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VIDEOSTYLE AND WEBSTYLE IN 2000: COMPARING THE GENDER
DIFFERENCES OF CANDIDATE PRESENTATIONS IN POLITICAL
ADVERTISING AND ON THE INTERNET

A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

By

MARY CHRISTINE BANWART

Norman, Oklahoma

2002

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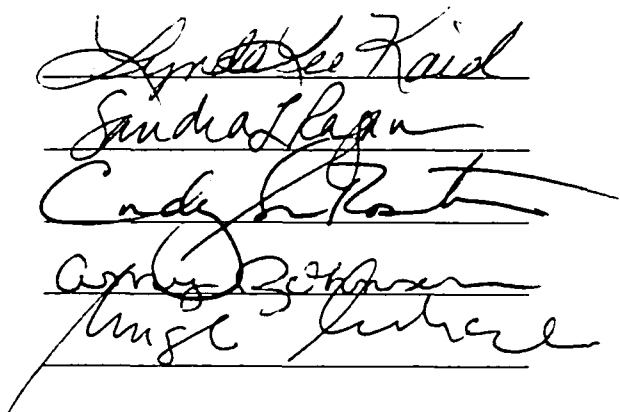
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VIDEOSTYLE AND WEBSTYLE IN 2000: COMPARING THE GENDER
DIFFERENCES OF CANDIDATE PRESENTATIONS IN POLITICAL
ADVERTISING AND ON THE INTERNET

A Dissertation APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATION

BY


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Abstract

This content analysis examines the self-presentation strategies of female and male political candidates in mixed-gender gubernatorial, U.S. Senate, and U.S. House races during the general cycle of campaign 2000. By selecting the televised spot ads from these three levels of office, this study first expands the prior research on female and male candidate videostyle to offer a complete analysis of female and male videostyles in major level races. Second, based on the foundation of videostyle, this study proposes a systematic method--webstyle--by which to analyze candidate self-presentation on the Internet. Third, this study explores how gender influences candidate image development across a traditional medium and a relatively new, complex multi-media environment.

Based on the results of the study, differences did emerge in the videostyles and webstyles of female and male candidates in 2000. For example, female candidate videostyle differed from male candidate videostyle in a more "politically sophisticated" manner that blended the strategic strengths of a variety of candidacies. Male candidates differed from female candidates in a more "personal leader" videostyle that encouraged voter identification and yet emphasized legitimate leadership.

While few differences were detected between female candidate webstyle and male candidate webstyle, female candidate webstyle differed from that of male candidates in a more "feminine personal-professional" style and male candidate webstyle differed from that of female candidates in a more "masculine up-front" style.

The results from the comparison of female candidate videostyle and webstyle and male candidate videostyle and webstyle indicated that significant differences did emerge in the self-presentation strategies used by both female and male candidates on each medium. However, although differences emerged, the characteristics that differentiated a candidate's videostyle from webstyle can be more fully explained by the medium constraints than by the influence of gender. This study therefore posits that such differences suggest female candidates may have finally found ground that provides an equal level on which to present the image of a political leader.

VIDEOSTYLE AND WEBSTYLE IN 2000: COMPARING THE GENDER
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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

In campaign 2000, the role of the Internet and the more traditional use of televised spot ads promised to be unprecedented. The battle for control of the U.S. House and U.S. Senate invigorated fundraising, providing more spot ad air-time to many battleground candidates. Conjointly, the popularity of the Internet by 2000 encouraged the provision of more information for the voting public through political and candidate web sites. Although the importance of the Internet in campaign 2000 may not have risen to the level enjoyed by the more traditional channel of television, both offered candidates increasingly important opportunities for unfiltered campaign messages to reach the voting public.

Previous research on the use of televised campaign spot ads and the effects of those ads (e.g., Armstrong, 1988; Devlin, 1986, 1993; Ehrenhalt, 1985; Kaid, Myers, Pippis, & Hunter, 1984; Kern, 1989; Kern & Just, 1995; Mann & Ornstein, 1983; Nugent, 1987; Patterson & McClure, 1976; Pfau & Burgoon, 1989) has confirmed the importance of this medium of campaign communication. Recent studies are also

suggestive of the increasing importance of the Internet as a new channel for campaign communication (Davis, 1999; Selnow, 1998; Tedesco, Miller, & Spiker, 1999). A campaign web site offers the candidate many of the same benefits available through television spot advertising but without the expense or time and length restrictions (Davis, 1999). One of the most important benefits for a candidate in establishing a web site is quite simply control. As Davis (1999) notes,

This control is important for a candidate. Obviously, the candidate Web site exists in a competitive world. Yet, unlike news accounts, the information the candidate transmits over the site is of the candidate's choosing. Hence, while visiting a candidate's site, the user is being exposed to the candidate's message unfiltered by other forces. (p. 97)

Wadsworth, Patterson, Kaid, Cullers, Malcomb, and Lamirand (1987) recognize this same, significant benefit of televised ads, stating that "the control a candidate has over the content of a commercial is crucial, since it allows the candidate to communicate directly with the voters the candidate's image and strategy" (p. 78). As in televised ads, the candidate has full control in design and in the content of his or her web site and thus full control over self- presentation.

This degree of control remains particularly important in a female candidate's campaign, as research confirms the media's stereotyping and framing of female candidate campaign coverage (e.g., Kahn, 1993, 1996; Robertson, 2000; Witt, Paget, & Matthews, 1995). Not only does the press provide more issue coverage to male candidates than female candidates but when discussing candidate images the media focus on stereotypical terminology (Kahn, 1993, 1996). Further, research argues that no matter the level of office sought, "the media differentiate between men and women candidates and consistently do a better job representing the campaign messages of male candidates" (Kahn, 1996, p. 134).

Researchers have also found similar results in studying media coverage of Elizabeth Dole's 1999 bid for the Republican presidential nomination (Bystrom, 1999; Froemling, Bender, & Robertson, 2000). For instance, not only did she receive less coverage than Bush (Bystrom, 1999; Froemling et al., 2000), her gender was promoted by the media more than her qualifications, and her position on issues was detailed significantly less than Bush's (Froemling et al., 2000).

One recent study does show promise that such bias against female candidates in the press may be lessening. In a study of sixteen primary, mixed-gender races for U.S.

Senate and governor in 2000, Bystrom, Robertson, and Banwart (2001) found that female and male candidates were treated more neutrally by the press than either positively or negatively. Further, little difference existed in the amount of viability discussion devoted to either female or male candidates. However, the gender, marital status, and children of the female candidates were mentioned significantly more than those of the male candidates, and the male candidates were more likely to be linked with relevant issues.

While this recent research (Bystrom et al., 2001) does offer encouragement about potentially achieving equal representation from the media, such findings have yet to be replicated in the more visible and competitive general election press coverage. During the general election, when the stakes are higher and more voters tune in to the campaign coverage and discourse, the opportunities for a female candidate to present her image and message directly to voters through a mass medium and without the reinterpretation of the media are invaluable.

Women as Political Candidates

Increasingly, women play a more visible role as elected leaders in our American government, although prior to the 1970's female politicians were "largely invisible, with

merely a name or two like Margaret Chase Smith and Frances Perkins receiving any broad recognition" (Mandel, 1981, p. 9). Not until 1917, 141 years after the signing of the Declaration of Independence, did America send its first woman, Jeanette Rankin, to Congress (Center for American Women and Politics [CAWP], 2001a). Over the fifty-year period between 1920--when Americans assured women's suffrage in the Constitution--and 1970, only a handful of women served in elected or even appointive government positions (Mandel, 1981).

Only in the past three decades have Americans witnessed more diversity in the gender of their political representatives. For instance, in 1974, Ella Grasso became the first woman to win a governorship in her own right. Additionally, throughout the 1970's "communities voted their 'first woman' into office ... as mayor ... as town councilor, here and there as county commissioner, state representative, lieutenant governor ... " (Mandel, 1981, p. 3).

By 1981, the political strength of women had increased to a record twenty-three members in the U.S. Congress, an increase within 10 years of 1.5%. Specifically in 1981, 2 women served in the Senate and 21 served in the House (CAWP, 2001a), and one woman completed a term serving as her

state's governor (CAWP, 2001a). By the beginning of the 1990s, the number of women serving in Congress had steadily increased to 6% (CAWP, 2001b). In 1991, just a year before the acclaimed "Year of the Woman," 4 women served in the U.S. Senate, 28 women served in the U.S. House (CAWP, 2001b), and 3 began terms as governor (CAWP, 2001a).

Yet ten years later, in 2001, the number of women serving in Congress had more than doubled, and the number of women serving as governor had also set records. In the 107th Congress, women hold 60 of the 435 seats in the U.S. House of Representatives (CAWP, 2001b) and 13 seats in the U.S. Senate, for a total representation of 13.6% (CAWP, 2001b). A total of five women serve as their state's governor, a record number of women serving as governor at the same time.¹ While such advances hold promise and encouragement for growth in greater female--and gender-equal--representation at higher levels of political office, compared to the percentage of women in the American population totaling 52% (The White House Project, 1999), the percentage of women in U.S. Senate, U.S. House, and gubernatorial seats is meager.

In 1982, Virginia Sapiro suggested "[a] central research question for those who study women's political roles is why, given the lack of legal or obvious structural barriers to recruitment of female elites, are women still so

underrepresented among political officials" (p. 61). Twenty years later, those who study women as political candidates still seek to respond to that question. While the numbers of women holding high political office have increased, uncovering the barriers that restrict female candidates from election to public office is important if we seek fair representation.

The results of a poll conducted by Roper-Starch Worldwide and underwritten by Deloitte & Touche (2000) provides insight into the public's perception of female candidates and how these perceptions may serve as potential barriers. The poll, released January 13, 2000, focused on the viability of female candidates being elected to the presidency. Although such findings should not be applied automatically to the viability of female candidates being elected to a gubernatorial, U.S. Senate, or U.S. House office, the responses do offer further understanding of the cultural mindset about female candidates.

In the poll results, one-third of the population indicated "there are general characteristics about women that make them less qualified to serve as president" (Deloitte & Touche, 2000, p. 2), suggesting that women must still overcome traditional stereotypes. Additionally, a majority of those polled (51%) indicated that a man could do

a better job than a woman leading the nation during a crisis and in making difficult decisions, the top two qualities believed "very important" in a presidential candidate (Deloitte & Touche, 2000).

Due to such public perceptions about female candidates, combined with the added weight of media framing and stereotyping, it remains important for female candidates to define strategically and successfully their own images and messages through traditional mass media such as television, and the new forms of mass media, such as the Internet. This study offers an analysis of how female and male candidates are defining their images during campaign 2000 in both media realms, television and the Internet, and offers a unique comparison of such self-presentation.

Purpose

The purpose of this study is threefold. First, this study seeks to extend the literature on the videostyle of political candidate spot ads, first developed by Kaid and Davidson (1986), and subsequently advanced to analyze the influence of gender on candidate videostyle (Bystrom, 1995; Bystrom & Kaid, 2000; Bystrom & Miller, 1999). In order to extend the prior research, the current study analyzes the spot ads of candidates in mixed-gender races from U.S. House, U.S. Senate, and gubernatorial races in 2000.

Although sound arguments exist for analyzing the videostyle of candidates at only one level of office (Bystrom, 1995), research based on such an argument limits the understanding of how candidates, and female candidates in particular, may employ differing videostyle strategies during an election. While some research does offer analyses of gubernatorial videostyle (Miller, 1996), and U.S. Senate and gubernatorial combined (Bystrom & Miller, 1999; Williams, 1998), no research to the author's knowledge explores the videostyles of candidates in mixed-gender races for the U.S. House. An analysis that brings together the spot ads from candidates running at all three levels give a more comprehensive view of the videostyles of candidates running in mixed-gender races in one election cycle. In addition, such an analysis offers the researcher potential exploration into how candidates may utilize differing strategies for different levels of office.

Second, this study seeks to develop a systematic method by which the self-presentation strategies of candidates employing the mass media of the Internet can be identified. The design of this systematic method builds on the established research of videostyle (Kaid & Davidson, 1996), which analyzes the self-presentation styles of candidates in televised ads, and the subsequent, systematic research that

analyzes the influence of gender in videostyle (Bystrom, 1995; Bystrom & Kaid, 2000; Bystrom & Miller, 1999; Miller, 1996). As such, this study is the first to develop a systematic instrument for analyzing the self-presentation styles of candidates on their campaign web sites, ultimately identifying the strategies that comprise a candidate's webstyle.

The third element of this study is to provide a unique, comparative analysis of candidate self-portrayal. By comparing candidate videostyles and webstyles, this study offers the first comparative glimpse of the self-presentation strategies of candidates when they have full control over the mass mediums through which information is disseminated and images are presented. The comparative element of this study is also unique in that it will offer insights as to how female and male candidates may employ differing strategies based on the format of the medium.

With the multi-faceted purpose of this study in mind, the following chapter provides a review of the relevant literature to offer further rationale and discuss the theoretical foundations of this study. The research questions that emerge from the literature are then discussed.

Chapter II

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The review of academic literature provides a foundation for this study based on three primary themes of research:

- 1) political imaging and the importance of candidate image;
- 2) political spot advertising, its uses and effects; and
- 3) campaigning via the Internet. The first theme will encompass a discussion of political imaging, followed by a discussion of female candidate images in particular and the suggested stereotypes faced. The second theme encompasses a discussion of the study of political advertising, how spot ads have been used and their effects, and includes a discussion of the research on female candidate advertising. The third theme, campaigning via the Internet, discusses the growing influence of the Internet in politics, its importance for study as a communication tool, and the research conducted to date.

The chapter will then turn to the theoretical constructs that ground the study, which first includes the literature on women's and men's communication styles. Such research, inclusive of Campbell's (1989) "feminine style" approach, indicates that women and men have unique communication styles and patterns. The second theoretical construct arises from the inaugural work on videostyle (Kaid

& Davidson, 1986; Nesbit, 1988; Kaid & Johnston, 2001) and its further advancement for application in studying the differences in female and male candidate videostyles (Bystrom, 1995; Bystrom & Kaid, 2000; Bystrom & Miller, 1999; Miller, 1996). The third construct emerges from the literature on mixed media messages and the variances arising from multi-channel exposure. Concluding this chapter is the discussion of the research questions that emerge and direct the current study.

Political Image Building

Fundamentally, the study of candidate self-presentation is the study of how a candidate presents an image of himself or herself as a potential office-holder. What would suggest the necessity of studying candidate image since we prefer to believe that in our democratic society rational, thoughtful voters listen to and vote based on the "issues" not on the candidate's image? Hacker (1995b) offers two relevant responses to this question. First, that "voters respond more to their perceptions than to objective realities about campaigns and candidates. In other words, candidate images mediate political messages and voter thoughts about those messages" (p. xii).

Second, because the "perceptions of candidates are significantly related to how voters make judgments about

candidates. . . . candidate images are closely related to candidate evaluations and selection of the winning candidate" (Hacker, 1995b, p. xii). Trent and Friedenberg (1995) add that all candidates act and speak in a manner that enhances how the voters perceive them and thus the candidates develop an overall image of themselves for the voters.

However, research literature does not offer a common, consistent definition of a political candidate's "image" (see Hacker, 1995b). For instance, candidate image has been defined as an orientation toward a candidate that carries endless expectations (Anderson, 1973), a combination of voter perceptions about personal and professional characteristics (Garrazone, 1985), the personal traits of the candidate, including sincerity, honesty, experience, knowledge, and leadership (Cundy, 1986), and a candidate's personality traits, as well as character traits and the descriptions of his or her background (Shyles, 1988). Nimmo and Savage (1976) add that a candidate's image is grounded in "how [the candidate] is perceived by voters, based on both the subjective knowledge possessed by voters and the messages projected by the candidate" (pp. 8-9). Thus, voters not only make judgments about a candidate based on that candidate's projected image, but make voting decisions

based on the perceived image of the candidate (Hacker, 1995b).

Such discussions of candidate image, while important, only mention the candidate's personality characteristics and fail to acknowledge the potential for a candidate's discussion of issues to influence his or her overall image in the voter's mind. Kaid and Chanslor (1995) discuss the tendency to polarize the concepts of issue and image, arguing that doing so "almost certainly leads to image information being viewed superficially in relation to issue information" (p. 84).

In a recent study, Hacker, Zakahi, Giles, and McQuitty (2000) sought to advance the study of candidate image formation to determine whether a gap truly exists between issues and personality in voter construction of candidate images. Importantly, Hacker et al. discovered that there is no support for voters separating issues and personality traits in the development of a candidate's image; instead, the study identified a correlation between the candidates' issue positions and personality in the voters' formation of candidate image. Thus, candidate presentations about issues and candidate presentations about image (e.g., their honesty, reliability, etc.) must both be included when analyzing candidate self-presentation.

Components in Candidate Image

The study of the components of candidate image finds a strong link to the study of speaker ethos in communication literature. Various scholars have sought to understand and identify the dimensions of ethos or image, resulting in variations such as, competence and character (McCroskey & Young, 1981), expertise and coorientation (King, 1976), and safety, qualification, and dynamism (Berlo, Lemert, & Mertz, 1969). Hellweg (1979) employed characteristics emanating from credibility and homophily scales, resulting in a complex ideal candidate image consisting of three categories containing almost thirty characteristics.

Scholars seeking to understand how voters categorize and itemize their perceptions of candidate images have expanded on the notion that voters begin with an "ideal candidate" prototype against which candidate images are compared. In using a candidate prototype, voters gather all of their perceptions of the candidate's traits into an overall image of the candidate, comparing that image with their perceived ideal (Nimmo & Savage, 1976). Nimmo and Savage (1976) argue that although there may be various candidate images, "there are regularities in the ways voters assign traits, or attributes, to candidates voters seem especially fond of appraising candidates from the

standpoint of perceived strength, integrity, and empathy " (p. 205).

Trent, Mongeau, Trent, Kendall, and Cushing (1993) sought to identify the characteristics of the "ideal candidate" through their study of public (voter) and media rating of candidates. Trent, Mongeau et al.'s study found that the selection criteria for presidential candidates was stable from 1988 to 1992, and the two most important criteria for a presidential candidate were honesty and a willingness to discuss the country's problems. In 1996 (Trent, Trent, Mongeau, and Short-Thompson, 1997) and again in 2000 (Trent, Short-Thompson, Mongeau, Nusz, and Trent, 2001) the study was repeated. Overall, the results indicated that from 1988 to 2000 honesty and a willingness to talk about the country's problems rated highest on the list of criteria provided. Across the 1992, 1996, and 2000 elections, male respondents placed more importance on their ideal presidential candidate being male than did female respondents (Trent et al., 2001; Trent et al., 1997).

Also exploring the notion of how voters judge a candidate, Miller, Wattenberg, and Malanchuk (1984, 1986) examined open-ended survey responses from the American National Election Studies collected from 1952 to 1984. Miller et al. found that voters have five fundamental

dimensions through which they assess presidential candidates and form their image of the candidate: competence, integrity, reliability, charisma, and observable features/background factors. Inclusive within respective categories lie such characteristics as political experience, comprehension of political issues, realism, and intelligence (competence); trustworthiness, honesty, and sincerity (integrity); dependable, strong, hardworking, decisive, and aggressive (reliability); leadership, dignity, humbleness, patriotism, and ability to communicate with people and inspire them (charisma). Further, Miller et al. (1984, 1986) determined such dimensions have remained consistent over time.

The varied findings of the constructs of image, and in particular candidate image, suggest not only diversity in the analyses of the concept but a basal complexity of the concept. Hacker (1995a) has argued that candidate images are "multidimensional" and related to voter "attitudes, schemata, and beliefs" (p. 79). The influence of gender on this complex concept and the interaction of gender with voter attitudes, schemata, and beliefs is the focus of the next section.

Female Candidate Images: Facing Stereotypical Expectations?

Due to the dominance of male politicians in the public realm, the "typical" political candidate in American history has been male (Chang & Hitchon, 1997; Kann, 1999; Witt, Paget, & Matthews, 1995). Therefore, with the paucity of elected female officials, numerous scholars have explored whether the overriding image of a politician is that of a male--with traditionally male traits--and whether this has led to barriers for female candidates. A review of this area of study will be the focus for this section; however, a brief discussion of sex-stereotypes in general is first warranted.

In the early 1970's, Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson, and Rosenkrantz (1972) reported on an extensive study of sex-role stereotypes. Distributing a questionnaire to college-age students and adults, the authors assessed "individual perceptions of 'typical' masculine and feminine behavior" (p. 60-61), finding that sex-role stereotypes crossed over "age, sex, religion, education level, or marital status" (p. 65). The masculine items were valued higher than the feminine items by both women and men, with women perceived as lacking the masculine items and men perceived as lacking the feminine items.

Specifically, attributes associated with men included: "being independent, objective, active, competitive, logical, skilled in business, worldly, adventurous, able to make decisions easily, self-confident, always acting as a leader, ambitious" (Broverman et al, 1972, p. 66). The attributes associated with women included: "gentle, sensitive to the feelings of others, tactful, religious, neat, quiet, interested in art and literature, able to express tender feelings" (Broverman et al., 1972). Broverman et al. (1972) concluded,

Women are perceived as relatively less competent, less independent, less objective, and less logical than men; men are perceived as lacking interpersonal sensitivity, warmth, and expressiveness in comparison to women. . . the stereotypic differences between men and women described above appear to be accepted by a large segment of our society. (p. 75)

The authors further gathered responses from mental health professionals, asking that they indicate to what degree a "mature, healthy, socially competent" male, female, and adult (gender unspecific) would possess the specific attributes. The ratings suggested that a healthy man and healthy adult possessed the same attributes. Healthy women, however, were rated "more submissive, less independent, less

adventurous, less objective, more easily influenced, less aggressive, less competitive, more excitable in minor crises, more emotional, more conceited about their appearance, and [as] having their feelings more easily hurt" than healthy men (p. 70). Based on this distinct discrepancy, Broverman et al. (1972) concluded women are placed in a "double bind" based on differing standards:

If women adopt the behaviors specified as desirable for adults, they risk censure for their failure to be appropriately feminine; but if they adopt the behaviors that are designated as feminine, they are necessarily deficient with respect to the general standards for adult behavior. (p. 75)

While time and societal context should certainly be taken into consideration with such findings, change within the societal context occurs at a slow pace. An overview of the stereotypes ascribed over time to women and men find that men are considered more aggressive (Borisoff & Victor, 1998; Burgoon, Dillard, & Doran, 1983; Monroe, DiSalvo, Lewis, & Borzi, 1990; Zammuto, London, & Rowland, 1979), ambitious (Broverman et al., 1972), competitive, and dominating (Broverman et al., 1972; Korabik, Baril, & Watson, 1993; Monroe et al., 1990); women are considered more accommodating and compromising (Korabik et al., 1993;

Monroe et al., 1990), more expressive of emotion (Baird & Bradley, 1979; Borisoff & Victor, 1998; Broverman et al., 1972), and more person oriented (Korabik et al., 1993).

Ironically, although prior work has identified the stereotypical male attributes as more favorable than the female attributes (Broverman et al., 1972), when women as a social group are rated with men as a separate social group women in general are evaluated more positively than men (Eagly, Mladinic, & Otto, 1991). Eagly, Mladinic, & Otto (1991) argued that one reason for the incongruity between their research findings and the lower social position of women stems from the "ascription of positive communal qualities to women (i.e.: helpful, gentle, emotional, kind, understanding)" that may be valued in interpersonal relationships but not in certain work environments (p. 213).

Eagly et al.'s (1991) proposition was supported in a subsequent study that analyzed the evaluations of women and men who occupied leadership roles. Eagly, Makhijani, and Klonsky (1992) found that there was only a slight tendency overall to evaluate women leaders less favorably than men leaders; however, when women were evaluated as leaders in traditionally male-dominant roles the subjects rated women leaders significantly lower than male leaders.

As the political arena has historically been comprised of men, it is argued that holding political office is a traditionally male-dominated leadership role with men as the norm (Fox, 2000; Kann, 1999). Such allocation, whether conscious or subconscious, promotes the ascription of stereotypical male attributes to a candidate image or schema, which, as research suggests, provides a guide for voting behavior (Hacker, 1995b). Edelman (1988) elaborated on this correlation, stating:

Prevailing sexist norms influence both support for political leaders and the forms of action that are politically acceptable In their actions and in their talk, political leaders are prone to stress the values of authority, hierarchy, toughness, and dominance over compassion, equality, or the welfare of the powerless, and there is evidence that the public has been socialized to display the same priorities when choosing among aspirants for high office. (p. 61)

The literature studying the barriers facing women who seek elected office provides diverse perspectives, suggesting that the influence of gender on the evaluation of political candidates is complex. A number of studies have analyzed actual election data to argue that other barriers may be at blame, such as incumbency (Anderson & Thorson,

1984; Seltzer, Newman, & Leighton, 1997), age of the candidate, whether the race is open or challenged (Bernstein, 1986), resources (Carroll, 1994), or, in the case of running for the U.S. House, being in the right place--district with an open seat--at the right time--in her life (Burrell, 1992).

Some studies have even argued that overall there is a lack of gender bias or prejudice against female candidates (Darcy, Welch, & Clark, 1994; Eckstrand & Eckert, 1981; Thompson & Steckenrider, 1997). Such findings may be limited, however, by questionable research design. For instance, Thompson & Steckenrider (1997) only provided the cue of differing names of candidates, a male name and a female name, when asking the respondent to make a preference-based choice. Although the point in such a design is to isolate gender as a variable in vote choice, the cue may be so minimalized (and unrealistic) that a candidate schema cannot be evoked.

A number of studies, however, suggest that gender serves as a cue for assignment of traits or stereotypes. For instance, Huddy and Terkildsen (1993b) argue that gender stereotyping is most influential when assigning candidate strength to issues. In their study, Huddy and Terkildsen described the male candidate and the female candidate as

possessing either masculine or feminine characteristics (masculine: tough, articulate, ambitious, having strong leadership and administrative skills; feminine: compassionate, trustworthy, family-oriented, proven leadership skills, strong people skills). Their results indicated that whether the female candidate was described as masculine or feminine she was still viewed as more competent to handle "compassion issues"; likewise, whether the male candidate was described as masculine or feminine he was viewed as more competent to handle military issues (p. 131). Regardless of the scenario (masculine male, feminine female; masculine female, feminine male), the candidate with the masculine traits was viewed as more capable of handling military, economic, and women's issues, while the feminine candidate was only viewed as more capable of handling compassion issues.

Supporting Huddy and Terkildsen's (1993b) link of gender stereotypes to issue, throughout the literature female candidates are perceived as more competent on the issues of education, health care (Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993b; Koch, 1999; Leeper, 1991; Sapiro, 1981/2), poverty (Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993b; Koch, 1999), and maintaining honesty and integrity in government (Leeper, 1991; Sapiro, 1981/2). Male candidates are perceived as more competent on the

issues of military (Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993b; Koch, 1999; Leeper, 1991; Sapiro, 1981/2), defense, economic policy (Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993b; Koch, 1999), and agriculture (Koch, 1999; Leeper, 1991; Sapiro, 1981/2). Importantly, many of these stereotypes are applied in situations with minimal information provided about candidate stands on these specific issues (Leeper, 1991; Sapiro, 1981/2).

Extending the study of gender stereotyping, the level of office has been incorporated as a variable. In their early study, Hedlund, Freeman, Hamm, and Stein (1979) questioned whether higher levels of office would impede vote likelihood, selecting the school board and judge as the levels to be tested. Not only were respondents less likely to vote for a female judge than a female school board member but that likelihood further decreased if the option to vote for a male was provided. Notably, the greatest number of participants selected the option of "makes no difference" in both scenarios. Yet, the authors concluded that level of office influences vote likelihood and "sex-role stereotyping does seem to take place" (p. 524).

Also testing gender effects at the local level, Riggle, Miller, Shields, and Johnson (1997) provided participants with a description of either a male or female candidate running for city council, switching only the name of the

candidate to depict gender. The participants then rated how different personal qualities or attributes might explain the candidate's political success, rated the candidate's intelligence and experience, and indicated their perception of shared views with the candidate. The authors found that the male candidate "was perceived as possessing greater political ability, having greater political experience, and greater perseverance," and as closer to the participants' views on politics (Riggle et al., 1997, p. 76). Riggle et al. concluded that male candidates are "evaluated more favorably" (p. 76).

However, the second element of Riggle et al.'s (1997) study, allowing a separate group of participants to seek additional information on multiple candidates running at the local and U.S. Senate level, found equal vote support for female and male candidates. The outcome of this second and more complicated element of the study is neither discussed in detailed terms nor is the vote outcome provided in specific numbers. Thus, the results are difficult to discern yet tempting in the suggestion that access to more information diminishes the influence of stereotypes (Koch, 1999) on female candidates.

Huddy and Terkildsen (1993a) also explored the influence of level of office on gender stereotyping, using

four levels: local council, mayor, U.S. Representative, and president. The subjects rated a "good politician" at each level of office on two scales; the "instrumental scale" included traits such as "assertive, coarse, tough, aggressive, stern, masculine, active, rational, and self-confident," and the "warmth and expressiveness scale" included traits such as "warm, gentle, feminine, sensitive, emotional, talkative, and cautious" (p. 508). All four levels were perceived to possess more instrumental traits than traits on the warmth and expressiveness scale. While national candidates (president and representative) were expected to be more instrumental, the executive levels (president and mayor) were also expected to be more instrumental, suggesting the ascription of male attributes to candidate schema.

Huddy and Terkildsen (1993a) then asked the participants to rank issues most likely faced by a good politician at each level. The council member and mayor were perceived as more likely to confront compassion policy issues (traditionally linked as female issues) while the representative and president were perceived as more likely to confront "male" policy issues (p. 512).

Dolan (1997) also asked subjects to indicate their willingness to vote for a female candidate at four levels of

office, offering an example at each level: local office, town council; state office, governor; national office, senator or representative; and president. The willingness of participants to vote for (support) a female candidate decreased as the level of office increased, an overall drop of 27 points from local office to president. Of interest, and a point unexplored by the author was the incremental decrease in support; participant support dropped two points from local to state office, three points from state to national office, and 22 points from national office to president. While the study does show an overall decrease in support by level, support ran relatively consistent across the local, state, and national levels.

Rosenwasser and Dean (1989) sought to evaluate nine particular offices in their study, including school board, city council, mayor, state representative, state senator, governor, U.S. Representative, U.S. Senator, and president. Similar to prior findings (Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993a), participants assigned characteristics to each office, with masculine characteristics rated most important at every level over feminine characteristics.

Expanding their study and building on prior work (Rosenwasser & Seale, 1988), the authors provided a separate set of participants with a description of a presidential

candidate in one of four scenarios: masculine male, feminine female, masculine female, feminine male. The participants then rated the effectiveness of the candidate across ten tasks that the authors categorized as "masculine," "feminine," and "neutral" (p. 81). The participants rated male candidates as more effective in handling masculine tasks, female candidates as more effective handling the feminine tasks, and the masculine male candidate as most effective. Further, the feminine tasks were rated "significantly less important than either the 'masculine' or 'neutral' tasks" (p. 83). Overall, men were determined more likely to win the election than women.

These findings provide us with much information to consider. Clearly, research supports the notion that issues are linked to female and male candidates based on stereotypical gender roles (Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993a, 1993b; Koch, 1999; Leeper, 1991; Rosenwasser & Dean, 1989; Sapiro, 1981/2). Further, the tasks involving issues linked with females are rated significantly lower in importance than either masculine or neutral tasks (Rosenwasser & Seale, 1988; Rosenwasser & Dean, 1989). The level of office also plays a role in female candidate voting predispositions, with support for female candidates decreasing as the level of office increases (Dolan, 1997; Hedlund et al., 1979).

Even more notably, not only do male candidates receive more positive evaluations (Koch, 1999; Riggle et al., 1997; Rosenwasser & Dean, 1989) but traditionally male attributes are more closely associated with all levels of political office (Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993a; Rosenwasser & Dean, 1989). Such stereotypes do not place a female candidate on an equal level with a male candidate during a political campaign, and undoubtedly pose greater obstacles in creating an electable image by requiring women to develop both an image of possessing the required male attributes for the job in concert with the expected--yet less valued--female attributes. Driven by gender role stereotypes, Broverman et al.'s (1972) "double bind"--also discussed by Jamieson (1995)--creates a challenge in image development for a female candidate.

Such findings do not paint a seemingly bright future for women in politics, yet some positives do emerge. For instance, there is support that access to more information about the candidates may override stereotypes (Riggle et al., 1997). Also, as discussed earlier, Dolan's (1997) study did not find dramatic drops in support for female candidates running at the state (example used, governor) and national (example used, Senator or Representative); the most dramatic drop occurred in support from national office to

president. Arguably, while a female presidential candidate is enticing, current polls indicate the country is not yet ready (Deloitte & Touche, 1999); however, increasing the pool of eligible candidates at the state executive and national levels (Senator, Representative) remains important and, according to Dolan's work, more likely.

Another positive can be found in Leeper's (1991) study design of a hypothetical candidate in which he used as his stimulus a speech from Kay Orr's successful gubernatorial campaign in Nebraska. Simulating Sapiro's (1981/2) use of Senator Howard Baker's speech, Leeper assigned either a male name or female name to the message, with no obvious detection from the respondents that the speech was written by/for a female. The speech also spoke specifically about crime and the economy, the two issues on which the hypothetical candidates were perceived as equally competent. Leeper concluded that female candidates can discuss tough issues without appearing significantly less competent.

Yet one final area of interest arising from the literature revolves around the dichotomy between vote likelihood and female candidate perceived viability. Burrell's (1992) study of open seat primary races for the U.S. House from 1968 to 1990 suggested that women are as successful as men in winning the primary. Seltzer et al.'s

(1997) extensive study of state general elections from 1986 to 1994 and gubernatorial, U.S. Senate, and U.S. House general elections from 1972 to 1994 also suggested that women win as often as men when they run equally as incumbents, for open seats, and as challengers. The only advantage men had over women was based on incumbency. Further, research indicates that participants are willing and open-minded toward voting for a female candidate (Hedlund et al., 1979; Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993a; Leeper, 1991; Sapiro, 1981/2).

Arguably, then, if women can win, why are more women not running and winning? One important research finding offers a potential explanation. Although research participants indicate a willingness to vote for female candidates, when participants are asked whether a male or female candidate is most likely to win a majority of women and men indicate the male is most likely to win (Leeper, 1991; Rosenwasser & Dean, 1989; Sapiro, 1981/2). Not surprisingly, studies note that a candidate needs to appear electable as voters do not want to "waste" their vote (West, 1994, p. 792). With women equally sharing the belief with men that a male candidate is more likely to win, such a belief may inhibit many women from running themselves (Duerst-Lahti, 1998).

Thus, when women do run, successfully employing select channels through which to develop an image and present a message are vital to the perceived viability of a candidate. Women candidates not only report a belief that they must fulfill two roles--one political and one gender stereotypical--but that they must do so in a way that also "compete[s] successfully under the media eye of a campaign" (Fox, 2000, p. 244). As such, the control afforded by the campaign tool of television advertising creates a potential refuge for the candidate to craft an image that balances both institutional role-expected ("masculine") and gender-expected ("feminine") attributes (Duerst-Lahti, 1998). The importance of television advertising provides the focus for discussion in the next section and includes research findings specifically related to women's political advertising.

Televised Political Advertising

Since the 1952 Eisenhower campaign created the "first political spot ad campaign broadcast on television" (Wood, 1990, p. 265), campaign television spots have become "the principal means of communicating with voters" (Hinerfeld, 1990, p. 1). In part the growth in the use of political advertising stems from society's increased dependence on television coinciding with the decrease in the popularity of

newspapers and decrease in the attendance at and influence of party functions (Kern, 1989). Salmore and Salmore (1985) have also observed that "[t]elelevision and the computer, in particular, have made it possible for voters to get information from non-party sources" (p. 3). Such mass mediums in turn offer candidates an opportunity to "shape the information voters receive about them" (Salmore & Salmore, 1985, p. 4).

Polling results following the 2000 election supported such a theory, and were consistent with polling from prior election cycles. In 2000, Americans still sought election news in overwhelming numbers from television sources as compared to all other media sources listed, such as newspaper, radio, and magazines (The Pew Center, 2000).

As society's habits of seeking political information have changed, campaigns have changed their channel of appeal to television in order to capture the attention of potential voters. In turn, scholars have expanded their focus to understand the use of the television medium in politics. Much of the scholarly research directed toward political advertising examines spot ads from presidential campaigns (e.g., Devlin, 1986, 1993; Hinerfeld, 1990; Jamieson, 1986; Kaid, 2001; Kaid, Gobetz, Garner, Leland, & Scott, 1993; Kaid, Leland, & Whitney, 1992; Kaid & Tedesco, 1999a). The

emphasis on this particular subject is understandable as presidential election years send greater numbers of voters to the polls, the races are highly publicized, and the advertising is generally more accessible for analysis. The presidential candidates' campaigns in turn have not disappointed either voters or scholars in the attention paid toward running televised advertising.

In the 2000 campaign, television advertising again proved an important tool used for communicating with voters. In the presidential race, the spending on spot ads surpassed the previous 1996 election, reaching a record high in dollars spent by both candidates and parties at \$240 million (Devlin, 2001). Of the federal monies given to each candidate to spend, Bush spent 78% on television advertising and Gore spent 56% (Devlin, 2001), recognizably a substantial portion of the budgets of both candidates.

Although televised ads may now play an undisputedly substantial role as a campaign communication tool, the tool has not been without its critics. The earliest critics cautioned against selling the president like soap (Shyles, 1986; Wood, 1990), feeding into the concern that the ads would focus primarily on image and offer little substantial issue information (Shyles, 1986). Research since that time has suggested otherwise. Patterson and McClure's (1976)

well-documented analysis of the 1972 presidential race indicated that a majority of the spot ads contained issue information versus image information. Further, scholars have found that issues are mentioned in a significant number of televised spot ads (Hofstetter & Zukin, 1979; Joslyn, 1980; Kaid & Johnston, 1991; Kern, 1989) and the dominant focus in a majority of the spot ads (Kaid, 1994; Kaid & Banwart, 2001; Kaid & Tedesco, 1999a).

While concern has focused on the message presented by the candidate, scholars have also turned their attention to determining how spot ads generate effects for the receivers of this mass media. Atkin, Bowen, Nayman, and Sheinkopf's (1973) early study of the effects of exposure and attention paid to political spot ads during the 1970 Wisconsin and Colorado gubernatorial campaigns found that "[c]andidate qualifications and issues stands" were the "content most widely learned" from the political ads (p. 223). Shortly thereafter, Atkin and Heald (1976) conducted a study of the effects of radio and television advertising based on a phone survey in the latter weeks of Michigan U.S. House race in 1974. The study concluded that radio/television advertising exposure can increase knowledge about the candidate and the candidate's issue positions, as well as "produce more positive affect toward the candidate as a person" (p. 228).

Kaid and Sanders (1978) expanded the scope of determining effects from viewing spot ads by specifically testing different effects of identified "issue ads" and "image ads." The authors found that candidate evaluation was greater with issue ads, yet issue recall was greater with image ads. Geiger and Reeves (1991) showed subjects ads from 1986 gubernatorial and House campaigns, finding similar results to those of Kaid and Sanders. Subjects rated the candidates more positively in the issue ads than image ads, and the more technologically advanced ads yielded more positive candidate evaluations. Further, subjects recalled visual information from image ads more than from issue ads, but issue ads generated more recall of spoken messages.

Certain scholars have also adopted the view that "issues" and "image" should not be considered polarized dimensions in the study of political advertising but instead a candidate's discussion of issues actually contributes toward the viewer's overall image of the candidate (Kaid & Chanslor, 1995; Salmore & Salmore, 1985). Studies that examine political message effects in this manner have incorporated spot ads disseminating both issue and personality information about the candidate; subjects then complete a pre-test and post-test questionnaire to establish

effects. This research has indicated that exposure to the political advertising stimuli have significant effects on voter learning (West, 1994-95) and direct effects on image evaluation (Kaid, 1997; Kaid & Chanslor, 1995; Kaid, Leland, & Whitney, 1992; West, 1994-95). The effects on image evaluation may be positive (Kaid & Chanslor, 1995; Kaid et al., 1992) or negative (Kaid, 1997), although most studies have identified a positive effect.

Emotions have been incorporated into the study of political advertising effects, with indications that the stronger the emotions evoked the more positive the candidate evaluation (Kaid, 1997; Kaid & Chanslor, 1995; Kaid et al., 1992). Emotions identified with positive candidate evaluations include optimism, confidence, security (Kaid & Chanslor, 1995; Kaid et al., 1992), minimized fear (Kaid & Chanslor, 1995), and patriotism (Kaid et al., 1992).

The effect on vote likelihood is also linked closely with the evaluation of a candidate's image (Kaid & Chanslor, 1995; West, 1994-95). Voter exposure to political spots even in non-presidential elections has also been shown to have a direct effect on voting behavior or the likelihood of voting for a candidate (Cundy, 1986; Kaid & Sanders, 1978; West, 1994).

The effect on favorability and ultimately voting behavior substantiates both the important use of political spot ads during a campaign as well as the study of such ads to identify the candidate images generated. Favorability, which may increase electability, is particularly crucial as "many citizens do not want to waste their vote on hopeless choices, [and] these impressions can increase voter support because of the well known tendency for citizens to support the winner" (West, 1994-5, p. 792).

Thus, research clearly indicates that political spot ads in general influence viewers and can be linked to candidate image evaluation, gaining political knowledge, and vote intention. While most of these studies have focused on the well-recognized presidential races, scholars also have found such effects in lower level races (e.g., Cundy, 1986; Kaid & Sanders, 1978; West, 1994-95). Additional effects from viewing political campaign ads can be found in yet another body of political advertising literature--negative advertising--which provides the focus for the following section.

Negative Political Spot Ads

Negative advertising has been a major component of political candidate spot ad campaigns since 1952 when even "Ike's" spot ad campaign included negative messages directed

toward the Democrats; although his ad creators refrained from directly attacking Stevens (Kaid & Johnston, 1991). From 1964 through the 1988 election, approximately 30% of all ads in presidential campaigns were negative (Kaid, 1994; Kaid & Johnston, 1991). However, the 1996 presidential general election campaigns provided the most negative campaigns to date; of the ads run by Clinton's campaign, nearly 70% were negative spot ads, and nearly 60% of Dole's spot ads were negative (Kaid & Tedesco, 1999a). The 2000 election showed a slight decrease in the use of negative advertising, particularly in the ads aired by the winning candidate. While 62% of Gore's advertising was comprised of negative spot ads only 37% of Bush's advertising was comprised of negative spot ads (Kaid, 2002; Kaid & Banwart, 2001).

Negative advertising has been operationalized differently across different research studies. In their study of presidential spot ads from 1960-1988, Kaid and Johnston (1991) identified negative ads as candidate ads that criticized the opponent. Roddy and Garramone (1988) considered negative advertising as candidate attacks that use a variety of accusations and innuendoes on the issue stands and personal character of the opponent.

In their study of candidate videostyle Kaid and Davidson (1986) identified positive-focused ads and negative-focused ads, noting that negative-focused ads explicitly attack the issue stands, personal characteristics, and campaign of the opponent and may imply that the candidate is better than the opponent. Salmore and Salmore (1985) offer yet another differentiation, identifying negative attack ads as those that focus only on the opponent, and comparison ads as those that offer a negative attack(s) on the opponent but also emphasize something positive--or alternatively positive--about the candidate. Clinton's extensive and effective use of comparison ads in the 1996 election (Devlin, 1997), suggests the need to separately identify this third type of negative advertising, comparison ads.

Even while definitions may differ, negative advertising effects have been an important area of study resulting in meaningful findings.

Content and Frequency of Negative Advertising

In the past several presidential elections, the press has laid blame to one candidate more than another for running a negative campaign and have at many inappropriate times remarked as to the greater negativity in a campaign than in year's past (Devlin, 1997; Kaid & Johnston, 1991).

For instance, Kaid and Johnston (1991) noted the press' criticism of the 1988 presidential campaign as being much more negative than had been run before.

In their study, however, Kaid and Johnston (1991) found that about 30% of presidential campaign ads up to 1988 had been negative. Of interest, the percentage had held steady from 1980-1988, and remained below the record high of 1964, in which 40% of the ads run in the campaign were negative. Further, Kaid and Johnston noted that challenger candidates only ran slightly more negative ads than incumbents (refuting general theory about challengers and incumbents, which suggests challengers run many more negative ads), and that more issue information was contained in negative ads. Additionally, the authors determined that while both positive and negative ads contained emotional appeals, the negative ads contained many more fear appeals than positive ads and more special effects.

In 1992, a record was set in the negativity of the ads, with 69% of Clinton's ads being negative to 56% of Bush's ads (Kaid, 1994). With records made to be broken, 1996 suffered the heaviest year yet in presidential negative advertising, but with a surprising twist. Instead of the challenger running the most negative campaign, that job was assumed by the incumbent; 71% of Clinton's ads were

identified as negative to 61% of Dole's ads (Kaid, 1998). Further, Kaid (1998) found that 53% of Clinton's ads contained fear appeals to 29% of Dole's. However, as Kaid and Tedesco (1999a) noted, part of the perception that Dole ran more negative ads could have been due to the larger number of character attacks on Clinton contained in his negative ads, while Clinton tended to launch issue attacks in his negative ads. In addition, Clinton brought forth in new ways the use of comparative ads, leaving the viewer (and some researchers and the press) with the feeling that his ads, although strikingly more negative in visuals and verbal attacks, were more positive overall (Devlin, 1997).

Effects of Negative Advertising

The effects of negative advertising have also been well studied by researchers, with findings that offer important information for both the source and the recipient of the negative attack ads, as well as about the effects on voters. For instance, research has found that negative advertising does contain more issue information than positive advertising (Kaid & Johnston, 1991). Further, research indicates that viewers remember more information from negative advertising (Lang, 1991; Newhagen & Reeves, 1991; Shapiro & Rieger, 1992), even though viewers rate them much less favorably (Newhagen & Reeves, 1991). Part of the

memory retention may be related to the type of appeals used, which are more logical and fearful, but also the emotions evoked (Lang, 1991). In addition, as Kaid and Johnston (1991) noted, negative ads also use more special effects, and in doing so the viewer has more to catch and keep his or her attention.

The strength and purpose of the negative ad is found in the impact of voter perception of the target candidate. Research has found that the image of the target candidate is negatively affected when negative ads are used (Garrazone, 1985; Kaid & Boydston, 1987), and even more damaging is the ability of the negative ads to "erode" the target candidate's base support, or his or her constituency (Kaid & Boydston, 1987). Interestingly, those voters most likely to be affected by negative advertising include highly educated undecided voters because such voters are more heavily reliant on ad information and seek it out with more effort than those already decided.

However, there can be some risk in running/sponsoring negative ads. A number of researchers have found that a backlash effect can occur when negative spot ads are aired, of course negatively affecting the sponsor (Merritt, 1984; Garrazone, 1984, 1985). Garrazone (1984) explained that such an effect can occur because the negative ads are viewed

as less truthful, which results in viewing the sponsor with less credibility. However, candidates can circumvent this effect when independent sponsors and third parties run negative ads on their behalf (Garramone, 1984).

Particularly when the negative ad is well identified as being run by a third party or independent sponsor, the backlash effect is lessened and a greater intended effect is achieved on the target candidate (Garramone, 1984).

Notably, Garramone (1984) suggested the candidate may be viewed with even greater credibility when such entities run negative ads because the ads are actually viewed as more truthful.

Whether a negative spot ad is considered an "issue" or an "image" ad can also make a difference in the effectiveness. For instance, Roddy and Garramone (1988) found that negative issue attack ads were more effective than negative image attack ads. In their study of radio ads, Shapiro and Rieger (1992) found that the sponsor was viewed just as negatively as the target when negative image ads were used, and yet the sponsor was viewed more positively than the target when negative issue ads were used. Similarly, Kaid and Tedesco's (1999b) effects study of the 1996 presidential campaign suggested that Dole suffered greater backlash in his use of negative image

attacks of Clinton than did Clinton in his more numerous use of negative issue attacks.

Pfau and Burgoon (1988) offered the use of inoculation as a tool for decreasing the effects of negative advertising. The authors found that when pretreatment inoculation is used the negative effect on the influence of the source is decreased and the likelihood of attitude change (originally in favor of the target) is not influenced. The use of inoculation proposes that the potential target run an ad that just barely appears negative (has a low dose of negativity), but is enough to arouse the viewer to raise suspicions and anchor attitudes in favor of the potential target.

Ultimately, research is mixed on the effect of negative advertising on voter turnout/apathy/disengagement. Garramone, Atkin, Pinkleton, and Cole (1990) found that negative advertising had no effect on voter turnout. However, Ansolabehere, Iyengar, Simon, and Valentino (1994) argued that negative advertising decreases voter turnout by up to 5%. In their study of 1992 U.S. Senate races, which they note as a very negative set of campaigns, the authors found that voter turnout was decreased by 4%.

While much voter disapproval of negative spot ads exists (Garramone & Smith, 1984; Johnson-Cartee & Copeland,

1989; Merritt, 1984; Newhagen & Reeves, 1991), clearly negative spot ads work as viewers remember more and the image of the target candidate can be more negatively affected, particularly with a third party sponsoring the ads. Negative ads also have their drawbacks, as a backlash effect can occur on the candidate sponsoring the ads, and some researchers posit their use depresses voter turnout.

Gender and Political Spot Ads

Turning the focus from a general approach in the study of political advertising and negative political advertising, scholars have also questioned the role of candidate gender in their analyses of political advertising. Because findings suggest that male candidates are not only the norm (Chang & Hitchon, 1997; Kann, 1999; Witt, Paget, & Matthews, 1995) but that traits (Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993a; Riggle et al., 1997; Rosenwasser and Dean, 1989) and tasks (Rosenwasser & Seale, 1988) stereotypically associated with male candidates are more highly valued in politics, researchers have questioned how stereotypical expectations influence a candidate's controlled campaign message as well as the responses to that message. The following section provides an overview of such research, discussing findings from effects studies using fictional and actual campaign

spot ads followed by analyses of the content in campaign spot ads.

Respondents Reporting: Fictional Spot Ads

Understanding how voters respond to the messages of female and male candidates has been the focus of only a small number of research studies (Carlin & Banwart, 2001; Hitchon & Chang, 1995; Hitchon, Chang, & Harris, 1997; Kaid et al., 1984; Wadsworth et al., 1987). However, such studies can offer understanding in how voters react to female candidate images presented in a very important campaign medium.

The design of two studies researching the reactions to gender in political advertising called for the creation of fictional spot ads in order to hold the candidate, setting, and message constant across a variety of settings. In one such study, Kaid et al. (1984) created six 30-second spot ads, featuring two "masculine," two "feminine," and two "neutral" settings (p. 43). The masculine settings included a "hard hat" and "agriculture" setting; the feminine settings included a "education" and "grocery store" setting; and the neutral settings included an "image" and "man [sic]-on-the-street" setting. A male "candidate" and a female "candidate" appeared in each setting, and the physical characteristics and dress were similar for both candidates.

Kaid et al. (1984) found the female candidate received significantly more favorable reactions than the male candidate in the hard hat setting, the grocery store setting, and the "man [sic]-on-the-street" setting. The male candidate was rated more favorably than the female candidate in the education setting, and no difference was found in the ratings between candidates for the agriculture and image spot. In looking at specific image traits, Kaid et al. determined that the female candidate was rated higher in areas of sophistication, honesty, attractiveness, aggressiveness, strength, and activeness, and found that the respondents remembered more of the female candidate's characteristics.

The authors suggested from these findings that the female candidate received higher ratings in the hard hat setting because she superseded viewer expectations; conversely, they argued that the viewers expected her to do well in the grocery store setting and as such she "received no special reward for her competence" (Kaid et al., 1984, p. 51). Overall, however, the study indicates that in her television advertising a female candidate can illustrate competence in a masculine setting with no perceived backlash.

Wadsworth et al. (1987) also sought to understand effects of a female candidate's use of differing strategies, generating six fictional spot ads that featured a female "candidate." Each spot ad employed a different strategy: aggressive, nonaggressive, career, family, ambitious, and nonambitious. Among the six strategies used, the "aggressive" female candidate was perceived as significantly more qualified, experienced, smart, effective, as using more attacks against her opponent, bossy, aggressive, and rated higher in overall voter likelihood than the "nonaggressive" candidate. The "nonaggressive" candidate was perceived as more cooperative, feminine, not strong, not assertive, and not willing to take drastic measures if elected. The "career" candidate was rated higher than the "family" candidate in overall vote likelihood and significantly higher in overall candidate image. The authors found that the "career" strategy was the best strategy and style for a female candidate, noting that femininity was not a highly valued trait for the female candidate.

Such findings are positive for female candidates presenting images in political spot ads. These studies suggest that the more professional female candidate, using what would arguably be considered masculine strategies-- appearing in a traditionally male dominated work environment

and using more forceful verbal and nonverbal language--is not only accepted favorably but a candidate for which voters indicate high vote likelihood. Yet such findings also suggest caution, as the stereotypical feminine settings and stereotypical feminine strategies, such as reinforcing sex role stereotypes (e.g., staying home with family), do not particularly advantage the female candidate.

The results of these studies support the more general research on women and politics that purports voters perceive political roles as requiring more masculine characteristics/traits and that successful candidates illustrate such characteristics (Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993a; Rosenwasser & Dean, 1989). Unfortunately for female candidates, even if they choose not to feature feminine settings and strategies in their ads prior research suggests that voters may still make such assignments based on stereotypes alone (Leeper, 1991; Sapiro, 1981/2).

Respondents Reporting: Campaign Spot Ads

Three particular studies employed actual campaign spot ads to study the effects of viewer response. Hitchon and Chang (1995) used the spot ads of three mixed-gender gubernatorial races, selecting a total of three spots for each candidate (a positive, negative, and neutral spot). Upon viewing a treatment that included one type of spot for

each candidate, viewers responded to questions of recall in areas such as name, campaign activities, candidate appearance, attacks, issues, etc. Viewers also rated the messages of the ads.

Hitchon and Chang (1995) concluded that not only are political spot ads "processed differently, depending on the gender of the advertised candidate," but that the respondents recalled "information consistent with a political gender schema more than they recall inconsistent information" (p. 449). Specific findings noted more errors in name recall of female candidates than male candidates, the male candidates' campaign platforms discussed in positive ads was recalled more than the female candidates' campaign platforms, and the campaign activities of the male candidates received higher recall than those of female candidates. The appearance of female candidates received higher recall than the appearance of male candidates, as did the families of female candidates. Notably, viewers recalled attacks by male candidates more than those of female candidates but had a higher recall of issues discussed in the female candidates' ads.

Hitchon et al. (1997) extended the prior work of Hitchon and Chang (1995), using the same experimental design and spot ads to test perceptions of social desirability and

of third-person effect. The authors found that overall the female candidates' spot ads were rated more socially desirable than those of the male candidates, with the female candidates' neutral ads receiving the highest ratings, followed by the positive then negative ads. Further, the viewers rated the female candidates' spots as having a significantly more positive effect on the general public than on the viewers themselves. Of interest, when comparing the third-person effects for female and male candidate appeals the viewer ratings did not produce a significantly different effect between the positive and negative ads. The viewers did perceive a significantly greater third-person effect for the neutral ads of male candidates than for those of female candidates. This finding again points to the dichotomy between voters registering a willingness to vote for a female candidate but doubting her ability to capture the general public's vote on election day (Leeper, 1991; Rosenwasser & Dean, 1989; Sapiro, 1981/2).

A third study examined the perceptions about and acceptance of female candidates compared to that of male candidates when using negative advertising (Carlin & Banwart, 2001). In their longitudinal study the authors added the additional variable of time, conducting their study in 1990 and again in 2000. In each study negative

spot ads from three recent mixed-gender races (at the levels of U.S. Senate and governor) were randomly selected and viewers rated the candidates on image characteristics as well as vote likelihood.

Carlin and Banwart's (2001) results indicated that consistent throughout 1990 and 2000 the female candidate garnered the majority of the "election" votes when she received higher ratings on a majority of both the stereotypically masculine and feminine characteristics; when she rated higher on just feminine characteristics or masculine characteristics she "lost" to her male opponent. However, when the male opponent garnered more of the vote he was not always rated significantly higher on an overwhelming number of characteristics; in other words, he could rate higher than the female candidate on just a few characteristics but still "win." Such a finding suggests that female candidates must be more outstanding on both masculine and feminine terms in order to be perceived as electable.

These three studies indicate that while much can be learned by viewer reaction to actual campaign ads, there are limitations to this type of research as well. For instance, the studies either do not or are unable to account for any potential party influence. Additionally, while the studies

sought to use spots from races unfamiliar to the subjects, some familiarity with the candidates or outcome of the races may have introduced extraneous influence. Nonetheless, the findings offer intriguing questions about the influence of gender stereotypes over time, the interaction between gender and negative spot ads, viewers' ability to successfully recall information from spot ads, and the dichotomy between vote likelihood and a belief that a male candidates are ultimately more influential.

Scholars Reporting: The Content of Campaign Spot Ads

Since the 1980's, research has examined how female and male candidates differed in the design and content of their spot ads (Benze & Declercq, 1985; Bystrom, 1995; Fox, 2000; Kahn, 1993, 1996; Miller, 1996; Procter, Aden, & Japp, 1988; Procter, Schenck-Hamlin, & Haase, 1994; Robertson, 2000; Trent & Sabourin, 1993a, 1993b). At first glance the findings do not necessarily denote a pattern due to the varied approaches undertaken in the study of the content of spot ads, ranging from differing levels of races, differing types of races, differing messages, and differing elections.

For instance, some scholars have drawn from U.S. Senate races only (Bystrom, 1995; Johnston & White, 1994; Kahn, 1993, 1996; Bystrom & Kaid, 2000); from U.S. Senate and gubernatorial (Bystrom & Miller, 1999; Procter et al., 1994;

Robertson, 2000; Williams, 1998); gubernatorial races only (Miller, 1996; Procter et al., 1988); U.S. House, U.S. Senate, and gubernatorial races (Trent & Sabourin, 1993a, 1993b); and congressional, gubernatorial, and other statewide races (Benze & Declercq, 1985). Spot ads have also been drawn from differing types of races. For instance, spots from a variety of male/male races and mixed-gender races have been compared (Benze & Declercq, 1985; Kahn, 1993, 1996; Trent & Sabourin, 1993a, 1993b), as well as ads from female/female races (Procter et al., 1988). The most common design has used female and male spots from mixed-gender races (Bystrom, 1995; Kaid & Bystrom, 2000; Miller, 1996; Procter et al., 1994; Robertson, 2000; Williams, 1998). Concerning differing types of messages, Trent and Sabourin (1993a, 1993b) and Procter, Schenck-Hamlin, and Haase (1994) only focused on negative spots of female and male candidates.

Perhaps the most important explanation for the resulting differences among studies that include female spot ads rests with the element of time. The earliest studies to analyze differences among female and male candidate ads occurred in the 1980's, the first of which analyzed races from 1980 to 1983 (Benze & Declercq, 1985). Numerous studies followed that focused on ads from various elections

elections in the 1980's: 1982 - 1988 (Kahn, 1996; Trent & Sabourin, 1993a); 1984 - 1986 (Kahn, 1993); and 1986 (Johnston & White, 1994; Procter et al., 1988). The "year of the woman" sparked numerous studies analyzing ads from the early 1990's (Bystrom, 1995; Miller, 1996; Procter et al., 1994; Williams, 1998), 1996 (Bystrom & Miller, 1999), 1998 (Robertson, 2000), and a review of ads through the decade of the 1990's (Bystrom & Kaid, 2000).

Charted by time, findings from these studies indicate that either due to electoral environments (Williams, 1998) or possibly societal changes, the strategies women and men have developed in their spot ads have changed. Areas of particular interest are discussed below, including negative advertising, issues, traits, nonverbal characteristics, and production content.

Negative advertising. For instance, early studies of female and male televised ads indicated that male candidates used negative advertising more than female candidates (Benze & Declercq, 1985). A comprehensive study of ads from the 1980s argued, however, that differences existed when the level of office was considered. Specifically, male gubernatorial candidates used twice as much negative advertising than female gubernatorial candidates, while female Senate candidates used more negative advertising than

male Senate candidates (Kahn, 1996). Studies of ads from the early 1990s found that female Senate and gubernatorial candidates used negative advertising as much as male candidates (Bystrom, 1995; Kahn, 1993, 1996; Procter et al., 1994; Williams, 1998), while in the late 1990s female Senate candidates ran more negative ads than their male counterparts (Bystrom & Kaid, 2000; Bystrom & Miller, 1999; Robertson, 2000).

When delving into the intricacies of attack advertising, scholars have found greater consistencies. For instance, research on ads from the 1980s found female candidates were more likely to attack their opponents on the issues while male candidates were more likely to attack or emphasize the opponent's positions and traits (Benze & Declercq, 1985; Kahn, 1993). Additionally, male candidates ads from the 1980s more frequently featured the opponent, showed the candidate in a close-up at the time of the attack, and were more assaultive, overtly attacking the opponent's "character, motivations, associations, or actions," (Trent & Sabourin, 1993a). Female candidate ads from the 1980s were more likely to use others in the ads, did not picture the opponent, were less likely to show the candidate close-up at the time of the attack, and included a

greater variety of attacks such as comparison, concept, as well as assaultive (Trent & Sabourin, 1993a).

In the early 1990s, research suggested that as female candidates increased their use of attack ads, they employed the more traditional style of attack ad versus response or comparative ads (Procter et al., 1994). Although the traditional attack ad also remained a favorite of male candidates, male candidates were more likely to employ the comparative ad than female candidates (Procter et al., 1994). Both female and male candidates used a variety of similar strategies, such as anonymous announcers to deliver the attacks in their ads, attacking the opponent on the issues, and using guilt by association (Bystrom, 1995). By 1998, however, female candidates more than male candidates were again emphasizing issues in their attack messages followed by their opponents' performance, and male candidates attacked their opponents' personal characteristics more so than the female candidates (Robertson, 2000).

Issues. In the 1980s, female candidates discussed issues in their ads in a majority of their ads (Johnston & White, 1994; Kahn, 1993, 1996) and more so than male candidates (Kahn, 1993, 1996). With regard to specific issues, a correlation seemed to exist between what issues

candidates discussed and how voters aligned female and male candidates with issues. As Kahn (1993) reported in her study of 1980s ads, "men are more likely to discuss economic issues such as taxes and the federal budget, in their spot ads, while women spend more time talking about social issues and social policy, such as education and health policy" (p. 489).

In the 1990s, what female candidates felt they could discuss appeared to change. Bystrom (1995) found female candidates discussing taxes significantly more than male candidates, as well as the stereotypical "women's" issues such as choice and equal rights. Further, female and male candidates "equally" discussed "masculine" issues such as unemployment/jobs, the federal budget, recession/depression, dissatisfaction with the government, defense/military, crime/prisons, international issues, cost of living/inflation, and the economy (Bystrom, 1995, p. 135). "Feminine" issues also received relatively equal attention, including senior citizen issues, welfare reform, ethics/moral decline, poverty, and family leave; although not at a level of significance, female candidates did take the lead on discussing education, health care, and the environment (Bystrom, 1995, p. 135-136).

Williams (1998) found similar results, although he grouped crime, drugs, abortion, and family values into one category of "social issues," and economy, jobs, taxes, the deficit, and debt into one category of "economy" (p. 48). Results of his study did find that male candidates discussed "social issues" more than female candidates, 41% to 29% respectively. Williams attributed the difference to the inclusion of gubernatorial ads in which issues such as crime are more pertinent to that level of race. Such an argument was supported in Bystrom and Miller's (1999) analysis of gubernatorial and Senate ads from 1996. Male candidates discussed crime "twice as often" as female candidates, although issues such as education, jobs, the budget, and health care were discussed equally by female and male candidates.

In 1998, however, Robertson (2000) found a return to the discussion of stereotypical masculine and feminine issues. Specifically, female candidates were more likely to discuss education, health care, youth violence, and "women's issues" such as choice, sexual harassment, and women's rights (p. 133). Male candidates were more likely to discuss taxes, the budget deficit, unemployment, and defense. Overall, Robertson determined male candidates were more likely to discuss traditionally male issues and female

candidates were more likely to discuss traditionally female issues.

Traits. During the early 1980s, male candidates were more likely to emphasize toughness while female candidates were more likely to emphasize warmth and compassion in their ads; the candidates' emphasized their competence relatively equally (Benze & Declercq, 1985). Kahn's (1996) study of ads from the mid to late 1980s found women discussing their competence in a significantly higher percentage of ads than male candidates, and more likely to discuss their integrity and strength/toughness. When combining "female traits" and "male traits" into two categories for analysis, Kahn (1993) reported both female and male candidates discussed "'male' traits [competence and leadership] far more extensively than 'female' traits [compassion and honesty]" (p. 490). Kahn argued that female candidates, "by stressing their stereotypical weaknesses and talking almost exclusively about 'male' traits, try to dispel voters' preconceptions about the 'typical' female candidate (e.g., women are weak leaders)" (p. 491).

Studying ads from the early 1990s, Williams (1998) also determined that female and male candidates both emphasized "masculine" traits, but that female candidates were more likely to emphasize integrity, empathy, and activity.

Similarly, Bystrom (1995) found female candidates emphasized the "masculine traits" of toughness/strength, leadership, and competence slightly more than male candidates; male candidates emphasized performance/success, aggressive/fighter, experience, and knowledge slightly more than female candidates. Male candidates did discuss the "feminine trait" of trustworthiness significantly more than female candidates, and their sensitivity/understanding and warmth/compassion only slightly more. The only "feminine trait" that female candidates emphasized more than male candidates was being a Washington outsider.

In the 1996 ads, an even more complete reversal appeared to take place. Bystrom and Miller (1999) found that female candidates were more likely to emphasize traits of toughness, strength, and aggressiveness than male candidates. However, male candidates were more likely to stress their honesty, integrity, sensitivity, warmth, and compassion.

Just two years later, Robertson (2000) found that male candidates returned to stressing the "masculine" trait of performance/success significantly more than female candidates, and leadership, experience, and competence only slightly more. Not relinquishing the stressing of "feminine" traits, male candidates again stressed

trustworthiness significantly more than female candidates as well as honesty/integrity; male candidates also emphasized their sensitivity/understanding and cooperation slightly more than female candidates. Female candidates were more likely to discuss the "masculine" trait of aggressive/fighter significantly more than male candidates, and their toughness/strength, knowledge, and activeness only slightly more. Female candidates did little to stress "feminine" traits, again stressing their "outsider" status only slightly more than male candidates (Robertson, 2000).

Nonverbal characteristics. Nonverbal characteristics of ads that scholars have analyzed include such items as the dress (attire) of the candidates, their use of touch, and their eye contact. In the 1980s, female candidates appeared in professional clothing less often than male candidates in their negative attack ads (Trent & Sabourin, 1993a), although overall female Senate candidates appeared in formal clothing more often than male Senate candidates (Kahn, 1996). In the 1990s, female candidates continued to dress more formally (Bystrom, 1995; Bystrom & Miller, 1999; Kaid & Bystrom, 2000; Williams, 1998).

Studies of ads from the 1980s did not analyze the use of touch in the ads nor the use of eye contact; therefore, only data from 1990s ads offers a foundation for those

variables. In what Bystrom (1995) considered "consistent with research on gender-based nonverbal communication," female candidates were more likely to establish eye contact with the viewer and smile in their early 1990s ads than male candidates (p. 149), although those differences "had mostly disappeared by 1998" (Bystrom & Kaid, 2000, p. 12). In the early 1990s women were also more likely to touch others with whom they were pictured in the ad (Bystrom, 1995), although in 1996 and 1998 male candidates were more likely to touch others in their ads.

Production content. The comparison in the use of production content--or production techniques--in female and male candidate spot ads has been primarily applied to ads from the 1990s but suggests some differences and changes in the candidates' use of this content. For instance, male candidates were more likely to use testimonials in their ads in the early 1990s (Bystrom, 1995); by 1998 female candidates were more likely to use the technique, which has been attributed to the "growing legitimacy" of women as candidates (Bystrom & Kaid, 2000, p. 17). Bystrom and Kaid (2000) also reported that female candidates have been more likely to use superimpositions, slow motion, and technological distortions throughout the 1990s than male candidates. Such a difference is attributed to the greater

use of negative attack ads--which more frequently utilize such production techniques--by female candidates in the 1990s.

Furthering the Analyses

While the literature reviewed raises as many questions as it answers, difficulty arises in the ability to gather together all findings and truly generalize to a "female candidate style." As is evidenced above, time plays an important role by which the findings must be qualified. Discussing the findings within the context of time does uncover some consistent patterns in the styles by which female candidates present themselves in their ads. The context of time also provides support for the argument that the election year (Bystrom & Kaid, 2000) may play a substantial role in how female candidates can and do alter their styles.

The findings also must be approached from an understanding that ads were drawn for analysis from a variety of types of races (male/male, female/male, female/female), levels of races, and types of messages. A number of studies have employed the systematic method of "videostyle" for analyzing the content of female and male candidate spot ads, and as such the findings are much more consistent for discovering a pattern of styles over time

(Bystrom, 1995; Bystrom & Kaid, 2000; Bystrom & Miller, 1999; Miller, 1996). This study will add to that literature by applying videostyle to mixed-gender (female/male) races in 2000. Doing so will offer yet another level of analysis to further explore the styles of female candidates and the manner by which they evolve.

Even with the differences qualified, the studies that explore the influence of gender on reactions to political spot ads illustrate that stereotypical perceptions still influence reactions to female and male candidate spot ads (Hitchon & Chang, 1995; Hitchon et al., 1997) and perceived effectiveness of those ads (Hitchon et al., 1997). Studies that explore the influence of gender on the content of political spots indicate that stereotypes have also played a role in the design of a candidates' self-presentation (e.g., Bystrom & Kaid, 2000; Kahn, 1993, 1996). However, spot ads have offered female candidates the important opportunity to develop and control the presentation of a videostyle to their voters.

Over time it has become apparent that more similarities than differences may exist in an overall videostyle of female and male candidates (Bystrom & Kaid, 2000; Williams, 1998). Continuing to explore how candidates use the mass media to present their image to voters is necessary to help

us gather a better understanding of the influence of gender on our political dialogue. Campaigning via the Internet offers female candidates a new opportunity to define their images through their "webstyle." Developing webstyle strategies to overcome lingering stereotypes and present an image of a viable political candidate will be the new challenge for female candidates but one that may offer great potential.

Campaigning via the Internet

Although the use of spot ads still remains of utmost importance in political campaigns, the popularity of the Internet and its ability to disseminate controlled information en masse has sparked the interest of political candidates. The 1996 election cycle was the first in which the Internet was given serious attention from the candidates' campaigns (Davis, 1999), and by 1998 the Internet was viewed as "a mass medium" (Raney, 1998; Glass, 1998). With campaigns more fully realizing the opportunities of online campaigning, in 1998, 75% of Senate candidates and 64% of House candidates hosted web sites (Dulio, Goff, & Thurber, 1999). Although many proponents of the online medium suggested that the Internet would become a "mainstream tool" for the 2000 elections (Van Slambrouck, 1999), critics still labeled the Internet "less as an

essential campaign tool" (Grumman, 1998) and a promise unfulfilled (Knight, 1998).

As the 2000 election loomed, however, the Internet's role in politics was being raised to that of a "broad-based medium to be reckoned with" (Shiver, 1999). Such an increase in status was undoubtedly influenced by the estimate of online American adults reaching 54% in 2000 (Ehrenman & Wagner, 2000). The impact and popularity of political campaign communication on the Internet escalated such that candidates were advised that "a web site should be as fine-tuned as any TV spot or direct mail piece" (Jalonick, 2000, p. 56).

Early in election year 2000, a "majority of Americans" were looking to the Internet as "an important source of election information" (Faucheux, 2000). Specifically, 61% of the respondents in an American University poll indicated that they would go online to become involved in 2000 election--receive information, discuss candidates online--while 3% indicated they planned to donate money via the Internet (Faucheux, 2000). According to Ron Faucheux (2000), editor-in-chief of Campaigns & Elections, the 3% response translated to approximately 1 million people, a pool of potential donors that candidates could not afford to overlook in 2000.

By the time election day had passed, polls indicated that Americans who sought election information on the Internet had more than quadrupled from 1996. A report issued by The Pew Research Center for the People & the Press (2000) indicated that 18% of Americans went online for election news, a notable increase over the 4% who reportedly sought information from the Internet in 1996. Even more importantly, of those who voted on election day, 30% used the Internet to gather campaign news, "a threefold increase from 1996" (The Pew Center, 2000, p. 2).

Further, "nearly seven-in-ten of those who went online for election news sought out information on the candidates' positions" (The Pew Center, 2000, p. 2), and "28% of election news consumers visited the web site of a candidate or campaign to get news or information about the 2000 elections" (The Pew Center, 2000, p. 5). Surpassing early speculation, 5% of those polled indicated they had made contributions to campaigns over the Internet (The Pew Center, 2000, p. 2).

Undoubtedly, as The Pew Center (2000) report notes, "Campaign 2000 firmly established the Internet as a major source of election news and information" (p. 1). The importance that the Internet has recently begun to play as a new mass media tool for campaigns warrants further study to

better understand how it is being used by candidates as a method to communicate with voters. As Davis (1999) has argued, "Since communication is so vital to a campaign, and candidates and voters are turning to the Internet to transmit and receive information, the Internet must be studied as a communication tool" (p. 96).

In studying the Internet as a communication tool, previous academic research has focused on politics and the Internet on a variety of scales. In a broad sweep of the Internet's influence in the 1996 election, Gary W. Selnow (1998) and Richard Davis (1999) both offered extensive analyses of the influence of the Internet for candidates, journalists, political activists, minority voices, and the government.

Selnow (1998) optimistically wrote that "the Internet is shaping up to be a serious international medium that will radically alter politics in the United States and abroad, and what's more, it will impact society on a larger level" (p. xxii). In speaking to the Internet's potential as a communication tool, Selnow proposed that that Internet is truly a combination tool, utilizing "all the formats of the traditional media--text like a newspaper, audio like radio, and audio-visual something like TV or movies, and it can do them all at one time" (p. 42). Selnow also promoted the

Internet's interactive capabilities, suggesting that such a benefit allows candidates to be more personal. With respect to the 1996 campaign, Selnow criticized that the "biggest slipup of the political season was the misuse of feedback" (p. xxiii), elaborating that web site interactive features were "underused" and their potential not completely understood--by either campaigns or voters (p. 42).

Davis (1999) offered a slightly more pessimistic view of the Internet's ultimate influence on politics, stating, This new technology will not revolutionize who gets elected. It will change the way campaigns are run. Candidate communication via the Internet will be a staple. But that will not alter the balance of power in favor of candidates and parties who fail to attract voter support now. (p. 120)

Similar to Selnow (1998), however, Davis did suggest that the Internet offers a combination of mediums and as such "seems well suited as a forum for political participation" (p. 35). Most importantly, if a candidate can attract and communicate with Internet users, such effort is worthwhile as "those using the Web are more likely to vote" (p. 88).

In his analysis of the 1996 election, Davis (1999) identified six functions that the web sites served for candidates: "candidate symbol, information dissemination,

opinion gauge, reinforcement of vote choice and GOTV (get out the vote), volunteer ID and fundraising, and interactivity" (p. 97). Particularly relevant to this study, Davis suggested that the 1996 web sites symbolically suggested to the voters that the candidate had an "awareness of the future and an ability to adapt to new innovations" (p. 98). Further, "the design of the web site was also intended to shape the users' image of the candidate as a person. . . . offering a warm and attractive portrait of the candidate" (p. 99).

In terms of the second function identified, information dissemination, Davis (1999) argued that web sites offered a mix of "positive information about the candidate and negative information about the opponent," with the "priority message" focusing on "image information about the candidate--personal biographies, photos with the family or constituents" (p. 99). In an analysis of 100 web sites from the 1996 election, with the races ranging from local Judge to U.S. Senate, Davis found that 87% included candidate biographies, 80% included the candidate's issue positions, and 96% identified the candidate's political party affiliation. When analyzing the negative information about the opponent on the web site, 53% of the candidates mentioned their opponent(s), 39% criticized their

opponent(s), and 27% "explicitly mentioned any issue position of an opponent that would then serve as a contrast with the candidate's positions" (p. 103).

In forecasting the future of candidate campaigning on the Internet, Davis (1999) argued that candidates will "need to place sites on the Web just as they need to raise minimum amounts of money and run television spots" (p. 115). However, such sites will need to be armed with more information about issues, higher quality graphics, greater interactivity, and attentive maintenance that updates the site as well as provides responses through the interactive capabilities.

Both Selnow (1998) and Davis (1999) offered an extensive analysis and overview of the Internet's first real entrance into mainstream political media. Other researchers have also contributed to this area of research by studying the 1996 presidential candidate web sites (Tedesco, Miller, and Spiker, 1999) and the 1996 U.S. Senate candidate web sites (Klotz, 1997). In their research on 1996 presidential candidate web sites, Tedesco, Miller, and Spiker (1999) offered a descriptive analysis of the information provided on the sites throughout the general election. The authors found that while the content was "one-sided," it was

"predominantly positive in its focus and primarily centered on campaign issue information" (pp. 62-63).

Klotz (1997) studied the U.S. Senate candidate web sites during the general election, although for a slightly shorter amount of time, also finding a priority on issue information. Klotz determined 90% of the candidates provided issue sections, with the economy, education, and crime the three most common issues discussed. The candidates also readily included personal information such as marital status, children's names, and names of their parents, but less readily offered information about their religion, political affiliation, and hobbies. Klotz determined that 34% mentioned their opponent in an unfavorable manner, however the negative attack was "almost always" issue focused (p. 484).

Stromer-Galley (2000) combined the study of the 1996 presidential candidate web sites with those of ten gubernatorial web sites in 1998. Stromer-Galley studied the interactive nature of the sites, determining that the candidate web sites used far more media interaction (e.g., hyper links, biographical and issue information) than human interaction--sources through which messages could be sent and replies could be provided (e.g., discussion boards, chat rooms, forms to send messages to the candidate). Such a

decision, she argued, is due to the campaigns' belief that human interaction is more burdensome, poses a risk of losing control of the messages/information posted on the sites, and requires more detail-specific campaign discourse.

In studying the 1998 election campaign, Dulio, Goff, and Thurber (1999) focused specifically on how candidates solicited donations over the Internet. Analyzing the web sites of candidates running for the U.S. Senate and those running in open races for the U.S. House, the authors found that 73% of the web sites analyzed "solicited contributions from visitors in some way" (p. 54). Dulio et al.'s study indicated a substantial increase from Davis' (1999) study of web sites in 1996, in which only 46% solicited contributions in some manner.

Dulio et al. (1999) specifically noted that the candidates asked for contributions by: "(1) inviting the contributor to send in a contribution by mail; (2) inviting the donor to download, print, and complete a form, and send in a contribution by mail; (3) asking the donor to pledge to contribute; and (4) encouraging the donor to contribute online" (p. 54). Such findings indicate an advancement in legality as well as technology from 1996, a cycle in which no candidates asked for online contributions; "campaigns for

federal office in 1996 were prohibited from accepting credit card donations" (Davis, 1999, p. 108).

Advancing the study of candidate web sites through the 2000 campaign, researchers have analyzed the issue discussions on primary presidential candidate web sites (Hansen & Benoit, 2001), the web sites of candidates running for the U.S. Senate in 2000 (Puopolo, 2001), and the web sites of candidates running for U.S. Senate and governor in 1998 and 2000 (Greer & LaPointe, 2001). In their study of primary presidential candidate issue discussions in 2000, Hansen and Benoit (2001) analyzed varied media sources, including the candidate web sites, to determine what issues were discussed and how those issues related to voter preferences gathered from polling information. Through a computerized content analysis, the authors found that the candidate web sites correlated less with the voters' agenda than spot ads or the debates. However, eight public agenda issues were identified for correlation, and the authors' acknowledge due to the unlimited space the candidates were much more likely to incorporate a broader range of issue discussions on their web sites than within the other media sources analyzed.

More relative to this study, Puopolo's (2001) overview of the U.S. Senate candidate web sites in 2000 offers

insight as to whether candidate sites contained biographical information and mission statements, which issues were discussed, the type of interactive features available, and information about the web site's architect. In her study, Puopolo identified that 60 of the 68 candidates hosted campaign web sites, and all candidates included a biographical section "that included information on the candidate's place of birth, education, and relevant public service information" (p. 2035). Regarding the issues discussed, the most frequent were "education, health care, social security, taxes, the environment, and the national budget," with education as the top issue (p. 2035).

Particularly relevant, Puopolo (2001) also categorized some of her findings by gender. Although the 54 male candidate web sites were compared directly with the 6 female candidate web sites, such a comparison does offer a generic overview based on gender alone. For instance, Puopolo noted that female candidates discussed Social Security, taxes, seniors/retirement, technology, housing, abortion, immigration/borders, and foreign policy more than male candidates. Male candidates discussed education, health care, prescription drugs, the environment, employment, gun control, crime, agriculture, infrastructure, public safety, campaign finance reform, veterans affairs, the military, and

welfare reform more than female candidates. Both female and male candidates discussed the budget equally as often.

With regard to interactive capabilities, Puopolo (2001) found that female candidates were more likely to offer e-mail, solicit volunteers and campaign contributions, provide voter registration, video files, audio files, newsletters, search capabilities, netcasting, and a town hall forum. Male candidates were more likely to offer links and the opportunity to purchase products such as t-shirts. While Puopolo's study is descriptive in nature and does not seek to draw any significant comparisons, her attempt to segment differences in how female and male candidates have designed their web sites is one of the first to incorporate gender as an analytical variable.

Greer and LaPointe (2001) also conducted a content analysis of candidate web sites, focusing however on U.S. Senate and gubernatorial candidate web sites in both 1998 and 2000. The authors determined that overall more information was made available on the web sites in 2000 than in 1998, and that Senate candidates had more information available than gubernatorial candidates. Such information included biographical, issues related, voter interaction, general government information, and information about the opponent. Ironically, significantly less information was

made available for "constituent help" (Greer & LaPointe, 2001, p. 16).

Greer and LaPointe (2001) detected differences in the year and type of site as well, with 1998 gubernatorial candidate sites significantly more likely to provide issue information and voter interaction; 2000 gubernatorial sites were significantly more likely to provide government, achievement, and family information. Senate candidate sites in 1998 were significantly more likely to provide government and opponent information; in 2000 Senate candidate sites were only more likely to provide information in the "other" category (Greer & LaPointe, 2001, p. 17).

The use of graphics and interactivity were also measured by Greer and LaPointe (2001), with the use of photos or graphics, animation, and video or audio significantly increasing from 1998 to 2000. Overall, Senate candidates tended to employ more graphics features than gubernatorial candidates. The interactive features also increased from 1998 to 2000, and although 1998 found Senate candidates more likely to use certain types of interactive features no difference emerged between levels of office in 2000.

Greer and LaPointe (2001) also compared the variables by gender, although they directly compared male candidate

sites from male/male races as well as mixed-gender races against the female candidate sites. Findings from their study indicated no difference between the content of female and male candidate web sites. Differences did emerge when comparing what Greer and LaPointe categorized as incumbent, "other office holder," and "true outsider" (p. 22). The true outsiders, considered challengers without any prior elective office history, had significantly less information, graphics, and interactivity on their sites.

As is evident, research, particularly in the form of content analysis, is burgeoning in the study of Internet and its use in political campaigns. However, while researchers have used content analysis to study what is present on candidate web sites (Davis, 1999; Dulio, Goff, & Thurber, 1999; Greer & LaPointe, 2001; Hansen & Benoit, 2001; Klotz, 1997; Puopolo, 2001; Tedesco, Miller, & Spiker, 1999), this current study serves as the first attempt to analyze systematically the style of candidate self-presentation on web sites. This study offers further insight into candidate use of the Internet by exploring more fully the influence of gender in candidate self-presentation on the Internet, as well as candidate image development across a traditional and non-traditional medium.

Theoretical Foundations

Three lines of theoretical constructs provide a foundation for this study and will be described in greater detail throughout this section. First to be discussed is the research on communication styles of women and men, inclusive of Campbell's (1989) work on "feminine style," which suggests differences in the communication styles and patterns of women and men are grounded in and perpetuated by societal constraints. The second construct draws from the research on videostyle, initially introduced by Kaid and Davidson (1986). Videostyle builds on the concept of "self-presentation" as discussed by Goffman (1959); videostyle has since been advanced to study the self-presentation of female and male candidates in political spot ads. The final construct draws from the study of mixed media messages, specifically variances from multi-channel exposure.

Communication Styles and Patterns: Gendered Schemas and Perceptions?

The complex phenomenon of communication has been carefully defined as "a dynamic, systemic process in which meanings are created and reflected in human interaction with symbols" (Wood, 1994, p. 33). Wood (1994) elaborated that communication is dynamic in that it is an ongoing process and systemic in that it is influenced by the systems of

context and culture. Further, communication occurs through the use of abstract symbols that rely on past experiences, "values, thoughts, and feelings" for interpretation of meanings (Wood, 1994, p. 31-32). Gender, according to Wood, is one of the "primary aspects of identity" that is learned from communicating with others (p. 48).

Numerous theories have been developed to better understand the social construction of gender and its effects on communication style and perceptions. In their overview of communication theories about gender, Bate and Bowker (1997) categorized the theories into four perspectives that will guide this discussion as well: biological, cultural, rhetorical, and power.

Biological Perspectives

The biological perspective points to differences in communication styles as "driven by predetermined biology" (Bate & Bowker, 1997, p. 53). This perspective assigns an individual's style of communication to his/her biological characteristics, suggesting hormones, how the brain is used, and physical size influence behavior and expectations for behavior (Bate & Bowker, 1997; Wood, 1994). Such expectations include assuming females will have greater verbal fluency while males will be more physically and verbally aggressive (Bate & Bowker, 1997).

While it is argued that the biological perspective cannot be completely ruled out (Bate & Bowker, 1997; Pearson, Turner, Todd-Mancillas, 1991; Wood, 1994), the perspective is problematic when interactions with others are based solely on those assumptions. The view uses generalizations that stereotype people based on "meager facts and questionable generalizations" (Bate & Bowker, 1997) at best, limiting not only how we see others but how others see themselves.

Cultural Perspectives

A second perspective on gender and communication considers differences due to culture. Similar to communication, gender is generally considered "a social, symbolic creation" with the "meaning of gender grow[ing] out of society's values, beliefs, and preferred ways of organizing collective life" (Wood, 1994, p. 21). As Wood (1994) has stated, "We are born male or female--a classification based on biology--but we learn to be masculine or feminine" (p. 21). Further, "gender is not a strictly personal quality. Rather, it is a complex set of interrelated cultural ideas that stipulate the social meaning of sex" (Wood, 1994, p. 22).

Three specific theories arising from this perspective include Tannen's (1990) Genderlect theory, Kramarae's (1981)

Muted Group theory, and Bem's (1993) Gender Schema theory. The Genderlect theory suggests that both women and men have different yet valid styles of communicating that are socially learned/constructed. Through this approach Tannen suggested that women use communication to establish relationships and strengthen bonds (rapport talk), while men use communication to achieve/ensure status (report talk). Tannen also argued that women speak more than men in private situations and men speak more in public situations, using such situations to assert status and insist on agreement.

Muted Group theory is based on the assumption that women and men view the world differently because of their different experiences and activities rooted in the divisions of labor. Kramarae (1981) argued that women use different language strategies because they lack culturally valued authority, and because women have not shared equally in the development of speech norms, women are more conscious of proper speech styles and speech strategies. Further, because men have controlled the public sphere, historically relegating women to the private sphere, men have shaped the dominant language and framed the public discussion (Kramarae, 1981). Resulting from their "muted group" status, Kramarae suggested women have had more difficulty speaking in public and use more nonverbal expressions.

Bem's (1993) Gender Schema theory is based on the assumption that "gender schematicity" is the acceptance of gender polarization learned from the culture (p. 125). Bem argued that this polarization begins at childhood, at which time children learn to accept or reject that which is appropriate or inappropriate for their sex based on definitions learned from their culture. Such polarization is problematic for both women and men, equally and narrowly constraining roles for both.

Genderlect, Muted Group, and Gender Schema theories speak to the strength by which our culture influences our perceptions of gender. Too many times the cultural influences have separated "men into the public world of work, politics, sports, and war and women into the private world of home, family, relationships, and feelings" (Bate & Bowker, 1997, p. 68). As Wood (1994) noted, "gender socialization begun in early years is sustained and reinforced by other cultural influences" (p. 77), implying how we communicate and the communication we should expect from others.

Rhetorical Perspectives

A third perspective, the rhetorical perspective on gender and communication, suggests that the focus on differences should not be driven by the sex of the

individuals participating in the communication process but the interaction of those individuals (Bate & Bowker, 1997). Bate and Bowker (1997) suggested that this perspective offers "the highest degree of individual choice" in deciding how to communicate (p. 69). Such a perspective requires attention to open assumptions about the communication process and analyzing each interaction's situation, strategies, roles, and goals without a stereotyping filter. As Bate and Bowker summarized, "[The rhetorical perspective's] main idea is that anyone, female or male, can have meaningful goals, clear perceptions of situations, and valid strategies for coping with communication in daily life" (p. 72).

Power Perspectives

Bate and Bowker (1997) categorized the fourth and final approach to studying gender and communication as the power perspective, which assumes that people communicate in order to gain "power over" one another (p. 73). Lakoff (1990) addressed the importance of power, stating, "Those who have public power thereby have power to make language and make definitions--a power that, in turn, enhances and legitimizes their public power" (p. 199). Lakoff contended that "since the dawn of recorded history" men have had the power, and as such their discourse has been "deemed necessary and

worthwhile, the stuff of public institutions and public decisions" (p. 205). Women's lack of power has shaped their language style such that they appear to have a "lack of interest in power. . . .not someone who wishes to be assertive or have influence" (p. 206).

Kramarae (1981) also argued that historically men have been encouraged to seek, get, and exert power while women have not been given equal access to power nor equal access to the tools to get power. By virtue of their power, men have been associated with the more highly valued public sphere and accompanying authority, while women have been assigned the less powerful private sphere.

In order to better understand the differences created by power, or a lack thereof, Kramarae (1981) offered the speech strategy model that recommends women and men's speech "is most usefully studied within the context of the social formation of the classes women and men" (Kramarae, 1981, p. 119, emphasis original). Through the lens of the speech strategy model, Kramarae posited that because women lack valued authority they use different communication strategies than men. In addition, because women have not had the same access to power and control of language development and speech norms, "women will be more conscious of 'proper speech' and of speech strategies" (Kramarae, 1981, p. 121).

This overview of the four perspectives reveals that theorists have sought to explain gender differences through varying lenses. Whether through biology, culture, rhetoric, or power, communication shapes how we identify our gender and our expectations of gender. The following discussion will address more specifically what has become identified as "masculine" and "feminine" communication.

Gendered Language

Not only does communication pass along what gender means but Wood (1994) argued we create our gender when we talk. Certain styles of communication have become associated with either women or men and include both verbal and nonverbal communication messages.

Women's and men's speech styles. Women's verbal communication, also referred to as "feminine language" (Bate & Bowker, 1997), is considered a way in which relationships can be established and maintained (Bate & Bowker, 1997; Tannen, 1990; Wood, 1994). Specifically, women's verbal communication promotes such feelings of understanding, equality, support, closeness, and inclusivity. Women's style is also personal, consisting of "details, personal disclosures, anecdotes, and concrete reasoning" (Wood, 1994, p. 142). The use of hedges, tag questions, and adjective

and adverb qualifiers also characterizes women's speech (Bate & Bowker, 1997; Wood, 1994).

Men's verbal communication is considered as a tool for establishing control and status (Tannen, 1990; Wood, 1994), and as such includes more assertions than questions and focuses on goals/tasks (Bate & Bowker, 1997; Wood, 1994). Men may interrupt to establish dominance, speak more abstractly, and indicate little sympathy (Wood, 1994). Men rarely use qualifiers (Bate & Bowker, 1997; Wood, 1994) and use nonstandard speech for emphasis (Bate & Bowker, 1997).

Women's and men's nonverbal styles. Research on nonverbal cues of women and men is not as clearly defined as verbal cues, and as such should be regarded as expectations because more is known about what is expected (Bate & Bowker, 1997). Based on a review of gender and communication texts that summarize the findings of research on nonverbal communication styles (Bate & Bowker, 1997; Pearson et al., 1991; Wood, 1994), gendered patterns do emerge.

Nonverbal cues of women include that they use less space and hold their arms and legs closer to their body than men (Bate & Bowker, 1997; Pearson et al., 1991), women smile more than men (Bate & Bowker, 1997; Pearson et al., 1991), and women establish more eye contact (Pearson et al., 1991; Wood, 1994). Women speak at a higher pitch than men, but

also more softly, with more expressiveness, and raise the intonation at the end of a sentence which implies questioning even if such is not the case (Bate & Bowker, 1997; Pearson et al., 1991). Women also tend to use touch to reinforce supportiveness, however research is inconclusive as to the frequency by which women touch others more than men (Bate & Bowker, 1997; Wood, 1994).

Nonverbal cues of men indicate that they use much more space than women, which is attributed to their use of communication to establish status, dominance, and control (Bate & Bowker, 1997). Men also smile less than women, show less facial expression, and have less eye contact (Pearson et al., 1991; Wood, 1994). Men speak at a lower pitch, louder, and with less expression (Pearson et al., 1991; Wood, 1994); these cues contribute to perceived authority while a monotone voice and lengthy utterance suggest dominance (Bate & Bowker, 1997; Wood, 1994). Although research suggests women and men touch equally, it also suggests men use touch to exert power and authority (Wood, 1994).

The Emergence of Feminine Style

As is evidenced, certain differences between the communication styles of women and men have been documented, as have the expectations of those differences (Bate &

Bowker, 1997; Pearson et al., 1991; Wood, 1994). Of note, research on communication styles of female and male candidates identified in political spot ads has suggested that both women and men use what has become known as the "feminine style" of communication (Bystrom, 1995; Bystrom & Miller, 1999; Trent & Sabourin, 1993a). Such results may indicate that gender is more socially constructed than directly biological; as such, what is acceptable has the potential to change over time (Wood, 1994).

Campbell's (1989) work on "feminine style" has been set aside to be discussed separately from other theories due to its particular application to this study and the research this study seeks to advance. Campbell initially identified the "feminine style" of communication in her rhetorical analysis of the 19th century woman's movement. Campbell argued that at the turn of the 19th century, a "cult of domesticity" arose in which women were relegated to the home and only men were allowed in the public sphere, which included the world of politics.

Campbell (1989) suggested that because women were to remain at home, with the characteristics of modesty, "heart," morality, security and safety, their adoption of the role of the public speaker was a blatant violation. Public speakers were aggressive, initiated action, and

called attention to themselves; "true women" were retiring and modest. Based on the societal/cultural norms, Campbell argued that those women who did venture to the public podium adopted a style that allowed them to cope with the conflicting demands between public and private.

This "feminine style" was personal in tone, structured inductively, invited audience participation, the audience members were addressed as peers, and experience was the base for recognition of authority. The goal of the feminine style was to empower listeners that they (at first the audience included women, then branched out to both genders) could act effectively and be agents of change. Importantly, Campbell (1989) noted that although the "feminine style" emerged from the rhetoric and experiences of women, "it was not, and is not today, a style exclusive to women, either as speakers or as audiences" (p. 12).

Dow and Tonn (1993), in their analysis of Anne Richards' rhetoric in a number of political speeches, were the first to adopt Campbell's feminine style to a political context other than social movements. In analyzing the rhetoric of Texas' former governor Anne Richards, Dow and Tonn argued that Richards employed three of the five elements of feminine style: she relied on concrete examples and anecdotes, she used self-disclosure and shared emotion,

and she used a nurturing tone to encourage participation and empowerment.

Dow and Tonn (1993) effectively illustrated how Campbell's (1989) feminine style, derived from the rhetoric of the early women's movement, can be applied to contemporary political discourse, offering an insightful understanding of successful rhetorical strategies employed by women in the public sphere. Bystrom (1995) furthered this application of feminine style to contemporary public communication through a content analysis of political spot ads from a sample of ads from 1990 and 1993 mixed-gender U.S. Senate races. Bystrom determined that both female and male candidates used elements of feminine style, employing inductive reasoning, a personal tone, and addressing viewers as peers. Bystrom argued that this use of feminine style, while consistent with Campbell's claim that it can be used by both women and men, has more to do with the "intimate medium of television" than a true social change (p. 207).

Additional studies have also applied this method to ads from the 1996 U.S. Senate and gubernatorial mixed-gender races (Bystrom & Miller, 1999), as well as a larger comparison of Senate ads from 1990 to 1998 (Bystrom & Kaid, 2000). While women tended to use a more personal style in

1996 (Bystrom & Miller, 1999), throughout the 1990s both female and male Senate candidates used inductive reasoning more than deductive reasoning.

In addition to incorporating Campbell's (1989) elements of feminine style, these recent content analyses employ variables that measure a candidate's use of gendered verbal and nonverbal communication styles and candidate videostyle (Bystrom 1995; Bystrom & Kaid, 2000; Bystrom & Miller, 1999). Such studies not only shed light on if and how gender differences are enacted in political spot ads, but such studies have been conducted in a consistently systematic method that allow for a more direct comparison of changes over time.

*Videostyle: Self-presentation through
Political Advertising*

Political advertising has been proven to affect how favorable or electable a candidate appears, creating an image of the candidate from which voters can make such judgments (West, 1994-95). Kaid and Johnston (2001) correctly noted, however, that "political advertising is not something that candidates do to voters" (p. 25, emphasis original), nor are the candidate images that result. Instead, the development of such images through political

advertising result from a shared construction of reality between the voter and candidate generated through the personalizing conduit of television (Kaid & Johnston, 2001).

Of interest, however, are the messages that present the candidate to the voter, which in turn share in the construction of such a reality. This self-presentation, as introduced by Kaid and Davidson (1986), is recognized as the candidate's "videostyle" (p. 185).

The concept of videostyle is in part grounded in Goffman's (1959) discussion of self-presentation. Although Goffman discussed self-presentation within the context of interpersonal interactions and through theatrical terminology, his insights have appropriate application to the "personalizing" effect of political advertising.

Goffman proposed that when someone "enters the presence of others, they commonly seek to acquire information about him [sic] or to bring into play information already possessed" (p. 1). In the information acquisition process, the audience looks for "sign-vehicles" such as conduct, appearance, setting, verbal behavior, and nonverbal behavior, particularly noting the "communication asymmetry" that may occur when the verbal and nonverbal behavior do not

support one another (p. 9). In such cases, the audience has an advantage over the actor (Goffman, 1959).

Goffman (1959) also suggested that any actor presenting him or herself has an ultimate goal in their self-presentation. He explained, "Regardless of the particular objective which the individual has in mind and his [sic] motive for having that objective, it will be in his [sic] interests to control the conduct of others, especially their responsive treatment of him [sic]" (p. 3). As a political candidate may seek a positive response that directs voting behavior at the polling booth, so may any individual seek a certain response that leads to acceptance into the group, a successful sale, movement to action, etc. Particularly, Goffman pointed out that the actor gains control by defining the situation and "expressing himself [sic] in such a way as to give [the audience] the kind of impression that will lead them to act voluntarily in accordance with [the actor's] own plan" (p. 4).

Goffman (1959) did caution that either events may occur or facts may come to light during the interaction that could discredit the actor's presentation and posed a solution that centered on information control. Goffman simply suggested that "the audience must not acquire destructive information about the situation being defined for them" (p. 141). With

all candidates having access to the airwaves, obviously such a solution is unrealistic at best although information control still remains a top priority. However, when compared to the filtering of information present in media presentations of the candidates, that momentary personal interaction that occurs within the 30-seconds of the ad offers undeniable opportunity for information control.

Important to this particular study, the concept of self-presentation also brings with it the recognition of social stereotypes placed on certain groups. Goffman (1959) identified sex as one of a few grouping variables for expression in self-presentations, stating that "in each case these bare attributes are elaborated by means of a distinctive complex cultural configuration of proper ways of conducting oneself" (p. 75). While not condoning such behavior, Goffman raised the discussion as a cautionary point for one who seeks to successfully develop a self-presentation.

In her work of analyzing why candidates choose to present certain videostyles, Nesbit (1988) argued that televised self-presentation in political spot ads is more complicated than Goffman's (1959) concept of interpersonal self-presentation. Not only is the message transmitted rapidly, no immediate feedback is available, and the

audience is heterogeneous, but the candidate is unable to alter, clarify, or set the mood for his or her message (Nesbit, 1988). Further, the content of the ad is determined by people other than the candidate, namely consultants, and that the "timing, frequency, and sequence of airing the spots" is out of the candidate's control" (Nesbit, 1988, p. 11). Nonetheless, Nesbit still concurred that political advertising involves the candidate relating to those watching the spot ad, and as such political ads represent the candidate's presentation of self to the voters.

Videostyle: Identifying the Components

In the inaugural identification of candidate videostyle, Kaid and Davidson (1986) provided a systematic method of describing the verbal content, nonverbal content, and film/video production content presented in political spot ads. Similar to Goffman's (1959) notion that in interpersonal interaction the audience considers verbal and nonverbal conduct, the addition of film/video production content allows for the analysis of "style elements unique to television" (Kaid & Johnston, 2001).

Specifically, verbal content of videostyle examines whether the content is negative or positive, whether the content discusses issues or candidate images, choice of

language, appeals (e.g., fear, ethos, logos, pathos), and verbal content used to enact strategies of incumbency or challenger status (Kaid & Davidson, 1986; Kaid & Johnston, 2001). Thus, the verbal component of videostyle focuses on the "semantic characteristics" used in the message of the ad (Kaid & Davidson, 1986; Kaid & Johnston, 2001).

Nonverbal content of videostyle examines the personal appearance, kinesics, paralanguage, and the environment and objects pictured with or around the candidate. More specifically, videostyle accounts for the candidate's dress, vocal qualities, setting of the ad, body language (e.g., open, closed), whether the candidate touches others in the ad, and whether the candidate smiles (Kaid & Davidson, 1986; Kaid & Johnston, 2001).

The third component of videostyle includes the film/video production content used in the ad. Such content includes "camera angles, cutting techniques, use of music, use of sound-on versus sound-over approaches, live (or natural) versus staged settings, and various special effects" (Kaid & Davidson, 1986, p. 189). Such techniques can play a role in the self-presentation of the candidate by, for instance, setting the mood for an audience through music, directing the focus of the viewer through camera shots, warmth through the use of close-ups, and evoking of

emotion through special effects (Kaid & Johnston, 2001). In other words, such techniques aid in the presentation and shaping of the verbal and nonverbal messages.

As Nesbit (1988) noted, the audience generally does not dissect the message in an ad, but in turn "form[s] impressions based on the mood [of the ad], which may have been created by background music, the sharpness of the visual images, and the persuasiveness of the verbal content" (p. 152). Videostyle offers the ability to systematically inquire as to how such impressions might be prompted, and more importantly what impressions the candidates attempted to prompt in order to secure votes.

Videostyle: Identifying Status Styles

In their initial study, Kaid and Davidson (1986) analyzed the role of status in candidate self-presentation, thus proposing an incumbent videostyle and a challenger videostyle. Their research determined that incumbent candidates use longer spot ads, more testimonials, have more "candidate-positive focus," use more slides with print, dress more formally, use announcers or other voices in their ads, and stress competence both verbally and visually (p. 199). Challenger candidates use more "opposition-negative focus," a cinema verite style, shots of the candidate "head-on," have more eye contact with the camera/audience, dress

more casually, and speak for themselves in their ads (p. 199).

Additional variables in the videostyle content categories reflect the research on the campaign styles of incumbents and challengers. Variables that reflect an incumbent style include legitimacy of incumbency, the use of endorsements by party and other important leaders, use of an "above the trenches" technique (Trent & Friedenberg, 1995), competency (Kaid & Davidson, 1986; Trent & Friedenberg, 1995), positive focus (Kaid & Davidson, 1986; Kaid & Johnston, 2001; Kahn, 1993), focus on the issues, emphasizing more personality characteristics, use of more fear appeals, emphasis on more social issues and foreign policy, and more use of music (Kaid & Johnston, 2001).

Variables that reflect a challenger style include emphasizing optimism for the future, yearning for the past and traditional values, appearing to represent the philosophical center of the party, using others to make attacks (Trent & Friedenberg, 1995), attacking the record of opponents, calling for change, taking the offensive position on issues (Kaid & Johnston, 2001; Trent & Friedenberg, 1995), emphasizing economic issues, emphasizing aggressiveness as a personal characteristic, using tight or

close-up camera shots, and using more special effects (Kaid & Johnston, 2001).

Videostyle: Identifying Gendered Styles

Much of the research about videostyles of candidates has focused on presidential candidates (e.g., Kaid, 1994, 1998, 2002; Kaid & Banwart, 2001; Kaid & Johnston, 2001; Kaid & Tedesco, 1999a), finding differences between candidates, incumbents and challengers, and Republicans and Democrats. However, in 1995 Bystrom advanced the three videostyle constructs to include variables from which the influence of gender on candidate videostyles could be measured.

Drawing from the literature on gendered communication styles, Bystrom (1995) incorporated variables that the research identified as distinct to female and male communication styles. Such variables measured "the posture of the candidate and use of touch, gestures, and language intensifiers" (Bystrom, 1995, p. 117). Traits associated with female communication style were measured, such as "cooperation with others, Washington outsider, sensitive/understanding, trustworthiness," as were traits associated with male communication style, such as "leadership, experience in politics, knowledgeable/

intelligent" (p. 118). Bystrom also incorporated a section to identify issues discussed.

Through her analysis of ads from mixed-gender U.S. Senate races from 1990 to 1993, Bystrom (1995) identified a "female videostyle" and a "male videostyle." The female videostyle was identified as:

Women generally (a) use verbal strategies identifying with their states, invoking change, inviting action, and attacking their opponents on their records; (b) picture themselves and their opponents; (c) use more language intensifiers; (d) make more eye contact; (e) smile more; (f) dress more formally; (g) speak more often for themselves in their ads; (h) appear head-on; (i) use a "sound-on" candidate live audio; and (j) use more slides with print and superimpositions. (p. 185)

The male videostyle was identified as:

Men (a) emphasize their trustworthiness; (b) picture themselves and others; (c) look more serious or attentive; (d) dress casually more; (e) use other person to speak on their behalf; (f) use someone else head-on; (g) use other person live sound; (h) use more testimonials; and (i) use a variety of spot lengths. (p. 185)

Bystrom concluded that the differences "are not so much in what they say, but how they say it" (p. 185-186).

Only a small number of studies since have sought to explore the self-presentation styles of female and male candidates in their political ads (Bystrom & Kaid, 2000; Bystrom & Miller, 1999; Miller, 1996). This review of literature has already discussed the changes in the content of female and male candidate political ads since the early 1980s, and identifies that such changes at times propose greater similarity than difference in female and male videostyle. However, continuing to research female and male candidate self-presentation not only uncovers how campaign dialogue is developed by women and men, even if similarly, but offers potential clues about electoral success in mixed-gender races.

As long as recent studies still indicate that issues are being assigned to female and male candidates based on stereotypical gender roles (Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993a, 1993b; Koch, 1999; Leeper, 1991), that male candidates receive more positive evaluations (Koch, 1999; Riggle et al., 1997), and that traditionally male attributes are more closely associated with all levels of political office (Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993a; Rosenwasser & Dean, 1989), research on how female candidate self-presentation

successfully overcomes such potentially damaging constraints is imperative. Further, the more understanding we have of how female candidates present themselves as viable political candidates for varying levels of office may provide needed insight.

To date the research on female and male videostyle has examined mixed-gender races for the U.S. Senate (Bystrom, 1995; Bystrom & Kaid, 2000), governor (Miller, 1996), or U.S. Senate and governor (Bystrom & Miller, 1999). Expanding this prior work to incorporate videostyle at three levels--U.S. Senate, U.S. House, and governor--lends additional depth and strength to studying the role of gender in candidate self-presentation.

Multiple Channel Comparison: Traditional vs. New Media

As has been discussed earlier, although researchers have sought to study what is present on candidate web sites (Davis, 1999; Dulio, Goff, & Thurber, 1999; Greer & LaPointe, 2001; Hansen & Benoit, 2001; Klotz, 1997; Puopolo, 2001; Stromer-Galley, 2000; Tedesco, Miller, & Spiker, 1999), this current study serves as the first attempt to analyze systematically the style of candidate self-presentation on web sites. Further, this study represents the first research known to the author that proposes an

analysis of presentation styles across two mass media channels, television and the Internet.

Communication scholars have explored the concept of mass media cross-channel comparison, although with a focus on and concern for use by receivers, influence, or knowledge acquisition. For instance, studies have compared the purposes behind television use to web site use (Ferguson & Perse, 2000; Flanagin & Metzger, 2001); the influence of channel--traditional media and the Internet--on message credibility (Johnson & Kaye, 1998), interpersonal trust, and civic engagement (Shah, McLeod, & Yoon, 2001); and have compared memory measures (Sundar, Narayan, Obregon, & Uppal, 1998) and learning (Eveland & Dunwoody, 2001) between print and web sites.

In addition, researchers have studied the influence of traditional and nontraditional media on voter perceptions/voter intentions (Pfau & Eveland, 1996), as well as the relationship between political knowledge acquisition and multiple media use (e.g., Brians & Wattenberg, 1996; Drew & Weaver, 1998; Eveland & Scheufele, 2000; Lowden, Anderson, Dozier, & Lauzen, 1994; Shoemaker, Schooler, & Danielson, 1989), and traditional versus nontraditional media use (Johnson, Braima, & Sothirajah, 1999).

Such studies do provide solid evidence for cross channel (media) comparisons, particularly in the comparison of television to Internet. For instance, research indicates that respondents do use the Internet for similar functions as television, such as information gathering (Ferguson & Perse, 2000; Flanagin & Metzger, 2001) and entertainment (Ferguson & Perse, 2000). Shah et al. (2001) successfully drew comparisons between print, broadcast, and Internet media use with trust and civic engagement, finding predictive measures for all three media.

Much of the research comparing multiple media channels focuses not on a source projection perspective but a source receiver perspective. A primary and intuitive argument to support the current study of candidate self-presentation across the traditional medium of television and the nontraditional medium of the Internet is based on the candidate's benefit of control over the presentation as it is channeled to the receiver in both the spot ad (Wadsworth et al., 1987) and web site (Davis, 1999). Further, due to the lack of interpersonal interaction with political candidates, less influence from party functions (Kern, 1989), greater dependency on the mass media, and proven record of influence from such mass media sources as political advertising, it is important to further study the

content of what might influence or at least inform our political attitudes.

Research Questions

Based on a review of the literature on the use of campaign spot ads and more specifically, female candidate political advertising, gender-based communication constraints and self-presentation strategies, as well as the emergence of the Internet as a mass media channel in political campaigns, this study is designed to respond to the following research questions:

- RQ₁: Are there significant differences between the female and male candidates in the videostyle content (verbal, nonverbal, production technique) of their televised spot ads from the 2000 general election?
- RQ₂: Are there significant differences between female and male candidates in the webstyle content (verbal, nonverbal, production technique, interactive) of their web sites from the 2000 general election?
- RQ₃: Are there significant differences between the self-presentation styles (verbal, nonverbal, production) of female and male candidates on their web sites as compared to their televised spot ads from the 2000 general election?

Chapter III

METHOD

As previously discussed, the purpose of this study was threefold. First, this study sought to advance the previous literature on the videostyle of political candidate spot ads, extending the research on videostyles of mixed-gender Senate (Bystrom, 1995; Kaid & Bystrom, 1999), gubernatorial (Miller, 1996), and Senate/gubernatorial (Bystrom & Miller, 1999) races to analyze videostyles of female and male candidates from mixed-gender gubernatorial, Senate, and House races. Second, this study sought to develop a systematic method by which the self-presentation strategies of candidates employing the mass media of the Internet could be identified to in turn identify, compare, and contrast the webstyles of female and male candidates from mixed-gender races. Third, through a comparison of candidate videostyles and webstyles, this study provided a unique, comparative analysis of candidate self-portrayal across a traditional mass medium and a non-traditional mass medium.

In order to identify the videostyles and webstyles of candidates and draw a comparison of such styles across mediums, televised political commercials and candidate web sites from the 2000 general election were content analyzed. The decision to focus on the 2000 election emanates from the

need to capture a substantial sample of web sites in order to analyze candidate webstyles. Candidate campaign web sites from mixed-gender races from prior election cycles were unavailable to the author, and therefore the 2000 general election was the only available election cycle from which to collect candidate campaign web sites.

The choice to focus on the 2000 general election cycle was also determined by the study's design, which required a comparison of messages across two mediums. In order to control for election year and context in the comparison, television spot ads were gathered from the same election cycle. In order to control for the variable of gender, all races chosen for analysis in this study included a male and a female major party candidate running in a mixed-gender gubernatorial, Senate, or House race.

Content Analysis

The primary method of analysis used in this research was that of content analysis. Content analysis, now considered one of the most common research methods in communication (Kaid & Wadsworth, 1989), has been defined as "a research technique for the systematic, objective, and quantitative description of the manifest content in communication" (Berelson, 1952, as cited in Kaid & Wadsworth, 1989). Developed as a "method for studying mass

mediated and public messages," content analysis is acknowledged as a "dominant [method] employed in public communication, journalism, and mass media research" (Frey, Botan, Friedman, & Kreps, 1991, pp. 212-213).

Further, researchers argue that communication content "merits systematic examination because of its assumed role as cause or antecedent of a variety of individuals processes, effects or uses people make of it" (Riffe, Lacy & Fico, 1998, p. 8). Thus, content analysis is a useful research technique in the identification and comparative analysis of how female and male candidates present themselves through the public communication channels of television and the Internet.

To implement the process of content analysis, Kaid and Wadsworth (1989, p. 199) suggest seven steps:

1. Formulate the hypothesis or research question to be answered;
2. Select the sample to be analyzed;
3. Define the categories to be applied;
4. Outline the coding process and train the coders;
5. Implement the coding process;
6. Determine reliability and validity; and
7. Analyze the results from the coding process.

As the hypotheses and research questions have been identified in the previous chapter, this chapter will focus on a discussion of the sample, categories, coding process, reliability and validity in this study, and discussion of the analysis procedures.

Sample

For both the videostyle and webstyle analyses of this study, and in order to control for gender, all mixed-gender races at the gubernatorial, Senate, and House levels for the 2000 general election cycle were identified through various sources such as state party web sites, current political magazines (i.e. Campaigns & Elections), and listings available from the Center for American Women and Politics (2000a, 2000b). Of the mixed-gender races at the three levels, 107 total races were identified. Of those 107 mixed-gender races, six (5.6%) were Senate races, five (4.7%) were gubernatorial, and the remaining 96 (89.7%) were House races.

The collection of the complete sample analyzed in this study was conducted in two stages. The first stage involved the collection of candidate web sites, and the second stage involved the collection of candidate spot ads.

Sample Collection: Candidate Web Sites

In order to collect the candidate web sites from the races identified, web site addresses were gathered from listings produced by the Center for American Women and Politics (2000a, 2000b), from state party web sites that directed viewers to candidate web sites, and from political web sites covering the 2000 election (i.e., nationaljournal.com). From these sources a total of 153 web sites were identified for candidates running in mixed-gender races (80 female candidate web sites, 73 male candidate web sites). Through the application of a computer program designed to download web sites, 120 total web sites were collected; 57 (47.5%) consisted of female candidate web sites and 63 (52.5%) consisted of male candidate web sites (see Appendix A). Programming complications prohibited the gathering of all identified web sites.

The typically fluid nature of the Internet and thus of web sites poses a potential difficulty for content analysis procedures (McMillan, 2000). In order to control for the content in the web site, all web sites were downloaded during the election cycle and stored for coding purposes. Because the study was interested in the candidate self-presentation but not changes in candidate self-presentation over time, the web sites were collected at one point in the election cycle

and at a time in which the candidates would have finalized their desired presentations. All sites were gathered from November 1-3, 2000, just prior to the November 7th election.

Sample Collection: Candidate Spot Ads

The second stage of sample collection involved the acquisition of the spot ads from the 2000 election cycle. Prior research on videostyle (e.g., Kaid & Johnston, 2001; Kaid & Tedesco, 1999a) and gendered videostyle (Bystrom, 1995; Bystrom & Kaid, 2000; Bystrom & Miller, 1999; Miller, 1996) has utilized the resources of political spot ads available at the University of Oklahoma's Political Commercial Archive. The Political Commercial Archive, considered the world's largest collection of political spot ads (Kaid & Haynes, 1995), is commonly used because of the extensive nature of its collection. However, only a minimal number of ads were available in the Archive from the 2000 election cycle.

Therefore, based on the listing of candidates in the three levels of mixed-gender races, letters were sent to all corresponding media agencies requesting copies of the respective candidate's spot ad compilation. Due to a limited timeframe the universe of spot ads was not acquired, although a substantial sample was collected. Overall, a total of 241 spot ads were analyzed in this study, 122 (51%)

of which were female candidate spot ads and 119 (49%) of which were male candidate spot ads.

Sample Distribution of Party, Status, and Outcome

Although the study was initially intent upon further analyzing the videostyles and webstyles of female and male candidates across level of office, party, and outcome, cell sizes were consistently not large enough to conduct a statistical analysis by gender. The following sections offer detailed descriptions of the samples overall.

Candidate Spot Ads. While this sample of data may be considered a convenience sample, both sets of data (candidate spot ads and web sites) illustrate a fair distribution among party, status, and outcome. For instance, of the 241 candidate spot ads collected, 122 (51%) were female candidate spot ads and 119 (49%) were male candidate spot ads. When accounting for party, 136 (56%) ads represented Republican candidates and 105 (44%) ads represented Democratic candidates. Further, 73 (30%) were incumbents' ads, 70 (29%) were challengers' ads, and 98 (41%) were ads from open races. A total of 115 (48%) ads represented winning candidates and 126 (52%) ads represented losing candidates.

Candidate Web Sites. Of the 120 total web sites collected, 57 (48%) were female candidate web sites and 63

(53%) were male candidate web sites. When accounting for party, 62 (52%) sites represented Republican candidates, 57 (48%) sites represented Democratic candidates, and one (.8%) site represented an Independent candidate. In this latter race, Karen Kerin (R) ran against Pete Diamondstone (D/Liberty Union) and Bernie Sanders (I) for Vermont's House seat. Diamondstone's web site was not available; however, Sanders' was available and since Sanders won the race his site was included in the sample.

Overall, 50 (42%) were challenger web sites, 41 (34%) were incumbent web sites, and 29 (24%) were web sites from candidates running in open races. Further, 55 (46%) sites represented winning candidates and 65 (54%) represented losing candidates.

Categories

Identifying the unit of analysis and the unit(s) of enumeration are important steps when formulating the categories in content analysis (Kaid & Wadsworth, 1989). Consistent with the study design, which examined the candidate videostyle present in a spot ad and the candidate webstyle present in a web site, the unit of analysis for this study consisted of, respectively, a political spot ad and a web site. Prior research on videostyle and the content analysis of political spot ads (e.g., Bystrom, 1995;

Kaid & Davidson, 1986; Kaid & Johnston, 2001) supports the use of a political spot ad as the unit of analysis, with prior research on web sites also supporting the use of a web site as the unit of analysis (McMillan, 2000).

While the use of a spot ad as a unit of analysis is rather straightforward--the complete length of the spot ad comprises the complete unit--the use of a web site as a unit of analysis requires additional explanation (McMillan, 2000). Specifically, the computer program gathered the first three levels of every site and collected all links available at each level. For instance, level one consisted of the web site's homepage with links leading to the second level, potentially consisting of an issues section, a personal biography section, and a "contact the candidate" section. The second level of the web site then consisted of the first page (or potentially the only page) of the issues section, personal biography section, and contact section. Links from each of those sections comprised the third level of the web site's hierarchy.

Identifying the unit(s) of enumeration for both videostyle and webstyle evolved directly from the quantification of the categories. In both the videostyle and webstyle categories the coders identified the presence

or absence of the content attribute or at times the frequency of the attribute.

The fundamental categories used in this study were first developed as an analysis of videostyle by Kaid and Davidson (1986). Bystrom (1995) further expanded the videostyle coding to identify the influence of gender in videostyles. The videostyle codesheet and codebook used in this study (see Appendix B and C) maintained a majority of the videostyle categories from this prior research. However, new issue categories were added to account for the context of the 2000 election and certain categories were refined to identify the presence/absence of variables in addition to the overall dominant presence.

Specifically, the videostyle codesheet and codebook used in this study recorded data for 162 variables in 49 categories. The categories described the verbal content, nonverbal content, and production content of the spot ads, as well as candidate information such as gender, party, level of race, status, and spot ad sponsor.

The webstyle codesheet and codebook developed in this study (see Appendix D and E) used a modified version of the this study's videostyle codesheet in order to account for the unique nature and format of the web site medium. The codesheet and codebook coded 212 variables in 58 categories.

The categories described the verbal content, nonverbal content, production content, and interactive capabilities of the web sites, as well as candidate information such as gender, party, level of race, status, and web site sponsor.

Verbal Content Categories

Candidate spot ads. The verbal content categories for the candidate spot ads included the focus of the ad (candidate-positive, opponent-negative, comparative, or cannot determine), the tone (positive or negative) of the ad's ending statement, and the emphasis (on issues or image) of the spot ad. The negative verbal content in the ad was also analyzed through categories that identified the presence/absence of a negative attack, the type of attack made, who made the attack, the purpose/nature of the attack, and the strategies used in making the attack.

Types of appeals used (logical, emotional, source credibility), whether fear appeals were used, and the content of the appeal used (e.g., partisan, issue-related, personal characteristics of the candidate, or the linking of the candidate with certain demographic groups) were included within the verbal content categories. Additional verbal content categories included: a) the discussion of issues in the ad (e.g., taxes, unemployment/jobs, immigration, education/schools, health care); b) the number of issues

discussed; c) strategies present (e.g., voice for the state, use of personal tone, use of statistics); d) candidate characteristics (e.g., honesty/integrity, toughness/strength, competency, leadership); e) special groups to whom the spot ad might be directed (e.g., young voters/teens, women, veterans, senior citizens); f) whether the spot ad identified the office the candidate was seeking; g) whether the spot ad identified the candidate's party affiliation; h) sponsor of the ad; and i) whether the ad listed/provided the candidate's campaign web site address.

Candidate web sites. Many of the categories used to measure verbal content in the candidate web sites mirrored the videostyle verbal content categories. Such categories included: a) issues addressed (e.g., taxes, unemployment/jobs, immigration, education/schools, health care); b) number of issues addressed; c) negative attack (presence/absence); d) strategies used in making the attack; e) overall strategies present (e.g., voice for the state, use of personal tone, use of statistics); f) candidate characteristics (e.g., honesty/integrity, toughness/strength, competency, leadership); g) special groups to whom special pages might be directed (e.g., young voters/teens, women, veterans, senior citizens); h) whether the web site listed the sponsor on the homepage; i) whether the web site

identified the office the candidate was seeking; and j) whether the web site identified the candidate's party affiliation.

Special verbal categories relevant to the format and medium of a web site were differentiated in the codesheet by specified sections of the web site. For instance, the "home page" section included the category inquiring as to the presence of a candidate bio, whether the web site was introduced with a personal letter, and whether "new content" was identified. The "candidate bio" section included the following categories that asked for the presence/absence of: a) a candidate bio sheet; b) a personal letter/note from the candidate; c) personal information about the candidate's family; d) business related information about the candidate; e) public service related information about the candidate; and f) a daily message.

The "issues" section included categories that asked for the presence/absence of the candidate's position statements and news releases, whether the opponent's stands on issues were featured, and if the candidate's stands were compared with the opponent's. The "calendar of events" section included categories that asked for the presence/absence of: a) information on events open to the public and media; b) information on private political events; c) notification

that the site had been updated; d) information on past, current, and future events; and e) only information on current and future events.

The "campaign directory/contact" section included verbal categories that asked for the presence/absence of: a) a list of key campaign contacts; b) campaign headquarters contact information; c) full contact information (mail address, phone, fax, email); d) partial contact information (missing some of the above); and e) local campaign coordinators. The "get involved" included four verbal content categories: a) letter from the candidate; b) talking points; c) information for contacting people on behalf of the campaign; and d) breaking news for media representatives.

One final category referenced the web site in general. Because the category determined if any references for comments/statements from "others" were provided, the category was not restricted to a specific section.

Nonverbal Content Categories

Candidate spot ads. The nonverbal content categories in the videostyle codesheet inquired as to the setting of the ad (e.g., inside home or family setting, inside classroom/educational setting, outside farm setting), those pictured in the ad (e.g., candidate only, candidate's

opponent only, candidate and opponent only), when people other than the candidate or opponent were pictured in the ad a third category identified those individuals (e.g., men, women, family of the candidate, children, senior citizens, ethnic/racial minorities), the dominant speaker in the ad (e.g., candidate, anonymous announcer), and whether the dominant speaker was male, female, or "cannot be determined" in the case of female and male speakers verbalizing equally.

Categories that described the candidate's nonverbal characteristics included: a) frequency of eye contact; b) dominant facial expression (e.g., smiling, attentive/serious); c) frequency in using gestures; d) frequency in using touch; e) body movement/posture (e.g., compact/closed, expansive/open); f) fluency (e.g., stumbling/hesitant/non-fluent, fluent); g) frequency in using language intensifiers; h) rate of speech; i) pitch variety (e.g., monotone, varied); and j) dress (e.g., formal, casual).

Candidate web sites. Many of the categories used to measure nonverbal content in the candidate web sites again mirrored the videostyle nonverbal content categories, although specifically referencing the visual representations in web site photos. For instance, webstyle nonverbal categories included: a) settings of the photos (e.g., inside home or family setting, inside classroom/educational

setting, outside farm setting); b) identification of those pictured (e.g., men, women, family of the candidate, children, senior citizens, ethnic/racial minorities); c) frequency of candidate's eye contact with viewer; d) candidate's dominant facial expression in photos (e.g., smiling, attentive/ serious); e) candidate's body movement/posture in photos (e.g., compact/closed, expansive/open); and f) candidate's dress in photos (e.g., formal, casual).

Three additional categories referenced photos placed on the homepage and in the "candidate bio" section of the candidate's web site. Again drawing from a nonverbal category on the videostyle codesheet, the first category inquired as to those pictured in the photos on the homepage (e.g., candidate only, candidate with other people, other people only, combination). The second and third categories focused on the "candidate bio" section, inquiring as to the presence of photos of the candidate only and the presence of photos of the candidate and other people.

Production Content Categories

Candidate spot ads. Production content categories analyzed the techniques used to produce the spot ads. Such categories included determining the length of the spot ad, the format (e.g., documentary, video clip/music video,

testimonial), the dominant technique (e.g., cinema verite, slides with print and voice-overs, animation), and the staging of the ad (e.g., obviously staged, natural appearing).

Production content categories also examined the dominant sound characteristics (e.g., candidate live, other person live, voice over) and the special effects used in the spot ad (e.g., computer graphics or titles, computer alteration or morphing, slow motion). Production categories specifically focusing on camera use examined the dominant camera angle (e.g., high, straight on, low, movement combination) and the dominant camera shot (e.g., tight, medium, long, movement combination).

Candidate web sites. Consistent with the prior two content areas, the analysis of production content in webstyle incorporated a videostyle category--specifically that of the staging of the photos (e.g., all obviously staged, natural appearing). Production categories unique to candidate web sites examined the presence of graphics on the home page and identified the type of graphics featured on the home page (e.g., party related, candidate related, related to the district/ state candidate running in).

Interactive Content Categories

The interactive content categories were present only in the webstyle codesheet and referenced the interactive content within sections of the web site and the web site in general. The "homepage" section included a category to identify the number of links available from the homepage and to identify the types of links listed as available from the homepage (e.g., candidate bio link, issues link, contribution link).

The "candidate bio" section included an interactive category to determine the presence of a link for feedback/emailing the campaign. The "issues" section included categories to determine the presence of: a) links to detailed information created by the campaign; b) links to press coverage of the candidate on issues; c) links to legislation the candidate has sponsored or co-sponsored; and d) a link for feedback/emailing the campaign.

The "calendar of events" section included two interactive categories that determined the presence of a link for asking the candidate to make a special appearance and a link for feedback/emailing the campaign. The "campaign directory" section included two categories to determine the presence of links to campaign coordinators in a constituent's specific area and a link for feedback/email.

The "get involved" section included categories that inquired as to the presence of: a) a link to/form for contributing; b) a link to/form for volunteering; c) a sign up form for getting involved; d) ability to print/download campaign distribution materials; e) a link for/ability to feedback/email the campaign; and f) specific campaign materials that can be downloaded and/or printed from the web site (e.g., letters to the editor, door to door flyers, phone bank information). The "links" section included a category that inquired as to the presence of specific links (e.g., links to a national party web site, state party web site, other candidates' web sites, special interest's web sites).

The "general" section included two interactive content categories that referenced the complete web site. For instance, the first category inquired if messages on other mediums were made available (e.g., videos of speeches, television spot ads, debates, news conferences, transcripts of the candidate's speeches). The second category inquired as to the opportunity to sign up for email updates.

Coding Process

Four coders (graduate students) were recruited and trained to code the sample in this study.² Specifically, three coders--two females and one male--were trained to code

the political spot ads; two coders--one female and one male--were trained to code the candidate web sites. One female, a Ph.D. student familiar with mass communication was used to code both sets of data. The other three coders (two males, one female) were also Ph.D. students familiar with mass communication and content analysis.

The training of coders for each set of data in the sample was conducted at separate times due to the differing nature of the coding instruments and data. The training of coders in the coding of the political spot ads included one ninety-minute session that familiarized the coders with the coding instrument, codebook, and the procedures for coding. The coders then coded a political spot ad from the sample to discuss and clarify any areas in question. At the conclusion of the training session, the coders were then assigned 12 additional spot ads from the sample (5% of the total sample) to be coded and analyzed for intercoder reliability.

To test for intercoder reliability on the political spot ads and appropriateness of the training session and coding instrument, Holsti's formula (North, Holsti, Zaninovich, & Zinnes, 1963)³ was used. In the evaluation of intercoder reliability, three categories and two variables were determined unreliable and were removed from

analysis in this study (use of language intensifiers; staging of ad; structure of appeal; dominant dress; and dominant content). Following the removal of these items, intercoder reliability across all categories was calculated at .91 and ranged from .77 to 1.0 in the various categories (see Appendix C).

The training of coders in the coding of the candidate web sites included one two-hour session that familiarized the coders with the coding instrument, codebook, and the procedures for coding. The coders then coded a web site from the sample to discuss and clarify any areas in question. At the conclusion of the training session, the coders were then assigned 5 additional web sites from the sample (approximately 4% of the total sample) to be coded and analyzed for intercoder reliability.

To test for intercoder reliability on the candidate web sites and appropriateness of the training session and coding instrument, Holsti's formula (North, Holsti, Zaninovich, & Zinnes, 1963)³ was also used. The intercoder reliability across all categories was calculated at .89 and ranged from .78 to 1.0 in the various categories (see Appendix E).

Following the calculation of intercoder reliability in each set of the sample, the coders were then assigned random sets of the respective political spot ads and/or web sites

to code. Based on discussions during the training session and comments provided after the reliability sample coding, minor modifications were made in the political advertising codebook and codesheet for greater clarification. The modified version was provided to the coders at the time they were provided their respective tape from which to code the spot ads. No modifications were made to the webstyle codebook or codesheet.

Analysis of Results

Descriptive statistics were used to count frequencies and the presence or absence of defined categories. Cross tabulations were calculated to compare the spot ads--or web sites--of female and male candidates and chi-squares were used to determine if frequency differences were significant. In addition to comparing the spot ads--or web sites--by gender, cross tabulations and chi-squares were used to compare the campaign ads (videostyles) with the web sites (webstyles) of female and male candidates; such a comparison responds to the question of whether significant differences are present in the candidates' styles across differing mediums. A significance level of $p \leq .05$ was set for all chi-square tests.

Chapter IV

RESULTS

The results of the content analyses conducted in this study yielded both significant differences as well as interesting similarities in the comparison of female and male videostyles, comparison of female and male webstyles, and the comparison of female videostyles with webstyles and male videostyles with webstyles. The results of the cross tabulations are discussed below.

Videostyles of Female and Male Candidates in Gubernatorial, Senate, and Congressional Races in 2000

Based on the results of the cross tabulations, significant differences do exist between female and male candidates in the videostyle content of their campaign spot ads from the 2000 election (see Table 1). In response to Research Question 1, the significant differences occurred within each content category--verbal, nonverbal, and production--and are discussed below.

Verbal Content

Issue Content

Significant differences occurred in the ads of female and male candidates in their discussion of four particular issues: education/schools, health care, women's issues, and job growth (see Table 1). Of interest, female candidate ads

discussed all four of these specific issues more frequently than male candidate ads. For example, 53 (43%) female candidate ads and 32 (27%) male candidate ads discussed education/schools, $X^2(1, N = 241) = 7.229, p = .01$. Health care was discussed in 40 (33%) female and 13 (11%) male candidate ads, $X^2(1, N = 241) = 16.784, p = .001$. Women's issues were discussed in 15 (12%) female and 3 (3%) male candidate ads, $X^2(1, N = 241) = 8.327, p = .01$. Job growth was discussed in 17 (14%) female and 6 (5%) male candidate ads, $X^2(1, N = 241) = 5.518, p = .02$.

In analyzing the issues discussed most frequently in female and male candidate ads, the results indicated that the candidates were similar in their issue emphasis, discussing four of the same five issues most frequently in their ads (see Table 3). Specifically, the two most frequent issues discussed in both female and male candidate ads were education/schools and senior citizen issues. However, the frequency and thus emphasis differed based on candidate gender. For instance, education/schools was the most frequent issue addressed by female candidate ads (53 ads, 43%) and the second most frequent issue addressed by male candidate ads (32 ads, 27%). Senior citizen issues were the second most frequent issue addressed in female candidate ads (50 ads, 41%) but the most frequent issue

addressed by male candidate ads (38 ads, 32%). Similarly, health care was the third most frequently discussed issue in female ads (40 ads, 33%) and fell fourth on the list for male candidate ads (13 ads, 11%), while taxes fell fourth on the list for female candidate ads (26 ads, 21%) and third for male candidate ads (31 ads, 26%). As the fifth most frequently discussed issue, female candidates discussed job growth in 17 (14%) ads and male candidates discussed the environment/ pollution in 9 (8%) of their ads.

Image Content

Little difference emerged with regard to the character traits emphasized on female and male candidate ads, with only two traits--honesty/integrity and competence--indicating significantly different emphasis (see Table 1). Notably, male candidate ads emphasized both traits more frequently than female candidate ads. Honesty/integrity was discussed in 21 (17%) female and 41 (35%) male candidate ads, $X^2(1, N = 241) = 9.371, p = .01$. Competence was discussed in 17 (14%) female and 29 (24%) male candidate ads, $X^2(1, N = 241) = 4.248, p = .04$.

Once the "feminine" and "masculine" traits were collapsed into respective categories, it appears that male candidate ads more frequently emphasized "feminine" traits than female candidate ads, although not significantly (see

Table 5). Yet, in addition to honesty/integrity, the only other specific "feminine" issue more frequently discussed in male candidate ads included being a Washington outsider. As such, it is notable that the difference in the emphasis on honesty/integrity inflates the overall emphasis on "feminine" traits by male candidate ads. In reference to the remaining "feminine" traits, female candidate ads more frequently emphasized cooperation with others, being sensitive/ understanding, and being trustworthy.

Although similar in emphasis overall, female candidate ads emphasized the collapsed category of "masculine" traits more frequently (92 ads, 75%) than male candidate ads (86 ads, 72%). Specifically, female candidate ads emphasized three "masculine" traits--toughness/strength, aggressiveness/ fighter, and knowledge/intelligence--more frequently than male candidate ads. Male candidate ads emphasized five "masculine" traits--past performance/success, competence, leadership, experience in politics, and action-oriented--more frequently than female candidate ads.

Appeal Strategies

Four appeal strategies emerged with significantly different emphasis in female and male candidate ads (see Table 1). For example, the appeal "incumbency stands for

legitimacy" was emphasized in 9 (7%) female and 28 (24%) male candidate ads, $X^2(1, N = 241) = 12.094, p = .001$. Taking the offensive position on issues was emphasized in 32 (26%) female and 14 (12%) male candidate ads, $X^2(1, N = 241) = 8.161, p = .01$. The strategy of attacking the opponent's record was used in 55 (45%) female and 39 (33%) male candidate ads, $X^2(1, N = 241) = 3.836, p = .05$. Use of the "above the trenches" strategy was present in 38 (31%) female and 22 (19%) male candidate ads, $X^2(1, N = 241) = 5.164, p = .02$.

The appeal strategies were further collapsed into the defined categories of "feminine appeals" (addresses the readers as peers, invites participation/action, use of personal experience, and identify with others), "masculine appeals" (use of statistics, use of expert authorities, and emphasize own accomplishments), "incumbent appeals" (incumbency stands for legitimacy, use of endorsements, emphasize own accomplishments, above the trenches), and "challenger appeals" (call for change, emphasize optimism/hope for the future, yearn for the past, traditional values, represent center of the party, take offensive position on issues, and attack opponent record). The only category (see Table 7) in which female and male candidates significantly differed in their use was that of

"challenger appeals," with 101 (83%) female and 73 (61%) male candidate ads utilizing such appeals, $X^2(1, N = 241) = 13.799$, $p = .001$. The remaining three categories of appeals were used proportionately between female and male candidate ads.

Attack Appeals, General Appeals, Group Appeals

The ad sample was further analyzed based on the ads' use of attack appeals, general verbal appeals, and appeals to groups of voters, resulting in significant differences between female and male candidate ads on seven variables (see Table 1). In the use of attack appeals female candidates more frequently attacked their opponent's issue stands and group affiliation and were more likely to use the strategy of guilt by association. Specifically, attacking the opponent's issues stands was present in 52 (81%) female and 36 (59%) male candidate ads, $X^2(1, N = 125) = 7.409$, $p = .01$. Attacking the opponent's group affiliation was used in 19 (30%) female and 8 (13%) male candidate ads, $X^2(1, N = 125) = 5.065$, $p = .02$. The strategy guilt by association was used in the negative attacks of 24 (38%) female and 8 (13%) male candidate ads, $X^2(1, N = 125) = 9.751$, $p = .01$.

Of interest, negative attacks were present proportionately in female and male candidate ads, with 64 (53%) female and 61 (51%) male candidate ads including a

negative attack (see Table 8). Although an analysis of the dominant purpose of the ads did not yield significant differences due to insufficient cell sizes for calculating the chi-square, an identical pattern emerges. Attacking the opponent's issue stands was the most common dominant purpose of the attack for both female and male, followed by attacking the opponent's performance in past offices/positions, and attacking the personal character of the opponent.

In analyzing the strategy used to issue the attack, both female and male candidate ads were most likely to use negative association, followed by guilt by association, and name-calling. Although male candidate ads used the strategy of name-calling just slightly more frequently than guilt by association, both female and male candidates used the strategy of humor/ridicule least frequently of all four strategies.

A final variable analyzed within attack appeals was the use of fear appeals. Overall, fear appeals were more likely to be used in female candidate ads compared to male candidate ads, although not at a level of significance.

When analyzing the general appeals used in the candidate ads, significant differences again emerged (see Table 1). For example, female candidates were more likely

to use logical appeals, with 96 (79%) female and 76 (64%) male candidate ads doing so, $X^2(1, N = 241) = 6.478, p = .01$. Similarly, female candidates were more likely to use source credibility appeals, with 113 (93%) female and 100 (84%) male candidates doing so, $X^2(1, N = 241) = 4.328, p = .04$. Female candidates were also more likely to use the appeal of linking with demographic groups in their ads, with 33 female (27%) and 17 (14%) male candidate ads including this appeal, $X^2(1, N = 241) = 5.968, p = .02$. However, male candidate ads were more likely to identify the office the candidate was seeking, with 58 (48%) female and 77 (65%) male candidate ads doing so, $X^2(1, N = 241) = 7.204, p = .01$.

Although differences among the other variables measured did not yield significant differences, the results are of interest to report (see Table 8). Both female and male candidates were more likely to use positive candidate-focused ads and to end their ads in a positive tone. Female and male candidates were also slightly more likely to focus their ads on campaign issues instead of candidate images and to use source credibility as the dominant appeal. While no female candidate ads and only a few male candidate ads identified the party under which they were running for office, interestingly, candidates were more likely to

advertise their web site within their ads with more than one quarter of both female and male candidates doing so.

Nonverbal Content

Analysis of the cross tabulation results on the nonverbal content revealed significant differences between female and male candidate ads in the categories of candidate dress, eye contact, use of touch, and others pictured (see Table 1). With regard to the candidate dress, while female candidates were more likely to be shown in formal dress, male candidates were more likely to be shown in casual dress. Specifically, 79 (84%) female and 35 (41%) male candidate ads showed the candidate in formal dress, $X^2(1, N = 179) = 35.466, p = .001$. However, 46 (49%) female and 72 (85%) male candidate ads showed the candidate in casual dress, $X^2(1, N = 179) = 25.423, p = .001$. In an analysis of eye contact, male candidates were significantly more likely to have eye contact with the viewer than female candidates, $X^2(1, N = 179) = 14.618, p = .01$.

In an analysis of the others pictured in the ads besides the candidate, significant differences in the presence of the family of the candidate, children who are not family of the candidate, and senior citizens emerged between the female and male candidate ads. The family of the candidate was more likely to be seen in the male

candidate ads, with only 5 (4%) female and 31 (26%) male candidate ads including family, $X^2(1, N = 241) = 22.846, p = .001$. However, children who are not family of the candidate were more likely to be pictured in female candidate ads, with 64 (53%) female and 35 (29%) male candidate ads doing so, $X^2(1, N = 241) = 13.220, p = .001$. Similarly, senior citizens were more likely to be pictured in female candidate ads, with 56 (46%) female and 31 (26%) male candidate ads picturing senior citizens, $X^2(1, N = 241) = 10.291, p = .001$.

No significant differences emerged in female and male candidates' facial expressions, use of gestures, use of touch, posture, setting, or dominant speaker (see Table 9).

Production Content

The cross tabulation results for production strategies used in candidate spot ads also yielded significant differences among female and male ads (see Table 1). In the use of dominant production techniques, female and male candidates varied significantly, $X^2(1, N = 241) = 12.440, p = .03$. In particular, female candidates used "cinema verite" in 48 (39%) ads, a combination of techniques in 23 (19%) ads, showed the "candidate head on" in 17 (14%) ads, showed another person head on in 12 (10%) ads, used "slides" in 11 (9%) ads, and used special production techniques in 11 (9%) ads. Male candidates used "cinema verite" in 39 (33%) ads,

special production techniques in 22 (18%) ads, "slides" in 19 (16%) ads, showed another person head on in 15 (13%) ads, showed the "candidate head on" in 14 (12%) ads, and used a combination of techniques in 10 (8%) ads.

The use of special effects also differed significantly in female and male candidate ads. In particular, female candidate ads were less likely to use computer graphics/titles than male candidates, with 88 (72%) female and 102 (86%) male candidate ads using this effect, $X^2(1, N = 241) = 6.662$, $p = .01$. Male candidates were also more likely to use alteration/morphing, with 6 (5%) female and 24 (20%) male candidate ads using this effect, $X^2(1, N = 241) = 12.855$, $p = .001$.

Again, male candidates were more likely to use slow motion in their ads, with 30 (25%) female and 57 (48%) male candidate ads using this effect, $X^2(1, N = 241) = 14.188$, $p = .001$. In the use of stills male candidate ads again employed this effect more frequently than female candidate ads, with 36 (30%) female and 60 (50%) male candidate ads doing so, $X^2(1, N = 241) = 10.992$, $p = .001$. Notably, female candidates were more likely to employ an "other" category of special effects, with 18 (15%) female and 7 (6%) male candidates doing so, $X^2(1, N = 241) = 5.100$, $p = .02$.

With no significant differences between gender (see Table 10), both female and male candidates most frequently used a voice-over in the sound category, followed by female candidates using the candidate live and male candidate ads using another person live. With regard to camera angles and shots, both female and male candidates predominantly used a straight on camera angle. The use of camera shots were mixed, however, with female candidates using a medium shot more than a tight shot. Male candidates used a tight shot slightly more than a medium camera shot.

Webstyles of Female and Male Candidates in

Gubernatorial, Senate, and Congressional Races in 2000

Based on the results of the cross tabulations, significant differences existed between female and male candidates in the webstyle content of their web sites (see Table 11). In response to Research Question 2, the significant differences occurred in: verbal content--discussion of women's issues and the issue of defense, use of statistics, use of expert authorities, identification of party on the home page, and inclusion of a candidate biography sheet in the Candidate Bio section; nonverbal content--the presence of the candidate in formal dress in the photographs, the candidate's dominant dress type in photographs, and the candidate's dominant facial expression

present in photographs; production content--the staging of photographs, specifically the lack of definition between staged and natural; and interactive content--presence of a link to the Candidate Bio section from the Home Page, and the presence of a form for contributing located in the Get Involved section.

Verbal Content

Issue Content

Overall, few significant differences were found in the discussion of individual issues on female and male candidate web sites (see Table 12). Female candidates did discuss ten of twenty-three issues more frequently than male candidates (education/schools, health care, women's issues, unemployment/jobs, the cost of living, the economy in general, crime/prison, dissatisfaction with the government, gun control, and youth violence). Male candidates discussed twelve issues more frequently than female candidates (senior citizen issues, poverty, welfare/welfare reform, the environment/pollution, drugs/drug abuse, ethics/moral decline, taxes, the budget/deficit, immigration, defense, international issues, and job growth); neither female or male candidates discussed recession/depression.

Two issues were discussed at levels of significant difference, however (see Table 11). Women's issues were

discussed in 26 (46%) female candidate web sites and in 17 (27%) male candidate web sites, $X^2(1, N = 119) = 4.260, p = .04$. The issue of defense was discussed in 11 (19%) female candidate web sites and in 23 (37%) male candidate web sites, $X^2(1, N = 119) = 4.610, p = .03$.

In analyzing the issues discussed most frequently on female and male candidate sites, the candidates were similar in their issue emphasis, discussing the same five issues most on their sites (see Table 13). Specifically, health care was the most frequent issue discussed on both female and male candidate web sites, although education/schools was discussed as frequently on female candidate sites. Education/schools was discussed slightly less than health care on male candidate sites and senior citizen issues were discussed slightly less than both top issues on female and male candidate sites.

The environment/pollution was the third most frequently discussed issue on female candidate sites, followed by taxes and women's issues. Taxes was the fourth most frequently discussed issue on male candidate sites, followed by the environment/pollution.

This similarity in issue discussion continues when categorizing the issues as "masculine" or "feminine" (see Table 12). The results indicate that neither female nor

male candidates were significantly more likely than the other to discuss either feminine or masculine issues, with female candidates only slightly more likely to discuss "feminine" issues than male candidates and male candidates only slightly more likely to discuss "masculine" issues than female candidates.

Image Content

Little difference emerged between female and male candidate web sites on the character traits emphasized (see Table 15). For instance, of the fifteen traits emphasized on candidate web sites, only one, honesty/integrity even approached significance ($p = .06$), with female candidates emphasizing the trait on 12 (21%) sites and male candidates emphasizing the trait on 23 (37%) sites.

When the traits were collapsed into the categories of "feminine" and "masculine" for analysis, the results did not yield significant differences. However, both female and male candidates appear to have emphasized masculine traits more than feminine traits.

Appeal Strategies

Of the 23 appeal strategies coded, significant differences emerged with two strategies (see Table 11). In the use of statistics, 11 (19%) female candidate sites and 24 (38%) male candidate sites employed this strategy, $X^2(1, N$

= 120) = 5.118, $p = .02$. In the use of expert authorities, 13 (23%) female candidate sites and 6 (10%) male candidate sites employed this strategy, $X^2(1, N = 120) = 3.962$, $p = .05$.

When the strategies were collapsed to those categorized as "feminine appeals" (addresses the readers as peers, invites participation/action, use of personal experience, and identify with others), "masculine appeals" (use of statistics, use of expert authorities, and emphasize own accomplishments), "incumbency appeals" (incumbency stands for legitimacy, use of endorsements, emphasize own accomplishments, above the trenches), and "challenger appeals" (call for change, emphasize optimism/hope for the future, yearn for the past, traditional values, represent center of the party, take offensive position on issues, and attack opponent record), no significant differences emerged between female and male candidate web sites (see Table 16). However, both female and male candidate sites used masculine and incumbent strategies more frequently than feminine and challenger strategies.

Attack Appeals, Group Appeals, Sectional Appeals

In an analysis of attack appeals, group appeals, and sectional appeals, only one appeal yielded significance (see Table 11). The one strategy to emerge with significant

difference between female and male candidate sites occurred within sectional appeals, specifically on the Home Page, in which 20 (35%) female and 39 (62%) male candidate sites identified their party, $\chi^2(1, N = 120) = 8.611, p = .01$.

Considering attack appeals (see Table 18), female and male candidate sites attacked their opponents at similar frequencies if and when they attacked their opponent. Eight (14%) female candidate sites and 10 (16%) male candidate sites featured their opponent's stands on issues. If the opponent's stands were featured, the stands were typically compared by the use of text only.

In addition, few candidates chose to create a special section for specific demographic groups. Yet, when candidates did choose this strategy, they were more likely to create a special section for young voters/teens.

Nonverbal Content

Analysis of the cross tabulation results on the nonverbal content revealed three significant differences between female and male candidate web sites (see Table 11). For instance, candidate use of formal dress in photographs featured on the web site differed between female and male candidates, with 52 (91%) female and 46 (77%) male candidate sites featuring photos of the candidate in formal dress,

$X^2(1, N = 117) = 4.557, p = .03$. In an analysis of the candidate's dominant dress type in the photographs on the web site, a significant difference again emerged. Formal dress was the dominant dress type in photographs on 42 (76%) female candidate sites and 31 (53%) male candidate sites, while casual dress was the dominant dress type in photographs on 13 (24%) female and 28 (48%) male candidate sites, $X^2(1, N = 114) = 7.014, p = .01$.

With regard to candidate facial expressions in the photographs featured on the web sites, differences in the dominant expression of the candidates emerged. Smiling was the dominant candidate expression in photos on 52 (96%) female and 44 (75%) male candidate sites and attentive/serious was the dominant expression on 2 (4%) female and 15 (25%) male candidate sites, $X^2(1, N = 113) = 10.407, p = .001$.

No significant differences emerged between female and male candidates' use of eye contact, posture, those pictured on their sites, and the photo setting. Both female and male candidates were more likely to establish frequent eye contact, use a compact/closed posture, picture only themselves, and picture men in their photos. The most common setting of photos on the candidates' sites was an "inside-office/professional" setting.

Production Content

In the cross tabulation results for production strategies used on candidate web sites, there were no differences in the use of graphics or other production techniques (see Table 20).

Interactive Content

In the cross tabulation analysis of interactive content, few significant differences again emerged between female and male candidate web sites (see Table 11). In the analysis of the interactive capabilities provided within the Get Involved section of the candidates' web sites, 21 (38%) female and 10 (16%) male candidate sites provided a form for the visitor to complete in order to contribute to the candidate's campaign, $X^2(1, N = 117) = 6.678, p = .01$.

While not at a level of significance, the use of certain interactive content warrants discussion (see Table 21). In the number of links available from the candidate's home page, the majority of female and male candidate sites offered from 5 to 10. Female candidates were most likely to offer links to a Candidate Bio section, an Issues section, a Get Involved section, and a Contribution section. Male candidates were most likely to offer links to a Candidate Bio section, Contribution section, an Issues section, and a Get Involved section.

In an analysis of availability for feedback throughout the candidate site, female candidate sites more frequently provided links for feedback in the Candidate Bio section, Issues section, Calendar of Events section, and Get Involved section than male candidate sites. Male candidate sites more frequently provided a link for feedback in the Campaign Directory section than female candidate sites. Less than half of either female or male candidates provided a link for the visitor to sign up for campaign email updates.

Few female or male sites provided campaign material that the visitor could download through the Get Involved section. However, more opportunities for visitors to complete and submit a form to "get involved," complete a form to volunteer, and complete a form to contribute were available on female candidate sites.

With regard to providing visitors with links to other web sites of interest, candidates were most likely to provide a link to the state political party. National political party links were the second most common link provided on both female and male candidate sites.

Few candidates provided streaming video of other campaign messages on their web sites, although just less than one-quarter of female and male candidates made videos of speeches, ads, and/or debates available; of such media,

ads were most frequently made available. Few candidates also made transcripts of speeches available on their sites.

Comparisons of the Videostyles and Webstyles of Candidates in Gubernatorial, Senate, and Congressional Races in 2000

Based on the results of the cross tabulations, significant differences existed between the videostyle and webstyles of candidates in the 2000 election (see Table 22). In response to Research Question 3, the significant differences occurred within two content categories--verbal and nonverbal. Due to the low reliability for the category of staging in the videostyle analysis, the category was excluded in the comparative analysis of production content in videostyle and webstyle. Additionally, because videostyle does not code for interactive content, such a comparison was also excluded from this part of the analysis.

Verbal Content

Issue Content

Significant differences emerged in the comparison by gender and style of the candidates' discussion of thirteen particular issues--education/schools, health care, senior citizen issues, environment/pollution, women's issues, taxes, budget/deficit, the economy in general, crime/prison, defense, job growth, and gun control--with both female and male candidates discussing the issues more frequently on

campaign web sites than in campaign spot ads (see Table 22). For example, female candidates discussed the issue of education/schools at higher percentages of frequency in their web sites than spot ads, with 53 (43%) ads and 48 (84%) sites discussing the issue, $X^2(1, N = 179) = 26.261$, $p = .001$. Similarly, male candidates discussed education/schools at higher percentages of frequency on their web sites than in their ads, with 32 (27%) ads and 47 (76%) sites discussing the issue, $X^2(1, N = 181) = 7.725$, $p = .001$.

Female candidates were also significantly more likely to discuss health care on their web sites than in their spot ads, with 40 (33%) ads and 48 (84%) sites discussing the issue, $X^2(1, N = 179) = 22.080$, $p = .001$. Health care was discussed at a higher percentage of frequency on male candidate web sites than in their ads as well, with 13 (11%) ads and 48 (77%) sites discussing the issue, $X^2(1, N = 181) = 16.812$, $p = .001$.

In terms of senior citizen issues, 50 (41%) female candidate ads and 33 (58%) sites discussed these issues, $X^2(1, N = 179) = 4.468$, $p = .04$. A total of 38 (32%) male candidate ads and 46 (74%) sites discussed these issues, $X^2(1, N = 181) = 29.271$, $p = .001$.

With regard to the issue of the environment/pollution, 7 (6%) female candidate ads and 31 (54%) sites included this

issue, $\chi^2(1, N = 179) = 54.982, p = .001$. Further, 9 (8%) male candidate ads and 34 (55%) sites included this issue, $\chi^2(1, N = 181) = 50.297, p = .001$.

Women's issues were discussed in 15 (12%) female candidate ads and 26 (46%) sites, $\chi^2(1, N = 179) = 24.423, p = .001$. Similarly, women's issues were discussed in 3 (3%) male candidate ads and 17 (27%) sites, $\chi^2(1, N = 181) = 25.710, p = .001$.

Taxes were also discussed at higher percentages of frequency on both female and male candidate web sites than in their ads. Specifically, 26 (21%) female candidate ads and 28 (49%) sites discussed the issue, $\chi^2(1, N = 179) = 14.264, p = .001$. Further, 31 (26%) male candidate as and 40 (65%) sites discussed the issue, $\chi^2(1, N = 181) = 25.300, p = .001$.

The budget/deficit was not addressed as frequently overall, as 11 (9%) female candidate ads and 11 (19%) female candidate ads discussed the issue with the difference approaching but not achieving significance ($p = .051$). A significant difference was present in the discussion in male candidate ads and sites, with 4 (3%) candidate ads and 16 (26%) sites discussing the issue, $\chi^2(1, N = 181) = 20.893, p = .001$.

Regarding the issue of the economy in general, 10 (8%) female candidate ads and 20 (35%) sites discussed the issue, $\chi^2(1, N = 179) = 20.137, p = .001$. A total of 5 (4%) male candidate ads and 15 (24%) sites discussed the issue, $\chi^2(1, N = 181) = 16.576, p = .001$.

Crime/prison was also an issue that yielded significant differences for female and male candidates. A total of 3 (3%) female candidate ads and 14 (25%) sites discussed the issue, $\chi^2(1, N = 179) = 22.080, p = .001$. Similarly, 4 (3%) male candidate ads and 14 (23%) sites discussed the issue, $\chi^2(1, N = 181) = 16.812, p = .001$.

Although job growth did not yield significant differences for female candidates, a significant difference emerged for male candidates. Specifically, 6 (5%) male candidate ads and 11 (18%) sites did so, $\chi^2(1, N = 181) = 7.725, p = .01$.

Analyses of the difference between female candidate ads and web sites discussing the issue of defense and male candidate ads and web sites discussing gun control were prohibited due to insufficient expected cell sizes for the chi-square statistic. However, in terms of the issue of defense, no male candidate ads and 23 (37%) sites discussed the issue, $\chi^2(1, N = 181) = 50.571, p = .001$. In terms of

gun control, 6 (5%) female candidate ads and 22 (39%) sites discussed the issue, $X^2(1, N = 179) = 33.393, p = .001$.

When comparing the differences between videostyles and webstyles of female and male candidates on "feminine" issue discussion and "masculine" issue discussion overall, the analyses again yielded significant differences (see Table 22). Female candidates discussed "feminine" and "masculine" issues more on their web sites than in their ads as did male candidates. Overall, 91 (75%) female candidate ads and 53 (93%) sites discussed "feminine" issues, $X^2(1, N = 179) = 8.355, p = .01$. Further, 76 (64%) male candidate ads and 56 (89%) sites discussed "feminine" issues, $X^2(1, N = 181) = 12.945, p = .001$. Yielding a greater difference, 44 (36%) female candidate ads and 44 (77%) sites discussed "masculine" issues, $X^2(1, N = 179) = 26.292, p = .001$. Similarly, 44 (37%) male candidate ads and 52 (83%) sites discussed "masculine" issues, $X^2(1, N = 181) = 34.312, p = .001$.

In terms of the total number of issues present, insufficient expected cell sizes for the chi-square statistic prohibited the comparison of female videostyle and webstyle. However, the difference in number of issues discussed yielded significance for male candidate comparisons of videostyle and webstyle, $X^2(1, N = 181) =$

59.062, $p = .001$. In particular, 96 (81%) male candidate ads discussed from "0-4" issues, 23 (19%) discussed from "5-10" issues, and no male candidate ads discussed over ten issues per ad. Of the male candidate web sites, 17 (27.4%) discussed from "0-4" issues, 30 (48%) discussed from "5-7" issues, and 15 (24%) discussed over ten issues per site.

Of interest, when comparing the most frequently discussed issues in female candidate ads and on female candidate web sites, the differences in emphasis become more apparent (see Table 24). While education/schools was the most frequently discussed issue in female candidate ads, education/schools and health care were discussed with an equal frequency on female candidate web sites. Health care received less attention than senior citizen issues in female candidate ads while the opposite was true for female candidate web sites. Taxes emerged as the fourth most frequently discussed issue in both female candidate ads and web sites. The fifth most frequently discussed issue in female candidate ads was job growth and on their web sites it was women's issues.

Comparisons of the most frequently discussed issues in male candidate ads and in their web sites indicate greater differentials. The most frequently discussed issue in male candidate ads was senior citizen issues, while the most

frequently discussed issue on their web sites was health care. Education/schools was the second most frequently discussed issue in both male candidate ads and on their web sites. The remaining most frequently discussed issues in male candidate ads included--in order--taxes, health care, and the environment/pollution. The remaining issues discussed most frequently on male candidate web sites included--in order--senior citizen issues, taxes, and the environment/pollution.

Image Content

The analysis of character traits present in female campaign ads and web sites and male campaign ads and web sites also yielded significant differences on eleven traits: cooperation with others, trustworthiness, toughness/strength, past performance/success, aggressive/fighter, competent, leadership, experience in politics, knowledgeable/intelligent, action-oriented, and qualified (see Table 22).

Again, female and male candidates emphasized character traits with a higher percentage of frequency on their campaign web sites than in their campaign ads. For example, 10 (8%) female candidate ads and 16 (28%) sites emphasized cooperation with others, $X^2(1, N = 179) = 12.359, p = .001$. A total of 5 (4%) male candidate ads and 20 (32%) male

candidate sites emphasized cooperation with others, $\chi^2(1, N = 182) = 26.375, p = .001$.

In terms of trustworthiness, 16 (13%) female candidate ads and 17 (30%) sites emphasized the trait, $\chi^2(1, N = 179) = 7.214, p = .01$. Further, 9 (8%) male candidate ads and 16 (25%) sites emphasized trustworthiness, $\chi^2(1, N = 182) = 11.056, p = .001$.

On toughness/strength, 40 (33%) female candidate ads and 40 (70%) sites emphasized the trait, $\chi^2(1, N = 179) = 21.970, p = .001$. Similarly, 36 (30%) male candidate ads and 39 (62%) sites emphasized toughness/strength, $\chi^2(1, N = 182) = 17.035, p = .001$.

Female candidates continued to stress their past performance/success more frequently on their campaign web sites than in their ads, with 46 (38%) female candidate ads and 43 (75%) sites emphasizing the trait, $\chi^2(1, N = 179) = 22.127, p = .001$. Male candidates also emphasized the trait more frequently on their web sites than in their ads, with 50 (42%) male candidate ads and 45 (71%) sites emphasizing the trait, $\chi^2(1, N = 182) = 14.281, p = .001$.

In terms of the trait "aggressive/fighter," 56 (46%) female candidate ads and 40 (70%) sites emphasized the trait, $\chi^2(1, N = 179) = 9.205, p = .002$. Further, 43 (36%)

male candidate ads and 39 (62%) sites emphasized the trait, $\chi^2(1, N = 182) = 11.051, p = .001$.

On the trait of competency, 17 (14%) female candidate ads and 33 (58%) sites emphasized the trait, $\chi^2(1, N = 179) = 37.295, p = .001$. Similarly, 29 (24%) male candidate ads and 42 (67%) sites emphasized the trait, $\chi^2(1, N = 182) = 30.974, p = .001$.

In terms of emphasizing leadership, 25 (21%) female candidate ads and 38 (68%) sites emphasized the trait, $\chi^2(1, N = 179) = 37.657, p = .001$. A total of 27 (23%) male candidate ads and 45 (71%) sites emphasized the trait, $\chi^2(1, N = 182) = 40.926, p = .001$.

Female and male candidates continued to emphasize their experience in politics at higher percentages of frequency on their campaign web sites than in their ads, with 26 (21%) female candidate ads and 35 (61%) sites emphasized the trait, $\chi^2(1, N = 179) = 27.797, p = .001$. A total of 33 (28%) male candidate ads and 41 (65%) sites emphasized the trait, $\chi^2(1, N = 182) = 23.815, p = .001$.

Female candidates emphasized their knowledge/intelligence in 14 (12%) campaign ads and 25 (45%) sites, $\chi^2(1, N = 179) = 24.678, p = .001$. Male candidates emphasized their knowledge/intelligence in 13 (11%) campaign ads and 30 (48%) sites, $\chi^2(1, N = 182) = 30.738, p = .001$.

Female candidates emphasized being "action-oriented" in 52 (43%) campaign ads and 40 (70%) sites, $X^2(1, N = 179) = 11.806$, $p = .001$. Male candidates emphasized being "action-oriented" in 58 (49%) campaign ads and 43 (68%) sites, $X^2(1, N = 182) = 6.351$, $p = .01$.

Finally, female candidates emphasized being qualified in 24 (20%) campaign ads and 32 (56%) sites, $X^2(1, N = 179) = 24.034$, $p = .001$. Male candidates emphasized being qualified in 20 (17%) campaign ads and 30 (48%) sites, $X^2(1, N = 182) = 19.627$, $p = .001$.

Overall, when the traits were collapsed into the categories of "feminine" and "masculine" for videostyle and webstyle comparisons, the analyses yielded significant differences. While the candidates continued to emphasize "feminine" and "masculine" traits at higher percentages of frequency on their campaign web sites than in their campaign ads, only female candidates emphasized "feminine" traits significantly more on their web sites. Specifically, 43 (35%) female candidate ads and 32 (56%) sites emphasized "feminine" traits, $X^2(1, N = 179) = 12.945$, $p = .001$. However, 92 (75%) female candidate ads and 53 (93%) sites emphasized "masculine" traits, $X^2(1, N = 179) = 7.797$, $p = .01$. A total of 86 (72%) male candidate ads and 60 (95%)

sites emphasized "masculine" traits, $X^2(1, N = 182) = 13.696$, $p = .001$.

Appeal Strategies

Of the twenty-three appeal strategies analyzed, ten yielded significant differences in comparisons of female candidate ads and female candidate web sites while eight yielded significant differences in comparisons of male candidate ads and male candidate web sites. Further, in contrast to the consistently greater presence--in terms of percentage--of issues and character traits on candidate web sites than in their ads, the candidates did not consistently use appeal strategies at a higher percentage of frequency on one medium versus the other.

Although use of the "incumbency stands for legitimacy" appeal strategy did not yield a significant difference for male candidates, male candidates did use the strategy at a slightly higher percentage of frequency on their web sites. Female candidates, however, used the strategy at a higher percentage of frequency in their campaign ads. Specifically, 12 (21%) female candidate ads and 9 (7%) sites included this appeal, $X^2(1, N = 179) = 7.016$, $p = .01$.

Both female and male candidates used the strategy of calling for change at a higher percentage of frequency on their web sites. Female candidates used the appeal in 19

(16%) ads and on 22 (39%) sites, $X^2(1, N = 179) = 11.661$, $p = .001$. Male candidates used the appeal in 13 (11%) ads and on 24 (38%) sites, $X^2(1, N = 182) = 18.776$, $p = .001$.

Again, both female and male candidates used the strategy of addressing readers/viewers as peers at a higher percentage of frequency on their web sites than in their spot ads. In particular, 19 (16%) female candidate ads and 21 (37%) sites used the strategy, $X^2(1, N = 179) = 10.127$, $p = .001$. Male candidates used the strategy in 23 (19%) ads and 20 (32%) sites, however the difference only approached significance ($p = .061$).

Female candidates used the strategy of inviting viewer/reader participation/action in 12 (10%) ads and 12 (21 %) web sites, $X^2(1, N = 179) = 4.210$, $p = .04$. Male candidates also used the strategy at a higher percentage on their web sites (14 sites, 22%) than in their spot ads (14 ads, 12%), although not at a level of significance ($p = .063$).

The percent of female candidate ads and female candidate web sites using the appeal strategy of "traditional values" was not significantly different. However, male candidates' use of the strategy was significantly different, with 6 (5%) male candidate ads and

12 (19%) sites using the strategy, $X^2(1, N = 182) = 9.067$, $p = .01$.

The use of endorsements did yield significant differences between candidate spot ads and web sites, with 16 (13%) female candidate ads and 27 (47%) sites using the strategy, $X^2(1, N = 179) = 24.974$, $p = .001$. Further, 15 (13%) male candidate ads and 28 (44%) sites used the strategy, $X^2(1, N = 182) = 23.142$, $p = .001$.

Two additional strategies--use of statistics and use of expert authorities--did not yield significant difference in their use in female candidate spot ads and web sites. Male candidates used both, however, at significant levels of difference. For instance, 16 (13%) male candidate ads and 24 (38%) sites used statistics as an appeal strategy, $X^2(1, N = 182) = 14.596$, $p = .001$. Additionally, 25 (21%) male candidate ads and 6 (10%) sites used expert authorities as an appeal strategy, $X^2(1, N = 182) = 3.845$, $p = .050$.

Both female and male candidates did use the strategy of identifying with the experiences of others at a level of significant difference in their campaign ads and web sites. Specifically, 8 (7%) female candidate ads and 17 (30%) sites used this strategy, $X^2(1, N = 179) = 17.503$, $p = .001$. Similarly, 9 (8%) male candidate ads and 16 (25%) sites used this strategy, $X^2(1, N = 182) = 11.056$, $p = .001$.

Emphasizing one's own accomplishments was used at a higher percentage of frequency on female and male candidate web sites than in their ads, with 46 (38%) female candidate ads and 46 (81%) sites using this strategy, $X^2(1, N = 179) = 28.751$, $p = .001$. Male candidates used this strategy in 53 (45%) ads and 49 (78%) web sites, $X^2(1, N = 182) = 18.475$, $p = .001$.

Female candidate ads used the appeal strategy of taking the offensive position on issues at a significant level of difference in their campaign ads than in their web sites, with 32 (26%) of their ads and 25 (44%) of their web sites using the appeal strategy, $X^2(1, N = 179) = 5.564$, $p = .02$. Male candidates used the strategy in 14 (12%) ads and 26 (41%) web sites, $X^2(1, N = 182) = 20.912$, $p = .001$.

Two additional appeal strategies--attacking the opponent's record and "above the trenches"--did not yield a significant difference in their use in male candidate ads compared to their web sites; however, the use of the "above the trenches" strategy did approach significance ($p = .057$) with 22 (19%) male candidate ads and 5 (8%) sites using the strategy. Female candidates used the strategy of attacking their opponent's record in 55 (45%) ads and 11 (19%) sites, $X^2(1, N = 179) = 11.096$, $p = .001$. Further, female candidates used the strategy of an "above the trenches"

posture in 38 (31%) ads and 2 (3.5%) sites, $X^2(1, N = 179) = 17.102$, $p = .001$.

When collapsing the appeals to the categories of "feminine" appeals, "masculine" appeals, "incumbent" appeals, and "challenger" appeals, no significant differences emerged in female and male candidates' use of "feminine" appeals in their campaign ads compared to their web sites (see Table 28). The use of "masculine" and "incumbent" appeals in spot ads compared to web sites did yield significant differences for female and male candidates and the use of "challenger" appeals were used at significantly different levels by male candidates (see Table 22).

Specifically, 73 (60%) female candidate ads and 48 (84%) female candidate sites used "masculine" appeals, $X^2(1, N = 179) = 10.538$, $p = .001$. Male candidates used "masculine" appeals in 71 (60%) of their ads and on 56 (89%) of their web sites, $X^2(1, N = 182) = 16.684$, $p = .001$.

"Incumbent" appeals were also used at a higher percentage on female candidate web sites than in their ads, with 72 (59%) female candidate ads and 49 (86%) sites using these appeals, $X^2(1, N = 179) = 12.881$, $p = .001$. Male candidates used "incumbent" appeals in 71 (60%) of their ads

and on 57 (91%) of their web sites, $X^2(1, N = 182) = 18.741$, $p = .001$.

"Challenger" appeals were used in a higher percentage of female candidate ads than web sites, although not at a significant level of difference. Male candidates used "challenger" strategies in a significantly higher percentage of web sites than ads, however, with 73 (61%) ads and 48 (76%) sites including these strategies, $X^2(1, N = 182) = 18.741$, $p = .04$.

Attack Appeals, Group Appeals, Sectional Appeals

Attack appeals were analyzed in both videostyle and webstyle, with only one variable yielding significant difference: presence of a negative attack (see Table 22). Both female and male candidates used this strategy at a higher percentage of frequency in their campaign ads than on their web sites, with 64 (53%) female candidate ads and 10 (18%) sites issuing a negative attack, $X^2(1, N = 179) = 19.530$, $p = .001$. Male candidates used the strategy in 61 (51%) campaign ads and on 10 (16%) web sites, $X^2(1, N = 181) = 21.104$, $p = .001$.

Two "general" appeals were analyzed in both videostyle and webstyle--the candidate's identification of the office sought and the candidate's identification of party affiliation--both of which yielded significant differences

for female and male candidates in comparing videostyles and webstyles (see Table 22). Specifically, female candidates identified the office they sought in 58 (48%) campaign ads and on 56 (98%) web sites, $X^2(1, N = 179) = 43.188$, $p = .001$. Male candidates identified the office they sought in 77 (65%) ads and on 62 (98%) web sites, $X^2(1, N = 182) = 25.936$, $p = .001$.

With regard to party, female candidates did not identify their party affiliation in any campaign ads, although they did so on 20 (35%) web sites, $X^2(1, N = 179) = 48.192$, $p = .001$. Male candidates identified their party affiliation in 6 (5%) campaign ads and on 39 (62%) web sites, $X^2(1, N = 182) = 71.562$, $p = .001$.

Targeted candidate appeals to specific demographic groups--young voters/teens, women, veterans, and senior citizens--were also analyzed, with a significant difference emerging only for male candidate appeals to senior citizens. Male candidates targeted 18 (15%) campaign ads to senior citizens but only 1 (2%) male candidate web site provided a special section for senior citizens, $X^2(1, N = 182) = 8.076$, $p = .01$. Analyses of female candidate campaign ads and web sites were not available due to insufficient expected cell size for the chi-square statistic (see Table 29).

Nonverbal Content

Of the five categories comparing presence of nonverbal content in videostyle and webstyle--candidate dress, eye contact, facial expression, dominant setting, and others pictured--three yielded significant differences for female and/or male candidates--candidate dress, eye contact, and others pictured (see Table 22). While the analysis of the differential use of formal dress and casual dress in female candidate campaign ads and on their web sites did not approach significance, however (see Table 30), the differential in the use of formal and casual dress for male candidates was significant (see Table 22). Male candidates were featured in formal dress in 35 (41%) campaign ads and on 46 (77%) web sites, $X^2(1, N = 145) = 17.968, p = .001$. Male candidates were featured in casual dress in 72 (85%) campaign ads and on 39 (65%) web sites, $X^2(1, N = 145) = 7.609, p = .01$.

In the analysis of eye contact of female candidates in their campaign ads and on their web sites, the difference was significant, $X^2(2, N = 151) = 42.437, p = .001$. In their campaign ads female candidates most frequently had eye contact "almost never/never" (57 ads, 61%), followed by "almost always/always" having eye contact (24 ads, 26%) and "sometimes" having eye contact (13 ads, 14%). Yet in their

campaign web sites female candidates most frequently had eye contact "always/almost always" (33 sites, 58%), followed by "sometimes" (20 sites, 35%) and "never/almost never" (4 sites, 7%).

The analysis of male candidate eye contact in their campaign ads and on their web sites also yielded significant difference, $X^2(2, N = 145) = 14.341, p = .001$. Specifically, male candidates "almost never/never" had eye contact in 28 (33%) campaign ads and on 4 (7%) web sites, "sometimes" had eye contact in 18 (21%) campaign ads and on 20 (33%) web sites, and "almost always/always" had eye contact in 39 (46%) campaign ads and on 36 (60%) web sites.

The final nonverbal content category that yielded significant difference was that of "others pictured." For both female candidates and male candidates picturing their family occurred at a higher percentage of frequency on their web sites than in their spot ads. Specifically, 5 (4%) female candidate ads and 19 (33%) sites pictured the female candidate's family, $X^2(1, N = 179) = 28.599, p = .001$. Male candidates featured their family on 31 (26%) campaign ads and on 27 (45%) web sites, $X^2(1, N = 179) = 6.539, p = .011$.

Picturing children (not family) and senior citizens in the male candidate ads compared to their web sites did not yield significant differences (see Table 30). However, male

candidates were more likely to feature children (not family) with a greater percentage of frequency on their web sites than in their spot ads, and to feature senior citizens with a greater percentage of frequency in their campaign ads than on their web sites.

Female candidates were more likely to feature children (not family) in their campaign ads than on their web sites (see Table 22), with 64 (53%) campaign ads and 18 (32%) web sites doing so, $X^2(1, N = 179) = 6.823, p = .01$. Similarly, female candidates were more likely to feature senior citizens in their campaign ads than in their web sites, with 56 (46%) campaign ads and 16 (28%) web sites doing so, $X^2(1, N = 179) = 5.137, p = .02$.

Following is a discussion of the implications of the findings presented above, the limitations of this study, and directions for future research.

Chapter V

DISCUSSION

The questions addressed in this study were designed to respond to the three particular goals of this research. The first goal was to expand the prior work on female and male candidate videostyle (Bystrom, 1995; Bystrom & Kaid, 2001; Bystrom & Miller, 1999; Miller, 1996) to the general election ads of female/male races in 2000 and to incorporate the political advertising of female and male U.S. House candidates with the more frequently studied ads of gubernatorial and Senate candidates. Such an extension offers a more complete view of the videostyles of female and male candidates running in mixed-gender races for upper level offices in general election cycle.

The second goal of this study was to develop a systematic method by which the self-presentation strategies of candidates employing the mass media of the Internet could be identified, creating the method of *webstyle*. The development of such a method logically extends the concept of videostyle--the analysis of candidate self-presentation in the controlled environment of advertising--to the new campaign tool which also offers the important variable of candidate control over the dissemination of his/her message in the mass media.

The third goal was to compare the candidate videostyles and webstyles, thus providing a unique, comparative analysis of candidate self-portrayal across a traditional medium and a non-traditional medium, and further, two mediums over which the candidate has control of the message disseminated. In doing so, this study offers a unique glimpse into the development of candidate self-presentation strategies and how such strategies might differ--or stay the same--based on the constraints of the medium versus the constraints of the candidate.

The results of this research clarify and substantiate prior research results, as well as contribute new findings and offer a new perspective on the differences and similarities of female and male candidate campaign styles. Not only does this study help establish a decade's worth of consistent research on female and male candidate videostyle from mixed-gender races, but extends the application of the concepts of videostyle--candidate self-presentation in political advertising--to that of webstyle--candidate self-presentation in campaign web sites. Perhaps most important, this study provides additional insight as to the different--and consistent--strategies used by candidates to present an image to the public across multiple channels of

communication over which the candidate has complete control of the message received by the viewer.

This study's results not only contribute to the study of political communication but also offer direction for future research on female and male candidate self-presentation strategies. Specifically, the results indicate that significant differences between female and male videostyles and webstyles were evident in the 2000 general election ads of mixed-gender gubernatorial, Senate, and House races. Additionally, the results indicate that significant differences emerged between the candidates' videostyles and webstyles. A discussion of these results, their limitations, and implications for future research follow.

Videostyle: Significant Differences in

Female and Male Political Advertising in 2000

Based on the results of the content analysis of political ads from mixed-gender races of the 2000 general election campaign at the gubernatorial, Senate, and House levels, significant differences continue to exist in female and male candidate videostyles. As such, characteristics that differentiated female videostyle were those in which the candidates' were more likely to: a) discuss education/schools, health care, women's issues, and job growth;

b) take the offensive position on issues; c) use an "above the trenches" posture; d) employ challenger appeals; e) attack their opponent on his record; f) attack the opponent's issue stands and group affiliations; g) use the strategy of guilt by association; h) use source credibility appeals and logical appeals; i) link with demographic groups; j) wear formal attire; k) almost never have eye contact with the camera; l) show children (not family) in their ads; m) show senior citizens; and n) use a combination of production techniques (see Table 31).

The male candidate videostyle of campaign 2000 emerged as a style in which male candidates were more likely to: a) emphasize honesty/ integrity; b) emphasize their competence; c) use the strategy "incumbency stands for legitimacy"; d) identify the office they are seeking; e) wear casual attire; f) almost always/always have eye contact with the camera; g) be shown with their family; h) use special production techniques and slides in their ads; i) use computer graphics/titles, alterations/ morphing, slow motion, and stills in their ads.

Female Candidate Videostyle

The results reported here indicate that female candidates continue to be more likely to use specific videostyle characteristics than male candidates. Notably,

however, the characteristics of female candidate videostyle that emerge in this study both confirm and diverge from previous research on the self-presentation styles of female candidates. An analysis of these characteristics is further discussed below.

Discuss Education, Health Care, Women's Issues, Job Growth

The discussion of four particular issues characterized the videostyle of female candidates in 2000: education/schools, health care, women's issues, and job growth. The fact that female candidates discussed three of these issues with greater frequency--education/schools, health care, and women's issues--supplements analyses of female candidate ads dating to the late 1980s (Bystrom, 1995; Bystrom & Kaid, 2000; Kahn, 1996; Robertson, 2000).

This consistency by female candidates to more frequently discuss these issues warrants further attention. Prior videostyle analyses of female and male candidates have argued that the election year shapes the issues candidates discuss (Bystrom, 1995; Bystrom & Kaid, 2000; Williams, 1998), an argument which is sound when analyzing the top issues discussed between female and male candidates in each cycle. As such, it is important to note that education and healthcare were top issues in the 2000 campaign (Balz, 2000). However, the fact that female candidates

consistently placed greater emphasis on these issues, categorized by some as "social programs" (Kahn, 1996; Williams, 1998), suggests that either female candidates are frankly more interested in these issues and/or, as Kahn (1996) has argued, are playing to their stereotypical strengths.

Kahn's (1996) argument proposes that female candidates try to emphasize their stereotypical strengths in their issue discussions to make such issues salient to the voters. The saliency that results should in turn benefit their candidacy because the voters stereotypically expect female candidates to be strong on those issues and will cast votes accordingly. Research on attitudes toward female and male candidates aids this argument, as female candidates are perceived as stronger on the issues of education and health care (Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993b; Koch, 1999; Leeper, 1991; Sapiro, 1981/2) and logic suggests they are perceived as stronger on "women's issues."

Therefore, when analyzed with prior research results, this study lends support to Kahn's (1996) argument and furthers the notion that female candidates discuss "social" issues--issues on which they have assigned strengths--more frequently than male candidates, regardless of the election year. As a strategy, greater emphasis on those issues may

in turn strengthen the importance of those issues with voters and set an agenda that favors the candidate--female--perceived as most capable to handle such issues.

Discussion of the issue of job growth, another issue that female candidates discussed more frequently in 2000 than male candidates, was dominated by Hillary Clinton. Of the 17 female candidate ads discussing job growth, Hillary Clinton--New York open Senate seat candidate--discussed the issue in nine ads. Bringing jobs to "upstate" New York became a prevalent issue in the Senate race and one that Hillary's campaign chose to emphasize (Cos & Snee, 2001). Her ads did just that with statements such as, "I have a plan to bring jobs to every corner of New York" and "Hillary has a serious plan to create 200,000 jobs upstate." Much of her discussion on this issue also suggested her opponent did not have a plan for job growth upstate, and further that he did not care. One ad, which likened her opponent to an ostrich, concluded by stating, "Hillary Clinton. A strong voice for New York families with a detailed plan to create new jobs in upstate New York."

Take the Offensive Position on Issues

Female candidates were more likely to use a challenger appeal--taking the offensive position on issues--and an incumbent appeal--using an "above the trenches" posture--in

their videostyle in 2000. The use of the strategy "taking the offensive position on issues" has been identified as one in which the challenger candidate primarily discusses what is wrong on an issue--"probes, questions, challenges, attacks"--without providing specific solutions; therefore, there is no specific information on which the incumbent can attack the challenger (Trent & Friedenbergr, 1995, p. 82). However, female candidates in *open* races were the predominant users of this strategy in 2000--as they were in 1996 (Bystrom & Miller, 1999)--and they typically used the strategy in ads in which over five issues were discussed.

The use of this strategy is illustrated in a spot ad from Lauren Beth Gash's--Illinois open House seat candidate--campaign:

[Announcer] Mark Kirk wants to take 900 billion dollars out of the Social Security trust fund. And Mark Kirk would do nothing to reduce the price of prescription drugs. [Gash] Mark Kirk and I couldn't disagree more. I'll use the budget surplus to strengthen Social Security. And I'll fight to reduce the price of prescription drugs. And I'll work for targeted tax cuts to help middle class families pay for college tuition, child-care, and elder-care. [Announcer] Lauren Beth Gash for congress.

In this ad Gash fulfilled the challenger role by first attacking and criticizing her opponent. Gash then listed what she would seek to do as a contrast to what Kirk might do, opening that section with, "Mark Kirk and I couldn't disagree more." Although Gash did not provide any specific

details on how she might accomplish these tasks, the message suggested that she was prepared to address these concerns and had an apparent "stand" on each one. Female candidates in open races may feel they are challengers to the "incumbent male" image, and as such the use of this strategy challenges their male opponents to indicate that they, too, have a stand on these issues.

Use an "Above the Trenches" Posture

Female candidate videostyle also used an "above the trenches" posture--an incumbent strategy (Trent & Friedenbergr, 1995)--more frequently than male candidate videostyle. Consistent with its use by incumbents, female incumbents were more likely to use the strategy than either challenger or open race female candidates in 2000. Olympia Snowe--Maine incumbent Senate candidate--used this strategy in a majority of her ads, elevating herself above the fray of a political battle to reinforce her statesmanship and focus on her accomplishments. As such she reinforced her competence as a leader. The ending statement of her ads reminded the voters, "Olympia Snowe. Always there for us" (emphasis original).

Attack their Opponent on his Record

The characteristic of female candidates being more likely to attack the opponent's record is consistent with

prior research on female and male videostyles (Bystrom, 1995; Bystrom & Miller, 1999). However, when analyzed further, Hillary Clinton emerged as the main reason behind the significant difference in female use of the strategy. Specifically, 24 of the 55 female candidate ads using the strategy belonged to Clinton. Once the ads from the New York Senate race were removed, no significant difference was indicated.

Attack the Opponent's Issue Stands, Group Affiliation

In 2000, the purpose of attacks delivered by female candidate ads were more likely to be attacks on issue stands of their opponent as well as group affiliations. This strategy of attacking the opponent's issue stands by female candidates supports some prior research (Benze & Declercq, 1985; Kahn, 1993; Williams, 1998); although its use has not emerged at a significant difference in most research comparing female videostyles to male videostyles in the 1990s (Bystrom, 1995; Bystrom & Kaid, 2000; Bystrom & Miller, 1999; Miller, 1996). It is important to note that the strategy is the most common purpose of attacking one's opponent for both female and male candidates; the uniqueness of this characteristic in female candidate videostyle is that female candidates *more frequently* employ the strategy than male candidates.

Similarly, while the strategy of attacking the opponent's group affiliation was more frequently used by female candidates, it was the fourth most common purpose for attack in both female and male candidate ads. The significant use of this strategy, however, again stems from the Hillary Clinton campaign. Of the 19 female candidate ads for which attacking the opponent's group affiliation served as the purpose for attack, Clinton's campaign ran 10 of those ads. Fond of aligning her opponent--Rick Lazio--with Newt Gingrich and "his" Republican congress, much in the same manner her husband aligned Bob Dole with Gingrich in his 1996 ad campaign, Clinton's ads would feature a picture of Lazio and Gingrich together, remind the voters that Lazio served as Gingrich's Deputy Whip, indicate that they "tried to slash Medicare" or "shut down the Department of Education," and then conclude the ad by stating, "Rick Lazio. The more you know, the more you wonder."

Use the Strategy "Guilt by Association"

The female candidate ads in 2000 used the strategy of "guilt by association" significantly more than male candidates, although a closer analysis attributes the significant use of guilt by association to Hillary Clinton's campaign. Of the 24 female candidate ads employing this

strategy, Clinton ran 15 of those ads, with the strategy again to link Lazio, her opponent, with Gingrich.

Use Source Credibility and Logical Appeals

Female candidate ads included the proofs of source credibility and logic more frequently in 2000 than did male candidate ads. However, the proof of source credibility was most commonly present in both female and male candidate ads, followed by logical proofs and then emotional proofs. Not surprisingly, then, when the dominant proof was coded significant differences did not arise in female and male candidate use of the Aristotelean proofs.

Kaid and Johnston (2001) have suggested that the use of source credibility appeals "invites" support for the candidate based on the candidate's character, accomplishments, and/or because of the character of those who speak on behalf of the candidate (p. 58). That female candidates included the proofs of source credibility and logic more frequently in their spot ads is of interest. With the recent and highly publicized scandals of office holders, female candidates benefit from being considered by voters as candidates as more trustworthy, honest, hardworking, and not of the "politics as usual"--natural outsiders (Witt et al., 1995). Thus, female candidates,

particularly in this election cycle, may have decided to capitalize on the opportunity and stress those strengths.

Ruth Dwyer's ads--challenger in Vermont's gubernatorial race--offer examples of this strategy. In one ad a male voice-over proclaimed, "strong leadership for Vermont," "a successful farmer," and "an experienced state legislator." In other words, she has the experience and leadership to legitimately lead the state. In another ad the father of a girl to whom Dwyer has given horse-riding lessons offered testimonials of Dwyer's character. As Dwyer, leading a horse, walked down a grassy lane with the girl--in a walker--at her side, the father concluded, "At the heart of it, I think Ruth has taught her there is really no such thing as a handicap."

Since arguments for source credibility can also be presented by others, benefits can be derived from the endorsements of others whose power can reassure voters that the female candidate is competent and has the credentials to win public office (Witt et al., 1995). Of those female candidates relying on others to benefit them in such a way, Hillary Clinton used numerous well known male figures: outgoing New York Senator Moynihan; Ed Koch, previous mayor of New York; Democratic Vice Presidential candidate Joe Lieberman; Democratic Presidential candidate, Al Gore;

current New York senator Chuck Schumer; and New York congressman Robert Kennedy, Jr.

Typically the endorsements that reinforce the female candidate's credentials, legitimacy, and character are from men (Witt et al., 1995). Until more women political leaders are viewed with the same credibility as male political leaders, this will no doubt continue to be the only option for female candidates seeking source credibility arguments from other political figures.

Female candidates' use of logical proof is not surprising, as it is a common appeal--albeit a traditionally "masculine" appeal (Dow & Tonn, 1993)--found in political advertising (Kaid & Johnston, 2001) and particularly ads of mixed-gender races (Bystrom, 1999; Miller, 1996). To divert substantially from such a norm would eliminate the use of evidence such as statistics and examples, clearly altering the presentation of negative attacks and logically disadvantaging a female candidate.

Debbie Stabenow's ads--challenger in the Michigan Senate race--illustrated the prominent use of logical evidence in negative advertising:

[Announcer] Nasty campaign. Distorts reality. Spencer Abraham is distorting the words of a 20-year old letter to smear Debbie Stabenow in an ad prosecutors call a lie. Abraham wants to cover up that he serves the special interests. 240,000 from insurance companies to vote against the patient's bill of rights. 155,000 from drug companies to vote against lower drug prices. 1.9 million from

corporations to vote against over-time pay. Spencer Abraham says he's a workhorse, but look who he's working for.

Link with Demographic Groups; More Likely to Show Children (Not Family) and Senior Citizens

Female candidates also linked more with demographic groups in their videostyle, a characteristic which coincides with the characteristic of being more likely to show children (not family) and senior citizens in their ads. Coupled with the greater frequency in discussing education and senior citizen issues, female candidates combined their verbal and visual messages in 2000 to emphasize their understanding of the needs of children and their education, and the needs of senior citizens on the issues of health care, prescription drugs, and Social Security.

Nancy Keenan--candidate for Montana's open House seat--and Patsy Kurth--challenger for a Florida House seat--offer examples of this combination. For example, Keenan concentrated one particular ad on a discussion of concerns facing senior citizens. In the ad she was seen having a meal with a group of senior citizen women, talking closely with an older lady, and again talking with another small group of senior women while the voice-over emphasized that she understands the problems senior citizens face. Keenan personally concluded the ad, stating, "My mother taught me

to take care of all of those who took care of us. In Washington I won't forget."

Kurth's ad focused on children and education, beginning with Kurth live in a classroom. She began by acknowledging that many of "us" are concerned about over-crowded classrooms and not enough schools. She then attacked her opponent for his lack of support in funding educational programs and concluded that segment of the ad by stating, ". . .but we must never forget our children are more important than political games." In the next and final shot, Kurth, surrounded by children in the classroom, stated, "In Congress I'll put our children first and demand they be given the education they deserve." The ad closed with all the children yelling, "Yeah!"

Wear Formal Attire

A strikingly stable characteristic of female candidate videostyle is that of wearing formal attire. This study's findings remain consistent with prior research on female candidate images in their political ads (Bystrom, 1995; Bystrom & Kaid, 2000; Kahn, 1996). As evidenced by the findings in this study, female candidates were not seen in formal attire for all of their shots. However, the consistent nature by which they were more likely to be wearing formal, professional clothing illustrated Kahn's

(1996) notion that female candidates use their clothing to "convince voters of their legitimacy and professionalism" and "to stress the seriousness of their candidacy" (p. 32).

Almost Never Have Eye Contact with the Camera

The characteristic of female candidates not establishing eye contact with the camera--and thus the viewer--in their ads contradicts prior findings (Bystrom, 1995) and gender research that suggests women establish eye contact to seek approval (Bate & Bowker, 1997) and men establish less eye contact to indicate authority (Pearson et al., 1991; Wood, 1994). Videostyle research has regarded the establishment of eye contact as a challenger strategy (Kaid and Davidson, 1986). Female challengers in this study were more likely than either incumbents or open race candidates to have some degree of eye contact, although overall they were more likely to simply not have any eye contact.

Upon further analysis, however, female House candidates were more likely than gubernatorial or Senate candidates to establish some level of eye contact. The majority of those House candidates establishing eye contact were challengers and open race candidates; perhaps because of their need to establish name recognition and a rapport with voters they utilized this strategy more extensively. In turn, female

gubernatorial, Senate, and incumbents may have preferred to use the strategy to aid in legitimizing their authority as political leaders.

Combine Production Techniques

In the production content of female candidate videostyle, one characteristic differentiated female candidate ads in 2000: the use of a combination of production techniques. Williams (1998) noted a stronger likelihood for female candidates to use combined techniques in his review of senatorial spot ads from 1990-1994. In 2000, however, female candidates primarily used the technique in their comparative ads, not only giving equal time to negative and positive messages but equal time in negative and positive presentation.

In addition, however, the use of this technique may also signal that as female candidates are able to raise more money they can afford more technologically sophisticated advertising. In particular, the four candidates most frequently using this technique were from well-funded races in which the candidate either had strong party support due to a battleground race or was such a strong incumbent that she could more easily raise both party and monetary support: Jeanne Shaheen, incumbent New Hampshire gubernatorial candidate; Olympia Snowe, incumbent Maine senator; Hillary

Clinton, New York open race Senate candidate; and Maria Cantwell, Washington open race Senate candidate.

Jeanne Shaheen, for example, used an equal combination of cinema verite and special production techniques in a comparative ad. While the ad attacked her opponent by citing all of the programs he voted to cut or supported abolishing, a darkened blue/black photo was ripped down the middle with written information appearing in the now "open area" to reinforce the verbal message. As Shaheen's ad cut to the positive-candidate portion, the viewer was shown various in-color video shots of Shaheen walking briskly with a political aide, speaking to a group of businesspeople, and listening intently to school children.

Maria Cantwell also used an equal combination of production techniques in two of her comparative ads, but also in one candidate-positive ad. In the candidate-positive ad Cantwell equally used the technique of "candidate head-on"--when she talked directly into the camera about wanting to bring together the entire state of Washington--with that of cinema verite--when two anonymous announcers talked over the video shots of Cantwell speaking with others in various settings. The ad ended by cutting "back" to Cantwell who again uses the "candidate head on" technique to conclude the ad.

In summary, female candidates appeared to use less of an "upfront and personal" videostyle (Bystrom, 1995) and a more "politically sophisticated" videostyle in 2000. This "political sophisticated" style blended "feminine" strengths (discussing "social" issues more frequently, wearing formal attire), "masculine" strengths (logical appeals, less eye contact), "challenger" appeals (take the offensive position, attack opponent's record), and "incumbent" appeals (use "above the trenches" posture) with "personal" strategies (such as linking with demographic groups, showing more of those about whom they are talking in their ads) in ads that were more likely to combine production techniques. Further research, from a longitudinal approach, will only be able to confirm if the "politically sophisticated" blending of strategic strengths by women as political candidates is a style--and strategy in and of itself--that continues.

Male Candidate Videostyle

The results of this study also indicate that male candidates continue to be more likely to use specific videostyle characteristics than female candidates (see Table 31). As in the characteristics female candidates used more frequently, several characteristics used more frequently by male candidates are supported by prior findings while the emergence of other characteristics is unique to this sample.

Emphasize Honesty/Integrity

Since the 1996 election cycle male candidates have stressed their honesty/integrity more frequently than female candidates (Bystrom & Kaid, 2000; Bystrom & Miller, 1999; Robertson, 2000) and they continued to do so in 2000. As honesty and integrity are typically stereotyped to the advantage of female candidates (Leeper, 1991; Sapiro, 1981/2), male candidates must verbalize their possession of the characteristic to connect that trait with their image in the voter's mind. Kaid & Johnston (2001) found a similar style present in presidential candidate ads, noting the increased emphasis in the 1990s. Recent, highly visible political scandals have not particularly advantaged male candidates. Although the male candidates in 2000 did not specifically reference these incidents, their message emphasized *they* could be counted upon to do what is right for their constituents.

One example is an ad from the Rick Lazio--candidate for New York's open Senate seat--campaign in which his wife told voters that he is a good father and husband to infer his character and integrity. She concluded the ad by stating, "I'm not asking you to vote for Rick because he is a good father and husband. I just want you to know you can always count on Rick to do what's right for New York."

Gordon Humphrey--New Hampshire's challenger gubernatorial candidate--also emphasized his integrity in his ads, even coupling the message with "candidate head-on" shots. Humphrey stated, "If you don't say what's on your mind, if you don't believe in what you say and tell it like it is you're wasting your time and likewise the time of your constituents." Humphrey concluded, "Being governor is a tough job, of course, but you've got to have the courage to keep going. You have to say what you believe and do what you say."

Emphasize Competence

In the early 1980s, female and male candidates emphasized their competence relatively equally (Benze & Declercq, 1985). Yet, by the mid 1980s male candidates were much less likely to discuss their competence than female candidates (Kahn, 1996) and slightly less likely by the early 1990s (Bystrom, 1995). As with honesty and integrity, since the 1996 election male candidates have more frequently emphasized their competence as political leaders (Bystrom & Miller, 1999; Robertson, 2000), and continued to do so at a significant level in 2000. Although one could optimistically surmise that the assignment of competence in holding public office is becoming less of a stereotypical male advantage and more of a gender-neutral trait on which

both female and male candidates must hold their own, this is a particular area of interest that beckons more attention.

As a more probable analysis, competency is generally considered an incumbent strategy (Kaid & Davidson, 1986; Trent & Friedenberg, 1995) and one which stresses the candidate can solve problems and is capable. Male incumbents, particularly House incumbents, in 2000 did stress the trait more frequently than either open race or challenger candidates. One House incumbent, Steve Kuykendall--California--sought to emphasize his capability to handle problems. Using primarily testimonials of local city leaders, Kuykendall's ads stressed this trait with statements such as, "While I was talkin' to him, Steve gets on the phone to the staff in Washington and puts in motion an answer to our problems." Yet another constituent stated, "Jane Harman cannot do for the South Bay what Steve Kuykendall's been able to do." The announcer then concluded, "Steve Kuykendall, Congress. On the job for South Bay."

E. Clay Shaw--incumbent House candidate in Florida--reminded voters of the problems he had solved with the following ad:

[Announcer] It wasn't fair, Washington was taking Social Security away from working seniors. [Shaw] Congress was penalizing those that had to continue to work. That was wrong. [Announcer] When Clay Shaw became chairman of the Social Security Committee, he stopped Washington's unfair

earnings penalty on seniors. Then Shaw passed legislation to keep Social Security funds safe in a lock box, away from big-spending politicians. He's protecting Social Security. South Florida's senior congressman, Clay Shaw.

Use "Incumbency Stands for Legitimacy" Strategy

Another characteristic of male candidate videostyle in 2000 was the greater use of the strategy "incumbency stands for legitimacy." This characteristic, regarded as an incumbent strategy, suggests that by virtue of prior election the incumbent candidate is already considered a legitimate, natural, and logical leader. Male incumbent candidates were the more frequent users of this strategy in 2000, with a number of Slade Gorton's--incumbent senator from Washington--ads offering a prime example. In order to emphasize the fact that Gorton was already an effective, respected office-holder, the ads listed numerous "accomplishments" such as, "Slade Gorton stared down the drug companies to lower the unfair prices of prescription medicines," and "He said 'no' when politicians tried to raid Social Security to pay for other government programs." The ads then concluded by stating, "Your voice is heard because Slade Gorton's voice is heard."

Another incumbent candidate, Lee Terry--Nebraska House candidate--used the strategy both visually and verbally. Terry reinforced that he had a clear understanding of his job requirements such that he took ownership of the job,

indicated that he was an able leader, and insinuated the position was already in good hands. While Terry himself provided the voice-over that relayed what "his" job was all about, shots of Terry working in his office--dressed in formal attire, with the flag in the background--and a shot of Terry being "interviewed" by a reporter--complete with camera and microphone--were interspersed with Terry interacting with children in a classroom. One such ad concluded with Terry stating, "Empowering people and doing the job you said you would do. That's what my job is all about."

Identify the Office Seeking

The characteristic of identifying the office the candidate is seeking has not been analyzed in prior videostyle research. In this study, the coders were requested to code the variable as an identification of the office beyond just the campaign logo. The male ads that specifically identified the office sought were not particularly associated with candidate status or level.

In exploring how male candidates differed from female candidates on this variable, it appears that male candidate ads were more likely to have the verbalization at the conclusion that stated the candidate's name and office. For example, eight of the twelve Tom Campbell--California Senate

race challenger--ads analyzed in this study concluded the ad, "Tom Campbell, Senate." Two additional ads, testimonials by John McCain, featured McCain stating, "We need Tom Campbell in the Senate."

This greater emphasis on the office sought raises the question of whether male candidates have consistently used what might be regarded as a more traditional means of concluding an ad, or whether the use of this strategy issues a confirmatory message to the voters. Verbally linking the candidate with the office--as well as visually through the ending campaign graphic--may be a strategic use of rhetoric whereby the reinforcement between candidate name and office results in the voter becoming more familiar with the association. Such a strategy could potentially even work at some level when the voter reaches the ballot box and must link one candidate with an office. Additional study of this strategy could prove useful, particularly in low information elections.

Wear Casual Attire

Although early research on female and male candidate spot ads indicated female candidates wore more casual attire in their ads than males (Benze & Declercq, 1985; Trent & Sabourin, 1993a), the opposite has been well documented since that time (Bystrom, 1995; Bystrom & Miller, 1999;

Bystrom & Kaid, 2000) with male candidates continuing to dress more casually in 2000. While Al Gore sparked the association of male candidate casual attire with an attempt to create an "alpha male" image, the use of such attire may be more of a "personal" appeal that suggests the candidate is "one of the people" and therefore can understand and represent his constituents' concerns. Little difference is indicated between the frequency of use by level of office and status of the candidate, and as such casual attire can arguably be considered a unique characteristic of male candidate videostyle.

Most of the casual dressing male candidates--such as Rick Lazio and Slade Gorton--in 2000 wore slacks, a button-down shirt with the sleeves rolled up, and no tie when viewed on the "campaign trail." Gorton also added a casual/sporty vest to that attire at times, particularly when seen speaking outside or campaigning outside. Mark Udall--Colorado House incumbent--took the casual dress even farther, wearing shorts and a t-shirt to rock-climb during one of his ads. In addition to the button-down shirt/no tie attire, male candidates such as John Sununu--New Hampshire House incumbent--wore the knit three-button shirt in many of their ads.

Almost Always/Always Have Eye Contact

Contrary to previous findings (Bystrom, 1995) and gender research (Bate, 1988; Pearson et al., 1991; Wood, 1994), male candidates in 2000 were more likely to have eye contact with the viewer. The use of this strategy may again be indicative of male candidates seeking to establish a more "personal" rapport with the viewers.

With Steve Kuykendall as an example, the eye contact was "established" through a still photo shown at the end of the ad, coupled with his logo. Of interest, however, all five of Kuykendall's ads were constituent/local political leader testimonial ads; the only time the viewer saw the candidate was in the still at the end of the ad. The strategy of being more "personal" with the viewers could be disputed in this instance, although since the design of the ads only gave him this opportunity to connect with the voters, it is perhaps wise he accepted the chance.

More Likely Shown with Family

The more frequent use of this next characteristic--being shown with family in the ads--by male candidates is consistent with prior, recent videostyle research (Bystrom & Kaid, 2000; Robertson, 2000). Witt et al. (1995) argued that for a female candidate the "image as mother is so powerful that it can 'drown out her political experience'"

(p. 116), although the nurturing side of a woman--as long as the image of a dominant man in her life is not present--is acceptable. For male candidates, however, the presence of "family" denotes stability and tradition, and in a sense fosters a "personal" style that allows viewers to feel like they "know" the candidate and his family.

Of all the male candidates Rick Lazio most frequently pictured his family, often at the conclusion of his ad. The shot would find the family walking on the beach with Lazio holding one daughter in his arms and his wife at his side holding the hand of their other daughter; as they walked Lazio would put his arm around his wife's neck and bend down to kiss her cheek. Another shot used in Lazio's ads featured Lazio at a "whistle stop" in which he was on a platform speaking to a group of people. The shot captures Lazio turning to acknowledge his two daughters who are leaning out of a train window and waving American flags.

John Sununu also employed pictures of his family to denote a happy family life, with one shot featuring the family on a couch. As Sununu "read" to two of his children sitting on either side of him, his wife--also on the couch--looked on while holding their baby. Yet another shot showed the family laughing and playing together on a swing-set in a park.

Gordon Humphrey--New Hampshire gubernatorial challenger--combined the verbal and visual "family" message. One particular ad showed a series of shots of his family, beginning with a shot of the family sitting together on porch steps. The next shot was of he and his wife walking and the third featured his wife and two children at a dining table with Humphrey serving his wife "dinner." Humphrey provided the voice-over throughout, stating, "My family means everything to me. I want the best for them as you do yours. My wife Patty is a school teacher and our children are the center of our lives."

Use Special Production Techniques and Slides

While the use of special production techniques as a dominant production technique has not emerged in prior research as a significantly different characteristic between female and male videostyles, a greater use of slides by female--not male--candidates in the early 1990s has been reported (Bystrom, 1995). In 2000, however, male candidates were more likely than female candidates to use special production techniques and slides. The use of slides has been identified as an incumbent strategy (Kaid & Davidson, 1986) and incumbents have been reported as using special production techniques slightly more than challengers. In 2000, male incumbents and challengers were likely to use

slides with print and voice-over or slides with movement, print, and voice-over as a dominant production technique at a similar frequency but more than open race candidates. Male open race candidates were more likely to use special production techniques as a dominant production technique than male incumbent or challenger candidates.

Upon further review, male candidates used both of these dominant production techniques primarily in concert with negative attacks on their opponents. For example, in several of Gordon Humphrey's negative attacks on his opponent the production consisted of computer-generated graphics and titles that moved about the screen and either grew or shrank; almost no live video was present in the ads. Rick Lazio also used special production techniques to attack his opponent, much of which consisted of "type" appearing on the screen as if the screen was a piece of paper in a typewriter (typing sound used in background).

An attack ad by E. Clay Shaw offers an example of the use of slides as a predominant production technique. The ad used the frozen frame of a black and white video shot of his opponent in what appeared to be a small television with moving print reinforcing the negative attack. Tom Campbell was slightly more sophisticated in his use of slides to reinforce his negative attacks. For example, in one ad the

head shot of his opponent--Dianne Feinstein--was layered on the screen with other slides, such as the capitol layered behind her head and a transparent "clock" layered partially over her face to reinforce that she "waited until the last minute" to take action on particular legislation. In another ad the same head shot of Campbell's opponent was used to "pop up" behind text or around photos to illustrate that his opponent tried to hide from certain allegations.

Use More Computer Graphics/Titles, Alterations/Morphing, Slow Motion, Stills

A final characteristic of male videostyle emerged in the use of technological distortions, although their use of different distortions is not consistently supported by prior research. The use of computer graphics/titles has been identified as a challenger strategy (Kaid & Johnston, 2001), yet in 2000 male challengers, incumbents, and open race candidates used the strategy fairly equally. Slow motion has been identified as an incumbent strategy (Kaid & Johnston, 2001), and in 2000 male incumbents were more likely to use the distortion than male challengers or open race candidates. The use of stills has been linked to challengers candidates (Kaid & Johnston, 2001), and while male incumbents and challengers used the strategy equally they did so more than open race candidates. Consistent with

prior research that suggests the use of these distortions is more likely to be associated with ads in which a negative attack is issued (Kaid, 1996; Kaid & Noggle, 1998), the male candidates in 2000 used these distortions more frequently when a negative attack was present.

The ads that also employed the special production techniques described in the prior characteristic primarily made use of computer graphics/titles to reinforce the negative verbal message. The graphics/titles zoomed in, grew, or shrank over still photos or videos of the opposing candidate that were played in slow motion such that the opponent appeared unfavorably.

Examples of the use of computer alterations/morphing were evident in Gordon Humphrey's ads, as a head and shoulders shot of his opponent--Jeanne Shaheen--was taken from one of her ads and shown with poor tint in various Humphrey ads. In addition, clips from the verbal message of the ad were used, although her voice was altered to sound as if she was speaking from inside a tin can.

In summary, although male candidates more frequently used computer distortions than female candidates, this study's results suggest their overall style was a more "personal leader" focused style. The emphasis on honesty and values, casual attire, frequent eye contact, and

incorporation of their family into the ads attempted to make voters more comfortable with the candidate, to feel as if the candidate was up front and "real," and most importantly, like them. However, the male candidates incorporated appeals that still emphasized their honesty/integrity, competence, and reminded the voters of their legitimacy as a leader. In other words, while the candidates sought to make the voters comfortable with them, they also maintained an image of possessing the integrity, competence, and legitimate leadership to win election to office.

Webstyle: Significant Differences in

Female and Male Candidate Web Sites in 2000

Based on the results of the content analysis of political candidate campaign web sites from mixed-gender races in the 2000 general election at the gubernatorial, Senate, and House levels, significant differences existed in female and male candidate webstyles. As such, characteristics that differentiated female webstyle were those in which the candidates' were more likely to: a) discuss women's issues; b) use expert authorities as an appeal strategy; c) wear formal attire; d) smile in pictures; and e) include a form for contributing in their "Get Involved" section (see Table 31).

The characteristics that differentiated male candidate webstyle were those in which the candidates were more likely to: a) discuss defense; b) use statistics as an appeal strategy; and c) identify party affiliation on their Home Page.

Female Candidate Webstyle

The results reported here indicate that female candidates are more likely to use few webstyle characteristics significantly more than male candidates. Notably, however, certain characteristics of female candidate webstyle that emerge in this study are similar to findings from earlier research on female candidate advertising. An analysis of these characteristics follows.

Discuss Women's Issues

The more frequent discussion of women's issues on female candidate web sites coincides with the more frequent discussion of women's issues in female candidate videostyle from 2000, research from prior elections (Bystrom, 1995; Bystrom & Kaid, 2000; Kahn, 1996; Robertson, 2000), and Puopolo's (2001) study of Senate candidate web sites from 2000. Yet with almost half of the female candidate sites analyzed in this study including women's issues in their Issues section, the results of this study suggest that women

may be more willing to be an advocate for those issues important to their female constituents on their web sites.

Further, the decision to do so may be less risky. If a candidate runs a number of ads about one issue during the campaign, the candidate risks appearing as a "one issue" candidate or--depending on the issue--as only appealing to a narrow block of voters. However, the design of web sites by their nature allow for a variety of issues to be posted and for all of the issues to have an equal chance of being viewed. Because of this design, candidates can list their stands on more "risky" issues without appearing to be "one issue" candidates.

Although abortion is typically the issue associated with the category of "women's issues," the female candidates in 2000 were more diverse by including a variety of issues pertaining to women. Although abortion was the most commonly discussed "women's issue" across the web sites, candidates such as Gerrie Schipske--California House challenger--included a press release on "China's continued abuse of women's rights," Mary Bono--California incumbent House candidate--included information on the "Violence against Women Act" and the "Date Rape Prevention Act," and Hillary Clinton included a discussion on equal pay. As the popularity of campaign web sites rise, candidates have the

opportunity to broaden the scope of issue discussions typically associated with women's concerns.

Use Expert Authorities

Female candidates were also more likely to include the use of "expert authorities" to support their positions and/or candidacy on their web sites in 2000 than were male candidates. Witt et al. (1995) have argued that "[w]omen are born lacking one attribute men appear to acquire by accident of gender: authority" (p. 81). As such, female candidates may turn to others to provide that "authority" on issues as well as to establish the legitimacy of their candidacy.

The use of expert authorities has been regarded as a "masculine" strategy in general (Bystrom, 1995), although an analysis of mixed gender gubernatorial ads from 1990 and 1994 found the strategy to be more of an incumbent strategy (Miller, 1996). In the 2000 female candidate sites, the strategy was used most frequently by open race candidates and no gubernatorial candidates used the strategy on their sites.

Connie Morella--Maryland incumbent House candidate--offered an illustrative and thorough example of the use of this strategy on her web site. Morella dedicated a section to "Endorsements" on which she listed newspapers and

organizations that endorsed her candidacy and the links to the specific supporting discourse. She further provided a link to a section entitled, "What people are saying about Connie Morella's outstanding work and leadership in Congress."

Jane Amero--Maine House challenger--also provided an example of the use of expert authorities on her web site. Listed directly on the Home Page under the heading "Key Endorsements" were links to numerous letters and articles indicating why those organizations chose to support her candidacy.

Wear Formal Attire

As in female candidate videostyle, pictures of female candidates on their web sites typically featured the women in formal attire. These results provide strong evidence that formal attire is a characteristic of female candidate campaign style in general. No matter whether the female candidate is viewed "live" and/or in stills in her ads or whether she is viewed in still photos on her web site, maintaining a professional, business-like appearance is important in order to emphasize her competence and the seriousness of her candidacy. As such, female candidates were more likely to wear business suites or feminized versions of business suites.

Smile in Pictures

Another characteristic of female candidate webstyle in 2000 was the significantly greater use of photos in which the candidate was smiling as compared to photos on male candidate web sites. While in contrast to the female candidate videostyle in 2000, these results are supported by prior gender research (Bate & Bowker, 1997; Pearson et al., 1991; Wood, 1994) and prior videostyle research (Bystrom, 1995; Bystrom & Kaid, 2000; Miller, 1996). Jamieson (1995) argued that nonverbal cues can assist female candidates in overcoming the often ugly assumptions made about women who seek powerful positions and attempt to illustrate their competence and strength. For a society accustomed to seeing females use the facial expression of smiling (Wood, 1994), this nonverbal cue seems particularly necessary for use in a medium that offers few other outlets for displaying nonverbal cues.

Include a Form for Contributing in the "Get Involved" Section

Female candidate webstyle was also characterized in 2000 by the greater frequency of including a contribution form in the "Get Involved" section. In the 2000 primaries, John McCain illustrated the power of online fundraising, and

to candidates with difficulty in this area, turning to the web site for campaign donations raised new possibilities.

Scholars argue that resources have historically disadvantaged female candidates (Carroll, 1994) and that women actually have difficulty fund-raising (Witt et al., 1995), while others argue that female candidates are raising as much as or more money than men in similar races (Seltzer et al., 1997). In 2000, however, this study's results and others (Puopolo, 2001) suggest that female candidates were more prepared to look the Internet to assist them in this endeavor.

Elaine Bloom's--Florida House challenger--web site provided a good example of active contribution solicitation. Bloom's "Get Involved" section consisted of an online form that the viewer could fill out to indicate the variety of activities he/she would like to do to assist the campaign, including making a contribution. If the viewer would like to make a contribution, he/she could click a link that lead directly to the "Contribution" section. In this section the viewer had the option of completing a transaction online and over a secure connection, or by completing a form and mailing the contribution. The following explanation introduced the section:

It's not enough to be the best candidate. Elaine Bloom must have the financial resources to get her message out the

people of Florida. To win, we need you to stand with Elaine. Your contribution -- \$20, \$50, any amount -- so long as it's not more than \$1,000 for the primary and \$1,000 for the general election -- will be well-spent -- and greatly appreciated!

This introduction was followed by a link to information about contribution regulations, and the page was concluded with, "I appreciate your help!"

In summary, female candidates offered an interesting mix of a more "feminine personal-professional" style on their web sites. While they were more likely to smile and invite contributions as a method by which viewers can "get involved" in their campaign, they were also more likely to dress professionally, use expert authorities to support their candidacies, and discuss a variety of issues of interest to female voters.

Male Candidate Webstyle

The results of this study also indicate that male candidates were likely to use few specific webstyle characteristics at a significantly greater frequency than female candidates (see Table 31). As in the characteristics female candidates used more frequently, some characteristics of male candidate webstyle that emerge in this study are similar to findings from earlier research on male candidate advertising. An analysis of these characteristics follows.

Discuss Defense

In the webstyle analysis, male candidates more frequently discussed the issue of defense than female candidates. Although the public has been more likely to associate male candidates with the issue of defense (Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993b; Koch, 1999), prior videostyle research does not suggest that female and male candidates discussed the issue at any rate of difference--or at times even discussed the issue at all (Bystrom 1995; Bystrom & Kaid, 2000; Bystrom & Miller, 1999; Miller, 1996; Robertson, 2000). Similarly, the videostyle results of this study indicate that in fact male candidates did not discuss the issue at all in their ads.

Further analysis indicates that the issue was discussed relatively equally by male candidates based on status; however, only Senate and House candidates discussed the issue. Perhaps not surprisingly, male Republican candidates discussed the issue more frequently than their Democratic colleagues.

The amount of attention the issue was afforded varied by candidate and by site design. For example, Ray LaHood--Illinois incumbent House candidate--specifically listed "National Defense" as an issue included in his "Issues" section, but limited his discussion to the following: "Ray

believes the United States must rebuild its defense capability. As a member of the House Intelligence Committee, he has called for strengthening the security of our military secrets."

Tom Campbell provided a more extensive discussion of the issue on his web site. Each issue in Campbell's site was afforded its own page, with the page on "Defense" introduced by a three-paragraph issue overview. Should the viewer desire more information, six additional defense-related topic links were provided, such as "Implementing Sensible Arms Control and "Raising Military Pay."

Use of Statistics

Male candidates' more frequent use of statistics has been identified in prior research on political ads (Bystrom, 1995), although male candidates used them much more prevalently in the web sites in 2000 than in their campaign ads. Upon further analysis, incumbent male candidates as well as Senate and House male candidates were more likely to incorporate statistics into their web site messages.

While much of the use of statistics would logically fall within issue discussions, a few candidates did not wait to quantitatively support their cause. Bill Buckel--Ohio House challenger--designed a very stark and straightforward web site, stating in the second sentence of his Home Page,

"The public debt is over \$5.6 trillion. The interest is \$350 billion per year. About 30% of our personal income tax goes to interest on the debt. This is a senseless waste of tax money." Buckel continued the use of the appeal extensively throughout his issue statements and position papers, the primary content of his site.

Other candidates employed the strategy with less vigor, though still using statistics to support their position in a factual, logical manner. For instance, Slade Gorton's web site used the appeal to illustrate his support for law enforcement, stating, "In 1998, Slade was able to get more resources for anti-drug efforts in our state. This year, he's fighting for \$15 million to send directly to local law enforcement in places like Pierce and Spokane counties, where meth production is reaching epidemic levels."

Identify Party Affiliation on Home Page

Male candidates more frequently identified their party affiliation on their web site Home Pages than female candidates, particularly challengers and open race candidates. Further, gubernatorial and House candidates were more likely to list their party affiliation than Senate candidates. Arguably, Senate candidates may consider themselves more well-known and thus not see a necessity in emphasizing party; such an argument could also be supportive

of the fact that incumbent candidates overall did not see the need to emphasize their party as much as the challenger and open race candidates.

Party affiliation itself does not even offer much insight into this differential between female and male candidate web sites. Among male candidates, Democrats were only slightly more likely to identify their party affiliation compared to Republicans--and the difference was nonexistent among female candidates. A potential reason worth further exploration might be that female candidates preferred to identify themselves instead of having stereotypical attributes assigned based on party affiliation; male candidates did not run such a risk because they are the "norm" in the arena of political images.

In order to more thoroughly explain this difference, however, a more qualitative analysis might be useful in examining how party is identified--and when it is identified--on candidate web sites since the differences are present just among the male candidate sites in this study. For example, Tom Lawrence--Maine Senate challenger--identified his party affiliation at the conclusion of the "personal letter" letter on his Home Page as he signed, "Mark Lawrence, Democrat for U.S. Senate." Ric Keller--candidate for Florida open House seat--was slightly more up

front about his party affiliation. In the first full paragraph of his Home Page "letter" he stated, "On October 3rd, I was fortunate enough to have been chosen as the Republican nominee for Florida's 8th Congressional District. . . ." However, Jim Humphreys--candidate for West Virginia open House seat--announced his party affiliation in the campaign graphic at the top of the page, stating, "Jim Humphreys Democrat for Congress."

In summary, although male candidates did not differ widely from female candidates in their webstyle characteristics, certain strategies did set them apart with a potentially more "masculine up-front" style. They were more likely to discuss defense--typically associated with male candidates--as well as use statistics in support of their positions and announce their party affiliation on the Home Page of their web site.

Videostyle v. Webstyle: Significant Differences in Female and Male Self-Presentation Styles in 2000

The third goal of this study was to conduct a comparative analysis by medium of candidate self-presentation styles. The study specifically compared the self-presentation styles of female candidates' political advertising to that of their web sites and the self-presentation styles of male candidates' political

advertising to that of their web sites. The comparative analysis of candidate self-presentation across two mediums in which the candidate has direct control over the message presented to the viewer is not addressed in the literature to the author's knowledge. However, such an analysis promises additional insight as to the influence of gender versus the influence of the medium in the development of a candidate's self-presentation style.

In this study, the results indicated that significant differences emerged between candidate videostyle and candidate webstyle (see Table 32). However, based upon an analysis of the differences that emerged, this study posits that the characteristics that differentiate a candidate's videostyle from his/her webstyle can be more fully explained by medium constraints than by the direct influence of gender constraints.

One particular reason this study argues that differences in candidate style across mediums is related more to the medium than to gender emerges from the striking consistencies with which female and male videostyle differed from the respective webstyle. Both female and male videostyle differed from female and male webstyle respectively on a majority of the same characteristics; likewise, female webstyle and male webstyle differed from

female and male videostyle respectively on a majority of the same characteristics.

For example, characteristics similar to female videostyle and male videostyle--as compared to female webstyle and male webstyle respectively--were: a) attacks the opponent's record; b) uses the "above the trenches" appeal; c) uses negative attacks; and d) more likely to include senior citizens in pictures. Characteristics similar to female and male webstyle--as compared to female and male videostyle respectively--were: a) discusses issues more; b) more likely to discuss five or more issues; c) identifies office seeking; d) identifies party affiliation; e) has more eye contact with the camera; and f) more likely to include family in pictures.

Not only does the similarity of characteristics suggest that these defining differences have more to do with the constraints--or allowances--of the medium than with gender but the elements of the characteristics themselves support this argument. For instance, the more frequent discussion of issues as well as in the number of issues discussed on candidate web sites clearly points to one of the benefits of Internet web sites--virtually unlimited space. Whereas, the candidate messages are limited by time--30 seconds, 60 seconds--in television advertising, and candidates are

cautious not to overload the viewer with too much information in such a short amount of time.

Also suggestive of the medium's influence are the types of issues discussed. As the issues were categorized, both female and male candidates were more likely to discuss both "feminine" and "masculine" issues on their web sites than in their televised ads, but discussed "feminine" issues more frequently in both mediums.

Similarly, the greater spatial allocation on web sites may contribute to the candidate's ability to more fully describe and illustrate character traits. Again, both female and male candidates were more likely to discuss "feminine" and "masculine" traits on their web sites than in their televised ads, although both were most likely to emphasize "masculine" traits overall in both mediums.

Both female and male candidates more frequently used "incumbent" and "masculine" appeals on their web sites than in their televised ads, they both used "feminine" appeals slightly more frequently in their televised ads than on their web sites, and while female candidates used "challenger" appeals more frequently in their ads than on their web sites male candidate used the appeals more frequently on their web sites than in their ads. Granted, the differential use of challenger appeals is perhaps more

representative of the gender differences discussed in videostyle since the difference in female and male use of "challenger" appeals on their web sites did not register significant difference.

However, the once again consistent use of three of these appeal strategies--feminine, masculine, and incumbent--on each medium by female and male candidates suggests that overall use varies by medium and not by gender. Book and Schick (1984) suggest that the "fact that TV sights and sounds are more lifelike than they are in any other medium gives a credibility to its creations that other media cannot match" (p. 193). Thus, candidates may have opted to balance their appeals--except female candidates' use of challenger appeals--more effectively in the "lifelike" medium of television. In the more textual medium of the web site they could incorporate many more statistics and expert authorities which could be confusing if used too extensively in a 30-second sound bite, as well as elaborate endlessly about their accomplishments and endorsements.

Another differing characteristic indicative of the medium--and the audience viewing the medium--is that of the candidates identifying party affiliation. It has been argued that visitors to campaign web sites are typically those in support of the candidate and thus seeking

reinforcement for their support (Davis, 1999). Arguably, then, a candidate does not have anything to lose by identifying his/her party affiliation--the viewer most likely is informed of that aspect already. Further, if the candidate is to seek donations on the Internet, their success rate may be higher as potential voters recognize the candidate's party affiliation.

Likewise, a reason for the decreased likelihood of a candidate identifying his/her party in the televised advertising also is indicative of the medium. The audience for televised campaign ads is much more passive--the ad seeks them out during particular viewing periods--and as such is less likely overall to be as informed and as familiar with the candidate. In that case, stereotypes such as those invoked from party affiliation may override any self-presentation style the candidate generates in the advertisement.

Another differing characteristic by medium--establishing eye contact--has been considered a signifier of equality as well as an attempt to establish a relationship with the viewer (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001). The greater use of eye contact on candidate web sites by both female and male candidates suggests that the limited visual representation by still photos requires the candidate to take advantage of

the primary nonverbal cues available. As such, both female and male candidates were more likely to couple direct eye contact with a smiling facial expression, which in turn further encouraged the symbolic expression of welcoming the viewer and inviting the viewer to bond (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001) with the candidate. Considering that web site visitors actively seek out the candidate in cyberspace, the candidates in 2000 took advantage of the opportunity to welcome these visitors and their efforts.

On the other hand, candidates, by virtue of the more elaborate trappings available in the medium of television, can evoke a wider range of cues in their televised ads--both verbally, nonverbally, and through production techniques such as music--to invite the viewer to bond with the candidate and establish a rapport. In addition, viewers of the television medium--and passive viewers at that--have come to expect candidates to vary the nonverbal cues sent directly to the viewer with those used in interaction with others in the ad. Understandably, a video of the candidate looking at the camera and smiling for a full 30 seconds would seem strange on the more dramatically-inclined, story-telling medium of television.

A number of characteristics of candidate videostyle that differed significantly from candidate webstyle are also

indicative of the medium. For instance the use of negative attacks and the strategy of attacking the opponent's record. The relative lack of negativity on the candidate's web sites is consistent with prior research on the topic (Davis, 1999; Klotz, 1998) and for good reason based on the research conducted on the effects of negative advertising.

Research on negative advertising suggests that a backlash effect can occur to the detriment of the candidate sponsoring the negative message (Garrazone, 1984, 1985; Merritt, 1984). The more closely associated--verbally and/or visually--the candidate is with the ad the more likely he/she will be blamed for the negative message. To counteract this dilemma in televised ads, third parties can sponsor the negative messages to alleviate the backlash on the candidate or the candidate may choose not to picture him/herself in the ad and thus still avoid backlash from viewers. However, the design of a web site intimately relates the candidate with the web site's message and a candidate issuing a negative message on his/her site cannot escape ownership of that message (Davis, 1999). Thus, based on the constraints--and allowances--of the mediums, "going negative" promises to be a characteristic more indicative of candidate videostyle than candidate webstyle for some time to come.

Female and male candidates' more frequent use of the "above the trenches" appeal strategy also is suggestive of the medium differential. Because the candidates run more than one ad during a campaign, they can afford to run some ads in which they appear to be "above the fray" of the race and not even part of a hard-fought political battle. However, with only one campaign web site, few can afford not to acknowledge some aspect of the political battle. Whether the candidates listed news articles detailing the campaign, suggested in an opening letter that they faced a difficult race or opponent, provided news articles that discussed the campaign, or offered some comparison of issue stands, rarely did they escape acknowledgement of the presence of a political opponent in order to motivate and persuade the viewer to act on their behalf.

The use of "others" in the candidates' photos on candidate web sites and in their ads is also arguably representative of the medium. In female and male webstyle the candidates were more likely to include pictures of their family than they included in their televised ads. With candidate biographies (Davis, 1999; Greer & LaPointe, 2000; Puopolo, 2001) and photos of candidates with families (Davis, 1999) a virtual standard in candidate web sites, the

expectation that a candidate offer that visual of "family" in their web sites is not unusual.

As such, female candidates were significantly more likely to include visual images of themselves with their family in their web sites than in their spot ads, perhaps perceiving less risk due to the context--and expectation--of the medium. Notably, however, only about 30% of female candidate web sites pictured the candidate with their family (compared to about 4% of their ads), still not an overwhelming majority.

The greater likelihood for candidates to picture senior citizens in their ads versus on their web sites can be attributed to the candidates' reliance on the persuasive techniques of television. While the discussion of senior citizen issues was prevalent on both candidate web sites and in their ads, candidates were more likely to create specific ads that directly appealed to senior citizens than to include sections in their web sites that targeted senior citizen voters. Thus, the candidates were arguably more likely to feature visual images of senior citizens in their ads.

Overall, the significant differences that emerged based on comparisons between candidate videostyle and webstyle can be attributed to the influence of the medium. However, one

characteristic emerged in female candidate webstyle--use of the strategy "incumbency stands for legitimacy"--and one emerged in male candidate videostyle--use of "expert authorities"--that are perhaps suggestive of gendered uses of the mediums. For instance, female candidates were more likely to use the strategy of "incumbency stands for legitimacy" on their web sites than in their televised spot ads. The strategy, considered an incumbent strategy, indicates that the candidate--either verbally or visually--emphasizes his/her legitimacy as a leader in office (Trent & Friedenbergr, 1995).

Historically, female candidates have been less likely to use this strategy due to their challenger status (Witt et al., 1995) and continued to use the strategy significantly less in their ads than male candidates in 2000. Notably, however, they may have felt more comfortable using the strategy in a textual frame versus the vivid, visual frame. Perhaps female candidates--who have been more likely to use others to espouse the legitimacy and credibility of their candidacy--remain apprehensive about doing so themselves in a "lifelike" medium due to the greater likelihood of invoking negative, stereotypical images; the more detached medium of the textually-based web site may offer more buffer in this regard.

As indicated previously, the use of expert authorities has been regarded as a "masculine" strategy in general (Bystrom, 1995), although male candidates used the strategy significantly more in their televised ads than in their web sites in 2000. The lack of male candidates' use of expert authorities in their web sites was also evident by the significantly greater frequency by which female candidates used the strategy on their web sites.

While male candidates perceived the need to reinforce their positions with non-political, expert supporters in their ads--at least 21% of the time--such was not the case on their web sites. Although endorsements were present on many of the male candidate sites, additional information beyond the listing of the supporting entity was not included such that the candidates' issue stands, candidacy, or attack on their opponent was supported; as such, the appearance given was that the candidate's word was most authoritative on the matter. However, as they used a more "personal" style with the medium of television, this study's results suggest male candidates were more inclined to take a less authoritative role and rely on others to provide that credibility.

In summary, this study offers the foundation for new approaches to the study of candidate self-presentation

styles, particularly when comparing the use of styles across mediums. At this early stage in the development and use of the Internet medium by candidates' campaigns, these results suggest that current differences are more likely to be based on medium constraints--or allowances--rather than by gendered differences. Such differences suggest that female candidates may have finally found ground that provides an equal level on which to present the image of a political leader.

Limitations

Certain limitations must be considered in analyzing the results of this study. First, although the sample of ads and web sites used in this study were relatively equal based on gender within each medium, further statistical analyses based on status, level, and outcome were prohibited due to certain inequalities in those sub-sample sizes. In addition, the nominal-level measurement scales used in the coding of the data limited the analyses to chi-square statistics, ultimately limiting the conclusions that could be made.

Also with regard to the sample, of the 122 female spot ads used, 38 were produced by and for the Hillary Clinton campaign. Although such instances when these ads clearly influenced the results of this study were identified in the

discussion, a future sample may consider only introducing a random sample from such a large set of ads for one candidate.

The technology used for gathering the sample of web sites also created limitations in this study. First, the limitations in the levels of the web sites gathered prohibited the complete collection of more elaborately created sites. Further, when the sites did link to a specific page on another site, access to that outside page was lost. Finally, some of the more elaborate sites either prohibited access to the collection of many of their graphics and photos or the technology was not adept enough to collect certain types of graphics and photos. Just as candidates may not provide all of the ads from their campaigns, at times there were pieces missing from web sites that prohibited the complete gathering of all webstyle information. Although the lack of such information is noted in the results, it is important to note in the overall findings.

Finally, the dynamic and changing nature of the Internet requires that the coding of the candidate's web style also remain dynamic and prepared for change. This first study conducted on the method of webstyle has identified certain limitations in the codesheet that were

first created based on prior research and findings. Although prior research and practical recommendations suggested information would be contained within certain places on the site, such was not always the case. Future coding of web sites should not be organized in the sectional manner chosen for this study as it limits the coder to finding certain information in only specific places and limits the coding of more creative sites.

Directions for Future Research

Several directions for future research are suggested by this study. First, although more specific analyses of the status levels of candidates (incumbent, challenger, open race), of the level of office (gubernatorial, Senate, congress), and outcome (win, loss) were not statistically possible in this study, such sub-categorization offers greater insight as to the complexity of self-presentation styles of female and male candidates. The small numbers of women running at the gubernatorial and senatorial levels currently prohibit such a breakdown; however, as the numbers of women running in the general elections increase at these levels future research should take advantage of such opportunities to further study how status and level interact with gender in self-presentation strategies.

Future work should also seek to incorporate categories with more variety in the scales of measurement in order to expand the strength of the statistical analyses possible. Yet, particularly in reference to webstyle, the development of categories should not be restrained to particular sections of the web site. Instead of expecting web site sections to define the information content present, more accurate coding may result from an identification of the category followed by the location of the variable within the web site.

While this study focused on the variable of gender in mixed-gender races, future studies may also find interesting results emerging from comparative--yet separate--analyses of female v. female and male v. male races. Such studies would complement the current research on mixed-gender races to more fully examine the similarities and differences in the use of gendered strategies based on the opponent's gender.

Future research should also continue to explore candidate self-presentation styles on the Internet. Although its legitimacy as a campaign tool has been argued, in 2002 few candidates will reach election day without creating their own, official presence in cyberspace. With this study's suggestion that the Internet can be a campaign "equalizer" in which female candidates are less constrained

by traditional gender stereotypes, future research may find the emergence of a candidate's webstyle quite unique from that of a candidate's videostyle. Such findings may clarify even more the role of gender in candidate communication when stereotypical barriers are diminished. Nonetheless, future analyses of candidate web sites will more completely inform our understanding of political campaign communication strategies and the dialogue that shapes our political environment.

Finally, combining videostyle and webstyle analyses with experimental effects research can deepen the understanding of the strategies and tactics identified. Although candidate self-presentation styles may be identified and then substantiated with prior research and theory, understanding the effects resulting from the use of these identified styles promises to further enhance our ability to understand why certain strategies are more effective than others. Such effects studies also allow a closer examination of the influence of gender stereotypes that female--and male--candidates face in the development of a successful political style.

Shyles proposed in a 1986 article that learning more about "the political stimuli our leaders transmit" is important "for our political health" (p. 115). Extending

Shyles' proposal to learn more about the influence of gender on the presentation and design of such stimuli certainly furthers our understanding of our political health, particularly how the image of political leadership is being shaped through candidate communication. Coupling candidate-centered research with effects studies also furthers the understanding of our societal health, as a reflection of the attitudes and belief systems that either afford equal representation or continue to squelch it.

Future research has much to explore in the study of women and politics and particularly the role that gender plays in influencing the political dialogue. While this study has systematically identified the strategies that female and male candidates used in their televised ads and campaign web sites in 2000, it raises the greater questions of why they were chosen and whether they were effective or ineffective. Thus, understanding how a candidate develops the communication that presents himself/herself to the public is but only one piece to a complex puzzle that invites much more research.

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Endnotes

1. A record five women held their state gubernatorial post following the 2000 election. However, Governor Christie Todd Whitman (NJ) accepted an appointment by the Bush White House, reducing the number of female governors to four. Yet, when Governor Paul Celluci also accepted an ambassador appointment, Jane Swift filled the position of Governor Massachusetts. This last change returned the current total number of female governors to five, again a record number of women serving as their state's governor at one time.
2. The author was not a coder in this study. All coders were unfamiliar with the study's research questions.
3. The formula used to calculate intercoder reliability is that given in North, Holsti, Zaninovich, and Zinnes (1963). It is given for two coders and can be modified for any number of coders.

$$R = \frac{2(C_{1,2})}{C_1 + C_2}$$

$C_{1,2}$ = # of category assignments both coders agree on

$C_1 + C_2$ = total category assignments made by both coders.

Appendix A

Sample

Candidate	Status	Level	Party	Out-come	Type
Anna Eshoo	Incumbent	House	D	Won	Web
Arnez Washington	Challenger	House	R	Lost	Web
Barbara Lee	Incumbent	House	D	Won	Web
Bernie Sanders	Incumbent	House	I	Won	Web
Bill Buckel	Challenger	House	D	Lost	Web
Bill Quraishi	Challenger	House	R	Lost	Web
Brian Bilbray	Incumbent	House	R	Lost	Web
Brian Boquist	Challenger	House	R	Lost	Web
C.L. "Butch" Otter	Open	House	R	Won	Web, Ad
Carolyn Cox	Challenger	House	R	Lost	Web
Carolyn McCarthy	Incumbent	House	D	Won	Web
Claude Hutchison	Challenger	House	R	Lost	Web
Connie Morella	Incumbent	House	R	Won	Web, Ads
Dave Weldon	Incumbent	House	R	Won	Web
Debbie Stabenow	Challenger	Senate	D	Won	Web, Ads
Denny Driscoll	Challenger	House	R	Lost	Web
Denny Rehberg	Open	House	R	Won	Web
Diana DeGette	Incumbent	House	D	Won	Web
Dianne Byrum	Open	House	D	Lost	Web, Ad
Dianne Feinstein	Incumbent	Senate	D	Won	Web, Ad
E. Clay Shaw	Incumbent	House	R	Won	Web, Ads
Ed McGuire	Challenger	House	D	Lost	Web
Ed Schrock	Open	House	R	Won	Web, Ads
Elaine Bloom	Challenger	House	D	Lost	Web
Ellen Tauscher	Incumbent	House	D	Won	Web
Felix Grucci	Open	House	R	Won	Web
Gail Notti	Challenger	House	D	Lost	Web
Gerrie Schipske	Challenger	House	D	Lost	Web
Gil Gutknecht	Incumbent	House	R	Won	Web
Gordon Humphrey	Challenger	Gov	R	Lost	Web, Ads
Heidi Heitkamp	Open	Gov	D	Lost	Web
Hillary Clinton	Open	Senate	D	Won	Web, Ads
Jane Amero	Challenger	House	R	Lost	Web
Jane Frederick	Challenger	House	D	Lost	Web
Janice Nelson	Challenger	House	D	Lost	Web
Jean Elliot Brown	Challenger	House	D	Lost	Web
Jeanne Shaheen	Incumbent	Gov	D	Won	Web, Ads

Jim Gibbons	Incumbent	House	R	Won	Web
Jim Hansen	Incumbent	House	R	Won	Web
Jim Humphreys	Open	House	D	Lost	Web
Jim Nussle	Incumbent	House	R	Won	Web, Ad
Jim Ramstad	Incumbent	House	R	Won	Web
Jim Saxton	Incumbent	House	R	Won	Web
Jo Ann Emerson	Incumbent	House	R	Won	Ads
Joan Johnson	Open	House	R	Lost	Web
JoAnn Davis	Open	House	R	Won	Web
Jody Wagner	Open	House	D	Lost	Ad
Joe Moakley	Incumbent	House	D	Won	Web
John Burris	Open	Gov	R	Lost	Ads
John Hoeven	Open	Gov	R	Won	Web
John Kelly	Challenger	House	D	Lost	Web, Ads
John Sharpless	Challenger	House	R	Lost	Web, Ads
John Sununu	Incumbent	House	R	Won	Web, Ads
Jon Porter	Challenger	House	R	Lost	Web, Ads
Joyce Harant	Challenger	House	D	Lost	Web
Judy Biggert	Incumbent	House	R	Won	Web
Judy Martz	Open	Gov	R	Won	Web, Ads
Julia Carson	Incumbent	House	D	Won	Web
Karen Kerin	Challenger	House	R	Lost	Web
Kathleen M. Collinwood	Challenger	House	D	Lost	Web
Katina Johnston	Challenger	House	D	Lost	Web
Ken McAuliffe	Challenger	House	R	Lost	Web
Larry Graham	Challenger	House	D	Lost	Web
Lauren Beth Gash	Open	House	D	Lost	Web, Ads
Lawrence Davies	Open	House	D	Lost	Web
Lee Terry	Incumbent	House	R	Won	Ads
Linda Chapin	Open	House	D	Lost	Web, Ads
Linda Pall	Open	House	D	Lost	Web
Lisa Lutz	Challenger	House	R	Lost	Web
Lynn Rivers	Incumbent	House	D	Won	Web
Maria Cantwell	Challenger	Senate	D	Won	Web, Ads
Marion Berry	Incumbent	House	D	Won	Ads
Mark Greene	Challenger	House	D	Lost	Web
Mark Johns	Challenger	House	R	Lost	Web
Mark Kirk	Open	House	R	Won	Web, Ads
Mark Lawrence	Challenger	Senate	D	Lost	Web
Mark O'Keefe	Open	Gov	D	Lost	Web
Mark Udall	Incumbent	House	D	Won	Web

Marsha Folsom	Challenger	House	D	Lost	Web
Martha Fuller Clark	Challenger	House	D	Lost	Web, Ads
Mary Bono	Incumbent	House	R	Won	Web
Mary Rieder	Challenger	House	D	Lost	Web
Maryanne Connelly	Open	House	D	Lost	Web
Maryellen O'Shaughnessy	Open	House	D	Lost	Web
Melissa Hart	Challenger	House	R	Won	Web
Mike Ferguson	Open	House	R	Won	Web
Mike Rogers	Open	House	R	Won	Web
Mike Stoker	Challenger	House	R	Lost	Web
Nancy Johnson	Incumbent	House	R	Won	Web
Nancy Keenan	Open	House	D	Lost	Web, Ads
Nick Smith	Incumbent	House	R	Won	Web
Nita Lowey	Incumbent	House	D	Won	Web
Olympia Snowe	Incumbent	Senate	R	Won	Web, Ads
Pat Tiberi	Open	House	R	Won	Web, Ad
Patsy Ann Kurth	Challenger	House	D	Lost	Ads
Paul Valenti	Challenger	House	D	Lost	Web
Pete Enwall	Challenger	House	R	Lost	Web
Pete Sessions	Incumbent	House	R	Won	Web
Ray LaHood	Incumbent	House	R	Won	Web
Regina Montoya Coggins	Challenger	House	D	Lost	Web, Ads
Ric Keller	Open	House	R	Won	Web
Rick Lazio	Open	Senate	R	Lost	Web, Ads
Robert Canales	Challenger	House	R	Lost	Web
Ron Kind	Incumbent	House	D	Won	Web
Ron Oden	Challenger	House	D	Lost	Web
Ruth Ann Minner	Open	Gov	D	Won	Web
Ruth Dwyer	Challenger	Gov	R	Lost	Web, Ads
Scotty Baesler	Incumbent	House	R	Won	Web
Shelley Berkley	Incumbent	House	D	Won	Ads
Shelley Moore Capito	Open	House	R	Won	Web
Slade Gorton	Incumbent	Senate	R	Lost	Web, Ads
Spencer Abraham	Incumbent	Senate	R	Lost	Web, Ads
Stephanie Sanchez	Challenger	House	D	Lost	Web
Steve Gordon	Challenger	House	R	Lost	Web
Steve Israel	Open	House	D	Won	Web
Steve Kuykendall	Incumbent	House	R	Lost	Web, Ads
Sue Kelly	Incumbent	House	R	Won	Web
Sue Myrick	Incumbent	House	R	Won	Web, Ad
Sue Shuff	Challenger	House	D	Lost	Web

Susan Bass Levin	Challenger	House	D	Lost	Web
Susan Davis	Challenger	House	D	Won	Ad
Susan Myshka	Challenger	House	R	Lost	Web, Ad
Tammy Baldwin	Incumbent	House	D	Won	Web
Terry Lierman	Challenger	House	D	Lost	Web
Terry Van Horne	Incumbent	House	D	Lost	Web
Tom Allen	Incumbent	House	D	Won	Web
Tom Campbell	Challenger	Senate	R	Lost	Web, Ads

Appendix B
Political Advertising Code Sheet

1. **Coder ID** 1. _____
2. **Commercial ID#:** 2. _____
3. **Candidate name:** _____
3
4. **Sex of candidate:** 4. _____
(1) Male
(2) Female
5. **Status of candidate** 5. _____
(1) Incumbent
(2) Challenger
(3) Open Race
12. **Level of office candidate is seeking:** 6. _____
(1) Gubernatorial
(2) Senate
(3) U.S. House of Representatives
13. **Length of commercial:** 7. _____
(1) 20 to 30 seconds
(2) 31-45 seconds
(3) 60 seconds
(4) Two to five minutes
(9) Other (specify) _____
8. **Who sponsored the ad:** 8. _____
(1) Committee for election/re-election of candidate
(2) Citizens for good government group
(3) Issue-based group
(4) Independent third party group
(5) National political party (RNC, DNC, RNSC, DNSC, RNCC, DNCC)
(6) Cannot determine
(7) Combination (specify) _____
(9) Other (specify) _____

9. **Format of commercial:** 9. _____
- (0) Documentary
 - (1) Video Clip/Music Video
 - (2) Testimonial (reaction)
 - (3) Introspection
 - (4) Issue Statement
 - (5) Staged Press Conference
 - (6) Opposition focused
 - (7) Issue Dramatization
 - (8) Question and Answer/Confrontation
 - (9) Other (specify) _____
10. **Is the ad candidate or opponent focused?** 10. _____
- (1) Candidate-positive focused
 - (2) Opponent-negative focused
 - (3) Comparative ad (equally candidate-positive and opponent-negative)
 - (4) Cannot determine
11. **Is there a negative attack made in the ad?** 11. _____
- (1) Yes
 - (2) No
- 11a. **If a negative attack is made, is it:** 11a. _____
- (1) a direct attack against the opponent
 - (2) a direct attack against another politician
 - (3) a direct attack against another party
 - (4) a more general, indirect attack against government and other parties
 - (5) an indirect/implicit attack without specific mention of the object of the attack
 - (8) Not applicable (no attack is made in the ad)
12. **If an attack is made, who makes the attack?** 12. _____
- (1) Candidate attacks opponent
 - (2) Known surrogate attacks opponent
 - (3) Anonymous announcer attacks the opponent
 - (8) Not applicable (no attack is made)
13. **If a negative attack is made, what is the purpose or nature of the attack?**
(Code 1 if present, 0 if not present)
- (1) Attack on personal characteristics of opponent 13(1). _____
 - (2) Attack on issue stands/consistency of opponent 13(2). _____
 - (3) Attack on opponent's group affiliations or associations 13(3). _____
 - (4) Attack on opponent's background/qualifications 13(4). _____
 - (5) Attack on opponent's performance in past offices/positions 13(5). _____
 - (6) **Code for dominant purpose or nature of attack** 13(6). _____

14. What strategies are used in making the negative attack?

(Code 1 for present, 0 for absent)

- (1) Use of humor/ridicule 14(1). _____
- (2) Negative association
(linking opponent with undesirable issues and/or images) 14(2). _____
- (3) Name-calling (using negative labels) 14(3). _____
- (4) Guilt by association 14(4). _____
- (8) Not applicable (no attack is made) 14(8). _____
- (9) Other (specify) _____ 14(9). _____
- (10) Code for dominant strategy 14(10). _____

15. Tone of ad's ending statement (not including sponsor ID):

15. _____

- (1) Negative
- (2) Positive

16. Production technique (code for dominant technique):

16. _____

- (1) Cinema verite
- (2) Slides with print and voice-over or slides with movement, print, and voice-over
- (3) Candidate head-on
- (4) Somebody other than candidate head-on
- (5) Animation
- (6) Special production techniques
- (7) Combination (specify) _____
- (9) Other (specify) _____

17. Setting of the ad (code for dominant setting):

17. _____

- (1) No setting (e.g., graphics only)
- (2) Inside home or family setting
- (3) Inside factory or industrial setting
- (4) Inside classroom/educational setting
- (5) Inside office/other professional setting
- (6) Inside grocery/store setting
- (7) Inside general setting
- (8) Outside family setting
- (9) Outside factory setting
- (10) Outside schoolyard
- (11) Outside farm setting
- (12) Outside scenic
- (13) Combination _____
- (14) Other (specify) _____

18. **Who is pictured in the ads?** 18. _____
- (1) No one
 - (2) Candidate only
 - (3) Candidate's opponent only
 - (4) Candidate and opponent only
 - (5) Candidate and other people
 - (6) Candidate, opponent, and other people
 - (7) People other than the candidate only
19. **If people *other than the candidate or opponent* are pictured in the ad, are they:**
(Code 1 if present, 0 if absent)
- (1) Men 19(1). _____
 - (2) Women 19(2). _____
 - (3) Family of candidate 19(3). _____
 - (4) Children (not candidate's) 19(4). _____
 - (5) Senior citizens 19(5). _____
 - (6) Ethnic/racial minorities 19(6). _____
 - (7) Others (specify) _____ 19(7). _____
20. **Who is speaking? (code for dominant speaker)** 20. _____
- (1) Candidate
 - (2) A government official or office-holder
 - (3) An anonymous announcer
 - (4) Non-government celebrity
 - (5) Spouse or family member
 - (6) Citizen(s)/Constituent(s)
 - (7) Combination (specify)
 - (8) Not applicable (no one speaks)
 - (9) Other (specify)
21. **The dominant speaker(s) is/are (code for dominant):** 21. _____
- (1) Male
 - (2) Female
 - (3) Cannot determine
22. **Does the candidate have eye contact directly with the viewer?** 22. _____
(code for overall eye contact of candidate only)
- (1) Never
 - (2) Sometimes
 - (3) Almost always
 - (4) Always
 - (8) Not applicable/candidate not present

23. **Is the candidate usually (code for dominant expression):** 23. _____
(1) Smiling
(2) Attentive/serious
(3) Frowning/glaring
(8) Not applicable/no candidate present
(9) Other (specify) _____
24. **Does the candidate use gestures?** 24. _____
(1) Never
(2) Sometimes
(3) Frequently
(8) Cannot determine/candidate not present
25. **Does the candidate touch others pictured in the ad?** 25. _____
(1) Never
(2) Sometimes
(3) Frequently
(8) Not applicable/candidate not present
26. **Body movement/posture of the candidate:** 26. _____
(code for overall movement/posture of candidate only)
(1) Compact/closed
(2) Expansive/open
(3) Combination of closed/open body movement/posture
(4) Only head and shoulders of candidate shown
(8) Not applicable/candidate not present
27. **Fluency (code for candidate only):** 27. _____
(1) Stumbling/hesitant/non-fluent
(2) Fluent
(3) Candidate did not speak
(8) Not applicable/candidate not present
28. **Use of language intensifiers (code for candidate only):** 28. _____
(1) Almost never
(2) Sometimes
(3) Frequently
(4) Candidate did not speak
(5) Not applicable/candidate not present
29. **Rate of speech (code for candidate only):** 29. _____
(1) Slow
(2) Moderate
(3) Fast
(4) Candidate did not speak
(8) Not applicable/candidate not present

30. **Pitch variety (code for candidate only):** 30. _____
- (1) Monotone
 - (2) Varied
 - (3) Combined monotone and varied pitch
 - (4) Candidate did not speak
 - (8) Not applicable/candidate not present
31. **Dress (code for candidate only):**
(code 1 for present, 0 for absent)
- (1) Formal 31(1). _____
 - (2) Casual 31(2). _____
 - (3) **Code for dominant dress of candidate** 31(3). _____
 - (8) Not applicable/candidate not present 31(8). _____
32. **Staging of ad (for live shots and pictures only):** 32. _____
- (1) All obviously staged
 - (2) Natural appearing
 - (3) Cannot determine
 - (4) Other (specify) _____
33. **Sound characteristics (code for dominant characteristic):** 33. _____
- (1) Candidate live
 - (2) Other person(s) live
 - (3) Voice over (by candidate or surrogate)
 - (8) Not applicable/no candidate present
34. **What special effects/production techniques are used in the ad?**
(code 1 if present, 0 if absent)
- (1) Computer graphics or titles 34(1). _____
 - (2) Computer alteration or morphing 34(2). _____
 - (3) Slow motion 34(3). _____
 - (4) Fast motion 34(4). _____
 - (5) Reversed motion 34(5). _____
 - (6) Freeze frame 34(6). _____
 - (7) Split screen 34(7). _____
 - (8) Superimpositions 34(8). _____
 - (9) Montage 34(9). _____
 - (10) Stop motion photography 34(10). _____
 - (11) Use of stills 34(11). _____
 - (12) Music 34(12). _____
 - (13) Focus (sharp vs. soft) 34(13). _____

- (14) Lighting effects 34(14). _____
- (15) Other special effects (specify) _____ 34(15). _____
35. **Is the emphasis of this commercial primarily on:** 35. _____
- (1) Campaign issues
- (2) Candidate image
36. **Types of appeals used in the ad:**
(code 1 if present, 0 if absent)
- (1) Logical appeals (use of evidence in ads) 36(1). _____
- (2) Emotional appeals (to invoke feelings) 36(2). _____
- (3) Source credibility/ethos appeals
(appealing to qualifications as candidate) 36(3). _____
- (4) **Code for dominant content of the ad** 36(4). _____
37. **Are fear appeals used in the ad?** 37. _____
- (1) Yes
- (2) No
38. **Structure of appeal (code for dominant structure):** 38. _____
- (1) Inductive (examples then conclusion)
- (2) Deductive (conclusion then examples)
- (3) Cannot determine
39. **Content of appeal used -- pick only one of #2, 3, or 4:**
(code 1 if present, 0 if absent)
- (1) Emphasis on partisanship of candidate 39(1). _____
- (2) Issue-related appeal: candidate's issue concern 39(2). _____
- (3) Issue-related appeal: vague policy preference 39(3). _____
- (4) Issue-related appeal: specific policy proposals 39(4). _____
- (5) Personal characteristics of candidate 39(5). _____
- (6) Linking of candidate with certain demographic groups 39(6). _____
- (7) **Code for the dominant content of the ad** 39(7). _____
40. **What issues, if any, are mentioned/discussed:**
(code 1 if present, 0 if absent)
- (1) Taxes 40(1). _____
- (2) Federal budget deficit/failure to balance 40(2). _____
- (3) Unemployment/jobs 40(3). _____
- (4) Cost of living/inflation 40(4). _____

- | | |
|---|---------------|
| (5) Recession/depression (economic) | 40(5). _____ |
| (6) Immigration | 40(6). _____ |
| (7) Trade deficit | 40(7). _____ |
| (8) Economy in general | 40(8). _____ |
| (9) Job growth | 40(9). _____ |
| (10) Education/schools | 40(10). _____ |
| (11) Crime/prisons | 40(11). _____ |
| (12) Health care (in general)/patient's bill of rights | 40(12). _____ |
| (13) Senior citizen issues/problems of elderly (Social Security, Medicare, prescription drugs for senior citizens only) | 40(13). _____ |
| (14) Poverty/hunger/homelessness | 40(14). _____ |
| (15) Welfare/welfare reform | 40(15). _____ |
| (16) Environment/pollution | 40(16). _____ |
| (17) Drugs/drug abuse | 40(17). _____ |
| (18) Dissatisfaction with government | 40(18). _____ |
| (19) Ethics/morals decline | 40(19). _____ |
| (20) Women's issues (choice, equal rights, women's health) | 40(20). _____ |
| (21) Gun control | 40(21). _____ |
| (22) Defense (military) | 40(22). _____ |
| (23) International issues (foreign relations, fear of war, arms control) | 40(23). _____ |
| (24) Youth violence (includes school violence, juvenile delinquency) | 40(24). _____ |
| (25) Other issue(s) (specify) _____ | 40(25). _____ |
| (26) Is any one particular issue emphasized?
(please specify the specific issue) _____ | 40(26) |

41. Total number of different issues discussed in the ad:

41. _____

- (1) 1-2
- (2) 3-4
- (3) 5-7
- (4) 8-10
- (5) over 10

42. Which strategies are present in the ad?

(code 1 if present, 0 if absent)

- (1) Incumbency stands for legitimacy 42(1). _____
- (2) Voice for the state 42(2). _____
- (3) Use of personal tone ("I") 42(3). _____
- (4) Addressing viewers as peers ("we") 42(4). _____
- (5) Calling for changes 42(5). _____
- (6) Inviting viewer participation, action 42(6). _____
- (7) Emphasizing optimism/hope for the future 42(7). _____
- (8) Yearning for the past 42(8). _____
- (9) Reinforcing/promoting traditional values 42(9). _____
- (10) Representing the philosophical center of party 42(10). _____
- (11) Using endorsements by party and other important political leaders 42(11). _____
- (12) Use of personal experience, anecdotes to support positions/candidacy 42(12). _____
- (13) Use of statistics to support positions/candidacy 42(13). _____
- (14) Use of expert authorities (nonpolitical) to support positions/candidacy 42(14). _____
- (15) Identifying with experiences of others 42(15). _____
- (16) Emphasizing own accomplishments 42(16). _____
- (17) Taking offensive position on the issues 42(17). _____
- (18) Attacking the record of the opponent 42(18). _____
- (19) "Above the trenches" position 42(19). _____
- (20) Candidate makes gender an issue 42(20). _____
- (21) Other strategy(ies) used? _____ 42(21). _____

43. What candidate characteristics are emphasized in the ad?

(code 1 if present, 0 if absent)

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------|
| (1) Honesty/integrity | 43(1). _____ |
| (2) Toughness/strength | 43(2). _____ |
| (3) Past performance/success/failure | 43(3). _____ |
| (4) Aggressive/fighter | 43(4). _____ |
| (5) Cooperation with others | 43(5). _____ |
| (6) Competency | 43(6). _____ |
| (7) Leadership | 43(7). _____ |
| (8) Experience in politics | 43(8). _____ |
| (9) Washington outsider | 43(9). _____ |
| (10) Sensitive/understanding | 43(10). _____ |
| (11) Knowledgeable/intelligent | 43(11). _____ |
| (12) Qualified | 43(12). _____ |
| (13) Action oriented proponent | 43(13). _____ |
| (14) Trustworthy | 43(14). _____ |
| (15) Of the people (commonality) | 43(15). _____ |

44. Is the ad specifically directed toward:

(code 1 for present, 0 for not present)

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------|
| (1) Young voters, teens | 44(1). _____ |
| (2) Women | 44(2). _____ |
| (3) Veterans | 44(3). _____ |
| (4) Senior citizens | 44(4). _____ |
| (5) Other(s) (specify): _____ | 44(5). _____ |

45. Dominant camera angle used in ad (code for candidate only):

45. _____

- | | |
|--|-------|
| (1) High | |
| (2) Straight-on | |
| (3) Low | |
| (4) Movement combination (specify) | _____ |
| (8) Not applicable/candidate not present | |

46. **Dominant type of camera shot used in ad (code for candidate only):** 46. _____
(1) Tight (head and shoulders)
(2) Medium (waist up)
(3) Long (full length)
(4) Movement combination (specify) _____
(8) Not applicable/candidate not present

47. **Does the ad identify the office that the candidate is seeking:** 47. _____
(Code 1 for present, 0 for absent)

48. **Does the ad identify the candidate's party affiliation:** 48. _____
(Code 1 for present, 0 for absent)

49. **Does the ad list/provide candidate's campaign web site address?** 47. _____
(1) Yes
(2) No

If yes, list web site address provided: _____

Appendix C
Political Advertising Code Book

1. Coder ID: your name/initials
2. Commercial ID: number of commercial
3. Candidate Name: name of candidate sponsoring the commercial or on whose behalf the commercial is sponsored. (Reliability=1.00)
4. Sex of the candidate: was the candidate male or female. (Reliability=1.00)
5. Status of Candidate: if the candidate is currently holding the office and is up for reelection, he/she would qualify as an incumbent; if the candidate currently does not hold the office for which he/she seeks election, he/she qualifies as a challenger; if the current office holder is not seeking reelection, the candidate would be considered as running in an open race. (Reliability=1.00)
6. Level of office candidate is seeking: is the candidate running for governor, U.S. House, or U.S. Senate. (Reliability=1.00)
7. Length of commercial: length of commercial contained in the "slate" at the beginning of the ad. (Reliability=1.00)
8. Who sponsored the ad? (Reliability=.97)
 - (1) **Committee for election/re-election:** candidate's campaign committee; citizens for candidate; people for candidate.
 - (2) **Citizens for good government group:** citizens group such as League of Women Voters.
 - (3) **Issue based group:** pro-life, pro-choice, environmentalists, gun control, Moral Majority (a group which has a specific issue connection or interest).
 - (4) **Independent Third Party Group:** a group such as the Democrats for Nixon or a PAC.
 - (5) **National political party:** any national political party such as the Republican National Committee, the Democratic National Committee, either Rep/Dem National Senatorial Committee, or either Rep/Dem National Congressional Committee.
 - (6) **Cannot determine:** the ad does not identify sponsor.
 - (7) **Combination (specify):** please list, for instance committee for election/re-election of candidate and a national political party may co-sponsor an ad.
 - (9) **Other (specify):** some other group not listed above, could include a state party.

9. Format of commercial? (Code for dominant format) (Reliability=.82)

- (0) **Documentary:** describes or documents the life of the candidate; supplies background information on the candidate; describes some event in the candidate's career.
- (1) **Video Clip/Music Video:** a pre-produced visual segment without a dominant verbal messages; video accompanied only by music or similar.
- (2) **Testimonial (reaction):** shows the responses of people to the candidate or provides an endorsement by groups/individuals of the candidate in the form of talking about the candidate's virtues; man-on-the-street interviews; some politician or famous person endorsing.
- (3) **Introspection:** largely a spot in which the candidate reflects on his/her own campaign, his/her job in office, his/her mission as a candidate, his/her philosophy of government. Might be just candidate or candidate talking to other people about this.
- (4) **Issue Statement:** visual or verbal statement of candidate or party position on one or more specific issues.
- (5) **Staged Press Conference:** shows candidate answering questions—not in a hostile situation. The candidate is answering questions from media people. This ad looks like a press conference and people asking the questions look like journalists or media people.
- (6) **Opposition focused:** a negative attack on the opponent's record/campaign/issue stands.
- (8) **Issue dramatization:** emphasizes or illustrates some issue or problem: may or may not offer a solution; this is done in a dramatic way—not just candidate talking about it only.
- (9) **Question and Answer/Confrontation:** in this situation, the candidate is being asked questions (non-hostile, non-confrontational) by either one person made to look like the average "guy" off the street or by several people as he/she talks with them; or candidate is confronted with hostile questions or groups demanding answers.
- (9) **Other (specify):** none of the above.

10. Is the ad candidate or opponent focused? (Reliability=1.00)

- (1) **Candidate-positive focused:** emphasizes the virtues and good qualities of the candidate. Not an explicit attack on the opponent.
- (2) **Opponent-negative focused:** emphasizes the negative qualities, the faults of the opponent. Explicit attack on opponent's record, character, campaign, etc.
- (3) **Comparative ad (equally candidate-positive and opponent-negative):** mark only if there is no dominance of one over the other but are equally balanced. There must be exactly equal time given to both a candidate-positive focus and an opponent-negative focus.
- (8) **Cannot determine.**

11. Is there a negative attack made in the ad?: does the ad make a negative, derogatory, or unflattering statement or references to the opposing candidate (Reliability=1.00)
- 11a. If a negative attack is made, is it: (Reliability=1.00)
 - (1) **a direct attack against the opponent:** specifically attacks the opponent, his/her policy stands/issues, past actions, etc.
 - (2) **a direct attack against another politician:** attacks someone else identified as holding public office, may be a colleague or close political associate of the opponent
 - (3) **a direct attack against another party:** criticizes the other "party" for supporting an issue, project, candidate, taking a certain stand, etc.
 - (4) **a more general, indirect attack against government and other parties:** may suggest the government is not working for the people, is being run by certain elite groups and this is wrong, etc.
 - (5) **an indirect/implicit attack without specific mention of the object of the attack:** indicates there is much wrong with the country that should be fixed, but does not name names or specify those responsible for what is considered wrong
 - (10) **Not applicable:** no attack is made in the ad
12. If an attack is made, who makes the attack? (Reliability=1.00)
 - (1) **Candidate attacks his/her opponent.**
 - (2) **Known surrogate attacks opponent:** or someone other than candidate appears as attacker.
 - (3) **Anonymous announcer attacks opponent:** attacker is unknown and is not actually seen.
 - (8) **Not applicable:** no attack is made in the ad.
13. If a negative attack is made, what is the purpose or nature of the attack? (Reliability=.98)
 - (1) **Attack on personal characteristics of opponent:** an attack on the personality characteristics of the opponent; use of negative words denoting flaws in character of opponent.
 - (2) **Attack on issue stands/consistency of opponent:** criticizes the issue or policy stands of the opponent; criticizes the opponent's inability to "make up his/her mind" where he/she stands on an issue; may use quotes from opponent to show him/her switching a position.
 - (3) **Attack on opponent's group affiliations/associations:** attacks the opponent's ties to certain groups which have undesirable characteristics, members, philosophies.
 - (4) **Attack on opponent's background/qualifications:** criticizes the opponent for something in his/her background, family ties, prior job or office (or lack thereof)
 - (5) **Attack on opponent's performance in past offices/ positions:** attacks opponent's performance or job accomplishments in prior offices

14. What strategies are used in making the negative attack? (Reliability=.99)
 - (1) **Use of humor/ridicule:** making fun of the opponent by ridiculing things he/she has said, or what he/she stands for; may use humorous graphics to ridicule
 - (2) **Negative association** (linking opponent with undesirable actions, images): links the opponent with undesirable issues or images, either through text or graphics
 - (3) **Name-calling** (use of negative labels): using negative, unflattering labels for the opponent
 - (4) **Guilt by association:** displaying a picture or graphic of or symbolizing the opponent with undesirable groups or individuals. Implying that the opponent associates with undesirable groups or people; could include associating a candidate with another unpopular current or past politician
 - (8) **Not applicable/no attack:** no attack is made
 - (9) **Other(s)** (specify): includes information and/or features not listed above
 - (10) **Dominant strategy:** strategy used most frequently or predominantly
15. Tone of ad's ending statement (no including sponsor ID): (Reliability=.95)
 - (1) **Negative:** ad ends with a negative statement by candidate and/or surrogate/announcer on characteristics, qualifications, issue stands, or record of opponent.
 - (2) **Positive:** ad ends with a positive statement by candidate and/or surrogate/announcer about candidate's characteristics, qualifications, issue stands, or record.
16. Production technique (code for dominant technique): (Reliability=.79)
 - (1) **Cinema verite:** viewer has a window on the world; filmed live or made to look live; viewer feels as if he/she is following the candidate during a campaign trip; or following the camera as it is viewing something (man-on-the-street interviews would be coded in this category).
 - (2) **Slides with print and voice-over or slides with movement, print, and voice-over:** slides may be used to create movement or still photos may be cut together to create movement. Not live. Voice-over of candidate or announcer.
 - (3) **Candidate head-on:** candidate talking directly into camera (to viewer).
 - (4) **Somebody other than candidate head-on:** public official or celebrity talking directly into camera (to viewer). Do not code "man-on-the-street" interviews in this category.
 - (5) **Animation:** cartoon-like, non-live figures or fantasy figures.

- (6) **Special production techniques:** special production is unique camera or video technique-- unusual use of lighting, use of different focuses on camera; use of split-screen or superimposition of one figure on another.
 - (7) **Combination (specify):** some other technique not described above or combination of techniques described above. Describe.
 - (9) **Other (specify)**
17. Setting of the ad: (Reliability=79)
- (1) **No setting:** graphics, animation only
 - (2) **Inside-home or family setting:** shot in a house or studio setting that looks like a room in a home (e.g.: kitchen, living room); candidate and/or family members may be shown
 - (3) **Inside-factory or industry setting:** shot inside a high or low tech manufacturing factory (e.g.: computer software, automobile, clothing manufacturer); candidate and/or workers shown inside the work environment
 - (4) **Inside-classroom/educational setting:** shot inside a school and/or child care facility (e.g.: classroom, library, hallway with students/teachers); candidate and/or teachers and/or students shown inside the setting
 - (5) **Inside-office/other professional setting:** shot inside an office, studio, or other business or professional setting; candidate and/or others pictured in the office or studio
 - (6) **Inside-grocery/store setting:** shot inside a grocery or any other store setting (e.g.: grocery store, Wal-Mart type of store, small retail shop); candidate and/or others pictured in the store
 - (7) **Inside-general:** shot inside a building or studio but the setting is not recognizable or distinguishable; candidate and/or others pictured
 - (8) **Outside-family setting:** shot of candidate interacting outdoors with his/her and/or other families (e.g.: on a walk, at a picnic, country fair); general scenes of families shown in outdoor activities
 - (9) **Outside-factory or industry setting:** outside shots of factory or industry (e.g.: shipyard, construction site); candidate and/or workers shown in outside work environment
 - (10) **Outside-schoolyard:** live outside shots of school and/or child care facility (e.g.: school playground); candidate and/or teachers and/or students shown outside
 - (11) **Outside-farm setting:** outside scenes of farm and/or farming activities (e.g.: driving a tractor, with a harvest crew, outside a barn); candidate and/or farmers pictured

- (12) **Outside-scenic:** outside shots of scenery of state (e.g.: mountains, ocean, seashore, lakes, rivers); candidate and/or others are pictured
 - (13) **Combination:** indicate combinations of the above settings by number
 - (14) **Other(s) (specify):** some other setting not described above; in this category code inside and outside shots for which you cannot categorize from the listing above (e.g.: citizen on the street interviews)
18. Who is pictured in the ad?: (Reliability=.97)
- (1) **No one:** no people are seen in the ad; ad may consist of graphics, special production, animation, scenes without people present
 - (2) **Candidate only:** candidate is the only person seen in the ad.
 - (3) **Candidate's opponent only:** opponent is the only person seen in the ad.
 - (4) **Candidate and opponent only:** only candidate and opponent are seen in the ad.
 - (5) **Candidate and other people:** candidate and other people except the opponent are featured.
 - (6) **Candidate, opponent, and other people**
 - (7) **People other than the candidate only:** other citizens, surrogates, etc. are featured. opponent may be seen in addition, but candidate is not present.
19. If people other than the candidate or opponent are pictured in the ad, are they: (Reliability=.95)
- (1) **Men:** code 1 if a man/men--other than candidate/opponent--are pictured in the ad.
 - (2) **Women:** code 1 if a woman/women--other than candidate/opponent--are pictured in the ad.
 - (3) **Family of the candidate:** spouse, children, or parents of candidate are shown with or separately from the candidate.
 - (4) **Children (not candidate's):** children (age 18 and younger) other than candidate's own children are shown in the ad (e.g., school children, babies, high school students).
 - (5) **Senior citizens:** people approximately age 65 and older, other than the candidate's parents, are shown in the ad.
 - (6) **Ethnic/racial minorities:** blacks, Native Americans, Hispanics, Asian Americans--other than candidate/opponent--are shown in the ad.
 - (7) **Others (specify):** describe any other demographic group not included in the groups above that are shown in the ad (e.g., disabled).

20. Who is speaking? (Code for dominant speaker). (Reliability=.90)
- (1) **Candidate.**
 - (2) **A government official or office-holder:** a politician other than the candidate or opponent.
 - (3) **An anonymous announcer:** you do not see or know the announcer talking
 - (4) **Non-government celebrity:** film star, singer.
 - (5) **Spouse or family member:** known, identified spouse or family member (parent, child) of candidate speaks in ad.
 - (6) **Citizen(s)/Constituent(s):** general citizen on the street
 - (7) **Combination (specify):** if cannot determine dominant speaker or if the ad is a combination of the above categories.
 - (8) **Not applicable (no one speaks)**
 - (9) **Other:** some other category than those above (e.g., opponent).
21. The dominant speaker(s) is/are (code for dominant): determine gender of people or persons speaking most in the ad (Reliability=.87)
22. Does the candidate have eye contact directly with the viewer? (Reliability=.85)
(code for overall eye contact of the candidate only)
- (1) **Never:** candidate never looks into the camera directly to the viewer.
 - (2) **Sometimes:** candidate sometimes looks into the camera directly to the viewer.
 - (3) **Almost always:** the ad mostly features the candidate looking directly to the viewer.
 - (4) **Always:** the entire ad consists of the candidate looking directly to the viewer.
 - (8) **Not applicable/candidate not present.**
23. Is the candidate usually (code for dominant expression): (Reliability=.77)
- (1) **Smiling:** cheerful, happy look
 - (2) **Attentive/serious:** concerned
 - (3) **Frowning/glaring:** angry
 - (8) **Not applicable/no candidate present**
 - (9) **Other (specify):** includes expressions not listed above

24. Does the candidate use gestures? (Reliability=.79)
- (1) **Never:** candidate keeps hands/arms stationary when shown live in ad.
 - (2) **Sometimes:** candidate sometimes uses hand/arm gestures when shown live in ad.
 - (3) **Frequently:** candidate often uses hand/arm gestures when shown live in ad.
 - (8) **Cannot determine/candidate not present:** cannot see hands/arms of candidate when shown live in ad to make a determination; candidate not shown live in ad.
25. Does the candidate touch others pictured in the ad? (Reliability=.90)
(code for shots when candidate is shown holding or shaking hands, putting arm around a shoulder, patting back, etc. of other people in the ad)
- (1) **Never:** candidate never physically touches other person(s) shown live in the ad.
 - (2) **Sometimes:** candidate sometimes physically touches other person(s) shown live.
 - (3) **Frequently:** candidate often physically touches other person(s) shown live.
 - (8) **Not applicable:** candidate is shown alone or not shown at all in the ad.
26. Body movement/posture of the candidate: (Reliability=.87)
(code for overall movement/posture of candidate only)
- (1) **Compact/closed:** arms/hands close in by side of body when sitting/standing; takes up little space.
 - (2) **Expansive/open:** arms/hands and/or legs often outstretched when sitting/standing; takes up space.
 - (3) **Combination of closed/open body movement/posture:** candidate shown equally with compact/closed and expansive/open movement and posture.
 - (4) **Only head and shoulders of candidate shown:** only a live head shot of candidate and arms/legs not visible.
 - (8) **Not applicable/candidate not present:** candidate not shown in ad.
27. Fluency (code for candidate only) (Reliability=.92)
- (1) **stumbling/hesitant/non-fluent:** candidate hesitates, stumbles, speech is generally non-fluent.
 - (2) **fluent:** candidate speaks clearly without hesitation, stammering, stuttering.
 - (3) **candidate did not speak:** candidate did not speak in the ad.
 - (8) **Not applicable/candidate not present:** candidate not shown in the ad.

28. Use of language intensifiers (code for candidate only): (Reliability=.67)
Adjectives and adverbs that intensify noun or verb being described, e.g., so, quite, such, really
- (1) **Almost never:** candidate never or almost never uses language intensifiers when speaking
 - (2) **Sometimes:** candidate sometimes uses language intensifiers when speaking
 - (3) **Frequently:** candidate often uses language intensifiers when speaking
 - (4) **Candidate did not speak:** candidate did not speak in the ad
 - (8) **Not applicable/candidate not present**
29. Rate of speech (code for candidate only): (Reliability=.92)
- (1) **Slow:** sounds slower than average speaker.
 - (2) **Moderate:** average rate of speech.
 - (3) **Fast:** sounds faster than average speaker.
 - (8) **Not applicable/candidate not present:** candidate not present or not speaking.
30. Pitch variety (code for candidate only): (Reliability=.77)
- (1) **Monotone:** no change in voice pitch.
 - (2) **Varied:** vocal variety or close to normal speech.
 - (3) **Combined monotone and varied pitch:** monotone and varied pitch.
 - (4) **Candidate did not speak:** candidate did not speak in the ad.
 - (8) **Not applicable/candidate not present:** candidate not present in the ad.
31. Dress of candidate (code for candidate only): (Reliability=.94)
- (1) **Formal:** coat and tie, suit, business/professional dress.
 - (2) **Casual:** sweaters, shirt sleeves, tie only (no coat), athletic wear.
 - (3) **Code for dominant dress of candidate:** indicate most common style of dress candidate featured in throughout the ad (Reliability=.54)
 - (8) **Not applicable/candidate not present**
32. Staging of ad (for live shots or pictures): (Reliability=.67)
- (1) **All obviously staged:** the ad was obviously set up; not a naturally occurring situation in which video was filmed; planned, organized, too perfect of a shot; may be in a studio
 - (2) **Natural appearing:** the situation appears natural, the candidate may really be speaking with others or participating in the activity; candidate may appear slightly less than perfect

- (3) **Cannot determine:** difficult to determine if staged or naturally occurring shot
 - (8) **Other (specify):** includes staging not listed above
33. Sound characteristics (code for dominant characteristic): (Reliability=.92)
- (1) **Candidate live:** candidate is speaking.
 - (2) **Other person(s) live:** other person(s) featured in the ad is/are speaking.
 - (3) **Voice-over (by candidate or surrogate):** candidate or announcer (not shown in ad) talking over some other pictures or video.
 - (8) **Not applicable/no candidate present:** no one, including candidate, is speaking in the ad.
34. What special effects/production techniques are used in the ad: (Reliability=.90)
- (1) **Computer graphics or titles:** letters or words growing or shrinking, pictures grow or shrink.
 - (2) **Computer alteration or morphing:** picture appears altered or is altered on-screen, one picture morphs into another with movement (transformation) seen on-screen
 - (3) **Slow motion:** motion is slower than normal.
 - (4) **Fast motion:** movement is speeded up.
 - (5) **Reversed motion:** causing movement to be produced backward.
 - (6) **Freeze frame:** action or motion during ad is stopped and frozen for a time.
 - (7) **Split screen:** two or more sections of screen each showing separate scene.
 - (8) **Superimpositions:** one picture on top of another, one picture may be fading out as another is imposed on to it.
 - (9) **Montage:** either rapid succession of brief shots (usually stills) with a common theme or showing several images on the screen at once.
 - (10) **Stop motion photography:** series of frames shown one frame at a time, put together to show motion.
 - (11) **Use of stills:** still photographs used in the ad.
 - (12) **Music:** music is used to set the tone in the ad, may be just background
 - (13) **Focus (sharp vs. soft):** shots in the ad may move from sharp, clear focus to a blurred image, edges may just be softer than in a normal clear focus
 - (14) **Lighting effects:** lighting changes or varies from shot to shot, may be bright and "sunny" in one shot while another shot has dark, shadowy lighting

- (15) **Other special effects?**(describe): use of historical footage (like explosion of nuclear weapons), talking animals, etc.
35. Is the emphasis of this ad primarily on: (Reliability=.92)
- (1) **Campaign issues:** ad emphasizes broad issue concerns or specific policy issues or positions of the candidate or opponent
 - (2) **Candidate image:** ad focuses on the personal characteristics, background or qualifications of the candidate or opponent
36. Types of appeals used in the ad: (Reliability=.84)
- (1) **Logical appeals (use of evidence in ads):** facts are presented in ad in order to persuade viewer that the evidence is overwhelming in favor of some position; this can be a use of statistics, logical arguments, examples, etc.
 - (2) **Emotional appeals (to invoke feelings):** appeals designed to invoke particular feelings or emotions in viewers; could include happiness, good will, pride, patriotism, anger, etc.
 - (3) **Source credibility/ethos appeals (appealing to qualifications of candidate):** appeals made to enhance the credibility and trustworthiness of candidate by telling all he/she has done, is capable of doing, how reliable he/she is; endorsements or testimonials are often in this category, particularly if they rely on the credibility of a famous person to enhance the candidate or attack the opponent.
37. Are fear appeals used in the ad?: appeals meant to scare viewer about possible consequences of some action. (Reliability=.95)
38. Structure of appeal: (Reliability=.54)
- (1) **Inductive (examples then conclusion):** first lists examples to draw generalization or conclusion; e.g. "This candidate has fought for tougher environmental laws, welfare reform, and increased social security benefits. For our state's future, let's send this candidate to Washington to represent us on these issues."
 - (2) **Deductive (conclusion then examples):** first states generalization or conclusion, then applies it to specific examples; e.g., "We need someone to represent our state's interest in Washington. That's why I'm opposed to increasing the gasoline tax and will work to preserve social security benefits and reform the welfare system."
 - (3) **Cannot determine:** cannot determine whether the appeal is inductive or deductive; may be a combination
39. Content of appeal used – pick only one of #2, 3, or 4: (Reliability=.81)
- (1) **Emphasis on partisanship of candidate:** ad identifies the candidate's party, mentions other members of the same party.
 - (2) **Issue-related appeal (candidate's issue concern):** ad reveals that candidate cares about the issue and the issue is salient to candidate, but nothing said about how to solve problem. May mention who should be held responsible for problem.

- (3) **Issue-related appeal (vague policy preference):** reveals policy preference of candidate, but in a vague, ambiguous, or symbolic way. "I oppose inflation" or "I favor medical care."
 - (4) **Issue-related appeal (specific policy proposals):** relates more specific policy proposals. May suggest precise legislation or action he/she will take.
 - (5) **Personal characteristics of candidate:** ad attempts to convince audience that candidate has good personality traits or qualities, such as honesty, intelligence, or that opponent does not have these characteristics.
 - (6) **Linking of candidate with certain demographic groups:** candidate is shown as being sympathetic to the problems, goals, needs, of certain groups in U.S. Candidate is portrayed as being a good friend to these groups.
 - (7) **Code for the dominant content of the ad:** which of the above appeals is used most (Reliability=.46)
40. What issues, if any, are mentioned/discussed: (Reliability= .97)
- (1) **Taxes:** mentions federal income taxes on individuals and/or corporations, death tax, marriage tax penalty, gasoline tax, or some other tax and may offer an opinion
 - (2) **Federal budget deficit/failure to balance:** mentions federal budget deficit, failure to balance the national budget, or may focus on the cost of the deficit to future generations
 - (3) **Unemployment/jobs:** mentions unemployment rate, lack of jobs, jobs lost in the state or district, need to bring new jobs into the state or district
 - (4) **Cost of living/inflation:** mentions inflation, compares cost of living now to previous times
 - (5) **Recession/depression (economic):** specific mention of recession and/or depression in discussing the economy of the state, district, nation
 - (6) **Immigration:** mentions illegal immigration, controlling illegal immigration, and the problems illegal immigration causes on education and/or healthcare systems, employment taxes, etc.
 - (7) **Trade deficit:** mentions trade deficit between US and another country, may argue for or against opening/increasing/decreasing trade to other countries
 - (8) **Economy in general:** mentions or discusses the state or district's economy in general, rather than specific economic issues
 - (9) **Job growth:** mentions the recent job growth, how many new jobs have been brought in to the state or district
 - (10) **Education/schools:** mentions the state or district's elementary, secondary, vocational schools or programs, or colleges and universities; the need for quality teachers, funding or preparing students for the future, need for teacher qualification exams (excluding specific references to youth violence in schools)

- (11) **Crime/prisons:** mentions the crime rate, criminals, incarceration of criminals, building of prisons, capital punishment, victim's rights, etc. (excluding specific references to youth violence in schools)
- (12) **Health care (in general)/patient's bill of rights:** mentions health care in general, cost of health care, hospitals, health insurance, specific diseases
- (13) **Senior citizen issues/problems of elderly (Social Security, Medicare, prescription drugs for senior citizens only):** mentions concerns of senior citizens such as Social Security, Medicare, government pensions
- (14) **Poverty/hunger/homelessness:** mentions or discusses homeless people, poor people, hungry people and/or the need to help these people (excluding specific references to welfare reform)
- (15) **Welfare/welfare reform:** mentions reforming the welfare system or promotes success in reforming the welfare system, focus of the discuss must be on the "welfare system" not helping poor people in general
- (16) **Environment/pollution:** mentions environmental issues, such as preserving a clean environment, keeping water clean, or cleaning up pollution (e.g.: toxic waste, landfills, polluted water)
- (17) **Drugs/drug abuse:** mentions drug use/abuse, consequences of drug use/abuse (e.g.: crack babies), programs developed to assist those with drug problems, or programs to fight drugs, stop drug trafficking, the drug war, or education about drug abuse
- (18) **Dissatisfaction with the government:** mentions city, state, or federal government, and/or their agencies/representatives as problematic, out of touch with the average citizen, in need of reform (e.g.: campaign finance reform)
- (19) **Ethics/moral decline:** mentions a decline in ethical and moral values of the country or state and/or citizens and/or the need for stronger values
- (20) **Women's issues (choice, equal rights, women's health):** mentions women's concerns about issues such as choice, equal rights, sexual harassment, etc., or specifically mentions women's health issues
- (21) **Gun control:** mentions the need for or the argument against gun control and related measures such as trigger locks, the Brady Bill, waiting periods, bans on selling guns at gun shows, etc. (excluding specific references to youth violence in schools)
- (22) **Defense (military):** mentions or discusses the nation's defense and/or military and/or military bases within the state or district
- (23) **International issues (foreign relations, fear of war, arms control):** mentions foreign relations with other countries, foreign affairs, fear of war, arms control, keeping peace, etc.

- (24) **Youth violence (includes school violence, juvenile delinquency):** mentions schools violence or other juvenile violence and/or the need to control youth violence
 - (25) **Other issue(s) (specify):** list any other issues that were mentioned or discussed in the issues section that are not included in the categories listed above
 - (26) **Is any one particular issue emphasized:** list the one issue that appears to be predominantly discussed in the issues section, is given the most space and attention, or an issue that appears to be of most importance to the candidate
41. Total number of different issues discussed in the ad: count all issues mentioned/discussed in the ad and identify corresponding range of numbers. (Reliability=.87)
42. What strategies are present in the ad?: (Reliability=.91)
- (1) **Incumbency stands for legitimacy:** emphasis on incumbency in office, its legitimacy, the support and respect it is afforded
 - (2) **Voice for the state:** emphasis on candidate as voice/representative for the state and state issues in the capitol (Washington or state capitol)
 - (3) **Use of personal tone ("I"):** presents ideas/views/positions as personal beliefs using the pronoun "I"; e.g., "I'm for gun control," "I believe in a strong national defense"
 - (4) **Addresses viewers as peers ("we"):** candidate presents himself as one of the people by using the pronoun "we" (e.g.: "We can solve our problems")
 - (5) **Calling for change:** things need to be done differently; changes need to be made
 - (6) **Inviting viewer participation, action:** asks visitor to be part of the political process, to join candidate by voting or taking some other action
 - (7) **Emphasizing optimism/hope for the future:** emphasizes candidate as one best able to deal with the future, things can and will be better if you elect this candidate
 - (8) **Yearning for the past:** reactionary, wanting to go back to the "good old days," desiring traditions of the past, the "American Dream," etc.
 - (9) **Reinforcing/promoting traditional values:** reinforces majority values, family values, may involve morality, God, etc.
 - (10) **Representing philosophical center of the party:** has support of his/her political party and represents its policies and platforms
 - (11) **Using endorsements by party and other important political leaders:** uses testimonials from party and other important political leaders to "speak" on behalf of the candidate, linking the candidate with established, highly respected leaders
 - (12) **Use of personal experience, anecdotes to support positions/candidacy:** includes stories textually narrated by the candidate or others to tell about the candidate,

his/her experiences, and/or the experiences of his/her constituents to support his/her positions on the issues/candidacy or to attack the opponent

- (13) **Use of statistics to support positions/candidacy:** candidate or surrogate uses statistical evidence (e.g. percentages) to support his/her positions on issue/candidacy or to attack opponent
- (14) **Use of expert authorities (non-political) to support positions/candidacy:** features non-political sources (e.g.: newspaper articles, scientists, educators, doctors/nurses) to support positions/candidacy or to attack the opponent
- (15) **Identifying with experiences of others:** candidate and/or surrogates link experiences of others (constituents) with candidate's personal experiences or his/her personal concerns
- (16) **Emphasizing own accomplishments:** stressing the achievements of the candidate
- (17) **Taking offensive position on the issues:** candidate contrasts his/her own position on the issues with that of his/her opponent, or questions/challenges opponent's position on issues
- (18) **Attacking record of opponent:** reviewing and criticizing the past accomplishments (or failures) of the opponent, or questions and/or challenges opponent's position on issues
- (19) **Attack opponent on personal qualities:** reviewing, criticizing, accusing the personal qualities or actions of the opponent (e.g.: lying, paying taxes late, inexperienced)
- (20) **Attack opponent on his/her stands:** reviewing and criticizing the opponent's past or current stands on certain issues; not in comparison with those of the candidate but a direct attack on the opponent's stand or position
- (21) **Compare candidate stands with stands of opponent:** review and compare the opponent's past or current stands on certain issues with that of the candidate; no judgments are made by the candidate, but rather states the differences
- (22) **Compare candidate personal qualities with personal qualities of opponent:** review and compare the personal qualities or actions of the opponent with those of the candidate
- (23) **"Above the trenches" position:** rarely acknowledge the opponent, refrains from comparison or attack on the opponent, aloof from the political battle
- (24) **Candidate makes gender an issue:** the candidate suggests that his/her gender is an important factor in caring about certain issues; (e.g.: "I am a mother, so I care about healthcare")
- (25) **Other strategy(ies) used:** describe any strategies used not listed above

43. What candidate characteristics are emphasized in the ad? (Reliability=.81)
- (1) **Honesty/integrity:** truthful, honest, has personal integrity
 - (2) **Toughness/strength:** e.g.: tough on crime, the death penalty, peace through strength
 - (3) **Past performance/success/failure:** previous accomplishments, achievements
 - (4) **Aggressive/fighter:** need for aggressive action, candidate will fight for constituents
 - (5) **Cooperation with others:** candidate will work with others to find solutions to problems
 - (6) **Competency:** assertive, confident, will get the job done
 - (7) **Leadership:** candidate is a recognized leader, on the forefront of issues, others follow his/her lead
 - (8) **Experience in politics:** candidate has the political experience, connections, to best represent constituents
 - (9) **Washington outsider:** no more "politics as usual," candidate will represent the state and its citizens against bureaucracy, special interest groups, etc.
 - (10) **Sensitive/understanding:** candidate understands, cares about, and is sensitive to the needs of others
 - (11) **Knowledgeable/intelligent:** candidate is smart, knowledgeable on the issues
 - (12) **Qualified:** gives reasons or makes statements why this candidate is best qualified for office, based on past record and experience
 - (13) **Action oriented proponent:** candidate has a plan, is not just complaining about the problem
 - (14) **Trustworthy:** you can trust/believe in this candidate
 - (15) **Of the people (commonality):** emphasizes that he/she can relate to the people of the state or district, is just like you (e.g.: "I've raised my children in this state like many of you, and I want the best education possible for them")
44. Is the ad specifically directed toward: (Reliability=.94)
- (1) **Young voters, teens:** ad addresses or is designed to appeal to young voters, teens; message specifically targets this age group.
 - (2) **Women:** ad addresses or is designed to appeal to women; message specifically targets women and women's issues only.
 - (3) **Veterans:** ad addresses or is designed to appeal to veterans; message specifically targets veterans and veteran's issues only.
 - (4) **Senior citizens:** ad addresses or is designed to appeal to senior citizens; message specifically targets senior citizens and senior citizen's issues only.

- (5) **Other(s) specify:** ad addresses or is designed to appeal to a specified demographic or special interest group; message specifically targets that group and their issues; specifically identify this demographic or special interest group.
45. Dominant camera angle used in ad (code for candidate only): (Reliability=.90)
- (1) **High:** camera is looking down on candidate in ad.
 - (2) **Straight-on:** camera is level with candidate.
 - (3) **Low:** camera is looking up at candidate.
 - (4) **Movement combination (specify):** not one dominant theme, combination of those listed above.
 - (8) **Not applicable/candidate not present.**
46. Dominant type of camera shot used in ad (code for candidate only): (Reliability=.79)
- (1) **Tight** (head and shoulders)
 - (2) **Medium** (waist up)
 - (3) **Long** (full length)
 - (4) **Movement combination (specify):** cannot determine dominant camera shot, or is a combination of those listed above.
 - (8) **Not applicable/candidate not present.**
47. Does the ad: (Reliability=.87)
- (1) **identify the office that the candidate is seeking:** code 1 if the ad specifically states that the candidate is seeking to become a senator, a house member, or a governor; more than just the campaign logo
 - (2) **identify the candidate's party affiliation:** code 1 if the ad specifically identifies whether the candidate is a Republican or Democrat; the indication must be somewhere other than the sponsor line at the bottom of the ad.
48. Does the ad list/provide candidate's campaign web site address: (Reliability=.87)
Code 1 if the ad provides the address to the candidate's web site; may be at conclusion of ad. If the ad does provide the address, please specify the address in the following blank.

Appendix D
Internet Web Sites
Code Sheet

1. Coder Name: _____	1	
2. Web Site ID: _____		2
3. Candidate Name: _____	3	
4. Sex of Candidate: (1) Male (2) Female		4
5. Status of Candidate: (1) Incumbent (2) Challenger (3) Open Race		5
 <u>Home Page:</u>		
Does the home page: (Code 1 for present, 0 for not present)		
6. list the sponsor of the web site		6
7. identify the candidate's party affiliation		7
8. identify the office that the candidate is seeking		8
9. feature graphics		9
10. provide the candidate's bio		10
11. introduce the web site with a personal letter from the candidate		11
14. Level of office candidate is seeking: (1) Gubernatorial (2) Senate (3) U.S. House of Representatives		12
15. If photos are featured on the home page, are they: (1) Of the candidate only (2) Of the candidate with other people (3) Other people only (4) Combination _____		13

If graphics are featured on the home page, are they:
(Code 1 if present, 0 if not present)

14. party related	14
15. candidate related	15
16. related to the district/state candidate running in	16
17. general election/campaign related	17
18. generic, none of the above	18
19. Are new content features:	19
(1) listed on the home page	
(2) available through a link from the home page	
(3) not listed/available	
20. How many links are available from the home page?	
(1) 1-4	20
(2) 5-7	
(3) 8-10	
(4) above 10	
What links are listed as available from the home page?	
(Code 1 as present, 0 as not present)	
21. candidate bio link	21
22. updated/new content features link	22
23. issues link	23
24. calendar of events link	24
25. contribution link	25
26. campaign directory/contact link	26
27. get involved link	27
28. breaking news link	28
29. special link for media to use	29
30. "links" link	30
31. search engine link for searching the site	31
32. other (specify) _____	

Candidate Bio Section:

Does the candidate bio section provide:
(Code 1 for present, 0 for not present)

33. a candidate bio sheet	33
34. candidate photos (candidate only)	34
35. candidate photos with other people	35
36. a personal letter/note from the candidate	36
37. personal information about the candidate (family, education, etc.)	37
38. business related information about the candidate (previous jobs)	38
39. public service related information about the candidate	39
40. a message of the day (updated daily)	40
41. a link for feedback/emailing the campaign	41
42. other(s) (specify): _____	42

Issues Section:

Does the issues section provide the following:
(Code 1 for present, 0 for not present)

43. the candidate's position statements	43
44. news releases	44
45. links to detailed information created by the campaign (e.g.: position papers)	45
46. links to press coverage of the candidate on issues	46
47. links to legislation the candidate has sponsored or co-sponsored	47
48. link for feedback/emailing the campaign	48
49. How many issues are addressed?	49
(1) 1-4	
(2) 5-7	
(3) 8-10	
(4) over 10	

What issues are mentioned/discussed in the issues section:
(Code 1 for present, 0 for not present)

50. Taxes	50
51. Budget/deficit	51
52. Unemployment/jobs	52
53. Cost of living	53
54. Recession/depression	54
55. Immigration	55
56. Economy in general	56
57. Job growth	57
58. Education/schools	58
59. Crime/prison	59
60. Health care	60
61. Senior citizen issues	61
62. Poverty/hunger/homelessness	62
63. Welfare/welfare reform	63
64. Environment/pollution	64
65. Drugs/drug abuse	65
66. Dissatisfaction with the government	66
67. Ethics/moral decline	67
68. Women's issues (choice, harassment, equal rights)	68
69. Gun control	69
70. Defense	70
71. International issues	71
72. Youth violence (to include school violence)	72
73. Other issue(s) (specify) _____	73

74. Is any one particular issue emphasized? _____ 74

75. Are the opponent's stands on issues featured in the issues section?
(1) Yes _____ 75
(2) No

76. If so, are the candidate's stands compared with the opponents?
(1) Yes _____ 76
(2) No
(8) not applicable

77. Are the comparisons presented:
(1) by text only _____ 77
(2) by graphics only
(3) by a combination of text with chart/table/graphics
(3) not applicable

78. Is a negative attack on the opponent present in this section?
(1) Yes _____ 78
(2) No

What strategy is used in making the negative attack?
(Code 1 for present, 0 for not present)

79. humor/ridicule _____ 79

80. negative association (linking opponent with undesirable actions, images) _____ 80

81. name-calling (use of negative labels) _____ 81

82. guilt by association _____ 82

83. not applicable/no attack _____ 83

84. Other(s) (specify) _____ 84

85. Dominant strategy: _____ 85

Calendar of Events Section:

Does the calendar of events section provide the following:
(Code 1 for present, 0 for not present)

86. information on events open to the public and media _____ 86

87. private political events _____ 87

88. a link for asking the candidate to make a special appearance _____ 88

89. notification that the site has been updated _____ 89

90. past, current, and future events	90
91. only current and future events	91
92. link for feedback/emailing the campaign (separate from special appearance link)	92

Campaign Directory/Contact Section:

Does the campaign directory/contact section provide the following:
(Code 1 for present, 0 for not present)

93. list of key campaign contacts	93
94. campaign headquarters contact information	94
95. full contact information (mail address, phone, fax, email)	95
96. partial contact information (missing some of the above)	96
97. local campaign coordinators	97
98. links to campaign coordinators in a constituent's specific area	98
99. link for feedback/emailing the campaign	99

Get Involved Section:

Does the get involved section provide the following:
(Code 1 for present, 0 for not present)

100. letter from the candidate	100
101. link to/form for contributing	101
102. link to/form for volunteering	102
103. sign up form for getting involved	103
104. talking points	104
105. ability to print/download campaign distribution materials	105
106. information for contacting people on behalf of the campaign	106
107. breaking news for media representatives	107
108. link for/ability to feedback/email the campaign	108

What campaign materials can be downloaded and/or printed from the web site?
(Code 1 for present, 0 for not present)

109. Letters to the editor	<u>109</u>
110. Door to door flyers	<u>110</u>
111. Phone bank information	<u>111</u>
112. Press releases	<u>112</u>
113. Media kit	<u>113</u>

Links Section:

Does the links section provide the following links:
(Code 1 for present, 0 for not present)

114. national party web site	<u>114</u>
115. state party web site	<u>115</u>
116. other candidates' web sites	<u>116</u>
117. special interests' web sites	<u>117</u>
118. governmental web sites	<u>118</u>
119. media related web sites	<u>119</u>
120. Other(s) (specify): _____	<u>120</u>

General:

121. Does the candidate make videos of speeches, ads, debates available through the web site? (1) Yes (2) No	<u>121</u>
If so, what is made available?	
122. Videos of speeches	<u>122</u>
123. Television spot ads	<u>123</u>
124. Debates	<u>124</u>
125. News conferences	<u>125</u>

126. Are transcripts of the candidate's speeches available on the web site?	_____
(1) Yes	126
(2) No	

When the candidate is shown in a photo is the candidate dressed:
(Code 1 for present, 0 for not present)

127. formal	_____
	127
128. casual	_____
	128
129. not applicable/candidate's photo not on web site	_____
	129
130. Dominant dress type: _____	_____
	130

131. When the candidate is shown in a photo, does the candidate have eye contact directly with the viewer?	_____
(Code for overall eye contact of candidate only)	131
(1) Almost never	
(2) Sometimes	
(3) Almost always	
(4) Not applicable/candidate not present	

When the candidate is shown in a photo, is the candidate usually:
(Code 1 for present, 0 for not present)

132. Smiling	_____
	132
133. Attentive/serious	_____
	133
134. Frowning/glaring	_____
	134
135. Not applicable/no candidate present	_____
	135
136. Other (specify): _____	_____
	136
137. Dominant expression of candidate _____	_____
	137

When the candidate is shown in a photo, is the candidate's body movement/posture:
(Code 1 for present, 0 for not present)

138. Compact/closed	_____
	138
139. Expansive/open	_____
	139
140. Combination of closed/open body movement/posture	_____
	140
141. Not applicable/candidate not present	_____
	141

If photos of other people (other than candidate or his/her opponent) are featured in the web site, are they: (Code 1 if present, 0 if not present)

142. Men	<u>142</u>
143. Women	<u>143</u>
144. Family of Candidate	<u>144</u>
145. Children (not candidate's)	<u>145</u>
146. Senior citizens	<u>146</u>
147. Ethnic/racial minorities	<u>147</u>
148. Others (specify) _____	<u>148</u>

Of the photos featured on the web site, code for the setting:
(Code 1 for present, 0 for not present)

149. Inside-home or family setting	<u>149</u>
150. Inside-factory or industry setting	<u>150</u>
151. Inside-classroom/educational setting	<u>151</u>
152. Inside-office/other professional setting	<u>152</u>
153. Inside-grocery/store setting	<u>153</u>
154. Inside-general	<u>154</u>
155. Outside-family setting	<u>155</u>
156. Outside-factory or industry setting	<u>156</u>
157. Outside-schoolyard	<u>157</u>
158. Outside-business setting	<u>158</u>
159. Outside-farm setting	<u>159</u>
160. Outside-scenic	<u>160</u>
161. Other(s) (specify) _____	<u>161</u>
162. Dominant setting of photos: _____	<u>162</u>

Of the photos featured on the web site, code for the staging of the photos:

163. Obviously staged	_____
	163
164. Natural appearing	_____
	164
165. Cannot be determined	_____
	165
166. Dominant staging of photos: _____	_____
	166

What strategies are present in the site?
(Code 1 for present, 0 if not present)

167. incumbency stands for legitimacy	_____
	167
168. voice for the state	_____
	168
169. calling for change	_____
	169
170. addresses readers as peers ("we")	_____
	170
171. inviting participation/action	_____
	171
172. emphasizing optimism/hope for the future	_____
	172
173. yearning for the past	_____
	173
174. traditional values	_____
	174
175. representing philosophical center of the party	_____
	175
176. using endorsements by party of other important political leaders	_____
	176
177. use of personal experience, anecdotes to support positions and/or candidacy	_____
	177
178. use of statistics to support positions and/or candidacy	_____
	178
179. use of expert authorities (non-political) to support positions and/or candidacy	_____
	179
180. identifying with experiences of others	_____
	180
181. emphasizing own accomplishments	_____
	181
182. taking offensive position on an issue	_____
	182
183. attacking record of opponent	_____
	183
184. "above the trenches" position	_____
	188

185. candidate makes gender an issue	189
186. Other strategy(ies) (specify): _____	190

Overall, what candidate characteristics are emphasized on the web site?
(Code 1 for present, 0 if not present)

187. honesty/integrity	191
188. toughness/strength	192
189. past performance/success/failure	193
190. aggressive/fighter	194
191. cooperation with others	195
192. competency	196
193. leadership	197
194. experience in politics	198
195. Washington outsider	199
196. sensitive/understanding	200
197. knowledgeable/intelligent	201
198. qualified	202
199. action oriented proponent	203
200. trustworthy	204
201. of the people (commonality)	205

If the web site provides special sections or interest pages, are they for:
(Code 1 for present, 0 for not present)

202. young voters, teens	206
203. women	207
204. veterans	208
205. senior citizens	209
206. other(s) (specify): _____	

211. Are references for comments/statements from “others” provided?	
(1) Yes	211
(2) No	
212. Is the opportunity available to sign up for e-mail updates?	
(1) Yes	212
(2) No	

Appendix E
Internet Web Sites
Codebook

1. Coder Name: your name
2. Web Site ID: number of Web site given on your list of Web sites
3. Candidate Name: determine from Web site (Reliability=1.00)
4. Sex of Candidate: determine from the Web site (Reliability=1.00)
5. Status of Candidate: if the candidate is currently holding the office and is up for reelection, he/she would qualify as an incumbent; if the candidate currently does not hold the office for which he/she seeks election, he/she qualifies as a challenger; if the current office holder is not seeking reelection, the candidates would be considered as running in an open race. (Reliability=1.00)

Home Page:

Does the home page:

6. List the sponsor of the Web site: specifically identifies that the Web site is sponsored by the candidate's election/reelection committee; may be indicated at the bottom of the home page (Reliability=.75)
7. Identify the candidate's party affiliation: does the candidate identify, either in text or photos/graphics that he/she is a Republican or Democrat? (Reliability=1.00)
8. Identify the office that the candidate is seeking: a phrase may be present, such as "Elect Betty Smith to the US Senate" or "Reelect Governor Betty Smith" that indicates whether the candidate is a Senate, congressional (US House), or gubernatorial candidate. (Reliability=1.00)
9. Feature graphics: animation, cartoons, background pictures added for effect (e.g.: banner ads, flags waving, buttons flashing) (Reliability=.80)
10. Provide the candidate's bio: includes a biography (may include personal, business, public service information) of the candidate on the home page (Reliability=1.00)
11. Introduce the Web site with a personal letter from the candidate: includes a letter from the candidate welcoming the visitor to the Web site, may have candidate's "signature" at the bottom (Reliability=.75)
12. Level of office candidate is seeking: features phrasing such as "Elect Betty Smith to the US Senate" or "Reelect Governor Betty Smith" that indicates whether the candidate is a Senate, congress (US House), or gubernatorial candidate: may also indicate in welcome letter (Reliability=1.00)
13. If photos are featured on the home page, are they: (Reliability=.75)
 - (1) of the candidate only: a head shot or portrait shot
 - (2) of the candidate with other people: with family, friends, at a campaign rally
 - (3) a combination: multiple photos are used that both feature the candidate only and the candidate with other people

If graphics are featured on the home page, are they: (Reliability=.80)

14. Party related: animation, photos, or cartoon-style text that states Republican or Democrat, features elephants or donkeys, or RNC or DNC logos
15. Candidate related: photos, cartoon animations, nicknames in cartoon text, campaign logos
16. Related to the district/state the candidate is running in: photos, animation, graphics that indicate the candidate's state (a state seal), something identifiable to the state (Idaho potatoes) or district
17. General election/campaign related: photos, animation, graphics that feature flags, statehouses, campaign buttons from past elections
18. Generic, none of the above: photos, animation, graphics that are not specific to the candidate, election, or politics
19. Are new content features: lists updated or new content that has been added to the Web site recently (e.g.: updated calendar, new press releases, new video of the candidate) directly on the home page or through a link indicating that you can access something new or a list of new additions on the Web site (Reliability=1.00)
20. How many links are available from the home page: count the number of different options provided for searching the Web site; usually contained in a special boxed or highlighted area (Reliability=1.00)

What links are listed as available from the home page? (Reliability=.90)

21. Candidate bio link: links to the candidate's biography; may be titled "About Joe"
22. Updated/new content features link: links to new additions to the Web site; may be titled "What's New" or "Recent Updates"
23. Issues link: lists links to a section that covers the issues discussed by the candidate; may be titled "Taking a Stand" or "The Bill Smith Agenda"
24. Calendar of events link: links to a section that provides a listing of campaign events in which the candidate is scheduled to participate; may be titled "On the Campaign Trail" or "Calendar"
25. Contribution link: specifically links to a section that instructs visitors on how to send the campaign contributions; may be titled "Donate"
26. Campaign directory/contact link: links to a section that tells the visitor how to contact the campaign, may list the campaign staff, list multiple campaign headquarters; may be titled "Contact" or "Team Smith"
27. Get involved link: links to a section that instructs the visitor on how to volunteer, contribute, and/or receive mailings; may be titled "Get Involved" or "Volunteer"
28. Breaking news link: links to a section that provides new press releases, latest campaign developments; may be titled "The Latest News"

29. Special link for the media to use: links to a section for media personnel, providing news releases and media kits; may be titled "Media" or "Press"
30. "Links" link: links to a section that directs the visitor to other links of interest to the campaign; usually titled "Links"
31. Search engine link for searching the site: links to a search engine or asks for keywords to search for, and will direct the visitor to a new page with the matching responses; usually titled "Search"
32. Other (specify): titles of other links not listed above

Candidate Bio section:

Does the candidate bio section provide:

33. A candidate bio sheet: narrative of the candidate's personal, business, and public service (if any) history; prepared for media inquiries (Reliability=1.00)
34. Candidate photos: photos featuring the candidate only (Reliability=1.00)
35. Candidate photos with other people: photos that include the candidate with other people (Reliability=1.00)
36. A personal letter/note from the candidate: a letter that suggests the candidate has written this to the visitor, may include the candidate's "signature" in writing (not typed text) at the conclusion (Reliability=1.00)
37. Personal information about the candidate: specifically list/narrate personal information about the candidate such as family, youth, education, etc. (Reliability=1.00)
38. Business related information about the candidate: specifically list/narrate past businesses worked at/owned, employment history, etc. (Reliability=.80)
39. Public service related information about the candidate: specifically list/narrate past public offices held, past elective offices held, political party involvement, etc. (Reliability=.80)
40. A message of the day: a specific message is presented that indicates it is relative to that day only, may address scheduled events for that day, address prior event in past tense; the important point is that the Web site makes it apparent that this space will contain a different message from day to day (Reliability=1.00)
41. Link for feedback/emailing the campaign: provides a link to email the campaign/candidate directly from this section of the Web site (Reliability=1.00)
42. Other(s) (specify): includes information and/or features not listed above (Reliability=1.00)

Issues Section:

Does the issues section provide the following:

43. The candidate's position statements: statements that detail the candidate's stand on certain issues such as gun control, social security, raising/lowering taxes, abortion, healthcare (Reliability=.80)

44. News releases: links to view news releases/press releases created by the campaign regarding certain events and/or issues (Reliability=1.00)
 45. Links to detailed information created by the campaign (e.g.: position papers): access to more detailed information that details the candidate's stand on certain issues, legislation, events (Reliability=.80)
 46. Links to press coverage of the candidate on issues: access to media outlets for recent articles or broadcasts with regard to the candidate and/or campaign (Reliability=1.00)
 47. Links to legislation the candidate has sponsored or co-sponsored: access to full text of legislation sponsored or co-sponsored by the candidate (Reliability=.80)
 48. Link for feedback/emailing the campaign: provides a link to email the campaign/candidate directly from this section of the Web site (Reliability=1.00)
 49. How many issues are addressed?: these issues may be bulleted or titled to provide a count of how many different issues are covered; only count issues that are mutually exclusive of one another (Reliability=1.00)
- What issues are mentioned/discussed in the issues section: (Reliability=.94)
(Code 1 for present, 0 for not present)
50. Taxes: mentions federal income taxes on individuals and/or corporations, death tax, marriage tax penalty, gasoline tax, or some other tax and may offer an opinion
 51. Budget/deficit: mentions federal budget deficit, failure to balance the national budget, or may focus on the cost of the deficit to future generations
 52. Unemployment/jobs: mentions unemployment rate, lack of jobs, jobs lost in the state or district, need to bring new jobs into the state or district
 53. Cost of living: mentions inflation, compares cost of living now to previous times
 54. Recession/depression: specific mention of recession and/or depression in discussing the economy of the state, district, nation
 55. Immigration: mentions illegal immigration, controlling illegal immigration, and the problems illegal immigration causes on education and/or healthcare systems, employment taxes, etc.
 56. Economy in general: mentions or discusses the state or district's economy in general, rather than specific economic issues
 57. Job growth: mentions the recent job growth, how many new jobs have been brought in to the state or district
 58. Education/schools: mentions the state or district's elementary, secondary, vocational schools or programs, or colleges and universities; the need for quality teachers, funding or preparing students for the future, need for teacher qualification exams (excluding specific references to youth violence in schools)

59. Crime/prison: mentions the crime rate, criminals, incarceration of criminals, building of prisons, capital punishment, victim's rights, etc. (excluding specific references to youth violence in schools)
60. Health care: mentions health care in general, cost of health care, hospitals, health insurance, specific diseases
61. Senior citizen issues: mentions concerns of senior citizens such as Social Security, Medicare, government pensions
62. Poverty/hunger/homelessness: mentions or discusses homeless people, poor people, hungry people and/or the need to help these people (excluding specific references to welfare reform)
63. Welfare/welfare reform: mentions reforming the welfare system or promotes success in reforming the welfare system, focus of the discuss must be on the "welfare system" not helping poor people in general
64. Environment/pollution: mentions environmental issues, such as preserving a clean environment, keeping water clean, or cleaning up pollution (e.g.: toxic waste, landfills, polluted water)
65. Drugs/drug abuse: mentions drug use/abuse, consequences of drug use/abuse (e.g.: crack babies), programs developed to assist those with drug problems, or programs to fight drugs, stop drug trafficking, the drug war, or education about drug abuse
66. Dissatisfaction with the government: mentions city, state, or federal government, and/or their agencies/representatives as problematic, out of touch with the average citizen, in need of reform (e.g.: campaign finance reform)
67. Ethics/moral decline: mentions a decline in ethical and moral values of the country or state and/or citizens and/or the need for stronger values
68. Women's issues: mentions women's concerns about issues such as choice, equal rights, sexual harassment, etc.
69. Gun control: mentions the need for or the argument against gun control and related measures such as trigger locks, the Brady Bill, waiting periods, bans on selling guns at gun shows, etc. (excluding specific references to youth violence in schools)
70. Defense: mentions or discusses the nation's defense and/or military and/or military bases within the state or district
71. International issues: mentions foreign relations with other countries, foreign affairs, fear of war, arms control, keeping peace, etc.
72. Youth violence (to include school violence): mentions schools violence or other juvenile violence and/or the need to control youth violence
73. Other issue(s) (specify): list any other issues that were mentioned or discussed in the issues section that are not included in the categories listed above

74. Is any one particular issue emphasized: list the one issue that appears to be predominantly discussed in the issues section, is given the most space and attention, or an issue that appears to be of most importance to the candidate
75. Are the opponent's stands on issues featured in the issues section?: mentions what the opponent believes, has voted for, promotes, is campaigning about (Reliability=1.00)
76. If so, are the candidate's stands compared with the opponents?: provides in a list, chart, table, or graph the opponents stands as they directly compared with the candidate's stands on the same issues (Reliability=1.00)
77. Are the comparisons presented: indicate which format the Web site uses to make the comparison (Reliability=1.00)
 - (1) by text only: lists a paragraph of the candidate's stand followed by a paragraph about the opponent's stand, or may include both in the same narrative-no special graphics used
 - (2) graphics only: lists the issue then provides two graphic symbols to click on in order to find out what the candidate believes or what the opponent believes; does not provide details in a visual representation that resembles a chart or table
 - (3) by a combination of text with chart/table/graphics: gives details in both a visual and textual comparison of the candidate's stand and the opponent's stand on certain issues; may be formatted as a chart, table, combination of graphics with the chart or table, but always includes details in text form
78. Is a negative attack on the opponent present in this section?: does the ad make a negative, derogatory, or unflattering statement or references to the opposing candidate (Reliability=.80)

What strategy is used in making the negative attack? (Reliability=.93)
(Code 1 for present, 0 for not present)

79. Humor/ridicule: making fun of the opponent by ridiculing things he/she has said, or what he/she stands for; may use humorous graphics to ridicule
80. Negative association (linking opponent with undesirable actions, images): links the opponent with undesirable issues or images, either through text or graphics
81. Name-calling (use of negative labels): using negative, unflattering labels for the opponent
82. Guilt by association: displaying a picture or graphic of or symbolizing the opponent with undesirable groups or individuals. Implying that the opponent associates with undesirable groups or people; could include associating a candidate with another unpopular current or past politician
83. Not applicable/no attack: no attack is made
84. Other(s) (specify): includes information and/or features not listed above
85. Dominant strategy: strategy used most frequently or predominantly in the section

Calendar of Events Section:

Does the calendar of events section provide the following: (Reliability=.89)
(Code 1 for present, 0 for not present)

- 86. Information on events open to the public and media: encourages attendance, or may specify whether the public and media are invited to attend
- 87. Private political events: lists activities but specifies "by invitation only" or "private dinner"
- 88. A link for asking the candidate to make a special appearance: specifically provides a link for the visitor to email the campaign/candidate to request a special appearance of the candidate at an event (separate from the generic link for feedback/emailing the campaign)
- 89. Notification that the site has been updated: identifies a "last updated" or "updated on" date: may also insert a phrase such as "this site is updated daily"
- 90. Past, current, and future events: the visitor can scroll through past dates to view events the candidate attended, as well as view events for the current date or upcoming dates
- 91. Only current and future events: does not offer the visitor the ability to scroll through past events
- 92. Link for feedback/emailing the campaign (separate from special appearance link): provides a link to email the campaign/candidate directly from this section of the Web site

Campaign Directory/Contact Section:

Does the campaign directory/contact section provide the following: (Reliability=.89)
(Code 1 for present, 0 for not present)

- 93. List of key campaign contacts: lists the campaign director, finance director, spokesperson, and other key staff
- 94. Campaign headquarters contact information: lists the physical address, phone, fax, Web site, and/or email address; may list multiple headquarters and information for each location
- 95. Full contact information (mail address, phone, fax, email): provides physical address, phone number, fax number, Web site address, and email address, as well as specific names of contact personnel for response to particular issues/concerns/questions
- 96. Partial contact information (missing some of the above): only lists part of the information specified above, but not all
- 97. Local campaign coordinators: details names and contact information for local campaign coordinators
- 98. Links to campaign coordinators in a constituent's specific area: offers to search for coordinators in the visitor's area by asking for county name, zip code, or district number
- 99. Link for feedback/emailing the campaign: provides a link to email the campaign/candidate directly from this section of the Web site

Get Involved Section:

Does the get involved section provide the following: (Reliability=.97)
(Code 1 for present, 0 for not present)

- 100. Letter from the candidate: features a letter from the candidate to the visitor encouraging him/her to get involved in the candidate's campaign; probably will have candidate's "signature" in writing at the conclusion of the letter
- 101. Link to contributing: provides a link to further information for visitors interested in contributing/donating to the campaign
- 102. Link to volunteering: provides a link to further information for visitors interested in volunteering in the campaign
- 103. Sign up form for getting involved: asks the visitor to print and fill out a form to sign up for various volunteer activities; may ask the visitor to mail or email
- 104. Talking points: provides a link to download or print talking points prepared by the campaign about the candidate's stands on certain issues
- 105. Link to printing/downloading campaign distribution materials: provides a link to printing or downloading material to be distributed by the visitor on behalf of the campaign; can be signs, material to hand out, buttons, letters to the editor, mass mailing information
- 106. Information for contacting people on behalf of the campaign (e.g.: newspaper editor contact information, local leaders, etc.): provides actual names and addresses for mailing material printed or downloaded from the Web site; may provide phone numbers for "phone bank" calling
- 107. Breaking news for media representatives: provides news releases, position statements for the press/media to print or download
- 108. Link for feedback/emailing the campaign: provides a link to email the campaign/candidate directly from this section of the Web site

What campaign materials can be downloaded and/or printed from the Web site?

- 109. Letters to the editor: provides and encourages visitor to print or download pre-written letters to send to the editor of their local newspaper(s)
- 110. Door to door flyers: provides and encourages visitor to print or download pre-designed door to door flyers for distribution in their local area
- 111. Phone bank information: provides and encourages visitor to print or download pre-written phone messages to be used in conjunction with a provided list of names and/or phone numbers for the visitor to call as a volunteer on behalf of the campaign
- 112. Press releases: provides pre-written press releases about the candidate, announcements about the candidate and/or campaign, about the opponent's actions or stands on an issues, about recent events and the candidate's opinion or statement about those events

113. Media kit: complete media kit for the media/press; may contain candidate bio, picture, a number of press releases, etc.

Links Section:

Does the links section provide the following links: (Reliability=.86)

(Code 1 for present, 0 for not present)

114. National party Web site: provides link to the RNC or DNC Web site

115. State party Web site: provides link to the state's Republican or Democratic party Web site

116. Other candidates' Web sites: provides links to other candidates' campaign Web sites that the candidate is supporting/supportive of

117. Special interests' Web sites: provides links to Web sites of special interest groups such as Right to Life groups, environmental groups, gun control/anti-gun control groups, healthcare groups, etc.

118. Governmental Web sites: provides links to Web sites of the Senate, House, governmental departments

119. Media related Web sites: provides links to Web sites of local newspapers, political news outlets, television stations

120. Other(s) (specify): includes links to information and/or features not listed above

General:

121. Does the candidate make videos of speeches, ads, debates available through the Web site?: provides links to view videos of speeches, ads, debates, or news conferences (Reliability=1.00)

If so, what is made available? (Reliability=.95)

122. Videos of speeches: provides links to viewing speeches made by the candidate

123. Television spot ads: provides links to viewing campaign television spot ads

124. Debates: provides links to viewing debates in which the candidate participates

125. News conferences: provides links to viewing news conferences in which the candidate participates

126. Are transcripts of the candidate's speeches available on the Web site?: provides the full text of a candidate's speech on the Web site or provides a link to viewing, printing, or downloading the full transcript of the speech

When the candidate is shown in a photo is the candidate dressed: (Reliability=.81)
(Code 1 for present, 0 for not present)

127. Formal: coat and tie, pantsuit/skirtsuit, business/professional dress

128. Casual: sweaters, shirt sleeves, tie only, skirt and casual blouse, athletic wear

129. Not applicable/candidate's photo not on Web site: candidate not shown in a photo

130. Dominant dress type: dress type most commonly seen on candidate

132. When the candidate is shown in a photo, does the candidate have eye contact directly with the viewer?:

- (1) Almost never: candidate never looks at camera if head-on or candidate is not head-on
- (2) Sometimes: looks directly at camera some of the time
- (3) Almost always: looks directly at the camera always or almost always
- (4) Not applicable/candidate not present: candidate is not shown in photos on the Web site

When the candidate is shown in a photo, is the candidate usually: (Reliability=.92)
(Code 1 for present, 0 for not present)

133. Smiling: cheerful, happy look

134. Attentive/serious: concerned

135. Frowning/glaring: angry

136. Not applicable/no candidate present: candidate is not shown in photos on the Web site

137. Other (specify): includes expressions not listed above

138. Dominant expression of candidate: expression most commonly seen on candidate

When the candidate is shown in a photo, is the candidate's body movement/posture:
(Reliability=.83)
(Code 1 for present, 0 for not present)

139. Compact/closed: arms/hand in by sides of body when sitting/standing, taking up little space

140. Expansive/open: arms/hands and/or legs often outstretched when sitting or standing, taking up space

141. Combination of closed/open body movement/posture: candidate equally shown in closed and open body movement and posture in ad

142. Not applicable/candidate not present: candidate is not shown in photos on the Web site

If photos of other people (other than candidate or his/her opponent) are featured in the Web site, are they: (Reliability=.96) (Code 1 if present, 0 if not present)

142. Men: if a man/men are pictured on the Web site

143. Women: if a woman/women are pictured on the Web site

144. Family of Candidate: spouse, children (any age), or parents of candidate are pictured separately or with the candidate

145. Children (not candidate's): children approximately 18 or younger (other than candidate's own) are pictured on the Web site (e.g.: babies, schoolchildren, high school students)

146. Senior citizens: people approximately age 65 and older (other than the candidate's parents) pictured on the Web site
147. Ethnic/racial minorities: African-Americans, Native Americans, Hispanics, Asian Americans are pictured on the Web site
148. Other(s) (specify): describe any other particular demographic group(s) (e.g.: veterans, disabled) not included in the groups above that are pictured on the Web site

Of the photos featured on the Web site, code for the setting: (Reliability=.91)
(Code 1 for present, 0 for not present)

149. Inside-home or family setting: shot in a house or studio setting that looks like a room in a home (e.g.: kitchen, living room); candidate and/or family members may be shown
150. Inside-factory or industry setting: shot inside a high or low tech manufacturing factory (e.g.: computer software, automobile, clothing manufacturer); candidate and/or workers shown inside the work environment
151. Inside-classroom/educational setting: shot inside a school and/or child care facility (e.g.: classroom, library, hallway with students/teachers); candidate and/or teachers and/or students shown inside the setting
152. Inside-office/other professional setting: shot inside an office, studio, or other business or professional setting; candidate and/or others pictured in the office or studio
153. Inside-grocery/store setting: shot inside a grocery or store setting (e.g.: grocery store, Wal-Mart type of store, small retail shop); candidate and/or others pictured in the store
154. Inside-general: shot inside a building or studio but the setting is not recognizable or distinguishable; candidate and/or others pictured
155. Outside-family setting: shot of candidate interacting outdoors with his/her and/or other families (e.g.: on a walk, at a picnic, country fair); general scenes of families shown in outdoor activities
156. Outside-factory or industry setting: outside shots of factory or industry (e.g.: shipyard, construction site); candidate and/or workers shown in outside work environment
157. Outside-schoolyard: live outside shots of school and/or child care facility (e.g.: school playground); candidate and/or teachers and/or students shown outside
158. Outside-business setting: shot outside an office, studio, or other business or professional setting; candidate and/or others pictured outside the office or studio
159. Outside-farm setting: outside scenes of farm and/or farming activities (e.g.: driving a tractor, with a harvest crew, outside a barn); candidate and/or farmers pictured
160. Outside-scenic: outside shots of scenery of state (e.g.: mountains, ocean, seashore, lakes, rivers); candidate and/or others are pictured

161. Other(s) (specify): some other setting not described above; in this category code inside and outside shots for which you cannot categorize from the listing above (e.g.: citizen on the street interviews)

162. Dominant setting of photos: setting most commonly used for photos shown on the Web site

Of the photos featured on the Web site, code for the staging of the photos:

163. Obviously staged: the photo was obviously set up; not a naturally occurring situation in which a picture was snapped; planned, organized, too perfect of a shot; may be in a studio

164. Natural appearing: the situation appears natural, the candidate may really be speaking with others or participating in the activity; candidate may appear slightly less than perfect

165. Cannot be determined: difficult to determine if staged or naturally occurring shot

166. Dominant staging of photos: staging most commonly used for photos shown on the Web site

What strategies are present in the ad? (Reliability=.83)

(Code 1 for present, 0 if not present)

167. Incumbency stands for legitimacy: emphasis on incumbency in office, its legitimacy, the support and respect it is afforded

168. Voice for the state: emphasis on candidate as voice/representative for the state and state issues in the capitol (Washington or state capitol)

169. Calling for change: things need to be done differently; changes need to be made

170. Addresses readers as peers ("we"): candidate presents him/herself as one of the people by using the pronoun "we" (e.g.: "We can solve our problems")

171. Inviting participation/action: asks visitor to be part of the political process, to join candidate by voting or taking some other action

172. Emphasizing optimism/hope for the future: emphasizes candidate as one best able to deal with the future, things can and will be better if you elect this candidate

173. Yearning for the past: reactionary, wanting to go back to the "good old days," desiring traditions of the past, the "American Dream," etc.

174. Traditional values: reinforces majority values, family values, may involve morality, God, etc.

175. Representing philosophical center of the party: has support of his/her political party and represents its policies and platforms

176. Using endorsements by party of other important political leaders: uses testimonials from party and other important political leaders to "speak" on behalf of the candidate, linking the candidate with established, highly respected leaders

177. Use of personal experience, anecdotes to support positions and/or candidacy: includes stories textually narrated by the candidate or others to tell about the candidate, his/her experiences,

- and/or the experiences of his/her constituents to support his/her positions on the issues/candidacy or to attack the opponent
178. Use of statistics to support positions and/or candidacy: candidate or surrogate uses statistical evidence (e.g. percentages) to support his/her positions on issue/candidacy or to attack opponent
 179. Use of expert authorities (non-political) to support positions and/or candidacy: features non-political sources (e.g.: newspaper articles, scientists, educators, doctors/nurses) to support positions/candidacy or to attack the opponent
 180. Identifying with experiences of others: candidate and/or surrogates link experiences of others (constituents) with candidate's personal experiences or his/her personal concerns
 181. Emphasizing own accomplishments: stressing the achievements of the candidate
 182. Taking offensive position on an issue: candidate contrasts his/her own position on the issues with that of his/her opponent, or questions/challenges opponent's position on issues
 183. Attacking record of opponent: reviewing and criticizing the past accomplishments (or failures) of the opponent, or questions and/or challenges opponent's position on issues
 184. Attack opponent on personal qualities: reviewing, criticizing, accusing the personal qualities or actions of the opponent (e.g.: lying, paying taxes late, inexperienced)
 185. Attack opponent on his/her stands: reviewing and criticizing the opponent's past or current stands on certain issues; not in comparison with those of the candidate but a direct attack on the opponent's stand or position
 186. Compare candidate stands with stands of opponent: review and compare the opponent's past or current stands on certain issues with that of the candidate; no judgments are made by the candidate, but rather states the differences
 187. Compare candidate personal qualities with personal qualities of opponent: review and compare the personal qualities or actions of the opponent with those of the candidate
 188. "Above the trenches" position: rarely acknowledge the opponent, refrains from comparison or attack on the opponent, aloof from the political battle
 189. Candidate makes gender an issue: the candidate suggests that his/her gender is an important factor in caring about certain issues; (e.g.: "I am a mother, so I care about healthcare")
 190. Other strategy(ies) (specify): describe any strategies used not listed above
- Overall, what candidate characteristics are emphasized on the Web site? (Reliability=.80)
(Code 1 for present, 0 if not present)
191. Honesty/integrity: truthful, honest, has personal integrity
 192. Toughness/strength: e.g.: tough on crime, the death penalty, peace through strength

193. Past performance/success/failure: previous accomplishments, achievements
 194. Aggressive/fighter: need for aggressive action, candidate will fight for constituents
 195. Cooperation with others: candidate will work with others to find solutions to problems
 196. Competency: assertive, confident, will get the job done
 197. Leadership: candidate is a recognized leader, on the forefront of issues, others follow his/her lead
 198. Experience in politics: candidate has the political experience, connections, to best represent constituents
 199. Washington outsider: no more "politics as usual," candidate will represent the state and its citizens against bureaucracy, special interest groups, etc.
 200. Sensitive/understanding: candidate understands, cares about, and is sensitive to the needs of others
 201. Knowledgeable/intelligent: candidate is smart, knowledgeable on the issues
 202. Qualified: gives reasons or makes statements why this candidate is best qualified for office, based on past record and experience
 203. Action oriented proponent: candidate has a plan, is not just complaining about the problem
 204. Trustworthy: you can trust/believe in this candidate
 205. Of the people (commonality): emphasizes that he/she can relate to the people of the state or district, is just like you (e.g.: "I've raised my children in this state like many of you, and I want the best education possible for them")
- If the Web site provides special sections or interest pages, are they for: (Reliability=.78)
(Code 1 for present, 0 for not present)
206. Young voters, teens: targeted toward Generation X, Generation Y, explains why they should vote, may provide links to "get out the vote" programs for youth
 207. Women: provides a special section for women that specifically addresses the wage gap, child care issues, family and medical leave positions; may also feature a page from the candidate's wife or family member with recipes, invite women to send in their recipe
 208. Veterans: provides a special section devoted to issues of concern and interest for veterans
 209. Senior citizens: provides a special section for senior citizens that covers topics such as Medicare, social security
 210. Other(s) (specify): describe any other special sections targeted toward a particular demographic of the constituency not listed above

211. Are references for comments/statements from “others” provided?: are references/sources provided for comments/statements used in the Web site to ensure authenticity; when newspaper articles are quoted, is enough information given to trace the article and quote (Reliability=.75)
212. Is the opportunity available to sign up for e-mail updates?: provides a link to automatically sign up for e-mail updates to be sent by the campaign (Reliability=1.00)

Table 1

Videostyle: Cross Tabulation Results of Significant Strategies by Gender

Issue	Candidate Gender		p
	Female (n=122)	Male (n=119)	
<u>Verbal Content:</u>			
Issues			
Education/schools	53 (43%)	32 (27%)	.01
Health care	40 (33%)	13 (11%)	.001
Women's issues	15 (12%)	3 (3%)	.01
Job growth	17 (14%)	6 (5%)	.02
Character Traits			
Honesty/integrity	21 (17%)	41 (35%)	.01
Competent	17 (14%)	29 (24%)	.04
Appeal Strategies			
Incumbency stands			
for legitimacy	9 (7%)	28 (24%)	.001
Take offensive position	32 (26%)	14 (12%)	.01
Attack opponent record	55 (45%)	39 (33%)	.05
Attack opponent on			
his/her stands	44 (36%)	26 (22%)	.02
Above the trenches	38 (31%)	22 (19%)	.02
Challenger appeals	101 (83%)	73 (61%)	.001
Attack Appeals^a			
Purpose of attack:			
Issue stands	52 (81%)	36 (59%)	.01
Group affiliation	19 (28%)	8 (13%)	.02
Strategy used:			
Guilt by association	24 (38%)	8 (13%)	.01
General Appeals			
Appeals used:			
Logical	96 (79%)	76 (64%)	.01
Source credibility	113 (93%)	100 (84%)	.04
Content of appeal:			
Link w/ demographic			
groups	33 (27%)	17 (14%)	.02
Identify office	58 (48%)	77 (65%)	.01
<u>Nonverbal Content:</u>			
Candidate Dress^b			
	(n=94)	(n=85)	
Formal	79 (84%)	35 (41%)	.001
Casual	46 (49%)	72 (85%)	.001
Eye Contact^b			
	(n=94)	(n=85)	.01
Almost never	57 (61%)	28 (34%)	
Sometimes	13 (14%)	18 (21%)	
Almost always	12 (13%)	15 (18%)	
Always	12 (13%)	24 (28%)	

Others Pictured	(n=119)	(n=122)	
Family of candidate	5 (4%)	31 (26.1%)	.001
Children	64 (53%)	35 (29.4%)	.001
Sr. citizens	56 (46%)	31 (26.1%)	.001
<u>Production Content:</u>			
Production Technique	(n=122)	(n=119)	.03
Cinema verite	48 (39%)	39 (33%)	
Slides	11 (9%)	19 (16%)	
Candidate head on	17 (14%)	14 (12%)	
Other head on	12 (10%)	15 (13%)	
Special production	11 (9%)	22 (19%)	
Combination	23 (19%)	10 (8%)	
Use of Special Effects	(n=122)	(n=119)	
Computer graphics/ titles	88 (72%)	102 (86%)	.01
Alteration/morphing	6 (5%)	24 (20%)	.001
Slow motion	30 (25%)	57 (48%)	.001
Use of stills	36 (30%)	60 (50%)	.001

Note: The percentages indicate frequencies within gender. ^a "Not applicable/no attack" responses excluded from analysis. ^b "Not applicable/candidate not present" responses excluded from analysis.

Table 2

Issues Discussed by Gender in Candidate Spot Ads

Issue	Candidate Gender		p
	Female (n=122)	Male (n=119)	
<u>Feminine Issues:</u>	91 (75%)	76 (64%)	.07
Education/schools	53 (43%)	32 (27%)	.01
Health care	40 (33%)	13 (11%)	.001
Senior citizen issues	50 (41%)	38 (32%)	.15
Poverty/hunger/ homelessness	-- --	-- --	--
Welfare/welfare reform	-- --	-- --	--
Environment/pollution	7 (6%)	9 (8%)	.57
Drugs/drug abuse ^a	2 (2%)	4 (3%)	n.s.
Ethics/moral decline ^a	1 (1%)	-- --	n.s.
Women's issues	15 (12%)	3 (3 %)	.01
<u>Masculine Issues:</u>	44 (36%)	44 (37%)	.88
Taxes	26 (21%)	31 (26%)	.39
Budget/deficit	11 (9%)	4 (3%)	.07
Unemployment/jobs ^a	7 (6%)	1 (1%)	n.s.
Cost of living ^a	2 (2%)	-- --	n.s.
Recession/depression	-- --	-- --	--
Immigration	-- --	-- --	--
Economy in general	10 (8%)	5 (4%)	.20
Crime/prison ^a	3 (3%)	4 (3%)	n.s.
Defense ^a	2 (2%)	-- --	n.s.
International issues ^a	-- --	3 (3%)	n.s.
<u>Other Issues:</u>			
Job growth	17 (14%)	6 (5%)	.02
Dissatisfaction with the government ^a	1 (1%)	6 (5%)	.08
Gun control ^a	6 (5%)	-- --	n.s.
Youth violence ^a	6 (5%)	2 (2%)	n.s.

Note: The percentages indicate frequencies within gender. ^a
 Expected frequencies do not meet sample-size requirements for χ^2
 statistic.

Table 3

Most Frequently Discussed Issues in Candidate Spot Ads by Gender

Gender:	
<u>Female Candidate Ads</u> (n=122)	<u>Male Candidate Ads</u> (n=119)
1. Education/Schools (43%)	1. Sr. Citizen Issues (32%)
2. Sr. Citizen Issues (41%)	2. Education/Schools (27%)
3. Health Care (33%)	3. Taxes (26%)
4. Taxes (21%)	4. Health Care (11%)
5. Job Growth (14%)	5. Environment/Pollution (8%)

Note: Percentages total more than 100% within each category due to multiple issues discussed per artifact.

Table 4

Total Number of Issues Discussed in Candidate Spot Ads by Gender

	n	0-4	5-10	10+	p
Gender:^a					n.s.
Female	122	66 (54%)	55 (45%)	1 (0.8%)	
Male	119	96 (81%)	23 (19%)	-- --	

Note: Percentages indicate frequencies within gender. ^a Expected frequencies do not meet sample-size requirements for X² statistic.

Table 5

Character Traits Emphasized by Gender in Candidate Spot Ads

Issue	<u>Candidate Gender</u>		p
	Female (n=122)	Male (n=119)	
<u>Feminine Traits:</u>	43 (35%)	54 (45%)	.11
Honesty/Integrity	21 (17%)	41 (35%)	.01
Cooperation with Others	10 (8%)	5 (4%)	.20
Washington Outsider ^a	1 (1%)	2 (2%)	n.s.
Sensitive/ Understanding	20 (16%)	18 (15%)	.79
Trustworthy	16 (13%)	9 (8%)	.16
<u>Masculine Traits:</u>	92 (75%)	86 (72%)	.58
Toughness/Strength	40 (33%)	36 (30%)	.67
Past Performance/ Success	46 (38%)	50 (42%)	.49
Aggressive/Fighter	56 (46%)	43 (36%)	.12
Competent	17 (14%)	29 (24%)	.04
Leadership	25 (21%)	27 (23%)	.68
Experience in Politics	26 (21%)	33 (28%)	.25
Knowledgeable/ Intelligent	14 (12%)	13 (11%)	.89
Action-oriented	52 (43%)	58 (49%)	.34
<u>Neutral Traits:</u>			
Qualified	24 (20%)	20 (17%)	.57
Of the People	28 (23%)	29 (24%)	.80

Note: The percentages indicate frequencies within gender. Percentages total more than 100% within each category due to multiple traits discussed per artifact. ^a Expected frequencies do not meet sample-size requirements for χ^2 statistic.

Table 6

Appeal Strategies Used by Gender in Candidate Spot Ads

Appeal	Candidate Gender		p
	Female (n=122)	Male (n=119)	
Incumbency stands for legitimacy	9 (7%)	28 (24%)	.001
Voice for the state	24 (20%)	17 (14%)	.27
Personal tone	34 (28%)	33 (28%)	.98
Call for change	19 (16%)	13 (11%)	.29
Address readers as peers	19 (16%)	23 (19%)	.44
Invite participation/ action	12 (10%)	14 (12%)	.63
Emphasize optimism/ hope for the future	35 (29%)	26 (22%)	.22
Yearn for the past ^a	-- --	1 (1%)	n.s.
Traditional values	12 (10%)	6 (5%)	.16
Represent center of the party ^a	1 (1%)	2 (2%)	.55
Use endorsements	16 (13%)	15 (13%)	.91
Use of personal experience	28 (23%)	29 (24%)	.80
Use of statistics	15 (12%)	16 (13%)	.79
Use of expert authorities	31 (25%)	25 (21%)	.42
Identify with others	8 (7%)	9 (8%)	.76
Emphasize own accomplishments	46 (38%)	53 (45%)	.28
Take offensive position	32 (26%)	14 (12%)	.004
Attack opponent record	55 (45%)	39 (33%)	.05
"Above the trenches"	38 (31%)	22 (19%)	.02
Candidate makes gender an issue ^a	5 (4%)	-- --	n.s.

Note: The percentages indicate frequencies within gender. Percentages total more than 100% due to multiple appeals discussed per artifact. ^a Expected frequencies do not meet sample-size requirements for X² statistic.

Table 7

Feminine, Masculine, Incumbent, and Challenger Appeal
Strategies Used in Candidate Spot Ads by Gender

Appeal	<u>Candidate Gender</u>		p
	Female	Male	
<u>Gender:</u>	(n=122)	(n=119)	
Feminine Appeals	75 (62%)	72 (61%)	.88
Masculine Appeals	73 (60%)	71 (60%)	.98
Incumbent Appeals	72 (59%)	71 (60%)	.92
Challenger Appeals	101 (83%)	73 (61%)	.001

Note: Percentages indicate frequencies within gender. Percentages total more than 100% within each category due to multiple appeals discussed per artifact.

Table 8

Types of Verbal Appeals Used by Gender in Candidate Spot Ads: Attack Appeals, General Appeals, and Group Appeals

Appeal	Candidate Gender		p
	Female (n=122)	Male (n=119)	
<u>Attack Appeals:</u>			
Negative attack present	64 (53%)	61 (51%)	.85
How attack is made: ^{ab}			n.s.
Direct			
Against opponent	63 (98%)	56 (92%)	
Against other party	-- --	2 (3%)	
Indirect			
Against government, other parties	1 (2%)	2 (3%)	
No specifics	-- --	1 (2%)	
Who makes the attack: ^b			.25
Candidate	11 (17%)	8 (13%)	
Known surrogate/someone other than candidate	6 (9%)	12 (20%)	
Anonymous announcer	47 (73%)	41 (67%)	
Purpose of attack: ^{bc}			
Personal character	30 (47%)	22 (36%)	.22
Issue stands	52 (81%)	36 (59%)	.01
Group affiliation	19 (30%)	8 (13%)	.02
Background ^a	3 (5%)	5 (8%)	n.s.
Performance	43 (67%)	33 (54%)	.13
Dominant Purpose ^{ab}			n.s.
Strategy used: ^{bc}			
Humor/ridicule	9 (14%)	7 (12%)	.67
Negative association	60 (94%)	54 (89%)	.30
Name-calling	17 (27%)	9 (15%)	.10
Guilt by association	24 (38%)	8 (13%)	.01
Dominant Strategy ^{ab}			n.s.
Use of fear appeals	26 (21%)	16 (13%)	.11
<u>General Appeals:</u>			
Focus of ad:			.60
Candidate positive	70 (57%)	70 (59%)	
Opponent negative	29 (24%)	32 (27%)	
Comparative	23 (19%)	17 (14%)	
Ending tone:			.39
Positive	96 (79%)	88 (74%)	
Negative	26 (21%)	31 (26%)	
Emphasis of ad:			.63
Campaign issues	67 (55%)	69 (58.0%)	
Candidate image	55 (45%)	50 (42.0%)	

table continues

Appeals used:			
Logical	96 (79%)	76 (64%)	.01
Emotional	54 (44%)	47 (40%)	.45
Source credibility	113 (93%)	100 (84%)	.04
Dominant appeal:			.72
Logical	31 (25%)	32 (27%)	
Emotional	11 (9%)	14 (12%)	
Source credibility	80 (66%)	73 (61%)	
Content of appeal:			
Partisanship ^a	2 (2%)	5 (4%)	n.s.
Issue concern	42 (34%)	51 (43%)	.18
Vague policy preference	32 (26%)	28 (24%)	.63
Specific policy proposal	26 (21%)	22 (19%)	.58
Personal characteristics	77 (63%)	64 (54%)	.14
Link w/ demographic groups	33 (27%)	17 (14%)	.02
Identify office	58 (48%)	77 (65%)	.01
Identify party ^a	-- --	6 (5%)	n.s.
Identify web site	37 (30%)	32 (27%)	.56
<u>Group Appeals:</u>			
Young voters, teens ^a	1 (1%)	2 (2%)	n.s.
Women ^a	6 (5%)	2 (2%)	n.s.
Veterans	-- --	-- --	--
Senior citizens	15 (12%)	18 (15%)	.52

Note: Percentages indicate frequencies within gender. ^a Expected frequencies do not meet sample-size requirements for χ^2 statistic.

^b "Not applicable/no attack" responses excluded from analysis.

^c Percentages total more than 100% within each category due to multiple appeals discussed per artifact.

Table 9

Nonverbal Strategies Used by Gender in Candidate Spot Ads

Strategy	Candidate Gender		p
	Female	Male	
<u>Candidate Dress:</u>^b	(n=94)	(n=85)	
Formal	79 (84%)	35 (41%)	.001
Casual	46 (49%)	72 (85%)	.001
<u>Eye Contact:</u>^b	(n=94)	(n=85)	.01
Almost never	57 (61%)	28 (33%)	
Sometimes	13 (14%)	18 (21%)	
Almost always	12 (13%)	15 (18%)	
Always	12 (13%)	24 (28%)	
<u>Facial Expression:</u>^{bc}	(n=94)	(n=85)	.33
Smiling	38 (40.4%)	33 (38.8%)	
Attentive/serious	56 (59.6%)	52 (61.2%)	
<u>Use of Gestures:</u>^b	(n=94)	(n=82)	.10
Never	27 (29%)	32 (39%)	
Sometimes	40 (43%)	37 (45%)	
Frequently	27 (29%)	13 (16%)	
<u>Use of Touch:</u>^b	(n=94)	(n=85)	.08
Never	61 (65%)	41 (48%)	
Sometimes	28 (30%)	38 (45%)	
Frequently	5 (5%)	6 (7%)	
<u>Candidate Posture:</u>^{ab}	(n=94)	(n=85)	n.s.
Compact/closed	63 (67%)	43 (51%)	
Expansive/open	3 (3%)	3 (4%)	
Combination	16 (17%)	26 (31%)	
Head/Shoulders only	12 (13%)	13 (15%)	
<u>Candidate Fluency:</u>^{abd}	(n=45)	(n=43)	n.s.
Stumbling/hesitant	2 (4%)	1 (2%)	
Fluent	43 (96%)	42 (98%)	
<u>Candidate Rate:</u>^{abd}	(n=45)	(n=43)	n.s.
Slow	5 (11%)	4 (9%)	
Moderate	39 (87%)	36 (84%)	
Fast	1 (2%)	3 (7%)	
<u>Candidate Pitch:</u>^{abd}	(n=45)	(n=43)	n.s.
Monotone	6 (13%)	6 (14%)	
Varied	37 (82%)	34 (77%)	
Combined	2 (4%)	4 (9%)	
<u>Dominant Settings:</u>	(n=115)	(n=111)	.09
No setting	23 (20%)	27 (24%)	
Inside			

table continues

Home/family	10 (9%)	4 (4%)	
Classroom/educational	10 (9%)	6 (5%)	
Office/professional	7 (6%)	10 (9%)	
Store	1 (1%)	1 (1%)	
General	28 (24%)	18 (16%)	
Outside			
Family	2 (2%)	4 (4%)	
Factory/industry	-- --	1 (1%)	
Schoolyard	-- --	1 (1%)	
Farm	1 (1%)	2 (2%)	
Scenic	14 (12%)	28 (25%)	
Combination	19 (17%)	9 (8%)	
Who is Pictured:^a	(n=115)	(n=111)	n.s.
No one	6 (5%)	2 (2%)	
Candidate only	4 (3%)	8 (7%)	
Opponent	2 (2%)	12 (10%)	
Candidate and opponent	1 (1%)	4 (3%)	
Candidate and others	71 (58%)	58 (49%)	
Candidate, opponent, and others	18 (145%)	15 (13%)	
People other than candidate	20 (16%)	20 (17%)	
Others Pictured:	(n=119)	(n=122)	
Men	89 (73%)	73 (61%)	.06
Women	80 (66%)	73 (61%)	.50
Family of candidate	5 (4%)	31 (26%)	.001
Children (not family)	64 (53%)	35 (29%)	.001
Sr. Citizens	56 (46%)	31 (26%)	.001
Ethnic/racial minorities	31 (25%)	24 (20%)	.33
Dominant Speaker:^{ac}	(n=116)	(n=118)	n.s.
Candidate	27 (23%)	30 (25%)	
Government official	9 (8%)	9 (8%)	
Anonymous announcer	61 (53%)	56 (48%)	
Spouse/family member	-- --	3 (3%)	
Citizen/constituent	14 (12%)	15 (13%)	
Combination	5 (4%)	5 (4%)	
Sex of Dominant Speaker:	(n=119)	(n=122)	.18
Male	72 (59%)	80 (67%)	
Female	38 (31%)	34 (29%)	
Cannot determine/equal	12 (10%)	5 (4%)	

Note: Percentages indicate frequencies within gender. ^a Expected frequencies do not meet sample-size requirements for X² statistic.

^b "Not applicable/candidate not present" categories excluded from analysis of variables. ^c "Other" categories excluded from analysis.

^d "Candidate did not speak" category excluded from analysis.

Table 10

Production Strategies Used by Gender in Candidate Spot Ads

Strategy	Candidate Gender		p
	Female	Male	
<u>Ad Length:</u>^a	(n=122)	(n=119)	n.s.
20-30 seconds	119 (98%)	114 (99%)	
60 seconds	2 (2%)	1 (1%)	
2-5 minutes	1 (1%)	-- --	
<u>Ad Format:</u>^{ac}	(n=120)	(n=118)	n.s.
Documentary	17 (14%)	16 (14%)	
Video clip/music video	2 (2%)	-- --	
Testimonial	19 (16%)	24 (20%)	
Introspection	8 (7%)	5 (4%)	
Issue statement	37 (31%)	26 (22%)	
Staged press conference	1 (1%)	-- --	
Opposition focused	33 (28%)	40 (34%)	
Issue dramatization	3 (3%)	7 (6%)	
<u>Production Technique:</u>	(n=122)	(n=119)	.03
Cinema verite	48 (39%)	39 (33%)	
Slides	11 (9%)	19 (16%)	
Candidate head on	17 (14%)	14 (12%)	
Other head on	12 (10%)	15 (13%)	
Special production	11 (9%)	22 (19%)	
Combination	23 (19%)	10 (8%)	
<u>Sound:</u>^a	(n=122)	(n=119)	n.s.
Candidate live	24 (20%)	24 (20%)	
Other person live	23 (19%)	26 (22%)	
Voice-over	73 (60%)	68 (57%)	
Combination	2 (2%)	1 (1%)	
<u>Dominant Camera Angle:</u>^{ab}	(n=95)	(n=85)	n.s.
High	6 (6%)	1 (1%)	
Straight on	84 (88%)	78 (92%)	
Low	3 (3%)	6 (7%)	
Combination	2 (2%)	-- --	
<u>Dominant Camera Shot:</u>^{ab}	(n=95)	(n=85)	n.s.
Tight	32 (34%)	39 (46%)	
Medium	52 (55%)	35 (41%)	
Long	6 (6%)	2 (2%)	
Combination	5 (5%)	9 (11%)	

table continues

<u>Use of Special Effects:</u>	(n=122)	(n=119)	
Computer graphics/title	88 (72%)	102 (86%)	.01
Alteration/morphing	6 (5%)	24 (20%)	.001
Slow motion	30 (25%)	57 (48%)	.001
Fast motion	7 (6%)	15 (13%)	.06
Reversed motion ^a	2 (2%)	3 (3%)	n.s.
Freeze frame	18 (15%)	17 (14%)	.92
Split screen	20 (16%)	26 (22%)	.28
Superimpositions	15 (12%)	15 (13%)	.94
Montage ^a	3 (3%)	3 (3%)	n.s.
Stop motion photography ^a	1 (1%)	1 (1%)	n.s.
Use of stills	36 (30%)	60 (50%)	.001
Music	101 (83%)	107 (90%)	.12
Focus	6 (5%)	7 (6%)	.74
Lighting effects	9 (7%)	8 (7%)	.84
Other	15 (12%)	7 (6%)	.08

Note: Percentages indicate frequencies within gender. ^a Expected frequencies do not meet sample-size requirements for X^2 statistic.

^b "Not applicable/candidate not present" categories excluded from analysis of variables. ^c "Other" categories excluded from analysis.

Table 11

Webstyle: Cross Tabulation Results of Significant Strategies by Gender

Issue	Candidate Gender		p
	Female	Male	
<u>Verbal Content:</u>			
Issues^a	(n=57)	(n=62)	
Women's issues	26 (46%)	17 (27%)	.04
Defense	11 (19%)	23 (37%)	.03
Appeals	(n=57)	(n=63)	
Use of statistics	11 (19%)	24 (38%)	.02
Use of expert authorities	13 (23%)	6 (10%)	.05
<u>Sectional Appeals</u>			
Home Page Section:	(n=57)	(n=63)	
Identifies party	20 (35%)	39 (62%)	.01
<u>Nonverbal Content:</u>			
Candidate Dress^a	(n=57)	(n=60)	
Formal	52 (91%)	46 (77%)	.03
Dominant dress type ^b	(n=55)	(n=59)	.01
Formal	42 (76%)	31 (53%)	
Casual	13 (24%)	28 (48%)	
Facial Expressions^a	(n=54)	(n=59)	.01
Dominant expression			
Smiling	52 (96%)	44 (75%)	
Attentive/serious	2 (4%)	15 (25%)	
<u>Interactive Content:</u>			
Get Involved Section:^a	(n=56)	(n=61)	
Form for contributing	21 (38%)	10 (16%)	.01

Note: The percentages indicate frequencies within gender.

^a "Not applicable" (due to inaccessibility) responses excluded from analysis. ^b "Cannot determine" responses excluded from analysis.

Table 12

Issues Discussed by Gender on Candidate Web Sites^b

Issue	Candidate Gender		p
	Female (n=57)	Male (n=62)	
<u>Feminine Issues:</u>	53 (93%)	56 (89%)	.44
Education/schools	48 (84%)	47 (76%)	.25
Health care	48 (84%)	48 (77%)	.35
Senior citizen issues	33 (58%)	46 (74%)	.06
Poverty/hunger/ homelessness ^a	-- --	3 (5%)	n.s.
Welfare/welfare reform	5 (9%)	8 (13%)	.47
Environment/pollution	31 (54%)	34 (55%)	.96
Drugs/drug abuse ^a	4 (7%)	5 (8%)	n.s.
Ethics/moral decline ^a	1 (12%)	3 (5%)	n.s.
Women's issues	26 (46%)	17 (27%)	.04
<u>Masculine Issues:</u>	44 (77%)	52 (83%)	.47
Taxes	28 (49%)	40 (65)	.09
Budget/deficit	11 (19%)	16 (26%)	.40
Unemployment/jobs ^a	6 (11%)	3 (5%)	n.s.
Cost of living ^a	4 (7%)	2 (3%)	n.s.
Recession/depression	-- --	-- --	--
Immigration ^a	1 (2%)	3 (5%)	n.s.
Economy in general	20 (35%)	15 (24%)	.19
Crime/prison	14 (25%)	14 (23%)	.80
Defense	11 (19%)	23 (37%)	.03
International issues	6 (11%)	9 (15%)	.51
<u>Other Issues:</u>			
Job growth	10 (17%)	11 (18%)	.98
Dissatisfaction with the government ^a	5 (9%)	1 (2%)	n.s.
Gun control	21 (37%)	13 (21%)	.06
Youth violence ^a	4 (7%)	3 (5%)	n.s.

Note: Percentages indicate frequencies within gender. ^a Expected frequencies do not meet sample-size requirements for χ^2 statistic.

^b "Not applicable" (due to inaccessibility) responses excluded from analysis.

Table 13

Most Frequently Discussed Issues on Candidate Web Sites by Gender^a

Gender:	
<u>Female Candidate Sites</u> (n=57)	<u>Male Candidate Sites</u> (n=62)
1. Health Care (84%)	1. Health Care (77%)
Education/Schools (84%)	
2. Sr. Citizen Issues (58%)	2. Education/Schools (76%)
3. Environment/Pollution (54%)	3. Sr. Citizen Issues (74%)
4. Taxes (49%)	4. Taxes (65%)
5. Women's Issues (46%)	5. Environment/Pollution (55%)

Note: Percentages total more than 100% within gender due to multiple issues discussed per artifact. ^a "Not applicable" (due to inaccessibility) responses excluded from analysis.

Table 14

Total Number of Issues Discussed on Candidate Web Sites by Gender^a

	n	0-4	5-10	10+	p
Gender:					.26
Female	57	12 (21%)	36 (63%)	9 (16%)	
Male	62	17 (27%)	30 (48%)	15 (24%)	

Note: Percentages indicate frequencies within gender. ^a "Not applicable" (due to inaccessibility) responses excluded from analysis.

Table 15

Character Traits Emphasized by Gender on Candidate Web Sites

Issue	Candidate Gender		p
	Female (n=57)	Male (n=63)	
<u>Feminine Traits:</u>	32 (56%)	36 (57%)	.91
Honesty/Integrity	12 (21%)	23 (37%)	.06
Cooperation with Others	16 (28%)	20 (32%)	.66
Washington Outsider ^a	3 (5%)	3 (5%)	n.s.
Sensitive/Understanding	11 (19%)	10 (16%)	.65
Trustworthy	17 (30%)	16 (25%)	.59
<u>Masculine Traits:</u>^a	53 (93%)	60 (95%)	n.s.
Toughness/Strength	40 (70%)	39 (62%)	.34
Past Performance/Success	43 (75%)	45 (71%)	.62
Aggressive/Fighter	40 (70%)	39 (62%)	.34
Competent	33 (58%)	42 (67%)	.32
Leadership	38 (68%)	45 (71%)	.67
Experience in Politics	35 (61%)	41 (65%)	.68
Knowledgeable/Intelligent	25 (45%)	29 (46%)	.88
Action-oriented	40 (70%)	43 (68%)	.82
<u>Neutral Traits:</u>			
Qualified	32 (56%)	30 (48%)	.35
Of the People	17 (30%)	21 (33%)	.68

Note: Percentages indicate frequencies within gender. ^a Expected frequencies do not meet sample-size requirements for χ^2 statistic.

Table 16

Appeal Strategies Used by Gender on Candidate Web Sites

Appeal	Candidate Gender		p
	Female (n=57)	Male (n=63)	
Incumbency stands			
for legitimacy	12 (21%)	18 (29%)	.34
Voice for the state	15 (26%)	15 (24%)	.75
Call for change	22 (39%)	23 (37%)	.81
Address readers			
as peers	21 (37%)	19 (30%)	.44
Invite participation/ action	12 (21%)	14 (22%)	.88
Emphasize optimism/ hope for the future	14 (25%)	10 (16%)	.24
Yearn for the past ^a	-- --	1 (2%)	n.s.
Traditional values	6 (11%)	12 (19%)	.19
Represent center of the party ^a	4 (7%)	6 (10%)	n.s.
Use endorsements	27 (47%)	28 (44%)	.75
Use of personal experience	19 (33%)	14 (22%)	.17
Use of statistics	11 (19%)	24 (38%)	.02
Use of expert authorities	13 (23%)	6 (10%)	.05
Identify with others	17 (30%)	15 (24%)	.48
Emphasize own accomplishments	46 (81%)	49 (78%)	.69
Take offensive position	25 (44%)	26 (41%)	.77
Attack opponent record	11 (19%)	15 (24%)	.55
Attack opponent on personal qualities ^a	3 (5%)	6 (10%)	n.s.
Attack opponent on his/her stands	11 (19%)	15 (24%)	.55
Compare candidate stands w/ stands of opponent	7 (12%)	11 (18%)	.43
Compare personal qualities ^a	1 (2%)	4 (6%)	n.s.
"Above the trenches" ^a	2 (4%)	5 (8%)	n.s.
Candidate makes gender an issue	-- --	-- --	--

Note: The percentages indicate frequencies within gender.

^a Expected frequencies do not meet sample-size requirements for χ^2 statistic.

Table 17

Feminine, Masculine, Incumbent, and Challenger Appeal
Strategies Used on Candidate Web Sites by Gender

Appeal	<u>Candidate Gender</u>		p
	Female (n=57)	Male (n=63)	
<u>Gender:</u>			
Feminine Appeals	33 (58%)	32 (51%)	.44
Masculine Appeals	48 (84%)	56 (89%)	.45
Incumbent Appeals	49 (86%)	57 (91%)	.44
Challenger Appeals	44 (77%)	48 (76%)	.90

Note: Percentages indicate frequencies within gender.

Table 18

Types of Verbal Appeals Used by Gender on Candidate Web Sites: Attack Appeals, Group Appeals, Sectional Appeals

Appeal	Candidate Gender		p
	Female (n=57)	Male (n=62)	
<u>Attack Appeals:</u>			
	(n=57)	(n=62)	
Opponent's stands			
on issues featured	8 (14%) (n=8)	10 (16%) (n=10)	.75
If yes, are candidate's stands compared w/ opponent's? ^a	5 (63%) (n=57)	8 (80%) (n=62)	n.s.
Negative attack present	10 (18%) (n=10)	10 (16%) (n=10)	.84
Strategy used in negative attack:			
Humor/ridicule ^a	-- --	2 (20%)	n.s.
Negative association ^a	9 (90%)	10 (100%)	n.s.
Name-calling ^a	1 (10%)	1 (10%)	n.s.
Guilt by association ^a	3 (30%)	2 (20%)	n.s.
<u>Group Appeals:</u>			
	(n=57)	(n=63)	
Young voters, teens	4 (7%)	8 (13%)	.30
Women ^a	1 (2%)	2 (3%)	n.s.
Veterans ^a	-- --	4 (6%)	n.s.
Senior citizens ^a	-- --	1 (2%)	n.s.
Other(s) ^a			n.s.
Hispanic voters	2 (4%)	1 (2%)	
Children	1 (2%)	1 (2%)	
<u>Sectional Appeals:</u>			
Home Page Section:	(n=57)	(n=63)	
Identifies party	20 (35%)	39 (62%)	.01
Identifies office ^a	56 (98%)	62 (98%)	n.s.
Provide bio ^a	2 (4%)	5 (8%)	n.s.
Intro w/ personal letter	31 (54%)	25 (40%)	.12
New content			.45
Listed on home page	3 (5%)	7 (11%)	
Available through link	15 (26%)	18 (29%)	
Not listed/available	39 (68%)	38 (60%)	

table continues

Candidate Bio Section: ^b	(n=57)	(n=62)	
Candidate bio sheet ^a	57 (100%)	57 (92%)	n.s.
Personal note/letter ^a	3 (5%)	7 (11%)	n.s.
Personal info ^a	54 (95%)	57 (92%)	n.s.
Business info ^a	56 (98%)	57 (92%)	n.s.
Public service info	40 (70%)	39 (63%)	.40
Message of the day ^a	-- --	1 (2%)	n.s.
Issues Section: ^b	(n=57)	(n=62)	
Position statements	47 (83%)	51 (82%)	.98
News releases	2 (4%)	4 (7%)	.464
Campaign Events Section: ^b	(n=57)	(n=62)	
Events open to public	10 (18%)	15 (24%)	.43
Private political events	-- --	-- --	--
Notice site updated ^a	3 (5%)	2 (3%)	n.s.
Past, current, and future events ^a	5 (9%)	4 (6%)	n.s.
Current, future events	5 (9%)	11 (18%)	.17
Campaign Directory:	(n=57)	(n=63)	
List key contacts	6 (11%)	9 (14%)	.53
Campaign HQ information	19 (33%)	24 (38%)	.59
Full contact information	18 (32%)	22 (35%)	.70
Partial contact info	4 (7%)	10 (16%)	.13
Local campaign coordinators ^a	1 (2%)	5 (8%)	n.s.
Get Involved Section: ^b	(n=56)	(n=61)	
Letter from candidate	6 (11%)	6 (10%)	.88
Talking points	-- --	-- --	--
Info to contact people	-- --	-- --	--
Breaking news for media	-- --	-- --	--
General:	(n=57)	(n=63)	
References for comments made by others	5 (9%)	6 (10%)	.89

Note: Note: The percentages indicate frequencies within gender.
^a Expected frequencies do not meet sample-size requirements for χ^2 statistic. ^b Not Applicable (due to inaccessibility) responses excluded from analysis.

Table 19

Nonverbal Strategies Used by Gender on Candidate Web Sites

Strategy	Candidate Gender		p
	Female	Male	
<u>Candidate Dress:</u> ^b	(n=57)	(n=60)	
Formal	52 (91%)	46 (77%)	.03
Casual	30 (53%)	39 (65%)	.17
Dominant dress type	(n=55)	(n=59)	.01
Formal	42 (76%)	31 (53%)	
Casual	13 (24%)	28 (48%)	
<u>Eye Contact:</u> ^{ab}	(n=57)	(n=60)	n.s.
Almost never	4 (7%)	4 (7%)	
Sometimes	20 (35%)	20 (33%)	
Almost always	33 (57%)	36 (60%)	
<u>Facial Expressions:</u> ^b	(n=57)	(n=60)	
Smiling ^a	56 (98%)	56 (93%)	n.s.
Attentive/serious	21 (37%)	29 (48%)	.21
Frowning/glaring	-- --	-- --	--
Dominant expression	(n=54)	(n=59)	.001
Smiling	52 (96%)	44 (75%)	
Attentive/serious	2 (4%)	15 (25%)	
<u>Candidate Posture:</u> ^b	(n=55)	(n=60)	
Compact/closed	51 (93%)	50 (83%)	.12
Expansive/open	15 (27%)	17 (28%)	.90
Combination	11 (20%)	16 (27%)	.40
<u>Photographs:</u>			
<u>Home Page:</u> ^a	(n=57)	(n=62)	n.s.
Candidate only	27 (47%)	30 (50%)	
Candidate with others	9 (16%)	10 (17%)	
Others only	-- --	1 (2%)	
Combination	21 (36.8%)	19 (31%)	
<u>Candidate Bio Section:</u>	(n=56)	(n=59)	
Candidate only	24 (43%)	33 (56%)	.16
Candidate with others	23 (41%)	27 (46%)	.61
<u>General:</u> ^b	(n=57)	(n=60)	
Others shown in photos			
Men	35 (61%)	35 (58%)	.74
Women	30 (53%)	33 (55%)	.80
Candidate family	19 (33%)	27 (45%)	.20
Children	18 (32%)	20 (33%)	.84
Sr. Citizens	16 (28%)	15 (25%)	.88
Ethnic minorities	8 (14%)	9 (15%)	.88

table continues

<u>Photograph Settings:</u> ^b	(n=57)	(n=60)	
Inside			
Home/family	7 (12%)	10 (16.7%)	.501
Factory/industry ^a	3 (5%)	6 (10.0%)	n.s.
Classroom/educational	13 (23%)	18 (30.0%)	.378
Office/professional	28 (49%)	28 (46.7%)	.790
Store	-- --	-- --	--
General	20 (35%)	15 (25.0%)	.234
Outside			
Family	14 (25%)	18 (30.0%)	.509
Factory/industry ^a	4 (7%)	4 (6.7%)	n.s.
Schoolyard	6 (11%)	9 (15.0%)	.469
Business	18 (32%)	16 (26.7%)	.559
Farm	2 (4%)	2 (3.3%)	n.s.
Scenic	13 (23%)	21 (35.0%)	.147
Dominant setting ^a			n.s.

Note: Percentages indicate frequencies within gender. ^a Expected frequencies do not meet sample-size requirements for X² statistic.

^b "Not applicable/candidate not present" and/or "not applicable/not available" (due to inaccessibility) responses excluded from analysis.

Table 20

Production Strategies Used by Gender on Candidate Web Sites

Strategy	Candidate Gender		p
	Female	Male	
<u>Graphics on Home Page</u>	(n=57)	(n=62)	
Presence of graphics	24 (42%)	30 (48%)	.49
	(n=24)	(n=30)	
Party graphics ^{ab}	1 (4%)	2 (7%)	n.s.
Candidate graphics ^b	6 (25%)	10 (33%)	.51
District/state ^b	5 (21%)	9 (30%)	.45
Election/campaign ^b	8 (33%)	13 (43%)	.45
Generic ^b	9 (38%)	12 (40%)	.85
<u>Staging of Photographs^b</u>	(n=56)	(n=60)	
Staged	48 (86%)	44 (73%)	.10
Natural	29 (52%)	27 (45%)	.47
Dominant staging ^a			n.s.
<u>Issue Comparison</u>			
<u>Presentation^{ab}</u>	(n=5)	(n=8)	n.s.
By text only	5 (100%)	6 (75%)	
By graphics only	-- --	-- --	
Combination	-- --	2 (25%)	

Note: Percentages indicate frequencies within gender. ^a Expected frequencies do not meet sample-size requirements for X² statistic.

^b "Not applicable/not present" categories excluded from analysis.

Table 21

Interactive Strategies Used by Gender on Candidate Web Sites

Strategy	Candidate Gender		p
	Female	Male	
<u>Home Page</u>			
Number of links ^{ab}	(n=57)	(n=63)	n.s.
0-4	-- --	3 (4.8%)	
5-10	44 (77%)	38 (60.3%)	
10+	13 (23%)	22 (34.9%)	
Link to			
Candidate bio section ^a	57 (100%)	57 (91%)	n.s
New Content	19 (33%)	20 (32%)	.85
Issues section	52 (91%)	51 (81%)	.11
Calendar of events	14 (25%)	22 (35%)	.22
Contribution section	47 (83%)	52 (83%)	.99
Campaign directory	24 (42%)	35 (56%)	.14
Get involved section	51 (90%)	50 (79%)	.13
Breaking news	13 (23%)	20 (32%)	.27
Link for media ^a	3 (5%)	3 (5%)	n.s
Links section	19 (33%)	23 (37%)	.72
Site search engine	8 (14%)	5 (8%)	.28
<u>Candidate Bio Section</u>			
	(n=57)	(n=63)	
Link for feedback	7 (12%)	4 (6%)	.26
<u>Issues Section</u>			
	(n=57)	(n=62)	
Link to detailed info.	19 (33%)	15 (24%)	.27
Link to press coverage ^a	-- --	2 (3%)	n.s.
Link to legislation ^a	1 (2%)	3 (5%)	n.s.
Link for feedback ^a	7 (12%)	3 (4%)	n.s.
<u>Calendar of Events Section</u>			
	(n=56)	(n=63)	
Link to ask for special appearance	-- --	-- --	--
Link for feedback ^a	2 (4%)	1 (2%)	n.s.
<u>Campaign Directory</u>			
	(n=57)	(n=63)	
Links to campaign coordinators in a specific area ^a	1 (2%)	6 (10%)	n.s.
Link for feedback	19 (33%)	26 (41%)	.37
<u>Get Involved Section</u>			
	(n=56)	(n=61)	
Form for contributing	21 (38%)	10 (16%)	.01
Form for volunteering	28 (50%)	25 (41%)	.33
Form to get involved	36 (64%)	30 (49%)	.100

table continues

Ability to print/download			
campaign materials ^a	2 (4%)	-- --	n.s.
Link for feedback	17 (30%)	13 (21%)	.26
Materials can download			
Letter to the editor ^a	-- --	1 (2%)	n.s.
Door to door flyers	1 (2%)	-- --	.30
Phone bank info.	-- --	-- --	--
Press releases	-- --	-- --	--
Media kit	-- --	-- --	--

Links Section

National party link	13 (23%)	15 (24%)	.94
State party link	17 (30%)	18 (29%)	.83
Other candidate links	9 (16%)	11 (18%)	.84
Special interest links	9 (16%)	7 (11%)	.43
Governmental Sites	13 (23%)	19 (30%)	.39
Media Sites	9 (16%)	9 (14%)	.79

General

	(n=57)	(n=63)	
Videos of speeches, ads,			
Debates available?	12 (21%)	14 (22%)	.88
	(n=56)	(n=63)	
Videos of speeches	6 (11%)	9 (14%)	.56
Videos of ads	8 (14%)	8 (13%)	.80
Videos of debates ^a	-- --	2 (3%)	n.s.
Videos of news conf. ^a	-- --	3 (5%)	n.s.
	(n=57)	(n=63)	
Transcripts of speeches	7 (12%)	9 (14%)	.75
Link to sign up for			
email updates	25 (44%)	24 (38%)	.52

Note: Percentages indicate frequencies within each sub-category. Not Applicable (due to inaccessibility) responses excluded from analysis. ^a Expected frequencies do not meet sample-size requirements for χ^2 statistic. ^bCategories of "0" and "1-4" collapsed to "0-4"; categories of "5-7" and "8-10" collapsed to "5-10."

Table 22

Videostyle/Webstyle: Cross Tabulation Results of Significant Strategies

Issue	Female Candidate Style		p	Male Candidate Style		p
	Videostyle	Webstyle		Videostyle	Webstyle	
<u>Verbal Content:</u>						
Issues	(n=122)	(n=57)		(n=119)	(n=62)	
Feminine Issues:	91 (75%)	53 (93%)	.01	76 (64%)	56 (89%)	.001
Masculine Issues:	44 (36%)	44 (77%)	.001	44 (37%)	52 (83%)	.001
Education/schools	53 (43%)	48 (84%)	.001	32 (27%)	47 (76%)	.001
Health care	40 (33%)	48 (84%)	.001	13 (11%)	48 (77%)	.001
Senior citizen issues	50 (41%)	33 (58%)	.04	38 (32%)	46 (74%)	.001
Environment/pollution	7 (6%)	31 (54%)	.001	9 (8%)	34 (55%)	.001
Women's issues	15 (12%)	26 (46%)	.001	3 (3%)	17 (27%)	.001
Taxes	26 (21%)	28 (49%)	.001	31 (26%)	40 (65%)	.001
Budget/deficit	11 (9%)	11 (19%)	.051	4 (3%)	16 (26%)	.001
Economy in general	10 (8%)	20 (35%)	.001	5 (4%)	15 (24%)	.001
Crime/prison	3 (3%)	14 (25%)	.001	4 (3%)	14 (23%)	.001
Defense ^a	2 (2%)	11 (19%)	n.s.	-- --	23 (37%)	.001
Job growth	17 (14%)	10 (18%)	.53	6 (5%)	11 (18%)	.01
Gun control ^a	6 (5%)	22 (39%)	.001	-- --	13 (21%)	n.s.
Total Number Issues	(n=122)	(n=57)	n.s.	(n=119)	(n=62)	.001
0-4	6 (54%)	11 (19%)		96 (81%)	17 (27%)	
5-10	55 (45%)	37 (65%)		23 (19%)	30 (48%)	
10+	1 (1%)	9 (16%)		-- --	15 (24%)	
Character Traits	(n=122)	(n=57)		(n=119)	(n=63)	
Feminine Traits	43 (35%)	32 (56%)	.02	54 (45%)	36 (57%)	.13
Masculine Traits	92 (75%)	53 (93%)	.001	86 (72%)	60 (95%)	.001
Cooperation w/Others	10 (8%)	16 (28%)	.001	5 (4%)	20 (32%)	.001

table continues

Trustworthy	16 (13%)	17 (30%)	.01	9 (8%)	16 (25%)	.001
Toughness/Strength	40 (33%)	40 (70%)	.001	36 (30%)	39 (62%)	.001
Past Performance/ Success	46 (38%)	43 (75%)	.001	50 (42%)	45 (71%)	.001
Aggressive/Fighter	56 (46%)	40 (70%)	.01	43 (36%)	39 (62%)	.001
Competent	17 (14%)	33 (58%)	.001	29 (24%)	42 (67%)	.001
Leadership	25 (21%)	38 (68%)	.001	27 (23%)	45 (71%)	.001
Experience in Politics	26 (21%)	35 (61%)	.001	33 (23%)	41 (65%)	.001
Knowledgeable/ Intelligent	14 (12%)	25 (45%)	.001	13 (11%)	30 (48%)	.001
Action-oriented	52 (43%)	40 (70%)	.001	58 (49%)	43 (68%)	.01
Qualified	24 (20%)	32 (56%)	.001	20 (17%)	30 (48%)	.001
Appeal Strategies	(n=122)	(n=57)		(n=119)	(n=63)	
Masculine Appeals	73 (60%)	48 (84%)	.001	71 (60%)	56 (89%)	.001
Incumbent Appeals	72 (59%)	49 (86%)	.001	71 (60%)	57 (91%)	.001
Challenger Appeals	101 (83%)	44 (77%)	.37	73 (61%)	48 (76%)	.04
Incumbency stands for legitimacy	12 (21%)	9 (7%)	.01	28 (24%)	18 (29%)	.46
Call for change	19 (16%)	22 (39%)	.001	13 (11%)	24 (38%)	.001
Address readers as peers	19 (16%)	21 (37%)	.001	23 (19%)	20 (32%)	.06
Invite participation/ action	12 (10%)	12 (21%)	.04	14 (12%)	14 (22.2%)	.06
Traditional values	12 (10%)	6 (11%)	.89	6 (5%)	12 (19.0%)	.01
Use endorsements	16 (13%)	27 (47%)	.001	15 (13%)	28 (44.4%)	.001
Use of statistics	15 (12%)	11 (19%)	.22	16 (13%)	24 (38.1%)	.001
Use of expert authorities	31 (25%)	13 (23%)	.71	25 (21%)	6 (9.5%)	.050
Identify with others	8 (7%)	17 (30%)	.001	9 (8%)	16 (25.4%)	.001
Emphasize own accomplishments	46 (38 %)	46 (81%)	.001	53 (45%)	49 (77.8%)	.001
Take offensive position	32 (26%)	25 (44%)	.02	14 (12%)	26 (41.3%)	.001
Attack opponent record	55 (45%)	11 (19%)	.001	39 (33%)	15 (23.8%)	.21
"Above the trenches"	38 (31%)	2 (4%)	.001	22 (19%)	5 (7.9%)	.06

table continues

Attack Appeals	(n=122)	(n=57)		(n=119)	(n=62)	
Negative attack present	64 (53 %)	10 (18%)	.001	61 (51%)	10 (16%)	.001
General Appeals	(n=122)	(n=57)		(n=119)	(n=63)	
Identify office	58 (48%)	56 (98%)	.001	77 (65%)	62 (98%)	.001
Identify party	-- --	20 (35%)	.001	6 (5%)	39 (62%)	.001
Group Appeals	(n=122)	(n=57)		(n=119)	(n=63)	
Senior citizens	15 (12%)	-- --	n.s. ^a	18 (15%)	1 (2%)	.01
<u>Nonverbal Appeals:</u>						
Candidate Dress^b	(n=94)	(n=57)		(n=85)	(n=60)	
Formal	79 (84%)	52 (91%)	.21	35 (41%)	46 (77%)	.001
Casual	46 (49%)	30 (53%)	.66	72 (85%)	39 (65%)	.01
Eye Contact^{ab}	(n=94)	(n=57)	.001	(n=85)	(n=60)	.001
Almost never/never	57 (61%)	4 (7%)		28 (33%)	4 (7%)	
Sometimes	13 (12%)	20 (35%)		18 (21%)	20 (33%)	
Almost always/always	24 (26%)	33 (58%)		39 (46%)	36 (60%)	
Others Pictured^b	(n=122)	(n=57)		(n=119)	(n=60)	
Family of candidate	5 (4%)	19 (33%)	.001	31 (26%)	27 (45%)	.011
Children (not family)	64 (53%)	18 (32%)	.01	35 (29%)	20 (33%)	.59
Sr. Citizens	56 (46%)	16 (28%)	.02	31 (26%)	15 (25%)	.88

Note: The percentages indicate frequencies within style. ^a "Not applicable/no attack" responses excluded from analysis. ^b "Not applicable/candidate not present" or "not applicable" (due to inaccessibility) responses excluded from analysis.

Table 23

Videostyle/Webstyle: Issues Discussed

Issue	Female Candidate Style			Male Candidate Style		
	Videostyle (n=122)	Webstyle (n=57)	p	Videostyle (n=119)	Webstyle (n=62)	p
<u>Feminine Issues:</u>	91 (745%)	53 (93%)	.01	76 (64%)	56 (89%)	.001
Education/schools	53 (43%)	48 (84%)	.001	32 (27%)	47 (76%)	.001
Health care	40 (33%)	48 (84%)	.001	13 (11%)	48 (77%)	.001
Senior citizen issues	50 (41%)	33 (58%)	.04	38 (32%)	46 (74%)	.001
Poverty/hunger/ homelessness	-- --	-- --	--	-- --	3 (5%)	n.s. ^a
Welfare/welfare reform	-- --	5 (9%)	n.s. ^a	-- --	8 (13%)	n.s. ^a
Environment/pollution	7 (6%)	31 (54%)	.001	9 (8%)	34 (55%)	.001
Drugs/drug abuse	2 (2%)	4 (7%)	.06	4 (3%)	5 (8%)	.17
Ethics/moral decline	1 (1%)	1 (2%)	n.s. ^a	-- --	3 (5%)	n.s. ^a
Women's issues	15 (12%)	26 (46%)	.001	3 (3%)	17 (27%)	.001
<u>Masculine Issues:</u>	44 (36%)	44 (77%)	.001	44 (37%)	52 (83%)	.001
Taxes	26 (21%)	28 (49%)	.001	31 (26%)	40 (65%)	.001
Budget/deficit	11 (9%)	11 (19%)	.051	4 (3%)	16 (26%)	.001
Unemployment/jobs	7 (6%)	6 (11%)	n.s. ^a	1 (1%)	3 (5%)	n.s. ^a
Cost of living	2 (2%)	4 (7%)	n.s. ^a	-- --	2 (3%)	n.s. ^a
Recession/depression	-- --	-- --	--	-- --	-- --	--
Immigration	-- --	1 (2%)	n.s. ^a	-- --	3 (5%)	n.s. ^a
Economy in general	10 (8%)	20 (35%)	.001	5 (4%)	15 (24%)	.001
Crime/prison	3 (3%)	14 (25%)	.001	4 (3%)	14 (23%)	.001
Defense	2 (2%)	11 (19%)	n.s. ^a	-- --	23 (37%)	.001
International issues	-- --	6 (11%)	n.s. ^a	3 (6%)	9 (15%)	n.s. ^a

table continues

Other Issues:

Job growth	17 (14%)	10 (18%)	.53	6 (5%)	11 (18%)	.01
Dissatisfaction with						
the government	1 (1%)	5 (9%)	n.s. ^a	6 (5%)	1 (2%)	n.s. ^a
Gun control	6 (5%)	22 (39%)	.001	-- --	13 (21%)	n.s. ^a
Youth violence	6 (5%)	4 (7%)	.55	2 (2%)	3 (5%)	.22

Note: The percentages indicate frequencies within style. ^a Expected frequencies do not meet sample-size requirements for X² statistic.

Table 24

Videostyle/Webstyle: Most Frequently Discussed Issues

<u>Female Candidate Ads</u> (n=122)	<u>Female Candidate Sites</u> (n=57)
1. Education/Schools (43%)	1. Education/Schools (84%)
	Health Care (84%)
2. Sr. Citizen Issues (41%)	2. Sr. Citizen Issues (58%)
3. Health Care (33%)	3. Environment/Pollution (54%)
4. Taxes (21%)	4. Taxes (49%)
5. Job Growth (14%)	5. Women's Issues (46%)
<u>Male Candidate Ads</u> (n=119)	<u>Male Candidate Sites</u> (n=62)
1. Sr. Citizen Issues (32%)	1. Health Care (77%)
2. Education/Schools (27%)	2. Education/Schools (76%)
3. Taxes (26%)	3. Sr. Citizen Issues (74%)
4. Health Care (11%)	4. Taxes (65%)
5. Environment/Pollution (8%)	5. Environment/Pollution (55%)

Note: Percentages total more than 100% within each category due to multiple issues discussed per artifact.

Table 25

Total Number of Issues Discussed in Candidate Spot Ads

	n	0-4	5-10	10+	p
Female Candidates:^a					n.s.
Videostyle	122	66 (54%)	55 (45%)	1 (1%)	
Webstyle	57	11 (19%)	37 (65%)	9 (16%)	
Male Candidates:					.001
Videostyle	119	96 (81%)	23 (19%)	-- --	
Webstyle	62	17 (27%)	30 (48%)	15 (24%)	

Note: Percentages indicate frequencies within style. ^a Expected frequencies do not meet sample-size requirements for χ^2 statistic.

Table 26

Videostyle/Webstyle: Character Traits Emphasized

Trait	<u>Female Candidate Style</u>		p	<u>Male Candidate Style</u>		p
	Videostyle (n=122)	Webstyle (n=57)		Videostyle (n=119)	Webstyle (n=63)	
<u>Feminine Traits:</u>	43 (35%)	32 (56%)	.008	54 (45.4%)	36 (57.1%)	.13
Honesty/Integrity	21 (17%)	12 (21%)	.54	41 (35%)	23 (37%)	.78
Cooperation w/Others	10 (8%)	16 (28%)	.001	5 (4%)	20 (32%)	.001
Washington Outsider	1 (1%)	3 (5%)	n.s. ^a	2 (2%)	3 (5%)	n.s. ^a
Sensitive/Understanding	20 (16%)	11 (19%)	.63	18 (15%)	10 (16%)	.86
Trustworthy	16 (13%)	17 (30%)	.007	9 (8%)	16 (25%)	.001
<u>Masculine Traits:</u>	92 (75%)	53 (93%)	.001	86 (72%)	60 (95%)	.001
Toughness/Strength	40 (33%)	40 (70%)	.001	36 (30%)	39 (62%)	.001
Past Performance/ Success	46 (38%)	43 (75%)	.001	50 (42%)	45 (71%)	.001
Aggressive/Fighter	56 (46%)	40 (70%)	.01	43 (36%)	39 (62%)	.001
Competent	17 (14%)	33 (58%)	.001	29 (24%)	42 (67%)	.001
Leadership	25 (21%)	38 (68%)	.001	27 (23%)	45 (71%)	.001
Experience in Politics	26 (21%)	35 (61%)	.001	33 (28%)	41 (65%)	.001
Knowledgeable/ Intelligent	14 (12%)	25 (45%)	.001	13 (11%)	30 (48%)	.001
Action-oriented	52 (43%)	40 (70%)	.001	58 (49%)	43 (68%)	.01
<u>Neutral Traits:</u>						
Qualified	24 (20%)	32 (56%)	.001	20 (17%)	30 (48%)	.001
Of the People	28 (23%)	17 (30%)	.32	29 (24%)	22 (35%)	.13

Note: The percentages indicate frequencies within style. Percentages total more than 100% within each category due to multiple traits discussed per artifact. ^a Expected frequencies do not meet sample-size requirements for X² statistic.

Table 27

Videostyle/Webstyle: Appeal Strategies Used

Trait	Female Candidate Style		p	Male Candidate Style		p
	Videostyle (n=122)	Webstyle (n=57)		Videostyle (n=119)	Webstyle (n=63)	
Incumbency stands						
for legitimacy	9 (7%)	12 (21%)	.01	28 (24%)	18 (29%)	.46
Voice for the state	24 (20%)	15 (26%)	.32	17 (14%)	15 (24%)	.11
Call for change	19 (16%)	22 (39%)	.001	13 (11%)	24 (38%)	.001
Address readers as peers	19 (16%)	21 (37%)	.001	23 (19%)	20 (32%)	.06
Invite participation/ action	12 (10%)	12 (21%)	.04	14 (12%)	14 (22%)	.06
Emphasize optimism/ hope for the future	35 (29%)	14 (25%)	.56	26 (22%)	10 (16%)	.34
Yearn for the past	-- --	-- --	--	1 (1%)	1 (2%)	.65
Traditional values	12 (10%)	6 (11%)	.89	6 (5%)	12 (19%)	.01
Represent center of party	1 (1%)	4 (7%)	n.s. ^a	2 (2%)	6 (10%)	n.s. ^a
Use endorsements	16 (13%)	27 (47%)	.001	15 (13%)	28 (44%)	.001
Use of personal experience	28 (23%)	19 (33%)	.14	29 (24%)	15 (24%)	.93
Use of statistics	15 (12%)	11 (19%)	.22	16 (13%)	24 (38%)	.001
Use of expert authorities	31 (25%)	13 (23%)	.71	25 (21%)	6 (10%)	.050
Identify with others	8 (7%)	17 (30%)	.001	9 (8%)	16 (25%)	.001
Emphasize own accomplishments	46 (38%)	46 (81%)	.001	53 (45%)	49 (78%)	.001
Take offensive position	32 (26%)	25 (44%)	.02	14 (12%)	26 (41%)	.001
Attack opponent record	55 (45%)	11 (19%)	.001	39 (33%)	15 (24%)	.21
"Above the trenches"	38 (31%)	2 (4%)	.001	22 (19%)	5 (8%)	.06
Gender an issue ^a	5 (4%)	-- --	n.s. ^a	-- --	-- --	--

Note: The percentages indicate frequencies within style. Percentages total more than 100% due to multiple appeals discussed per artifact. ^a Expected frequencies do not meet sample-size requirements for X² statistic.

Table 28

Videostyle/Webstyle: Feminine, Masculine, Incumbent, and Challenger Appeal Strategies Used

Appeal	Female Candidate Style		p	Male Candidate Style		p
	Videostyle (n=122)	Webstyle (n=57)		Videostyle (n=119)	Webstyle (n=63)	
Feminine Appeals	75 (62%)	33 (58%)	.65	72 (61%)	32 (51%)	.21
Masculine Appeals	73 (60%)	48 (84%)	.001	71 (60%)	56 (89%)	.001
Incumbent Appeals	72 (59%)	49 (86%)	.001	71 (60%)	57 (91%)	.001
Challenger Appeals	101 (83%)	44 (77%)	.37	73 (61%)	48 (76%)	.04

Note: Percentages indicate frequencies within style. Percentages total more than 100% within each category due to multiple appeals discussed per artifact.

Table 29

Videostyle/Webstyle: Types of Verbal Appeals Used--Attack Appeals, General Appeals, and Group Appeals

Appeal	Female Candidate Style			Male Candidate Style		
	Videostyle	Webstyle	p	Videostyle	Webstyle	p
<u>Attack Appeals:</u>						
Negative attack present	(n=122) 64 (53%)	(n=57) 10 (18%)	.001	(n=119) 61 (51%)	(n=63) 10 (16%)	.001
Strategy is used: ^{bc}	(n=64)	(n=10)		(n=61)	(n=10)	
Humor/ridicule	9 (14%)	-- --	n.s. ^a	7 (12%)	2 (20%)	n.s. ^a
Negative association	60 (94%)	9 (90%)	n.s. ^a	54 (89%)	10 (100%)	n.s. ^a
Name-calling	19 (30%)	1 (10%)	n.s. ^a	9 (15%)	1 (10%)	n.s. ^a
Guilt by association	24 (38%)	3 (30%)	n.s. ^a	8 (13%)	2 (20%)	n.s. ^a
<u>General Appeals:</u>						
Identify office	(n=122) 58 (48%)	(n=57) 56 (98%)	.001	(n=119) 77 (65%)	(n=63) 62 (98%)	.001
Identify party	-- --	20 (35%)	.001	6 (5%)	39 (62%)	.001
<u>Group Appeals:</u>						
Young voters, teens	(n=122) 1 (1%)	(n=57) 4 (7%)	n.s. ^a	(n=119) 2 (2%)	(n=63) 8 (13%)	n.s. ^a
Women	6 (5%)	1 (2%)	n.s. ^a	2 (2%)	2 (3%)	n.s. ^a
Veterans	-- --	-- --	--	-- --	4 (6%)	n.s. ^a
Senior citizens	15 (12%)	-- --	n.s. ^a	18 (15%)	1 (2%)	.01

Note: Percentages indicate frequencies within gender. ^a Expected frequencies do not meet sample-size requirements for χ^2 statistic. ^b "Not applicable/no attack" responses excluded from analysis. ^c Percentages total more than 100% within each category due to multiple appeals discussed per artifact.

Table 30

Videostyle/Webstyle: Nonverbal Strategies Used

Strategy	<u>Female Candidate Style</u>		p	<u>Male Candidate Style</u>		p
	Videostyle	Webstyle		Videostyle	Webstyle	
<u>Candidate Dress:</u>^b	(n=94)	(n=57)		(n=85)	(n=60)	
Formal	79 (84%)	52 (91%)	.21	35 (41%)	46 (77%)	.001
Casual	46 (49%)	30 (53%)	.66	72 (85%)	39 (65%)	.01
<u>Eye Contact:</u>^b	(n=94)	(n=57)	.001	(n=85)	(n=60)	.001
Almost never/never	57 (61%)	4 (7%)		28 (33%)	4 (7%)	
Sometimes	13 (14%)	20 (35%)		18 (21%)	20 (33%)	
Almost always/always	24 (26%)	33 (58%)		39 (46%)	36 (60%)	
<u>Facial Expression:</u>^{bc}	(n=94)	(n=57)	n.s. ^a	(n=85)	(n=60)	n.s. ^a
Smiling	38 (40%)	52 (91%)		33 (39%)	44 (73%)	
Attentive/serious	56 (60%)	2 (4%)		52 (61%)	15 (25%)	
Frowning/glaring	-- --	3 (5%)		-- --	1 (2%)	
<u>Others Pictured:</u>^b	(n=122)	(n=57)		(n=119)	(n=60)	
Men	35 (61%)	89 (73%)	.12	73 (61%)	35 (58%)	.70
Women	80 (66%)	30 (53%)	.10	73 (61%)	33 (55%)	.42
Family of candidate	5 (4%)	19 (33%)	.001	31 (26%)	27 (45%)	.01
Children (not family)	64 (53%)	18 (32%)	.01	35 (29%)	20 (33%)	.59
Sr. Citizens	56 (46%)	16 (28%)	.02	31 (26%)	15 (25%)	.88
Ethnic/racial minorities	31 (25%)	8 (14%)	.09	24 (20%)	9 (15%)	.40

table continues

<u>Dominant Setting:</u> ^c	(n=115)	(n=43)	(n=111)	(n=45)	n.s. ^a
No setting	23 (20%)	-- --	27 (24%)	4 (9%)	
Inside					
Home/family	10 (9%)	1 (2%)	4 (4%)	1 (2%)	
Classroom/educational	10 (9%)	-- --	6 (5%)	-- --	
Office/professional	7 (6%)	9 (21%)	10 (9%)	9 (20%)	
Store	1 (1%)	-- --	1 (1%)	-- --	
General	28 (24%)	15 (35%)	18 (16%)	12 (27%)	
Outside					
Family	2 (2%)	1 (2%)	4 (4%)	3 (7%)	
Factory/industry	-- --	-- --	1 (1%)	-- --	
Schoolyard	-- --	-- --	1 (1%)	-- --	
Farm	1 (1%)	-- --	2 (2%)	-- --	
Scenic	14 (12%)	-- --	28 (25%)	2 (4%)	
Combination	19 (17%)	14 (33%)	9 (8%)	8 (18%)	

Note: Percentages indicate frequencies within gender. ^a Expected frequencies do not meet sample-size requirements for X² statistic. ^b "Not applicable/candidate not present", "not applicable" (due to inaccessibility) categories excluded from analysis of variables. ^c "Other" categories excluded from analysis.

Table 31

Gender Differences in Candidate Videostyle and Gender Differences in Candidate Webstyle in 2000

Female Videostyle

- a. Discuss education/schools, health care, women's issues, and job growth
- b. Take the offensive position on issues
- c. Use an "above the trenches" posture
- d. Attack their opponent on his record
- e. Attack the opponent's issues stands and group affiliations
- f. Use the strategy of guilt by association
- g. Use source credibility appeals and logical appeals
- h. Link with demographic groups
- i. Wear formal attire
- j. Almost never have eye contact with the camera
- k. More likely to show children (not family) and sr. citizens
- l. Combine production techniques

Male Videostyle

- a. Emphasize honesty/integrity
- b. Emphasize competence
- c. Use the "incumbency stands for legitimacy" strategy
- d. Identify the office seeking
- e. Wear casual attire
- f. Almost always/always have eye contact with the camera
- g. More likely to be shown with family
- h. Use special production techniques and slides
- i. Use computer more computer graphics/titles, alterations/morphing, slow motion, and stills

Female Webstyle

- a. Discuss women's issues
- b. Use expert authorities as an appeal strategy
- c. Wear formal attire
- d. Smile in pictures
- e. Include a form for contributing in their "Get Involved" section

Male Webstyle

- a. Discuss defense
- b. Use statistics as an appeal strategy
- c. Identify party affiliation on their Home Page

Table 32

Differences in Candidate Videostyle v. Webstyle in 2000

Female Videostyle

- a. Attacks the opponent's record
- b. Uses the "above the trenches" appeal
- c. Uses negative attacks
- d. "Almost never/never" has eye contact with camera
- e. More likely to include children (not family) and sr. citizens in pictures

Female Webstyle

- a. Discusses issues more
- b. More likely to discuss five or more issues
- c. More likely to emphasize "masculine" and "feminine" traits
- d. Uses more "incumbent" and "masculine" appeals
- e. Uses the "incumbency
- f. stands for legitimacy" appeal
- g. Identifies office seeking
- h. Identifies party affiliation
- i. Has more eye contact with camera
- j. Includes family of candidate in pictures

Male Videostyle

- a. Uses "expert authorities"
- b. Attacks the opponent's record
- c. Uses the "above the trenches" appeal
- d. Uses negative attacks
- e. More likely to target message to sr. citizens
- f. Wears casual attire
- g. More likely to have a mixture of eye contact with the camera
- h. More likely to include sr. citizens in pictures

Male Webstyle

- a. Discuss issues more
- b. More likely to discuss five or more issues
- c. More likely to emphasize "masculine" and "feminine" traits
- d. More likely to use "masculine," "incumbent," and "challenger" appeals
- e. More likely to identify office seeking
- f. Identifies party affiliation
- g. Wears formal attire
- h. More likely to "almost always" have eye contact
- i. More likely to include family of candidate and children (not family) in pictures