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UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

SEX AND THE POLITICAL PROCESS:

AN ANALYSIS OF SEX STEREOTYPES IN 1998 SENATORIAL AND
GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGNS

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

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Norman, Oklahoma
2000

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SEX AND THE POLITICAL PROCESS:
AN ANALYSIS OF SEX STEREOTYPES IN 1998 SENATORIAL AND
GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGNS

A DISSERTATION
APPROVED FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATION

By

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The catalyst for this work was my belief in social justice, fairness in government, and a firm belief that in a democracy all people should be adequately and appropriately represented. Women, in this nation, have yet to achieve that goal. My genuine hope is that this work facilitates a broader understanding of the challenges women face when they run for political office and with that knowledge be able to penetrate the barriers that inhibit winning office.

I would like to thank Dr. Lynda Kaid for her guidance and support in all aspects of this project. Without her insight and encouragement this undertaking would not have succeeded. She truly has become my mentor. Further, I acknowledge the assistance of Dr. Mitchell McKinney, Dr. Sandra Ragan, Dr. Phil Lujan, and Dr. Courtney Vaughn. Their continual support, knowledge, and perceptiveness added immensely to the project's completion.

In addition, I want to acknowledge my fellow graduate students for their support and unselfishness. Tara Crowell's support and unconditional friendship was a wonderful part of my tenure at Oklahoma. I also want to

thank Kristen Froemling and Clark Callahan for being my partners in innumerable projects. In addition, I want acknowledge Mary Banwart for her intellect, drive, and inclusion into her many undertakings.

Finally, I want acknowledge my wife, Sandra; children, Scott, Brad, and Andy; as well as my parents, Jim and Irene Lingo for enduring graduate school with me over the past three years.

Table of Contents

List of Tables	x
List of Appendixes	xii
Abstract	xiii
I. INTRODUCTION	1
The Intent of the Study	6
Rationale for the Study	9
II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	15
Theoretical Foundation	16
Political Gender Theory	23
Feminine Style	25
Parameters of the Study - The 1998 Campaigns	28
Explanations for the Lack of Success of	
Female Candidates	31
General Gender Stereotyping	38
Political Gender Stereotyping	44
Gender and Political Advertising	49
Negative Advertising	54
Gender and Negative Advertisements	56
Issue Presentation	59
Image Presentation	60
Gender and Media Coverage	61
Media and Candidate Image	63
Media and Debate Coverage	64
Political Debate and Gender	70
Media and Gender Inequity in Debates	72
The Dynamics of Sex and Politics - Research	
Questions	75
III. METHODOLOGY	80
Rationale for a Mixed Methodology	80

Rationale for Mixed Method Design in Feminist Research.....	84
Overview of the Methodology.....	89
Qualitative Method.....	91
Development of the Qualitative Study.....	94
Research Design.....	97
Interviews.....	99
Data Analysis.....	100
Final Stages of Analysis.....	102
Pilot Study.....	103
Participants.....	103
Results.....	105
Why Women Run.....	105
When Women Run.....	110
How Women Run.....	113
Content Analysis.....	115
Content Analysis of Newspaper Articles.....	117
Content Analysis of Political Advertisements..	121
Coding Procedures of Newspapers and Political Advertisements.....	126
Data Analysis.....	129
IV. RESULTS.....	130
Quantitative Analysis of Issues in Mixed-Gender Campaigns - Political Advertising.....	132
Qualitative Analysis of Issues in Mixed-Gender Campaigns.....	135
Overall Qualitative Findings Concerning Gender and Issues.....	141
Analysis of Issues in Mixed-Gender Campaigns - Newspaper Articles.....	145
Analysis of Images in Mixed-Gender Campaigns - Political Ads.....	149
Use of Negative Advertising.....	151
Appeals Utilized in Political Advertising.....	153

Qualitative Analysis of Images in Mixed-Gender Campaigns	154
Overall Qualitative Findings Concerning Gender and Images	160
Analysis of Images in Mixed-Gender Campaigns - Newspaper Articles	165
The Content of Newspapers: Barriers that Inhibit Female Candidates	167
The Quantity of Coverage.....	168
Representation of Candidate by Paragraph.....	169
Mentions of Candidate Gender.....	172
Candidate Quotations.....	173
Favorable and Unfavorable Coverage of Candidates.....	173
Candidate Viability.....	174
Newspaper Articles' Coverage of Gender and Political Ads	175
Newspaper Articles' Coverage of Gender and Debate	176
Slant of Coverage.....	178
V. DISCUSSION	181
Gender and Political Issues	183
Gender, Issues, and The Media	191
Images in Mixed-Gender Campaigns - Political Commercials	198
Aggression and Action Orientation in Female Candidates.....	200
Honesty and Trustworthiness in Male Candidates.....	203
Negativity and Candidate Image.....	207
Family and Children in Campaign Ads.....	210
Images in Mixed-Gender Campaigns - Media Coverage	213

Media Barriers that Impede Female Candidates	217
Newspaper Coverage of Political Ads.....	219
Newspaper Coverage of Candidates' Debates.....	220
Slant of Coverage of Candidates in Debate Articles.....	220
What are the Factors that Lead to the Underrepresentation of Women in the Political Process	221
Limitations and Future Research	226
BIBLIOGRAPHY	230

List of Tables

1. Candidates, Party, Outcome, and Race	305
2. Newspapers Utilized in Content Analysis	306
3. Cross Tabulation Results of Gender Significant Issue Content in Political Commercials	307
4. Cross Tabulation Results of Issue Discussion In Political Commercials	308
5. Issue Mention in Newspaper Articles Covering Mixed-Gender Campaigns	309
6. Cross Tabulation Results of Issues Linked in Newspapers with Candidates in Mixed-Gender Elections	310
7. Cross Tabulation Results of Candidates And Image Characteristics in Political Advertisements	311
8. Cross Tabulation Results of Candidate Image - People Pictured in Political Advertisements	312
9. Cross Tabulation Results of Negative Ads and Type Appeal Utilized by Male and Female Candidates	313
10. Cross Tabulation Results of Candidate Image Characteristics Reported in Newspaper Articles ...	314
11. Dominant Focus of Candidates in Newspaper Article	315
12. Newspaper Paragraph Coverage by Gender	316
13. Cross Tabulation Results of References to Candidate Sex and Marital Status in Newspaper Articles	317
14. Cross Tabulation Results of Candidate's Quotations as Recorded by Newspapers	318
15. Candidate Treatment in Articles, Headings, and Subheadings	319

16. Cross Tabulation Results of Candidate Viability In Newspaper Articles	320
17. Cross Tabulation Results of Candidate Viability In Newspaper Articles - Contender Category Removed	321
18. Cross Tabulation Results of Depiction by Newspaper Articles of Gender in Political Advertisements	322
19. Newspaper Paragraph Coverage in Debates	323
<u>20. Slant of Newspaper Coverage in Debate Articles ...</u>	<u>324</u>
21. Cross Tabulation Results of Image Traits in Newspaper Debate Articles	325
22. Cross Tabulation Results of Issue Mentions in Newspaper Debate Articles	326
23. Cross Tabulation Results of Image Traits in Newspaper Coverage of Political Ads	327
24. Cross Tabulation Results of Issue Mentions in Newspaper Political Ad Coverage	328

List of Appendices

Appendix A: Institutional Review Board Application for Approval of the Use of Human Subjects	265
Appendix B: Interview Schedule	270
Appendix C: Political Advertising Code Sheet	272
Appendix D: Political Advertising Code Book	279
Appendix E: Newspaper Article Code Sheet	290
Appendix F: Newspaper Article Code Book	296

SEX AND THE POLITICAL PROCESS:
AN ANALYSIS OF SEX STEREOTYPES IN 1998 SENATORIAL AND
GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGNS

Abstract

By triangulating quantitative content analysis of political ads and newspaper coverage with qualitative interviews of political candidates significant and interesting results are revealed concerning candidates, stereotypes, issues, images and media messages from the 1998 Gubernatorial and Senatorial campaigns. Further, the study uncovers several of the factors that may lead to the underrepresentation of women in the political process. The findings in this study indicate that significant differences exist in the types of issues and images that male and female candidates portray in the political ads that they produce. Explanations for those differences often lie in the qualitative interviews as candidates explain why they chose a given issue or image trait. Significant differences also exist in media messages concerning male and female candidates. Further these differences are even more pronounced in articles concerning debates rather than political ads or general campaign coverage.

Thus, the data generated in this study expand Kahn's (1996) assumptions concerning stereotypes of women in the media. Further, the work adds to the literature exploring political advertising as well as research concerning political debates. Finally, the work augments Fox's (1997) work concerning the gender dynamics in congressional elections by exploring Senatorial and Gubernatorial campaigns.

SEX AND THE POLITICAL PROCESS: AN ANALYSIS OF SEX
STEREOTYPES IN
1998 SENATORIAL AND GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGNS

Chapter 1

Introduction

With the increased involvement of women in the political arena, several interesting opportunities for important political communication scholarship have arisen. With the advent of the new millennium opportunities for women in politics are burgeoning. Indeed, the possibility of the first female candidate for president nominated by a major political party within the United States is very plausible within the next few elections. However, deep numerical differences still lie within the House, Senate, and State Houses when the number of women are compared to the number of men serving in office. Presently (1999) there are 9 female Senators, 56 female House members and only 3 female Governors. This research explores the reasons why the gender gap exists and illuminates the features of our political system that keep women from office. Explored in the research is a three-prong thesis arguing that barriers presented by media, the

political system, and ultimately stereotypes within the electorate keep women from obtaining office. The thesis includes how media present and interpret messages; how parties, incumbency, funding and campaigning may harm women's chances to win, as well as how voters' stereotypes concerning images and issues may impact elections. This section includes an introduction and rationale for the three-pronged thesis as well as each subtopic that investigates the relationship between political communication and gender.

Sex and politics have long been a combustible combination in the American political landscape. Early in 1919, during the concluding days of the suffrage movement, the editor for the *St. Louis Globe Democrat* penned that the war between the sexes had been declared. Seventy five years later, the *Seattle Times* offers an editorial calling for the GOP to "fix its gender gap rhetoric." A USA Today headline tells its readers that the "gender gap shows no indications of closing soon" (Seltzer, Newman, & Leighton, 1997, p. 1). The gender gap is apparent in candidates, voting behavior, party identification, evaluations of

performances of politicians, and attitudes toward public policy issues (Center for the American Woman and Politics, 1997). For example, party identification by individuals has undergone a remarkable evolution over the past fifteen years. In 1983 both women and men identified themselves as Democrats at an overwhelming rate. However, by 1997, while women still identified themselves as Democrats by a 10% margin (36% democrat, 26% republican), more men declared themselves to be Republican (31%) than Democrat (26%) (CAWP, 1997). Evidence of the gender gap existing in voting patterns was never more apparent than in the 1996 presidential race. Bill Clinton held an 11% lead among women (54%-43%). Had women not voted in the 1996 election, Bob Dole would have captured the 42nd presidency.

Perhaps even more compelling is the evidence concerning the number of women who are entering the political arena. Before 1990 the highest number of women to hold office in the House and Senate was 25 (Dolan, 1997). In the 105th Congress, elected in 1998, that number more than doubled, as 56 women now serve in Congress. In 1998, a record number of women (10

Senate, 121 House) ran for office. Of those, 4 won in the Senate and 56 in the House (CAWP, 1999b). The influx of female office holders highlights a dramatic alteration in the way the United States conducts itself politically.

Problematic, however, may be the number of female candidates. Seltzer, Newman, and Leighton (1997) posit that when women run, women win as often as men. However, there is a glaring lack of female candidates. From 1972 to 1994, only 7.8% of candidates for the U.S. House, 7.9% of the candidates for the U.S. Senate, and 6.6% of gubernatorial candidates were women (Seltzer, et.al 1997). Even in 1992, the purported "year of the women," the numbers were aided by a record number of open seats (21.1%) (Dolan, 1998). Therefore, this begs the question concerning why women do not run as often as men. Several concerns underlie the problems of developing female candidacy. First, the perception that women cannot win may lead to difficulties for viable female candidates. Since perceptions are often key to gain funding and support, if party supporters question viability, possible female candidates inherit an electoral structural

difficulty. Second, the incumbency factor plays a mammoth role in the numbers of female candidates. Since incumbents enjoy an immense structural advantage, it is difficult to unseat an incumbent, whether the challenger is male or female. Not only have women become the most important player in sheer voting numbers, but also legitimate as political candidates. Beyond candidacy, however, women's issues are also becoming a predominant factor in the political panorama. Women worry about education, health care, and a social services safety net and tend to support candidates who speak to those issues (Colangelo, 1996).

The gender gap in candidates and elections is more complex than many presume. Perhaps its most striking characteristic is its elusiveness, materializing in some elections and fading in others. When it does emerge, it is rarely based upon a single theme. Women do not always run for office for similar reasons. Nor, can any single issue define the female candidates. Most importantly, women candidates cannot be characterized as monolithic. Some are conservative Republicans, others liberal Democrats. Nonetheless,

gender in politics is more important than ever, adding salience to certain issues, electing more women to office, and remolding the national agenda. This study hopes to add to the literature by addressing the issues surrounding sex and the electoral process.

The Intent of the Study

The catalyst and rationale for a study such as this originates at several levels. For instance, it is important to explore Kahn's (1996) argument that, "women's political fortunes in electoral politics are driven by the correspondence between people's stereotypical images of women candidates and the salient issues of the day" (p. 1). In other words elections are decided, coverage of political events by media are determined, and candidates' actions are often dictated by stereotypes held by the electorate. The interplay between candidate viability and gender stereotypes held by the electorate is paramount, yet fluid, depending upon a number of factors. For example, Kahn (1996) argues that:

in U.S. Senate races the salient issues in the campaign often correspond to a woman candidate's stereotypical weaknesses such as foreign policy,

defense issues, and the economy. In contrast, the important issues in gubernatorial campaigns usually highlight a woman candidate's perceived strengths such as health and education. (p. 3)

However, observation in 1999, concerning the roles of women in the nation's Senate chambers as well as State Houses reveal that few women occupy either office. Numerically, there are more women Senators (9) than Governors (3). While this seems to contradict Kahn's (1996) argument, perhaps a superior explanation is that women running for Senate are utilizing unique, viable strategies to overcome perceived stereotypes.

Kahn (1996) also promotes the argument that reporters and editors are likely to stereotype female candidates, thereby covering them differently. It is possible, for instance, that a reporter would ask different questions of female candidates. It is also possible that media give female candidates less airtime (Kahn & Goldenberg, 1991). When female candidates, at least at the Senatorial level, do receive attention it is often concerning their viability rather than any issue concern (Kahn & Goldenberg, 1991).

A second area of inquiry concerns "women's issues." Klein (1984) explains that "a woman's vote is not necessarily a feminist vote. A women's vote is shaped by sex differences in party preferences, policy options and candidate choice" (p. 140). Seltzer, Newman, and Leighton (1997) point out that on many "women's issues," such as abortion and equal pay for equal work, there is no statistical significance in issue position associated with sex. However, in areas such as childcare, welfare, social security, and helping the disadvantaged, women endorse more government support than men. Seltzer, et al. (1997) research seems to indicate that women prefer the government as an agent of action more so than men. These fundamental areas of concern lead political communication scholars to explore what messages are being sent that tend to entrench or moderate these political realities. Finally, Alexander and Anderson (1993), indicate that both voters and media may evaluate female candidates differently. Their results suggest that when candidate information is sparse, gender role attitudes are consequential in the evaluation of women candidates. Women, in the

research, had difficulty overcoming voter perceived leadership skill bias. Kahn (1996) explains:

Women candidates are viewed as more compassionate and honest, while men are considered more knowledgeable and stronger leaders. In addition, women are viewed as more competent in certain policy areas (education, health, environment, maintaining honesty and integrity in government, helping the disabled and aged) while the expertise of male candidates resides in alternative domains(e.g., military, farm policy, foreign policy, the economy). (p. 9)

Rationale for Study

The first section of this proposed study will be grounded in Kahn's (1996) theory concerning the political consequences of being a woman. If, as Kahn (1996) suggests, candidates send messages based upon gender, it becomes salient to discover what those messages are and how candidates apply them.

Subsequently, Kahn (1996) also makes the argument that media members behave toward candidates differently, based upon sex. For example, a reporter's reliance on stereotypes might cause him/her to ask different

questions of male and female candidates and, hence, cover campaigns differently. This study will attempt to unearth media stereotyping concerning gender and how it impacts candidates' actions toward the media.

Second, the study will explore the relationship between purported female issues, gender, and political messages. If, as Seltzer, et al. (1997) suggest, women prefer the government as an agent of action, how do successful female candidates, both Democrat and Republican, exploit the preference? Are messages salient in any given campaign more closely related to "issues" in a campaign or to a larger overall philosophy associated with a party or ideology? Significant in this portion of the research is media reaction to issue differentiation and party philosophy between candidates. For example, how do the media portray a conservative Republican female as opposed to a moderate Republican female in relationship to their philosophies of government being a vehicle for change?

Pluralistic democratic theory explains that, in stable democracies, such as the United States, elections are viewed as a means to assure that a circulation of elites proceeds in a gradual peaceful

manner, resulting in a more or less pluralistic apportionment of power among social groups at any given point in history. However, according to Andersen and Thorsen (1984), House and Senate turnover in personnel is decreasing, i.e., incumbents are increasingly being reelected, thereby denying entrance into the governmental chambers for women or minorities. This study will uncover the political messages delivered by various campaign agencies, i.e., parties, incumbents, and media to determine the impact that sex may have upon a male-incumbent/female-challenge race and ultimately why females may choose not to run against male incumbents.

Third, the research will uncover the "image" issues coinciding with male-incumbent/female-challenger races. Sex role stereotypes have been shown to affect perceptions of academic competence, perceptions of emotional maturity (Broverman, Inge, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson & Rosenkrantz, 1972) and perceptions of candidate strength and power between the sexes (Gilligan, 1982). Huddy and Terkildsen (1993a) found in their work that voters prefer male characteristics at higher levels of office. In a

second project Huddy and Terkildsen (1993b) find that instrumental masculine traits increased candidates' perceived competence on a broader range of issues than the feminine traits of warmth and expressiveness. Further, Sigelman, Sigelman, and Fowler, (1987), found that physical attractiveness provided female candidates with a dilemma:

if their physical or personal characteristics summon up strong stereotyped images of femininity, they run the risk of being seen as pleasant but ineffectual; if they seem unattractive or unfeminine, they may manage to convey dynamism but are likely to forfeit their likability. (p. 41)

However, Huddy and Terkildsen (1993b) do not explore the viability of female candidates portraying both male and female characteristics in order to gain electoral acceptance. The study further details and pursues issues associated with gender traits and image. The work also explores the media's role in entrenching "image" characteristics.

This work represents an initial step into understanding and addressing the phenomena of women

entering the political arena. The major themes found within the work illustrates the variables at the crux of the explanation in the lack of women serving in political office. Each variable investigated in the study, i.e., stereotypes, issues, and images are investigated at two sub-levels. The levels include: (1) the messages presented by female and male candidates and (2) how the media interprets those messages. Ultimately the obstructions to women's participation are bifurcated into two classifications: (1) sex-role stereotypes, and (2) barriers presented by the political system that inhibit political opportunity for female candidates.

Heretofore, an overview of the lack of women participating in the political process has been presented. Furthermore, an explanation of the gender gap illustrates that it is elusive, materializing in some elections and paling in others. A discussion of the intent of the study portrays that it expands the work on stereotypes (Kahn, 1996), issues (Klien, 1984; Seltzer, et al., 1997), images, (Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993) and the problems, both structural and political, faced by female candidates. The next chapter within

the work will explore the previous literature concerning gender and elections.

Chapter II

Review of the Literature

The previous chapter introduced and provided a rationale for investigating female political candidates. The chapter provided explanation of the three-part thesis involved in the study, which includes exploration into the political structure, the media's stereotyping of women's issues and images, and voter stereotypes as portrayed by gender response and gender socialization. It also provides explanation of the subtopics for each part including how women present their messages, how those messages are interpreted by the media, and the electorates' response to messages presented by female candidates. The three subtopics are instrumental in explaining the difficulties women face in the political arena.

This study will be the first to combine different units of analysis, i.e., televised political spots, candidate debates, media coverage of debates, media coverage of campaign spots, as well as qualitative interviews with elected officials in campaigns in order to achieve a clearer understanding of the impact of gender stereotypes upon political candidates. The

review of literature will discuss research associated with stereotypes, media coverage, political advertisements, debate, and gender. The review of literature will commence with a discussion of the theoretical foundation that guides the study.

Theoretical Foundation

In classical democratic theory, active participation by the citizenry is of central concern. Participation is, of course, viewed as a necessary deterrent to elitists pursuing their own interests to the detriment of public interest. However, classical democratic theory has been denigrated by pluralist and elitist theorists (Pateman, 1970), who, in light of empirical evidence illustrate that citizens are neither interested or well informed in political affairs, nor are rational in their voting decisions (Flanigan & Zingale, 1979). This explains a portion of why so little research exists concerning the paucity of women participants in the electoral process. There is something inherently misguided with a "democratic" system in which a majority of the populace is female, yet an almost negligible number are in policy-making positions. With the general acceptance of pluralistic

theory and given the contradiction between popular democratic theory and the paucity of women holding elected public office, it is not surprising that so few studies have looked at the problem of women in public office (Lee, 1976). Because of the assumptions that underlie pluralistic or elitist theory, the questions as to why this is true do not arise. The structural barriers associated with female candidacy would not be investigated due to the assumptions that provide abutment for the theory (Carroll, 1994).

This is not, however, a full explanation of why political science and political communication scholars have devoted little attention to women in the political process. Still further explanation may be garnered from pluralistic theory. Central to theory is the concept that interests are equated with "the political pressure an individual or a group brings to bear on government" (Connolly, 1974, p. 48). Since the women's "voting gap" expected by some in the 1920's never really emerged, most scholars apparently assumed that male representatives would represent women in their districts equally as well as men (Carroll, 1994). Women, until recently, were not

viewed as having distinct interests; so the fact that they were represented in governing bodies by men never became an issue of concern.

The dominance of pluralistic and elitist theory in political science prior to 1970 facilitates explanation as to why so few historical studies exist explaining the dearth of women in political office. However, the 1980's and 1990's witnessed a gradual inclusion of women into the policy-making apparatus. Yet, women are still woefully underrepresented. It is the purpose of this study to demonstrate the structural and stereotypical barriers that are a detriment to further inclusion.

Political science and political communication scholars who accept the classical democratic theoretical perspective may be patterned along a spectrum according to their beliefs in the desirability of citizen participation and governance in society. With the emergence of the feminist movement those scholars at one end logically would become concerned with the lack of female representation within government. There are indeed scholars that would be content with passivity in the

mass public and subsequently women. Bachrach (1967), for instance, has argued that among political elites, "the political passivity of the great majority of the people is not regarded as an element of democratic malfunctioning, but on the contrary, as a necessary condition for allowing the creative functioning of the elites" (p. 32).

Undercutting the underlying elements of elitist theory is one of the guiding lights for democratic/feminist theory. Dietz (1985) for example, articulates a feminist theory of political thought centered on women as citizens, calling for the end of elitism and bringing about the democratic values of active citizenship, self-government, egalitarianism, and the exercise of freedom. Furthermore, Elshtain (1979) analyzes the implicit but unspoken assumptions underlying the behaviorist approach that result in a separation of communication, politics and morals and the exclusion, by definition, of people of certain sexes, classes, races and ages from political participation. The growth of the feminist movement has, however, caused scholars to take a new interest in women and politics. Carroll (1994) explains:

. . . political science has, in recent years, witnessed a growth in the number of theorists suggesting that classical democratic ideals be reincorporated into democratic theory . . . The renewed interest of such scholars in classical democratic ideals, particularly the ideal of citizen participation, leads logically to concern with the numerical representation of women. (p. 12)

I take the view that there are three underlying reasons to adopt democratic theory as it intertwines with feminist theory:

- 1) There is evidence that women perceive they do not have as much opportunity as men to participate in the political process (Carroll, 1994; Duerst-Lahti & Kelley, 1995; Kahn, 1996; Kathlene, 1995; King, 1995; Leeper, 1991; Rosenthal, 1998).
- 2) For our system of government to be legitimate, its representative institutions should include the various elements of a diverse society (Darcy, Welch, & Clark, 1994). John Adams, the second president and national founder,

explained, "a representative assembly should be an exact portrait, in miniature, of the people at large, as it should think, feel, reason and act like them" (Pitkin, 1967, p. 60).

3) The emergence of women's interests, issues and representation are beneficial to society.

Examples of this are numerous, but as Rosenthal (1998) illustrates in the following passage, societal problems that impact women are often overlooked by male representation.

Also, in 1994, when a breast cancer bill sponsored by (Oklahoma) Representative Betty Boyd was up for debate, one conservative Republican lawmaker asserted that "women were causing their own cancer by delaying pregnancies, bottle feeding their babies, and having abortions." When they (women) present their bills for floor debate female lawmakers complain "an automatic radar goes up" among the male members. One lobbyist recalled a male member saying about a female colleague's legislation: "She shouldn't sponsor so much of that women's stuff and stick to

looking out for her district." (Rosenthal, 1998, p. 99)

Ultimately, I take the democratic theory/feminist position that assumes that as more women gain access to political office they will represent the interests of society more adequately than just their male counterparts. Scholars note that the more representation an interest has in the collective governmental body, the more likely that interests' concerns will be attended (Bachrach, 1967). Similarly Amundsen (1971) explains:

. . . (there is a) politically significant relationship between the proportion of representative positions a group can claim for itself and the degree to which the needs and interests of that group are articulated and acted upon in political institutions . . . The more group members are in decision-making positions, the better chance the group has of fair and effective representation. (p. 66)

Gender studies that focus on the various perspectives emerging from the feminist worldview are becoming a vital portion of political research.

Unfortunately, historical study of political communication research denotes that academic dialogue has often been held within the auspices of men. The lack of literature concerning women in political debate gives testimony to that fact. It is indeed necessary for political communication scholars to further develop and become enmeshed in gender theory.

Political Gender Theory

Scholars from various disciplines have contributed to the increasing literature promoting gender theory as it relates to how women participate in the political process. Cambell's (1989) construct of feminine rhetorical style illustrates that women have assembled a personal tone of discourse that relies on storytelling, personal experience, and anecdotes. The style invites audience participation, is inductive, and identifies with the audience experience (p. 13). Scholars have utilized Campbell's feminine rhetorical style in a variety of schemas ranging from empowerment for women to male and female use of feminine style (Curtis, et al., 1994).

Dow and Tonn (1993) focus on the discourse of former Texas Governor Ann Richards using feminine

style. The authors found that Richards used feminine style and relied on gender expectation to communicate in the political arena. Dow and Tonn argue that "feminine style reveals the potential, in the public sphere, for reproducing positive elements (of the feminine experience) for the purpose of creating alternative grounds for political judgment" (p. 298). Thus the study of feminine styles broadens enlightenment into the arena of political rhetoric. Eckart (1993) notes that because policy communities respond to rhetorical arguments about ideas, and since persuasion is linked to how an argument is produced, feminist scholars must understand the advantages of the narrative approach as well as the disadvantages that often offset the advantages.

Bystrom (1995) as well as Curtis, et al. (1994) examine the rhetoric of female and male politicians employing feminine style. The studies indicate that although politicians use a variety of rhetorical strategies, there do seem to be differences between male and female candidates' rhetorical style.

These studies contribute to the body of literature that promote gender theory. The blending of

feminine style elements into a content analytic design will facilitate in the examination of how the media present female candidates to the public when involved in political debate.

Feminine Style

With centuries of private sphere relegation, Campbell (1989) posits that women learned to craft their rhetorical style so that it: (1) Is more personal in tone, (2) relies (as compared to a more masculine style) on personal experiences, anecdotes, and other examples, (3) is structured inductively, (4) invites audience participation, (5) addresses the audiences as peers, and (6) identifies with the audiences' experience. A woman's goal when utilizing this rhetorical strategy, according to Campbell (1989), is empowerment; thus, the goal is to persuade "listeners that they can act effectively in the world, that they can be 'agents of change'" (p. 13). While Campbell named this rhetorical style "feminine" she maintains that the aforementioned strategies are not exclusive to women.

Few researchers have used Campbell's (1989) feminine style to investigate political discourse.

Curtis, et al.(1994), as cited in Bystrom (1995) studied the rhetoric of female and male politicians employing feminine style. These researchers examined the public addresses of six U.S. Representatives and four U.S. Senators (consisting of five men and five women) according to a typology based on Campbell's construct of a feminine style. They found that the politicians studied used a wide range of rhetorical strategies in their speeches. Thus, the candidates did not constrain their rhetorical strategies to either "masculine" or "feminine" strategies. Curtis, et al. (1994) found differences between male and female candidates' rhetorical style. For instance, four of the five women, as compared to one of the five men, used a personal tone in their speeches. Further, the male candidates (four out of five) presented their arguments deductively; whereas, female candidates were divided between deductive and inductive argument structures. Although this study is limited by a small sample size, it does suggest that Campbell's feminine rhetorical style can be utilized to critique the political messages of female and male politicians.

Ultimately, rhetorical style, gender stereotypes, and political success may be intricately linked. Jamieson (1988) illustrates how feminine style may be boon for male candidates. Reagan and Clinton both emphasized feminine style in orations. However, Wiley and Eskin (1985) found in their research concerning powerful speech style that female job applicants did not enjoy the same success. In their study females were seen as much less aggressive when using the powerless speech style than the comparably acting male applicant. Conversely, the female applicant was rated as much more aggressive than the comparably acting male when using the powerful speech style. Lakoff (1975) goes so far as to argue that the speech used by females is both a reflection and a cause of their lower status. Moreover, there is strong evidence that stereotypes of male and female speech styles exist (Berryman-Fink and Wilcox, 1983). Finally, further indication of the cost of females acting or speaking with stereotypically masculine traits comes from research on leadership. Female leaders who employ similar styles to male leaders are less well liked (Nieva and Gutek, 1981). In addition, identical

speaking and leading performances are rated more positively when given by a male rather than a female. (Deaux and Taynor, 1973).

Heretofore, the review of literature has discussed a rudimentary democratic/feminist theoretical foundation for this study as well as a discussion of the theory underlying the political rhetorical style of women. Next, an outline of the parameters governing the study is suggested.

The Parameters of the Study - The 1998 Campaigns

The 1998 campaigns that contained women were significant in the history of gender campaigns in the United States. First, for a variety of reasons, one of which is gender, the party in power in the White House actually gained seats in the House and Senate in an off year election. Second, the gender gap was predominant in a majority of elections that contained male and female candidates; indeed in fourteen of the twenty Gubernatorial and Senatorial elections the gender gap exceeded ten percentage points (CAWP, 1999a). Third, political ads and media coverage in both the Barbara Boxer (D.-CA) and Carol Moseley-Braun (D.-IL) Senatorial campaigns forced the nation to view

female politicians in a new light. Moseley-Braun, for example, an incumbent, whose time in office was marked by several political and personal scandals, illustrates how a male challenger can and will attack a female incumbent. This stands in stark contrast to studies performed by (Kahn, 1993), that argue male incumbents are loathe to "attack" female challengers. Research into female incumbency is paramount in order to understand this phenomena. The current study is one of the first to investigate female incumbents in campaigns.

The 1998 mixed gender Senatorial races provide fertile ground for investigation by political communication scholars. In eight of the ten races a significant gender gap existed (CAWP, 1999b). Further, two of the races seem to point out that women are more apt to follow party lines than sex. In the two races with Republican women candidates (ND and WA) women voters were more likely than men to support democratic candidates.

By utilizing mixed methodology on different levels of political office to assess the messages candidates produce through political advertisements,

debates, as well as evaluating newspaper coverage and electorate response, a robust mechanism is developed to explore the electoral process. The American political landscape has undergone significant change during the past twenty years with the advent of women candidates entering the political arena. Remarkably, however, political scientists and communication scholars have been woefully lax in researching this phenomenon. The paucity of literature concerning women candidates in advertising, campaign style, and debate is ruefully inadequate to describe or explain the impact of gender upon political campaigns.

Notably salient, however, is that even with the advent of female political candidates, the imbalance in the number of seats women hold in the House is large. In 1995, women occupied 12% of all Congressional seats. Although this is a significant increase from ten years ago, when females held only 4% of seats in Congress (Dolan, 1997), there still remains a significant gender gap in elected officials. By 1999, the number remained nearly the same at 12.9%. Kahn (1994a) explains that despite the fact that women are running for offices at record levels, their

success has not accelerated at the same rate. In the past 20 years, the number of women running for U.S. House more than tripled. Yet, the percentage of women securing victory in these campaigns did not increase at the same rate. Twenty five percent of all women candidates won in the 1970's; likewise 25% of all women candidates were victorious in the 1980's (Kahn, 1994b, p. 163). Even though the past decade has witnessed an explosion of female candidates, women are still lamentably underrepresented in the House. Obviously women are making strides in the electoral process; however, great disparity still exists in the number of male and female House officials.

Hitherto, the literature review has explained the theoretical foundation as well as the parameters for the study. Next, explanations for the lack of success by female candidates are offered and discussed.

Explanations for the Lack of Success of Female Candidates

The challenge for political communication researchers is to explain the puzzle of gender in the political arena. Previously, political gender research has often been limited to either situational (single

race) factors that influence an individual candidate's success (Carroll, 1982; Thomas, 1997) or structural factors that limit a female candidate's viability (Dolan, 1997; Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993b; Kahn 1994b; Leeper, 1991;). Situational factor research is varied at best, and is difficult to use in shaping generalizations due to inherent replicability problems. However, past research, to some extent, justifies the construct that structural limits to female campaigns exist and tend to limit successful female candidacies (Constantini, 1990; Dolan, 1997; Hill, 1981; Nechemias, 1987; Rossi, 1983). Research analyzing voters' attitudes toward female candidates has documented stereotypes, outright prejudice and that a candidate's sex affects voting decision (Bernstien, 1986; Kahn, 1992). Thompson and Steckenrider (1997) point out while discussing a national survey conducted by the National Opinion Research Center that as recently as 1991 almost a quarter of the respondents felt that women were less emotionally suited for politics than their male counterparts. However, Thompson and Steckenrider (1997) also suggest in their research that candidate

sex is salient in a relatively small group of voters that fall into one of two groups: (1) those for whom party or issues are unimportant or (2) those who make sex a criterion for voting. Nevertheless, Thompson and Steckrider's (1997) work does suggest that more women are successful in the political arena and are emerging as viable candidates in both major political parties. Simultaneously, individual voters seem less inclined to vote for or against candidates based upon sex. However, there are still several continuing structural obstacles that stand in the way of full female acceptance in campaigns. Kahn's (1992, 1994a, 1994b) and Hayes and Makkai's (1996) research indicates that gender and gender stereotyping still matter. Prior to discussing stereotypes, other structural explanations concerning the failure of women to make more progress in the political realm are offered.

First, incumbency is the single largest impediment to obtaining elected office for women. This political opportunity structure has restricted entry into politics for women (Braden, 1996; Burrell, 1988; Darcy, Welch, & Clark, 1994). Succinctly, incumbents

tend to win reelection, and men dominate incumbency ranks. Burrell (1994) explains:

Incumbents, whose ranks are populated by men, have enjoyed an increasing advantage and have been overwhelmingly reelected. In 1986 and 1988, for example, over 98 percent of incumbents seeking reelection won. Furthermore, the vast majority of incumbents have sought reelection during this period, leaving few realistic opportunities for new groups. (p. 11)

Linked with incumbency is the facet that challengers have a more difficult time than incumbents in obtaining press attention. Because women are often running against incumbents, it is particularly important for them to get their names out to voters through news coverage and advertising (Braden, 1996). Darcy, Welch and Clark (1994) posit:

In the United States, in which voters most vote for candidates, most voters cannot name the people running for Congress in their districts, and only a little over half the voters even know the name of the congressional candidate for whom they voted . . . In the United States, these

factors give an advantage to incumbents and others who have made themselves prominent. (p. 82)

Braden (1996) explains the problem of incumbency for women is being surrounded by money. Women have not been successful because they do not have enough money to purchase the media that it takes to be seen as viable. Subsequently they cannot raise money due to the fact that they are not perceived as viable. This leads to the second structural barrier concerning women and public office - resources.

Much of the literature concerning women entering the political arena indicates that resources (Schlozman, Burns, & Verba, 1994; Volgy, Schwarz, & Gottlieb 1986; Herrick, 1996) play a pivotal role in females being elected. If adequate resources cannot be obtained, then the candidate has little hope of winning the election. Research tends to indicate that men have more original resources as well as having an easier time obtaining subsequent resources than women (Schlozman, Burns, & Verba, 1994). Furthermore, Herrick (1996) calls into question the assumption that the value of campaign resources is gender neutral. It

seems campaign spending helps male candidates more than female candidates. "For every \$100,000 a male candidate spends, he receives .8% more votes than does a woman spending \$100,000" (Herrick, 1996, p. 73).

Obviously, situational (by race) and structural factors have an impact upon gender and political office. Factors, other than incumbency and revenues include Bernstein's (1986) argument concerning a lack of political ambition among female elites. Bernstein (1986) indicates that since an ambitious and energetic candidate will be more successful, this lack of ambition will make women less aggressive candidates than men. Amundsen (1971) also indicates that women have not been socialized to careers in politics, and therefore are not as aggressive in seeking office. Another factor illustrating why women hold few seats may be due to the fact that female nominees tend to run in "hopeless" elections (Darcy, Welch, & Clark, 1994; Gertzog & Simard, 1981). In congressional elections, more than five out every ten women are nominated in districts where the opposition candidate garnered over 60% of the vote two years earlier.

Finally, family obligations tend to be a structural barrier for women more so than men (Bennett & Bennett, 1989; Bledsoe & Herring, 1990). First time female candidates tend to be older than men (Carroll, 1982; Darcy, Welch, & Clark, 1994; Lee, 1976) due to familial obligations in earlier life. Nechemias (1985), in her study of the geographic mobility and women's access to state legislatures suggests that the number of miles away from a state capitol a woman resides may have impact upon her choice to run for state office.

All of these reasons, i.e ., incumbency, the ability to garner resources, ambition, political parties practices of recruiting women to run in "hopeless" races, and family obligations, are factors contributing to the sparse number of women in elected office. However, most significant, as Kahn, (1996, p. 2) points out, "gender stereotyping will directly affect the behavior of candidates, the press's treatment of these candidates, and the voters' evaluations of them." Since this work will pursue stereotypes, an overview of gender and political stereotyping is provided.

General Gender Stereotyping

Stereotyping is the procedure of positioning people and things into entrenched categories, or of basing judgments about people or things on the categories into which they fit, rather than on their individual attributes (Pearson & Nelson, 1999). Ruhly (1976) explains that stereotypes are "beliefs about groups of individuals or objects" based upon learned opinions rather than information about specific groups, individuals or objects (p. 26). Stereotypes are predictive generalizations that go beyond description and enable individuals to foretell how other people will behave (Wood, 1997). When people stereotype, they prophesy what a person will do based upon past cognition of the general group for which that person is classified in a cognitive structure. Stereotyping has negative connotation because people have a tendency to "harden" cognitive structures (Pearson & Nelson, 1999). The danger of stereotypes is that people may never overcome them to see the person or group as having individual characteristics (Infante, Rancer, & Womack, 1990).

Gender stereotypes are recognized as being made of multiple categories of features, or components, including characterizations about personality, attitudes, occupations, social roles, and physical appearance (Biernat, 1991; Deaux & Lewis, 1984). Second, gender stereotypes are cognitive structures representing females and males at multiple levels of abstraction (Deaux, Winton, Crowley, & Lewis, 1985; Haddock & Zanna, 1994). As commonly defined, stereotypes are cognitive structures, or schemata, that contain the perceiver's organized knowledge about the personal attributes of some human group (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981). A relevant line of research focuses on the causes of occupational sex bias. Heilman (1981) proposed that this kind of bias is a result of an incongruity between the stereotype-based perception of skills and attributes of an individual and the perceived nature of a job's requirements (Heilman & Stopeck 1985). For instance, when a job is masculine sex-typed, as is a managerial one, masculine qualities are commonly considered to be prerequisite for success. In these circumstances, physically attractive females are at a disadvantage compared to unattractive ones

because higher physical attractiveness implies greater degree of perceived femininity, leading in turn to a lower person-job fit. Conversely, physical attractiveness tends to be advantageous for women in nonmanagerial positions such as clerical ones.

The focus of the present research is on studying the way in which knowledge about classes of situations are associated with knowledge about classes of females and males. A fundamental premise is that the gender belief system (Deaux and Lewis, 1984) includes beliefs about the match between common situations and particular gender subtypes, and that these beliefs are patterned according to the different roles of women and men in society.

From a psychological perspective, all of life's experiences shape people's perceptions of the world. Taylor, Fiske, Etcoff, and Ruderman (1978) posit that when people stereotype, they select socio-economic, race, gender, or physical characteristics to discriminate and manage information. Hershey (1997) suggests that, in instances of sex stereotyping:

In spite of pressures for change in the status of women and men, researchers find that most American

children continue to be exposed to powerful societal norms about what is appropriate for each sex. These traditional standards encompass a wide range of behavior: they indicate that it is generally valued for a woman to be oriented toward home, children, and service to others, to show dependence, and not to be well informed about politics, while it is valued for men to be concerned with achievement in the world of work outside the home and to be competitive and aggressive. (263)

The underlying nature of stereotypes lies in the fact that when people observe others, they notice a "trait (e.g., gender), and they complete the picture by means of the stereotypes they carry in their heads" (Kahn, 1996, p. 3). Kahn (1996) suggests that people do not have the cognitive abilities to view every person as unique, therefore they rely on stereotypes to simplify their cognition processes. Cognitive psychologists argue that when people develop impressions of others they give preference to previously held judgments, rather than judgments based

on new information (Fiske & Neuberg, 1990). Kahn (1996) continues:

When people stereotype, they select social or physical characteristics to discriminate and manage information. Race and sex, among others, are likely to be used since they are easily identifiable and people have well developed ideas about the attributes of these categories. By classifying an individual as a member of a social group, a person (or perceiver) gains insights into the characteristics of the individual (p. 4).

The most obvious structural impediment to women entering the political arena is societal sex role stereotyping. Research by Kirkpatrick, Lyon, and Fitzgerald (1975) indicates that voter perceptions of candidate attributes have become more important in deciding election results than political party preference. Since both appearance and perceived competence are conspicuous when forming attitudes, voter preference may be influenced by the relationship between voter and candidate characteristics. Research in social psychology and cognition indicates that sex role stereotyping influence female and male voters'

choices (Berscheid & Walster 1974; Heilman & Saruwatari, 1979; Helmreich, Spence, & Gibson, 1982; Hershey, 1980). Kathlene (1989), for example, explains that women's lives "shape their political attitudes and affect their policy orientations . . ." (p. 397). In addition, stereotyping will be more ordinary when an individual needs to draw inferences concerning another person, but lacks relevant data to do so (Riggle, Ottati, Wyer, Kulinski, & Schwarz 1992).

However, political communication and political science scholars often overlook the experiences that gender stereotyping inherently possess when developing methods or even theories (Chodorow, 1974; Jayaratne, 1983; Reinhartz, 1983; Stanley & Wise, 1983). Leeper (1991) points out that voters seem to infer that women possess traditional feminine strengths even when they emit masculine messages. Furthermore, Sigelman and Sigelman (1982) demonstrate in an experimental study that white males make evident an anti-female bias when evaluating candidates. Bowman (1984) suggests that "sex role stereotypes apparently play a role in personnel related decisions. For managerial level positions, females are consistently rated less

suitable than males" (p. 56). This portion of the literature review revealed the present research performed concerning gender stereotyping. The next segment discusses gender stereotyping within the political arena.

Political Gender Stereotyping

Gender stereotypes exist in the praxis of the actual political environment that candidates exist. Hedland, Freeman, Hamm, and Stein's (1979) research indicates that the viability of women candidates may be linked to the effect of sex stereotypes. Further, there is a significant body of research that indicates sex discrimination exists against women either seeking or holding traditionally male jobs (Dipboye, Fromkin, & Wiback, 1975; Eagly & Wood, 1982; Ezell, Odewahn, & Sherman, 1980; Heilman, 1981; Taylor & Ilgen, 1981.) The discrimination also seems to overlap into the political sphere. For instance, Kahn (1994a) explains that "in both senatorial and gubernatorial races, women receive consistently less issue attention than their male counterparts" (p. 154). Furthermore, Kahn (1994a) argues that the media's agenda often resembles the agenda and advertisements of the male candidate.

Significant in this study and Kahn's (1992) earlier study is the certitude that male and female candidates are covered differently and these differences may present a barrier to women who run for office. These media inhibitors present very real obstacles to the female candidate.

There also seems to be stereotypes related to the office the female candidate may seek. Huddy and Terkildsen (1993a) explain that voters' stereotypes have negative ramifications for female candidates, especially when running on a national level. Overall, Huddy and Terkildsen (1993b) find that the higher the office, the more voters seem to prefer traditionally male characteristics. While voters' stereotypical attitudes may not be exclusively to blame for the dearth of female candidates on a national level, (Burrell, 1988; Thompson & Steckenrider, 1997), the literature insinuates that it is one of the variables that keep women from obtaining higher office. Second, Huddy and Terkildsen (1993a) point out that women candidates often "go out of their way when running for higher office to portray themselves as women who do not conform to typical gender stereotypes" (p. 53).

Prominent female candidates use terminology like "tough" or "independent" as well as adopting combative campaign stances in order to fight voters' gender stereotypes (Huddy & Terkildson, 1993).

Koch (1999) examined whether evidence of gender stereotypes is present in citizens' evaluations of candidates for the U.S. Senate. Past research indicates that female candidates are better able to handle compassion issues (social welfare, education, racial problems, and AIDS) while male candidates are perceived as more adept at dealing with security issues (the economy, crime, agriculture, foreign affairs and the military) (Koch, 1999, p. 85). Koch's (1999) research found that variations did indeed exist in the electorate's appraisals of candidates on the basis of gender and the variation may result from a gendered pattern of campaign messages and media coverage.

Alexander and Andersen (1993) discovered in their study that when candidate information is sparse, gender role attitudes are consequential in the initial evaluation of lesser-known women candidates. Alexander and Anderson (1993) also found that voters have a

tendency to attribute to candidates particular leadership qualities and issue skills based on sex. This may be due to the plausibility that women are socialized to be less political than men. Okin (1990) posits that the existing tradition of political thought illustrate that women continue to be defined in terms of the functions they serve in relation to men. Carlson and Boring (1981) found that seeking political office is considered a male act. Furthermore, although research indicates men are more likely than women to hold traditional sex role attitudes (Helmreich, Spence, & Gibson, 1982), research on the discrimination against women seeking nontraditional jobs shows both males and females being likely to discriminate (Lewis & Bierly, 1990).

This leads one to suspect that there exist certain sex role characteristics that appeal to voters in different manners. For example, Jackson and Cash (1985) found that regardless of candidate sex, masculine and androgynous applicants were preferred for masculine occupations, and feminine and androgynous applicants were favored for feminine occupations. Furthermore, Major, Carnevale, and Deaux

(1981) elucidate the dynamics of gender attributes by illustrating that people with masculine sex-role orientations are perceived as possessing traits associated with forcefulness and leadership, while people with feminine sex-role orientations are perceived as possessing traits of sensitivity and empathy. Major, et al. (1981) also note that people whose sex-role traits are inappropriate tend to be disliked. Moreover, Jackson and Cash (1985) found that highly masculine women were perceived as having high leadership proficiency but at a significant forfeiture to their perceived likability. This may be the reason that women such as Representative Sue Myrick (R-NC) say the fears women have in running for office are deeply ingrained from childhood, "Women are afraid to take risks," she said. "Men are raised to play football, to bash their heads and come back for more. Women are raised to stand back. We aren't raised to be risk takers" (Foerstel & Foerstel, 1996, p. 71).

Evidence for stereotypical evaluation of candidates can also be derived from opinion polls. Polls confirm that women candidates tend to be seen as more compassionate and honest while men are seen to be

better suited emotionally for politics (Alexander & Andersen, 1993). As may be ascertained, the various findings of scholars indicate the complexity of the issue. For example, Bernstein and Polly (1975) found that the percent of votes received by female candidates, no matter the race, were related to economic class. Residents of lower class precincts voted less for female candidates than residents of middle and upper class precincts.

The last segment of the literature review discussed overall gender stereotypes in the political arena. Attention will now be turned toward the research accomplished in political advertising and begins to look at connections between advertising and political gender stereotypes.

Gender and Political Advertising

Research investigating the variable of gender in political campaign commercials is still somewhat insufficient, although there are important findings. The following segment highlights research regarding gender differences and similarities on issue presentation, image, the use of "feminine" versus "masculine" strategies, negative advertising, issues,

images and production techniques. Kahn and Geer (1994) have found that advertising varies in the kinds of impression it generates among voters. For example, Wadsworth, Patterson, Kaid, Cullers, Malcomb, and Lamirand (1987) argue that women are in a unique and problematic position when they campaign because gender impacts the formation of campaigning style and that may prove troublesome on the campaign trail.

Of course, television advertising has become the favored method political candidates utilize to get out the message. This is especially true for women candidates as they begin to enter the political arena. Johnston, Wadsworth, Patterson, Kaid, Cullers, Malcomb, & Lamirand (1987) suggest that advertising is an especially important form of campaign communication for women candidates because it allows them to project a concerted and consistent image.

Past political advertising gender research has focused on the strategies of women as they faced male opponents (Trent & Sabourin, 1993; Benze & Declercq, 1985). Other research has focused on the negativity of political ads when a woman participated as a candidate (Kahn, 1993). Still other research has studied the

effect of setting and attitude when females are in the race (Johnston, et al., 1987). The next segment of this essay will address gender and negativity and highlights research regarding gender differences and similarities on issue presentation, image, the use of "feminine" versus "masculine" strategies, negative advertising, visual strategies, the association that issues and images have with gender, and production techniques.

Ansolabehere and Iyenger (1994) suggest that the issue-ownership hypothesis predicts that candidates gain the most from advertising on issues over which they claim proprietorship. Ansolaberhere and Iyengar's (1994) work implies that since campaign advertising does not occur in a vacuum and must take into account voter predisposition, that the relationship between issues and gender stereotypes may be consequential.

Modern political campaigns rely on electronic media to convey information to voters. Use of media, in particular broadcast advertising, is the preeminent mode of campaign communication. More campaign dollars are spent on political advertisements to establish an agenda and images than other forms of political

communication (Kaid, Myers, Pippis, & Hunter, 1984; Kern, 1984; Trent & Friendenberg, 1991). Specifically, research shows that candidates spend 50% to 75% of the campaign budget on advertisements (Devlin, 1997). Benze and Declercq (1985a) find that women candidates rely more heavily on all forms of political advertising and spend a larger amount of their campaign budget on this form of communication. Wadsworth, et al. (1987) posit that political advertising is especially important to female candidates because they have control over the content; thus, female candidates are able to project a concerted and consistent image through political spots. Accordingly, for female candidates political communication is not only an important form of campaign communication but is also widely used.

Political television advertising has become the predominant method political candidates utilize in order to share political messages with the electorate. This is especially true for women candidates as they begin to enter the political arena. Wadsworth, et al. (1987) suggest, "Advertising is an especially important form of campaign communication for women

candidates because it is controllable by the candidates allowing them to project a concerted and consistent image." As more women venture into politics, political communication scholars have an opportunity to uncover the unique characteristics associated with female political candidates and their campaigns. Clearly, the growing propensity for women to enter into politics dramatically increases the likelihood for races that feature women as candidates. The compelling necessity for research into this area is obvious. Candidates, as well as scholars, require studies that open the door to information concerning female candidacy as society begins a new millennium. Political campaigns and advertising research has all too often reduced the focus of political advertising to questions that apply to male only campaigns. This research hopes to add to the discussion with a new, unique focus.

There is a paucity of research concerning political television advertisements when women run. This section of the literature review explored the relationship between gender and political ads. The

next portion of the literature review will spotlight negative advertisements.

Negative Advertising

When considering negative advertising in political spots several revealing aspects are illuminated. Basil, Schooler, and Reeves (1991) point out that candidates are attaching increasing significance to negative advertising and that the use of negative advertising is mounting. Furthermore, Merritt (1984) reports that the relationship between party identification and voter response to negative advertising indicates that a negative strategy by a minority candidate will be unsuccessful. Further, Garramone and Smith's (1984) research indicates that "voters highly dependent on political commercials, an independent sponsor is more trustworthy than party or candidate sponsor" (p. 771). Kaid and Boydston (1987) note that negative advertising by an independent sponsor will reduce the image evaluation of a targeted politician. In addition, even though the negative effects were greater for those in the opposite political party, voters in the candidate's own political party were also impacted.

As to the effectiveness of political advertising, Garromone, Atkin, Pinkleton, and Cole (1990) explain that negative commercials may lead to greater candidate image discrimination and greater attitude polarization than positive commercials. The same study argues that negative ads have no effect on involvement in elections communication behavior regarding the election, and likelihood of turning out to vote in the election. Ansolabehere, Iyengar, Simon, and Valentino (1994) dispute this finding, however, when, in an experimental study findings indicated that exposure to negative advertising dropped intentions to vote by as much as 5%. Ansolabehere, et al. (1994) also illustrate that the withdrawing effects of negative campaigns are accompanied by a weakened sense of political efficacy. Garramone (1984, 1985) and Roddy and Garramone (1988) studied response strategy to negative advertising and posit that when attack commercials are followed by a response from the target, issue attack commercials are more effective than image attack commercials.

Newhagan and Reeves (1991) also report that negative advertising increases both the accuracy and

speed of visual recognition, thereby making the genre effective. More importantly, Basil, et al. (1991) argue that it is especially consequential to run negative ads in negative campaigns and contexts. The next section of the review discusses gender as it intertwines with negative advertisements.

Gender and Negative Advertisements

Research indicates differences in the way female and male candidates utilize negative advertisements. Kahn (1993) states that challengers and women candidates are more likely to use negative ads. Men, on the other hand, were less likely to use negative ads especially when running against women. Specifically, Kahn (1993) posits that "male candidates believe that if they engage in a negative campaign, they will be perceived as 'beating up on' a women" (p. 491). In addition to differences in the amount of negative attacks used, female and male candidates emphasized different topics.

Given people's stereotypes about men and women, male and female candidates face different constraints in the electoral arena, and these constraints often

influence the type of negative campaign strategy adopted by candidates. . . . women have a greater need to demonstrate their competence in their campaign appeals. To help establish their expertise, women often choose to emphasize policy over personal attacks in their negative commercials. (Kahn, 1993, p. 491)

Kahn (1993) found that women emphasize social issues and social programs, whereas men focus on economic issues. In contrast, Bystrom (1995) did not find this advertisement gender disparity. She found that men and women in the four 1992 Senate races she studied used negative attacks almost equally.

There are also gender differences and similarities in the strategies for negative attacks. Kahn (1993) found that male candidates employ attacks that are more general. Trent and Sabourin (1993b) posit that men utilize more "opponent-centered" strategies by emphasizing harsher attacks, wearing formal attire, and picturing their opponent more frequently. Women utilized both "opponent-centered" and "candidate-centered" (picturing someone else in the ad, physically touching someone, and using long

shots as opposed to close-up shots when attacking) strategies when attacking their opponent. The authors maintain that this attack strategy is a blending that "accommodate[s] gender based stereotypes of femininity even while using a campaign tool that is inherently aggressive, confrontational, argumentative or in other words, stereotypically masculine" (p. 36).

However, Proctor, Scheck-Hamlin and Haase (1994), in a content analysis of 99 negative commercials used by 10 male and 11 female candidates in mixed-gender gubernatorial and U. S. Senate races during 1990, indicate that both women and men employed: (1) confrontational attacks rather than comparative response ads, (2) used matter-a-fact reporting as opposed to humor or drama to soften the attack, and 3) attacks that focused on issues orientation or ethics using undocumented evidence to back their claim. From this and previous research Proctor, Scheck-Hamlin and Haase argue that there is a standard formula and style for the construction of negative advertisements as opposed to specific gender-based concerns.

Issue Presentation

Campaign issues may be defined as any information concerning policy positions (Kaid & Sanders, 1978). To speak to political advertisements as a dominant source of political information, scholarly research must center on the capacity advertisements perform in disseminating political communication to the electorate. While research indicates that political spots are instrumental in creating images for the public, further investigation illustrates that political ads are conducive in presenting issues as well. Indeed, Buss and Hofstetter (1976) reported that 90% of the ads produced during the 1972 presidential campaign contained issue references. Kahn (1993), in a content analysis of both paid and unpaid campaign communication in specified 1982-1986 U.S. Senate campaigns, tested for differences between the messages produced for female candidates as compared to those produced for male candidates. Kahn found messages produced for both male and female candidates stressed male traits; male candidates highlighted economic issues whereas female candidates highlighted social issues. However, issues were still discussed in most

of the ads. Joslyn (1980) noted, however, in an investigation of spots in a number of races in the 1960's and 1970's, that spots contained specific issue positions only 23% of the time. This tends to suggest that while issues may be prevalent in many ads, specific policy proposals are often negligible. In addition, the issues are usually those in which the candidate has a strong disposition toward. Significant is Kern's (1984) research that finds political ads a significant source of issue information for voters, as well as having a great impact on voters' cognizance of the candidate's position concerning an issue.

Image Presentation

Campaign images, as well as campaign issues, play important roles in the political process. Joslyn (1980) explains that image traits of candidates in advertisements are important in an overall campaign strategy and may be second only to issue presentations in the ads. For example, Latimer (1985) suggests that in Congressional races, candidate image presentation plays a more significant role than issue presentation.

Since the beginning of political ad research (Tucker, 1959) personality in advertising has proved to be related to winning votes. The strategies that candidates use to depict their character and personalities has become even more important in recent elections (Buss & Hoffstetter, 1976).

Gender and Media Coverage

Kahn (1996) found that the media focused on male issues 68% of the time as compared to the coverage of female issues (32%). Further, although female candidates are somewhat more likely to discuss issues in their advertisements the news coverage does not reflect this focus. Johnston and White (1994) found similar results. Specifically, when investigating language style, negative attacks, and issue appeals in five winning female Senate campaigns, they found that ads mentioned issues 67% of the time.

While there are similarities in the use of issue research, the research often illumines differences. Kahn (1993) states that:

There are important gender differences in the advertisements of male and female candidates and

these differences correspond to candidates' stereotypical strengths. Men tend to concentrate on economic issues, while women are much more likely to discuss social issue such as education and health policy. (p. 481)

Further, Trent and Sabourin (1993a) discovered a female style in their analysis of Gubernatorial and Senatorial campaign spots. Specifically, the authors found that female candidates stressed social issues, and that when using negative ads female candidates use a blend of candidate and opponent-centered strategies as compared to the opponent-centered negative ads produced for male candidates.

However, Benze and Declercq (1985) used Joslyn's (1980) analysis as a beginning to investigate the content of female candidates' political advertisements. They compared 23 spots from both female and male candidates from differing political races. Benze and Declercq found that there were more similarities than differences. Specifically, there were no gender differences in issue references or partisanship, and both female and male candidates

stressed their strengths that were typically based in gender stereotypes. Further, Bystrom (1995) conducted a content analysis of 15 spots of four Republican and four Democrat women that competed against each other for 1992 U.S. Senate open seat elections. She found "that female candidates addressed social and economic issue equally. But men stressed economic issues four times more often than social concerns" (p. 50).

Media and Candidate Image

Kahn (1993) found that female candidates accentuated traditional male traits, such as competence and leadership, instead of traditionally female traits, such as compassion and honesty. Interestingly, women candidates stressed "male" traits in their commercials more than men did. Kahn hypothesizes that this strategy may be an attempt to circumvent voters' preconceived sex stereotypes about the candidate's political competence. Further, Johnson and White (1994) maintain that women candidates focussed more on toughness as opposed to warmth and compassion.

Candidates construct messages to appeal to voters, and the research differences regarding female and male candidates' issues and image presentation may emerge as a response to societal gender expectations. For instance, Wadsworth, Patterson, Kaid, Culler, Malcomb, and Lamirand (1987) explored the effectiveness of typically male and female advertisement strategies (ambitious/non-ambitious; aggressive/non-aggressiveness; and career/family). Women that focus on aggressive and career strategies were more effective while the researchers suggest that males may use family as a potentially effective strategy. Hence, these researchers posit that femininity is a valued trait for female candidates to possess. Viewers value women candidates who are experienced, smart, honest, and rational.

Media and Debate Coverage

An area heretofore uninvestigated is the impact of the media on debate coverage of female versus male candidates, as well as the messages presented by candidates in mixed gender debates. The present work attempts to illuminate the content of media coverage in mixed gender campaign debates. The project broaches

the link between situational and structural dynamics by illustrating how debates can be utilized in aggregate to partially explain the effect media has upon the campaign process. Of particular concern to political communication scholars is the lack of research published concerning the effect of gender upon debate adding to the glaring deficiency of literature concerning the media's reaction to female candidacy. This study will initiate discussion into these heretofore, unexplored areas of political communication research.

The foundation used to ground the empirical findings within this research concerns the possibility that the media covers male and female candidates differently during the debate process. In order to initiate discussion of this problem an examination of previous research into media influence upon elections reveals a positive relationship between media influence and electorate effect. Researchers have illustrated that the influence of the mass media in predicting political outcomes is strong and complex (Hayes & Makkai, 1996; Iyengar & Kinder, 1987; Kahn & Goldenberg, 1991). Obviously, the agenda setting

function of the media has been well documented (Ansolabehere, Behr, & Iyengar, 1993; McCombs & Shaw, 1972). The media has been shown to "set the table" and provide the most extant, serious, and salient issues concerning the nation (Iyenagar, 1979; McCombs & Shaw, 1972). Agenda setting is, however, merely one aspect of media influence upon voting behavior. A number of factors involving the media may effectually inhibit women's elected representation within the American political landscape.

Chang and Hitchon (1997) argue that the role of mass media in shaping the public's expectations about politicians, and female political participation in particular, is indeed immense. Using gender schema theory as a framework, the authors suggest that voters have more positive attitudes toward candidates who are portrayed through the media in a gender appropriate manner. Kraus (1974) suggests that women are restricted by engendered structural factors far more than men. Media news coverage tends to abet "structural factors by helping to shape and reinforce voter's shemas" (Chang & Hitchon, 1997, p. 42). Kahn and Goldenburg's (1991) research also tends to suggest

that the media presents information to voters that supports male candidates by covering and emphasizing "feminine" and "viability" issues when discussing female candidates. Kahn (1994a) furthers this research by suggesting that males receive more coverage than women in U.S. Senate races (thereby increasing recognition of the male candidate). Beyond recognition, however, Kahn (1994a) argues that horserace issue coverage tends to favor male candidates, because horserace coverage tends to denigrate the viability of women. Second, Kahn (1994b) finds in her research that attention to policy issues varies between male and female candidates. Women receive significantly less issue coverage than their male counterparts. Character, personality traits, and image issues, in Kahn's (1994) research, also were favorable to male candidates. News articles tend to discuss male traits more frequently than female traits. Kahn (1994a), in summation, illustrates that women, in U.S. Senate races receive less campaign coverage than their male counterparts, and the coverage is more negative.

Kahn and Goldenberg (1991) opened the initial investigation into the role the news coverage plays in influencing the success of U.S. Senate female candidates. The results of their research concerning U.S. Senate elections that featured female candidates indicate that females receive less news coverage, are portrayed as less viable, and are given less coverage concerning issue positions. Furthermore, Kahn and Goldenberg (1991) found that news coverage of female candidates served as an obstacle to women running for the Senate that is difficult to overcome. Indeed, Paolino (1995) effectively argues from his research that women will support female candidates overwhelmingly when certain issues, i.e., sexual harassment and women's representation, are salient. Conversely, the absence of these issues from the campaign may reduce women voter's perception of the urgency in increasing female representation in Congress. Paolino's (1995) research illustrates well the female candidate's paradox. Unlike other voting groups, women often constitute the majority of the voting age populace where they reside. The institutional mechanism for increasing female

representation already, de facto, exists. However, due to a variety of explanations, not the least being that women are divided across the spectrum of socio-economic groups, it seems women are more fragmented than any other group concerning traditionally "male issues." Since the media tends to focus on these issues rather than those that might unite women, female representation is negatively effected. Paolino (1995) explains:

Consequently, women may have difficulty uniting behind any in-group candidate because other, more salient issues may split women's support. Without vivid stimuli illustrating the relationship between women's position in society and the neglect of women's issues in government, women may not seek to increase group representation as a means of addressing both problems. (p. 295)

Investigation of the research finds self reported, straightforward gender bias difficult to uncover (Darcy, Welch & Clark, 1994). However, it is clear that a candidate's gender is politically relevant (Jamieson, 1995; Kahn, 1996). However, gender is not necessarily a predictor of electoral success or

defeat. More significant, as Huddy and Terkildsen (1993b) illustrate, are how voters' expectations of male and female competency on traditionally gender related issues effect campaign outcomes. The outcome of their research found that if a candidate held masculine traits, voters perceived competence of that candidate increased. The inverse is also correlated. Female traits tend to limit perceived competence on a wide variety of issues. How this plays out in the electoral process is of significant interest to political communication scholars.

Political Debate and Gender

Significant literature exists concerning debates between political candidates, especially at the presidential level, (Birdsell, 1991; Brydon, 1985; Carlin, 1992; Drucker & Hunold, 1987) and investigation into the media's role in debates (Conrad, 1993; Davis, 1978; Davis & Kraus, 1982; Jacques, Wayne, Meilinger, Frank, Balmoris, Michael, Gerns, & Denby, 1993) as well as the content of debates (Jackson-Beeck & Meadow, 1979; Leon, 1993; Miller & MacKuen, 1992). However, a critical gap in the literature exists concerning gender and debate.

This is especially relevant due to the role the media plays concerning political debates. Berquist and Golden (1981) argue that the media function as a promoter, establish expectations regarding the outcome, become critics, heavily contribute to electorate perception of the debate, make the debate image rather than issue oriented, and do little to serve the public interest. There is an obvious impact of media upon the electorate when discussing political debate. Jackson-Beeck and Meadow (1979) suggest that "mass communication provides the framework for thought, if not thought itself" (p. 321-322) and mass communication has an inherent relationship concerning the electorate and debate effect. Dennis and Chaffee (1976) echo these ideas from their research that found that heavy viewers of media change candidate preferences significantly more than light or moderate viewers.

Present literature provides examples of how the media is interwoven into the debate process (Morello, 1988) and, indeed, is noted as one leg of the triangle in Jackson-Beeck and Meadow's (1979) triple agenda of presidential debates. However, this literature fails

to denote how the gender of the candidate effects the media's portrayal of the candidate. Present literature also tends to explore presidential and vice presidential debates, thereby neglecting House and Senate races. This study adds to present literature by opening the investigation into gender and debate as portrayed through the media as well as inquiring into debates other than those at the presidential and vice presidential level.

Media and Gender Inequity in Debates

Newspaper coverage provides in-depth accounts of candidates, campaigns, and debates. Important to note, however, is that journalists must choose the newsworthiness in the selection of news articles (Sigal, 1973). Subsequently, some candidates receive more or less news coverage depending upon journalist choice.

Previous research indicates that recognition of candidates by the media is a significant correlate to candidate viability (Goldenberg & Traugott, 1984). Beyond recognition, however, candidates require positive judgment from the media in order to be successful. Recent studies investigating gender and

news (Kahn, 1992; 1994b; Kahn & Goldenburg 1991) illustrate that various influences guide media attention toward or away from a candidate. One of the prevalent influences is gender. There are noted differences in the amount of coverage men and women receive. The Women, Men, and Media Project (Bridge, 1995), for example, reveals that men were referenced or quoted in 85% of the newspapers while women received such attention in only 15% of the print. Even more significant is the method in which women are represented in the media newsprint. Women are often represented by their marital status, or by personal deportment. Often women are depicted as a "full-time mother," or "feminist." Conversely, men are often labeled as "tough on crime," or "astute businessman."

Evidence of candidate gender and differences in media coverage are indeed abundant. The success or lack thereof, of a candidate may not be directly linked to gender exclusively. However, as has been illustrated through the literature, gender does play a role in the election process. Despite these investigations, the lack of research into gender and

debate is obvious and this project hopes to fill that breach in political research.

One variable, which will contribute to political communication scholars' understanding of the political debate procedure, is that of gender. Gender studies that focus on the various perspectives emerging from the feminist worldview are becoming a vital portion of political research. Unfortunately, historical study of political communication research denotes that academic dialogue has often been held within the auspices of men. The lack of literature concerning women in political debate gives testimony to that fact. It is indeed necessary for political communication scholars to further develop and become enmeshed in gender theory.

Scholars from various disciplines have contributed to the increasing literature promoting gender theory. Campbell's (1989) construct of feminine rhetorical style illustrates that women have assembled a personal tone of discourse that relies on storytelling, personal experience, and anecdotes. The style invites audience participation, is inductive, and identifies with the audience experience (p. 13). Scholars have

utilized Campbell's (1989) feminine rhetorical style in a variety of schemas ranging from empowerment for women to male and female use of feminine style (Curtis, et al., 1994).

These studies contribute to the body of literature that promotes gender theory. The blending of feminine style elements into a mixed methodological analytic design will facilitate in the examination of female candidates' messages to the public when involved in political debate.

The Dynamics of Sex and Politics - Research Questions

With the increased number of women entering the political process, several studies have been initiated that investigate candidate gender as a variable in elections. Heretofore, the literature review provided an overview of the problem, discussed the literature concerning stereotypes, and investigated images associated with the messages of female candidates as well as issues affiliated with the messages of female candidates.

The aforementioned review of literature provides the impetus for the following research questions:

Overarching Research Question: What are the factors that lead to the underrepresentation of women in the political process?

RQ1: Do significant differences exist in the types of issues discussed by male and female candidates in their television commercials?

RQ1A: What types of issues do female candidates desire to portray in their campaigns as determined through qualitative interviews and content analysis of television commercials?

RQ1B: What types of issues do male candidates desire to portray in their campaigns as determined through qualitative interviewing process and content analysis of political television commercials?

RQ1C: Do significant differences exist in the types of issues attributed to male and female candidates in the media as determined by a content analysis of media coverage of news stories concerning the 1998 Senatorial and Gubernatorial elections?

RQ2: Do significant differences exist in the image attributes emphasized by female and male candidates in their television commercials?

RQ2A: What images do female candidates desire to portray in their campaigns as determined through qualitative interviews and content analysis of political commercials?

RQ2B: What images do male candidates desire to portray in their campaigns as determined through qualitative interviewing process and content analysis of political commercials?

RQ2C: Do significant differences exist in the types of images attributed to male and female candidates in the media as determined by a content analysis of media coverage of news stories concerning the 1998 Senatorial and Gubernatorial elections?

Although Bystrom (1995), Johnston and White (1994), Benze and Declerq (1985b), and Kahn (1993) have documented relationships between gender and differences in the way male and female candidates portray their images and issues in political ads, none of the research investigates debate, images, and

issues utilizing both quantitative and qualitative methods. This research supercedes previous attempts by combining ads and debates as well as interviewing with content analysis.

RQ3: Do the media present structural barriers to the public when female candidates run for office?

RQ3A: Do the media present male and female candidates differently in news stories concerning the candidate's campaigns as determined by content analysis of newspaper stories concerning 1998 campaigns?

RQ3B: Do the media present male and female candidates differently in news stories concerning candidates' debates as determined by content analysis of newspaper stories concerning 1998 debates?

RQ3C: Do the media present male and female candidates differently in news stories concerning the candidates political advertisements as determined by content analysis of newspaper stories concerning ads in 1998 campaigns.

Studies by Kahn (1992) and Kahn and Goldenberg

(1991) have indicated that women receive little facilitation in their quests for office from the media and indeed, often are hindered by the impact of media upon their campaigns. This research expects to extend Kahn's previous work exploring how media interacts with campaigns using debate as a unit of analysis as well as utilizing qualitative interviews to understand media impact from the candidate's perspective.

This chapter portrays the literature concerning the impact of gender upon the election process. The chapter also illustrates the necessity for further research into the problem area. It provides the catalyst for the considered research questions. Chapter three will describe the mixed methodological design utilized to explore the research questions and provide further insight into gender and the political process.

Chapter III

Methodology

The previous chapter illustrates the exploration by other political communication scholars as they identify the components associated with gender and the political process. While past research into the area is laudable, it is by no means conclusive. This chapter will portray the design of the research that will be utilized in order to extend past findings. Approval of the qualitative portions of the procedures used in the research was obtained from the University of Oklahoma's Institutional Review Board (IRB). (See Appendix A for a copy of the IRB Approval form).

Rationale for a Mixed Methodology

Pragmatic knowledge, i.e., Pierce's ideas concerning the effort of proposing and testing against "nature," has lead in a cumulative manner to knowledge which over time will approach a description of reality (Polkinghorne, 1983). Pragmatists led the critique as they spoke of the inadequacies of monomethod designs. Brewer and Hunter, (1989), for example, reiterate the arguments of the pragmatists when they posit:

Social science methods should not be treated as mutually exclusive alternatives among which we must choose . . . Our individual methods may be flawed, but fortunately the flaws are not identical. A diversity of imperfection allows us to combine methods . . . to compensate for their particular faults and imperfections. (pp. 16-17)

Tashakkori and Teddle (1998) argue that it was the concept of the triangulation of methods that has shattered the methodological hegemony of positivistic purists. This proves advantageous in a number of ways. First, Tashakkori and Teddle (1998) explicate:

Given all these considerations, pragmatism appears to be the best paradigm for justifying the use of mixed method and mixed model studies. Pragmatism is appealing because it gives us a paradigm that philosophically embraces the use of mixed method, because it eschews the use of metaphysical concepts that have caused much endless and often useless discussion and because it presents a very practical and applied research philosophy: Study what interests and is of value to you, study it in the different ways that you

deem appropriate, and use the results in ways that can bring about positive consequences within your value system. (pp. 29-30).

Second, measurement validity and reliability are increased through a combination of quantitative and qualitative measuring procedures in the same research study (Frey, Botan, Friedman, Kreps, 1991). Obviously, conclusions regarding the relationship between variables or events have internal validity if the researcher is confident that the obtained relationship between variables actually exists and is not a result of spurious or extraneous variables. Such confidence may be obtained if the researcher is able to defend her/his conclusions by ruling out alternative explanations. Triangulating methods allows the researcher to accomplish this.

Third, triangulation allows the researcher to better investigate complex phenomena. Frey, et.al. (1991) explain:

In the context of communication research, triangulation means that different research techniques producing consistent results provide a more effective base for describing, explaining,

understanding, interpreting, predicting, controlling, and critiquing a communication process or event . . . Understanding how human beings act and interact therefore necessitates acquiring both quantitative and qualitative data. Research requires studying people's behavior and meanings, both in laboratories and in natural settings, using many research methods. (pp. 14-16)

Finally, it is proposed here that the very essence of human social sciences suggests the value of a triangulated approach. The combination of information from different methods of knowing produces new dimensions of understanding that cannot be obtained simply through monomethod approach.

Polkinghorne (1983) suggests:

By combining and integrating the knowledge gained through the various systems, an understanding of a topic becomes available which is deeper than the understanding gained from any one system or from merely placing information side by side. The use of multiple approaches requires-in addition to carrying out the various investigations-a

final syncretic integration of the results into a new statement that combines the various dimensions of the topic. (p. 254)

This research is developed under the auspice of the preeminence of the research questions over the consideration of method. The questions, here, determine the design of the study, as well as how the data are collected. It was determined that the best method is the one that answers the research question most efficiently, with the most trustworthiness, and is the most pragmatic. Since the nature of the questions demanded both quantitative and qualitative approaches a mixed methods approach was chosen.

Rationale for Mixed Method Design in Feminist Research

While this work accepts the proposition that women are socialized to be less political than men (Hartsock, 1987; Elshtain, 1981; Bourque & Grossholt, 1974), the question still arises as to why the dominance of political life by men has been taken for granted rather than studied as a research problem. Whether one subscribes to the theory that women in office will behave just like men or to the theory that women bring "a distinctive set of traits and concerns

that will begin to alter the character of public life" (Keohane, 1983, p. 88), the sheer numbers alluded to in the introduction dictate that political communication scholars can no longer be silent concerning the impact of women in the political arena. Feminist research in political communication could be a stimulating examination of the language that perpetuates male dominance. However, most feminist work on political socialization has not accomplished much in the actual transformation of political science (Sapiro, 1987) or political communication. Political scientists have tended to define male behavior as the standard for political behavior and to dismiss female activity as non-political thereby illegitimatizing research into female political activity (Shanley and Schuck, 1974). This research argues for a new feminist perspective that focuses attention on the problems and issues of political life by giving rise to varied and different kinds of research methods within the same study.

Feminists have critiqued and proposed alternatives to traditional communication and political science research for decades. Sadly,

however, feminists have failed to sway communication or political science investigators other than, perhaps, themselves. Carroll (1980), explains in her research that neither the radical or academic critiques of the primary dominant paradigm have been particularly influential or effective. Sapiro (1987) offers a scathing critique of feminism, arguing that it has accomplished little in the way of transformation of dominant science.

Most previous research which links sex roles with political behavior seems to be a logical consequence of a male dominated arena. In other words, the publicly accepted world of politics stands in opposition to the private world of family and home. However, some feminist scholars (Shanley & Schuck, 1974) are beginning to speculate that as more women enter into the political arena, the political parameters, as well as methods to investigate the parameters, will be expanded.

Accordingly, from a pragmatic, feminist, as well as valid and reliable perspective the triangulation of methods should be utilized to uncover and analyze data. Jayaratne, (1983) for example, advocates

the utilization of qualitative data in conjunction with quantitative data to develop, support, and explicate theory for a number of reasons, including the facet that using both methods in political science may help the feminist community achieve its goals more effectively. (p. 140)

Furthermore, as rare as actual utilization of social science research may be, it is significant to point out that decision-makers are responsive to the recommendations of social scientists when those "perceived objective" recommendations support their own views. Jayaratne (1983), argues that researchers should be discerned as objective and present findings as statistically significant in addition to providing the richness and understandability that qualitative methods offer (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998) so that the results may provide positive outcomes toward acceptance of the feminist perspective.

Traditional research in political and mass communication often ignores gender or treats men and women as polarized opposites with stable and enduring attributes (Putnam, 1982). More importantly,

researchers have designed research around preconceived beliefs in the inferiority of female communication and reject data that fail to substantiate their preconceptions (Putnam, 1982). In order to halt these practices, feminists, to whom gender is critical, must avoid the publication of feminist research in special issues or sections of journals. While any information published is better than none, feminism on the fringe will not produce change (Altman 1987). Therefore, this research is dedicated to broadening both the academic and popular cultural canons so women political communicators become an essential part of the political landscape. To make significant changes in political and mass communication disciplines, however, requires what Foss and Foss (1983) have labeled as a holistic approach. Holistic research relates and connects as many variables as possible and allows the scholar to view the problem from a myriad of angles. Therefore, this research has adopted a feminist mixed methodological approach in order to illuminate many of the characteristics that exist which block women from obtaining political office.

Overview of the Methodology

As heretofore discussed, mixed investigations use both types of data collection, qualitative and quantitative, as well as both types of data analysis (statistical and qualitative analysis). This study will follow a parallel mixed model design that is described in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1

Gender Dynamics in Political Elections Mixed Method

Design	
Phase	Brief Description
GENDYN-I Pilot Study	*Conceptualized Project *Formed Research Questions *Performed Pilot Study including field test of instruments (Interview Schedule/Survey) *Completed GENDYN-1 Report
GENDYN-II Research Questions One and Two	*Selected Sample for Qual Interviews *Select Sample of Pol ads to be C/A Interviews *Conducted interviews with selected officials *Perform C/A using selected Pol Ads *Analyzed both quantitative and qualitative data
GENDYN-III Research Question Three	*Selected news stories - mixed races *Perform C/A using selected stories *Select news stories concerning mixed debates and political ads *Perform C/A using selected stories

The preceding design provides a holistic account of the mixed/methodological design utilized in the study. For further clarity, each tool utilized in the study is discussed delineating the strengths and weaknesses of the method. Within the context of gender and election dynamics, other studies have analyzed what the outcomes of may have been on the electoral process. But those studies do not take into consideration the outcome in conjunction with the many characteristics that are mentioned here. Finally, these studies cannot overcome the weaknesses inherent within the method that they chose to investigate the problem. This study is able to overcome such shortcomings by using one method's strength against another's weakness.

Qualitative Method

There have been many attempts to define qualitative research (Bogdan & Bicklin, 1998; Burgess, 1984; Finch, 1986; Hammersley, 1992) in the social sciences and to determine whether or not it can or should be differentiated from other types of research methods. There is no consensus on the question and researchers should not be surprised by this, because

qualitative research does not represent a unified set of techniques or philosophies, and indeed has grown out of a wide range of intellectual and disciplinary traditions.

Qualitative research is perhaps most commonly associated with certain schools which fall broadly within the interpretivist tradition; particularly phenomenology (Schulz, 1967), ethnomethodology, (Garfinkel, 1967) and symbolic interactionism. Even some postmodern work has shown interest in qualitative efforts (Dickens & Fontana, 1994). Other Disciplines besides communication, specifically anthropology, have a long tradition of qualitative method. Feminism had an enormous impact in its challenge to conventional scientific discourse and in establishing the agenda for a whole range of issues which are now seen as central to qualitative research (Harding, 1987).

This is not a comprehensive list, but it does convey a sense of the range of philosophical underpinnings as well as methodological techniques and practices which are likely to be encompassed by the term qualitative research. More importantly, however, is the facet that the long dominance of social

scientific communication research by objectivist science has been broached (Bochner, 1985). Certainly the methodologies that support the program of objectivist science no longer constitute the only means for doing credible research. Lindlof (1995) argues that communication research now accommodates many different styles of inquiry, living side by side.

Essentially, qualitative research attempts to conserve the form and content of human behavior and to analyze it, rather than subject it to statistical formula. Anderson and Meyer (1988) argue that qualitative research methods are "distinguished from quantitative methods in that they do not rest their evidence on the logic of mathematics, the principle of numbers or the methods of statistical analysis" (p. 247). They, in fact use talk, gesture or action as the units of analysis. Qualitative research subsumes most of what goes on under the names of ethnography or naturalistic inquiry, without being held to each submethod's dictates. For example, unlike naturalistic inquiry, qualitative study does not need to be carried out in the habitat of the culture members. For instance, many qualitative studies are based solely on

interview data. Unlike ethnography, studies using qualitative methods often focus on partial set of relationships in group life or on one aspect of a scene (Press, 1989). Ultimately, Lindlof (1995), argues that the essence of qualitative research is presented in four components: (1) That the research has a theoretical interest in human interpretational activities, (2) that it is concerned with the study of socially situated human action, (3) that human investigators are the primary tool of exploration, and (4) it relies on narrative forms for coding data and writing results.

Development of the Qualitative Study

In many ways design in qualitative inquiry differs radically from quantitative design. First and foremost design in qualitative research is largely a matter articulating compelling and researchable questions that are salient. In the beginning portion of the research project the researcher must ask questions about a problem that grow increasingly subtle, pertinent, and penetrating. In the field the researcher uses questions as guiding tools. However, the questions that grip the researcher in the middle

of a passage may scarcely resemble the ones that enticed him or her at the start. Several considerations distinguish the design process of qualitative researchers. These include question formation in myriad forms is the core feature of designing and starting a study. Next, every scene and situation presents a unique configuration of features requiring flexible on the part of the investigator.

Qualitative design can be divided into two broad components; planning, which is the process of research problem development and getting in which involves negotiating access, establishing entry and operational parameters, becoming known to the participants, and sampling empirical units. The first portion of the planning process is to look for ideas. The sources for the research ideas include personal ideas, opportunity, public problem, or theoretical problem (Lindlof, 1995). The next step includes consolidating activities. This includes consulting the literature, casing the scene, establishing the suitability and feasibility of the study. Next the investigator creates the research proposal - or creating a

statement of purpose, a rationale, research questions and understanding protocol and logistics.

The other component includes the more practical aspects of the study. First, human subject protection must be gained. Then gatekeepers must be contacted and entranced gained. Next the researcher must negotiate access and get the information. Sampling is the next step. Sampling units might include settings, persons, activities, or events. An awareness of sampling strategies (i.e. maximum variation, snowball, critical case, typical case, convenience, etc) should be a characteristic of the investigator. Finally, once gained, the data must be analyzed.

Having lain the theoretical foundation for qualitative research, it is important to note how qualitative research was conducted in this study. The following overview provides a synopsis of the stringency I utilized within the study. First, the research was systematically and rigorously conducted. Second, the qualitative research was flexible. This meant that I made decisions not only on the basis of a sound research strategy, but also because of changing situations. Third, the qualitative research always

involves some measure of self-scrutiny or reflexivity. Finally qualitative research should not be seen as necessarily in opposition to and uncomplimentary to quantitative research. Indeed, a fundamental part of this study consisted of thinking carefully about how, when, and why they might combine methods, whether within or between method.

Research Design

In this study, several critical resource decisions flowed from the overall design of the study. The design was of a multi-site, multi-interview nature. The scope the study demanded adequate resources in time, in financial support, and ability to find subjects. Once decisions were made in this area, the study could advance. This research project followed methodological suggestions by Lindlof, (1995) and Marshall and Rossman, (1989).

The first task in projecting resource needs was to organize the study's activities into manageable tasks. These were identified as literature review, refinement of the research plan, site selection, site visitation, member identification, member interview, data management, data analysis, and reporting. Initial

projections of necessary time were made and refined, as the associated cost projections were made. In other words I initially planned the ideal study, one in which access and resources were virtually unlimited. Refinements were then made when realistic access permits and costs were estimated.

The literature review was the next step. The purpose of the review was to refine the conceptual framework and enhance my knowledge of sex and politics. In the process the literature review helps keep me abreast of immediate trends in the research.

Regular refinement of the research plan was built into my conceptual framework of qualitative research. The primary purpose of this was to create structural opportunities to communicate with important subjects that I might not realize at the beginning of the study. These subjects included field contacts, other sites, and other possible subjects with which I became aware as the research progressed. The underlying premise for formally building into the schedule opportunities for refinement was simply that the project would require regular rethinking and reinterpretation of events in order to understand

fully the complex dynamics of the phenomena of the research.

Interviews

I chose to interview a convenience sample (Babbie, 1983) comprised of four males and four females. The participants in the study were asked a series of open-ended questions concerning the dynamics of candidate sex and politics. The responses to these queries were utilized to determine the framework of the research and how the communication served to reinforce stereotypes. In order to go beyond ordinary listening and hear meanings, I focused the discussion to obtain more depth and detail on a narrower range of topics. I encouraged people to elaborate, provide incidents and clarifications, and discuss events at length. The depth, detail, and richness I was seeking in the interviews is what Geertz (1973) describes as "thick description."

In order to understand what the candidates were saying, I had to learn to hear the taken-for-granted assumptions of the interviewees and try to understand the experiences that shaped these assumptions. Obviously one of the key differences between

qualitative interviewing and survey interviewing is that the surveyors are trying generalize relatively simple information, i.e., who are you going to vote for, whereas the qualitative interviewer is trying to learn about complex phenomena. I did not try to simplify, but instead attempted to capture some of the richness and complexity of their subject matter and explain it in a comprehensible way. But the richness does not happen by itself. It must be designed in the pattern of questioning. The goal for me is to ensure that the results are deep, detailed, vivid, and nuanced. I specifically designed questions to elicit nuance - for example asking "does it always happen like that" or implying that there must be more to an answer. In an attempt to gain depth, I asked follow up questions. "What do you mean", or "can you give me an example" are two follow ups I asked on nearly every question.

Data Analysis

The qualitative researcher should be familiar with the issues and data quality control and analysis and must display an ability to devise controls and methods that are appropriate to the research. However,

one caveat - qualitative research does not (and should not) pretend to be replicable (Marshall & Rossman, 1989; Lindlof, 1995). The research should purposefully avoid controlling the research conditions and concentrate on recording the complexity of situational contexts as they occur. However, qualitative researchers can respond to the traditional social science concern for replicability by taking the steps that I followed in the research mentioned above as well as positing there really is no such thing as replicability (and this includes the quantitative world) because the real world changes. Furthermore, by keeping thorough notes and a researcher's diary that records each research design decision and the rationale behind it, others may inspect the procedures, protocols and decisions. I also keep all collected data in a well-organized retrievable form and make it available for reanalysis.

Coding the data is the process of grouping interviewees' responses into categories that bring together the similar ideas, concepts, or themes that are discovered in the process. My coding in this project was set up in three phases. First, I set up a

few main coding categories suggested by previous literature and skimming of the interviews. After performing this initial coding exercise, I noticed important information that did not fit in any of the original categories. I added new categories to fit the themes presented. Finally, I coded in one half hour segments and then spent a few minutes away from the data. When designing and applying the coding categories I think it is important to stay fresh, keep my mind engaged, and avoid turning coding into an automated task.

The Final Stages of Analysis

In the final stages of analysis, I organized the data in ways that helped formulate themes, refine concepts, and link them together to create a clear description or explanation of a culture or a topic. This material was then interpreted in terms of the literature review and theories in the field.

In this project I began to build overarching themes by following a two step process of thinking about the data. First I examined and compared the material within categories. Second I compared material across categories. For example, within the same

category I asked myself how uniform the examples were. Then I looked across categories.

The mixed methodological design of the study includes the qualitative research as discussed above and the quantitative component of content analysis. This component is discussed in the next section.

Pilot Study

Participants

During the summer 1999, a pilot study was conducted to test the qualitative instrument to be used in the study. One female Governor and one State Congressional member were chosen for interviews. One of the reasons for the choice of the Governor (Republican) and House member (Democrat) were their party affiliations. Fox (1997) argues that male and female candidates offer very different reasons for entering a campaign. Women often identify specific ideological or issue reasons for deciding to become candidates in a race. Conversely, men most often rely on general statements of wanting to "do good" or "serve the public" (p. 21). Fox (1997) explains:

. . . these candidates were motivated by specific issues that they felt strongly about . . .

However, none of the male challengers in the study, including liberal Democrats, expressed focused passion over issues such as this. The few male challengers who were motivated by issues to enter their race were with economic - or business - related issues such as NAFTA, taxes and government regulations. (p. 21-22)

By choosing both a Republican and Democrat, to pilot, further qualitative data was analyzed to determine if issue emphasis was as dynamic in candidates of different parties and considered ideologically opposite.

Both the offices were contacted and access to the Governor and House member were obtained through their scheduling departments. During two respective thirty minute interviews, the Governor and Congressperson were asked a series of open-ended questions pertaining to issues, stereotypes of the electorate, stereotypes of the party, campaign activities, images, and the role of the media. The interview schedule may be viewed in appendix B.

Results

The results of the pilot portray interesting conclusions from which further research may be generated. The research found support for the three-part thesis, which, argues that structural barriers presented by the political system, media, and voters keep women from obtaining office

Why Women Run

One of the first areas to be analyzed in the qualitative pilot study concerns why these two candidates decided to run for office and the barriers they faced. Understanding why candidates choose to run is significant for a variety of reasons. Darcy, Welch, and Clark (1994), for example, argue that the best method to remedy women's underrepresentation in government is to increase the number of female candidates. Second, by investigating candidate motivation, insight may be gained into gender political socialization of men and women in general. Finally, exploring candidate motivation provides understanding of the issues that are important to women candidates as they prepare to run for office. For instance, a woman may decide to run for office due

to a specific gender issue affecting her particular local, rather than because of broader issues.

The two women in this study offered several similar reasons for entering into politics. Both had entered races early in their careers because of a lack of representation concerning issues they deemed important:

The Congressperson explains:

Although the seat was open when I ran, he (the former officeholder) lived in the dark ages. I am pretty conservative, you know that; you have to be to run for office from this district, but he was completely unconcerned about the issues that matter to me and many women...I don't think he ever took an issue that dealt with women seriously. He wrapped himself in the flag and the pictures he tried to draw for this state. My opponent followed in his footsteps. I remember thinking, at one point, of how he would talk about issues like education and how you dealt with them was simply to talk to constituents about prayer and cutting taxes and the problem was solved. I owed my kids more than that and I wanted voters to

have a different choice. I won. But I also know that if the incumbent had run again I would not have.

The interviews also revealed the significance each office holder felt toward more women entering the political arena. They felt that gender diversity was an important variable when forming, discussing, and implementing policy. The Governor explains:

My state now has four women serving the Senate and sixteen in our General Assembly. We are making progress and I'm pleased to have many wonderful women who help me serve. You can certainly draw the conclusion that the infusion of women has changed state government. What is even more gratifying is that we are seeing the private sector follow the lead of government. When women enter meetings now, the males present do not assume that they are there to serve coffee.

Issues that concern women, as well as changing the way society stereotypes women seem to be central to these candidates motivation in running for office. Research indicates that men run for different reasons

than female candidates. Fox (1997), for instance, argues that "male candidates were motivated by ideals such as 'duty, honor, and service,' language not used by managers for female candidates" (p. 25). These different motivations of women and men are supported by previous research as well as this pilot study. In discussing their reasons for running both candidates were likely to be motivated by particular sets of issues that demonstrate their care and concern for others. Men, on the other hand, tend to view elections as stepping stones up from a position that they now hold (Fox, 1997). For example, the Governor's stance concerning the environment and a land saving issue is indicative of this concept:

. . . and I remember the fight that I had concerning the Statewide Preservation Initiative. I certainly angered members of my own party over this issue, but intelligent planning of contiguous open land so that families can traverse the outdoors is imperative. Planning that protects watersheds so that children can drink pure water, and intelligent planning leaves enough open, undeveloped land so that farmers may

farm is also important. I am sure you see what I mean. At times you have to transcend party if the issue is important. That initiative concerned half of the available land left, but we must plan for the future and for our children and their children.

Astin and Leland (1991) and Dodson and Carroll (1991) note that women leaders and political candidates are often driven by passionate commitment to a particular cause. This pilot also indicates that female candidates are committed to central issues that define their campaigns and time in office. This difference between men and women is problematic in that it may cause men and women to act differently as candidates, thereby presenting a structural barrier to successful election. Burrell (1994) suggests, women are more apt to become involved in politics through community-level interests through specific political causes as opposed to men, who, more abstractly become involved in politics by viewing office as culmination to ambition. This socialization of men and women illustrate keenly differences that must be explored in order to explain gender politics.

When Women Run

Kahn (1991, 1992, 1993, 1994a, 1994b, 1996) illustrates how important the media becomes as female candidates enter into the political fray. Sexual stereotypes are reinforced by the media. Women are still considered different. Braden (1996) explains:

Gender is still mentioned in news stories about women politicians, though its usually no longer enough of a news angle to hang a headline on Women still must project stereotypically masculine qualities, such as toughness and decisiveness, and try to set themselves apart from stereotypes of women. They can still expect reporters to ask questions about their mastery of "womanly" arts such as cooking, sewing, and parenting, as they are being questioned about their ability to make hard decisions. They may still be described in terms of their relationship to a husband, father, or child. (p. 144)

The pilot study also investigated the nature of media and gender as they impact elections. Both candidates indicated that it was important for the

media to go beyond the stereotypical when presenting female candidates. The Congressperson explains:

It is important not to get labeled as being interested only in women's issues and it is a mistake to fall victim to tunnel vision. I do not want to be pasted with the 'all you ever care about is what is important to women' label. You know, I am not a State Senator for women; I am a Senator for everyone. The media, even local media, perhaps even more so, has a terrible tendency to generalize all women in the same manner and I as a candidate have to deal with that.

The Governor was even more critical of the media. While pointing out that sexist reporting still exists she argues that there is a greater misuse and abandonment of trustworthiness within the media:

I think there was a time when the media felt like it must be truthful. And even-handed. They did research and they wouldn't present a piece unless it has been verified. Now it is about sensationalism and titillation. I do not want a break because I am a woman - what I do want is

fairness and truthfulness. Women candidates do not always get that and women Republicans really do not.

The interviews indicated that the media are often adversarial and that the media's representation of women has been less than stellar. The Congressperson, for example, stated that during her campaign, her opponent was depicted as:

a man's man. During his campaign they always pointed to his farm background, and even though he had not been farming in years, 'former farmer' always appeared after his name. I always got 'former school teacher' even though I have been out of the classroom for a number of years.

The pilot study found that perception of positive portrayals of men were often linked to authoritative positions. The candidates felt, conversely, that women were depicted in inherently stereotyped female positions. Furthermore, both officials indicated that the media needed to reflect upon the method used when gathering information, as well as how they report news.

How Women Run

Fox (1997) notes:

In 1994, the last thing I would want to be is woman Democrat running for office. The Democrats have lost control of the policy agenda and there appears to be a backlash against women. I think with the "year of the woman" in 1992, many male voters saw the feminization of the Democratic Party and they didn't like it. (p. 143)

The question of the manner in which voting is impacted by candidate gender has been hotly debated and results in mixed research findings. Historically, gender response voting has worked to the detriment of female candidates (Fox, 1997). Even as late as the 1970's, NES research indicates that nearly 20% of the populace would not vote for a female candidate for president (Fox 1997). Current research, however, indicates that voter response may have softened toward female candidates (Burrell, 1994, Thompson and Steckenrider, 1997). However, NES research as well as other survey research may not be the best method to uncover voter bias. Gender stereotyping and discrimination in the voting booth is much too complex

to be laid bare by simply asking voters if they would vote for a woman. Many voters for instance, may have bias that they feel uncomfortable admitting, are unaware of the bias, or may apply stereotypes in voting that they do not consider bias. The Congressperson explains:

I think that voters sometimes expect women to react differently than men; I think that they think they will see more emotion or empathy from a woman. This may work for or against the candidate. It depends on the election and it depends upon the issue. I really think that women may have an advantage in some areas, like issues that deal with children, simply because of the stereotypes that exist. On the other hand, it really can become a detriment on other things. I do think that it runs across the board though. I think that sometimes women voters sometimes apply more stereotypical attitudes than men.

As the congressperson indicates the gender bias question is much too complex and subtle to be uncovered by many of the surveys utilized in polling procedures. It is imperative to consider whether gender

socialization plays a major role in the decisions of significant numbers of voters. Obviously, in many elections, a relatively small percentage of voter bias could alter the outcome.

The pilot study provided impetus for further investigation into the role gender plays in the electoral process. Both elected officials gave indications that the political system's structure, media stereotypes concerning images and issues, as well as voter bias may be pivotal in elections. The balance of this study includes a review of literature discussing political advertising, debate, and media bias as it pertains to stereotypes, candidacy, women's issues, and women's images. Theoretical foundations are supplied. Research Questions are proposed and a mixed methodological design is introduced to answer the questions. Finally, results and discussion sections are presented that analyze the findings.

Content Analysis

Content analysis is defined as a method of studying and analyzing communication in a systematic, objective, and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables. Krippendorff (1980) describes

content analysis as a research technique employed for replicating and validating inferences from the data in context. The method may be applied in a number of ways including discovering communication content, testing hypothesis, comparing media content, assessing the image of particular groups and establishing a starting point for the study of media effects. Kaid and Wadsworth illustrate that content analytic procedures include seven steps:

1. Formulate the hypotheses or research questions 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 who implement it.
5. Implement the coding process.
6. Determine reliability.
7. Analyze the results of the coding process.

(Kaid & Wadsworth, 1989, p. 199)

Step three in the method includes the stages of defining the units of analysis and units of recording (Krippendorff, 1980). In this particular work the units of analysis include political advertisements and

newspaper articles. Recording units include the categories on the code sheets as defined, identified, and explained in the codebooks.

Content Analysis of Newspaper Articles

It is important to defend the particular newspaper articles used in the study. To achieve reliability, established criteria were followed in the selection of newspaper articles. Exclusively, those articles from the first section of the newspaper with the largest circulation and accessibility on line in each state were included in this project. This criterion is justified due to both substantive and practical reasons. First, because of the large readership of each newspaper, and due to replication of stories in the state newspapers, the use of the largest newspaper is justified. Next, news articles from major newspapers are easily obtained off microfiche and through archives on the Internet, thereby providing access for research. Despite television being the primary source of news for a majority of the country, studies illustrate that newspapers provide more information concerning state wide races (Goldenberg & Traugett, 1987).

In order to discover the possibility of gender bias, a random sample of articles mentioning either candidate were analyzed from September 1 until November 3. Because the election season traditionally is regarded to last from Labor to election day, the gathering of articles was restricted to that time frame. Due to the vast number of articles published concerning the 17 races a random sample was chosen to represent the population. It was determined that utilizing one third of the possible articles over a 93 day period would be adequate to represent the population (Riffe, Lacy, & Fico, 1998). A total of 1,779 articles were identified containing at least one of the candidate's name in a particular race. Each article was assigned a number and from this population, 593 were randomly selected.

Newspaper articles are a significant source of information for the electorate. Voters' discernment of political candidates are affected by what they read. Emphasis is naturally placed on events that are reported in newspapers. Since the newspapers have the opportunity to present events in the manner that the paper might desire, this gives the media an

opportunity to shape the campaign. Hence, with the explicit information newspapers provide about campaigns, their content is worthy of investigation.

Written coding instruments were developed to code the newspaper articles. The coding instruments explain in detail the procedures utilized. Recording of the data required techniques ranging from frequency distribution to identifying stereotypes or slants of coverage. The categories for the coding of media bias evolved from study of previous research investigating political communication (Davis, 1978; Kahn, 1993; Kahn & Goldenberg, 1991; Miller, 1996). The coding instrument for feminist sex stereotyping theories also evolved from previous research (Campbell, 1989; Miller, 1996; Trent & Sabourin, 1993).

Fifteen newspapers were selected for this study (see Table 2). These were identified by the Audit Bureau of Circulation as the newspapers with the largest circulation from each respective state as well as being accessible on line. The newspaper articles were initially researched through an on line computer search and the names of each candidate were used to conduct the search.

Categories were employed to describe the demographic data (i.e., name, sex, publication date, page number, and paragraph length). Next, categories were established to measure the number of paragraphs each candidate's name is mentioned (i.e., number of paragraphs mentioning male candidate, number of paragraphs mentioning female candidate and number of paragraphs that mention both). The next category asked coders to evaluate issues as they were linked with certain candidates. The issue categories were developed from Miller's (1996) newspaper article codebook and Bystrom's (1995) political advertising codebook.

The next set of categories was designed to identify characteristics and representation of each candidate. These categories included character and credibility references, mentions of traits associated with sex, and candidate viability. A set of categories was also included to investigate discussion of political ads that are highlighted in the newspaper.

In addition, categories associated with the slant of the coverage were included. These categories were evaluative, and asked coders to judge the overall

slant of the coverage. Evaluations were made on the article in its entirety and included statements concerning the outcome of the debate (i.e., did the article proclaim a victor?).

Content Analysis of Political Ads

To ascertain the differences and similarities in how female candidates who ran against other male candidates present themselves to the voters through their campaign messages, the images and issues of female/male 1998 Senate, and Gubernatorial candidates were analyzed. Races that contained male/female candidates in 1998 were identified for the Almanac of American Politics, 1996 (Baroine & Ujifusa, 1997). Of these races the sample consists of 166 spots from 17 races collected at the University of Oklahoma's Political Communication Center (PCC). These spots represent a convenience sample; although the ads do represent the universe of male versus female televised political spots during 1998 that the PCC has in the archives. The unit of analysis consisted of each individual political spot. Because the research was interested in the issue/images of female candidates when running against male candidates, those races that

included females vs. females were excluded (see table 1). Specifically, that race involved Senatorial candidates Patty Murray and Linda Smith from the state of Washington.

To appraise how female candidates presented themselves to voters the televised political spots were investigated using content analytic procedures. This study employed categories developed by Kaid and Davidson (1996), refined in subsequent investigations (Kaid & Johnson, 1991), and further modified by Brystrom (1995) (See Appendices C and D for the code book and code sheet used in this investigation). The coding schema utilizes categories formulated to gather demographic information (e.g., the candidate's name, sex (in this study races are mixed gender), political information (e.g., the campaign year and the sponsor of the spot), as well as categories that describe the issue and image content of the ad.

Verbal content categories will illumine the audio message the candidates' present to voters. Verbal categories include the focus of the spot (e.g., candidate-positive or opponent-negative), if the ad is negative categories investigate the source of the

attack, the purpose/nature of the attack, and the strategies made when issuing the attack. Further, there are verbal content categories to ascertain the emphasis of the commercial (e.g., issue or image), the type of appeal used (e.g., logical, emotional, or source credibility characteristics), use of fear appeals, content of the commercial (e.g., issue related appeal, partisanship, or personal characteristics of the candidate), and the structure of the appeal (e.g., inductive or deductive). In addition, verbal content categories investigate the issues mentioned (e.g., ethics/morals decline, health care reform, and women's issues) the strategies used in the ad to persuade the voter (e.g., calling for changes, use of expert authorities, and attacking the record of the opponent), and what candidate characteristics are present in the spot (e.g., honesty/integrity, warmth/compassion, and Washington outsider).

Kaid and Johnston (1991) included categories that investigate the issues and strategies that research maintains are "feminine" and "masculine." Kahn (1993) argues that:

men are more likely to discuss economic issue 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. These results suggest that men and women do have distinct issue priorities that they pursue in their quest for election. (p. 489)

Besides "feminine" and "masculine" issues discussed by Kahn (1993) Trent and Sabourin (1991) maintain that "when women speak that are expected to exhibit characteristics such as sensitivity to the needs of others, compassion, affection, politeness, and openness" (p. 135). In contrast, males are expected to show assertiveness, rational, and competence.

Brystrom (1995) further adjusted Kaid and Davidson's (1986) code book by adding gender relevant traits and strategies to the candidate characteristics and appeal strategy categories. Specifically, she added the "feminine" traits of: (1) Cooperation with others, (2) Washington outsider; sensitive/ understanding, and (3) trustworthiness. Besides adding feminine traits, her review of literature also allowed

her to add additional "masculine" traits of: (1) leadership, (2) political experience, and (3) knowledgeable/intelligent.

Finally, Brystrom (1995) added an issue category to measure whether candidates mentioned public issue concerns. In this listing of important issues, research (e.g., Carroll, 1994; Kahn, 1993;) indicates that there are stereotypical masculine (e.g., taxes, the economy, crime), and stereotypical feminine (e.g., education, health care, drug abuse). Hence Brystrom has adapted this coding schema to:

not only measure differences and similarities between male and female candidates on key elements of political advertising—such as negative or positive focus, issue or image emphasis, the type and content of the appeals, and the various production strategies—but also assess their videostyles and strategies according to gender-based expectations documented in the literature. (p. 120)

For the present study, using a mixture of coding schema will allow the study to investigate the

issues/images of female candidates when they campaign against males.

Coding Procedures of Newspapers and Political Advertisements

Three graduate students, 2 female and 1 male were trained in the use of the codebook and codesheet developed for the political advertisement portion of the project. Four undergraduate honor students, two male and two female were trained as coders in the use of the instrument concerning newspaper articles.

In order to assess intercoder reliability, Holsti's (North, Holsti, Zanovitch, & Zinnes, 1963) formula was used to test reliability across categories. If incongruity in coding was perceived, retraining in those categories was conducted.

Training in each instrument use included hour-long sessions familiarizing the coders with the codesheet, codebook, and the units of analysis. Following verbal instruction, questioning period, and actual instrument practice with samples of each artifact, the coders were given ten percent of the population and asked to code the sample. A close evaluation of intercoder reliability was then

conducted and intercoder reliability was across all categories was obtained.

Coder training for the political advertisement portion of the study included one two-hour session which familiarized the coders with the instrument and units of analysis. Three coders were utilized in this portion: the first was male, a third year communication graduate student familiar with content analysis. The second was a female third year communication graduate student also familiar with content analysis. The third was also a female graduate student interested in political communication and familiar with content analysis. The training session included an instrument read-through, question and answer period, and hands-on practice with sample advertisements. The coders were assigned ten per cent of the population and asked to code the sample. Intercoder reliability was then calculated to be $+.87$ across all categories and ranged $+.77$ to 1.00 in the various categories (see Appendix D).

Four coders were recruited from an honors communication class to evaluate the newspaper content of articles concerning candidates involved in mixed

gender Gubernatorial and Senatorial campaigns. The demographics of the coders are as follows: One female senior political science major, one male communication major, one female communication major, and one male business major.

The four-hour session used to train coders included a read-through of the coding instrument and coding five articles of like content. Afterward, the coders were asked to code three articles on their own. Then the responses were compared and further explanation offered. Since the population of articles was so large, 500+, 5 percent of the population was utilized in the intercoder reliability test. Intercoder reliability was $+ .86$ across all categories with a range of $+ .74$ to 1.00 (see Appendix F). A synopsis of the coding sessions includes that the categories in each coding instrument were reviewed and defined by visual or literary examples. Furthermore, to ensure that coders comprehended the definitions of each category and use of the coding instruments, they were asked to code several examples of the artifacts under investigation. Finally, if any incongruity was

noted, retraining of the coders occurred until all coders fully understood the procedures.

Data Analysis

The study used descriptive statistics to record frequencies and presence or absence of defined categories. Frequencies were calculated for the articles and political advertisements from each candidate. Chi-squares and contingency tables were utilized to investigate differences in the political advertisements, specifically in answering research questions 1 and 2. Chi square was utilized to test for significance in observed and expected frequencies in the respective categories. The significance level of $\leq .5$ was set. When testing for differences in the print media coverage of gender differences in male and female senatorial and gubernatorial candidates, chi square and contingency tables were appropriately utilized when applicable.

CHAPTER IV

Results

The results section of the content analysis of both the 166 political ads from 1998 Gubernatorial and Senatorial races and the 593 newspaper articles from the corresponding races uncover significant findings concerning campaign communication and media stereotyping of male and female candidates. In addition, the qualitative interviews held with eight candidates who ran in the 1998 elections added richness and depth to the inquiry that was unavailable through the content analysis alone. By triangulating the quantitative and qualitative segments of the study, a more lucid understanding of the impact of gender upon elections was accumulated.

Comparisons between issue and image agendas of male and female candidates in commercials, as well analysis of the newspaper articles concerning those candidates reveal stark, differentiation between the sexes in image and issue content. Furthermore, the qualitative analysis suggests that women and men are similarly aware of the stereotypical campaign behaviors that they may take in order to garner votes.

Also particularly salient in the qualitative analyses were the often-discriminatory stereotypes of political parties as well as campaign contributors and the difficulties faced by family non-support in the campaigns of female candidates. In addition, the analyses of the newspaper articles reveal stereotypes that may play a role in the answering the overall research question concerning the underrepresentation of women in the political process.

The results of the study indicate that significant differences do exist between male and female candidates' issue agendas in political advertisements (Research Question 1). Further, these differences indicate men are more likely, in their commercials, to discuss masculine issues, while female candidates are more likely to discuss feminine issues.

The results also indicate that significant differences exist in the images portrayed on political ads albeit in fewer areas than issues. In addition, issue ads outnumbered images ads. Significant differences were also found in who was pictured with candidates. Finally, the qualitative analysis provides insight and support to these findings.

The final research question investigated the role of the media in gender and the political process. The findings here indicate that men often hold an advantage over women because of the actions of the media during elections.

Quantitative Analysis of Issues in Mixed-Gender Campaigns - Political Advertising

The first research question asked if significant differences exist in the types of issues discussed by male and female candidates in their television commercials. Cross tabulations of candidate gender with variables included on the coding instruments divulge that significant differences do exist between the issue content of political commercials between men and women (see Table 4). Both women and men similarly emphasized many of the same issues. Close investigation of the data reveal, in answering Research Question 1A, that in many of what are widely considered to be "women's issues" significant differences were discovered. Women were significantly more likely to discuss education, $X^2 (1, N = 166) = 8.10, p = .04$, as well as health care, $X^2 (1, N = 166) = 9.74, p = .02$. Also significant were women

candidates discussing youth violence, $\chi^2 (1, N = 166) = 11.7, p = .01$. Finally in a category defined as "women's issues," (i.e., choice, sexual harassment, women's rights) significance between male and female candidates was also found, $\chi^2 (1, N = 166) = 7.22, p = .07$. Women discussed education in 29 (43%) of their ads, compared to 23 (23%) for men. Health care was mentioned in 18 (27%) of the female candidates' spots compared to 9 (9%) of the male candidates' advertisements. Women referenced youth violence in 7 (11%) of their ads. There were no references to youth violence in any of the male ads 0 (00%). Finally, the category of women's issues was discussed in 16 (24%) of female candidates ads, contrasted to 9 (9%) in male candidate ads.

Several interesting results were discovered when answering RQ1B. For example, on an issue considered to be "masculine," men were significantly more likely to discuss taxes, $\chi^2 (N = 166) = 14.35, p = .001$. Men mentioned taxes in 35 (35%) of their ads while women alluded to taxes in 6 (11%) of their ads.

In aggregate, men and women displayed differences in the number of references to traditionally male and

female issues. Men mentioned male issues a total of 84 times while women discussed male issues 36 times, a ratio of 2.33 to 1. Contrarily, women mentioned traditionally considered feminine issues 91 times, while males discussed feminine issues 71 times, a ratio of 1.28 to 1.

Beyond, the aforementioned significant differences, further analysis reveals that men and women were equal when alluding to crime (8%). They were similar in their discussions of unemployment (men, 13%, women, 11%), the environment (men, 9%, women, 7%), senior citizens issues (men, 11%, women, 12%), drugs and drug abuse (men, 1%, women, 3%), and welfare reform (men, 4%, women, 2%).

Women discussed the economy in general, a traditionally male issue, in 18% of their ads while men discussed the economy in 12%. Men did, however, mention the budget more than women (men, 10%, women, 3%). Men also discussed the recession (3%), dissatisfaction with government (4%), defense (2%), poverty (1%), and ethics (4%), while women made no mention of the categories in their ads.

Ultimately, the content analyses of mixed-gender political spots reveal that advertisements by female candidate that feature stereotypically "feminine" issues, are statistically significant (education, health care, youth violence, women's issues). Alternatively, one issue that is considered traditionally masculine, taxes, is deemed significantly different in male campaign spots.

Qualitative Analysis of Issues in Mixed-Gender Campaigns

The qualitative portion of Research Question 1 revealed several emergent themes that arose from the participant interviews. Based upon the evidence generated from the interviews from the candidates, the data presented in this section lay groundwork for the premises put forth in the dissertation. First, many of the female candidates indicated that the catalyst for entering into a race was often a concern over a particular or set of particular issues, and these issues were often in arrears with the male candidate's agenda. Males, conversely, often entered races due to political ambition. Second, even though women may have entered a race concerned about a particular set of

issues they indicated that even if the elections were dominated by stereotypically "male issues." This often resulted from a lack of resources in many women's campaigns that handicapped emanating issue messages. Ultimately, the women candidates interviewed portrayed more concern for specific "women's issues" than men. However, this oftentimes did not appear in the campaign rhetoric due to the opposing campaign setting the agenda for the race.

Many female candidates seemed motivated to enter their respective races because of issue or ideological concern. Males, on the other hand, were more likely to indicate that "political ambition" was their objective for entering the race. Female candidates, much more often than males, identified specific issue related reasons for becoming a candidate. One candidate, when asked what prompted her to run for office illustrates this point:

I was interested in moving a leadership agenda on issues that were important to me for one, - I felt that in the house I had reached the limit of where I could really make a difference in the issues I believed in. The first thing that I did

when I was thinking about running for Governor was to go to the other likely suspects - those that might run - and asked them first, if they were going to run, and second what issues were important to them. I found that all of these individuals, all male by the way, had very different issue agendas than me. I really think that the only way I could get the issues that I wanted, and the issues that I feel were important to the people of this state into the limelight, was to make a run. Even if I failed, I felt at least these issues would begin to gain attention.

The concern for issues as a reason to enter an election is much different than that of most of the males interviewed in the study. Findings here indicate that political ambition or politics as a career seems to be a prime motivation. The following statement by a male candidate illustrates this:

Since college, I have always wanted to be in politics. It really is an exciting way of life and gives purpose to a person. It is also a way that I can help out, and do some good in society.

Beyond differences in issues that male and female candidates may hold, belief in a position, or issue, may, at least for female candidates be a reason that they first enter the race. However, when issues are mentioned, there seems to be a dichotomy between male and female candidates. Males, in the interviews, alluded to traditionally masculine issues such as taxes, business, and the interference of government through regulations, etc. as major issues in their campaigns. Female candidates, while granting that masculine issues tend to dominate campaigns, seemed frustrated at their inability to move the conversation concerning issues in the election to different ground. While women were more inclined to discuss education, abortion, health care, and government programs, female candidates also indicated that masculine issues often dominated the campaign. For example, when asked about issues one female candidate replied:

Well, this is one of the things I wish I could have controlled. Our issues often did not make it to the media, because without money we could not purchase the time needed to have an issue debate on our ground. One of our messages was that every

child has a right to enter school and learn. Education should play well throughout the entire state and with every class. However, the education issue becomes embroiled into a tax debate, an issue that certainly played well into his campaign messages. Another issue was the environment, not the Al Gore deal, but about protecting our natural resources as we balanced it with the economy. However, that evolved into our campaign bashing business, which is certainly not what we wanted. But because we didn't have the funds to refocus the message, our environmental message became twisted. The next message concerned voice. We tried to give a voice to people who did not have a way of entering into the political spectrum. For example, giving a way that senior citizens could afford proper health care, or that battered women had some place to go, or that the poorest in the state would not slip into hunger was important to me and to my campaign. I think these issues are what are important to most of the people of the state. However, these too, became tied to tax and spend

issues, which of course hurt us. I felt like our entire race was often trying to get the debate back on our issues, but we never could.

Male candidates, more often than not, pointed toward an economic platform, a stereotypically masculine platform, that held the issues in which, they felt voters gave credence. Thus, female candidates were not running on a platform of "women's issues" because, more often than not, moneys did not exist that would allow for discussion of "women's issues." For example, one successful male candidate stated:

I ran on a position of helping the small businesses in this state. All too often, in the attempt to draw new business and develop a higher level in the economy, government forgets small business. It was important to me that we did something for the business here now and I attempted to look at how other issues might impact business and campaigned to that end.

The qualitative portion of research question one facilitates in understanding that significant differences may not emerge when performing

quantitative analysis because extraneous variables exist that may skew the types of issues discussed by male and female candidates. A campaign's finances, for instance, may make a difference in the issues that are discussed. If an opposing campaign has more resources, it may be able to set the agenda for issue discussion.

A second conclusion that might be drawn from this research is that the causes and issues reflected by male and female candidates play a role in the inability of women to break into the highest echelons of elected office. The issues on which most women are running are often the most common in community or single issue action groups. Male candidates, conversely, are running on issues that have far reaching impacts beyond the single issue, or single community special interest.

Third, men seem to be illustrating political ambition or motivation that supersedes issue involvement. Ambition was rarely discussed when talking to female candidates. It was often the center of the discussion when conversing with males.

Overall Qualitative Findings Concerning Gender and Issues

With the decline of party politics over the past thirty years, the importance of issue and personal image traits have risen (Davidson & Oleszek, 1994). The candidates in this study varied substantially in the amount of material and how they attempted to bring their message to voters. Women, often challengers, seemed plagued by poorly financed campaigns and not properly backed by the their respective party, provided little threat to safely seated incumbents. One female candidate, when asked about the help she received from the party in disseminating her message, commented:

None. I didn't get anything from them at all.

Sometimes it seemed as if I were a member of the opposing party if you counted the amount of help I received from the state and national parties. Really, I think my issues played well with the state; in fact, we kept the opponent below 60%, and if we could have gotten just a little help then it may have made all the difference.

It becomes apparent that with the decline of party influence that choosing issues and promoting an image lie at the crux of a successful campaign.

When analyzing the data from the qualitative component of this research design, candidates seemed to employ two considerations when constructing the message they wanted to deliver to voters. The first, and major consideration, was their individual beliefs and the desire to allow voters to witness how the individual candidate felt concerning specific issues. For example, one candidate articulated her desire to reform education as being the hallmark of her career:

I believe that I can do no greater good than upgrade and reform the educational system in this state. Truly, nothing is more important to me than that. And if I can just pass on the conviction that I feel to voters and help them to understand that everything - I mean jobs, the future, the economic viability of the state, crime, just everything - then I feel that I have accomplished what I set out to do.

This evidence implies that the candidate selected the issue based on a personal belief that superseded

other considerations. The larger investigation then becomes whether men and women follow different agendas for developing issue agendas. Thomas (1991) and Carroll (1984) argue that there is evidence that this is true.

The concern of the voter, and in turn, the candidate's own viability serve as the second catalyst for choosing campaign messages. Both the men and women interviewed sometimes chose issues they thought would play well with voters, even though the candidate's own convictions concerning the issue might equivocate. The following female challenger, running against a strong incumbent illustrates this point:

We decided to run a very low-keyed direct mail campaign concerning the construction of the prison. Everyone knew that it was a divisive issue that split across both parties. And do not get me wrong; it is not that I am against the construction. It did bring in several hundred jobs to a locally depressed economy. However, the method in which the prison was gotten for that specific area was questionable. So I played on that and we were successful because the specific

issue overrode party concerns. Many Democrats split their tickets to vote for me.

This candidate, although not specifically against the construction of the prison, used voter's concerns over the issue to her advantage. By understanding concerns about an issue that superseded party identification, the challenger was able to use an issue to her advantage.

Analysis of Issues in Mixed-Gender Campaigns - Newspaper Articles

Research question 1C investigates the types of issues attributed to male and female candidates in the media as determined by a content analysis of media coverage of news stories concerning the 1998 Senatorial and Gubernatorial elections. Analysis of the newspaper articles covering mixed-gender elections reveal several interesting and significant findings. Of the 593 articles garnered from the newspapers, 21 (34%) featured dominance of the male candidate, 95 (16%) the dominance of the female candidate, 193 (33%) characterized both candidates being equal in the article, and 14 (18%) featured neither candidate. There is an obvious disparity in the amount of

articles that portray dominance of male candidates in the articles (34% to 16%).

Further analysis uncovers the numerous issues that were presented in the newspaper articles covering mixed gender campaigns (see table 5). During these campaigns 21 issues were identified. Among these taxes (35%) and education (40%) are the most frequently mentioned. The budget (20%), the economy (17%), health care issues (17%), crime (15%), ethics (15%), and the environment (15%) were on the next tier of the issues receiving the most mention. Unemployment (12%), women's issues (11%), and senior citizen issues (10%) were the next most mentioned issues. Finally, the cost of living, the recession, immigration, poverty, welfare, drug abuse, defense, international issues, and youth violence all received less than 5%.

The fashion in which candidates are associated with issues also produced interesting results. While on many of the particular issues there was only slight variance between male and female candidates, a few portrayed significant differences (see Table 6). Tax's link to male candidates was significant, $\chi^2 (1, n = 593) = 7.18, p = .04$. The budget also illustrated a

link to male candidates that was significant, χ^2 (1, n = 593) = 7.47, p = .03. Other issues that proved to have significant differences included crime, χ^2 (1, n = 593) = 15.51, p = .01, dissatisfaction with government, χ^2 (n = 593) = 4.17, p = .04, women's issues, χ^2 (n = 593) = 10.89, p = .01, and defense, χ^2 (n = 539) = 5.00, p = .025.

Of the issues statistically significant, the tax issue was linked to male candidates (12%) more frequently than to female candidates (7%). Further, the budget was linked to male candidates (6.7%) more often than female candidates (3.2%). Crime (6.2% men, 1.7% women), dissatisfaction with government (3.4% men, 1.5% women), and defense (2.5% men, .8% women) all were linked to male candidates. Women's issues (3.7% men, 8.4% women) was an issue linked to women in the articles. Those issues not showing a significant difference in their link to male or female candidates include unemployment (4.6% men, 3.7% women), cost of living (2.2% men, .8% women), recession (.8% men, 5% women), immigration (1.3% men, 00% women), the economy (4.7% men, 3% women), education (10.5% men, 14% women), health care (4.2% men, 6.4% women), senior

citizen issues (2.2% men, 4.7% women), poverty (1.2% men, 2.0% women), welfare (2% men, 1% women), the environment (3.4% men, 5.2% women), drug abuse (1.7% men, 1.5% women) ethics (4.9% men, 3.9% women), international issues (1% men, 1% women), and youth violence (3% men, 8% women).

The results for research question 1 indicate that women focus upon traditionally considered "women's issues" in their campaign spots. Women presented the issues of education, health care, youth violence, as well as concerns about choice and sexual harassment significantly more than men. Male candidates spoke of taxes - traditionally considered a male issue - in their spots. Further, the qualitative interviews supported these findings as candidates revealed the issues they felt strongly about in their campaigns. News stories appearing in major papers in the states from which the candidates ran, also suggested that candidates in mixed-gender campaigns were linked to issues traditionally considered male and female, respectively. However, issue concerns are only one piece of the puzzle concerning mixed-gender elections. The data gathered to answer research question 2

portrays the images that surround male and female candidates as they attempt to gain elected posts.

Analysis of Images in Mixed-Gender Campaigns - Political Ads

Albeit issue spots outnumbered image ads 89 (54%) to 77 (46%) interesting results were witnessed by investigating the emergent images of candidates in their respective political ads. Issue ads made up 40 (61%) of ads created by women and 49 (49%) of the advertisements ran by men. Conversely, the image of candidates was the focus of 26 (39%) of the spots created by women and 51 (51%) of the ads for men. Male candidates used 3.72 image traits per ad while females used 3.00 image characteristics per commercial.

Several significant differences between the spots concerning images for men and women candidates arose while answering Research Question 2 (see Table 7). The answers to Research Questions 2A and 2B reveals that images surrounding the trait of honesty proved to be significant in the study as men emphasized this trait in 35 (35%) of their ads compared to women accentuating the characteristic in 11 (16%) of their ads, $\chi^2 (1, n = 166) = 6.67, p = .01$. Performance also

proved to be significant as male candidates highlighted the trait in 40 (40%) of their ads, while females expressed the trait in 16 (24%) of their political spots, $X^2 (1, n = 166) = 6.14, p = .04$. The aggressiveness of male and female candidates in their spots also revealed significant differences. Females tended to portray a more aggressive stance in their spots (27 ads, 41%) while males emphasized a less aggressive stance in 23 (23%) of their commercial spots, $X^2 (1, n = 166) = 6.5, p = .04$. Finally the image characteristic of trustworthiness proved to be significant. Males underscored the trait in 28 (28%) of their ads compared to 4 (6%) of their ads, $X^2 (1, n = 166), 12.29, p = .01$.

Results concerning other traits of interest that did not prove significant include male candidates emphasizing leadership 51 (51%), experience in politics 24 (24%), competence 26 (26%), and sensitivity 24 (24%) more often than women. Conversely women emphasized leadership 27 (41%), experience in politics 12 (18%), competence 10 (15%), and sensitivity 12 (18%) in their political advertisements. Women, on the other hand, emphasized

action 29 (44%) more so than men 34 (34%), as well as knowledge/intellect (men 7 (7%), women 8 (12%)). Both men 11 (11%), and women 6 (9%) emphasized cooperation, warmth and compassion (men 8 (8%), women 6 (9%) and being a political outsider (men 7 (7%), women 6, (9%)) near equally.

Further qualities of television ads that add to the image of the candidate include who is pictured with the candidate in the commercial and the negativity of the ad. Significant differences were found in who was pictured with male and female candidates. The family of the candidate was pictured with male candidates 32% of the time compared to 7% of the time for females, $\chi^2 (1, n = 166), = 10.12, p = .01$. However, children (not the candidates) were featured with female candidates in 54(54%) of their ads compared to 37 (37%) for men, $\chi^2 (1, n = 166) = 4.97, p = .02$.

Use of Negative Advertising

While there were no significant differences in the amount of negative attacks made by male and female candidates, females used attack ads more than men (see Table 9). Male candidates were negative in 33 (33%) of

their ads, while females were negative in (26) 39%. Further, the focus of the ads revealed no significant differences. Males ran 68 (68%) candidate positive focused advertisements, while women produced 43 (65%) candidate positive focused spots. In addition, men produced 29 (29%) opponent negatively focused ads, compared to female candidates producing 22 (33%) opponent negatively focused ads. There were also no significant differences in who made the attack. The male candidates made attacks themselves in 3 (3%) of the commercials, compared to women candidates making attacks themselves in 5 (8%) of the commercials they produced. Significance was found, however, when investigating the purpose of the attack. However, since frequencies did not meet sample size requirements, chi square statistics could not be utilized to assess for significance. After eliminating commercials coded not applicable (n = 11) two areas stand out as most prevalent. Women attacked issue stances (19, 29%) far more often than men (10, 10%) Women also attacked their opponent's performance (10, 15%) more often than men (2, 2%). Male candidates, conversely, attacked women's personal characteristics

more than women candidates attacked the male candidate's personal characteristics (8, (8%) men, 2, (3%) women). Male candidates also attacked the groups women belonged more than women attacked the groups that male candidates belonged (7, (7%) men, 1, (2%) women)

Finally, no significant differences were found in the strategies utilized by men and women in negative advertisements. Negative association was the leading strategy used by both men (27, 27%) and women (20, 30%). Both women and men used name-calling nearly equally (4, 4% men, 4, 6% women). Humor and ridicule were used in 1 (1%) male candidate's commercial and not used by any female candidates. Guilt by association was utilized by 3, (3%) male candidates and was again, not utilized by any female candidates.

Appeals Utilized in Political Advertising

There were no significant differences in Aristotelian types of appeals by male and female candidates as the use of different types of appeal was almost even. Males used logical appeals in 40 (40%) of their ads, while women utilized logical appeals in 26 (39%) of the ads produced on their behalf. Men used

emotional appeals in 30 (30%) of their ads compared to 20 (30%) for women. Furthermore, men used credibility appeals in (30%) of their ads. Women used credibility appeals equally as often 20 (30%). However, one type of appeal used significantly more by women was fear. Male candidates utilized fear appeals 5 (5%) of the time in their ads. Females used fear appeals in 11 (16%) of the ads they produced, $\chi^2 = (1, n = 166) = 6.21, p = .03$.

Qualitative Analysis of Images in Mixed-Gender Campaigns

When exploring the use of personal and political image qualities by candidates in this study, candidates were asked what personal traits they emphasized during the campaign. In the interviews, female candidates explained that they must display their accomplishments more than men must in order to be successful. Women candidates also tended to state that they must present an image of being able to "get things done" and portrayed themselves as "fighters for the community." Male candidates, conversely, frequently alluded to their honesty and "moral character." Finally, another emerging trend evolving

out of the qualitative research was the different manners in which male and female candidates portrayed their families.

That female candidates were often forced to campaign on an uneven playing field was obvious in many interviews. Many of the women indicated the difficulties that they experienced in gaining an acceptable image with the voters, the media, and campaign contributors. One woman candidate explained that:

It was not so much the negative coverage as the lack of coverage. How they, I mean the editorial boards and news production people, would screen themselves by simply not covering the campaign and the images that I wanted to produce . . . Campaign contributors especially those that had been in the party a long time were not simply patronizing, they were worse than that. I would go into an office and the company president would look at the "little girl," trying to make good and offer me a check of \$100.00. If I had been male the check would have been for \$1,000.00. The images that I think that women have to overcome,

especially in conservative states is very hard,
and still sometimes impossible.

Males, much of the time, found ease in reinforcing political images already very salient within the electorate. For example, one male candidate insisted that by reinforcing character, he had an inherent advantage over his female opponent.

What matters in the election is character. Most of the campaign was spent showing the type character that I am proud of and hope that I hold. It often was not even necessary to attack my opponent because everyone knew that there were moral issues that would be automatically seen to be in my favor.

Ultimately, candidates enhanced the image factor in a variety of ways. One female candidate, for example, explained that she felt her male opponent in a debate had "set her up over moral images." In the debate, a local reporter had asked if either of the candidates had ever been involved in an extramarital affair (the female candidate had been divorced - the male candidate had not). In the interview about this question, the candidate reflected that:

Well, the speculation is that (Candidate X) set up the question, and I think it is certainly possible. I guess I am proud of the way I handled because I hadn't practiced for it or prepared for it. We had spin doctors and they had spin doctors and most felt that I had won the debate. And I was disappointed that the only thing that the press picked up on was this question. So the headline the next day was not about issues, or who won anything. It was about this reporter, that question, and my answer to it. The question was certainly intended to enhance his image.

Female candidates also felt that they had to overcome bias (especially with older voters) that they would "fight" for the issues that were important to them. They may feel this for good reason since the General Social Survey illustrates that 22 percent of voters over the age of 65 would not vote for a woman for President as opposed to 9 percent of the general population (Davis & Smith, 1993). One woman candidate responded:

Sometimes voters are not apt to believe that a woman will be aggressive enough to fight for

their interests. Sometimes, especially with senior citizens, this is contradictory since we are probably much more inclined to protect Social Security than male Republicans do.

A final theme that emerged from the qualitative interviews was the image that surrounded candidates and their families. Female and male candidates tend to portray their families and family lives differently. One candidate described her image-family relationship as a balancing act that influences her campaign:

Sometimes it's hard to placate what the voters want. On the one hand I need to put forth the image of the consummate professional, a woman who can run a Fortune 500 company. Other times, in other venues, I need to show a more feminine side. And sometimes those two things do not match.

Many female candidates discussed the challenges of being a parent in their campaigns and, more than one, the hardships behind being a single parent. Males, conversely, discussed family in a more traditional sense. The male candidates interviewed indicated that they wanted to be seen as a "family man." One male

indicated that he wanted his family to be a "visible presence" at campaign stops and rallies.

My family is important to me and, I think, shows the people what type of man that I am. That my wife and I, as well as our children, campaign together, work together, and believe that family is central to our way of life is important.

Conclusions that may be inferred from the qualitative research concerning candidate image include that female candidates are more concerned about credibility, and feel the need to present accomplishments that validate their candidacies. Second, women feel that they must display a more aggressive "fighter" attitude than men do. Finally, the manner in which men and women portray their family life on the campaign trail differs.

Both the quantitative study of political commercials and the qualitative interviews of candidates indicate, while answering Research Question 2, differences exist in the images that male and female candidates desire to display to the public. The next section explores the role of the media and candidate image.

Overall Qualitative Findings Concerning Gender and Images

The personal images, traits, and characteristics incorporated into the campaign messages are one of the clearest gauges concerning the impact of gender in campaigns. Past research has noted that stereotypes exist when candidates present themselves to voters. Huddy and Terkildsen (1993b) as well as Kahn (1996) have found evidence of stereotypical male and female traits among voters. In a summary of stereotyped traits, Burrell, (1994) explains that female candidates have been characterized as more likely to be caring, honest, moral and willing to compromise. Males, conversely, are seen to be tough, emotionally stable, and better able to handle a crisis. If, as Bennett and Bennett (1989) argue that a large portion of likely voters hold these stereotypes, then candidates must be concerned about the image they present to voters.

When exploring the use of personal image traits by candidates in this study, several traits stand out. In both the qualitative and quantitative investigations, male candidates were much more likely

to stress their honesty and trustworthiness, while female were more apt to stress their aggressive ability to "get things done."

Female candidates want to portray themselves as fighters for their constituents and spent a great deal of time and energy in their campaigns illustrating aggressive ability to bring about change. The credibility problem that many female candidates seemed to face was whether they had the ability to bring about their policies once elected. One candidate complained:

I think that there were times when my candidacy was not taken seriously by the media and the voters. I had to work twice as hard to gain acceptance and gain media attention. And yeah, there were times that I was very aggressive. If I had to go and bust some balls to gain attention then I went and did it What is really disheartening is that my opponent has not done anything during his four years in office. But anytime we were compared it was me who was questioned concerning my ability to make things happen.

By working to erode the perceived credibility problem female candidates created images to make them look as if they can competently handle the job once elected.

Further, as previously alluded too, women have difficulty with issues like crime or the economy. Therefore they may spend time working on an image to overcome the issue stereotype. One female candidate reiterated the point:

During the debate, I got the feeling that I was not taken as seriously as he was, especially when we were talking about the economy or what to do about the oil crisis; things like that. What is readily apparent is that the reporter asking the question wanted to know about my sex life.

A final area of interest concerns the method in which candidates present themselves in correlation with their families. The quantitative results indicate that there is a significant difference in male and female candidates appearing in political spots with their families. Conversely, however, females were pictured with children other than their families more often than men. The qualitative investigation produced

interesting results and provides some explanation for this phenomenon.

First, some of the female candidates reported family resistance to their campaigns. One candidate in particular discussed her husband's lack of support for the campaign:

I just do not think that he could accept me being gone so much of the time and being pulled in several directions at the same time. I know that it was difficult for him, but he could provide more support than he does. I am going to run again for a different office and it is already a cause for concern.

Beyond family conflict however, female candidates may have a difficult time handling voter stereotypes toward women's role and family. In large part, male and female candidates use family in their campaigns in different ways. Many male candidates, for example, will run ads with their family pictured with them. Further, male candidates often admitted to using their wives and families in a very public manner during their campaigns. None of the female candidates, however, admitted to any public role for their

spouses. Although Williams (1994) found that female Senate candidates were more likely to stress "feminine qualities" in their campaign commercials, this research indicates that they do this without involving their own families. One candidate reported that:

My campaign is such that the voters can see how I care about children, about issues that matter to families, and about how I dedicate my life to push forward those type issues. I do not need to place my family in the forefront of every ad I produce so that people can see how I feel concerning family values. My record is one that is filled with interest toward family. I think that voters can tell the difference between just talking about family and acting upon legislation that impacts families. People know that I have spent time as a wife and mother and I care about issues that will matter to wives and mothers. It is a part of who I am. I think sometimes that male candidates are disadvantaged because they have to prove their dedication to family issues. Female candidates, on the other hand, many times

have the issue ready made for them just because of who they are.

In sum, women candidates often use family traits to establish strength in character. Male candidates on the other hand, use family traits as symbol. Even though men are often pictured with family, there were few discussions concerning family in the ads. However, female candidates must be aware that the presentation of stereotypical male traits such as being an aggressive fighter, assertiveness, etc. is imperative in most elections.

Analysis of Images in Mixed-Gender Campaigns - Newspaper Articles

The answer concerning Research Question 2C reveals interesting results from the newspaper articles involving candidate image characteristics (see Table 10). After deleting the not present and linked to both male and female candidates, several significant differences were revealed. First, when newspapers reported on candidate's backgrounds a significant difference arose between males and females. The newspapers mentioned male candidate's backgrounds 76 (13%) times compared to mentioning a

female candidate's background 36 (6%) times, $\chi^2 (1, n = 593) = 14.28, p = .01$. Next, content analysis of newspapers revealed a significant difference in reporting concerning candidate's political experience. Males received discussion concerning political experience 84 (14%) times, while reports concerning the female candidates' political experience occurred in 43 (7%) instances, $\chi^2 (1, n = 593) = 13.23, p = .01$. Also proving to be significant was candidate warmth/compassion, $\chi^2 (1, n = 593) = 6.00, p = .04$, candidate competence, $\chi^2 (1, n = 593) = 7.38, p = .07$, and candidate activeness, $\chi^2 (1, n = 593) = 10.38, p = .01$. Further analysis reveals that candidate appearance, $\chi^2 (1, n = 593) = 9.25, p = .01$, stereotypes concerning candidates, $\chi^2 (1, n = 593) = 22.21, p = .01$, and mentions of candidate's marital status, $\chi^2 (1, n = 593) = 19.84, p = .01$, all reached statistical significance. Female candidates were portrayed in the newspapers to exude more warmth/compassion than male candidates, [18 (3%) men, 36 (6%) women]. Men, however, were characterized as being more competent than women [51 (9%) men, 27 (5%) women] and displaying more action [55 (9%) men, 26

(4%) women]. However, female candidates (6%) appearance was mentioned more often than men (10%). Females marital status (9%) was also alluded to more often than their male counterparts (3%). Finally, females (6%) were stereotyped more often than males (1%).

Further analysis revealed other trends, however, these did not reach the level of statistical significance. References to candidate's performances (30 (5%) men, 34 (6%) women) as well references to the candidates' ideology (32 (5%) men, 30, (5%) women) proved to be nearly equal. Newspaper referred to male candidates concerning party affiliation 71 (12%), candidate honesty 51 (9%), candidate toughness 57 (10%), and candidate aggression 45 (8%) more often than to female candidates. Newspapers referred to women candidates regarding party affiliation 58 (9%), candidate honesty 42 (7%), candidate toughness 37 (6%), and candidate aggression 33 (5%).

The Content of Newspapers: Barriers that Inhibit Female Candidates

Male and female candidates are represented differently in newspaper coverage. In order to answer Research Question 3, several specific areas of media

coverage of mixed-gender campaigns were investigated. The first explored how the media covered the campaigns of male and female candidates. The second investigates debate coverage and the third news articles concerning political advertisements. Further, the quantity of coverage based upon candidate references in the articles, issue referrals, and article dominance was investigated. Finally, the slant of the coverage in the article, article headlines, and article sub-headings was explored.

The Quantity of Coverage

In fourteen of the seventeen races, males were the dominant focus of more articles than females (see Table 11). The three newspapers where females more often dominated the focus of news articles included the Chicago Tribune, Las Vegas Sun, and Portsmouth Herald. Carol Moseley-Braun, the incumbent from Illinois was the dominant focus of 14 (50%) of the articles, Peter Fitzgerald was the focus of 11 (39%) of the articles. In the Nevada gubernatorial race, Jan Laverty Jones, 9 (32%) the female candidate, dominated the focus of more newspaper articles than Kenny Guinn 5 (18%), the male candidate. Finally, in the

Portsmouth Herald, the female candidate Myrth York 8 (53%) dominated the focus of 8 (53%) of the articles compared to Lincoln Almond 3 (20%), the male candidate. Overall, of the 593 (N) articles sampled for this study, 233 (39%) focus on the male candidate. Conversely, 153 (26%) dominant focus is on the female candidate. Finally, 27 (35%) were coded as having a balanced focus between male and female candidates.

Representation of Candidate by Paragraph

As noted earlier, males tend to be the dominant focus of the articles. However, disparity also exists in the number of paragraphs in which the candidates are mentioned (see Table 12). A total of 14,229 paragraphs were counted in the 539 articles. Of these, 5,388 articles had mention of one candidate or another. Overall, 1,832 (34%) mention the male candidate to the exclusion of female candidates while 172 (31%) mention the female candidate and not the male. Both candidates' names are included in 1,855 (34%) paragraphs.

The Arizona Republic mentioned the male candidate in 113 (2%) paragraphs of the articles sampled,

compared to 86 (1%) for women. Both were mentioned in 187 (7%) articles.

The Arkansas Daily Gazette featured 124 (2%) paragraphs where the male candidate was referenced in the article. Female candidates were mentioned in 112 (2%) paragraphs and both candidates were featured in 134 (2%) paragraphs.

The Baltimore Sun covered two races. In those races the male candidate was referred to in 356 (6%) of the paragraphs compared to the female being noted in 334 (6%) paragraphs. Both candidates are discussed in 321 paragraphs.

The Bismarck Tribune articles include 66 (1%) paragraphs that mention the male candidate and 26 (1%) paragraphs that discuss the female candidate. Both the male and female candidates are mentioned in 54 (1%) of the paragraphs.

The Chicago Tribune was one of six newspapers in the sample that mentioned the female candidate in more paragraphs than the male candidate. Carol Moseley-Braun was mentioned in 157 (3%) paragraphs and Mike Fitzgerald was referred to in 77 (1%) paragraphs. Both candidates were discussed in 144 (3%) paragraphs.

The Cincinnati Post, covering two races, featured articles in which 146 (3%) paragraphs mention the male candidate. The newspaper mentioned the female candidate in 120 (2%) paragraphs. Both candidates are mentioned in 127 (2%) paragraphs.

The Daily Oklahoman makes reference to the male candidate in 180 (3%) paragraphs compared to 69 (1%) for the female candidates. Both candidates are mentioned in 76 (1%) paragraphs.

Two mixed-gender races (1 Senatorial, 1 Gubernatorial) were covered in the Denver Post. In these two races, the male candidates were mentioned in 245 (5%) of the paragraphs. The female candidate was referenced in 178 (3%) of the candidates. Both candidates were discussed in 187 (3%) of the paragraphs.

In the Hartford Courant, the female candidate 95 (2%) was mentioned in more paragraphs than the male candidate 87 (2%). Both candidates were mentioned in 126 (2%) paragraphs.

The Honolulu Star covered two mixed-gender races (1 Senatorial, 1 Gubernatorial). In these races the female candidates were mentioned in more paragraphs

than the male candidates (88 (2%) men, 91 (2%) women). Both candidates were mentioned in 14 (2%) of the paragraphs.

The Las Vegas Sun was the fourth newspaper to mention the female candidate (82, 2%) in more paragraphs than the male (36, 1%). Both candidates were mentioned in 77 (1%) paragraphs.

The Los Angeles Times made reference to the female candidate in more paragraphs than the male candidate (256, 5% men, 276, 5%) women. Both candidates were mentioned in 232 paragraphs.

The Portsmouth Herald was the sixth paper that discussed the female candidate in more paragraphs than the male candidate (58, 1%, men, 76 1% women). Both candidates names appeared in 87 (2%) paragraphs.

Mentions of the Candidate Gender

Significant differences were found in the newspaper discussions concerning the sex of the candidate. While sex of the candidate was rarely mentioned, female candidates received more news coverage concerning their sex than male candidates (see Table 13). Female candidates' sex is noted in 50

(8%) of the articles while male candidates, sex is mentioned in 7 (1%), $X^2 (1, n = 593) = 32.43, p = .01$.

Candidate Quotations

An investigation of candidate quotations did not find significant differences between the number presented in newspapers and gender (see Table 14). An analysis of quotations by candidates reveals that male candidates are quoted in 197 (33%) of the 593 articles in the sample. Females are similarly quoted. There are 185 (31%) quotations by women candidates in the articles.

Favorable and Unfavorable Coverage of Candidates

There were no significant differences in the slant with which male and female candidates are covered in the articles (see Table 15). For the most part, both candidates were treated in a neutral manner in the articles [134, (36%) men, 144, (40%) women]. Important, however, is the facet that, overall, women tend to be treated less favorably in the media than men. Male candidates are treated positively in 134 (30%) of the articles in which they are mentioned. Female candidates, conversely, are presented favorably

in 97 (23%) of the articles in which they are discussed.

In addition, there were no significant differences found in the treatment of candidates by the headlines published concerning the campaign. Male candidates were presented positively in 56 (18%) of the headlines while females were treated positively in 63 (19%). Males, on the other hand were treated negatively in 51 (16%) of the headlines while females received negative recognition in 66 (19%). Male and female candidates were treated neutrally in 212 (66%) and 210 (62%) headlines, respectively.

Candidate Viability

Female candidates were more likely to be labeled as "contenders" (77, 52%) more often than "frontrunner" (32, 22%) or "likely to lose," (38, 26%) (see Table 16). Male candidates, conversely, were more likely to be labeled "frontrunners," (69, 45%) or "contenders," (67, 44%). Men were noted to be "not likely to win" in 16 (11%) articles.

When "not applicable" and "contender variables" were removed, significant differences in candidate viability exist between men and women in newspaper

reporting (see Table 17). Investigation of the issue reveals that men are significantly more likely to be labeled the "frontrunner" rather than "not likely to win" in articles, $\chi^2 (2, n = 85) = 33.47, p = .01$. Men were labeled "frontrunners" 69 (81%) times and "not likely to win" 16 (18%) times. No significant differences were found in the articles concerning women as "frontrunner" 32 (45%) and the 38 (54%) articles that indicated those female candidates were not likely to win.

Newspaper Articles' Coverage of Gender and Political Ads

Few articles in the sample discuss political ads, however, some trends can be noted (see Table 18). Newspapers tend to cover the candidate sponsoring the ad, whether male or female, in a negative manner. Among the 43 newspaper articles concerning political ads, 13 featured male sponsors. Of that number, 6 (14%) featured negative coverage toward the male sponsor. Conversely, only 2 (4%) depicted the male candidate in a positive manner, while 5 (12%) treated male candidates in a neutral manner. Female candidates who sponsored political ads were featured in newspaper

articles 9 (21%) times. Females received negative treatment in the ads 8 (19%) times. Females were treated neutrally in 1 (2%) and were treated positively in none of the articles. When both female and male candidate sponsors were discussed in the article, they were treated positively in 10 (23%), neutrally in 4 (9%) and negatively in 7 (16%) of the articles.

The results concerning the coverage of image traits in political ads was interesting since no image category achieved statistical significance after the not present or linked to both candidates categories were removed (see Table 23). Women (10%) were slighted in the discussion of background as opposed to their male counterparts (17%). Further, women had more discussion concerning appearance (6%, women (0%) men), marital status (8% women, 6% men), and candidate gender stereotypes (6% women, 0% men). The female candidates' children were mentioned in 1 (2%) of the articles that concerned political ads while male candidates' children were never mentioned. Female candidates also were linked to mentions of candidate warmth (2% women, 0% men), candidate toughness (15%

women, 10% men), candidate activeness (8% women, 4% men), and candidate political ideology (4% women, 2% men) more so than their male counterparts. Conversely, men were more often linked to political experience (18% men, 10% women), party affiliation (8% men, 4% women) candidate honesty (15% men, 8% women), candidate competence (10% men, 4% women), and candidate aggression (10% men, 8% women).

Two issues proved significant in articles that featured political ads. First, taxes were linked to male candidates significantly more than females, $\chi^2 (1, n = 48) = 10.92, p = .02$. Discussion of youth violence in articles that covered ads also linked to female candidates in a statistically significant manner, $\chi^2 (1, n = 48) = 7.00, p = .08$. Mentions of taxes were linked to male candidates in 8 (17%) of the articles that featured ads compared to only 1 (2%) being linked to female candidates.

Newspaper Articles' Coverage of Candidates and Debate

Of the 593 articles that made up the sample, 46 (7%) discussed debates in at least some portion of the text (see Table 19). There were 1,231 articles counted in the 46 articles. Of these, 161 (13%) paragraphs

contained the name of the female candidate. The male candidate, however, was mentioned in 217 (18%) of the paragraphs in the articles concerning debates.

Further, male issue stances were covered in more of the articles (25, 54%) than female issue stances (20, 43%).

Slant of Coverage in Debates

Female candidates were depicted less favorably than male candidates (see Table 20) in articles concerning debates. In the articles, female candidates were covered with an unfavorable slant 15 (33%) time, while male candidates were covered unfavorably 12 (26%) times. Conversely, males received favorable coverage in 6 (13%) of the articles while female candidates were covered favorable in 4 (7%) of the articles. Finally, coverage of candidate viability frequently favored male candidates. Female candidates were labeled as "likely to lose" in 7 (15)% of the articles. Male candidates, in this sample, were coded as "likely to lose" only 2 (4%) times.

Interestingly, no significant differences were found in issues being linked specifically to candidates in the debate articles after "not present"

and "linked to both categories" were removed (see Table 22). Instead, coverage seemed balanced concerning most issues. For example, taxes were linked specifically to men and women in 6 (13%) of the articles concerning debate. Some trends that were noted include the budget (13%), immigration (17%), and dissatisfaction with government (13%) being linked specifically to the male candidate. Conversely, female candidates were linked to the budget (7%), immigration (9%), and dissatisfaction with government (3%) in the articles. However, female candidates were linked to education (23%), health care (17%), and women's issues (11%) much more often than men were. Men were linked to education 15%, health care 11%, and women's issues 4% of the time.

Significant differences were found in the image traits linked with candidates in articles concerned with debate (see Table 21). First, the candidate's personality was linked with the female candidate significantly more often than the male candidate, $\chi^2 (1, n = 46) = 18.34, p = .01$. Further the marital status of the female candidate was mentioned more than the male candidate, $\chi^2 (1, n = 46) = 32.10, p = .03$.

Finally, the female candidates' children were mentioned by the articles concerned with debate more than the male candidate, $\chi^2 (1, n = 46) = 21.14, p = .01$.

Female candidates were linked to candidate personality 7 (13%) of the time compared to men being linked 2 (4%) times. Women's marital status was mentioned in 8 (17%) of the articles, while men's marital status was noted in 1 (2%) article. Finally, mention of the candidate's children occurred with female candidates in 7 (15%) of the articles, compared to male candidates' children being mentioned in 1 (2%) article.

As the results section indicates, interesting and relevant findings were gathered from the research. The next section presents a discussion of the issues that emerge from the research, including explanation of the findings, further discussion of the qualitative findings, limitations, and suggestions for future research.

Chapter V

Discussion

The catalyst for this study was an attempt to come to terms with some of the reasons why so few women are serving in positions of high elected office. The apparent inequity of this predicament led to the exploration of what was occurring to women as they campaigned for office. Second, the objective was to add to the paucity of scholarship concerning the variable of gender in political communication. Further, by using a triangulated method, this study was designed to avoid the pitfalls other studies might face by systematically eliminating important sources of data as a result of faulty research design. Therefore, this study helps to bring into focus the results of previous scholarship exploring gender as component in political communication.

What is understood by scholars concerning the agenda setting role of media underscores the contention that elections serve as an evolutionary agent in the policy agendas of elected officials. Political information is heightened during the election season. This information, for the most part,

comes not only from an increase in political coverage by the media, but from an onslaught of political communication material - including political advertisements. Thus, the information, advertisements, and media coverage in campaigns encourage the creation of salient issues to voters. The issues that are addressed in campaigns, whether elevated by the candidate or the media, will form the political program of the winner. It becomes significant to understand, then, whether women address different agendas. If so, this might deeply impact the dynamics of the electoral process as well as the very nature in which government operates.

Rinehart (1994) suggests that scholars should be interested in the number of women serving in office, because an inherent injustice exists when a group that numbers over fifty percent of the population is so underrepresented in government. Furthermore, Bachrach (1967) argues that members of minority groups receive better representation from members of their own group. Finally, Amundson (1971) posits that the best way women can achieve adequate representation is by being involved in government and the decision making

process. The result of this research and its design is to provide understanding concerning the method in which male and female candidates practice political communication and subsequently develop political agendas. The results of the study can be broadly divided into three areas: (1) Differences in issues the media prescribe to male and female candidates as well as the different issues male and female candidates present to voters, (2) differences in image attributes the media prescribe to male and female candidates as well as the different images candidates present to voters, and (3) gender stereotypes within media reporting of elections.

Gender and Political Issues

There is support for the conjecture that men and women bring different issues into the forefront while campaigning and, secondarily, in mixed-gender campaigns the media affix issues to candidates based upon gender. In the content analysis of political spots women in the 1998 Gubernatorial and Senatorial races often focused upon traditionally considered women's issues in the campaign advertisements. Political advertising research, in the past, has

produced mixed results when investigating issues and gender stereotyping. However, since Ansolabehere and Inyengar (1994) suggest that the relationship between gender stereotypes and issues is consequential, this investigation provides an initial attempt to bridge the gap between gender stereotypes and issues.

Women candidates in the study were significantly more likely to discuss education, youth violence, health care, and "women's issues" (i.e. choice, sexual harassment, equal pay for equal work, etc.). These results indicate that women candidates tended to promote their own agendas rather than the agendas of their male opponents. The findings of this study confirm earlier studies performed in the late 1980's (Kahn, 1996; Trent & Sabourin, 1993) that posited women focus upon more social "feminine" issues. While Bystrom (1996) and Williams (1994) found that women and men promoted more identical issue agendas in the early and mid 1990's, this research indicates that women are now beginning to campaign on issue agendas that are important to them.

Close investigation of the issue discussion reveals that men produced more commercials concerning

"masculine" issues in nearly every category. While taxes were the only issue that achieved statistical significance, men produced a higher percentage of commercials concerning every masculine issue - save the economy and crime. Concerning feminine issues, female candidates achieved statistical significance in health care, education, women's issues, and youth violence. For example, Barbara Kennelly, candidate for Governor of Connecticut, ran a predominately positive campaign producing several commercials concerning "medical decisions being made by HMO's rather than doctors." Kennelly also produced commercials concerning breast cancer research and health issues concerning women. Beyond that, women candidates held a higher percentage in issues concerning senior citizens and drugs/abuse of drugs. Men, however, did produce more commercials concerning the environment. These were especially salient in races that featured Democratic men running against Republican women in Gubernatorial races. Included were ads from the Maryland Gubernatorial race, produced by Parris Glendening, who ran several ads linking Ellen Sauerbrey to a study by environmental groups calling

her the "nation's worst environmental legislator." Ben Cayetano, provides a second example, who, while running for the Gubernatorial office of Hawaii, was endorsed by the Sierra Club.

Male candidates ran most heavily on cutting taxes. An exemplar was John Rowland, who, while running against Barbara Kennelly in the Connecticut Governor's race, produced a series of commercials concerned with taxes and the budget. Bill Owens, the male candidate for the Governor of Colorado, also created several commercials concerning taxation. Ben Nighthorse Campbell, Senatorial candidate from Colorado, also created a set of commercials concerning reducing taxation. Further, men discussed welfare more often than women, but often under the rubric of "cutting welfare." The Bill Clinton and Monica Lewinsky affair also played a role in some commercials, being negatively linked to female Democratic candidates in commercials concerning ethics and morality.

One male candidate offered this perspective on the Clinton scandal and how it fared in the electoral process:

I don't think democrats can simply wave a wand and make the entire Bill and Monica thing go away. And sometimes I do not understand how women, especially democratic women can back the President after his actions in this matter. I mean, he goes against everything he preaches. What respect did he pay to Monica and to women in general in this. I think had it been a Republican sitting in the White House, women's groups would have reacted much differently. It is important to many of the women who vote for me to be on the other side of the issue and show the hypocrisy that is present in this.

Kahn (1996) argues that women, because of media and voter stereotypes must, especially in elections where male issues are prominent, demonstrate their concern for these issues in their campaigns. However, it may be this dynamic that inhibits women from gaining political office. Seltzer, et al. (1997) argue that when women run for office they win almost as often as men. However, if, as Kahn (1996), Bystrom (1996), and Williams (1994) suggest, women must drift toward a male issue agenda to be successful, they may

refrain from running. A female candidate offers her insight:

I think my issues hit at the heart of what is important to the people in my state. And they are important to me. There really isn't any other reason to run. Look, sometimes during the election process I did not have much fun. If I did not think that I could make a difference to real people I would not do it. It is those issues that gave me the reason to keep going.

The investigation of the issue agenda from both the qualitative and quantitative perspective tends to corroborate this construct. First, as previously alluded, in the 1998 elections, women ran on many "feminine social issues." Second, in the qualitative interviews, when asked why they decided to run for office, no female candidate answered "political ambition." Instead they were more apt to present answers that correlated to a particular position on an issue. One Senatorial candidate, when asked why she ran, explained the issue/becoming a candidate link:

I do not care whether you are a Republican or Democrat, you must realize that the federal

government plays many different roles in this nation. Depending on the role you see for government, you create a campaign to address the issues that are important to you. Being a woman candidate sometimes means that I have issues in my life that a male candidate never thinks about. And it is more than just some power game. From police protection, to health care, to the question of who is going to look after the kids while I go to work are issues that my constituents and I care about. Each of us can benefit from the services that we have paid for with our tax dollars. The reason I ran has to deal with the integration of those issues and the role of government. Some of my colleagues would eliminate the most important programs for women in this nation. One of the major reasons I ran was to make sure that did not happen.

One of the more important aspects that stand out in this research is the evolution in the attitudes of candidates toward issues during the middle and late 1990's. Bystrom (1996) notes that "the strong similarities between the issue agendas of men and

women candidates were confirmed by rank order correlation showing a substantial relationship between the concerns mentioned in their 1990 and 1991-1992 spots" (p. 198). However, by the 1998 election cycle what is witnessed is a bifurcation in issue salience between men and women. Most noticeable is female candidates' bent toward education and male candidates' strong tenor toward taxation. One male candidate explains:

What I really think makes the most difference in people's lives is how much money the government takes from their paychecks. I think families are concerned with taxes, and when I run for office, or I vote for others, I look for fiscal responsibility.

Female candidates, conversely, created political ads that mentioned education 43% of the time. Many featured children in the ad (however, the inclusion of female candidate's own children was rare) in a school setting with the candidate speaking concerning the future of children. Laura Boyd, Gubernatorial candidate for Oklahoma, for example, produced a spot featuring small children drawing in a head-start type

setting. From this platform, she spoke of the need for education reform.

Ultimately, however, attention to any given issue may work for or against women when they run for office. Obviously how well any given issue corresponds with voter attitudes in a given state or district is paramount. However, as one female candidate responded, "Women's issues work for women candidates . . . who would you rather have talking about health care for your kid, a mother or a man in a business suit." What this tends to indicate is that women's issues could be advantageous for women to the detriment of a male candidate if the issue is salient to voters. If, however, more masculine issues are salient in a given election, the male candidate may have the advantage.

Gender, Issues, and The Media

Research question 1C investigates issues and amount of coverage the media link to male and female candidates. These results imply that setting the agenda for issue discussion may be at the heart of success or failure for female candidates. The findings, consistent with previous research conducted by Kahn (1994b, 1996) and Miller (1996), indicate the

media links issues to male candidates more often than female candidates. Further, with the exception of education, stereotypically male issues are discussed more often than female issues. This disproportion is apparent in both article representation and paragraph count (see table 12). Gender differences in the amount of news coverage recieved is important due to past research that indicates candidates who receive less coverage are less likely to be supported at the voting booth (Goldenberg & Traugott, 1987). One result of the present study indicates that women receive less coverage than men. Further, these findings suggest that reporters may hold preconceptions concerning female candidates that lead them to consider women as less viable than men. Since the amount of coverage may be correlated to electoral outcomes, this difference in candidate coverage could be one of the factors that lead to the dissimilitude of male and female elected officials in Gubernatorial and Senatorial offices.

Political communication scholars, by examining the substance of news coverage in Gubernatorial and Senatorial elections, may determine the quality of information available to the electorate. Thus, if news

coverage concerning issues differs between male and female candidates, the method in which voters decide to chose between candidates may be suspect. Wright and Berkman (1986) argue that media appraisal of a candidate's position concerning issues influence voter perception of the candidate. This study finds that journalists spend less time focusing on issues when discussing female candidates and consequently may lead to voters being reluctant to support female candidates at the polls.

Furthermore, while investigating media and issue coverage, it becomes apparent that the press are more likely to discuss "male issues" than "female issues" (see table 5). In addition, when the press does discuss "women's issues" it is often to the detriment of the female candidate. For example the following is the lead in to a story in the Baltimore Sun concerning Ellen Sauerbrey's life before politics:

The Fells Point Festival was in full swing, smiles all around, politicians thrusting their right hands out, trying to shake loose a few votes. It was 1994 and Ellen R. Sauerbrey, the Republican nominee for governor, was all smiles

as well. When a young woman approached her, Sauerbrey presented her hand. The woman ignored it.

"I could never vote for you," she told Sauerbrey. " I know you're a pro-lifer. And what really gets me sick is you could never understand what you're doing - you don't even have kids."

Sauerbrey's face fell. She mumbled something. She had no good answer. Friends were embarrassed for her.

Later, Sauerbrey - the hard-nosed, tax-slashing, old war-horse who upset the liberal status quo of Maryland politics - thought about her day. She was angry. She wanted to cry. (Baltimore Sun, Oct. 25 1998, p. 4A)

She had no good answer to the woman's comment. Although the article is somewhat more complimentary later, Todd Richissin, the writer of the piece, manages to align Sauerbrey with uncomplimentary gender references throughout. Further, if journalists hold stereotypical perceptions of women, these perceptions may be reflected in their discussions of candidates and issues, and further perpetuate the stereotype. In

this example, Richissin, not only manages to exploit the facet that Sauerbrey has no children, which may have some impact upon voters, but utilizes stereotypical titles such as "old war-horse" to further denigrate the candidate. Finally, Richissin utilizes what is a stereotypically women's issue, choice, to the impairment of the candidate.

The content analysis of the sample news articles revealed that taxes, crime, dissatisfaction with government, defense, and budgetary issues were significantly tied to male candidates more often than female candidates. Beyond the obvious benefit of being linked with issues that resonate with voters, male candidates also enjoy papers' simply linking a greater number of issues, more often to male candidates than women. The following example from the Chicago Tribune concerning Carol Moseley-Braun and her candidacy:

Though she boasts that her legislative record is one of the best in the Senate, it is not her votes that make many of her supporters go weak in the knees. It is her personality, featuring a signature smile that she flips on like a light switch, leaving her admirers aglow.

That same smile and charisma propelled her to a historic victory in 1992. The question is whether it is still enough to win again(Chicago Tribune, 1998, Oct. 15, p. 1A)

In a parallel article, directly opposite the Moseley-Braun article, the Chicago Tribune discusses Peter Fitzgerald, Moseley-Braun's opponent in this manner:

Fitzgerald stressed his fiscal conservatism in his early years and how he sponsored legislation requiring prisoners to work on chain gangs. Last year he proposed a multimillion dollar election-year tax cut.

Most of his legislation was killed by the legislature, even though his fellow Republicans controlled at least one chamber during that time. Several were vetoed by Republican Governor Jim Edgar. (Chicago Tribune, Oct. 15, 1998, p. 1A.)

Obviously, Moseley-Braun is presented differently than Fitzgerald. The example is indicative of the media's coverage of candidate positions that promote more favorable representations of male candidates. The surface analysis of Moseley-Braun stands in stark comparison to policy positions by Fitzgerald which

presents him in a more complimentary and credible manner. Even with the remarks concerning Fitzgerald's inability to get legislation passed, the lack of issue reference in the Moseley-Braun article places Fitzgerald in a more action-oriented, legislative light.

Finally, the category labeled "women's issues" is more substantially linked to female candidates than male candidates. However, in the case of some of the issues closely linked to women, such as education and welfare, male candidates may have increased their use of the issues as strategic campaign decisions in mixed gender campaigns. This, however, is not necessarily indicative of a personal transformation of male candidates concerning issues that are important to women. It could be that gender, and issues that pertain to it, are simply being utilized as tools to gain election.

The issue agendas linked to female candidates in both the political commercials and news articles may act as an agent of change in the agendas set for the American electorate. Further, the presence of female candidates may raise "female issues" in mixed gender

debates only because there exists a female opponent. Extant is an expanding body of literature which finds that male and female candidates hold separate issue agendas (Kahn, 1996; Thomas 1997). The findings in this portion of the study support the idea that there is a set of issues that do not receive appropriate attention until a female candidate enters into the electoral process.

Images in Mixed-Gender Campaigns - Political Commercials

Research Question 2 initiates discussion concerning the differences between images male and female candidates present to voters in commercials as well as the images linked to candidates in the media. Beyond issue assessment, concerns over image plays into voter opinion concerning a given candidate. Voters evaluate candidates' personalities when making decisions concerning for whom to vote (Goldenberg, Traugott, & Kahn, 1988). Even though issue spots outnumbered image ads in this study (54% - 46%), the propensity of image spots still provided much information to voters.

The incorporation of image spots into campaign messages may be one of the greatest indicators concerning the impact of gender upon campaigns. First, there are several relationships that achieved statistical significance. Male candidates, for example, are much more apt to stress their honesty and trustworthiness in a campaign than female candidates. The desire for males, who are, for the larger part incumbents, to stress the quality of honesty in an atmosphere filled with scandal engulfed the 1998 elections. However, even when males were not incumbents image traits concerning honesty was prevalent in political commercials. Peter Fitzgerald, for example, in his race with Carol Moseley-Braun, utilized her scandal plagued tenure in office as the foil for his commercials portraying him as a "man of honesty and integrity." Male candidates may have been attempting to establish a personal connection, or what Fenno (1978) labels "home style," in their campaigns. However, female candidates were much more apt to create ads illustrating their aggressiveness in being able to "get the job done." Linda Lingle, challenger for the Gubernatorial office of Hawaii, ran a series

of ads portraying herself as aggressively promoting a plan to "fix Hawaii's economic mess." Although not statistically significant, female candidates also emphasized an action-oriented approach more so than male candidates.

Further, while no statistical differences exist in the use of negativity in commercials, females proportionally used more attack ads than males. Finally, women use statistically more fear appeals in their ads than men. To explain these general findings, four areas of gender differences are discussed and explained by triangulating the quantitative and qualitative data. The four areas include: (1) aggression and action orientation in a candidacy, (2) honesty and trustworthiness in a candidacy, (3) negativity and candidate image, and (4) family in ads. Aggression and Action Orientation in Female Candidates

Female candidates were much more likely to portray aggression toward policy than their male counterparts. In the same vein, women were more likely to portray themselves as action oriented. Obviously female candidates desire a depiction that shows them to be able to, as one female candidate stated, "role

up their sleeves and enter the fray." Female candidates in these elections wanted to do away with passive stereotypes that voters might hold. In addition there seems to be an underlying belief amongst female candidates that they are held to a different standard than their male counterparts. Therefore, women may tend to address issues in a more aggressive manner than their male counterparts. One female candidate offered this insight:

Yeah, I feel that at times I have to go after issues harder than a man candidate might. Being a woman means that I have to prove that I am tough enough to handle the pressure that is involved with legislative battles. Men seem to have an inherent toughness image built into voter consciousness. Women have to earn it. On the one hand, I feel that I am up to it and that I can gain that image. But you do not want to step over a line and become too tough, or I think that turns voters off too. One of the advantages I think that women have is their ability to be seen as compassionate. Sometimes I believe women candidates stratagize too much - that they lose

the images linked with compassion by attempting to show too much aggression and becoming too tough in the eyes of the voter.

Candidates who offer insights such as this reinforce Jamieson's (1995) ideas concerning the double bind that women face when running for political office. By attempting to circumvent perceived credibility problems, women attempt to depict their aggressive "fighter" attitudes toward adopted issues.

To further counter the perception that they were not credible candidates, women often emphasized action oriented experiences that would lead people to believe that they would change the way issues were treated if they were to achieve office. Women may have touted their ability to create and carry out a plan of action because they encountered a campaign environment that seemed to imply that there continued to be a perception within the electorate that women were not suitable for public office. One candidate commented that:

You always have the feeling that you have to do more - that there are not enough qualifications or lines on your resume to appeal to voters. I

think that male candidates sometimes are credible if they simply show up. It is much different for a female candidate. I had to prove myself at every stop, in every interview, with every potential voter. My opponent did not have to do that. I don't think most men do.

To work around the problems associated with being perceived as unable to accomplish the job, women tried to present themselves as aggressive, active candidates much more often than men. As Table 7 indicates, almost half of the women running were action oriented and aggressive in their political spots.

Honesty and Trustworthiness in Male Candidates

Male candidates, in the study, believed that the key to success in most campaigns was to establish themselves as trustworthy and honest political figures. Table 7 shows that men are three times more likely to produce a political ad touting their honesty than female candidates. Three factors may have entered into the reasons why, in this study, male candidates' desire to portray their candidacy as trustworthy and honest was significantly higher than their female counterparts. The first was due to peculiar scandals

within the nation. Two Republican male Senatorial challengers, Fong and Fitzgerald, campaigned heavily on family values, honesty in government, and scandals within the Democratic Party. Further, in Fitzgerald's case, Carol Moseley-Braun's tenure as Senator was marred by personal scandal. Fitzgerald ran negative comparative ads portraying himself as an honest, trustworthy, scandal-free alternative. The second reason is more generalizable; males tended to depict themselves as stable, dependable, and their campaigns gave an aura of security. One male incumbent explains:

I think people feel good when they vote for me. They know what they are getting when they put an X by my name in the ballot box. Much of my campaign was based upon the fact that everything is going well right now and voters could be sure that I would do my part to make sure that the economy kept going well and that their families would be secure. My opponent ran a campaign of change that I really think worked against her. There are two lessons to be learned in elections and holding office. One is that you need to take care of your constituents and the other is that

people vote their wallets. It has always been that way One of the things I am most proud of is that unemployment among the people who elected me is at its lowest level in decades. People trust me to keep working in their favor. And for issues that are important to them.

The campaign of this particular male candidate seemed indicative of many of the comments and commercials presented by male candidates. Ben Cayetano, the incumbent Governor from Hawaii, for example, ran ads portraying the trustworthiness and honesty of his administration when it came to economic and environmental matters. These commercials ran despite the fact that his campaign was marred by charges of corruption and money scandals. Linda Lingle, as Republican challenger, was unable to overcome the images that the Cayetano campaign was able to produce that depicted the Governor as a trustworthy environmental and economic steward within the state of Hawaii and, ultimately, lost the election.

The third reason males build upon the trust and honesty components of campaigns may have to do with demographics. As alluded too in an earlier section

Davis and Smith (1993), have shown that older people may have the highest level of bias concerning voting for women candidates. The qualitative portion of this study seems to also bear this out. A female candidate commented:

Although I was much more concerned with the issues that mattered to the elderly than my opponent, I was shocked at the level of uncertainty that older people had toward me. There was always an amount of distrust on their part for me. I really do not think that it was directed at me, as much as it might be directed toward any female candidate. I agree with those who say bias against women running for office has lessened. Except for one group. I don't even know if they realize it, or if they just grew up with it so it has always been there. I do know this. In every poll we took, we had a better showing with every demographic group than the elderly. Previous study (Williams, 1994) has determined that women often attempt to overcome credibility problems by the method of dress (women dress more formally) and by having a male narrator in their

commercials. However, one of the variables other studies may have overlooked is the ability for males to play upon the "trustworthy" factor in their own campaigns in order to exploit an already inherent gender bias within voters, especially older voters.

Negativity and Candidate Image

Past results have been mixed concerning significant gender differences and the use of negativity in ads (Bystrom, 1996; Kahn, 1996). Further, since challengers tend to use more negative ads in their campaigns and since women, for the larger part are challengers, difficulty arises when attempting to determine whether larger amounts of negativity might be related to gender or incumbent/challenger concerns. The fact that negative ads work (Garrazone, 1985; Garrazone, Atkin, Pinkleton, & Cole, 1990; Garrazone & Smith, 1984, Kaid & Boydston, 1987; Kaid & Johnston, 1991) also enters into the equation.

In this study, the findings add support to the research (Bystrom, 1996; Williams, 1994) that suggests men and women use approximately the same proportion of negative ads. Women were slightly (39%) more likely to

attack their male opponent, than men were apt to attack their female adversary (33%) (see table 9). Table 9 also portrays the facet that candidate images (52%) came under attack more so than issues associated with the candidate (47%), although this did not reach a level of statistical significance. Further, as noted in previous research, (Procter, et al., 1994) both candidates use anonymous announcers to make their attacks, although men in this investigation (83%) were more apt to do so than women (68%). Although not statistically significant, this would tend to indicate that men are at least likely to take into consideration the gender of the candidate when making the attack.

Albeit, Bystrom (1996) and Procter, et al. (1994) suggest that standard style considerations, rather than gender-based preferences, lie behind the construction of negative attack ads, the quantitative research within this investigation hints that there is some modicum of gender concern when creating negative ads. The qualitative triangulation tends to substantiate the claim.

Fox (1997) found that many campaign managers of male candidates felt that it was more difficult to attack female candidates. Furthermore, some indicated that it was certainly a bad strategy to attack women first. The present research found that male candidates were wary about attack ads concerning female candidates; however, they felt more comfortable attacking female candidates' position on issues rather than the character of the female candidate. One male candidate noted:

I think you have to be careful about appearing too overbearing or mean. Sometimes it might even work to a woman's advantage to be seen as a victim of some sort. That kind of thinking really is relevant in society. But I had no problem in illustrating that my opponent was extremely liberal concerning issues that are important in this state. You really have to go after the issues that opponents stress or you are going to lose the election. If that opponent happens to be female though, I think that it is important to think about how you are going to do that.

Negative campaigning plays a more important role than ever in modern campaigns. If, as this research indicates, male candidates have a difficult time creating attacks at least upon the image of the candidate, then the dynamics of elections are changed. The presence of a female candidate may alter the tone, dynamics, and discourse of an election. Most important, however, may be the aspect that both the quantitative and qualitative measures within the study show some level of stereotypical behavior by male candidates.

Family and Children in Campaign Ads

When exploring for the possibility of gender differences in political ads and ultimately campaigns concerning the construction of image, one of the most prevalent is how candidates manipulate family. Table 8 illustrates that how female and male candidates portray their family lives differently. Most apparent is that male candidates (32%) are pictured with their families in political ads significantly more often than females (11%). Ironically, however, women (54%) are featured with children, other than their own, significantly more often than men (37%).

Several dynamics may be present that help explain this phenomena. First, while it is apparent that women address traditionally stereotyped "women's issues" (see table 3) more than men, it is also evident that women present the issues differently. Male candidates may utilize their families in ads to promote the same issues, but the method is perfunctory and condensed. Many male candidates had commercials that showed a portrait of his family with the candidate near the conclusion of the ad. Matthew Fong, for example, Republican Senatorial candidate from California, featured his family sitting with him at the end of nearly every commercial he produced. However, these portraits are not usually accompanied by any discussion concerning the family. Many of the ads will portray the male candidate's wife looking lovingly at her husband. Further, the ads do not further discourse concerning issues surrounding family, but instead simply helps to develop an image of the candidate as a "traditional family man."

Women, conversely are less apt to portray their own families in the ads, but are more apt to portray a "nurturing" image by placing other children in the ad.

Several women, including Laura Boyd and Barbara Kennelly, announced that they were "mothers" and "grandmothers" in their ads. Women candidates were also more likely to use children in their ads as they discussed education or health care. Gail Schoettler, Democratic Gubernatorial candidate from the state of Colorado, utilized children in many of the ads she developed concerning education. Linda Lingle, Republican candidate for Governor of Hawaii used children in ads discussing the economy. In these cases women were developing images that were caring, yet action-oriented and tough.

The qualitative portion concerning this portion of the research also advances the argument that women present family life in their campaigns differently than men. When one female candidate was asked about her family and the campaign she reflected that:

Being a caring mother, I think was a plus in my campaign. Every time my opponent appeared on television with his family it looked stiff and rehearsed, like they had to be there. There were also whispers that he had been abusive in years past. I wish we could have proven it because we

would have used it . . . Caring for families is more than having the state flag wrapped around everyone in the Capital building. It is government being family friendly and not a detriment. On top of that, we have to redefine what family is. Unfortunately you can't just say mom, dad, and 2 kids. We have to consider the other families that do not fit that definition as well.

Female candidates who utilize nurturing campaign images relates well to social-psychological (Belenky, Field, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarule 1986) literature accentuating the distinct life experiences of women and how that may impact the differences between men and women.

Images in Mixed-Gender Campaigns - Media Coverage

In addition to how candidates present themselves in political image ads, trait or image coverage in newspapers is also an important factor that may influence the electorate's choice for office. Kahn (1996) notes that "voters use personality traits as a basis for evaluations of candidates in both national and statewide elections" (p. 53).

Overall newspaper coverage concerning candidate images was detrimental to female candidates' probability of a victorious outcome in many elections. For example, statistically significant differences arose when exploring the amount of coverage that newspapers afforded candidate backgrounds as well as candidate political experience. In both cases male candidates received far more coverage. This may continue to perpetuate voter stereotypes concerning women's ability to perform in office. Further, men were portrayed as being more competent and being able to act upon issue. This finding supports Kahn and Goldenberg's (1991) research that indicates that female candidates receive different coverage than male candidates. Further, the research bolsters Kahn's (1993a) investigation, which found that the media tended to cover women in a stereotypical manner and downplayed the qualities of leadership and effectiveness within female candidates. The following excerpt from the Denver Post covering the Owens/Schoettler Gubernatorial race illustrates the point:

Gail Schoettler, born Gail Sinton, grew up on a rolling cattle ranch just outside the tiny rural town of Shandon, Calif.

Owens, now 48 went to St. Andrew's Elementary School, where nuns doled out both education and punishment with an even hand.

Schoettler, now 55, attended Shandon Elementary School. Her class - the kids of ranch hands, rodeo riders, and landowners - fluctuated from a dozen to a grand total of 17 students from kindergarten to graduation.

Owens became a Republican at an early age, arguing his theory of conservative government during the unrest of the '60s with his older brother Mike. By the age of 13 he was president of the Young Republicans in his high school.

Schoettler, according to her classmates, never seemed very political. She was a "quiet leader," at one point organizing a class project to send relief to refugees. (Denver Post, October 25, 1998, p. A-20)

The article paints very different pictures of

Owens and Schoettler. Owens is portrayed to be the consummate political professional, active and aggressive in his beliefs. Schoettler, on the other hand, is depicted as a "quiet leader" and is nurturing (relief efforts).

Women's appearance and marital status were discussed more often in newspaper articles than males. Further, coders noted statistically significant amounts of gender stereotypes associated with female candidates. The implications behind these findings are far reaching and may be detrimental to female candidates as they attempt to gain office.

Women, like Schoettler in the previous article, were often depicted in newspapers to significantly portray more warmth/compassion as well as nurturing persona. Fox (1997) notes that while newspaper reporting concerning "feminine traits" such as these may have helped female candidates in the 1992 campaign, as the electoral environment became "indifferent to the presence of female candidates, media stereotyping of female candidates may have more clearly worked against them" (p. 131).

Media Barriers that Impede Female Candidates

Research question 3 investigates barriers that might keep women from obtaining office and thereby helping to explain the differences in the numbers of men and women that occupy elected office. Beyond doubt, male and female candidates are portrayed contrarily in the media. In the study concerning Research Question 3, three areas where barriers might be present were investigated: (1) Overall campaign coverage, (2) media coverage of political ads, and (3) media coverage of debates.

Kahn (1996) argues that "women candidates running for the U.S. Senate do not receive the same press treatment as their male counterparts" (p. 55). This study found Kahn's argument to be compelling in the 1998 Senate and Gubernatorial elections. First, the quantity of coverage in most (14 out of 17) favored the male candidate in amount, dominant focus, and paragraph representation.

One barrier in which media bias is manifested in mixed-gender campaigns is the amount of coverage. Since, as has been noted, women receive less coverage than their male counterparts, the media influences

public awareness of a given candidate. If the media does not cover, or provides less coverage for a candidate then consequently the candidate is less likely to be successful.

A second barrier that arises from the overall coverage of female candidates is the unfavorable coverage given. This study found trends that the media directly disparages female candidates and their policy positions. While not statistically significant, male candidates were treated favorably in 30% of the articles, compared to 23% for female candidates. Perhaps more revealing, however, is newspaper coverage of "horserace" issues and candidate viability.

Statistical significance was achieved when comparing the labels of "frontrunner" and "not likely to win" in campaign coverage. Women were much more likely to be labeled the latter. Since viability is more negative for women and stresses female candidates' small likelihood of victory, the impact upon the campaign is devastating. Campaign resources may become unavailable and voter opinions may become more negative.

Newspaper Coverage of Political Ads

While few articles in the sample ($n = 48$) discussed political ads, statistical significance did occur in the results of the issues that were discussed in the ads covered by newspapers and the sex of the candidate. Further, the differences tended to follow gender stereotypes. Taxes were linked to males in ads that discuss ads and youth violence was linked to female candidates.

Additionally, newspaper coverage of ads tends to be negative. Furthermore, as with other coverage, male sponsors were featured more so than female sponsors were. When both candidates' commercials were featured in the ad, candidates were treated more positively than when coverage featured ads from one candidate sponsor.

What these trends indicate is that newspaper coverage concerning political ads may not display the gender bias that campaign coverage portrays. Since women are discussed in the same manner as male candidates (albeit unfavorably in many instances) the playing field in which political ad coverage is discussed seems more level. Examples of this type

coverage were abundant. For instance, in the Illinois Senatorial race concerning Moseley-Braun and Fitzgerald, the Chicago Tribune ran a series of ad-watches that portrayed both candidates as less than truthful in their ad campaigns when character traits were discussed. Conversely, however, the coverage concerning issues in both candidate ads was more positive.

The results concerning image traits link with candidates provided no statistically significant results. Interestingly, women may find a more even playing field in articles pertaining to image traits in political ads than articles overall.

Slant of Coverage of Candidates in Debate Articles

Coders noted that male candidates received more as well as more positive coverage in the articles where candidate debates were mentioned. Furthermore, the slant of the coverage in articles that featured debates favored male candidates.

Coverage concerning debates may be hindering women's campaigns by describing the candidates as likely to lose, non-viable, and describing candidates in debates in stereotypical ways. In fact, debate

coverage portrayed some of the most unfavorable reporting to female candidates. For example, female candidates were touted as "likely to lose" the election in over 15% of these articles, while the male candidate was deemed "likely to lose" in only 2%. Both male "likely to lose" designations came from the same race in Arkansas where male candidate Fay Boozeman was a large underdog to Blanche Lincoln, the Democrat nominated to run for popular Democrat Dale Bumpers' seat.

Ultimately, both political ad and debate coverage portrayed some differences from general campaign coverage. Both tended to portray fewer issue and image stereotypes than general newspaper campaign coverage. Second, coverage of political ads is less likely than coverage of debates to contain stereotypical image traits. Also relevant in the two types of media coverage is the facet that women fared slightly better in political ad coverage than in debate coverage.

What are the Factors that Lead to the Underrepresentation of Women in the Political Process

While attempting to provide answers to the overall research question, several notable tendencies

arrive at the forefront. The year 1998 witnessed several prominent women running for Senatorial and Gubernatorial positions. Their success could, at best, be described as mixed, and the conditions for determining if and when women will be accepted in some of the nation's highest offices are undetermined.

This study originated to substantiate and present evidence concerning the factors that might keep women from political office. A foundation for the research is a three-prong thesis arguing that barriers presented by the political system, the media, and ultimately stereotypes within the electorate prevent women from obtaining office. Several interesting conclusions may be drawn. First, there are many important differences in the campaign behavior of male and female candidates as determined by the content analysis of political ads and the qualitative interviews. The individual findings have been systematically recorded in the results section. Overall, women present more feminine issues and feminine traits in their campaign commercials, while men tend to discuss more masculine issues, but discuss the feminine traits of honesty/trustworthiness in

their ads. In accounting for the experiences and differences of men and women as they ran for office, almost every aspect of their campaigns portray differences and challenges that are intrinsic to mixed-gender campaigns. Simply stated, men and women campaign differently and these differences may lead one to the conclusion that campaigns are not free from gender bias and, hold inherent, a lack of fairness for women.

Second, results support the argument that the media's role in social and gender stereotyping in elections is overwhelming. The findings indicate that gender differences in news coverage may have an impact upon Senatorial and Gubernatorial elections. Directly established in the study was the fact that the media covers men and women differently, and almost always provides quantitatively expanded coverage as well as more favorable coverage of the male candidate. Unfortunately, this may entangle with current gender bias within the electorate to create an untenable position for female candidates. For instance, although Fox (1997) and Miller (1996) to some extent argue that there may be some pro-woman bias in the electorate,

also extant is a strong anti-woman bias. Salient in this argument is the fact that there is no formidable anti-man bias. There has been no public opinion research that illustrates that there is a group of voters who believe men should not be elected due to their sex.

Ultimately, the final portion of the thesis intertwines media and voter stereotypes to help better explain elections and governance. Further, the findings imply that media support concerning the traditional socialization of men and women not only has impact concerning elections, but directly upon the method of how the nation is governed. Kahn (1996) argues that since the public relies upon the news media for information concerning the candidates, and since for the larger part the media focuses on masculine issues, then those issues will become more salient even after the election. This study augments Kahn's work by pointing out that feminine issues may become even less relevant with each election cycle, as the media continually covers taxes and economic issues. Qualitative results of this study also indicate that even when a feminine issue is brought to

the forefront, i.e. education, it is often wrapped in the mantle of economic impact.

Further results from the qualitative portion of the research design supplemented many of the quantitative findings as well as offering insights in themselves. Predominant within the results was the concept that women were held to higher standards by both the media and the electorate. Every woman interviewed in the study offered the opinion that they were judged more harshly by voters and reporters during their campaigns. For example, one female candidate commented that:

My opponent got away with everything during the campaign. It was almost as if the voters and especially the media did not care when he misspoke. Everything that I did was put under a microscope. It was always an uphill battle for my campaign. He did not have to fight the battles that we fought. It was one of the main reasons that he won.

Interestingly, Moncrief, Thompson, and Schuhmann (1991) found that women in Congress had, for the larger part, better qualifications than their male

colleagues. Obviously, this would suggest that women who run for office must have a resume that far exceeds the male competition. Problematic, however, is that this creates a situation where it is more difficult for women to succeed.

Ultimately, even though women make up over 50% of the population, women occupy only a small portion of the elected offices in this nation. Many women may be denied entering the political arena unless stereotypes and gender bias within the media and electorate are challenged. If the nation is to achieve social justice for all of its citizens then the doors for women to enter into government must be opened.

Limitations and Future Research

There are several limitations in this research. First, while the sample for the political advertisements included the all political ads currently held by the University of Oklahoma's Political Communication Center, it does not contain the universe of ads produced in 1998 mixed-gender Senatorial and Gubernatorial campaigns. Several ads have yet to be received by the Center. This limitation should be addressed by future studies analyzing the

universe of ads. Further, since only nominal level coding instruments were used in the research, statistical analysis was limited to the chi-square statistic and subsequent inferences that may be drawn from non-parametric data.

Further, videostyle was not addressed in the research. Recent investigations of candidate videostyle (Bystrom, 1996) have revealed interesting and significant findings that have impact upon mixed-gender elections. By including that component into the research further insights into the election process might be obtained.

Due to accessibility the research features only eight interviews of Senatorial and Gubernatorial candidates. Future research should gain access to all Senatorial and Gubernatorial campaigns that feature mixed-gender races.

Also because of accessibility the study focused only upon newspaper articles taken from states where the candidates were running. Future studies would benefit from the addition of television news as an artifact to analyze.

While review of literature provides some background for male only races, each election year may prove to be different. Therefore a comparative analysis of male-only races as well as female-only races would prove to be beneficial when analyzing the data from mixed-gender races.

While the taxonomy of "masculine" and "feminine" issues is supported by previous research, it may still undermine the very basis from which this research originates. That is, by issuing such labels gender communication becomes further entrenched. Subsequently, an evolution of the "correct" way for women to present themselves in elections may evolve. If research such as this were to limit presentation of issues important to women, then political discourse becomes stifled rather than extended.

Ultimately, however, this research examines elections in such a manner that does not purport to limit gender expectations. Instead it is hoped that this research will result in less gender bias through discerning its appearance in present elections. Awareness of bias should not increase its existence;

instead it should provide a foundation for its
elimination.

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The University of Oklahoma

OFFICE OF RESEARCH ADMINISTRATION

July 9, 1999

Mr. Terry Robertson
University of Oklahoma
Communication
CAMPUS MAIL

Dear Mr. Robertson:

Your research application, "Gender and Politics: The Challenges Women Face During the Electoral Process," has been reviewed according to the policies of the Institutional Review Board chaired by Dr. E. Laurette Taylor and found to be exempt from the requirements for full board review. Your project is approved under the regulations of the University of Oklahoma - Norman Campus Policies and Procedures for the Protection of Human Subjects in Research Activities.

Should you wish to deviate from the described protocol, you must notify me and obtain prior approval from the Board for the changes. If the research is to extend beyond 12 months, you must contact this office, in writing, noting any changes or revisions in the protocol and/or informed consent forms, and request an extension of this ruling.

If you have any questions, please contact me.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Susan Wyatt Sedwick".

Susan Wyatt Sedwick, Ph.D.
Administrative Officer
Institutional Review Board

SWS:pw
FY99-252

**INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPLICATION
FOR APPROVAL FOR THE USE OF HUMAN SUBJECTS IN AN INVESTIGATION
CONDUCTED ON THE NORMAN CAMPUS AND/OR BY UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
FACULTY, STAFF OR STUDENTS**

Your application for approval of the use of human subjects should consist of eleven copies of three parts:

- PART I – A COMPLETED APPLICATION FORM**
- PART II – A DESCRIPTION OF YOUR RESEARCH STUDY**
- PART III – SUBJECT INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPATION IN THE STUDY**

You should attach supplementary information pertinent to this study that will help the board member in their review of your application, i.e., questionnaires, test instruments, letters of approval from cooperating institutions and/or organizations. Failure to submit these items will only delay review.

Applications are due not later than the 5th day of month in which you wish the proposed project reviewed

Please return completed proposals to:

Campus Mail:
Office of Research Administration
Administration
Buchanan Hall, Room 314

U.S. Mail
Office of Research
1000 Asp Avenue
Norman, Ok 7319-430

Please call the ORA at 325-4757 and ask for the IRB if you have any questions. Please type your responses.

PART I – APPLICATION FORM

- I. Principle Investigator:
Name: Terry Robertson
Department: Communication
Campus Phone: 325-4847 E-mail Address: Terry.A.Robertson-1@ou.edu

If you are a student, provide the following information:

Daytime Phone Number: 872-716
Mailing Address: Department of Communication, Burton Hall, University of Oklahoma
Faculty Sponsor: Dr. Lynda Kaid
Department: Communication Sponsor's Phone Number: 325-3154

Co-Principle Investigator (s): None

Signatures:

Principle Investigator: _____
Faculty Sponsor (if student research project): _____

If you believe your use of human subjects would be considered exempt from review or qualifies for expedited review as defined in Sections 4 and 12 of the University of Oklahoma Norman Campus Policy and Procedures for the Protection of Human Subjects in Research Activities, you may submit two (2) copies of this application for initial review. If full Board review is required, you will be required to submit nine (9) additional copies.

2. Project Title: Gender and Politics: The challenges women face during the electoral process.
3. Project Time Period: June 1999 – June 2000
4. Previous Institutional Review Board-Norman Campus approval for this project? No
5. Are you requesting funding for this project? No
6. Description of Human Subjects:

Age: Post 19

Gender: Both

Number of subjects: 20

Special Qualifications: All subjects will be elected political officials. The offices of the elected official will be notified and appointments for interviews will be initiated.

There are no protected groups included in this study.

PART II – DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY

To assist Institutional Review Board members in conducting their review of your application, please prepare a brief (1-3 page) description of the study you plan to conduct, including the following information:

A. Purpose/Objective

With the welcomed broader inclusion of women in the political process, it is important that political communication scientists consider how gender dynamics alter the conventional norms of electoral politics. Kahn (1996) explains that women's changing fortunes in electoral politics are driven by the correspondence between people's stereotypical images of women candidates and the salient issues of the day. Significantly, people's preconceptions about the strengths and weaknesses of women candidates influence how candidates present themselves to the electorate. For example, Kahn (1996) argues that in adopting a campaign strategy, women candidates may choose to emphasize themes that are consistent with people's stereotypical views of them, because women candidates may view these themes as more effective. In the course of exploring the gender dynamics of elections, this study advances a three-part thesis. The first part asserts that there are important differences in the opportunities and challenges faced by female candidates. Seltzer, Newman, and Leighton (1997) explain that women and men may behave differently as candidates. Subsequently, the electorate may identify with behavior of a candidate that is closely associated with gender and not the political stance of the candidate. The second part of the thesis asserts that most of the differences associated with gender and political office are due to sex role stereotyping (Kahn, 1996). Even as recently as 1993 nearly 26% of the respondents in the General Social Survey admitted that they agreed with the statement: "Most men are better suited

emotionally for politics than are most women" (Davis and Smith, 1993). This suggests that the traditional constructions of gender may be very important in the electoral process. The final portion of the thesis suggests that traditional sex role stereotyping makes it more difficult for women to compete effectively. While most overt discriminatory practices have diminished, there are still many constructed sex role stereotypes that work against women in elections.

Seltzer, Newman, and Leighton (1997) argue that the focus on women and politics is well deserved. Contemporary scholars (Campbell, 1989; Jamieson, 1988) propose that women have created a personal style of political discourse. This feminine style relies heavily upon personal experience, anecdotes, is structured inductively, invites audience participation, addresses the audiences as peers and identifies with the experiences of the audience. An underdeveloped area in the literature on female candidates is how the feminine campaign style impacts elections. This study will examine the impact of gender on upon elections and campaigns.

B. Research Protocol

The research questionnaire to be utilized in this qualitative study is based upon a questionnaire used by Fox (1997) during his research of congressional races containing women. Further items were added to the questionnaire that was specific to the purpose of this study. A copy of the questionnaire can be found in appendix A.

The participants for the project are female candidates who ran in either the 1996 or 1998 elections. Participants will include elected officials from gubernatorial, congressional, and senatorial offices. Access will be gained by telephoning the office of the official, explaining the nature of the study, and making an appointment for the interview. The elected official will be asked for permission to audio-tape the interview at the time the appointment is made.

At the beginning of each interview the elected official will be asked to sign an informed consent form. The informed consent form consists of: (1) the introduction which identifies the study by title, sponsor, and principle investigator; (2) an understandable description of the study and the expected duration of the subject's participation; (3) an indication that there are no foreseen risks to their participation in the study; (4) the benefits of new knowledge derived from their participation in this study; (5) assurance that their participation is purely voluntary; (6) assurance that all answers are totally confidential and will be kept in the strictest confidence; (7) a statement that no compensation will be available to the participants; and (8) identification of who to notify for question, problems or complaints regarding this study or the rights as research participants. After the form is returned to the researcher, the interview will take place. It will be audio-taped. Afterward, the interviews will be transcribed and analyzed. When writing the research, the elected official's name and position will be deleted. Results will be discussed in a general manner only, and identification of the official will not be revealed.

**Individual Informed Consent Form for Research
University of Oklahoma, Norman
Department of Communication**

Principle Investigator: Terry Robertson

Faculty Sponsor: Dr. Lynda Kaid

Title of Project: Gender and Politics: The challenges women face during the electoral process.

Description: With the welcomed broader inclusion of women in the political process, it is important that political communication scientists consider how gender dynamics alter the conventional norms of electoral politics. Kahn (1996) explains that women's changing fortunes in electoral politics are driven by the correspondence between people's stereotypical images of women candidates and the salient issues of the day. Significantly, people's preconceptions about the strengths and weaknesses of women candidates influence how candidates present themselves to the electorate. For example, Kahn (1996) argues that in adopting a campaign strategy, women candidates may choose to emphasize themes that are consistent with people's stereotypical views of them, because women candidates may view these themes as more effective. In the course of exploring the gender dynamics of elections, this study advances a three-part thesis. The first part asserts that there are important differences in the opportunities and challenges faced by female candidates. Seltzer, Newman, and Leighton (1997) explain that women and men may behave differently as candidates. Subsequently, the electorate may identify with behavior of a candidate that is closely associated with gender and not the political stance of the candidate. The second part of the thesis asserts that most of the differences associated with gender and political office are due to sex role stereotyping (Kahn, 1996). Even as recently as 1993 nearly 26% of the respondents in the General Social Survey admitted that they agreed with the statement: "Most men are better suited emotionally for politics than are most women" (Davis and Smith, 1993). This suggests that the traditional constructions of gender may be very important in the electoral process. The final portion of the thesis suggests that traditional sex role stereotyping makes it more difficult for women to compete effectively. While most overt discriminatory practices have diminished, there are still many constructed sex role stereotypes that may work against women in elections.

Approximate Duration of Study: 45 minutes.

I hereby give my consent to participate in this study. I understand that:

- 1. My participation is entirely voluntary, and I may terminate my participation at any time prior to the completion of this study.**
- 2. Any information I may give during my participation will be used for research purposes only. In other words, responses will not be shared with anyone not directly involved with this study.**
- 3. All information I give will be kept confidential and will be used in such a way that identification of me as a participant is impossible. I realize that I may contact the researcher at any time with questions. I realize that any publication of this data will not enable identification of me in any way. I also realize that the data will not be available to non-project personnel and that it will be kept in locked cabinets. I understand that the Informed Consent Forms will be destroyed once the data is no longer needed.**
- 4. The researcher is available to answer any questions I may have regarding this research and that he will have addition information about the research if interested. In case I have any questions in the future, I can reach the researcher at (45) 325-4847. or by contacting the Department of Communication, 11 Burton Hall, University of Oklahoma, Norman, OK, 7319. I may also call the Institutional Review Board at the University of Oklahoma, Norman if I have other questions at 325-4757.**

Appendix B

Interview Schedule

Part I – Interview Facts (Filled out before interview)

Name of Official _____

Date of Interview _____

Age of Candidate _____ Party of Candidate _____

Which of the following is the Candidate:

Challenger _____ Incumbent _____ Open Seat _____

Previous occupation of the
Candidate _____

Part II – General Questions

1. What motivated you to enter the political arena?
2. What were the messages of your campaign?
3. Did you have a slogan? What was it?
4. What personal characteristics were you attempting to convey to the voters?
5. What issues do you think are most important to the voters in your district.
6. Concerning the following issues, please answer two questions. The first is simply, was the issue used in the campaign? Second, how did you use the issue in comparison to your opponent?

Abortion	Yes _____	No _____	Compared to opponent? _____
Crime	Yes _____	No _____	Compared to opponent? _____
Education	Yes _____	No _____	Compared to opponent? _____
Taxes	Yes _____	No _____	Compared to opponent? _____
Social Security	Yes _____	No _____	Compared to opponent? _____
Health Care	Yes _____	No _____	Compared to opponent? _____
Gvt Regulation	Yes _____	No _____	Compared to opponent? _____
Jobs	Yes _____	No _____	Compared to opponent? _____
Gay Rights	Yes _____	No _____	Compared to opponent? _____
Gun Control	Yes _____	No _____	Compared to opponent? _____
Environment	Yes _____	No _____	Compared to opponent? _____

Military Issues Yes _____ No _____ Compared to opponent? _____

Child Care Yes _____ No _____ Compared to opponent? _____

Budget Def Yes _____ No _____ Compared to opponent? _____

7. Did you have a specific policy proposal you planned to pursue when in office?
8. What campaign methods did you use to get your message to the voters?
9. Which method, in your opinion, was the most successful?
10. Did you discuss your opponent in your messages to the public?
11. If you did discuss your opponent, roughly what percentage of your message was focussed upon your opponent?
12. Which of your opponent's issue positions did you discuss in the campaign?
13. Which of your opponent's personal traits will be discussed in the campaign?
14. Were there any past events and activities in your opponent's life that you will discuss?
15. Did you use radio and tv in your campaign?
16. What were your largest challenges in the electoral process?
17. What were the largest advantages you held during the electoral process?
18. Is fund raising a major problem for your campaign? Tell me about the campaign process.
19. Have you experienced gender bias from contributors?
20. Has the party posed a major obstacle to your campaign?
21. Were you recruited by your party to run for office?
22. Did you receive adequate support from your party?
23. Was media coverage an obstacle for your campaign?
24. Overall do you believe that you were treated fairly by the media?
25. Do you believe there was gender bias in the media coverage?
26. How did the voters treat you?
27. Do you feel that you had an advantage or disadvantage with the voters because of your sex?
28. Did you stress gender as a campaign issue?
29. Do you believe that women campaign differently than men?
30. Do you believe you encountered gender discrimination from anyone in your campaign?
31. Would you change your strategy if you ran against a (man) (woman)?
32. Was the campaign in which you were involved negative?
33. Was your opponent negative toward your campaign?
34. Do you think women voters are more likely to vote for you?
35. Do you think women are as likely to win in any given election as men?
36. Do you think male candidates are as apt to attack a female candidate?
37. Does the media ask you different questions than your opponent because of your sex?
38. What do you think are the greatest difficulties facing female candidates?

Thank you for your time.

Appendix A

Political Advertising Code Sheet

1. Coder ID #: _____
1
2. Commercial ID#: _____
2
3. Candidate Name: _____
3
4. Sex of Candidate: _____
(1) Male 4
(2) Female
5. Status of Candidate: _____
(1) Incumbent 5
(2) Challenger
(3) Open Race
6. Length of Commercial: _____
(1) 20 to 30 seconds 6
(2) 60 seconds
(3) Two to five minutes
(9) Other (specify) _____
7. Advertisement sponsor: _____
(1) Committee for election/re-election of candidate 7
(2) Citizens for good government group
(3) Issue-based group
(4) Independent third party group
(5) National political party election committee
(8) Cannot determine
(9) Other (specify) _____

8. Format of advertisement: (code for dominant)

- (0) Documentary
- (1) Bandwagon/excitement
- (2) Testimonial
- (3) Introspection
- (4) Confrontation
- (5) Staged Press Conference
- (6) Opposition Focused
- (7) Issue Dramatization
- (8) Question and Answer
- (9) Other (specify) _____

8

Positive/Negative Aspects of Advertisement

9. Is the ad candidate- or opponent- focused (code for dominant)?

- (1) Candidate-positive focused
- (2) Opponent-negative focused
- (3) Cannot determine

9

10. Is there a negative attack made in the ad?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No

10

11. If an attack is made, who makes the attack?

- (1) Candidate attacks opponent
- (2) Known surrogate attacks opponent
- (3) Anonymous announcer attacks opponent
- (8) Not applicable (no attack is made)

11

12. If an attack is made, what is the principal purpose or nature of the attack (code for dominant purpose)?

- (1) Attack on personal characteristics of opponent
- (2) Attack on issue stands/consistency of opponent
- (3) Attack on opponent's group affiliation/associations
- (4) Attack on background/qualifications
- (5) Attack on opponent's performance in past offices and/or positions
- (8) Not applicable (no attack)
- (9) Other (specify) _____

12

13. What strategy is used in making the negative attack (code for dominant)?	13
(1) Humor/ridicule	
(2) Negative association (linking opponent with undesirable or issues images)	
(3) Name-calling (using negative labels)	
(4) Guilt by association	
(5) Not applicable (no attack)	
(9) Other (specify) _____	

Issue and Image Appeals in Advertisements

14. Is the emphasis of this commercial primarily on:	
(1) Campaign issues	14
(2) Campaign image	

What issues, if any, are mentioned/discussed in the ad (Code 1 if present, 0 if not present)

15. Taxes	15
16. Budget/deficit	16
17. Unemployment/jobs	17
18. Cost of living	18
19. Recession/depression	19
20. Immigration	20
21. Economy in general	21
22. Education/schools	22
23. Crime/prison	23
24. Health care	24
25. Senior citizen issues	25
26. Poverty/hunger/homelessness	26

27. Welfare reform	27
28. Environment/pollution	28
29. Drugs/drug abuse	29
30. Dissatisfaction with the government	30
31. Ethics/moral decline	31
32. Women's issues (choice, harassment, equal rights)	32
33. Defense	33
34. International issues	34
35. Youth violence (to include school violence)	35
36. Other issue (s) specify _____	36
37. Is any one particular issue emphasized? _____	37
38. Structure of appeal: (code for dominant structure)	
(1) Inductive (examples then conclusion)	38
(2) Deductive (conclusion then examples)	
(3) Cannot determine	
39. Type of appeal used: (code for dominant type of appeal used)	
(1) Logical appeal	39
(2) Emotional appeal	
(3) Ethos/source credibility	
40. Are fear appeals used: (code for dominant structure)	
(0) No	40
(1) Yes	
What strategies are present in the ad? (code 1 if strategy is present, 0 if strategy is not present)	
41. Incumbency stands for legitimacy	41
42. Voice for the state	42

43. Use of personal tone (“I”)	43
44. Addressing viewers as peers (“we”	44
45. Calling for change	45
46. Inviting viewing participation/action	46
47. Emphasizing optimism/hope for the future	47
48. Yearning for the past	48
49. Traditional values	49
50. Representing philosophical center of party	50
51. Using endorsements by party or other important political leaders	51
52. Use of personal experience, anecdotes to support positions and/or candidacy	52
53. Use of statistics to support positions and/or candidacy	53
54. Use of expert authorities (non-political) to support positions and/or candidacy	54
55. Identifying with the experiences of others	55
56. Emphasizing own accomplishments	56
57. Taking offensive position on the issue	57
58. Attacking the record of the opponent	58
59. “Above the trenches” posture	59
60. Candidate makes gender an issue	60
61. Any other strategies used (describe)?	61
What candidate characteristics are emphasized in the ad (code 1 if present, 0 if not present)	

62. Honesty/integrity	62
63. Toughness/strength	63
64. Past performance/success/failure	64
65. Aggressive/fighter	65
66. Cooperation with others	66
67. Competency	67
68. Leadership	68
69. Experience in politics	69
70. Washington outsider	70
71. Sensitive/understanding	71
72. Knowledgeable/intelligent	72
73. Qualified	73
74. Action oriented proponent	74
75. Trustworthy	75
76. Who is pictured in the ad?	76
(1) No one	
(2) Candidate only	
(3) Candidate's opponent only	
(4) Candidate and opponent only	
(5) Candidate and other people	
(6) People other than the candidate	
If other people are pictured in the ad, are they:	
(Code 1 if present, 0 if not present)	
77. Men	77
78. Women	78

79. Family of Candidate	<u>79</u>
80. Children (not candidate's)	<u>80</u>
81. Senior citizens	<u>81</u>
82. Ethnic/racial minorities	<u>82</u>
83. Others (specify) _____	<u>83</u>

Appendix D

Political Advertising Codebook

1. Coder ID #: Number given to you on your list of coders.
2. Commercial ID #: Number of commercial given on your list of ads.
3. Candidate Name: Use your list of ads for this category. (Reliability + 100)
4. Sex of candidate: Use your list of ads for this category. (Reliability + 100)
5. Status of candidate: Use your list of ads for this category. (Reliability + 100)
6. Length of commercial: Use your list of ads for this category. (Reliability + 100)
7. Advertisement sponsor: (Reliability + 100)
 - (1) Committee for election/re-election of candidate: candidate's campaign committee; citizens for candidate; people for candidate.
 - (2) Citizens for good government group: Non-partisan citizens group such as League of Women Voters.
 - (3) Issue-based group: Pro-life, pro-choice, environmentalists, gun-control, Moral majority (a group that has a specific issue connection or interest).
 - (4) Independent third party group: a group such as the Democrats for Bush or political action committee
 - (5) National political party election committee: National Republican or Democrat Senate committees.
 - (8) Cannot determine: The ad does not identify sponsor.
 - (9) Other (specify): Some other group not listed above.
8. Format of advertisement: (code for dominant format) (Reliability + .77)
 - (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) **Background/excitement:** emphasizes the excitement, hoopla, activity of the campaign by showing a situation where people are joining the candidate's campaign effort; different people and groups are being included in the effort; this is a winning candidate.
- (2) **Testimonial:** shows responses of people to the candidate or provides an endorsement of the candidate by groups/individuals talking about the candidate's virtues; includes "citizen-on-the-street" interviews supporting candidate, endorsements by politician (s) or famous person (s).
- (3) **Introspection:** a spot in which the candidate primarily reflects on his/her campaign, his/her job in office, his/her mission as a candidate, his/her philosophy of government. May be just the candidate or candidate talking to other people about this.
- (4) **Confrontation:** shows the candidate in a crowd of people and/or journalists answering a "hostile" question; that is, one where he/she is being questioned on his/her particular stand or policies. The candidate is in a defensive position; the climate is confrontational. The atmosphere is one of a challenge to the candidate. Shows his/her ability to answer questions.
- (5) **Staged press conference:** shows candidate answering questions—not in a hostile situation—from representatives of the media. 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.
- (7) **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—through use of examples, visuals, etc.
- (8) **Question and answer:** in this situation, the candidate is being asked questions (non-hostile, non-confrontational) by either one individual made to look like the average "citizen" off the street or by several people as he/she talks with them (people asking questions are not made to look like journalists).
- (9) **Other (specify):** none of the above

Positive/Negative Elements of the Advertisement

9. Is the ad candidate- or opponent- focused (code for dominant) (Reliability + 100)

(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, faults of the opponent. Explicit attack on opponent's record, character, campaign, etc.

(8) Cannot determine

10. Is there a negative attack made in the ad? (Reliability + .90)

Does the ad make a negative, derogatory, or unflattering statement or references to the opposing candidate (code 1 if present, 0 if not present)

11. If an attack is made, who makes the attack? (Reliability + .90)

(1) Candidate attacks his/her opponent.

(2) Known surrogate attacks opponent: someone other than candidate (spouse, another politician, average citizen) appears in the ad as the attacker.

(3) Anonymous announcer attacks opponent: attacker is unknown and is not actually seen; i.e., you only hear his/her voice making the attack.

(8) Not applicable: no attack is made.

12. If an attack is made, what is the principal purpose or nature of the attack? (code for dominant purpose. (Reliability + .82)

(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; (e.g. questioning the opponent's honesty, compassion, strength, competence).

(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 that (in the ad's point of view) have undesirable characteristics, members, philosophies.
 - (4) **Attack on opponent's background/qualifications:** attacks to the opponent's background, experience, and/or qualifications for political office (focus here is opponent's preparation for office—why he/she is not qualified/prepared for the office).
 - (5) **Attack on opponent's performance in past offices/positions:** attack focuses on past performance/record of the opponent in current or previous work or political positions (focus here is on the opponent's record, i.e., things he/she has done).
 - (8) **Not applicable:** no attack is made
 - (10) **Other:** (specify) none of the above
13. **What strategy is used in making the negative attack? (code for dominant strategy) (Reliability + .86)**
- (1) **Humor/ridicule:** making fun of the opponent by laughing, ridiculing things he/she has said, or what he/she stands for; may use humorous visual effects to ridicule opponent.
 - (2) **Negative association:** linking the opponent with undesirable issues or images.
 - (3) **Name-calling:** using negative unflattering labels for the opponent.
 - (4) **Guilt by association:** showing the opponent with undesirable groups or individuals. Implying that the opponent associates with undesirable groups or people. In some election years. This could include associating a candidate with another unpopular current or past politician.
 - (8) **Not applicable:** no attack is made.
 - (9) **Other:** (specify) none of the above.

Issue and Image Appeals in Advertisements

14. Is the emphasis of this commercial primarily on: (code for dominant emphasis) (Reliability + .94)

- (1) Campaign issues: focusing on issues of concern to state, country, and/or campaign, e.g., the economy, crime, education, may mention issues as general concerns of candidate or give his/her position on issues or attack opponent on the issues.**
- (2) Candidate image: focusing on personal attributes, qualifications of candidate, e.g., honesty, experience, competence, compassion, leadership; or attacks opponent on his/her personal attributes/qualifications.**

What issues, if any, are mentioned/discussed in the ad (Code 1 if present, 0 is not present) (Reliability + .92)

- 15. Taxes: mentions federal income taxes on individuals and/or corporations, gasoline tax, or some other tax and may offer opinion, i.e., middle class tax cut, raise taxes on corporations and wealthy, will not raise taxes, etc.**
- 16. Federal budget deficit/balance budget: mentions federal budget deficit and/or failure to balance the national budget; may focus on cost of deficit to future generations.**
- 17. Unemployment/jobs: mentions unemployment rate, lack of jobs, creation of new jobs, jobs lost to state, need to bring new jobs to state, etc.**
- 18. Cost of living/inflation: mentions rate of inflation, compares cost of living now to previous times.**
- 19. Recession/depression: specific mention of recession and/or depression in discussing the economy of the state and/or nation.**

20. Immigration: mentions or discusses illegal immigration, controlling illegal immigration, and the problems illegal immigration causes or education and health care systems, employment, taxes, etc.
21. Economy in general: mentions or discusses the state's economy in general, rather than specific economic issues listed above.
22. Education/schools: mentions or discusses the state's elementary, secondary, vocational schools and programs, or colleges and universities. The need for quality teachers, funding, or preparing students for the next century are among the items that may be discussed or mentioned (excluding specific references to youth violence in schools).
23. Crime/prison: mentions or discusses the crime rate, criminals, incarceration of criminals, building of prisons, capital punishment, victim's rights, etc. (excluding specific references to youth violence).
24. Health care: mentions or discusses health care in general, cost of health care, hospitals, health insurance, or specific diseases.
25. Senior Citizen issues: mentions or discusses concerns of senior citizens (e.g. Social Security, Medicare, government pensions).
26. 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).
27. Welfare reform: mentions or discusses reforming the welfare system; focus of the discussion must be on "welfare system" not helping poor people in general.
28. Environment/pollution: mentions or discusses environmental issues (e.g. preserving a clean environment, keeping water clean) or cleaning up pollution (e.g., toxic waste, landfills, polluted water).
29. Drugs/drug abuse: mentions or discusses 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, the drug war, or education about drug abuse.
30. Dissatisfaction with the government: mentions or discusses 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).

31. **Ethics/moral decline:** mentions or discusses a decline in ethical and moral values of the country or state and/or citizens and/or the need for stronger values.
32. **Women's issues:** mentions or discusses women's concerns about issues such as choice, equal rights, sexual harassment, etc.
33. **Defense: (military):** mentions or discusses the nation's defense and/or its military and/or military bases within the state or city.
34. **International issues:** mentions or discusses foreign relations with other countries, foreign affairs, fear of war, arms control, keeping peace, etc.
35. **Youth violence:** mentions or discusses school violence or other juvenile violence and/or the need to control youth violence.
36. **Other issue (s): (specify)** list any other issues that were mentioned or discussed in the artifact under analysis that are not included in the categories listed above.
37. **Is any one particular issue emphasized?**

Code the issued identified as most dominant by placing its number on the line provided. In the event that no issue is dominant, if the ad has several equally mentioned issues, or if you cannot determine dominance, place 00 in the space provided.

38. **Structure of appeal: (code for dominant structure) (Reliability + .78)**
 - (1) **Inductive:** first lists examples to draw generalization or conclusion; e.g., "Candidate X has fought for tougher environmental laws, welfare reform, and increased social security benefits. For our state's future, let us send candidate X to Washington to represent us on these issues."
 - (2) **Deductive:** 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 am opposed to increasing the gasoline tax and will work to preserve social security benefits and reform the welfare system."
 - (8) **Cannot determine:** cannot determine whether the appeal is inductive or deductive, may be combination thereof.

39. Type of appeal used: (code for dominant type of appeal used) (Reliability + .76)
- (1) Logical appeal (use of evidence in ads): facts are presented in ad to persuade viewer that the evidence is overwhelming in favor of some position (either to support candidate or attack opponent). Evidence includes use of statistics, examples, logical arguments, etc.
 - (2) Emotional appeal: appeal designed to invoke particular feelings or emotions in viewers. Could include happiness, good will, pride patriotism, anger, etc. (ad reminds you of Hallmark card ad)
 - (3) Ethos appeal (credibility): appeal focusing on qualifications of candidate or attacks qualifications of opponent; designed to enhance the credibility and trustworthiness of candidate (or attack the credibility of his/her opponent) by telling all he/she has done, is capable of doing, how reliable he/she is.
40. Are fear appeals used in the ad? (code 1 if yes; 0 if no) (Reliability + .88)
- These appeals are meant to frighten the viewer about the consequences concerning some issue, candidate, or action.
- What strategies are present in the ad? (Code 1 if strategy is present, 0 if strategy is not present.) (Reliability + .84)
- 41. Incumbency stands for legitimacy: emphasis on incumbency in office, its legitimacy, the support and respect it is afforded.
 - 42. Voice for the state: emphasis on candidate as voice/representative for state and state issues in capitol. (Washington or state capitol.)
 - 43. Use of personal tone ("I"): presents ideas/views/positions as personal beliefs using the pronoun "I", e.g., "I am pro-life," "I believe in the free market;" presents positions as personal conclusions, not simply facts.
 - 44. Addressing viewers as peers ("we"): candidate presents him/herself as one of the people by using the pronoun "we", e.g., "We can solve our problems."
 - 45. Calling for change: things need to be done differently; changes need to be made; (code for **obvious** calls for change).
 - 46. Invites viewer participation, action: asks viewers to be part of the political process to join candidate by voting or taking some other action.

47. **Emphasizing optimism/hope for the future:** emphasizes candidate as one best able to deal with future; things can and will get better if you elect candidate X.
48. **Yearning for the past: Reactionary,** wanting to go back to the “good old days.” Desiring traditions of the past, “the American Dream,” etc.
49. **Traditional values:** reinforces majority values, family values, may involve morality, God, etc.
50. **Representing philosophical center of party:** has support of his/her political party and represents its policies and platforms.
51. **Using endorsements by party and other important political leaders:** party and other important political leaders used to speak on behalf to candidate; linking of candidate with established, highly respected leaders.
52. **Use of personal experience, anecdotes to support positions/candidacy:** candidate and/or surrogates tell personal stories 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 opponent.
53. **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.
54. **Use of expert authorities (non-political) to support positions/candidacy:** candidate or surrogate uses non-political sources-i.e., newspapers, scientists, educators-to support positions/candidacy or attack opponent.
55. **Identifying with experiences of others:** candidate and/or surrogates link experiences of others (constituents) with candidate’s personal experiences or his/her personal concerns.
56. **Emphasizing own accomplishments:** stressing the achievements of the candidate.
57. **Taking offensive position on issues:** candidate contrasts his/her own position on the issues with that of opponent; or questions and/or challenges opponent’s position issues.
58. **Attacking the record of the opponent:** reviewing and criticizing the past accomplishments (or failures) of the opponent; or questions and/or challenges opponent’s position on issues.

59. "Above the trenches" posture: candidate remains removed from politics, aloof from political battle, rarely acknowledges existence of any opponent, refrains from confrontation with opponent.
60. Candidate makes gender an issue: The candidate calls into play his/her gender as being an important factor in caring about certain issues, etc. Might use lines such as "I am a mother, so I care about issue X."
61. Any other strategies used? (Describe any other strategies not included in those listed above.)

What candidate characteristics are emphasized in the ad (code 1 if present, 0 if not present) (Reliability + .82)

62. Honesty/integrity: truthful, honest, has personal integrity
63. Toughness/strength: e.g., tough on crime, death penalty, peace through strength.
64. Past performance/success/failure: previous accomplishments, achievements
65. Aggressive/fighter: need for aggressive action, candidate will fight for constituents.
66. Cooperation with others: candidate will work with others to find solutions to problems.
67. Competency: assertive, confident, will get the job done.
68. Leadership: candidate is a recognized leader, on forefront of the issues, others follow his/her lead.
69. Experience in politics: candidate has the political experience, connections, to best represent constituents.
70. Washington outsider: no more "politics as usual;" candidate will represent state (and its average citizens) against bureaucracy, special interest groups, etc.
71. Sensitive/understanding: candidate understands, cares about, and is sensitive to needs of others.
72. Knowledgeable/intelligent: candidate is smart, knowledgeable on the issues.

73. **Qualified:** gives reasons or makes statements why this candidate is best qualified for office, based on past record and experience.
74. **Action oriented proponent:** candidate has a plan, is not just complaining about problems.
75. **Trustworthy:** you can trust/believe in this candidate.

Production Techniques

76. **Who is pictured in the ad?**

- (1) **No one:** No person/people are pictured in the ad.
- (2) **Candidate only:** The candidate is the only person pictured in the ad.
- (3) **Candidate's opponent:** The candidate's opponent is the only person shown.
- (4) **Candidate and opponent:** The candidate and his/her opponent are the only people shown in the ad.
- (5) **Candidate and other people:** The candidate and people other than the opponent are shown in the ad.
- (6) **People other than the candidate:** The candidate is not shown in the ad; rather, another person or people are shown.

If other people are pictured in the ad are they: (code 1 if present, 0 if not present)

77. **Men:** code 1 if man/men (other than the candidate or opponent are pictured in the ad.

78. **Women:** Code 1 if woman/women (other than the candidate or opponent are pictured in the ad.

79. **Family of candidate:** spouse, children (any age) or parents of candidate are shown separately or with candidate.

80. **Children (not candidates):** children approximately ages 18 or younger (and not the candidates') are shown in the ad.

81. **Senior citizens:** people approximately age 65 or older are shown in the ad.

82. **Ethnic/racial minorities:** African-Americans, Native Americans, Hispanics, Asian-Americans, are shown in the ad.

Appendix E

Newspaper Article Code Sheet

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---------|
| 1. Coder ID#: | <hr/> 1 |
| 2. Artifact ID#: | <hr/> 2 |
| 3. Newspaper: | <hr/> 3 |
| (1) The Arizona Republic | |
| (2) The Denver Post | |
| (3) The Hartford Courant | |
| (4) The Honolulu Star Bulletin | |
| (5) The Baltimore Sun | |
| (6) The Portsmouth Herald | |
| (7) The Los Vegas Sun | |
| (8) The Daily Oklahoman | |
| (9) The Providence Journal | |
| (10) Arkansas Democrat Gazette | |
| (11) The Los Angeles Times | |
| (12) The Chicago Tribune | |
| (13) The Bismarck Tribune | |
| (14) The Cincinnati Post | |
| 4. Month: | <hr/> 4 |
| (1) September | |
| (2) October | |
| (3) November | |
| 5. Publication Day: | <hr/> 5 |
| (1) Sunday | |
| (2) Monday | |
| (3) Tuesday | |
| (4) Wednesday | |
| (5) Thursday | |
| (6) Friday | |
| (7) Saturday | |

Identify the sex of the journalist (s) credited with the byline of the article:

6. Staff only: (Code 1 if present, 0 if not present)	6
7. Paired article (Code 1 if 2 or more journalist – male & female)	7
8. Male (Code 1 if the journalist is male, 2 if female)	8
9. Female (Code 1 if the journalist is male, 2 if female)	9
10. Cannot Determine: (Code 8)	10
11. Number of Paragraphs: (01-200)	11
(1) alluding to male candidate	11a
(2) alluding to female candidate	11b
(3) alluding to both candidates	11c
12. Dominant focus of article	
(1) Male candidate	12
(2) Female candidate	
(3) Both male and female candidate	
(4) Neither	
Issue representation: (Note: The items in this category are double numbered to analyze both male and female candidates whose names may appear in the article.)	
(0) No Issue Present	
(1) Present	
(2) Present with dominant link to male candidate	
(3) Present with dominant link to female candidate	
(4) Present and links to candidates equally	
13. Taxes	13
14. Budget/deficit	14
15. Unemployment/jobs	15
16. Cost of living	16

17. Recession/depression	17
18. Immigration	18
19. Economy in general	19
20. Education/schools	20
21. Crime/prison	21
22. Health care	22
23. Senior citizen issues	23
24. Poverty/hunger/homelessness	24
25. Welfare reform	25
26. Environment/pollution	26
27. Drugs/drug abuse	27
28. Dissatisfaction with the government	28
29. Ethics/moral decline	29
30. Women's issues (choice, harassment, equal rights)	30
31. Defense	31
32. International issues	32
33. Youth violence (to include school violence)	33
34. Other issue (s) specify _____	34
35. Is any one particular issue emphasized? _____	35

36. Is the sex of the candidate mentioned or discussed in the article? (Code 1 if mentioned, 0 if not mentioned.)

Male Candidate

Female Candidate

Discussion of candidate: (Note this category is double numbered to analyze both the male and female candidates. Place 1 if present, 0 if absent)

	Male	Female
37/38. Candidate's background and qualifications.	<u>37</u>	<u>38</u>
39/40. Candidate's appearance, dress, etc.	<u>39</u>	<u>40</u>
41/42. Candidate's personality.	<u>41</u>	<u>42</u>
43/44. Candidate's position on issues.	<u>43</u>	<u>44</u>
45/46. Candidate's gender stereotyped in article	<u>45</u>	<u>46</u>
47/48. Candidate's marital status.	<u>47</u>	<u>48</u>
49/50. Candidate's political experience.	<u>49</u>	<u>50</u>
51/52. Candidate's party affiliation.	<u>51</u>	<u>52</u>
53/54. Candidate's children	<u>53</u>	<u>54</u>
55/56. Candidate's honesty.	<u>55</u>	<u>56</u>
57/58. Candidate's toughness/strength	<u>57</u>	<u>58</u>
59/60. Candidate's warmth/compassion	<u>59</u>	<u>60</u>
61/62. Candidate's competency.	<u>61</u>	<u>62</u>
63/64. Candidates aggressiveness.	<u>63</u>	<u>64</u>
65/66. Candidate's activeness	<u>65</u>	<u>66</u>
67/68. Candidate's political ideology.	<u>67</u>	<u>68</u>

Treatment of Candidate in article (Code 0 if candidate is not mentioned, Code 1 if the candidate is mentioned positively, Code 2 if candidate is mentioned negatively, Code 3 if the candidate is mentioned neutrally – Note that these categories are double numbered to analyze both the male and female candidates whose names may appear in this artifact.)

	Male	Female
69/70. Overall treatment of the candidate in the article:	<u>69</u>	<u>70</u>
71/72. Overall treatment of candidate in headline	<u>71</u>	<u>72</u>
73/74. Overall treatment of candidate in sub-heading (code 0 if no sub-heading)	<u>73</u>	<u>74</u>
75/76. If the article, heading, or sub-heading is negative, identify the strategy used by the journalist.	Male	Female
(1) Humor/ridicule	<u>75</u>	<u>76</u>
(2) Negative association		
(3) Name Calling		
(4) Guilt by association		
(5) Not applicable		
77/78. Candidate Viability	Male	Female
(0) Not applicable	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
(1) Frontrunner/likely to win		
(2) Contender/competitive		
(3) Loser/unlikely to win		
79. Are political advertisements featured in the story?	<u>79</u>	**
(0) Not applicable		
(1) Yes		
(2) Dominant focus of the article		

**If the answer is yes (1) or Dominant (2) answer, 79-84; if no (0) skip 79-84. Go directly to Question 85.

79/80. Which candidate sponsored the ad the discussed in the article?

Male_____

Female_____

81. How does the article treat the sponsor of the ad?

81

- (0) Neutral
- (1) Positive
- (2) Negative

82. Did the article show a picture or graphic of the ad?

82

- (0) No
- (1) Yes

83/84. What was the political advertisement type?

Male

Female

- (0) Not applicable
- (1) Positive ad on behalf of candidate
- (2) Negative ad on behalf of candidate
- (3) Both positive and negative ads included

85. Was coverage of a debate featured in the article?

85

- (0) No
- (1) Yes
- (2) Dominant focus of the article

86. Did the debate coverage

86

- (0) Favor neither candidate
- (1) Favor the male candidate
- (2) Favor the female candidate

Appendix F

Newspaper Article Codebook

1. **Coder ID#** : identifies the number assigned to each coder during the training session. Use the number assigned to you during the training session.
2. **Artifact ID#** : indicates the published article or composition under analysis. Use the four digit identification number printed on the back of each individual article.
3. **Newspaper**: indicates the name of the publication from which the article under analysis came. Use the name of the newspaper printed on each article. (Reliability + 100)
4. **Month**: indicates the month in which the artifact under analysis was published. Use the month printed on each article. (Reliability + 100)
5. **Publication Day**: indicates the day of the week the article was published. Use the publication day printed on each article. Identify the day of the week by marking: (Reliability + 100)
 - (1) for Sunday
 - (2) for Monday
 - (3) for Tuesday
 - (4) for Wednesday
 - (5) for Thursday
 - (6) for Friday
 - (7) for Saturday

Identify the sex of the journalist (s) credited with the byline of the article: (code 1 if present, 0 if not present.) (Reliability + 100)

6. **Staff only**: Code 1 if the article indicates “staff” wrote it.
7. **Paired article**: Code 1 to indicate that this article is credited to both male and female journalists.
8. **Male**: Code 1 to indicate if the article is credited to male journalist (s) only.
9. **Female**: Code 1 to indicate if the article is credited to female journalist (s) only.

10. Cannot determine: Code 1 if you cannot determine if the journalist credited is male or female.
11. Count the number of paragraphs printed in the article of analysis. A paragraph may be one line or several lines in length. Paragraphs are to be identified by the indentation of left side column alignment. (Reliability + .94)
12. Dominant focus of article: Dominant focus of article (candidate): Each article may include a mixture of information. Select the dominant focus using the following categories if one or the other or both of the candidates in question is discussed throughout the article. (Reliability + .74)
 - (1) Male candidate: Code this category only if the male candidate is the dominant focus of the article.
 - (2) Female candidate: Code this category only if the female candidate is the dominant focus of the article.
 - (3) Both male and female candidates: Code this category only if the female and male candidates are represented equally in the article.
 - (4) Neither: the focus of the article is on another issue or person.

Issue representation: Identify the issue, if any, and the candidate with whom the issue is most dominantly linked. (Reliability + .82)

- (0) No issue present: Use this number to indicate that this issue is not mentioned or discussed in article.
- (1) Present: Use this number to indicate that the issue is present but not dominantly linked to either candidate.
- (2) Present with link to male candidate: Use this number to indicate that the male candidate has (or has been reported as having) discussed, mentioned, or participated in some campaign activity related to the issue mentioned or discussed in the article. This candidate/issue link may come in the form of a quotation from the candidate, the opponent, a representative of the candidate, or a constituent. It may also include a journalist's assumption based on fact or hearsay.
- (3) Present with link to female candidate: Use this number to indicate that the female candidate has (or has been reported as having) discussed, mentioned, or participated in some campaign activity related to the issue

mentioned or discussed in the article. This candidate/issue link may come in the form of a quotation from the candidate, the opponent, a representative of the candidate, or a constituent. It may also include a journalist's assumption based on fact or hearsay.

- (4) Present and links to candidates equally: Use this number to indicate that both candidates have (or have been report as having) discussed, mentioned, or participated in some campaign activity related to the issue mentioned or discussed in the article. The candidate/issue link may come in the form of a quotation from the candidate, the opponent, a representative of either candidate, or a constituent. It may also include a journalist's assumption based on fact or hearsay.
13. Taxes: mentions federal income taxes on individuals and/or corporations, gasoline tax, or some other tax and may offer opinion, i.e., middle class tax dut, raise taxes on corporations and wealthy, will not raise taxes, etc.
 14. Federal budget deficit/balance budget: mentions federal budget deficit and/or failure to balance the national budget; may focus on cost of deficit to future generations.
 15. Unemployment/jobs: mentions unemployment rate, lack of jobs, creation of new jobs, jobs lost to state, need to bring new jobs to state, etc.
 16. Cost of living/inflation: mentions rate of inflation, compares cost of living now to previous times.
 17. Recession/depression: specific mention of recession and/or depression in discussing the economy of the state and/or nation.
 18. Immigration: mentions or discusses illegal immigration, controlling illegal immigration, and the problems illegal immigration causes or education and helath care systems, employment, taxes, etc.
 19. Economy in general: mentions or discusses the state's economy in general, rather than specific economic issues listed above.
 20. Education/schools: mentions or discusses the state's elementary, secondary, vocational schools and programs, or colleges and universities. The need for quality teachers, funding, or preparing students for the next century are among the items that may be discussed or mentioned (excluding specific references to youth violence in schools).

21. **Crime/prison:** mentions or discusses the crime rate, criminals, incarceration of criminals, building of prisons, capitol punishment, victim's rights, etc. (excluding specific references to youth violence).
22. **Health care:** mentions or discusses health care in general, cost of health care, hospitals, health insurance, or specific diseases.
23. **Senior Citizen issues:** mentions or discusses concerns of senior citizens (e.g. Social Security, Medicare, government pensions).
24. **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).
25. **Welfare reform:** mentions or discusses reforming the welfare system; focus of the discussion must be on "welfare system" not helping poor people in general.
26. **Environment/pollution:** mentions or discusses environmental issues (e.g. preserving a clean environment, keeping water clean) or cleaning up pollution (e.g., toxic waste, landfills, polluted water).
27. **Drugs/drug abuse:** mentions or discusses 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, the drug war, or education about drug abuse.
28. **Dissatisfaction with the government:** mentions or discusses 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).
29. **Ethics/moral decline:** mentions or discusses a decline in ethical and moral values of the country or state and/or citizens and/or the need for stronger values.
30. **Women's issues:** mentions or discusses women's concerns about issues such as choice, equal rights, sexual harassment, etc.
31. **Defense: (military):** mentions or discusses the nation's defense and/or its military and/or military bases within the state or city.
32. **International issues:** mentions or discusses foreign relations with other countries, foreign affairs, fear of war, arms control, keeping peace, etc.

33. Youth violence: mentions or discusses school violence or other juvenile violence and/or the need to control youth violence.
34. Other issue (s): (specify) list any other issues that were mentioned or discussed in the artifact under analysis that are not included in the categories listed above.
35. Is any one particular issue emphasized?

Code the issued identified as most dominant by placing its number on the line provided. In the event that no issue is dominant, if the ad has several equally mentioned issues, or if you cannot determine dominance, place 00 in the space provided. (Reliability + .94)

36. Is the sex of the candidate mentioned or discussed in the article? (Code 1 if mentioned, 0 if not mentioned).

Discussion of candidate: (Note this category is double numbered to analyze both the male and female candidates. Place 1 if present, 0 if not mentioned. (Reliability + .78)

37/38. Candidate's background and qualifications: mentions or discusses the candidate's credibility as a candidate. Specific references may include – the candidate's education, previous business, success or failures, etc. (excludes previous experience in politics.)

39/40. Candidate's appearance, dress, etc: mentions or discusses candidates appearance or how the candidate is dressed, their hair, clothing, accessories, etc.

41/42. Candidate's personality: mentions or discusses various aspects of the candidate's disposition. Specific references might include likable, mean-spirited etc.

43/44. Candidate's position on issues: mentions or discusses the candidate's stance on an issue.

45/46. Candidate is gender stereotyped in the article. The journalist uses words like homemaker or cheerleader when discussing the female candidate. Or uses words macho to discuss male candidate.

47/48. Candidate's marital status: Mentions the candidate's spouse, or divorce, single, never been married, etc.

49/50. Candidate's political experience: mentions or discusses the candidate's previous experience in political office.

51/52. Candidate's party affiliation: mentions or discusses the candidate's political party.

53/54. Candidate's children: mentions or discusses the candidate's children in the article.

55/56. Candidate's honesty: makes specific reference to candidate's honesty or lack thereof.

57/58. Candidate's toughness/strength: mentions how tough, or how much of a "fighter" or how strong a candidate is.

59/60. Candidate's warmth/compassion: mentions or discusses how warm, compassionate, or sensitive a candidate may be.

61/62. Candidate's competency: mentions or discusses how competent the candidate would be (or is) in office.

63/64. Candidate's aggressiveness: How aggressive the candidate is in the campaign or how aggressive the candidate will work for the constituents.

65/66. Candidate's activeness: candidate has a plan, is not just complaining about a problem.

67/68. Candidate's political ideology: mentions or discusses candidate's political ideology, e.g., words like liberal, conservative, left/right wing or moderate are used.

69-74. Overall treatment of candidate in the article: (Note that this category is double numbered to analyze both male and female candidates whose names may appear in the article.) Code for both male and female candidates using the spaces provided on the right side of the code sheet. This judgment should be based on the characteristic that best describes your perception of the overall treatment of the candidate in the article. Indicate your perception by marking the following: (Reliability + .80)

(0) Candidate name is not included in the article: Code 0 if the candidate's name or any abstract reference to the candidate did not appear in the article.

(1) Positive: Code 1 if the candidate's name or abstract reference to the candidate did appear in the article. The perception you have of the candidate as

described in the artifact must be positive, complementary, and beneficial. The journalist has used a support slant to describe the candidate.

- (2) Negative: Code 2 if the candidate's name or abstract reference to the candidate did appear in the article. The perception you have of the candidate as described in the article must be negative, adverse, and destructive. The journalist has used a less than complementary tactic to describe the candidate. Some strategies may include: humor/ridicule, negative association, name-calling, guilt by association.
- (3) Neutral: Code 3 if the candidate's name or abstract reference to the candidate did appear in the article. The perception you have of the candidate as described in the article was impersonal, fair, without a dominant positive or negative slant by the journalist.

75/76. If the article, heading or sub-heading is negative, identify the strategy used by the journalist: (Reliability + .86)

- (1) Humor ridicule: The journalist makes fun of the candidate by ridiculing a thing that the candidate said or did or what the candidate stands for.
- (2) Negative association: The journalist links the opponent with undesirable issues or images.
- (3) Name-calling: The journalist uses unflattering labels for the candidate.
- (4) Guilt by association: The journalist links the candidate with undesirable groups or individuals. Implies that the candidate associates with undesirable groups or people. In some election years, this could include associating a candidate with another unpopular politician.
- (5) Not Applicable: The article, heading, or sub heading is not negative.

77. Candidate Viability: Candidate viability will assess the journalist's (and article's) perception of each candidate's viability according to the following classifications or similar descriptive. (Reliability + .90)

- (0) Not applicable: (candidate not mentioned). The candidate's name is either not mentioned in the article or "candidate viability" is not discussed.
- (1) Frontrunner/likely to win: The article places the candidate in the lead as political contender for the race.
- (2) Contender/competitive: The article discusses the candidate in fairly neutral terms, but does not mention the status of his/her race (i.e., the race is "too close to call" or some polls indicated she will win and some that he will win").

- (3) Loser/unlikely to win: The article discusses the candidate in terms as being behind or lagging in the polls.

78. Are political advertisements featured in the article? This item will record the inclusion of candidate political advertisements in the artifact under analysis. Code as follows: (Reliability + .94)

- (0) No – No political advertisement was mentioned.
- (1) Yes – Political advertisement was mentioned.
- (2) The dominant focus of the article was on political advertisement.

If the answer is yes then continue to answer 79 through 84.

79/80. Which candidate sponsored the ad. (Code 1 upon the line furnished to the right as to whether the male candidate or the female candidate sponsored the ad, or the ad was sponsored on their behalf by another interested group or person.) (Reliability + .96)

81. How does the article treat the sponsor of the ad? Code as follows: (Reliability + .78)

- (0) Neutral - Code 0 if the sponsored candidate's name or abstract reference to the sponsor did appear in the article or if the perception you have of the sponsored candidate as described in the article was impersonal, fair, without a dominant positive or negative slant by the journalist.
- (1) Positive on behalf of the sponsor- Code 1 if the sponsored candidate's name or abstract reference to the candidate did appear in the article. The perception you have of the sponsor as described in the artifact must be positive, complementary, and beneficial. The journalist has used a support slant to describe the sponsored candidate.
- (2) Negative on behalf of the sponsor – Code 2 if the sponsored candidate's name or abstract reference to the candidate did appear in the article. The perception you have of the candidate as described in the article must be negative, adverse, and destructive. The journalist has used a less than complementary tactic to describe the candidate.

82. Picture or graphic of ad. (Reliability + 100)

- (0) Code 0 if there was no picture or graphic.
- (1) Code 1 if picture or graphic appeared with story.

83/84. What was the political advertisement type? (Note that the category will be double coded for both male and female candidates) This category will identify the type of advertisement (s) mentioned or discussed. Code as follows: (Reliability + .92)

- (0) Not applicable-candidate's advertisement was not discussed.
- (1) Positive on behalf of the candidate. A positive political advertisement was featured in the article
- (2) Negative on behalf of the candidate-a negative ad attacking the candidate's opponent was discussed or mentioned.

85. Debate coverage. This item will record the inclusion of candidate debate in the artifact under analysis. Code as follows: (Reliability + .90)

- (0) No – No candidate debate was mentioned.
- (2) Yes – Candidate debate was mentioned.***
- (3) The dominant focus of the article was on the candidate's debate

***If you coded 2 answer question 86-

86. Debate outcome. This category will identify the debate's outcome according to the article. (Reliability + .90)

- (0) No clear winner. The article did not lead you to believe either candidate fared better.
- (1) The article gives the impression the male candidate won.
- (2) The article gives the impression the female candidate won.

Table 1

Candidates, Party, Outcome, and Race

Republican	Democrat	Outcome	State	Race
Fay Boozman	Blanche Lincoln	Lincoln	Arkansas	Senate
Matthew Fong	Barbara Boxer	Boxer	California	Senate
Ben Campbell	Dottie Lamm	Campbell	Colorado	Senate
Crystal Young	Daniel Inouye	Inouye	Hawaii	Senate
Mike Fitzgerald	Carol Moseley-Braun	Fitzgerald	Illinois	Senate
John Pierpont	Barbara Mikulski	Mikulski	Maryland	Senate
George Voinovich	Mary Boyle	Voinovich	Ohio	Senate
Jane Hull	Paul Johnson	Hull	Arizona	Gov
Bill Owens	Gail Schoettler	Owens	Colorado	Gov
John Rowland	Barbara Kennelly	Rowland	Connecticut	Gov
Linda Lingle	Ben Cayetano	Cayetano	Hawaii	Gov
Ellen Sauerbrey	Parris Glendening	Glendening	Maryland	Gov
Jay Lucas	Jeanne Shaheen	Shaheen	New Hampshire	Gov
Kenny Guinn	Jan Lavery Jones	Guinn	Nevada	Gov
Frank Keating	Laura Boyd	Keating	Oklahoma	Gov
Lincoln Almond	Myrth York	Almond	Rhode Island	Gov
Ruth Dwyer	Howard Dean	Dean	Vermont	Gov

Table 2

Newspapers Utilized in Content Analysis

The Arizona Republic

The Denver Post

The Hartford Courant

The Honolulu Star Bulletin

The Baltimore Sun

The Portsmouth Herald

The Los Vegas Sun

The Daily Oklahoman

The Providence Journal

Arkansas Democrat Gazette

The Los Angeles Times

The Chicago Tribune

The Bismarck Tribune

The Cincinnati Post

The Seattle Times

Table 3

**Cross Tabulation Results of Gender Significant Issue Content in Political
Commercials**

<u>Issue</u>	<u>Male (n=100)</u>	<u>Female (n=66)</u>	<u>Chi-Square</u>	<u>Significance</u>
Taxes	35 (35%)	6 (11%)	14.35	.001
Education	23 (23%)	29 (43%)	8.10	.04
Health Care	9 (9%)	18 (27%)	9.74	.02
Women's Issues	6 (6%)	16 (24%)	7.22	.05
Youth violence	0 (00%)	7 (11%)	11.7	.01

Table 4

Cross Tabulation Results of Issue Discussion in Political Commercials

Issue	Males (<u>n</u> = 100)	Females (<u>n</u> = 66)	Significance
Masculine Issues			
Economy	9 (9%)	12 (18%)	n.s.
Unemployment	13 (13%)	7 (11%)	n.s.
Taxes	35 (35%)	6 (6%)	.01
Budget Deficit	10 (10%)	3 (5%)	n.s.
Recession*	3 (3%)	00 (00%)	n.s.
Crime	8 (8%)	8 (12%)	n.s.
Dissatisfied w/govt.	4 (4%)	00 (00%)	n.s.
Defense*	2 (2%)	00 (00%)	n.s.
Feminine issues			
Health Care	9 (9%)	18 (27%)	.02
Education	23 (23%)	29 (43%)	.04
Environment	9 (9%)	5 (7%)	n.s.
Senior Citizens	11 (11%)	12 (18%)	n.s.
Drugs/Drug Abuse*	1 (1%)	2 (3%)	n.s.
Women's Issues	6 (6%)	16 (24%)	.05
Welfare Reform	4 (4%)	2 (3%)	n.s.
Poverty*	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	n.s.
Ethics/moral*	4 (4%)	0 (0%)	n.s.
Youth Violence	0 (00%)	7 (11%)	.01

Note. *N is too small to draw statistical inference.

Table 5

Issue Mention in Newspaper Articles Covering Mixed-Gender Campaigns

Issue	Present	Present/Male	Present/Female	Present/Both	Pct
Taxes	53	73	44	40	35%
Budget	44	40	19	17	20%
Unemploy	21	27	22	3	12%
Cost of living	5	13	5	1	4%
Recession	5	3	5	1	2%
Immigration	7	8	00	1	2%
Economy	45	28	18	9	17%
Education	57	62	83	34	40%
Crime	26	37	10	14	15%
Health Care	23	25	38	14	17%
Senior Cit	9	13	28	12	10%
Poverty	10	7	12	3	5%
Welfare	9	12	6	3	5%
Environment	19	20	31	19	15%
Drugs	9	10	9	3	5%
Dis w/gov	25	20	9	4	10%
Ethics	26	29	23	12	15%
Womens Issu	17	22	50	38	11%
Defense	6	15	5	5	5%
Intern Issue	5	6	9	9	4%
Youth Violen	4	2	5	2	2%

Note. Each variable has a total possible n of 593. Percentages will not equal 100% due to mentions of multiple issues in same article.

Table 6

Cross Tabulation Results of Issues Linked in Newspapers with Candidates in Mixed Gender Elections

Issue	Present/Male	Present/Female	Chi-Square	Sig
Taxes	73	44	7.18	.04
Budget	40	19	7.47	.03
Unemploy	27	22		n.s.
Cost of living	13	5		n.s.
Recession*	3	5		n.s.
Immigration*	8	00		n.s.
Economy	28	18		n.s.
Education	62	83		n.s.
Crime	37	10	15.51	.01
Health Care	25	38		n.s.
Senior Cit	13	28		n.s.
Poverty	7	12		n.s.
Welfare	12	6		n.s.
Environment	20	31		n.s.
Drugs	10	9		n.s.
Dis w/gov	20	9	4.17	.04
Ethics	29	23		n.s.
Womens Issu	22	50	10.89	.01
Defense	15	5	5.00	.02
Intern Issue	6	9		n.s.
Youth Violence*	2	5		n.s.

Note.* Expected frequencies do not meet sample-size requirements for χ^2 statistic.

Table 7

Cross Tabulation Results of Candidates and Image Characteristics in Political Advertisements

Image	Males (n=100)	Females (n=66)	Sig
“Masculine” traits			
Performance/Success	40 (40%)	16 (24%)	.04
Aggressive/Fighter	23 (23%)	27 (41%)	.04
Toughness/Strength	31 (31%)	24 (36%)	n.s.
Leadership	51 (51%)	27 (41%)	n.s.
Experience in politics	24 (24%)	12 (18%)	n.s.
Action-oriented	34 (34%)	29 (44%)	n.s.
Competent	26 (26%)	10 (15%)	n.s.
Knowledgeable/intelligent	7 (7%)	8 (12%)	n.s.
“Feminine” traits			
Sensitive/Understanding	24 (24%)	12 (18%)	n.s.
Honesty/Integrity	35 (35%)	11 (16%)	.01
Cooperation	11 (11%)	6 (9%)	n.s.
Outsider	7 (7%)	6 (9%)	n.s.
Trustworthy	28 (28%)	4 (6%)	.01
Warmth/Compassion	8 (8%)	6 (9%)	n.s.
“Neutral” Trait			
Qualified	23 (23%)	12 (18%)	n.s.
Total images emphasized	372 (3.72 per ad)	198 (3.00 per ad)	

Table 8

Cross Tabulation Results of Candidate Image – People Pictured in Political Advertisements

People/Group	<u>Gender</u>		Sig
	Male (N=100)	Female (N = 66)	
Males	66 (66%)	50 (75%)	n.s.
Females	70 (70%)	44 (66%)	n.s.
Family	32 (32%)	7 (11%)	.01
Children	37 (37%)	36 (54%)	.02
Seniors	40 (40%)	27 (41%)	n.s.
Minorities	59 (59%)	41 (62%)	n.s.

Table 9

Cross Tabulation Results of Negative Ads and Type Appeal Utilized by Male and Female Candidates

Strategy	<u>Gender</u>		Sig.
	Male (<u>n</u> =100)	Female (<u>n</u> =66)	
Negative attack	33 (33%)	26 (39%)	n.s.
Candidate pos/focus	68 (68%)	43 (65%)	n.s.
Opponent neg/focus	29 (29%)	22 (33%)	n.s.
Type Appeal			
Logical	40 (40%)	26 (39%)	n.s.
Emotional	30 (30%)	20 (30%)	n.s.
Credibility	30 (30%)	20 (20%)	n.s.
Fear appeals	5 (5%)	11 (17%)	.03

Note. Not applicable and not present categories were not included in the cross-tabulation analysis.

Table 10

Cross Tabulation Results of Candidate Image Characteristics Reported in Newspaper Articles

Image Characteristic	<u>Gender</u>		X ²	Sig
	Male (n=593)	Female (n=593)		
Candidate Background	76 (13%)	36 (6%)	14.28	.01
Candidate Appearance	10 (6%)	29 (10%)	9.25	.02
Candidate Personality	30 (5%)	34 (6%)		n.s.
Candidate Position on Issues	98 (17%)	82 (14%)		n.s.
Candidate Stereotypes	4 (1%)	34 (6%)	22.21	.01
Candidate Marital Status	16 (3%)	53 (9%)	19.84	.01
Candidate Party Affiliation	71 (12%)	58 (9%)		n.s.
Candidate Political Experience	84 (14%)	43 (7%)	13.23	.01
Candidate Honesty	51 (9%)	42 (7%)		n.s.
Candidate Toughness	57 (10%)	37 (6%)		n.s.
Candidate Warmth	18 (3%)	36 (6%)	6.00	.04
Candidate Competence	51 (9%)	27 (5%)	7.38	.05
Candidate Aggression	45 (8%)	33 (5%)		n.s.
Candidate Action	55 (9%)	26 (4%)	10.38	.01
Candidate Political Ideology	32 (5%)	30 (5%)		n.s.

Note. Not present or linked to both categories are not included in the table.
 Figures total more than 100% due to multiple answers.

Table 11

Dominant Focus of Candidates in Newspaper Articles

Newspaper Name	Male	Female	Equal	Total
Arizona Republic	14 (30%)	8 (17%)	24 (52%)	46
Arkansas Daily Gazette	15 (32%)	3 (6%)	29 (61%)	47
Baltimore Sun*	32 (40%)	22 (27%)	26 (32%)	80
Bismarck Tribune	11 (61%)	4 (22%)	3 (16%)	18
Cincinnati Post*	16 (33%)	14 (29%)	18 (37%)	48
Chicago Tribune	11 (39%)	14 (50%)	3 (11%)	28
Daily Oklahoman	27 (56%)	7 (15%)	14 (29%)	48
Denver Post*	35 (42%)	19 (27%)	30 (23%)	84
Hartford Courant	15 (38%)	9 (29%)	12 (33%)	36
Honolulu Star Bulletin*	16 (38%)	13 (31%)	13 (31%)	42
Las Vegas Sun	5 (18%)	9 (32%)	14 (50%)	28
Los Angeles Times	33 (45%)	23 (32%)	17 (23%)	73
Portsmouth Herald	3 (20%)	8 (53%)	4 (26%)	15
Total	233	153	27	593

Note. * indicates more than one race covered by the paper.

Table 12

Newspaper Paragraph Coverage by Gender

Newspaper	Male	Female	Both	Total
Arizona Republic	113 (2%)	86 (1%)	186 (3%)	385 (7%)
Arkansas Daily Gazette	124(2%)	112 (2%)	134 (2%)	370 (7%)
Baltimore Sun*	356 (6%)	334 (6%)	321(6%)	111(19%)
Bismarck Tribune	66 (1%)	26 (1%)	54 (1%)	146 (3%)
Cincinnati Post*	146 (3%)	120 (2%)	127 (2%)	392 (7%)
Chicago Tribune	77 (1%)	157 (3%)	144 (3%)	378 (7%)
Daily Oklahoman	180 (3%)	69 (1%)	76 (1%)	325 (6%)
Denver Post*	245 (5%)	178 (3%)	187 (3%)	610 (11%)
Hartford Courant	87 (2%)	95 (2%)	126 (2%)	38 (6%)
Honolulu Star Bulletin*	88 (2%)	91(2%)	14 (2%)	283 (5%)
Las Vegas Sun	36 (1%)	82 (2%)	77 (1%)	195 (3%)
Los Angeles Times	256 (5%)	276 (5%)	232 (4%)	764 (14%)
Portsmouth Herald	58 (1%)	76 (1%)	87 (2%)	221 (4%)
Total	1832 (34%)	172 (31%)	1855 (34%)	5388

Note. *indicates more than one race covered by paper. The total number of paragraphs in the sample $N = 14,229$. The total number of paragraphs mentioning a male or female candidate (or both) is $N = 5388$.

Table 13

Cross Tabulation Results of References to Candidate Sex and Marital Status in Newspaper Articles

Reference to Candidates	Gender N = 593		chi-square	Sig
	Female	Male		
Candidate Sex	50 (8%)	7 (1%)	32.43	.01
Marital Status	53 (8%)	16 (2%)	19.81	.01

Note. Not applicable and not present categories are not included in the table.

Table 14

Cross Tabulation Results of Candidate's Quotations as Recorded by Newspapers

Number of Quotations	Gender		Chi Square	Sig
	Male	Female		
382 (64%)	197 (33%)	185 (31%)		n.s.
<u>Note.</u> Number of articles is <u>N</u> = 593.				

Table 15

Candidate Treatment in Articles, Headings, and Subheadings

	Male	Female	Chi Square	Sig
Article				
Candidate Represented	<u>n</u> = 370	<u>n</u> = 360		
Positive	134 (30%)	97 (23%)		n.s.
Negative	12 (22%)	119 (28%)		n.s.
Neutral	134 (36%)	144 (40%)		n.s.
Heading				
Candidate Represented	<u>n</u> = 319	<u>n</u> = 339		n.s.
Positive	56 (18%)	63 (19%)		n.s.
Negative	51 (16%)	66 (19%)		n.s.
Neutral	212 (66%)	210 (62%)		n.s.

Note. Candidate not mentioned category was not applied in this analysis.

Table 16

Cross Tabulation Results of Candidate Viability in Newspaper Articles

Candidate Label	Male (<u>n</u> =152)	Female (<u>n</u> = 147)
Frontrunner	69 (45%)	32 (22%)
Contender	67 (44%)	77 (52%)
Not Likely to Win	16 (11%)	38 (26%)

Note. Not applicable category was not included in this table.

Table 17

Cross Tabulation Results of Candidate Viability in Newspaper Articles –
Contender Category Removed

Candidate Sex	Fro.Run	Lose	chi square	sig
Male	69 (81%)	16 (18%)	33.4	.01
Female	32 (46%)	38 (54%)		

Note. Not applicable and contender categories are not included in this table.

Table 18

Cross Tabulation Results of Depiction by Newspaper Articles of Gender and Political Ads

Newspaper Depiction	<u>Gender</u>		Both Candidates
	Male	Female	
Positive	2 (4%)	0 (00%)	10 (23%)
Neutral	5 (12%)	1 (2%)	4 (9%)
Negative	6 (14%)	8 (19%)	7 (16%)
Total	13	9	21

Note. Not applicable category is not included in the table. Total n = 593. Total number of articles featuring political ads is 43.

Table 19

Newspaper Paragraph Coverage in Debates

Coverage	<u>Gender</u> (<u>n</u> = 46)		
	Male	Female	Both
Number of Paragraphs	217 (18%)	161 (13%)	187 (15%)

Note. A total of 1,231 paragraphs were analyzed.

Table 20

Slant of Newspaper Coverage in Debate Articles

Coverage	<u>Gender</u>	
	Male	Female
	<u>(n = 46)</u>	
Positive	6 (13%)	4 (7%)
Negative	12 (26%)	15 (33%)
Neutral	4 (7%)	5 (8%)

Table 21

Cross Tabulation Results of Image Traits in Newspaper Debate Articles

Image Trait	<u>Gender</u>		Chi-square	Sig
	Male	Female		
	(N = 46)			
Candidate Background	3 (6%)	4 (9%)		n.s.
Candidate Appearance	00 (00%)	2 (4%)		n.s.
Candidate Personality	2 (4%)	6 (13%)	15.2	.02
Candidate Position on issues	2 (4%)	1 (2%)		n.s.
Candidate Stereotype	00 (00%)	4 (9%)		n.s.
Candidate Marital Status	1 (2%)	8 (17%)	32.10	.01
Candidate Political Experience	6 (13%)	8 (17%)		n.s.
Candidate Party Affiliation	1 (2%)	2 (4%)		n.s.
Candidate's Children	1 (2%)	7 (15%)	21.14	.01
Candidate Honesty	1 (2%)	3 (6%)		n.s.
Candidate Toughness	4 (9%)	2 (4%)		n.s.
Candidate Warmth	00 (00%)	3 (6%)		n.s.
Candidate Competence	1 (2%)	2 (4%)		n.s.
Candidate Aggression	5 (11%)	2 (4%)		n.s.
Candidate Activeness	1 (2%)	00 (00%)		n.s.
Candidate Political Ideology	3 (6%)	4 (9%)		n.s.

Note. Not present or linked to both categories are not included in the table. Some cells held expected count less than 5.

Table 22

Cross Tabulation Results of Issue Mentions in Newspaper Debate Articles

Issues	<u>Gender</u>		Chi-square	Sig
	Male	Female		
	(N = 46)			
Taxes	6 (13%)	6 (13%)		n.s.
Budget	6 (13%)	3 (7%)		n.s.
Unemployment	4 (9%)	3 (7%)		n.s.
Cost of Living	1 (2%)	1 (2%)		n.s.
Recession	3 (7%)	2 (4%)		n.s.
Immigration	8 (17%)	4 (9%)		n.s.
Economy	1 (2%)	4 (9%)		n.s.
Education	7 (15%)	11 (23%)		n.s.
Crime	4 (9%)	1 (2%)		n.s.
Health Care	5 (11%)	8 (17%)		n.s.
Senior Citizens	3 (7%)	5 (11%)		n.s.
Poverty	1 (2%)	00 (00%)		n.s.
Welfare	4 (9%)	1 (2%)		n.s.
Environment	2 (4%)	5 (11%)		n.s.
Drugs	2 (4%)	00 (00%)		n.s.
Dissatisfaction w/govt.	6 (13%)	3 (7%)		n.s.
Ethics	5 (11%)	3 (7%)		n.s.
Women's Issues	2 (4%)	5 (11%)		n.s.
Defense	1 (2%)	00 (00%)		n.s.
International Issues	00 (00%)	1 (2%)		n.s.
Youth Violence	2 (4%)	5 (11%)		n.s.

Note. Not present or linked to both categories are not included in the table.

Table 23

Cross Tabulation Results of Image Traits in Newspaper Coverage of Political Ads

Image Trait	<u>Gender</u>		Chi-square	Sig
	Male (N=48)	Female		
Candidate Background	8 (17%)	5 (10%)		n.s.
Candidate Appearance	00 (00%)	3 (6%)		n.s.
Candidate Personality	2 (4%)	4 (8%)		n.s.
Candidate Position on issues	10 (21%)	7 (15%)		n.s.
Candidate Stereotype	00 (00%)	3 (6%)		n.s.
Candidate Marital Status	3 (6%)	4 (8%)		n.s.
Candidate Political Experience	9 (18%)	5 (10%)		n.s.
Candidate Party Affiliation	4 (8%)	2 (4%)		n.s.
Candidate Children	00 (00%)	1 (2%)		n.s.
Candidate Honesty	7 (15%)	4 (8%)		n.s.
Candidate Toughness	5 (10%)	7 (15%)		n.s.
Candidate Warmth	00 (00%)	1 (2%)		n.s.
Candidate Competence	5 (10%)	2 (4%)		n.s.
Candidate Aggression	5 (10%)	4 (8%)		n.s.
Candidate Activeness	2 (4%)	4 (8%)		n.s.
Candidate Political Ideology	1 (2%)	2 (4%)		n.s.

Note. Not present or linked to both categories are not included in the table. Some cells held expected count less than 5.

Table 24

Cross Tabulation Results of Issue Mentions in Newspaper Political Ad Coverage

Issues	<u>Gender</u>		Chi-square	Sig
	Male	Female		
	(N = 48)			
Taxes	8 (17%)	1 (2%)	10.92	.02
Budget	5 (10%)	3 (7%)		n.s.
Unemployment	00 (00%)	1 (2%)		n.s.
Cost of Living	1 (2%)	00 (00%)		n.s.
Recession	3 (7%)	2 (4%)		n.s.
Immigration	4 (8%)	00 (00%)		n.s.
Economy	24 (50%)	21 (44%)		n.s.
Education	7 (15%)	9 (19%)		n.s.
Crime	3 (9%)	00 (00%)		n.s.
Health Care	2 (4%)	4 (8%)		n.s.
Senior Citizens	3 (7%)	5 (11%)		n.s.
Poverty	00 (00%)	00 (00%)		n.s.
Welfare	1 (2%)	00 (00%)		n.s.
Environment	2 (4%)	6 (13%)		n.s.
Drugs	3 (9%)	00 (00%)		n.s.
Dissatisfaction w/govt.	6 (13%)	5 (11%)		n.s.
Ethics	3 (7%)	3 (7%)		n.s.
Women's Issues	2 (4%)	6 (13%)		n.s.
Defense	3 (6%)	00 (00%)		n.s.
International Issues	2 (4%)	1 (2%)		n.s.
Youth Violence	2 (4%)	8 (17%)	7.00	.04

Note. Not present or linked to both categories are not included in the table. Some cells held expected count less than 5.