles focused on the campaign fund-raising race. Carnahan had 17 articles written solely about him, while Kelly only had five written only about her. Carnahan, the incumbent, had two-thirds more articles written about him. There were eight articles written about both of them, two of which carried negative tones. Of the five articles written about Kelly, three characterized her negatively, one portrayed her positively, and one neutrally. Carnahan had one non-campaign related article about him in the paper. He also had two articles characterizing him negatively, thirteen characterizing him positively and two neutrally framed articles.

The Missouri race had the *sports terminology* frame in one article. Carnahan, the male candidate, countered that, "Kelly was skilled at Monday morning *quarterbacking* but that she offered no solutions at the time." The use of the word

quarterback conjures up the thoughts of a male-dominated sport. According to Harriet Woods, if people cannot picture a woman making a touchdown, the use of the word eliminates women from the "game," (Freedom Speaks Panel Discussion, 1996). The male candidate who used a sports reference was probably not even aware of his usage of sports terminology. It is important to note that it was not the newspaper journalist who used the sports terminology, but rather the political opponents.

Some of the photographs were listed at the bottom of the articles on the *Lexis/Nexis*, but the column inches were not specified. It is difficult to determine whether the candidates received an equal amount of photographic coverage. Kelly had nine photographs and Carnahan had ten, numbers that are relatively balanced.

Kelly's name was mentioned in seven headlines, while Carnahan was mentioned in 13. Carnahan's name was mentioned twice as many times as his opponent, a result that was also found for the incumbent governor in the New Jersey race. Five of the headlines with Carnahan's name were positive in tone, while two had a negative spin and six were neutral.

One explanation for why Kelly received significantly less coverage might be because she only started campaigning six weeks before the election. She did not campaign in the first month and a half of the general election because her style is to wait to campaign because she feels voters do not

care about the campaign until the last weeks preceding the election.

One obvious bias in media coverage towards the male candidate in the Missouri election was the newspaper's reporting of the primary victory party. In the September article the reporter stated, "Carnahan celebrated his victory in a plush hotel ballroom with more than 200 democratic supporters. By contrast, Kelly gathered with a few close advisors in her cramped campaign headquarters in a two-floor downtown office." The use of the adjectives "plush" for Carnahan and "cramped" for Kelly serve to provide a drastically different picture of the two primary election victory parties. One cannot conclude that the bias exists based on gender, but it is interesting to note that the description favors the male candidate and points to the easier time males have raising funds.

Carnahan not only received more coverage than Kelly, but he also received more favorable coverage. One might conclude in this case that the female candidate received less coverage because she was a woman; however, based on the Whitman race, it appears that Carnahan might have received better coverage because he was the incumbent. As the former Chairperson for the National Women's Political Caucus, Harriet Woods, noted, gender was not what caused candidates to be defeated, but a lack of incumbency did (Braden, 1997).

The issues being primed in the Missouri race were the

stereotypical female issues of education and abortion and the neutral issues of electricity rates, and video gambling. This finding supports the literature's claim that more stereotypical female issues are primed when female candidates run.

New Hampshire Race (Ovide Lamontagne vs. Jeanne Shaheen)

New Hampshire is a conservative state with many conservatives who tend to adhere to the John Birch type of conservatism; (conservative on fiscal and social issues). By contrast, New Jersey is a predominately conservative state where many of the residents follow a "Rockefeller" type of conservatism; they are fiscally conservative, but not necessarily socially conservative. This may explain why Whitman, who espouses the Rockefeller type of conservatism, is popular in New Jersey. New Hampshire is an interesting state to analyze because it is the first state to vote in the presidential primaries. The same year as the governor's race between Lamotagne and Shaheen, the Democrat and Republican presidential candidates campaigned heavily in New Hampshire. Clinton, Gore, Tipper, and Hillary all traveled to New Hampshire to deliver stump speeches during the 1996 presidential primaries.

It is important to understand the context of the beliefs of New Hampshire residents because they help explain why the state newspaper, *The Union Leader*, was found to be extremely

biased, favoring the male Democratic candidate. Apparently, *The Union Leader* is a conservative paper. The researcher chose to include this paper in the study because it is the largest paper in terms of circulation in the state of New Hampshire, therefore it has the potential to influence the opinions of the largest number of residents.

The New Hampshire general election commenced on September 10, making it the shortest election cycle in this study. In this race, Republican Ovide Lamontagne was defeated by Democrat Jeanne Shaheen. Neither candidate was an incumbent. The issues primed in the race were stereotypical female issues related to education, health care, domestic violence, and maternal care. The neutral issue of taxes was also primed. This finding supports previous studies that showed more stereotypical female issues are primed when female candidates run.

Fifty-nine articles were reviewed. Of the 59, 32 were written on Democrat Jeanne Shaheen, 3 were written on Republican Lamontagne and 24 articles focused on both of the candidates (See Table 2). Seventeen of the 32 articles written about Shaheen carried a negative tone toward her. Eight of the articles had a positive tone, while seven of them had a neutral tone. The three articles written about Lamontagne had a neutral tone.

Lamontagne's name appeared in nine headlines while the female candidate's name appeared in 13 headlines (See

Table 5). Although the female candidate's name was included in headlines more than the male's name, the female's name was usually associated with a negatively framed headline. For example, headlines such as, "Shaheen Gambles with New Hampshire's future," and "Shaheen Doubletalk," are a few examples of the six Shaheen headlines carrying negative connotations.

Only two frames were found among the 59 articles examined. Three articles carried the horserace frame and two articles had the *sports terminology* frame. The *sports terminology* frame was the most prevalent and obvious in this race compared with the other three races. One article said, "Lamontagne scored a stunning upset..." The use of the word "scored" is an example of likening politics to sports. The reporter probably used the terminology to make her feel like an outsider. It is interesting to note that again, it is not always the reporters who directly use exclusionary language with female candidates, but rather the opponent also uses it. (Although the journalist selects the quotes for use.) The male candidate, Ovide Lamontagne, claimed, "Jeanne Shaheen is no friend of New Hampshire sportsmen and has never spoken out in favor of New Hampshire's sportsmen." Lamontagne's use of the word *sportsmen* excludes the idea of women from hunting altogether. The use of *sportsmen* is similar to using the word congressman which would probably conjure up the image of a male politician. However, if the

word congresswoman was used, then one could picture a female politician. Shaheen's press secretary Judy Reardon noticed Lamontagne's use of gendered language and retorted to his comment, "Shaheen has been a friend of New Hampshire sportsmen and *sportswomen*." One of Lamontagne's headlines carried the sports terminology frame. The headline read, "Lamontagne Goes Hunting for Votes at Sport Shops." Hunting is usually thought of to be a male sport.

Another example of gendered language was found in the statement about the two candidates exclaiming, "He (Lamontagne) will face a November 5 general election *showdown* with democrat Jeanne Shaheen." When one thinks of the word showdown it is usually associated with males in western movies who are about to draw their guns. It is difficult to picture a woman involved in a showdown. This type of gendered language is subtle, but according to the literature review, it can serve to exclude women.

Eight articles focused on the "political fight." The male candidate made more verbal "attacks" on the female candidate. One headline stated, "Lamontagne *Rips* Shaheen's Plan on New Hampshire Gambling." In one article, Underwood and Shaheen's race was referred to as "chainsaw politics."

Even though Shaheen had more articles and headlines focusing on her, she had more negative comments written against her in the paper. She had 13 negative editorials written about her and Lamontagne had none! The other races

were more balanced in their editorial coverage. It is clear from the data that *The Union Leader* is biased toward the male party candidate. One cannot necessarily conclude this bias is because the paper does not want to endorse a female candidate. There are other factors involved, perhaps a party bias on the part of the paper, that could have contributed to Shaheen's denial of fair representation.

Shaheen's press secretary attempted to portray her candidate as a strong female. In one article, she uses the word "tough" to refer to her candidate three times.

Coverage of the New Hampshire race was saturated with mean-spirited comments made by the male candidate Ovide Lamontagne. Shaheen did not appear to make personal attacks toward her competitor. In fact Shaheen was not quoted much in the paper. This might have been because she realized the paper was extremely conservative and she might have preferred to have her press secretary work with the paper rather than bother with it herself.

Richard Lessner wrote 13 negative editorials about Shaheen manifesting personal insults towards the female candidate. The editorials appeared accusatory toward Shaheen.

One opinion piece criticizing Shaheen demonstrates the tendency of *The Union Leader* to carry slanted editorials and illustrate the attacking of the political parties:

Taking her cues from Bill 'The Chameleon' Clinton and

the Washington strategists in the boiler rooms of the Democratic National Convention, Mrs. Shaheen will labor to disguise herself as a moderate, or even conservative, democrat. The Scourge of Utilities, Mrs. Shaheen will take credit for lower electric rates, the sunshine, blue skies, and the fall foliage. She'll posture as a consumer advocate and enemy of Big Government and higher taxes. Simultaneously, she will attempt to smear Mr. Lamontagne as a dangerous 'extremist' who would destroy the public school system, snatch the food from the mouths of starving babies and throw grandmothers into the gutters of the freeze. Meanwhile, enormous sums of out-of-state 'soft money' from the teachers' union and Big Labor will flood into New Hampshire to boom the Shaheen candidacy and demonize Mr. Lamontagne. Granite State voters should decline to be bamboozled by 'New Democrats' and liberals transmogrified into 'conservatives.' There's one conservative and one republican in the race for the corner office and it's Ovide Lamontagne, not Jeanne Shaheen. And if Mr. Lamontagne is an 'extremist,' so must be Governor Steve Merrill, under whose inspired leadership New Hampshire has continued to prosper. If this be extremism, by all means let us have more of it. Liberals like Jeanne Shaheen may call themselves 'moderates' or 'New Democrats' but they are still liberals, wrote Richard Lessner.

West Virginia Race (Charlotte Pritt vs. Cecil Underwood)

193 articles were analyzed in *The Charleston Daily Mail* for the West Virginia race. In this race, Republican Cecil Underwood defeated Democrat Charlotte Pritt. Neither candidate was an incumbent, however, Underwood was governor of West Virginia 40 years before the 1996 race. The *Charleston Daily Mail* is a newspaper with conservative leanings similar to the New Hampshire newspaper, *The Union Leader*. The *Charleston Daily Mail* had more negative articles/editorials about the female democratic candidate as

did the *The Union Leader*. It is difficult to determine whether the negative coverage resulted from gender, political affiliation, or both.

Pritt, the female candidate had 122 of the 193 articles written about her (articles included editorial comments in the Vent Line). Her male opponent, Republican Cecil Underwood, had only 33 articles written about him. Thirty-eight articles were written focusing on both candidates. Pritt had 52 articles with negative tone, 51 positive, and 19 neutral. Her opponent had 15 articles with a negative tone, ten positive, and eight were neutral in tone (See Table 2). Although Pritt received more coverage than her male counterpart, most was negative. More coverage is only better if it is neutrally or positively framed.

Of the 193 articles, 16 were framed using the horserace paradigm. It is interesting to note that according to the polls, Pritt was always ahead in percentage points, yet she did not win the race.

There were six articles out of the 193 analyzed that had the "political fight" frame. The candidates "attacked" each other in political advertisements similar to the ones in the New Jersey race. When Pritt's press secretary Mike Plante was confronted with the negative ads run against Underwood, he commented, "Underwood started the negative advertising." This race showed the candidates making accusations towards their opponents as did the New Hampshire and Missouri races.

Pritt, the female candidate personally attacked Underwood when she said, "We don't need someone that takes naps in the afternoon and is too tired to get out and work for the state."

There were gendered frames in the newspaper, in fact, more gendered frames in this race than in the other three combined. The reporters surveyed voters and noted in an article, "In the Pritt camp, 5.6% said they are voting for her because she's female. Among Underwood's people, 3.7% said they wouldn't vote for a woman."

The reporters were making an issue out of gender by asking the preceding questions and writing about their findings.

Attorney General Darell McGraw framed Pritt stereotypically when he noted at the AFL-CIO convention, "The only barrier Pritt has to overcome in her run for governor is prejudice against her because she is a woman. Just for the reason that they don't want her because she is a woman, is why she'll win."

The homemaker frame also appeared in an article in this race. In an October 25, article, the reporter discussed Pritt's husband and explained how Pritt was never home. He said, "On those rare occasions when she's (Pritt's) home, you won't find her in the kitchen." The fact that the reporter would have expected her to be in the kitchen or that he thought his audience would have expected her to be working in the kitchen is an example of a conventional stereotypical

frame. The reporter continued by explaining how Pritt's husband, "The Charleston chiropractor knew he wasn't hooking up with your typical homemaker when he married Charlotte Pritt 13 months ago." The reporter makes Pritt sound as if she is atypical because she is not a homemaker, when in reality many women are not.

The *glamour girl* frame was found in the same article as the homemaker frame. The reporter continued by explaining, "And her (Pritt's) best piece of jewelry was a gift from her former husband." The reporter's discussion of the candidate's jewelry is an example of the media's focus on appearance. This focuses attention onto what the candidate wears and how she looks rather than what she can do for her constituents. Underwood's press secretary, Diana Sole made a *glamour girl* statement when she noted, "She's (Pritt) is running a campaign for the state's highest office like she would run for homecoming queen."

The West Virginia race was different than the other races because it had an additional feature that the other newspapers did not. In addition to the editorial articles, *The Charleston Daily Mail* ran a column titled, "Vent Line" which is a section in the paper where readers write their comments to the paper. The Vent Line carried a lot of stereotypical opinions and gendered frames appeared more in the Vent Line than anywhere in the paper. A few comments in the Vent Line expressed the *All-Male Paradigm* frame of

government. The following quote is an example of the All-Male paradigm: "Anyone with a half a brain knows women think with their heart, not with their head. They do not need to be running government." Another reader responded to the argument by asking, "Are you afraid Charlotte can do just as good of a job as any man who has been governor?" One editorial noted, "She could be the first female governor the state has ever had. One of the things that might help Pritt is that several women governors of other states have turned out to be very successful, particularly the one in New Jersey who has brought about all kinds of tax reform. Of course any woman governor should be able to do that just as well as any male governor."

The glamour girl frame and homemaker frame appeared in many Vent Line comments. One West Virginian reader wrote, "Now let's look at Pritt. Young, attractive, former teacher. No previous leadership position in business, government, or education. Married and ambitious housewife." One resident noted, "I think Charlotte Pritt is a loose cannon who is getting more voters because of her great looks than because of her abilities." Another Vent Line editorial noted, "She (Pritt) is digging for votes because she is losing. She is *prostituting* her former decisions for the sake of trying to catch up. The word prostituting was probably used because it is commonly associated with prostitute, which has a negative connotation when applied to women.

The Vent Line was an editorial column so the journalists did not make the gendered comments, however, the journalists are responsible for the decision to run stereotypical comments towards the female candidate.

Pritt's name is in a total of 59 headlines; nine which have positive tone, two with negative, and 48 with a neutral tone (See Table 3). Underwood was mentioned in 23 headlines; two had a positive tone, one had a negative tone, and 20 were neutral. Both candidates were mentioned together in 13 headlines.

Common Themes in the Four Races

A common theme in all of the races was the aligning and attacking of political parties. The researcher found the opponents were not attacked because of being either female or male, but rather because of their political affiliation. It was common for the candidates to assert that their opponents' beliefs and actions coincided with those of the extreme stereotypes in the political parties. Thus, the Democratic candidate was framed as a "liberal" by his/her opponent and the Republican candidate was framed as an "ultra-right-wing" conservative. This political name-calling and bashing occurred in all four races. In the New Hampshire race, Lamontagne said of Shaheen, "She is a tax and spend liberal. The Democrats think they have neutralized the tax issue because Jeanne Shaheen pays lip service to the pledge." Lamontagne's campaign manager Marc Chritien said, "Shaheen's

votes on this show her anti-sportsman, liberal extremist views." Most of the press secretaries for the opposition aimed to identify the candidate with extremists in each party in order to scare off the voters from supporting that candidate. Lamontagne was framed by Shaheen's party as a far-right ideologue and Shaheen was framed by Lamontagne's party as a typical big-government liberal. Some of the comments made toward the candidates were mean-spirited and degrading.

In the media coverage of all four races, the use of verbs connotating violence was a reoccurring pattern. Many articles contained words with violent connotations that made the races sound like brawls. Because in general, women are not associated as much with physical fights as men are, this emphasis on "fighting terminology" could possibly exclude women from the dialogue because people might not be able to picture women being verbally and physically aggressive. Also, people might view it as unladylike for a woman's remarks and actions to be framed in a hostile and aggressive manner. The media coverage in each race used the word "attacking" many times. In the New Jersey race, the words: *criticized, dismissed, accusing, ridiculed, shouted, jabs, dueling, and battling* were used to describe situations and conversations between candidates. One headline declared, "McGreevy rips Whitman's plan for more choice." Another headline proclaimed, "McGreevy has been attacking Whitman."

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSIONS

Common Themes

Incumbents

In the two races with incumbents running for governor, the current governors announced many new programs and bills during the general election months. Governors Whitman and Carnahan both introduced new legislation that enabled them to receive more positive press coverage. For example, Whitman tightened parole legislation, which is a stereotypical male issue and she tightened child abuse laws and distributed more money for children with welfare parents, both of which are stereotypical female issues. The incumbents utilized the opportunities they had for receiving more media coverage because of their current roles during the election.

Attacks

Press secretaries and campaign managers of both male and female candidates made hostile comments towards the opposing candidate. For example, in the Missouri race, Mel Carnahan's campaign manager, Roy Temple noted, "I don't think she (Kelly) has a burning desire to be governor. She is one of those politicians who thinks it's her turn to run." Mike Plante, press secretary for Charlotte Pritt of West Virginia, sarcastically noted, "For Cecil Underwood to call himself a friend of business is like Col. Sanders saying he is a friend

of chicken."

Most of the candidates made personal attacks on each other. Based on the four elections, when a female is running against a male, political "mudslinging" is still a large part of the candidates' campaigning styles.

Political Fight Frame

The newspapers reported political bickering in many articles. Matthews, et al. (1994) noted that media have used catfight frames when reporting on two female candidates. This catfight frame would not apply to these races because they were between a male and female candidate. However, the "political fight," while not gender specific, is a frame that was found in many articles. In the New Hampshire race, an article said, "Shaheen fired back" and another article used words like armed and attack.

A prevalent frame in all the races was the horserace frame. This frame reported who was winning and who was losing. The candidates' fund-raising was also depicted in a horserace frame. Many articles focused on who was ahead in the fund-raising process and turned it into a race to raise the most dollars. One excerpt from the Missouri race reflects the emphasis placed on the money issue. The article states, "Missouri Democratic Governor Mel Carnahan has a big financial advantage over his Republican challenger, state auditor Margaret Kelly, as the campaign heads into the final weeks." As Kahn (1994) noted, horserace frames take the

readers' attention away from the issues and refocus it on who is winning and losing. The media uses horserace frames in most political elections. They are not solely found in female vs. male elections. Male vs. male and female vs. female races are also framed using the horserace concept.

Horserace Frame

The horserace frame, found in 45 articles, was the most popular in all four elections. Kahn (1994) claimed that horserace frames hurt female candidates more than male candidates. This conclusion was not supported in this study because the horserace frame tended to favor the incumbent candidate rather than favor the candidate based on the gender variable. For example, in Whitman's race, the female candidate benefited from horserace coverage. In the West Virginia race, the female candidate was portrayed as being ahead in the polls, (even though she did not win her race), the horserace coverage was favorable for Pritt. The Missouri horserace coverage favored the male candidate Carnahan, however, he was an incumbent. The horserace articles in the New Hampshire race favored the female candidate Jeanne Shaheen. In three out of four of the races, the female candidates' received favorable coverage in horserace framed articles. This does not support the previous studies' claims that horserace coverage hurts female candidates.

Stereotypical Frames

There were very few stereotypical frames and most

stereotypical frames were editorials. Many stereotypical comments were not made by the journalists but by the campaign chairs, the general public, or the candidates. The stereotypical frames that were found were the *glamour girl*, the *wife*, the *homemaker*, the sports terminology, and the *All-Male Paradigm*. The *cheerleader* frame was not found in this study.

Media's Influence

One of the most fascinating findings in Shaheen's New Hampshire race is not that she received unfair news coverage compared to her male counterpart, but that she won her election in spite of it. This revelation leads one to wonder whether the media are powerful in influencing the public's opinions in political races. In this case it appears that the way the media presented and packaged election news did not affect the outcome of the race.

Most of the literature regarding female candidate's media coverage claims it is unfair to frame women in stereotypical ways and not to provide women with equal coverage. These statements make valid points; however, the literature stops short and does not carry the thought further to explore how this could affect women's political viability. Based on the small sample of four female gubernatorial races, the research showed negative media coverage did not hurt a woman's chances to be elected governor. What the research found was that in three of the four races, the women received

unequal coverage compared with their male candidates. The women received, if not less media coverage, more negative media coverage. The only race where the woman fared better in terms of receiving a greater amount of coverage and more favorable coverage compared to her male counterpart, was Christie Todd Whitman, who happened to be the only female incumbent. This may support previous findings that incumbency is an important determinant of electability, (Cain, et al., 1987; Jacobson, 1987; Mahew, 1974). However, there was only one male incumbent so the other two races (New Hampshire and West Virginia) cannot rely on the incumbency factor to explain why the male candidates received better media coverage.

It is difficult to determine whether the favorable media coverage towards Mel Carnahan from Missouri was a factor in helping him win his election. One might conclude that it certainly did not hurt him, but it probably hurt his opponent.

The West Virginia race is unique in that the male candidate had been governor of West Virginia in 1956 but had lost in four gubernatorial races after 1956. While Underwood was not technically an incumbent, he might have received more media coverage and more favorable coverage because he had been governor before--a fact that increased his name recognition. He certainly benefited from the favorable coverage, which most likely hurt his opponent. One cannot

assert that the media coverage was the determining factor in Underwood's gubernatorial election, but it could have been a factor.

Incumbency Factor

It appears based on the two incumbents' races, that incumbency is a greater predictor of winning a gubernatorial election than a candidate's gender. In the two races with incumbents, both the male and female incumbents won their races. Incumbents enjoy more name recognition compared to their opponents. As discussed earlier, incumbents are in the news more during the general election race because of the work they are performing as the current governors. Also, incumbents have an opportunity to receive more campaign-related coverage because they can invest their energy in making campaign stops and delivering stump speeches, rather than making phone calls and holding fund-raisers to enhance their contacts. For example, Whitman only made phone calls for a total of two hours to raise money and had eight fund-raisers. By comparison, McGreevy made phone calls for three to four hours several days each week and held 60 or more fund-raisers. Incumbents have already formed their networks so they do not need to spend as much time and energy garnering monetary support as their opponents do. In an October article in *The Newark Star Ledger*, the author said, "For months, the need to raise money has curtailed McGreevy's public events schedule. On many weekdays when Whitman has

upwards of a half-a-dozen events scheduled, McGreevy might only have one or two, if any."

Since incumbents already have established networks, they not only raise money faster but can usually raise more money. Whitman raised \$2,369,000 and her opponent raised \$1,200,000. The fact that Whitman raised twice as much money as McGreevy gives her a definite advantage.

In addition, incumbents have already displayed what they can accomplish. Incumbents have already "proven" themselves, but their opponents have to work harder to convince the voters that they will do what they promise to do. Non-incumbents have no record to support themselves. In Whitman's race, a commentator noted that, "She (Whitman) doesn't have to hurt her opponent's credentials, she just has to reinforce her record."

Another important aspect of incumbency is that usually the current office holder is renominated by his/her party to run for the office again. Because this happens frequently, incumbent governors rarely have strong competition within their own primary party election. When candidates do not have to spend as much money and energy in the primary race, they have more resources for the general election. *The Union Leader* stated, "Facing only token opposition from Sid Lovett, Mrs. Shaheen was able to husband her resources through the primary and has a potful of money for the general election campaign." Although Shaheen was not an incumbent, her

primary election was not as financially draining for her as for her opponent.

One major finding is that the newspaper journalists were not found to be the ones to make biased claims against the female candidates. Biased comments almost always came from the male candidate, the male candidate's press secretary, or a quote from a person who was interviewed. The journalists remained neutral for the most part. Where the journalists were at fault for bias was in their judgments of allotting more articles to the male candidates allotting more negative articles and negative editorials towards the female candidates.

Limitations of the Study

This study had a couple of limitations. The first was the fact that the New Jersey newspaper was not on the Lexis/Nexis. The researcher had the opportunity to look at every Newark *Star Ledger* between the general election dates and decide which articles to code. This was not possible in the other gubernatorial races. The articles reviewed in the other three races were downloaded from a search by keywords on the Lexis/Nexis, The use of the Lexis/Nexis is less reliable than looking through each paper. This is because one assumes, that the person who loaded the articles onto the Lexis/Nexis database, loaded all of the articles pertaining to the gubernatorial race. There is more opportunity for error by using the Lexis/Nexis.

The preferred method of coding articles would be to have all the newspapers for each election, rather than use the Lexis/Nexis. If the researcher had the actual newspaper, then it would have been possible to code the photographic coverage of the male and female candidates. It is also hard to determine how the article lays on a page when it is downloaded from the Lexis/Nexis because it is downloaded in text format.

Another drawback in analyzing the media coverage of female gubernatorial races is that there are not many races to study. It is better to have a larger sample to base conclusions and findings upon. In 1996, there were four more races of female gubernatorial contenders who lost compared with two who won. It would have been better if the researcher could have compared four races that won with four races that lost, but unfortunately, not enough women ran, so this factor limits the research.

Areas for Further Research

Researchers could study the media coverage for the previous female governors' races, such as Ann Richards of Texas and Madeline Kunin of Vermont, to determine if they received negative press coverage, less coverage, or stereotypical coverage. If Kunin's and Richards' races show a bias in media coverage towards the male candidates, it would support the theory (as shown in Shaheen's New Hampshire race), that negative media coverage, less coverage, or

stereotypical coverage does not affect a female candidate's viability for elected office.

Because there are only two females who have won governorships in the past few years, it would be beneficial to study other female gubernatorial races to determine the type of media coverage those female candidates received.

It would be helpful to study other female/male political races, such as races for the Senate and the House of Representatives, to measure whether a female receives unequal coverage compared to a male opponent. Media coverage of races between female/male candidates in which the female won, should be compared to female/male races in which the female lost. By comparing the races in which female candidates win to the ones in which they lose, one could better determine whether media coverage affects womens' abilities to win their races.

To further develop the theory of incumbency being a strong predictor of political electibility, incumbency could be measured in the female/male Senate and House races.

CHAPTER VI References

Aden, Roger C., Japp, Phylis, & Proctor, David (1988). Gender/issue interaction in politics identificationmaking: Nebraska's women vs. women gubernatorial campaigns. The Central States Speech Journal, 39(3), (pp.190-203).

Altheide, David. L. (1984). Media hegemony: A failure of perspective. Public Opinion Quarterly, 48, 476-490.

()0909 Ansolabehere, Stephen, Iyengar, Shanto, Simon, Adam F., & Valentino, Nicholas (1997). Running as a woman: Gender stereotyping in women's campaigns. In Pippa Norris (Ed.). Women, Media, and Politics. New York: Oxford University Press. (pp. 77-98).

Bailey, George A. & Lichty, Lawrence W. (1972). Rough justice in Saigon street: A gatekeeper study of NBC's Tet execution film. Journalism Quarterly, 49(2) 221-229 & 238.

Baran, Stanley & Davis, Denis K. (1995). Mass Communications Theory. CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co.

Beasley, Maurine H. (1997). How can media coverage of women be improved? In Pippa Norris (Ed.), Women, Media, and Politics. (pp. 235-244). New York: Oxford University Press.

Berkowitz, Leonard & Eunkyoung, Jo (1994). In Jennings Bryant & Dolf Zillmann (Eds.). A priming effect analysis of media influences: An update. Media Effects. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Blumer, Jay & Gurevitch, Michael (1994). In Doris Graber (Ed.). Democratic expectations of media performance. Media Power in Politics. (pp. 25-36). Washington DC: CQ Press.

Braden, Maria (1996). Women Politicians in the Media. Lexington, Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky.

Breed, Warren (1955). Social control in the newsroom: A functional policy analysis. Social Forces, 33(4), 326-335.

Cain, Bruce, Ferejohn, John, & Fiorina, Morris (1987). The Personal Vote: Consitituency Service and Electoral Independence. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Carey, James W. (1975). Review essay: Communication and culture. Communication Research, 2, 173-191.

Carey, James W. (1989). Communication as Culture. Boston: Unwin Hyman.

Carrol, Susan J. & Schreiber, Ronnee (1997). Media coverage of women in the 103rd congress. In Pippa Norris (Ed.), Women, Media, and Politics. (pp. 131-148). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Center for the American Woman in Politics, Rutgers University; Eagleton Institute for Politics, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ. Conference on women, the media, and politics: Lessons for '96. Women politicians said to attract different coverage than men. (1996). Media Report to Women. (pp. 5-8).

Donohue, G. A., Olien, C.N., & Tichenor, P.J. (1981). In Paul Hirsch and Morris Janowitz (Eds.). Mass Media Flow and Differential Growth in Knowledge. Public Opinion and Mass Communication. New York: The Free Press.

Ford, Coit Cook, Ford, Strate, Janokowski, Thomas B. (1994). Women's use of print media to follow politics. Social Science Quarterly, 75(1), 166-183.

Freidan, Betty (1963). The Feminine Mystique. New York: Dell Publishing.

Freedom speaks panel discussion at the Women's Institute for the Freedom of the Press. Media Report to Women. (1996), (pp.4-6).

Goffman, Irving (1974). Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience. New York: Harper & Row.

Graber, Doris (1988). Processing the News: How News People Tame the Information Tide. New York: Longman.

Iyengar, Shanto & Kinder, Donald (1987). News that Matters. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Iyengar, Shanto (1996). The case of the vanishing footprints: A review of research on political campaigns. Presentation at the 1996 annual meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communications, Anaheim, CA. August 11, 1996. (pp.1-32).

Jacobson, Gary C. (1987). The Politics of Congressional Elections. Boston, Massachusetts: Little, Brown & Co.

Johnston, Anne & White, Anne Barton (1994). Communication styles of female candidates: A study of political advertising during the 1986 senate elections. Journalism Quarterly, 71(2), 321-329.

Kahn, Kim Fridkan & Goldenberg, Edie N. (1991). Women candidates in the news: An examination of gender differences in U.S. senate campaign coverage. Public Opinion Quarterly, 55, 180-199.

Kahn, Kim Fridkan (1994). The distorted mirror of women candidates for statewide office. The Journal of Politics, 56(1), 154-172.

Kahn, Kim Fridkan & Gordon, Ann (1997). How women campaign for the U.S. senate. In Pippa Norris (Ed.), Women, Media, and Politics. (pp. 59-98). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Kohut, Andrew & Parker, Kimberly (1997). Talk radio and gender politics. In Pippa Norris (Ed.), Women, Media, and Politics. (pp. 221-234). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Kosicki, Gerald, McLeod, Doug, & McLeod, Jack (1994). In Jennings Bryant & Dolf Zillman (Eds), Political communications effects. Media Effects: Advances in Theory and Research. (pp. 124-155).

Ladd, Everett Carl (1997). Media framing of the gender gap. In Pippa Norris (Ed.), Women, Media, and Politics. (pp. 113-128). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Maccubbin, Kris. (1996/97). Women hold numbers in 1996 elections. Women's Political Times. Winter (pp. 1-4).

Matthews, Glenna, Paget, Karen M., & Witt, Linda (1994). Running as a Woman: Gender and Politics in Political Power. New York, NY: The Free Press.

McQuail, Denis (1994). Mass Communications Theory. Thousand Oaks, CA.: Sage Publications.

Mills, Kay (1997). What difference do women journalists make? In Pippa Norris (Ed.), Women, Media, and Politics. (pp. 41-55). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Norris, Pippa (1997). Women, Media, and Politics. New York, NY: Oxford University Press (p. 2).

Patterson, Thomas E. (1980). The Mass Media Election. New York, NY.: Praeger.

Patterson, Thomas E. (1994). In Doris Graber (Ed.), Views of winners and losers. Media Power in Politics. (pp. 176-183). Washington D.C.: CQ Press.

Peradotto, Nicole (1997). George Magazine. p. 152-160.

Rogers, Everett M. (1994). A History of Communication Study. New York: The Free Press.

Shoemaker, Pamela J. & Reese, Stephen D. (1996). Mediating the Message. Longman Publishers.

Snider, Paul B. (1967) "Mr. Gates" revisited: A 1966 version of the 1949 case study. Journalism Quarterly, 44(3), 419-427.

Weaver, David H. (1997). Women as journalists. In Pippa Norris (ed.), Women, Media, and Politics. (pp. 21-40). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

APPENDICES

Frames Key

- G.G. = Glamor Girl.
- H.M. = Homemaker.
- H.R. = Horserace.
- P.F. = Political Fighting.
- S.T. = Sports Terminology.

West Virginia Race					
Female Candidate-Charlotte Pritt					
<i>Charleston Daily Mail</i>					
Date	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Frame	Notes
8/21/96	x			none	Editorial-veterans support Pritt
8/21/96		x		none	
8/23/96	x			none	
8/23/96	x			none	Editorial
8/24/96	x			none	
8/24/96		x		none	
8/24/96	x			none	
8/26/96	x			none	Clinton visits WV
8/30/96		x		none	
8/30/96		x		none	Vent Line
8/30/96	x			H.R.	
9/3/96		x		none	
9/3/96	x			none	
9/3/96		x		none	Vent Line
9/5/96		x		none	
9/6/96			x	none	
9/8/96			x	none	
9/9/96		x		none	Vent Line
9/9/96	x			none	
9/27/96		x		none	Editorial
9/27/96		x		none	No newspaper endorsement
9/27/96	x			none	Union endorsement
10/9/96		x		none	Vent Line
10/9/96		x		H.R.	
10/16/96	x			none	Editorial
10/16/96	x			none	Editorial
10/17/96	x			none	
10/18/96		x		none	
10/18/96			x	none	
10/18/96	x			none	Editorial
10/19/96		x		H.M.	Letter to editor
10/21/96	x			none	Editorial
10/21/96	x			none	Endorsement
10/21/96		x		none	
10/22/96	x			none	Editorial
10/22/96		x		none	Pritt abandoned by democratic
					Party. no endorsement by
					democratic paper.
					Democrats for Underwood
10/22/96	x			none	Editorial
10/23/96	x			none	Personal contact
10/24/96	x			none	
10/25/96		x		H.M.	Reference to candidate's
				& G. G.	Kitchen & jewelry
10/25/96			x	none	
10/25/96			x	none	
10/26/96		x		none	
10/26/96	x			none	

West Virginia Race Cont.					
10/26/96	x			none	
10/26/96		x		none	Editorial
10/30/96			x	none	
10/31/96	x			none	Union endorsment
10/31/96	x			none	
10/31/96		x		none	Negative party alignment
11/1/96	x			none	
11/4/96	x			none	

West Virginia Race					
Male Candidate-Cecil Underwood					
<i>Charleston Daily Mail</i>					
Date	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Frame	Notes
9/7/96	x			none	
9/9/96		x		none	
10/9/96	x			none	Editorial
10/17/96		x		none	
10/18/96			x	none	
10/22/96		x		none	
10/24/96	x			none	Male issue primed-crime
10/25/96	x			none	
10/31/96		x		none	Negative-party alignment
11/1/96	x			none	NRA endorsement
11/4/96	x			none	
11/4/96	x			none	
11/4/96	x			none	

West Virginia Race					
Articles- Both Candidates					
<i>Charleston Daily Mail</i>					
Date	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Frame	Notes
8/23/96	x			none	
8/30/96			x	none	
8/30/96			x	none	
9/5/96			x	none	Editorial
9/6/96			x	H.R.	
10/18/96			x	none	
10/18/96			x	none	
10/23/96		Pritt Trails		H.R.	Underwood ahead in polls.
10/23/96		Pritt Trails		P.F.	Candidates attack each other
10/24/96				H.R.	
10/24/96			x	none	Managed Care
10/25/96			x	none	Managed Care
10/25/96			x	none	
10/25/96			x	P.F.	
10/29/96			x	none	
10/30/96		x		P.F.	
10/30/96			x	none	
10/31/96			x	H.R.	
10/31/96		x		none	
10/31/96			x	H.R.	Most election day drivers.
11/1/96			x	P.F.	
11/1/96			x	P.F.	
11/1/96			x	H.R.	
11/1/96			x	H.R.	

New Hampshire Race					
Female Candidate- Jeanne Shaheen					
<i>The Union Leader</i>					
Date	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Frame	Notes
9/11/96			x	none	
9/12/96			x	none	
9/12/96		x		none	Edit.- "Shaheen will take credit for lower electricity rates, the sunshine, blue skies, Fall foliage"
9/12/96	x			none	
9/13/96	x			none	
9/25/96		x		none	Edit.- Richard Lessner
9/25/96		x		none	
9/25/96		x		none	Editorial
9/26/96		x		none	Edit.- Richard Lessner
9/26/96	x			none	
9/27/96			x	none	
9/27/96				none	Edit.- Attacked Shaheens media advisor.
10/1/96		x		none	Gov. supports opponent
10/2/96			x	P.F.	
10/3/96		x		Gambles	Edit.- "Shaheen w/N.H. future"
10/4/96		x		none	Edit.- "When it comes to taxes & spending, Shaheen suffers from cognitive dissonance, an inconsistency between what she says & does." Richard Lessner
10/6/96		x		none	Edit.- "Shaheen big gamble"
10/9/96		x		none	Gambling issue
10/10/96		x		none	Edit.
10/13/96		x		none	Edit.- Richard Lessner
10/14/96		x		none	Edit.- Richard Lessner
10/14/96	x			none	Unions support other
10/14/96			x	none	
10/14/96			x	none	
10/15/96			x	none	Re: domestic violence
10/16/96			x	none	
10/17/96		x		none	
10/17/97		x		none	Edit.- calls her a liberal
10/18/96		x		none	
10/18/96		x		none	
10/18/96		x		none	Slot machine issue played on fears of children being addicted to gambling "Slot Machine Jeanne"

New Hampshire Race					
Male Candidate- Ovide Lamontagne					
<i>The Union Leader</i>					
Date	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Frame	Notes
9/15/96			x	none	
9/29/96	x			S.T.	Framed Lamontagne as Hunting-Friendly & Shaheen as not Hunting-Friendly.
10/15/96			x	none	
10/16/96			x	none	

New Hampshire Race					
Articles- Both Candidates					
<i>The Union Leader</i>					
Date	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Frame	Notes
9/11/96			x	S.T.	Scored showdown
9/12/96	x			none	Editorial
9/12/96			x	none	
9/13/96		x (fem.)		none	Attacking Shaheen
9/16/96			x	none	
9/25/96		x		P.F.	
9/27/96			x	none	
10/1/96			x	P.F.	
10/2/96	x(fem.)			none	School board endorses Shaheen
10/2/96			x	P.F.	
10/3/96	x(fem.)		x	H.R.	
10/3/96	x(fem.)		x	H.R.	
10/4/96			x	none	
10/4/96			x	none	
10/5/96		x(fem.)		none	Male candid. verbally attacking female candid.
10/8/96			x	none	
10/8/96			x	none	
10/9/96		x		none	Neg. article on how Shaheen supports gambling
10/10/96			x	none	
10/11/96			x	none	
10/11/96			x	P.F.	
10/11/96			x	none	
10/14/96			x	none	
10/17/96			x	none	
10/17/96	x(fem.)			H.R.-\$	Shaheen was ahead in fundraising
10/18/96			x	none	

Missouri Race					
Female Candidate-Margaret Kelly					
<i>The Kansas City Star</i>					
Date	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Frame	Notes
8/13/96			x	none	
9/16/96		x		none	
9/24/96		x		none	
9/25/96		x		none	
10/13/96	x			none	

Missouri Race					
Male Candidate-Mel Carnahan					
<i>The Kansas City Star</i>					
Date	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Frame	Notes
8/7/96			x	none	
8/17/96		x		H.R.-\$	All-male paradigm
8/29/96	x			none	
9/6/97	x			H.R.-\$	MI. Gov. Mel Carnahan still enjoys a huge fund-raising lead over Rep. challenger Margaret Kelly \$1.7mill-\$353,976
9/9/96		x		none	
9/20/96			x	none	
9/25/96			x	P.F.	
10/13/96	x			none	
10/19/96		x		none	
10/20/96	x			none	Edit.- pro Carnahan
10/23/96			x	none	
10/30/96			x	H.R.-\$	MI. Gov. Has out-spent Rep. Nominee Kelly by 3-1 in weeks leading up to election.

Missouri Race					
Both Candidate					
<i>The Kansas City Star</i>					
Date	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Frame	Notes
8/9/96			x	none	
8/23/96			x	P.F.	
9/21/96			x	none	
9/26/96			x	H.R.	
9/26/96			x	H.R.	
9/27/96			x	none	
10/6/96			x	none	Editorial
10/8/96			x	none	
10/23/96			x	none	
10/31/96			x	H.R.	
10/31/96			x	H.R.	
11/1/96			x	H.R.	

New Jersey Race					
Female Candidate- Christie Todd Whitman					
<i>The Star Ledger</i>					
Date	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Frame	Notes
6/4/97			x	none	Bond article, non-campaign.
6/4/97			x	none	Non-campaign
6/5/97			x	none	Edit.- Shaheen will take credit
6/6/97			x		Abortion legislation.
6/6/97			x		Bond issue.
6/6/97		x		none	
6/6/97			x	none	Campaign stop; shown golfing.
6/8/97			x	none	Bond issue.
6/10/97	x			H.R.	
6/11/97	x			none	Non-campaign, non-smoking
6/12/97	x			none	Whitman endorses child protection act. offers more data on child abuse
6/13/97		x		none	
6/18/97			x	none	
6/20/97			x	none	Non-campaign; GM power plant.
6/24/97			x	none	Non-campaign; budget.
6/24/97			x	none	Non-campaign; abortion.
6/24/97			x	none	Non-campaign
6/24/97			x	none	Non-campaign
6/26/97			x	none	Non-campaign
6/26/97			x	none	Non-campaign; transportation.
6/28/97			x	none	Non-campaign
7/1/97			x	none	Non-campaign
7/2/97			x	none	Car insurance
7/3/97			x	none	
7/17/97			x	none	Non-campaign; woman appointees
7/21/97			x	none	Non-campaign; BPU
7/24/97			x	none	Non-campaign
7/26/97	x			none	Non-campaign; crime down.
7/27/97			x	none	Non-campaign; fresh air fund
7/27/97			x	none	Non-campaign
7/28/97	x			none	GOP governors boost Whitman.
8/7/97		x		none	Controversial
8/9/97			x	none	Non-campaign
8/10/97	x			none	
8/20/97			x	none	Lighter parole laws.
8/27/97			x	none	Auto insurance
9/7/97		x		none	Critical of Whitman's campaign emphasis.
9/14/97	x			G.G	Describes Whitman's attire.
9/16/97		x		none	Whitman aid rude to Trump
9/17/97			x	none	GOP fund-raiser
9/17/97			x	H.R.	
9/26/97			x	none	Non-campaign; comments on senator's marital problems
9/27/97	x			none	
9/30/97			x	none	Non-campaign

New Jersey Race Cont.					
9/30/97		x		none	
10/7/97	x			none	Reaching out to labor unions and gaining their support.
10/14/97		x		none	Lacking support for Whitman (gun control)
10/15/97			x	none	Interview
10/17/97		x		none	Whitman's husband and Trump arguing.
10/17/97		x		none	Conservationist accused Whitman of breaking environmental laws.
10/22/97			x	none	
11/3/97			x	none	

New Jersey Race					
Male Candidate- James McGreevy					
<i>The Star Ledger</i>					
Date	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Frame	Notes
6/4/97			x	none	
6/7/97			x	none	
6/8/97			x	none	
6/14/97			x	none	
6/20/97			x	none	
7/1/97			x	none	
7/17/97		x		none	
9/14/96				none	
7/27/97		x		none	Article about his divorce.
7/28/97		x		none	
7/29/97		x		none	Divorce Article
8/6/97	x			none	AFL-CIO backs McGreevy
8/21/97			x	none	
8/27/97		x		none	Fundraising-McGreevy trailing Whitman.
9/3/97			x	none	Auto insurance
9/11/97	x			none	Auto insurance
10/2/97	x			none	Environmental support
10/16/97			x	none	
10/21/97		x		none	Article said McGreevy has difficulty gaining his own party support
10/24/97		x		none	Black clergy
10/28/97			x	none	
10/29/97			x	none	Capitalizing on Irish roots.
10/30/97			x	none	
11/2/97			x	none	

New Jersey Race					
Both Candidates					
<i>The Star Ledger</i>					
Date	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Frame	Notes
6/3/97			x	none	
6/4/97			x	none	
6/5/97			x	none	
6/5/97			x	none	
6/6/97			x	none	
6/8/97			x	none	
6/8/97			x	none	
6/11/97	x			none	Non-campaign article
6/11/97			x	H.R.	
6/13/97			x	none	
6/15/97		x		none	
6/17/97			x	H.R.	
6/17/97			x	none	
6/18/97			x	none	
6/23/97			x	none	
6/23/97			x	H.R.	
6/25/97	x(fem)			none	
6/25/97			x	H.R.	
7/2/97			x	none	
7/25/97			x	none	Bonds
7/27/97			x	none	
8/12/97			x	none	
8/13/97			x	none	Auto insurance
8/21/97			x	none	Gun control
8/21/97			x	none	
8/27/97			x	none	
8/29/97			x	none	Non-campaign
8/30/97			x	none	
8/31/97			x	none	
9/1/97			x	none	
9/2/97			x	none	
9/4/97			x	none	Auto insurance
9/5/97			x	none	Auto insurance
9/7/97			x	none	Route 92
9/9/97	x(fem)			H.R.	
9/10/97			x	none	Tax vow
9/10/97			x	none	Auto insurance
9/10/97			x	none	Black ministers vote
9/12/97			x	none	
9/19/97			x	none	
9/19/97			x	none	Two pictures of Whitman none of McGreevy
9/19/97	x(fem)			H.R.-\$	
10/1/97		x		none	Black clergy
10/3/97			x	none	
10/4/97			x	none	
10/8/97			x	none	

New Jersey Race Cont.					
10/12/97			x	none	
10/13/97	x(male)			H.R.	Gap closing
10/14/97			x	none	Education
10/14/97			x	none	Education
10/14/97			x	none	Ad campaign
10/17/97			x	none	Black minister
10/17/97	x(fem)			H.R.	
10/19/97			x	none	Analysis of gubernatorial race
10/20/97	x(male)			none	Auto insurance
10/20/97			x	none	
10/21/97		x		none	
10/23/97			x	H.R.	
10/25/97			x	none	Debate
10/25/97			x	none	
10/25/97			x	none	
10/25/97			x	H.R.	
10/27/97			x	none	
10/28/97			x	none	Editorial
10/28/97			x	none	
10/28/97			x	none	T.V. ad article
10/30/97			x	none	
10/31/97			x	none	
10/31/97			x	H.R.	
11/1/97			x	none	
11/2/97	x(fem)			H.R.	
11/2/97			x	none	
11/2/97			x	none	
11/2/97			x	H.R.	
11/3/97			x	none	
11/4/97			x	none	

IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)

APPLIED IMAGE, Inc
1653 East Main Street
Rochester, NY 14609 USA
Phone: 716/482-0300
Fax: 716/288-5989

© 1993, Applied Image, Inc., All Rights Reserved