THE FRAMING OF HILLARY CLINTON: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF MEDIA DISCOURSE ON CLINTON'S CANDIDACY IN THE 2016 ELECTION

Thesis
Submitted to
The College of Arts and Sciences of the
UNIVERSITY OF DAYTON

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
The Degree of
Master of Arts in Communication

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May 2017
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ABSTRACT

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This study examines the media discourse surrounding the 2016 U.S. Presidential election, specifically to determine if a gender bias existed in the way first time female nominee former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton was described. Research shows that gender-specific language is used to predict leader ability and define leader success in business and in politics. As the first female nominee of a major political party for president, Hillary Clinton enacted a role that has typically been filled by a man and, therefore, defined in masculine terms. Through the use of emergent coding, the study identifies themes in the way two key media outlets - New York Times and Washington Post - set the political agenda related to the 2016 presidential election particularly in terms of language used to define the leadership style of Secretary Clinton. Four main themes emerged: Women in Leadership, Faithfulness and Weakness, Privacy and Caution, and Credibility. These themes are defined and implications described. Directions for future research are presented.
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INTRODUCTION

Prior to announcing her campaign for the presidency in the 2008 election, the New York Times had this to say about Hillary Clinton:

When the crunch comes, the toughest issue for Clinton may be the one that so far has been talked about the least. If she runs, she’ll be handicapped by her gender. Anyone who thinks it won’t be difficult for a woman to get elected president of the United States should go home, take a nap, wake up refreshed, and think again (Herbert, 2006, para. 16).

Fast forward to the 2016 election, and Clinton had achieved what none of the 10 other female candidates in history had: the nomination of her party as candidate for president of the United States of America. The 2016 presidential election season included increased digital campaigns driven by social media and an abundance of 24-hour news coverage focused more on the character of the candidates and even their families, than on the issues at stake. This research will examine how the media defined Clinton in the last three and a half months of the campaign. Specifically it will focus on the themes describing Secretary Clinton’s leadership skills and leadership potential in an office that has always been held by men. The literature reviewed overviews the unique context of the 2016 election, discusses women in leadership roles in the U.S., defines gendered leadership and the challenges to women seeking leadership roles, and looks at voter preference in presidential appeal. Finally, the review includes an in-depth review of
media framing theory and how it applies to the presidential election and Clinton’s campaign.

**Literature Review**

**Context: The 2016 Presidential Election:** In November 2016, Republican nominee Donald Trump was elected president of the United States of America. Following an election and campaign process filled with unique factors - first ever citizen candidate, first ever female nominee, caustic rhetoric aimed at personal factors more than policy ones, and many more. The election placed a spotlight on a widening divide between the two political parties and the continuing lack of voter enthusiasm. After a historic selection of the first African-American president, the Democratic Party then selected the first female nominee in Hillary Clinton. Clinton was also unique in that she had served both as First Lady and Secretary of State prior to running for president. While historic, Clinton’s experience as a politician was overshadowed by both personal and professional decisions that caused a lack of trust by many voters (New York Times, 2016). Questions about her family foundation and its handling of funds, her perceived inability to make good on promises during her terms both as a senator of New York and as Secretary of State, her oversight in the handling of the Benghazi attack, and the alleged misconduct in the use of a personal computer for government email all led to distrust among many voters (New York Times, 2016).

Just prior to the Democratic nominating convention and adding to the climate of distrust around the party and its nominee, WikiLeaks posted nearly 20,000 emails sent or received by a handful of top Democratic party committee officials that suggested the committee’s chairwoman, Representative Debbie Wasserman Schultz of Florida, and
other officials favored Hillary Clinton over rival candidate Bernie Sanders. While this news caused a flurry of press going into the convention, most of Sanders voter base (64 percent) still planned to follow the party line and vote for Clinton once she was nominated (Washington Post, 2016).

Republican nominee Donald Trump was also a historic candidate serving as the first citizen candidate with no government or military experience to get nominated by a major political party. His campaign suffered many hits from his antagonistic relationship with the media and his unchecked, inflammatory commentary to concerns about his perceived lack of plans to back up his policies and questions about his temperament for the job.

Regardless, he not only won the nomination, but also went on to win the general election. Even after a video was leaked that contained what many perceived to be damaging comments about his lack of respect for women, Trump still managed to win the female vote. Trump actually narrowed the expected gender gap with 42 percent of women who voted in the presidential election casting their ballot for him, according to exit poll data collected by The New York Times (2016).

Several media outlets addressed the idea that women who voted for Trump were so enamored with the idea of change they were able to overlook behaviors and policy ideas that seemed anti-feminist (New York Times, 2016; Washington Post, 2016). A deeper look suggests that the idea of a female president is still a difficult one for voters to grasp. The U.S. lags behind 43 other nations around the world that have had female heads of government (DiSilver, 2014). In the 137 countries studied by DiSilver, the U.S. ranks 83rd in women serving in national legislative positions and only 25th for the number of
women holding cabinet-level or ministerial positions with countries like Rwanda, Cuba, Sweden and South Africa ranking higher than the U.S.

**Women in Leadership in the U.S. by the Numbers:** Although the number of women in the workplace continues to increase, the number of women in leadership roles still remains considerably less than men, especially at the highest job levels. Women represent only 26.8 percent of CEOs nationwide (U.S. Department of Labor, 2014), and currently hold only 23 (4.6 percent) CEO positions in companies on the S&P 500 list (Catalyst, 2016). Diehl and Dzubinski (2016) found that while women represent 51 percent of managerial and professional positions, only 18 percent of those are in top management. There is a large group of women available to ascend into leadership, but the positions are not being offered (Diehl and Dzubinski, 2016).

The number of women in politics in the U.S. is only slightly better than the S&P 500 list numbers. In 2015, 104 (19.4 percent) of the 535 members of the U.S. Congress, 20 (20 percent) in the U.S. Senate, and 84 (19.3 percent) in the U.S. House of Representatives were women (Center for American Women and Politics, 2012). Numbers aside, research indicates that gender plays a role in the perceptions of ability to work and succeed in politics. Cohn and Livingston (2014) found that most American women (73 percent) believe that men have an easier path into political office, and 58 percent of men agreed. Nearly half (47 percent) of women believed that women in political office are held to a higher standard than men, while only 28 percent of men held this same belief (Pew Research Center, 2014). More women (41 percent) than men (27 percent) think that women in public office are better at working out compromises, being ethical, working to improve American quality of life, and standing up for their beliefs despite political
pressure (Cohn and Livingston, 2014). Despite these gendered differences in the ways men and women are viewed in politics, many Americans anticipate seeing a female president in their lifetime. Of adult Americans, 75 percent of men and 72 percent of women said they expect to see a female president in their lifetime (Pew Research Center, 2014). In 2016, a step in this becoming a reality was made when, for the first time in the history of the country, a woman received the nomination of her party for president of the United States. Hillary Clinton was up against 240 years of bias about what the leader of the United States should look and act like..

**Defining Gender in Leadership Roles:** Researchers have studied the differences and similarities between masculine and feminine leadership characteristics. Findings indicate that successful leadership is typically defined by and aligned with masculine terminology. Billing and Alvesson (2000) and Eagly (2007) found that the masculine frame of reference exists because men have held the majority of leadership positions for much of the history of business.

Eagly (2007) defines leadership style as consistent patterns within a range of behaviors that serve a particular function of social interaction. These behavioral patterns vary depending on the situation. Adams and Yoder (1985) found that while successful male performance is more typically credited to internal factors like skills and abilities, successful female performance is more frequently related to the situation, like luck or simplicity of the task. Women are thought to have more interpersonal skills, whereas men are seen as doers and achievers (Adams and Yoder, 1985). The alignment of masculine traits with the traits that define successful leadership suggest that in many people’s eyes, women lack the skills, abilities and natural qualities that are necessary for good leaders.
When studying men and women in leadership roles, several researchers have defined traits that are generally believed to be typical or standard for each gender. While there are some overlaps, most agree on these traits. Billing and Alvesson (2001) pull from Hines (1992) to describe masculine leadership features as hard, dry, impersonal, objective, explicit, outer-focused, action-oriented, analytic, dualistic, and quantitative among others. Marshall (1993) adds that male leaders tend to be self-assertive, competitive, independent, and controlling. Crites, Dickson and Lorenz (2015) cite that male leaders tend to be aggressive, self-confident, dominant, and objective.


Koenig, Eagly, Mitchell & Ristikari (2011) cite a clear divide between communal and agentic qualities defining communal as feminine and agentic as masculine. Males develop traits that manifest agency or the capacity to make choices and impose those choices on the world. Those traits include being independent, self-reliant, autonomic, aggressive, initiating, competitive, ambitious, analytical, dominant, forceful, competent, and instrumental (Grant, 1988). In contrast, females develop traits that manifest communal or expressive behavior including nurturance, compassion, sensitivity, cooperativeness, affection, gentleness, empathy, interpersonal sensitivity, and interdependence (Grant, 1988). (See Appendix A for complete listing of terms by researcher.)
While the list of adjectives are long, understanding their use and potential impact on campaign rhetoric is important. As more and more women seek to challenge the status quo running for offices never before held by women, the language with which their skills and abilities are described could have an impact on their elections. By defining the terms that resonate with voters as well as how the media frames them, female candidates can do a better job reaching potential voters.

**Challenges to Women in Dominant Paradigms:** The stereotypes described above create barriers for women seeking leadership roles and challenge the ability of women in leadership roles to perform well in them (Koenig, et al., 2011). Eagly (2007) believes that women are faced with conflicting roles being expected to be both kind and warm while also confident and aggressive. Eagly and Karau (2002) outline the bias between the stereotypes of women and the stereotypes of leaders as being incongruent with each other in their role congruity model. In their model, the stereotype of men is recognized as being more closely aligned with the perception of strong leadership therefore producing a perceived better fit for leadership positions (Eagly & Karau, 2002). This mismatch could lead to women seeming less natural in a leadership position and often brazen, overconfident and/or arrogant when they exhibit the agentic characteristics required to perform these roles.

Diehl and Dzubinski (2015) more specifically defined the barriers keeping women from leadership roles at three different levels of society in which they generally operate. They categorized 27 gender-based leadership barriers into three broader levels - macro, meso, and micro. At the macro level, they include barriers that keep women from advancing or succeeding in leadership roles, including gender stereotypes such as
pregnancy. The meso level includes barriers that represent ways of discounting women’s leadership. A lack of significant mentoring relationships, placement in high-risk roles with likelihood of failure, and discrimination are included here. The micro level defines barriers at the individual level and include work-life conflict and taking personal responsibility for organizational problems. More importantly, the women in the study consistently experienced many or all of these barriers. A clear issue for many women is the lack of what Diehl and Dzubinski (2015) call sponsorship. Sponsors are defined as a person within an organization who recognizes a woman’s capacity and recommends her for a leadership position. Women in the study perceived men to be groomed for leadership roles earlier in their careers. In addition, the lack of females in leadership roles hinders other women’s ability to see themselves in those roles and limits female leaders from bringing other women up the ladder with them or to recognize other females with leadership potential within the organization (Diehl & Dzubinski, 2015).

Grant (1988) defines this lack of sponsorship conflict as organizational reproduction and argues that people within an organization advance others who are most like themselves. Since the majority of leadership positions are still held by males, men are most likely to be promoted. She also found that women who want positions of power within an organization have to identify with and emulate men. In doing so, Cain (1990) states that women repress characteristics like compassion, cooperativeness, and empathy. Hines (1992) summarizes that women have to find a way to balance “integration of thinking and reasoning with intuition and feeling; a preparedness to receptively wait as well as aggressively confront…”

Slowly and incrementally, change is happening. Grant (1988) identified new
successful female leaders who suppress their more communal characteristics, called “she-males,” and noted there are negative consequences for women and their organizations who do not identify and take advantage of these female leaders. She agrees with Cain (1990) that these new female leaders are repressing the very characteristics necessary to make organizations more responsive, such as connectedness, community, and nurturance. Koenig, Eagly, Mitchell, and Ristikari (2011) found that while people still view leaders as more masculine than feminine, more are incorporating feminine relational qualities, such as sensitivity, warmth, and understanding, into their concept of leadership. While this is potentially a reflection of the increasing number of female leaders, it may also relate to the failure of command-and-control styles to meet the needs and challenges of contemporary management and political leadership (Lipman-Blumen, 2000). *Psychology Today* reported that new information about leadership styles argues females have an advantage over men due to their willingness to adopt collaborative and empowering approaches and may lead to the end of the she-male reign and benefit organizations of the future (Williams, 2012).

Even with so many women interested in the outcomes of elections, there are far less numbers of women interested in running for office than men. Rose (2014) found that the number of women running continues to decrease and few women are willing and waiting for an opportunity to run. Lawless and Fox (2005) discovered that women are less likely than men to consider running for office, are less likely than men to run for office, and are less likely to express interest in running for office in the future. They believe they are not qualified, and they also aren’t being recruited (Lawless & Fox, 2005).
Leadership Qualities and Presidential Appeal: The unique circumstances surrounding the 2016 election brought a different group of voters to the polls. The U.S. recorded a record of more than 200 million registered voters in the 2016 election (Politico.com, 2016). Of those voters, Trump won more votes in several categories, including female voters (54 percent), male voters (53 percent), non-college graduates (52 percent), and voters over the age of 65 (53 percent) (Pew Research Center, 2016). While the voters headed out to the polls in large numbers, research shows that they do so with little information about the candidates and issues on which they will be voting (Nadeau et al., 2008). Whether through a lack of available information or a lack of preparation, voters who go to the polls without adequate knowledge on candidates tend to rely only on preformed schemas and stereotypes (Nadeau et al., 2008). When candidate information is sparse, voters rely on established gender attitudes to evaluate candidates, particularly female challenger candidates (Alexander & Anderson, 1993). In addition, lack of information leads voters to attribute leadership skills based on gender and give higher ratings to incumbents versus challengers no matter the gender (Alexander & Anderson, 1993).

Starting in the 1980s, scientists began measuring the impact of voter impressions of candidates’ personal qualities and traits in presidential elections identifying a link between personality assessments of presidential candidates and presidential vote choice (Fridkin and Kenney, 2011). Even though voters may rely on character traits to make their choice, defining what makes a great president or the characteristics that result in successful presidencies is harder to do.

According to Winter (1987), presidential appeal is a function of how well the
leader’s own motives fit the motive profile of the times, while leadership performance is a function of leader attributes. Defining those valued leader attributes in a presidential role has proven to be a more difficult task. Simonton (1991) formulated regression equations to predict presidential greatness. His equations for greatness contain number of years in office, number of war years in office, presence or absence of cabinet-level scandal, whether the president was assassinated, whether the president came to office as a national war hero, and intellectual brilliance or IQ of the president. McCann (1992) found five personological predictors of presidential greatness that included intellectual brilliance, height, tidiness, attractiveness, and achievement drive.

Rubenzer, Faschingbauer, and Ones (2000) point out that having the character to be president is always hotly debated, but the issue of character as a qualification for the job is seldom raised. Their complex study examined the personalities of the 41 presidents prior to President George H. Bush and President Barack Obama. The results of the study indicated there are correlations between people’s ability to link certain personality characteristics and presidential greatness. Higher scores for openness, attentiveness, willing to question traditional value, imaginativeness, assertiveness or capacity for leadership, tender-mindedness or concern for the less fortunate, competence, good judgement, and self-discipline all ranked high among the perceived great presidents (Rubenzer, Faschingbauer, & Ones, 2000). Essentially, Americans cite masculine characteristics as significant in a candidate, but use a mix of feminine and more gender-neutral characteristics to define a successful president. This issue of ‘fitness’ for the job was a hot topic of debate in the media throughout the 2016 presidential campaign.
**Media Influence Through Framing:** Media coverage in an election helps voters better understand candidates, issues, and policies. Entman (1991) defined framing as the way media shapes the news to elicit specific responses from viewers and readers; particularly those outlets ‘sponsored’ by political elites. He found that with framing, media emphasizes what is politically important and the dominant frame in a set of news stories will most likely affect political outcomes (Entman, 1991).

Fridkin and Kenney (2011) expanded this idea. They found that the news media shape voters’ willingness to rate incumbents (Fridkin & Kenney, 2011). As news coverage escalates and campaigns become more competitive, people are more comfortable assessing personality traits and then using those assessments as a basis for their vote. In addition, because incumbents are more likely to have had regular media coverage throughout their appointment in office, voters more likely to rate challengers on personality assessments as campaign spending increases. Most importantly, Fridkin and Kenny (2011) found that candidates’ personality traits influence overall impressions of the candidates. Therefore, voters’ reliance on personality assessments in campaigns highlights the importance of examining the connection between candidates’ efforts at impression management and citizens’ impressions of these candidates. Morley (1984) found that there is a curvilinear relationship between the potential for media influence and voter perceptions. Whether through amount of coverage of a candidate, negative and positive, or by focusing the viewers/readers attention on issues at stake, the media can affect voter perception and in turn the outcome of an election.

According to Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007), mass media can shape considerations that people use when making decisions about candidates or issues.
However, the actual amount of impact is contingent upon a vast number of conditions and variables, including the media outlet, the kind of coverage, the journalist or cast of characters used to tell the story, and the timing of the coverage. (Walgrave & Van Aelst, 2006). This idea stresses the importance in studying how the media portrayed Clinton’s leadership skills by looking at not only the overall themes used and article placement.

Recently, McCombs, Shaw, and Weaver (2014) expanded on the original theory by adding that the media agenda impacts not only the salience of issues and political figures, but also assigns attributes to them and has increased in influence with the advent of 24-hour news stations and partisan-based stations. The 24-hour news cycle and immediate nature of the news plays a role in voter choice, as well. Coverage immediately leading up to an election is what remains at the front of a voter’s mind when heading to the polls (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987). While voters take information from several different broadcast, print, radio, and online sources and meld them into their beliefs, attitudes and opinions, there is a tendency to select outlets with viewpoints similar to their own (McCombs, Shaw & Weaver, 2014). To better understand the media’s potential bias in the 2016 presidential election, the study will use articles from an outlet believed to be more liberal in its coverage - *New York Times* - and a second that is believed to be more conservative - *Washington Post*.

The media can also shape how to think about those issues with framing techniques. According to Shugart (2003), “Traditional gender constructs long have been a staple of the mass media, which in turn are a primary, if not the primary, means by which those constructs are reified and articulated to the public today” (p. 1). Gibson (2009) agreed stating that the press has an increasingly powerful role to shape gender
understanding and that “media framing takes on added significance when the story represents a first time event” (p. 53). Framing theory helps explain the effects of mass media in political communication contexts. DeVreese, Peter, and Semetko (2001) suggest that content analyses of news is necessary in order to study the effects of news frames. Tucker (1998) suggests that frames are “highly ritualized symbolic structures embedded in media content.”

Frames help the public define situations. According to Pan and Kosicki (2001), “A frame reveals a persistent point of view, which is shared on some level and communicable. It organizes our experiences and renders meaning to such organized information...a conceptual framework for examining the details of how issues are conceptualized in public discourse…” (p. 181). Valanzano (2009) and Lim and Jones (2010) agree that frames shape the interpretation and perceived reality of the issue. In studying framing in the media, researchers better understand how issues are presented and the impact those presentation may have on public perception (Price & Tewksbury, 1997).

Generally, framing is how the media organizes and packages a story. The theory supports the concept that what is influential about media is not just what they cover, but also how they cover it. Weaver (2007) proposed framing as an extension of agenda setting arguing that while both are concerned with how a story is presented, framing includes a range of processes such as moral evaluations, causal reasoning, and recommendations for treatment of problems. Where the story is placed in a print lineup or on the web page, whether or not it contains images or additional sound, the use of stereotypes, even the reporter’s tone of voice make a difference in the interpretation of
the issue by the audience (Knight, 1999). For example, the same story about a drunk driving accident could be framed as an issue around drunk driving legislation, teen driving laws, overcrowded highways, or societal pressures that influence drinking. Each present a different way for an audience to consider the same story and, therefore, how the media influences that process.

Journalists and public relations professionals argue that framing allows for the presentation of complex material in an ever-shrinking news environment. While today’s news world includes 24-hour stations and the Internet, the average broadcast news story ranges from 30 seconds to one minute, a magazine article can be as few as 500 words. Lim and Jones (2010) explain that journalists and public relations practitioners use framing to construct messages to ensure these key elements are clearly outlined in the very limited amount of time and space available.

Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) found that framing considers the extent to which media characterization of an issue impacts the audience’s understanding of that issue. However, Gamson (1992) found that framing differs from the other media theories in that it deals with specific tactics such as catch phrases, taglines, metaphors, depictions, and visual images, as well as appeals to principles and moral claims and how these tactics can alter audience perception of an issue. The three most common ways framing is used to influence agenda, including framing information for gatekeepers such as editors and news directors, personalizing abstract issues like localizing a national issue, and making decision makers aware of shifts in relevant issues (Knight, 1999).

In relation to women in political roles, Wright and Holland (2014) suggest that the media serves the role as gender mediator in that it reproduces the gender double bind -
the disjuncture between how women are perceived in leadership roles and the expectation of how they should act as women. They argue that media presents women as less able to perform certain leadership roles than men. Gibson (2009) agreed arguing that the media itself is a masculine enterprise and that traditional scripts of masculinity are the ones to receive the best press. She also notes that the media “disciplines” women who seek participation in traditionally male spaces (2009).

The 2016 presidential election was the first U.S. election in which a national party selected a female nominee, making this a potential leadership scenario without a domestic precedent. Candidate Clinton was compared in media coverage throughout the 2016 presidential election season according to several criteria, particularly temperament or ‘fit’ for the role of presidency. Often, these comparisons included personality and character assessments that became part of the ongoing rhetoric of the campaigns. This study examines how Clinton’s potential leadership style was defined in the three and half months leading up to the general election by addressing the following research questions.

RQ1: What are the emergent themes in the language the media used to describe Clinton in the three and half months leading up to the campaign?

RQ2: What specific language did the media use to describe Clinton’s leadership potential and did it follow a masculine or feminine bias?

RQ3: What was the overall tone of the coverage?
METHOD

Qualitative research methods provide descriptions of complex phenomena while conducting initial explorations and moving toward explanations (Sofaer, 1999). In order to answer the above research questions, a qualitative thematic analysis of news stories was used. Content analysis of news is necessary in order to study the effects of news frames (DeVreese, Peter, and Semetko, 2001). Textual analysis is useful to investigate possible connections between media frames and ideology (Bronstein, 2005). This method of close reading allows the coder to analyze for metaphors, characterizations, themes, keywords, reasoning devices, and imagery that give rise to overarching themes (Gibson, 2009).

Data Collection: For the purpose of this study, two key media outlets - New York Times and Washington Post - were chosen. The selection of these media for this study was based upon their ranking in a recent study by Pew Research Center (2014) that defined the most trusted news outlets in the United States. Allowing for respondents’ tendency to rank higher trust for familiar sources, Pew developed a ratio of respondent trust and distrust for each source to compile the list of media outlets (2014). The New York Times ranked fifth and the Washington Post ranked thirteenth. These sources were selected for a number of reasons, including that they were the highest ranked print outlets, and that they have large circulation numbers (NYT - 655,343 for Monday-Friday. WP - 395,234 for Monday-Friday). These sources provided valid and factual news and
are considered slightly left-leaning \textit{(New York Times)} and slightly right-leaning \textit{(Washington Post)} on the political spectrum.

Articles following the selection of Clinton as the nominee of the Democratic National Convention on July 28, 2016, and through the day of the 2016 election on November 8 were chosen for the study. Using textual analysis, this study examines newspaper articles from the front pages of the \textit{New York Times} and the \textit{Washington Post}, collected through a LexisNexis search. Front-page articles were used as they were determined to be the most significant to the study. The media framed them as the most important stories of that day’s news about the election. Hillary Clinton’s nomination as the official presidential nominee of the Democratic Party was historic in that she took on a role never filled by a woman in the 240-year history of the United States. The significance of this moment makes it the right point to begin review of the media coverage.

Articles were selected through an initial search by front-page coverage only during the chosen dates and by keyword “Hillary Clinton.” The database search resulted in 239 from the \textit{New York Times} and 227 from the \textit{Washington Post}. The author to determine whether the article was relevant to the study initially reviewed each article. Articles were deemed inappropriate for the study based on several factors: articles only mentioned Clinton’s name with no other discussion of the nominee; articles were miscategorized as front-page articles, and; articles were essentially repeats, reissued with only slight modifications for later publication on the same day. After that initial sort, 47 articles remained for the \textit{New York Times} (a total of 92 pages) and 51 remained for the \textit{Washington Post} (a total of 126 pages).
**Data Analysis:** Each article was analyzed qualitatively using inductive thematic analysis. The author initially read all the articles identifying language used to describe Clinton and then coded these instances into themes. A second round of analysis by two independent coders, one male and one female, was completed on 10 percent of the articles for each outlet. Using a coding sheet (Appendix B), the coders read the articles to identify language used to describe Clinton’s leadership and character, as well as overall tone. After their initial coding of the articles the author and coders discussed the findings and compared levels of agreement to clarify themes that emerged in the data. Across the three coders, six themes were initially identified. However, after discussing how each coder had defined the themes it was agreed that they could be collapsed into four broader themes. Using the four emergent themes agreed upon by all coders, the author then re-read the articles to ensure no themes were missed in the analysis.
RESULTS

RQ1: What are the emergent themes in the language the media used to describe Clinton in the three and half months leading up to the campaign?

To answer RQ1, a total of 98 front page articles from the date of July 28 to November 8 were examined (47 from the New York Times, 51 from Washington Post). In the analysis, four themes were identified including female leadership, privacy and caution, faithfulness as weakness, and lack of credibility. Explanations of each theme and specific examples are provided below.

Perception of Female Leaders Themes: Much of the coverage surrounded the idea of women as leaders or in leadership roles. This theme is divided into two parts. The first deals with Clinton’s trailblazer movement through the political ranks ultimately to secure the nomination including how they framed her experience. The second part of the theme explores the perception of women in leadership roles and about how Clinton’s campaign was structured as represented in both journalist’s writing and quotes from various sources.

Clinton as a Trailblazer: Many of the articles focused on Clinton’s experience prior to becoming the nominee. She is characterized as a trailblazer first as First Lady, then as a U.S. Senator, and finally, as the Secretary of State in President Obama’s administration. In article by Fisher (2016) in the Washington Post, Clinton refers to her role in one of the “most important pieces of unfinished business in human history -
empowering women to be able to stand up for themselves,” the coverage of her outreach to the female voter lacks solid examples of that work (Fisher, 2016, 47). Overall, the coverage dissected her major roles in policy, decisions made, and her leadership roles in places where women had not been in the past.

In the *Washington Post*, Boburg (2016) refers to “her evolving sense of presidential power” that was forged in her years as First Lady (para. 10). He also quotes unspecified aides as saying they came to view the first lady as “a conduit who would push her husband” and “intervene” (Boburg, 2016, para. 23). In the same article, Bruce Reidel, former Deputy National Security, is quoted as saying “She was not in the chain of command, but she was among his most important advisors” (Boburg, 2016, para. 29). Much of the coverage surrounding her years in the White House center around her “seizing an unprecedented role..taking charge of a main policy initiative” - the health care reform bill (Goldstein, 2016, para. 3). Goldstein (2016) refers to the fact that Clinton had already broke ground by claiming what no other “president’s wife had a West Wing office” (para. 22). Throughout the article, Goldstein (2016) used language from quotes of various aides, staff members and committee members that included phrases like “overvaluing her own ideas,” “misreading power relationships,” showing “no deference to committee members or to members with seniority,” and “dismissive of expertise” (para. 8). The quotes indicate a sense of Clinton being a woman who was trying to take on a role that she should not.

*Perceptions of Female Leaders:* Coverage in this area relates to Clinton’s role as a feminine leader. It focuses on the perception of women in leadership roles and about how her campaign was structured in light of being the first female nominee.
In a September 25, 2016, article in the *Washington Post* Hillary Clinton is quoted acknowledging that both former president Obama and her husband have a naturalness that can be difficult for a woman to achieve (Fisher, 2016). “I want to pound out messages and scream about winning the election, but I’ve learned that I can’t be quite so passionate in my presentation...I can’t yell too much. It comes across as ‘too loud’ or ‘too shrill’ or ‘too this’ or ‘too that’” (Fisher, 2016, para. 51). In that one quote, Clinton sums up much of the election coverage surrounding women in leadership roles. Clinton’s desire to keep a wall between herself and the media could also be attributed to what Grant (1988) and Cain (1988) believed was a repression of natural characteristics in order to identify and emulate the male leaders that came before her. In the same article, she also says she has often told friends that the public is “never going to be comfortable” with her role as a “driven, talented woman...some would see any outspoken career woman as a Lady MacBeth: cold and calculating” (Fisher, 2016, para. 31).

The coverage of her outreach to the female voter lacks solid examples of that work (Fisher, 2016). In fact, most of the coverage is in stark contrast to that message of driving equal rights for women. Fisher (2016) quotes Clinton’s close friend Linda Bloodworth-Thomason describing Clinton as “a Rorschach test for how people feel about a powerful woman. She can exhilarate, irritate, threaten, or terrify according to who you are” (para. 41).

Kantor (2016) claims that while Clinton’s life served as a canvas for debates about stay-at-home motherhood, marriage, and ambition, there is still a tendency for “female leaders to be perceived as less likeable” (para.16). The article quotes female voters from around the country stating that Clinton would “face harsher criticism than a
male president,” that she would be under “relentless scrutiny,” and that she would be seen as “dramatic” or “bossy” or “unlikeable” because “society really struggles to accept women in power” (Kantor, 2016, para. 16-17). As Adams and Yoder found (1985), female leadership success is often attributed to luck or the simplicity of the task rather than skill and ability.

**Caution and Privacy Theme:** The privacy and caution theme focuses on the coverage about Clinton’s perceived lack of transparency. Going all the way back to before her days in the White House, the media searched out and gave significant coverage to what they believed were reasons for her heightened sense of privacy and the considerable amount of caution that goes into her decision making. Most of these articles rely on quotes from Clinton’s friends, staffers and various aides from throughout her career.

In the *Washington Post*, Fisher (2016) quotes Bloodworth-Thomason blaming a combination of Clinton’s harsh upbringing and “buttoned-up Methodist” faith as contributors to the problem, much of the issue is attributed to years in the public spotlight filled with criticism (para. 33). Fisher’s (2016) article discusses the attempt by her campaign to convince voters that Clinton “is, well, human,” and writes that the attempt is a frank admission that “Hillary Clinton still struggles to be even ‘likeable enough,’” which is a quote from Barack Obama during the 2008 campaign (para. 2). Fisher (2016) goes on to say that Clinton has tried to “shrink her ‘zone of privacy’” and “show some emotion and vulnerability” (para. 8) but she has argued that those kinds of emotional appeals tend to backfire for her. In the same article, she is quoted as telling staffers that “no matter which face she presents to the public, her political opponents and the news
media will portray her as deceitful, cold, and distant” (Fisher, 2016, para. 18).

Chozick and Martin (2016) in the New York Times quote many of her close friends and former staffers who refer to her desire to focus more on the needs of the public she serves rather than showing her persona. They describe her as warm and personable in small settings and that “individual conversations after she speaks at gatherings are centered more on grandchildren than weighty policy matters” (para. 15). In an article quoting from the transcript of an off-the-record interview Clinton gave to the New York Times in 2015, she is quoted as saying she’s trying to relate to people more by “talking about being a grandmother” and “about her experiences growing up...about my own mother. And in that kind of way, make connections” (Phillip & Wagner, 2016, para. 17).

One specific incident more than any other brought the transparency issue to light during the campaign and that was the handling of Clinton’s bout with pneumonia in which she chose to hide her illness from her campaign staff and the public. Clinton’s “penchant for privacy” as Chozick & Healy (2016) called it backfired when an incident where she stumbled getting into her car in front of cameras forced it out (para. 4). While her campaign team tried to parry questions stating that Clinton did not feel the need to disclose her illness as she had every intention to just “power through” and “gut it out,” coverage of the incident was widespread (Rucker & Gearan, 2016, para. 10 and 26). Rucker and Gearan (2016) stated that some of Clinton’s allies were concerned about her “lack of transparency” and that the incident would feed into “the perception many voters have of her as untrustworthy” (para. 14).
**Lack of Credibility Theme:** Lack of credibility was an issue Clinton’s campaign dealt with due to lingering issues from her recent private email server scandal. David Gergen is quoted in the Washington Post as saying, “Hillary Clinton is a woman of many strengths and virtues, but like all of us, she also has some blind spots. However, she does not see the world the same way that others do when it comes to transparency and accountability.” (Tumulty, 2016, para. 10). This quote succinctly sums up Clinton’s perceived lack of credibility present throughout her campaign. Healy and Chozick (2016) call out Clinton’s acknowledgement of “her own limitations and trust issues” during her convention speech (para. 4). It was an issue that she dealt with throughout her campaign. From previous questions about her dealings during her husband’s presidency to ongoing concerns over her use of a private email server while serving as Secretary of State, Clinton’s credibility was a major theme for the media.

The private server email issue was exacerbated when just weeks before the election the FBI announced it had found additional emails on a separate server. While ultimately proven to be unimportant, the media latched on to both the update on the case and the timing of the FBI announcement. There are several articles which deal directly with the email issue, more telling is an overall lack of direct commentary about her credibility from the media. What is prevalent in the coverage of Clinton is the use of quotes from Trump’s campaign speeches, debate performances and campaign rallies in which he continually calls her credibility into question. From assertions that Clinton would “be in jail” (para. 3) if he became president and saying that she should be “ashamed” (para. 3) of herself for deleting the emails to claiming she was “guilty of a very serious crime” (para. 3) the reporters throughout both papers use these quotes as a
way to indirectly talk about credibility gaps (Healy & Martin, 2016a; Healy & Martin, 2016b).

Other credibility questions surrounded Clinton’s overall judgement and experience, an element she has counted on to carry her through the campaign, but one which Trump and his staff used against her. Quotes from him in the coverage include ones about her “bad judgement” and the popular one from the debates where he stated that she may “have experience, but it’s bad experience” (Healy, Parker & Haberman, 2016, para. 42).

**Faithfulness as a Weakness Theme:** This theme deals with coverage surrounding the Clintons’ marriage and Mr. Clinton’s past infidelities. Particular attention was paid to specific accusations of wrongdoing on Secretary Clinton’s part, her actions and reactions to the episodes as both a wife and woman, and whether the infidelities and her reactions to them would have an effect on her ability to serve as President. It would have been impossible for Secretary Clinton to avoid some coverage about her marriage and husband’s infidelities. Most of the articles focus on Trump’s allegations that Secretary Clinton was directly involved in decisions surrounding the discreditation of her husband’s accusers. This theme was analyzed in the context the overall tone and how the media framed these biographical stories and how they related to her campaign.

Throughout the coverage, the media referenced Mr. Clinton’s extramarital affairs as having an impact on Secretary Clinton’s ability to serve in the White House again. Inferences are made as to whether influence from the former President will impact her work to how Secretary Clinton defended and protected both her marriage and her husband’s career, and to what extent she played a role in the attempt to discredit Mr.
Clinton’s accusers. Boburg (2016) uses phrases like “[she] realized that the infidelities threatened more than their marriage” (para. 23), “[she would] fight back on behalf of her husband,” (para. 25) and pulls in quotes from various staffers and friends like “she did what she had always done before: swallow her doubts, stand by her man and savage his enemies” (para. 40). Even Monica Lewinsky, one of the most known and recognized of the accusers is quoted in Boberg’s (2016) piece as saying Nominee Clinton had “an impulse to blame the women - not only me, but herself” (para. 45). Time and again in the Washington Post coverage of the Clintons’ marital issues during the 2016 election, she is described as a wife determined to stand by her husband and fight for her marriage and several times she is defined as accepting of the outcome when her husband finally admits wrongdoing. The overall tone of the coverage is negative and portrays her as both weak and as an enabler of her husband’s behavior.

In the New York Times Twohey (2016) covered the past infidelities and Nominee Clinton’s response in much the same way portraying her as “enduring” (para. 4) of his affairs and “stoic and defiant” (para. 10) in her support of her husband “holding any pain or doubts in check” (para. 13) to keep her husband’s political aspirations alive to the point of embracing “a strategy of counterattack” (para. 21). The article uses quotes from friends and staffers in the White House at the time along with inferences in their writing to call into question Nominee Clinton’s instinct to protect and defend her marriage as a negative, in a sense condemning her faithfulness to him as a weakness in her character. Twohey (2016) quotes Mickey Kantor, chairman of Mr. Clinton’s 1992 campaign, as saying that Nominee Clinton’s belief in her husband’s innocence was “natural” adding that she also believed “...he was being unfairly charged” (para. 74). He then goes on to
say that she knows more today than she did then. In the next paragraph, Twohey (2016) quotes Gloria Allred, a well-known women’s rights lawyer as calling Nominee Clinton’s behavior toward her husband’s accusers as “classic victim shaming strategy” (para. 75). Each statement or quote gives Clinton credit for her reactions and takes it away again in the next sentence.

For many voters interviewed, Nominee Clinton’s treatment of the accusers was not their only issue. In the Washington Post, Boburg (2016) quotes one as saying “...she was too passive. I always felt if she’d been a stronger person...she could have done something about his behavior” (para. 46). Throughout the coverage, there are references to this idea that somehow she played a role in her husband’s behavior by enabling him.

**RQ2: Did the media use language to describe Clinton’s leadership potential that followed a masculine or feminine bias?**

The data goes from one end of the gender scale to the other with language that supports both the masculine and feminine stereotypes. Overall, the data supports Eagly’s (2007) findings that women are expected to be both kind and warm while confident and aggressive. Tumulty (2016b) refers to Clinton keeping up the “jabs and footwork” and taking an aggressive stance in the second debate (para. 5). Rucker and Gearan (2016) quote Senator Lou D’Allesandro calling Clinton both “a tough lady” and as having the “courage of a lion” (para. 42). Wagner, Sullivan and Gearan (2016) call her “confident” four times in their article. Throughout the coverage she is referred to as ambitious, aggressive, and analytical, which Grant (1988) defined as masculine traits.

It is more important to recognize that the majority of election coverage in both the Times and the Post describes Clinton in language that is more common in feminine
leadership stereotypes. She is referred to as being focused on unifying the country, being empathetic to the needs of moms and families, and as collaborative in working through policy, which hark back to the feminine definitions also outlined by Grant (1988). Kantor (2016) starts her article with this lead, “The president would know what it is like to be pregnant” (para. 1). Chozick and Martin (2016) describe Clinton in one of her debate performances as “unusually expressive” (para. 13). The same article remarked on her having “sacrificed for her husband’s career” (para. 1), being the “first mother and grandmother” (para. 12) in the Oval office, that she had “faced personal and professional choices that defined generations of women” (para. 19). She is also referred to as being focused on unifying the country, being empathetic to the needs of moms and families, and as collaborative in working through policy, which hark back to the feminine definitions also outlined by Grant (1988).

Rucker and Gearan (2016) quoted an unnamed Democrat as saying that “the media scrutiny of Clinton was unfair and sexist” and the data seems to support that thought (para. 36). Dominus (2016), in her coverage about Clinton’s bout with pneumonia, wrote that Trump would use her choice not to inform the public to his advantage by “turning illness into a personality flaw, a dangerous side effect of femaleness” (para. 7). In the same article, she quoted supporters as rallying behind Clinton arguing that “It was just like a woman to get on with her work despite feeling ill - it’s what women do” (Dominus, 2016, para. 8). Although the quote seems positive, it is placed at the very end of a relatively negative article, far past the point where many readers stop reading. These types of quotes and remarks appear repeatedly throughout the campaign coverage and serve to draw attention to gender stereotypes of women in
leadership. As indicated by Grant’s (1988) research and supported by Cain (1990), organizations have yet to fully recognize these characteristics such as empathy and collaboration as necessary to the function of leadership.

**RQ3: What was the overall tone of the coverage?**

Tone was difficult to assess. Gamson’s (1992) findings indicate that framing includes specific tactics such as catch phrases, taglines, metaphors, depictions, and visual images, as well as appeals to principles and moral claims and how these tactics can alter audience perception of an issue. Thus, tone becomes an important factor to analyze. However, when the articles were analyzed for overall tone by the author and the coders, there was some initial disagreement based both on a difference between the female and male coders and as to whether the overall tone was related to general article content or the content that focused on Clinton personally. The author and coders determined that tone would be analyzed on how it related to Clinton’s campaign and her ability to be president. In addition, tone was operationally defined as the existence of adverbs and adjectives that implied a negative tone. For example, using ‘aggressive’ rather than ‘assertive.’ The author and coders compared specific words and phrases where a positive or negative tone were implied.

The *New York Times* coverage was determined to be neutral to negative in tone. This was expected in that the paper has a left-leaning political tendency. Adjectives referring to Secretary Clinton in coverage include “choreographed” and “joyless” (Chozick & Martin, 2016, para. 9) and “aggressive” and “pleading” (Burns & Chozick, 2016, para. 1-2). Healy and Flegenheimer (2016) added “condescending” and “know-it-all” (para. 19) and “more wonk than pol” (para. 28). In another article, Flegenheimer
(2016) calls Clinton “undulating, pathbreaking, and exhausting” (para. 11).

The *Washington Post* articles were more descriptive of Clinton and more negative overall, which was expected in that the paper tends to be more politically right leaning. Fisher (2016) uses phrases like “embarrassingly public marital drama” (para. 2), “biting humor” (para. 7), and “wooden, distant, and disconnected” (para. 5). Boburg (2016) added “bristling...steely” (para. 3), “unfair” (para. 4), and “aggressive” (para. 29). Tumulty (2016) used “aversion to transparency” (para. 1) to describe Clinton. Phillip and Wagner (2016) said she was “resistant to media” (para. 4) and “lackluster” (para. 9) and Goldstein (2016) used “chastened” (para. 4), “unorthodox” (para. 15), and “reluctant to compromise” (para. 55).
The purpose of this study was to examine and analyze the coverage of Hillary Clinton’s candidacy for president to determine how the media framed her as a woman in a first-time role. In the 2016 presidential election, Clinton had the unique distinction of taking center stage in the social experiment as to whether the United States is ready for a female president. For the first time in a presidential election questions were raised about a candidate’s ability to not only lead, but lead in a way that would stand as a testament to women everywhere that the achievement was possible for them, as well.

The themes discovered in the research demonstrated the overall tendency of the media to frame Clinton in a negative light, even when the theme seemed potentially positive. Clinton’s ‘trailblazer’ rise through the political ranks was the overall theme of women in leadership roles that nearly 80 percent of the coverage mentions (78 out of 98 articles). However, there are constant references to Clinton striking out in new directions, but it is not done in a sense of being impressed with her achievements; more in a sense that she had not learned her place. Although some explanation for her ‘penchant for privacy’ is given, just over 60 percent of the coverage (59 of 98 articles) implies that she would carry that trait into the White House and it would affect her leadership style negatively. Lack of credibility was mentioned in nearly 75 percent of the stories (70 out of 98) in various adjectives, phrases, poll data, and direct quotes. While not as prevalent, the faithfulness as a weakness theme was woven throughout the coverage. The idea that a
feminist would stay devoted to her unfaithful husband was a common theme (34 out of 98 articles.)

These findings seem to confirm Wright and Holland’s (2014) concept that the media reproduces the gender double bind. Throughout this coverage, there is a distinct difference between how Clinton is perceived in leadership roles and the expectation of how she should act as a woman. For example, the article about the health care reform bill states that she was guilty of “overvaluing her own ideas,” “misreading power relationships,” showing “no deference to committee members or to members with seniority,” and “dismissive of expertise” (Goldstein, 2016, para. 8). While Clinton is quoted in the article as acknowledging that she made errors in her handling of the bill’s development, much of this language speaks to the need for a woman in a power role to turn over leadership or at least ‘defer’ that power to those who know best. One comment in the piece refers to the fact that Clinton did “not attempt anything as daring again” while serving as first lady as if she had learned both her lesson and her place (Goldstein, 2016, para. 5).

As noted in the literature reviewed in this paper, Morley (1984) found a relationship between media influence and voter perceptions and Gamson (1992) identified that taglines and catchphrases are crucial to audience perception. In the election coverage studied, even the headlines of many articles carried gender-specific language or implied gender-related themes. The New York Times ran a story titled “Ex-General Offers an Angry Voice of Authority” in which the article quotes the former general calling out Clinton on her “faults” and handling of Islamist militancy in her time as Secretary of State (Rosenberg, 2016, para. 1). In the Washington Post, Goldstein’s (2016) article on
Clinton’s work on the health-care bill is titled “After health-care missteps, a chastened Clinton” implying in the headline and the rest of the article that she had learned her place after the failure to pass the bill. In an age when many readers tend not to read much past the headline and lead of a story, the headlines and the themes they imply are key in overall audience impressions. For many of the pieces, the overall tone was negative, more men were quoted than women were, and the language was more negative overall.

Despite the clearly emerging theme of faithfulness as a weakness for Clinton, strikingly missing in the coverage was any condemnation of Trump’s marriages and infidelities. In the 466 articles read by the author as part of the sort of initial data, there was not a single mention of Trump’s marriages or extramarital affairs. Even though Trump had committed many of the same acts of unfaithfulness as Mr. Clinton and was married three times with children from at least two of those marriages, Clinton, neither her campaign team nor the media focused on this similarity to Mr. Clinton. In fact, the *Washington Post* debate coverage praises Trump in for having the “courage” not to attack Clinton on the affairs and her part in the treatment of the accusers (Boburg, 2016, para. 6). Such unbalanced coverage demonstrates the tendency of the mainstream media to continue reinforcing gender stereotypes. In Clinton’s coverage, the concern was whether her husband’s infidelities would impact her ability to serve as president, and yet, Trump, the nominee who had actually committed many of the same acts, was never a concern.

Finally, this analysis demonstrates how important it is to expose the effects of media framing particularly in an age of growing mistrust of the media’s ability to stay unbiased and present a fair and objective story particularly in light of Alexander and Anderson’s (1993) findings that voters rely on established gender attitudes to evaluate
candidates. While this campaign was unique in many aspects, the media coverage analyzed called attention to the ongoing need for readers and viewers not to believe everything they read and to consistently seek information from multiple sources if they hope to get the full picture. Women, in particular, must demand that the media work to eliminate gender stereotypes and present female leaders truthfully and in an equal manner to the male leaders they write about.

**Limitations:** The study was the one of the first to begin analyzing the language the media used to describe the first-ever presidential campaign by a female nominee. There will continue to be new information available upon which to continue future research. The uniqueness of this election created an ongoing media frenzy with over-the-top commentary. It could be said that the chaos of the campaign overshadowed the uniqueness of the first-ever female nominee. In addition, Clinton was not a perfect candidate. Her reputation for transparency and long history of scandal, both her’s and her husband’s, were always going to be difficult for voters to overcome.

**Conclusion and Future Research:** How the media framed Clinton’s perceived leadership abilities may have had an impact on voter choice. More research needs to be done to determine if and in what ways voters are influenced by modern day media coverage of elections. More research should be done on voter preference of a female presidential candidate to add to existing research by Rubenzer, Faschingbauer, and Ones (2000). The correlations they found between people’s ability to link personality characteristics and presidential greatness only focused on former male candidates. It could be that a female candidate might affect the results.

Understanding the use of gender stereotypical language in campaigns, particularly
in campaigns with both male and female candidates could also benefit women hoping to serve in these roles in the future. As more and more women seek to challenge the status quo running for offices never before held by women, the language with which their skills and abilities are described could have an impact on their elections. By defining the terms that resonate with voters as well as how the media frames them, female candidates can do a better job reaching potential voters.

This study did not analyze photos or videos in the coverage to focus on the language specifically and a choice was made to use only two significant outlets in an effort to simplify the data. In addition, a comparison of the same data but looking at Trump’s content could provide an interesting addition to these findings on how leadership is represented in the media. The study also didn’t take into account the impact that the gender of the journalist might have made on the framing and tone of the coverage. This concept came up between the author and the coders. A future study could look at whether male journalists were more negative in their coverage as compared to female journalists.
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APPENDIX A

GENDER-SPECIFIC TERMS

Compilation of gender-specific terms related to leadership styles and stereotypes and organized by research study.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Researcher(s)</th>
<th>Masculine Terms</th>
<th>Feminine Terms</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adams &amp; Yoder (1985)</td>
<td></td>
<td>quiet, sympathetic, tactful,</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>passive, emotional</td>
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<tr>
<td>Billing &amp; Alvesson</td>
<td>hard, dry, impersonal, objective, explicit, outer-</td>
<td>endurance of stress, the</td>
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<tr>
<td>(2001)</td>
<td>focused, action-oriented, analytic, dualistic,</td>
<td>ability to manage diverse</td>
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<td></td>
<td>quantitative, linear, rationalistic, materialistic</td>
<td>tasks, intuition, problem-solving and skills in</td>
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<td>communication and coping with relations</td>
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<tr>
<td>Crites, Dickson &amp; Lorenz</td>
<td>independent, aggressive, competitive, self-confident</td>
<td>sympathetic, quiet, gentle,</td>
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<tr>
<td>(2015)</td>
<td>rational, dominant, and objective</td>
<td>tactful, passive, irrational,</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>and even emotional</td>
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<tr>
<td>Grant (1988)</td>
<td>independent, aggressive,</td>
<td>nurturing, compassionate,</td>
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<td>Authors</td>
<td>Positive Traits</td>
<td>Negative Traits</td>
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<td>Hines (1992)</td>
<td>competitive, ambitious, analytical, competent</td>
<td>empathetic, communicative, lacking self confidence</td>
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<td></td>
<td>hard, explicit, focused, productive, action-oriented, logical, analytical, quantitative</td>
<td>receptive, meditative, intuitive, nurturing, caring, qualitative, empathetic</td>
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<tr>
<td>Koenig, Eagly, Mitchell &amp; Ristikari (2011)</td>
<td>self-reliant, autonomic, aggressive, takes initiative, competitive, ambitious, analytical, dominant, forceful, competent, instrumentalist</td>
<td>nurturing, compassionate, sensitive, cooperative, affectionate, gentle, empathetic, interpersonal, sensitive, interdependent</td>
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Instructions: *For each article/transcript, select the best category for each of the following dimensions.*

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Leadership themes

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