She's throwing her hat in the ring!

Gendered mediation and the newspaper coverage of provincial leadership candidates Christy Clark and Alison Redford.

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ABSTRACT

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In the past few years Canadians have witnessed a significant increase in the number of women holding premierships. One CBC journalist even dubbed 2011 "The Year of the Woman" in provincial politics, noting that four out of the thirteen provinces and territories were led by women: Alison Redford in Alberta, Christy Clark in British Columbia, Eva Aariak in Nunavut and Kathy Dunderdale in Newfoundland and Labrador (MacKinnon, 2011). Further to this, in 2012 Pauline Marois became the premier of Quebec, Kathleen Wynne was elected premier of Ontario in 2013, and Rachel Notley became the premier of Alberta in 2015. In light of this change in the political arena, and recent questions about whether, for example, media coverage of Christy Clark has been sexist (Hyslop, 2013; Orr, 2013) this thesis explores the key following question: How are Canadian female politicians running to become leaders of their provincial parties being represented in the news? Two case studies serve as the main focus of this research: Christy Clark's leadership campaign in British Columbia in 2010/2011; and Alison Redford's leadership campaign in Alberta in 2011. Using gendered mediation, representation theories, discussions of the public and private spheres, and with a focus on textual and framing analysis, this thesis looks at how the media focuses on gender differences, which may lead to explicit or implicit forms of sexism.

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This thesis is lovingly dedicated to my family for always being my pillar of strength.

"We still think a powerful man is a born leader and a powerful woman as an anomaly."

-Margaret Atwood

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

Chapter 1: Introduction and Purpose of Thesis

In the past few years Canadians have witnessed a significant increase in the number of women holding premierships. One CBC journalist even dubbed 2011 "The Year of the Woman" in provincial politics, noting that four out of the thirteen provinces and territories were led by women: Alison Redford in Alberta, Christy Clark in British Columbia, Eva Aariak in Nunavut and Kathy Dunderdale in Newfoundland and Labrador (MacKinnon, 2011). Further to this, in 2012 Pauline Marois became the Premier of Quebec, and Kathleen Wynne was elected Premier of Ontario in 2013. More recently, in 2015 Rachel Notley became Alberta's second female premier. In light of this change in the political arena, and recent questions about whether media coverage of Christy Clark has been sexist (Hyslop, 2013; Orr, 2013), this thesis explores the following key question: How are Canadian female politicians running to become leaders of provincial parties being represented in the news? Two case studies will serve as the main focus of this research. The first is Christy Clark's leadership campaign in British Columbia in 2010/2011. The second is Alison Redford's leadership campaign in Alberta in 2011. Mobilizing the gendered mediation thesis, discussion and debates around gendered coverage, theories of the public and private spheres, and representation theories, this thesis looks at how the media focuses on gender differences, which may lead to explicit or implicit forms of sexism.

In light of the above, the purpose of this research is to analyze how gender manifests in the news coverage of female politicians, including the kind of frames that news media engage in. This will be explored through the use of both content analysis and textual analysis. As a research method, content analysis will help to uncover repetitive

themes. The textual analysis component will be used to uncover "latent" content (Priest, 2010) in the sample, to determine whether gender plays a significant role in negotiating how female politicians are covered in the Canadian press through the two cases studies chosen.

Case Studies: Christy Clark and Alison Redford

The cases featured in this thesis are similar in that they are exemplars of two female politicians who, in recent years, have been elected as premiers and became the first female leaders of their respective parties. However they differ in terms of political alignment and personal background. The first case study features Christy Clark who ran for the leadership of the Liberal Party of British Columbia in a province that has vacillated between more liberal governments and more conservative ones.[1] The second case study focuses on Alison Redford who ran for the leadership of the Progressive Conservative Party of Alberta, in a province that, until recently, has long been known as a conservative stronghold.[2] Though both women had previously worked in politics, each

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[1] In British Columbia, between 1903 and 1952, the Conservatives and the Liberals dominated politics. However, in 1952, the newly created Social Credit Party came to power, and went on to form governments from 1952 to 1991; during this time the New Democratic Party (NDP) only temporarily removed them from power from 1972 to 1975. The NDP would eventually defeat the Social Credit again in 1991 and go on to form governments until 2001. That year the Liberals returned and defeated the NDP, and have been in power ever since. The current leader of the party is Christy Clark (Government of BC, n. d.). As of February 2015, the current Legislative Assembly is structured as follows: the Liberal Party currently holds 48 seats in the Legislature, while the NDP holds 34 seats. The last three seats are held by Independents (Legislative Assembly of BC, n. d.).

[2] In Alberta the Progressive Conservative party held overwhelming majority governments from 1971 up until the recent election in May 2015. Before the Conservatives came into power in 1971, several other parties had previously formed governments. Upon joining Confederation in 1905, the Liberal Party of Alberta was the first party to be formally elected in the province's history. Following the fall of the Liberal party, the United Farmers of Alberta (UFA) held power from 1921 to 1935. After the UFA was defeated the Alberta Social Credit Party formed its first government in 1935 and remained in power until 1971 (Elections Alberta, n. d.). Currently, there are five parties that hold seats in the Legislative Assembly of Alberta: the Alberta New Democratic Party holds 53 seats, the Wildrose Party, which holds 21 seats, the

2

comes from a different background. Christy Clark has worked as the Minister of Education under Gordon Campbell's government in 2001. In 2004 she was appointed Minister of Children and Family Development. However, Clark left politics a short time after that and worked as a radio host for CKNW – a private radio station in Vancouver - until she announced that she would run for the leadership campaign in 2010 (Stewart, 2012).

Alison Redford, on the other hand, trained as a human rights lawyer and has worked at the international level with the United Nations. Some of her international work includes being "one of four International Election Commissioners to administer Afghanistan's first parliamentary elections" in 2005 (Jendzjowsky, 2012). Subsequently she would also serve as an advisor to the Privy Council Office of Canada on its future relationship with Afghanistan, in addition to taking on other international assignments (Jendzjowsky, 2012). Additionally, Redford worked for the federal government for the Office of the Prime Minister of Canada from 1988 to 1990 (Jendzjowsky, 2012). She also has worked as a political advisor to then Secretary of State for External Affairs, Joe Clark, in the 1980s (Jendzjowsky, 2012). Finally, when Alison Redford won, it was a historical moment for Alberta, as she became the province's first female premier. Clark's victory would not hold the same significance as Redford's, as she was the second female premier British Columbia has seen. Rita Johnston of the Social Credit Party became B.C's first female premier in 1991 (Stewart, 2012).

Progressive Conservative Party, which holds 9 seats, the Alberta Liberal Party, which holds one seat, and finally the Alberta Party, which also holds one seat in the legislature (Legislative Assembly of Alberta, n. d.).

Thus, these two cases have been chosen for what Robert Stake (2000) would describe as, "intrinsic" and "instrumental" values. Intrinsically, these cases are each interesting in themselves, as they demonstrate environmental complexities that each individual is embedded in. Furthermore as Grandy (2010a) describes, the exploration of an intrinsic case study is "driven by a desire to know more about the uniqueness of the case rather than to build theory or how the case represents other cases" (p. 500). Instrumentally these cases will be examined "to provide insight into an issue" (Stake, 2000, p. 437) and re-analyze existing generalizations. As Grandy (2010b) describes, "In instrumental case research the case facilitates understanding of something else" (p. 474). These case studies seek to illuminate and analyze how political women are represented in the media.

Theoretical Approaches

To facilitate an analysis of media representation of political women, this study relies on three approaches: gendered mediation and gendered coverage, theories of the public and private spheres, and theories of representation. The gendered mediation thesis served as the basis of this project. It rests on two premises, "first, the news media reflects the culture in which they are situated, which is gendered. Second, the mechanics of the news media industry, which is dominated by men, reinforce the masculine character of the news" (Goodyear-Grant, 2013, p. 5-6). Sex or gender bias is rarely explicit in media. Thus, the primary goal of a gendered mediation analysis is not necessarily to observe explicit forms of sexism and gender bias in news coverage; rather it is used to analyze allegedly "gender-neutral" coverage (Goodyear-Grant, 2013, p. 5). In addition to

gendered mediation, theories of the public and the private spheres (McLaughlin, 1998; Sapiro, 1983; Stacey & Price, 1981; Welter, 1966) will be used to position how women are traditionally associated with the private sphere and are often seen as anomalies in the public sphere of politics. Finally, this thesis uses select theories of representation (Goodyear-Grant, 2013; Hall, 1997) such as stereotyping to analyze the implications of women politicians' representation in the news.

Motivations for Pursuing this Research

This idea for this research stemmed from what I observed, as a casual reader, in the news when Christy Clark first became premier and later when she ran in subsequent elections. Some reports cast doubt on her ability to be a politician and a mother at the same time (Hyslop, 2013). Others doubted her intellectual abilities (Smith, 2012). The media also reported on her wardrobe. For instance, a NDP MLA described Clark's wardrobe as showing "too much cleavage" and as inappropriate to be worn in Parliament ("Premier's attire inflames NDP dinosaurs", 2011; "Premier's cleavage sparks Twitter flurry in B.C.", 2011).

Drawing on my previous interest in representation (both in gender and race) I decided to look at Canadian political women and how they are represented in the media. I want to highlight how important representation is in both politics and media. Representation matters for marginalized groups, including women, racial minorities, and class based minorities who may have little to no power to influence politics and society. How a group or a person is represented in the media can affect how they are perceived in society. In politics, media representation is particularly important because "voters see the

political landscape largely through the eyes of the news media" (Kahn, 1994b, p. 154).

Media serve as the link between politicians and the electorate. In the case of women,

media misrepresentations can influence the continual underrepresentation of female

politicians in politics, particularly in positions of high political authority. Despite the

increase of women in politics, women still remain a minority. The Inter-Parliamentary

Union (IPU) is an organization that devotes its time to gathering data on women's

representation in parliaments (or lower governmental houses) globally. Currently, Canada

now ranks in 46th place (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2015).[3] Furthermore, according to

the Library of Parliament in Canada, as of May 15, 2015 women held 25 percent of the

seats in the House of Commons - 77 out of 308 seats (Library of Parliament, 2015a). At

the provincial level, since the last election in 2013 in British Columbia, women hold 31

out 85 seats, or 36.47 percent (Library of Parliament, 2015b). In Alberta, since its last

election in 2015, women hold 30 out of the 87 seats, or 34.88 percent (Library of

Parliament, 2015b). Given these numbers, the question remains: why are women still

underrepresented? This thesis will argue that it is in part because of how female

politicians are represented in the media.

Chapter Outline

This thesis is divided into seven chapters. This first chapter has introduced the

purpose of this thesis and its *raison d'être*. The second chapter will deal with an in-depth

discussion of the literature published in four areas: past studies of media representation of

female politicians, gendered mediation and gendered coverage, theories of public and

private spheres, and finally an overview of select theories of representation. The third

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[3] As of June 2015, the IPU reports that Rwanda ranks first among parliaments (and similar political bodies) in the world; women hold about 60 percent of seats in parliament.

chapter will outline the methodology used for this thesis, which consisted of a combination of textual and content analysis. Chapter Four analyzes the findings from the content analysis, focusing on three specific indicators: how many times the sex/gender of the candidates is mentioned throughout the coverage, the amount of personalized coverage each female candidate received, as well as the amount and type of issue-based coverage found in the sample. Chapters Five and Six will go into an in-depth qualitative analysis of both case studies, focusing on the findings from the textual analysis. Chapter Five deals specifically with personalized coverage, looking at how the media focused on each candidate's personality traits, treated them with familiarity, examined their private lives and dealt with issues such as age and appearance. Chapter Six focuses on media framing, drawing principally on frames identified by Norris (1997) and Kanter (1977). This chapter finds that both women are framed similarly in many cases, although there are nuances within the frames themselves that distinguish the two women, and illustrate how their respective political environments affected their coverage. Finally, Chapter Seven will draw conclusions from both case studies, discuss limitations, and will suggest avenues for further research.

Chapter 2: Background and Literature Review

Journalists and news organizations are the indirect link between those in the political public sphere and private sphere. Voters do not have direct access to politicians; the public draws upon media depictions to be informed of political candidates and their platforms (Kahn, 1994b). Several studies have been conducted on gender representation in politics that will inform this research (see for example Goodyear-Grant, 2013; Falk, 2010; Ross, 2002, 2010; Trimble, 2007). These studies are, for the most part situated within an American or British context (Carlin & Winfrey, 2009; Devitt, 2002; Heldman, Caroll, & Olson, 2005; Jalalzai, 2006; Kahn, 1994a, 1994b; Ross, 2002, 2010; Tuchman, Daniels, & Benet, 1978) with the exception of Trimble (2007), and Trimble, Wagner, Sampert, Raphael, & Gerris (2013), Gidengil and Everitt (2003) as well as Goodyear-Grant (2013) who have conducted studies in Canada. Most of the Canadian studies have focused on female candidates at the national level. This research seeks to add to this body of research by drawing on more contemporary case studies and focusing on provincial politics. The following literature review is divided into four themes: studies of media representations of female politicians, gendered mediation and gendered coverage, the public and private spheres, and select theories of representation.

Female Politicians and the News

The relationship between gender and the news has been the subject of much research (Kahn, 1994a, 1994b; Ross, 2002, 2010; Trimble, 2007; Trimble et al., 2013; Tuchman, 1978; Tuchman et al., 1978). Although these cases differ in terms of time period, societal context and results, they do hold one thing in common: they have found

that women are being treated differently in the media than men in terms of visibility, personalization, and viability.

Turning first to visibility and personalization, Trimble's (2007) analysis of the press coverage of the Conservative leadership races in 1976, 1993, and 2004 focused on three female candidates: Flora MacDonald in 1976, Kim Campbell, who ran in 1993, and Belinda Stronach in 2004. Her findings indicate that there is a "relationship between the sex of the leadership candidate and news prominence, one that boosts the visibility of competitive female contenders beyond their standing in the race" (Trimble, 2007, p. 972). Furthermore, she writes "the novelty of being the first woman to contest a traditionally masculine role can propel her onto the front pages of newspapers" (Trimble, 2007, p. 986). As a result, Trimble noted that during the 1993 conservative leadership campaign "a Campbell victory was hailed as a first for women, thus meeting a key news value, unusualness, and undoubtedly explained, in part, the high level of media attention to her candidacy" (p. 981).

Trimble also found that coverage of female candidates was more personalized. For example during the 2004 conservative leadership contest, candidate Belinda Stronach's "marital and/or parental status was raised in fully 14 (13 per cent) of the stories that mentioned her" (Trimble, 2007, p. 986). In comparison, Stephen Harper only had 3 articles (3 per cent) mention his marital or parental status. Furthermore, female candidates are more likely to have their appearance discussed. For example, Stronach's appearance was discussed in 36 stories (33 per cent), while Stephen Harper's appearance was only mentioned in 2 stories (2 per cent) (2007, p. 986).

Another more recent study by Trimble et al. (2013) analyzed *The Globe and Mail*'s coverage of Canadian national leadership contests from 1975 to 2012. Their results indicated that the amount of personal coverage has not increased between 1975 and 2012; they found that around 10 percent of stories mentioned personal details. However, even though the percentage of personalized stories was low, their data indicated that "reporting was significantly more likely to 'make it personal' for women candidates" (p. 463). In sum, they found that women politicians are more likely to be subject to personalized coverage, which includes discussions of sexuality, appearance and marital status.

Gidengil and Everitt (2003) examined how media covered female politicians' political styles, as another way that political women are scrutinized. They compared media coverage of Canadian leadership debates in 1993, 1997 and 2000 with the leadership debates themselves. They found the following:

> [T]he coverage focuses disproportionately on combative displays of behaviour by female party leaders, but tends to ignore the women when they adopt a more low-key style, especially when the novelty of a female leader has worn off (p. 561).

In other words, female party leaders were depicted as more aggressive than they actually were during the debate. As Gidengil and Everitt (2003) argue, "when female politicians engage in confrontational behaviour, they are violating deeply held notions of how women should behave" (p. 567). This leads to two observations: 1) If the female candidate adopts a combative approach and behaviour like her male counterparts she risks "appearing aggressive," leading to more coverage and being demonized by the press (p. 574); 2) However, if she rejects the "traditional masculine [combative] approach to

politics, her behaviour receives less attention from the media...and she will risk being 'sidelined'" (p. 574). In other words, whether she does or not, the female candidate loses.

These observations are not unique to the Canadian context. Studies in the United States (Devitt, 2002; Falk, 2010; Heldman et al., 2005; Kahn, 1994a, 1994b) have found that American female politicians are covered differently than their male counterparts in three ways: 1) Female politicians are most likely to be associated with 'female issues' (for example, education, and healthcare) and are seen as being incompetent when handling 'male issues' (for example, foreign affairs, finances) (Heldman et al., 2005; Kahn, 1994a); 2) When seeking out high political positions such as the presidency, women are reported as being less viable than men and therefore less likely to win (Devitt, 2002; Falk, 2010); 3) Finally, media are more likely to personalize coverage (focusing on their attire, appearance, family, personality traits) of women politicians and focus less on their issues and platforms. In contrast, male politicians tend to have their professional background, experiences and accomplishments highlighted by the media instead of being subjected to personalized reports (Devitt, 2002).

One of the most prominent studies on gubernatorial and senatorial races is by Kim Kahn (1994b). Kahn examined the differences between the press coverage of both types of races and the issues put forward in each candidate's actual campaign. Kahn wanted to see if the gender differences in news coverage could be attributed to what candidates wanted to highlight in their campaigns. She found that there were "gender differences in issue coverage" that were "*not* a reflection of the candidates' own campaign messages" (emphasis in original, p. 166) in both gubernatorial and senatorial candidates. Principally, the study found that female candidates were more likely to include their stance on issues

in their advertisements than male candidates, yet media produced more issue-based coverage for male candidates than for female candidates. Overall, Kahn found that female candidates "received less campaign coverage than their male counterparts, and the coverage they received was more negative," which emphasized "their unlikely chance of victory" (1994b, p.171).

Additionally, Kahn (1994a) argues that some issues that are typically seen as 'male' oriented (for example: foreign affairs, finances, defense) and others as 'female' oriented (for example: health, and education). Categorizing issues as 'male' or 'female' may help and hinder female candidates. For example, Kahn observes that women at the gubernatorial level may have an advantage when campaigning for 'female' issues (education and health) as these issues emphasize traditional feminine characteristics such as being nurturing, thus perhaps leading to the belief that women are better suited to handle these kinds of issues. Both education and health care are prominent issues at the gubernatorial level and are highly visible in the media. As Kahn writes: "[I]n gubernatorial contests, for instance, issues related to education may be more salient, and people, because of the stereotypes they hold, may believe that women candidates can deal with these issues better than their male counterparts can" (Kahn, 1994a, p. 164). However, at the senatorial level where issues such as foreign affairs and finance are more prominent, women may be at a disadvantage because they are not seen as competent as male candidates to handle 'male' oriented issues. Kahn (1994a) suggests that "people's perceptions of male and female candidates are influenced both by gender differences in media patterns and sex stereotypes held by people" (p. 189).

Over a decade later, Jalalzai (2006) looked at female candidates in gubernatorial and senatorial races from 1992-2000, and found that "the newspaper coverage of candidates has become increasingly gender-balanced" (2006, p. 606). She found that, contrary to Kahn's (1994b) findings, "women senatorial candidates are generally not disadvantaged compared to men" (2006, p. 623) and female gubernatorial candidates received a significantly greater amount of coverage than their male counterparts (p. 624). However, Jalalzai did find that there are still areas where there are differences. For example, she notes that male candidates, whether they are incumbents or "candidates in open-seat races," were seen as more viable than female candidates (p. 624). Despite the seemingly positive findings in this study, Jalalzai does caution that there needs to be more research which addresses how media coverage affects a candidate's success. As she writes, this study did not explore "references to personal background appearance, and the language used by reporters in discussing candidates, which often works to women's disadvantage" (2006, p. 626). In other words, quantitatively it seems women are not disadvantaged, but qualitatively that may not be the case.

Devitt's (2002) analysis of gubernatorial candidates focused, in part, on the qualitative differences between media coverage of female and male candidates Overall Devitt finds that "female gubernatorial candidates received about the same amount of coverage as did their male counterparts in terms of paragraphs and frames" (2002, p. 453). However, while quantitatively female and male candidates received about the same amount of coverage, qualitatively there were disparities. For example, Devitt found that "overall newspapers paid more attention to female candidates personal characteristics (when compared to their male counterparts), such as age, personality, and attire" (2002,

p. 457). Furthermore, the author found that female candidates received less issue coverage than their male counterparts (Devitt, 2002, p. 457).

Overall, these studies have highlighted that political women tend to receive personalized coverage that emphasizes their appearance, personality, and age. Furthermore, women politicians receive less issue-based coverage, and when they do receive this type of coverage it tends to highlight issues that are typically seen as 'feminine' such as education and health care (Devitt, 2002; Kahn, 1994a, 1994b).

In addition to gubernatorial and senatorial races, studies of media coverage of female presidential candidates have found similar results. Heldman et al. (2005) looked at Elizabeth Dole's presidential bid for the Republican Party in 1999. The authors found that Dole received "a differential amount and type of print media coverage that was decidedly gendered and may have hindered her candidacy" (p. 315). Furthermore, they found that Dole did not receive an adequate amount of coverage, both quantitatively and qualitatively, considering that she was the second place candidate. Dole's personality and appearance were emphasized more than her male counterparts. Finally, one of the most important points highlighted in their study was "the frequent use of the 'first woman' frame" (p. 325). The first woman frame leads to female politicians being seen as a propagator of change, emphasizing "the path-breaking nature of the political woman's accomplishment" (p. 325), or as an overall figure of progress for feminism. This frame was used as a way to present "Dole as a pioneer" but at the same time it "reinforced the idea that Dole was a novelty and an anomaly rather than a serious contender for the presidency, and likely diminished her ability to stay in the race" (p. 325). The use of this

frame undermines the candidate because it focuses on her differences based on gender rather than the qualifications and experiences that make her a viable candidate.

In a more recent study of female presidential candidates in the United States, Falk (2010) analyzes media bias in eight presidential campaigns. Her findings suggest that women receive less coverage on their issues and platforms than their male counterparts. Furthermore, female presidential candidates receive less coverage than their male colleagues as a whole. One of the most significant findings in Falk's study indicates that "the press coverage tends to portray women as less likely to win than similar men" which may "mislead voters and potential women candidates, causing them to think that women are significantly disadvantaged in the political sweepstakes when the polling data actually do not support this conclusion" (Falk, 2010, p. 147). Overall, Falk found that women are subjected to negative press bias.

All of these studies highlight how women politicians are treated differently than male politicians by the media in terms of visibility, personalization, and viability. Women politicians can gain visibility when they are considered to be engaging in seemingly 'masculine' behaviour (such as being combative in a debate), or they can become invisible if they are seen as engaging in what is traditionally perceived as 'feminine' behaviour (such as being passive). Either way, whether she embraces traditional norms of femininity or rejects them, essentially political women are "doubly damned" (Ross, 2002). In terms personalized coverage many of these studies highlighted that women politicians received more personalized coverage (focus on appearance, family etc.) than issue-based coverage. Finally, when looking at viability, women are seen to excel in

'female' issues (such as education) but are seen as incompetent in dealing with 'male' issues (such as foreign affairs).

Gendered Mediation and Gendered Coverage

Literature on gendered mediation has seen contributions from scholars such as Goodyear-Grant (2013), Ross (2002, 2010), and Trimble (2007). This thesis draws primarily from Goodyear-Grant's work. In her book, *Gendered News*, Goodyear-Grant (2013) emphasizes the important role of news media, arguing the following:

> The news media often present gendered representations of female politicians and of the political world, which, in turn can become formidable obstacles to women at all stages on the path to attaining elected office. Put differently, gendered news coverage can negatively impact both the supply of and demand of women politicians. (p. 1)

Media play a crucial role when connecting the electorate to the politician. Similar to Kahn (1994b), Goodyear-Grant (2013) notes that "depictions in news of political personalities and issues actually take on the characteristics of reality for some citizens" (p. 8). Consequently, gendered coverage may negatively impact female politicians because it sets them apart from, and treats them differently than, men. As Goodyear-Grant (2013) describes, gendered coverage "refers to all the ways that women politicians are presented differently than their male colleagues as a function of the fact that they are women," and encourages women (and visible minorities) to be seen as newsworthy because they are "novel, atypical, or exotic" (p. 4-5). Others, such as Lundell and Ekström (2008) refer to this as "gendering news," which "refers to when a person's

gender is emphasized without it being specifically context-relevant" (in Goodyear-Grant, 2013, p. 55). Gendering of news coverage can be identified qualitatively, through language and word choice, or quantitatively by counting the number of times women candidates are mentioned in the press. The quality of the coverage can either create a positive impact on the reader/voter or a negative impact. However, as Goodyear-Grant (2013) notes:

> All forms of gendered coverage--even those that may benefit female politicians electorally -- state or imply that women are atypical or unique political actors because of their gender; that the 'normal' or prototypical political actor is male. It is against the male archetype that female politicians are described, considered, and evaluated, not only by the news, but often by political parties and voters as well. (p. 55)

Gendered coverage marks female candidates as female first and then as politicians. By emphasizing a female politician's gender, she is being marked as something different from male politicians who are considered to be the norm. In her study of presidential candidates Falk (2010) argues the following:

> The women were not candidates but female candidates; they were not politicians but women politicians. The implications of this are intriguing. First this practice gives light to the unspoken cultural understanding that politicians, senators, and candidates must be men. The reporters who covered these women must have consistently felt that the words 'candidate' and 'politician' contained maleness as a necessary component. If that were not the case there would be no need to modify the noun with a gendered adjective. (p. 93-94)

Furthermore, Ross (2002) writes that "a woman politician is always described as a *woman* politician, her sex is always on display, always the primary description. She is defined by what she is *not*, that is not a typical politician who allegedly bears no gendered descriptor who is clearly marked as *male*" (emphasis in original, p. 101). In other words, male politicians are considered the norm and their gender is not marked. They are referred to solely as politicians.

By being marked as different Rakow and Kranich (1991) argue that women, and particularly women politicians, function as signs. As Goodyear-Grant (2013) explains, Rakow and Kranich (1991) start "with the premise that the news is a masculine discourse that reflects our culturally constituted norms and expectations, which means that men 'do not ordinarily carry meaning as 'man' because the culture assumes maleness as given"(p. 85). In other words, "women function in the news as 'signs' or conveyors of meaning" (p. 85). Moreover, Goodyear-Grant (2013) argues that when women appear as signs in the news, "woman" is not defined, but is categorized into roles that are associated with women such as passiveness and a subject that does not speak. Put differently, she is "the other" who is silenced and trivialized.

Gendered coverage can be explained and analyzed through the gendered mediation thesis. As Goodyear-Grant (2013) describes, the gendered mediation thesis rests on two notions: first, news media reflects the gendered culture we live in, and second, the news industry, which continue to be dominated by men, reinforces the masculine nature of news. The gendered mediation thesis not only looks at overt examples of sexism but also at "seemingly, gender-neutral coverage" where women are "presented the same as men" when in fact women are being framed using "masculine

frames" (Goodyear-Grant, 2013, p. 5). In other words, gender-neutral coverage assumes

that a "male model of politicians" is the norm, which leads women to be depicted as

novel, or foreign in the political public sphere and marks them as distinct rather than

natural as their male counterparts are (Goodyear-Grant 2013, p. 5). Therefore, the gender

mediation thesis does not focus primarily on the explicit and overt instances of sexism in

the news; rather, it looks at sex/gender as an undercurrent in the media.

Alongside the gender mediation thesis, Goodyear-Grant (2013) also employs the

gender schema theory, which attempts to explain how "individuals process information in

light of existing, highly organized structures of knowledge and beliefs such as gender

stereotypes" (p. 6). According to gender schema theory certain cues facilitate a link

between a person's sex and/or gender to sex stereotypes and behaviors that are deemed to

be normal for a female or a male. Furthermore, she argues, both "men and women are

portrayed according to culturally accessible gender stereotypes that derive in part from

deeply rooted gender schemas" (p. 109). Goodyear-Grant (2013) defines gender

stereotypes as "generalized preconceptions about the attributes of males and females"

through which individuals conceptualize the proper ways of behaving like a woman or a

man (p. 6).

However, gendered news coverage should not solely be analyzed as something

the media are completely responsible for. Female politicians also present themselves as

gendered beings, whether intentionally or unintentionally. Acknowledging this,

Goodyear-Grant (2013) introduces the provision-presentation distinction, which analyzes

the construction of gendered news via the politicians themselves and the media because,

as she notes, "female politicians themselves play a role in their own gendered mediation"

(p. 19). Female politicians can present themselves as gendered beings, for example, by mentioning their families and their roles as mothers in speeches and other promotional material. They can also attempt to use their sex as a positive attribute by campaigning as a change candidate with 'fresh perspective' due to the fact she is female. As a result, it is critical to include in any analysis of gender representation in the media, both how the media frames female politicians and how female politicians frame themselves.

Gendered news coverage can have the effect of creating positive visibility and an overall positive outcome for female candidates, but it can also have a crippling negative impact and "symbolically annihilate" women from the news. "Symbolic annihilation" is a term that means that women are either condemned, trivialized, or 'absent' from the media, essentially becoming invisible in the news (Tuchman et al., 1978, p. 8). By placing an emphasis on their gender as relevant factor, or as a factor that works with other variables, female politicians are placed under the category of 'female' and are expected to adhere to a number of characteristics associated with femininity and traditional gender roles. Categorizing candidates into either male or female leads to sex stereotyping where "sex roles are social guidelines for sex-appropriate appearance, interests, skills, behaviours, and self-perceptions" (p. 3).

In sum, gendered mediation will be used as an analytical framework to help to identify indicators in the news, such as language and frames that may lead to gendered news. Furthermore, it helps to conceptualize and understand the way journalism, culture and society function together when looking at gender and the news.

Public and Private Spheres

Habermas (1969/2000) describes the public sphere as "a domain of our social life in which such a thing as public opinion can be formed. Access to the public sphere is open in principle to all citizens" (p. 92). However, feminist scholars have contested this idea, with Fraser (1992) arguing, for example, that this conceptualization of the public sphere brackets minority groups and women.[4] The literature, when it intersects with gender, argues that women are often restricted to the private sphere and are expected to fulfill their historical and traditional roles in society as mothers, and wives (Welter, 1966). This distinction between the public and the private sphere has continued to play an important role in politics.

Men completely dominated politics until the suffrage movements in the late 19th century. Before this movement, women were not seen as needing to voice their opinions, or vote. The logic being they would vote like their husbands so they did not need to be enfranchised. Furthermore, women were not seen as political, but rather as fragile, irrational, loving and delicate. In her study of women's media between 1820 and 1860, Welter (1966) notes that a woman's place was seen to be in the private sphere as a mother who diligently takes care of her children, and as a wife who caters to her husband's needs. As Welter (1966) describes: "The true woman's place was unquestionably by her own fireside—as daughter, sister, but most of all as wife and mother. Therefore domesticity was among the virtues most prized by the women's magazines" (p. 162). If women deviated from these roles then they were seen as anomalies.

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[4] Fraser will not be thoroughly discussed in this thesis but it is worth noting her arguments and positions against the original conceptualization of the public sphere.

Since the suffrage movement women have made gains in the political field (Goodyear-Grant, 2013). However, when female politicians run for political positions in the public sphere, it can be argued they are still seen as deviating from their natural roles in the private sphere. They "do not 'fit' into politics as comfortably" (Sapiro, 1983, p. 3). Furthermore as Sapiro (1983) notes:

> Political philosophers tell us that man is by nature political; they also tell us that woman by nature is not. Thus, by dint of their marginality, women in politics have two choices. They may view themselves and act in the political world according to the prevailing standards of politics and be seen as unfeminine, or they may view themselves and act in politics according to standards of femininity and be seen as best as peculiarities. (p. 7)

Political women have found it difficult to be accepted in the public sphere for this has been traditionally seen as "the sphere of male activity" (Smith, 1976, p. 6, in Stacey & Price, 1981, p. 5). Their femininity is perceived as belonging in the domestic sphere because of women's association with house and home. As Smith (1976) argues, "domestic activity becomes relegated to the private sphere, *and is mediated by men who move between both*. Women have only a place in the private, domestic sphere" (emphasis in the original, Smith, 1976, p. 6, in Stacey & Price, 1981, p. 5).

Women politicians are scrutinized for moving between the private sphere and the public sphere. It is seen as a conflict and therefore considered newsworthy, "as the news focuses upon what is out of place: the deviant, equivocal, and predictable" (Ericson et al., 1992, in Goodyear-Grant, 2013, p. 28). The media, Tuchman et al. (1978) argue, cover women politicians either as newsworthy subjects, who are compared and contrasted with

the dominant values in society (such as men being the norm in politics) or women can be "symbolically annihilated" from the news and are forced to fade back into the confines of the private sphere.

In sum, the public and private spheres, and the gender roles associated with them remain pertinent to politics and the representation of women politicians. Women politicians are held to a double standard that their male counterparts are not, because women have traditionally been seen as private personas, while men have traditionally been seen as public personas. Women politicians are often still seen as anomalies for moving between the private sphere and the public sphere. This makes them newsworthy, but may also lead them to be condemned, trivialized, and eventually symbolically annihilated (Tuchman et al., 1978). The role of the public and private spheres will be helpful in this research to identify what sex stereotypes and gender markers exist in the language that Canadian newspapers use. Furthermore, it will help to identify if women politicians are still being held to a double standard.

Representation Theories

Finally, this thesis will use representation theories to analyze how women politicians are depicted in Canadian media using concepts such as stereotyping (Goodyear-Grant, 2013; Hall, 1997) and the practice of representation itself through language (Fowler, 1991; Gasher, 2004).

Journalism, as Gasher (2004) argues, in his discussion of the coverage of the Iraq War, "is a practice of representation [where] news reportage selectively deploys words, images, and sounds to depict newsmakers and news events constructing stories through

which we come to know about the world around us" (p. 211). Though these are partial constructions of our environment, they "nonetheless help to define, or give meaning to, people, places, institutions, and events" (Gasher, 2004, p. 211). Representation can be defined in a number of different ways. Fowler (1991) argues that representation is a "constructive practice" (p. 25). Similarly, but specifically addressing gender, van Zoonen (1994) defines gender representation as:

> A social practice in which current beliefs and myths about women and sexuality are (re)constructed, and that the act of consuming these representations is more than a private pleasure, but also embedded in gendered social and cultural formations that have defined women's bodies as sexual objects (p. 21).

The act of representing a subject is important because it can change how the subject is seen. The inclusion and exclusion of information can lead the subject to be presented and perceived in a negative, positive or neutral light.

For the purpose of this thesis, representation is discussed in the context of the media. Hall (1997) argued that representation is "the production of meaning through language" (p. 16). In essence, how someone is represented may change or help form the opinion of the audience or, in the context of this research, the electorate (Goodyear-Grant, 2013; Kahn 1994b). In the case of political women, if they are represented as adhering to traditional norms of femininity in a space perceived to be masculine, then the electorate may see them as inadequate for politics based on their gender.

Representation can also lead groups to be seen as 'the other,' as different in a threatening way. It often leads to stereotyping, which Hall defines as being "reduced to a few essentials, fixed in nature by a few, simplified characteristics" (Hall, 1997, p. 249).

Hall argued that stereotyping leads to three outcomes. The first, as mentioned above, is that stereotyping leads to a narrow vision of the subject with a fixed nature. The second is that stereotyping "deploys a strategy of splitting" (Hall, 1997, p. 258). In other words, stereotyping separates people into what is normal and acceptable, or what is abnormal and unacceptable. Finally, stereotyping "*tends to occur where there are gross inequalities of power.* Power is usually directed against the subordinate or excluded group" (emphasis in original, Hall, 1997, p. 258).

As mentioned earlier, whether or not the candidate succeeds is not fully dependent on the media, however the media do play an important role in creating an image of a politician and in providing information for the electorate. As Ross (2002) describes, "the relationship between politics and the media is a mutually dependent one" (p. 64). The electorate cannot engage with politics directly and therefore do so indirectly through the media. It is often through the media that the audience's "perceptions of the political world are shaped" (Kahn, 1994b, p. 154). However, journalists cannot cover everything and therefore must be selective (Kahn, 1994b). Yet what they select and how they construct representations of a politician can have negative or positive implications.

Moreover, Karen Ross (2010) argues, misrepresentations are undoing what women have fought for years (i.e., gaining access to the public sphere and dismantling, though partially, the patriarchy in the home). According to Ross the media are still fixated on a candidate's sex: "In 2009, even though Hilary Clinton and Sarah Palin could have achieved the top job in the White House, their sex remains the most newsworthy thing about them" (p. 105).

In sum, theories of representation will help analyze how Canadian newspapers construct women politicians, primarily through stereotyping.

Summary

In conclusion, the literature on women politicians, and their relationship with politics and the media, demonstrates that women continue to be strongly associated with their private personas (their appearance, their family, etc.) and traditional gender roles (McLaughlin, 1998; Sapiro, 1983; Welter, 1966). When women move between the private sphere of domestic life and the public sphere of politics it creates conflict because "notions of the 'proper place' and 'proper behaviour' are deeply ingrained and emotionally loaded, such that acute discomfort is felt when the norms are violated" (Stacey & Price, 1981, p. 8).

Secondly, the literature suggests that women politicians are subjected to gendered news coverage. Political women are judged on the basis of masculine norms, seen as anomalies in the public sphere and gender is marked. Women in politics are described as "women politicians" rather than simply "politicians" because they are compared to the male norm (Ross, 2002). Though it has diminished over time, studies such as Heldman et al. (2005), Trimble (2007), and Trimble et al. (2013), show that women politicians continue to be subjected to personalized coverage that emphasizes their appearance, marital status, familial relations and personal traits. Male politicians have their professional backgrounds emphasized, and are subjected to little to no personal coverage.

Finally, theories of gendered news, the public and the private spheres, and representation can help to understand the relationship between female politicians and

media representation. Gendered news coverage places an emphasis on gender differences between candidates. This is further explained by the gendered mediation thesis, which states that news media reflect the gendered culture will live in. Furthermore, the mechanics of the news industry, which is predominately occupied by males, perpetuates the male character of news (Goodyear-Grant, 2013). However, media representation is not always contingent solely on the media, but rather it is also dependent how female politicians present themselves, as articulated in Goodyear-Grant's (2013) provision-presentation distinction. Thus it is important not only to analyze media representation, but also examine how women represent and present themselves. It is also important to also look at the relationship between the public and private spheres, and how the associations with the private sphere may continue to play a role in the construction of a female politician's public persona (Sapiro, 1983; Stacey & Price, 1981; Welter, 1966). Additionally, representation theories, primarily around (sex) stereotyping (Hall, 1997; Goodyear-Grant, 2013), will be helpful to identify gender roles women face due to their associations with the private sphere.

These factors will be taken in account when analyzing the news coverage of Christy Clark and Alison Redford. Past studies will serve as context for this research, and the theoretical approaches discussed will aid in determining what kind of coverage exists at the provincial level in Canada.

Chapter 3: Methodology: Textual and Content Analysis

This research relied on both content analysis and textual analysis, drawing particularly on framing analysis. Content analysis is a descriptive method that primarily looks at the manifest content of the sample, "meaning content that is reasonably obvious on the surface of things" (Priest, 2010, p. 85). Moreover, as Priest (2010) describes, content analysis "is the systematic study of what is actually contained in media messages" (p. 84). It helps the researcher describe the sample literally rather than looking at latent content. Latent content is "something under the surface that we can only identify through a process of interpretation that may have subjective elements" (Priest, 2010, p. 85.). In contrast, textual analysis allows "the researcher to discern latent meaning, but also implicit patterns, assumptions and omissions of the text" (Fürsich, 2009, p. 241). This method allows the researcher to look beyond what is written in a news story, to examine what kinds of meanings are being produced and how perhaps, this may affect audience perception. Finally, framing is described as the process of selecting "*some aspects of a perceived reality and mak[ing] them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation* for the item described" (Emphasis in original, Entman, 1993, p. 52). Framing is also described as focusing "on *how* issues and other objects of interests are reported by news media as well as *what* is emphasized in such reporting" (Weaver, McCombs, & Shaw (2004), in Carlin & Winfrey, 2009, p. 328). As such, framing analysis serves as a method that helps researchers to identify what is considered salient and focuses on the language being used to form that frame.

As mentioned previously, this research consists of two cases studies. The first case study is Christy Clark's leadership campaign for the BC Liberal Party in British Columbia in 2010/2011. The second is Alison Redford's leadership campaign for the Progressive Conservative Party in Alberta in 2011. For both the content and textual analysis, the primary focus was Clark and Redford, and drew comparisons between both women. The reasons for, and limitations of, this choice will be addressed at the end of this chapter.

Sample: Newspapers, Timelines and Background

The purpose of this project was to identify and analyze the kind of coverage these politicians received and how it may have affected their performance in the political arena. Several newspapers were used in this study: *The Globe and Mail, The Province*, *The Vancouver Sun*, the *Calgary Herald and* the *Edmonton Journal. The Globe and Mail* was chosen because it is one of Canada's national newspapers. It caters to a wider audience than that of provincial papers, and is widely read with a daily circulation of just over 350-thousand copies per week (Newspapers Canada, 2014). In British Columbia the two largest newspapers are *The Vancouver Sun* and *The Province*, which have a circulation of just over 161 thousand copies and 140 thousand copies, respectively (Newspapers Canada, 2014). In Alberta the *Calgary Herald* and the *Edmonton Journal* were chosen because they are two of Alberta's largest circulating newspapers with a daily circulation of approximately 118 thousand copies and 97 thousand copies, respectively. Newspapers that have high circulation rates reach more people, are widely read, and are important to a province's mediascape.

The coverage of Clark's leadership bid that was analyzed in this research consisted of the first week when she announced her candidacy, beginning with the day prior to her official announcement (December 7 to 14, 2010), and ended with the last complete week when she was declared the winner on February 26, 2011 (February 20 to February 27, 2011). *The Vancouver Sun* and *The Province,* as well as *The Globe and Mail,* were used for the analysis. Similarly, coverage for Redford that was analyzed included the first week when she announced her candidacy, starting the day before she made her official announcement (February 15 to 22, 2011) and the last complete week when she was declared the winner on October 2, 2011 (September 26 to October 3, 2011). Articles for this case study were chosen from the *Calgary Herald* and the *Edmonton Journal*, and *The Globe and Mail.*

Articles for each case study were compiled using Lexis-Nexus. The articles for Clark's case were searched using the keywords "Christy Clark." This search yielded a total of 89 articles, but only 72 were used for the final sample. The sample consisted of 33 articles for the first week (December 7-14, 2010) and 56 articles for the second week (February 20-27, 2011). For Redford's case study, a similar search was performed where the keywords were "Alison Redford." This search yielded a total of 101 articles. However, after examining the initial sample for duplicates and relevance, the final sample contained 74 articles. In terms of the date distribution, the majority of Redford's coverage was found towards the end of the campaign with a total of 57 articles. The beginning of

her campaign only yielded 17 articles. This imbalance was found throughout other

searches as well pertaining to Redford.[5]

Thus, the final complete sample consisted of 146 articles and included letters to

the editor, editorials, columns, op-eds and news articles.

Content Analysis

This research begins with content analysis. In order to structure and guide the

analysis three key questions were considered:

1. What kinds of signifiers for sex/gender are repeated throughout the sample? (For

example, explicit mentions of sex/gender, such as woman/female.)

2. What kind of personalized coverage is apparent throughout the sample? (For example,

appearance-based coverage and personality traits.)

3. What kind of themes are the politicians associated with? (For example, is she

associated with dealing with issues such as economics or childcare?)

For the content analysis, several keywords were used, which are listed in Table 3.1. (See

Table 3.1: Content Analysis Keywords	
Indicator	**Keywords & Descriptions**
Sex	Woman/female/lady, first woman premier, gender (woman)
Personalization	Personality traits (i.e. aggressive, kind, feisty), family, age, upbringing, appearance, use of first name only (except in dialogue)
Issues/Platform	Platforms, pledges, promises, issues (i.e. health care, finance, education, environment)

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[5] For example, a search with the keyword "Conservative leadership", with the same dates (February 15-22, 2011 and September 26 to October 3, 2011) yielded a total of 8 articles during in February and 24 articles in September/October. However, not all of the articles mentioned Redford.

also Appendix 2 for the codebook that was used.) The primary objective for using content analysis is to look at the coverage with little to no analysis. Put differently, it looks at what is plain to see – the manifest content.

Textual Analysis

While content analysis helped provide an overall preliminary and empirical sense of the coverage, it is not enough when it comes to issues of representation. The main goal in this research was to uncover the latent meaning of the texts, including the frames employed by journalists. As mentioned before, latent content is content, which is implied, and not quite as apparent. There needs to be a degree of analysis. Therefore, textual analysis was the primary tool of analysis. Journalists play an important part in how messages are encoded, whether it is done intentionally or not. One of the main assumptions underlying this thesis is that journalists do not merely reflect reality, they also construct it through their practices, and unconscious decisions based on norms embedded in the institution of journalism. The importance of language lies in the notion that print media, "is a constructed practice" (Fowler, 1991, p. 25) that is influenced by journalistic practices and norms. Journalism, as Gasher (2004) describes, "is a practice of representation and therefore does not "simply mirror or reflect reality" (p. 211). Heldman et al., (2005) argue "while journalists strive for objectivity in their reporting, they are affected by the culture in which they live and by the ideas and the stereotypes pervasive in that culture" (p. 316).

This project does not intend to claim that journalists misrepresent or make decisions to purposely undermine their subjects. On the contrary, there are many forces

which journalists have to negotiate, such as managerial influences as well as how they imagine their audiences.[6] Furthermore, as one of the premises of the gendered mediation thesis states, "the mechanics of the news media industry, which is dominated by men, reinforce the masculine character of the news" (Goodyear-Grant 2013, p. 5-6). However, it is through an examination of latent content that we can discern ideological patterns and dominant discourses. One of the limitations of content analysis is that it can only serve as a descriptive method for manifest content. It is for that reason that it is important to combine textual analysis with content analysis.

In terms of the textual analysis, two key questions were considered: 1) How does gender manifest in the coverage? 2) What kinds of frames are media engaging in? As with the content analysis component of this study, the textual analysis also only looks at the female candidates. From the larger sample used in the content analysis, a smaller sample of 104 articles was chosen for textual analysis component. Each case study consisted of approximately 50 articles (51 for Clark's case and 53 for Redford's case), with an effort to include a balanced amount of articles from the onset of the campaigns and the end of the campaigns. In Clark's case, 25 were chosen from the first week (December 7-14, 2010) and 26 were chosen from the second week (February 20-27, 2011). Due to the imbalance found in the overall sample, Redford case consisted of 17 articles chosen from the first week (February 15-22, 2011) and 36 from the second week (September 26 to October 3, 2011). The sample included articles, editorials, op-eds, columns and letters to the editor.

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[6] See for example Shoemaker and Reese (2013) who argued that there are five levels of influence on news content: influences such individual background, routines, organizational, extra-media and ideological influences. They named this the "hierarchy of influence" model.

Personalized Coverage

Personality Traits	Familiarity	Private Life	Aesthetics
• Personality, characteristics, e.g. combative, nurturing,	•When women are address on a first name basis	•Upbringing •Family, as a complete unit •Sexuality •Marital Status	•Age •Appearance

Figure 3.1: Breakdown of Personalized Coverage

The textual analysis in this thesis consisted of two levels. The sample was first read for indications of personalized coverage. Each news article was read thoroughly and carefully coded using the following themes: personality traits, use of first name, mentions of family and upbringing, as well as instances where age and appearance were found. These were then grouped into larger analytical categories *personality traits*, *familiarity, private life,* and *aesthetics* (see figure 3.1 for themes and categories.) The themes used in this section of the textual analysis were drawn from previous studies (Goodyear-Grant, 2013; Trimble et al., 2013, Trimble, 2007). Trimble et al.'s (2013) study on Canadian federal Conservative leadership races from 1975 to 2012, in particular, served as the primary guide for the identification of themes and categories. Both the categories of *personality traits* and *private life* draw directly from this research. Trimble et al. (2013) observed the following:

> Personalization features three interrelated dimensions. First, politics is
> individualized when news discourses shine the spotlight the politician at the
> expense of attention to political parties, processes, and institutions. Second, the
> media coverage increasingly elaborates politicians' personal characteristics and

'non-political' traits. Third, 'private lives' ---romances, families, and lifestyles --- are brought into view (p. 464).

Other studies (Goodyear-Grant, 2013; Trimble, 2007), have observed similar patterns, finding that personalized coverage includes mentions of age, appearance, personality traits or characteristics, details of family, and discussions of the candidate's upbringing. In addition, indications of "marital status" and "sexuality" (focusing on a candidate's sexual preference) (Trimble, 2007, p. 974) were also included in the initial analysis. To further expand these criteria, instances where female politicians were addressed on a first name basis was also added because, as Lakoff (1973) argues, to "address someone by first name alone is to assume at least equality with the other person, and perhaps superiority" (p. 70). This criterion also comes from Carlin and Winfrey's (2009) study on media representation of Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin.

Framing

The second level of textual analysis – framing - followed a similar suit. News articles were carefully coded and categorized according to frames that have been identified by Norris (1997) and Kanter (1977) - mobilized more recently by Goodyear-Grant (2013), and Carlin and Winfrey (2009). As well, throughout the reading of the texts, another frame was identified that does not draw on previous framing analyses, which I have called the 'celebrity frame'.

These frames are described below in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2: Criteria for frames	
Frame	**Description**
Breakthroughs	Mentions of 'first female'; Coverage that noted that a woman had broken through stereotypes and won against all odds.
Outsiders	Women are seen as being outsiders for not having experience or qualifications; Being considered outsiders for being women (explicitly and implicitly)
Agents of Change	The female candidate is seen as being able to achieve quick, substantial, but unrealistic change in both the system and in their respective parties. Their 'femaleness' is seen as a factor that will change the current state of events for the better (much of the weight is placed on them being female, rather than politicians.)
Iron Maidens	Female candidate is seen as tough and as lacking femininity. Additionally, they are described as aggressive, and combative.
Sex object/ seductresses	Coverage that accentuates a female politician's femininity.
Mother	A female politician's role as a mother is seen to be a factor that may compromise her duties as a politician, and in particular a politician in a high political office such as premier. Questions about whether the female candidate can balance her maternal responsibilities with her political responsible, particularly since both positions are seen as "full-time" commitments.
Pet	Female politician is placed in a position where she is dependent on a male figure (for example, a campaign manager). As women their efforts are disregarded and the male figure is often congratulated for having placed the female politician in the position she finds herself, such as premier.
Celebrity	The female candidate is described as having 'celebrity' qualities such as charm or flair. There is more emphasis placed on her public image rather than her qualification as a politician.

Beginning with Norris (1997), the first frame Norris identified was "women leaders as breakthroughs." This frame is found where women are seen as having broken through the stereotypes that dominate the political environment. It is often found when a woman is the first female to hold a political position. (Falk (2010) has called this the "novelty" frame or "first female" frame.) The use of this frame has several implications. First, because first women are often also seen as "agents of change" – as will be

discussed further down - voters expect more from the female candidate than the usual male candidate. She is seen as being the candidate who will fix all of the problems left behind by her male predecessors when that is, in all probability, an unrealistic view. Furthermore, first women are often seen as being the candidate to prove the worth of the entire sex/gender. Her worth, as well as the worth of all women, is put to the test and thus, she is scrutinized more harshly. Throughout this thesis, this frame is identified as the "women leaders as breakthrough frame" or simply the "breakthrough" frame.

The second frame Norris (1997) identified was "women leaders as outsiders". Women subjected to this frame are seen as candidates who are completely different from their colleagues. This frame emphasizes political women's "lack of…conventional qualifications and prior political experience" (p. 162). Finally, Norris observed that women politicians were also framed as "agents of change." Women subjected to this frame are seen as propagators of a much-needed change in a political system that is riddled with corruption and dishonesty. This change is directly correlated to a female politician's sex.

Following Goodyear-Grant (2013) and Carlin and Winfrey (2009), this research also draws on the four stereotypes Kanter (1977) found are associated with women in the corporate world: the iron maiden, the seductress/sex object, the mother, and the pet.

The iron maiden frame is used when a woman politician is seen to lack femininity. She is tough and "exhibit[s] masculine traits" (Carlin & Winfrey, 2009, p. 328). Women who are framed this way are criticized for not conforming to traditional norms of femininity. They are seen as violating "established gender-role norms that prize passivity and gentleness in women" (Goodyear-Grant, 2013, p. 64). This frame is in use

when a female politician's political style is described as aggressive, feisty, assertive, outspoken, and combative. Furthermore, the use of animals as descriptors also serves as an indicator that the iron maiden frame is being employed. Carlin and Winfrey (2009) argue that a prime example of this frame was found in media coverage of Hillary Clinton during the 2008 presidential campaign. After examining the coverage of both Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin, they argue Clinton was often ridiculed for lacking femininity. Palin, on the other hand, was celebrated for her femininity, which led Palin to be framed as a sex object/seductress.

The third stereotype Kanter identified was the "mother" frame. As mothers, political women are seen as being able to better understand the electorate. Furthermore, they are perceived to be more compassionate as well as honest (Carlin & Winfrey, 2009, p. 328). According to Carlin and Winfrey (2009), the mother frame can have both positive and negative effects. It can be positive because it humanizes the candidate. However, the mother frame can also be detrimental, as political women with children are often questioned about whether they can juggle maternal responsibilities and leadership roles. Casting doubt can lead voters and the media to see women as failing at their maternal responsibilities. Finally, being identified as a mother "causes women to 'be identified with emotional matters'" and it can lead to associations with imagery of "scolding, punishment and shrewish behavior" (Carlin & Winfrey, 2009, p. 328). This particular frame is evident when families and female politicians' children are included in news coverage as means to highlight their role as mothers.

Women may also be subjected to the "pet" frame. The pet frame sets up a "dependent and passive role for women, whose political position or power is attributed to

some, more powerful, male figure" (Goodyear-Grant, 2013, p. 64). Furthermore, this frame leads women to be seen as "too weak, naïve, or unprepared to handle a difficult task without a man's help," which infantilizes her and reduces her capability and credibility as a politician (Wood, 1994, quoted in Carlin & Winfrey, 2009, p. 328). The "pet" frame emerges when coverage "unduly attributes female politicians' success to male mentors or predecessors" (Goodyear-Grant, 2013, p. 64). For example, this frame is in use when campaign strategists are credited for having masterminded a female politician's victory. While Kanter's (1977) four stereotypes/frames are applicable in general to women in the news, in this research they will help identify and guide discussions of the frames used with political women.

Finally, when reading through the sample it became apparent that another frame was in use. I have labeled it the 'celebrity frame'. As will be expanded on in Chapter Six, this frame was in use when media coverage focused on discussions of fame, charm, and celebrity characteristics, such as being telegenic. In the case of Christy Clark, I will argue that this frame is gendered.

Overall, all three methods – content analysis, textual analysis and framing analysis – helped to analyze the coverage in different ways. The content analysis examined quantitatively what was apparent. The textual analysis looked at personalized coverage more in depth, examining what was implied in the article, and what was lacking in the coverage. Finally, framing analysis, looked at the factors, which make up a specific frame. Some of these factors would at times overlap with what was found in the personalized coverage, but as personalized coverage, would not completely correspond to a frame.

Choice of Case Studies and Limitations

This study is focused on how female candidates are covered in the media, dealing with articles that focused on Christy Clark and Alison Redford. Though the coverage also included the frontrunners of each respective race, Kevin Falcon and George Abbott in B.C. and Gary Mar and Doug Horner in Alberta, the male candidates of each race were not used to make overall comparisons. As Chapter Two outlined, there is a multitude of comparative studies that analyze differences in media coverage between female politicians and male politicians. However, I believe that there is much to be gained from an analysis that compares two women politicians to each other. These comparisons may shed light on the different factors that affect each case individually. Moreover, these comparisons may demonstrate the complexities of the relationship between sex/gender and other aspects such as the political environment each woman politician is campaigning in.

Both these case studies were chosen because of several similarities. First, the timelines in both case studies almost coincide with one other: Clark launched her campaign in December 2010, while Redford launched her campaign in February 2011 - two months after Clark. Secondly, both women were campaigning to become leaders of their parties, as well as premier of their respective provinces. Finally, both Clark and Redford come from the western region of Canada, which would prove to be an interesting factor. Despite being grouped into the same geographical region, these women campaigned in very different political environments. Redford was vying to become leader of the Conservative Party, which, until May 2015, had been the governing party since 1971. Clark was vying to become leader of the Liberal Party, which at the time of this

thesis continues to be the governing party, in a province that has had an array of governments. In sum, by choosing both these women, given the similar timeline and their regional proximity, I wanted to focus on whether media coverage of Clark and Redford coincided or differed. Are these women running for high political office being treated differently by the media, or is the media using similar language and frames to describe their campaigns?

Furthermore, dealing solely with female politicians allowed the space to focus on how women may influence their own gendered mediation. In this context, I primarily draw on Goodyear-Grant's (2013) provision-presentation distinction. Thus, though the sample is limited, part of what this thesis seeks to do is to examine the relationship between media representation of female politicians and how they present themselves. This particular aspect is often lost when female candidates are compared to male politicians. While this research did not compare campaign material of the candidates to what was covered in the media, it does pay particular attention to how the political candidates framed their campaigns in media interviews and/or speeches. While it must be acknowledged that media pick and choose what to feature in articles, what appears through interviews and quotes in the media does give some indication of what these women were putting forward to the media about their campaign and their leadership potential.

It should be noted that there is a limitation found in the content analysis component. I served as the primary and only coder for the project, and thus it must be recognized that it is possible that someone else coding the same material could have a different outcome.

Additionally, this thesis looks at the newspaper as complete text, rather than distinguishing between different types of 'journalism'. Another way of conducting this research would have been to look at each of these categories separately, recognizing that there are different ways of approaching each type of article. For example, in news articles reporters are expected to be objective, and columnists are expected to have opinions. However, this project looks at these different types of articles as one overall text where anything in a newspaper reflects the editorial decisions of the newspaper as a whole.

The next three chapters will deal with the findings of each case study, starting with the results found in the content analysis.

Chapter 4: Content Analysis

This chapter focuses on the first component of this study - the content analysis. As mentioned in Chapter Three, this portion of the study deals with two weeks worth of coverage for each of the case studies. In Clark's case, the sample looked at the beginning of Clark's campaign, starting the day before she officially announced her candidacy, December 7, 2010 to December 14, 2011, and February 20, 2011 to February 27, 2011, the day after she was declared the winner. Likewise in Redford's case, the timelines spanned from the day prior to her campaign launch, February 15, 2011 until February 23, 2011, and September 26, 2011 to October 3, 2011, the day after she was declared the winner. For the content analysis component of this case study a total of 146 news articles were coded and analyzed, with 72 articles coded for Clark's case and 74 coded in Redford's case. This sample included news articles, columns, editorials and letters to the editor.

Three key questions guided the quantitative content analysis:

1. What kinds of signifiers for sex/gender are repeated throughout the sample?

2. What kind of personalized coverage is apparent throughout the sample?

3. What kind of themes are the politicians associated with?

As mentioned in Chapter Three, the sample for this study comes from four provincial newspapers: *The Vancouver Sun* (British Columbia) and *The Province* (British Columbia) for Clark's case; the *Calgary Herald* (Alberta)*,* and the *Edmonton Journal* (Alberta) for Redford's case, as well as a national paper, *The Globe and Mail* for both cases. All four provincial newspapers were chosen because they are widely read throughout their respective provinces. Furthermore, these newspapers have existed for

most of their respective provinces' political history. In British Columbia, *The Vancouver Sun* has been a daily newspaper since 1912 and *The Province* has been circulating since 1898 (The Vancouver Sun, n. d.). Likewise, in Alberta, the *Calgary Herald* was established in 1883 (The Canadian Encyclopedia, 2010), and the *Edmonton Journal* was established in 1903 (Edmonton Journal, n. d.). *The Globe and Mail* was chosen because of its status as one of Canada's national newspapers. It caters to a wider audience than that of provincial papers and is widely read throughout the country.

As also mentioned in Chapter Three, one limitation of the content analysis is that the focus was on articles that dealt with Christy Clark and Alison Redford. Of the 146 articles, 98 also mentioned the male frontrunners – Kevin Falcon and George Abbott in Clark's case, and Gary Mar and Doug Horner in Redford's case. However, the primary goal of the content analysis was to compare the two female candidates, measuring the number of times Redford and Clark's sex was indicated, the amount of personalized coverage both women received, as well as what sort of political issues they were associated with, within the context of the articles that mention Redford and Clark.

Figure 4.1 describes the overall coverage. It shows that there are slight differences

Figure 4.1: Overall Coverage

Clark Redford

Sex Indicators: Clark 9, Redford 24
Personalized: Clark 42, Redford 40
Issue-Based: Clark 26, Redford 35
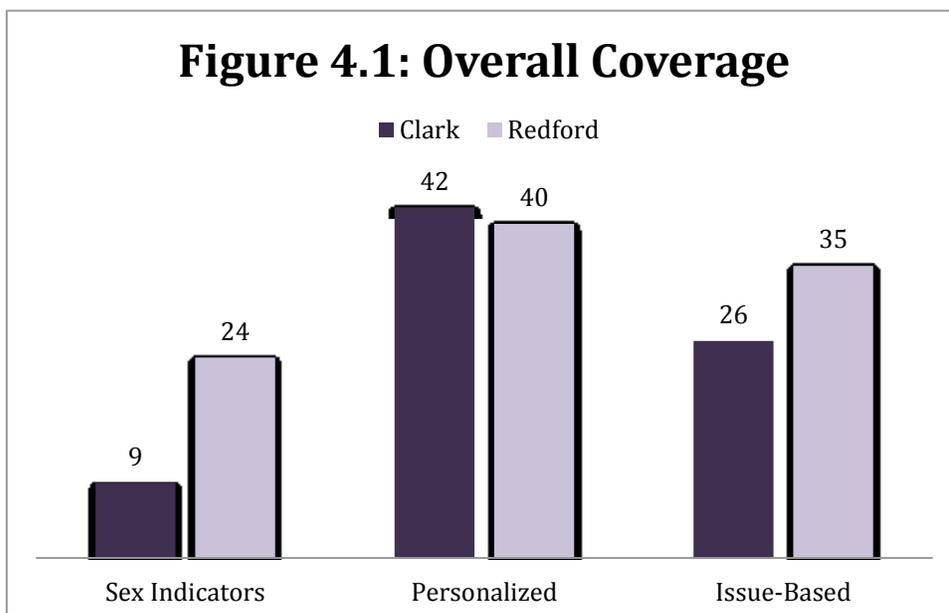
between the amount of personalized coverage and issue-based coverage each woman received. However, in terms of the sex indicators where there is a significant difference found between both women.

Beginning with sex indicators, this category included explicit mentions of sex (female), gender (woman), and other forms such as first female/woman, woman politician, and female politician. The results indicate that Redford was subjected to more sex-based coverage than Clark. Out of the total sample of 74 articles, Redford's sex/gender was included in a total of 24 articles (32 percent). The majority of these instances occurred towards the end of the campaign when Redford became Alberta's first female premier. In comparison, Clark's sex/gender was included in 9 articles out of the sample of 72 articles (12 percent). Since Clark did not become British Columbia's first female premier (she was the second), this kind of coverage was not as abundant in her case as it was in Redford's. However, despite the smaller number of articles, Clark was still subjected to sex-based coverage, which demonstrates that some explicit gendered coverage exists.

Turning to personalized coverage, as Figure 4.1 indicates, both Clark and Redford were subjected to a substantial amount of personalized coverage. In Clark's case personalized coverage amounted to 58 percent of her total coverage (42 articles), while in Redford's case, personalized coverage amounted to 54 percent of her total coverage (40 articles). Overall, this kind of coverage accounted for 56 percent of the sample (82 articles), which makes it into the most frequent type of coverage found in both samples. However, when comparing both female candidates, Clark was subjected to slightly more personalized coverage than Redford (4 percent difference). The most common forms of

personalized coverage included mentions of personality traits, age, family, while the least common were mentions of upbringing, use of first name and appearance. Table 4.1 outlines these results.

Table 4.1 Personalized Coverage (n = 146 articles)			
	Clark (n = 72)	**Redford (n = 74)**	**Sample Total**
Personality	17	13	30
Age	6	16	22
Family	9	10	19
Upbringing	5	6	11
First Name	6	3	9
Appearance	0	2	2

Beginning with personality, as Table 4.1 illustrates, Clark was subjected to slightly more of this kind of coverage than Redford. Clark's personality was mentioned in 17 news articles (23 percent). In contrast, Redford's personality was mentioned in 13 articles (17 percent). The second most common indicator of personalized coverage was age. Age was mentioned in a total of 22 articles (15 percent of the sample). However, this indicator was found with more frequency in Redford's case where 16 news articles (21 percent) mentioned her age. Comparatively, age was rarely mentioned in Clark's case where a total of 6 articles (8 percent) mentioned her age. The third most common indicator of personalized coverage was mentions of the female candidates' families. A total of 19 articles (13 percent of sample) discussed their families. Redford's family was mentioned in 10 articles out of the sample of 74 articles (13 percent), while Clark's family was mentioned in 9 news articles out of the sample of 72 articles (12 percent).

The final three indicators, upbringing, use of first name, and appearance, were

found with less frequency throughout the sample in comparison to the other indicators.

Nevertheless, they were present. Upbringing was found in 11 news articles (8 percent of

the sample) in Redford's case; her upbringing was discussed primarily in the context of

her mother's death. In Clark's case 5 news articles (6 percent) discussed her upbringing,

primarily in terms of her relationship with her father. The use of first name was also

found in both cases, but more frequently in Clark's where a total of 6 news articles (8

percent) addressed her solely by her first name. In contrast, this type of coverage was

found in 3 articles (4 percent) in Redford's case. The final form of personalized coverage

found in the sample is appearance-based coverage. What is interesting to note is that

appearance-based coverage was rare, with a total of 2 mentions (1 percent of the sample),

and that both instances were found in Redford's case.

Table 4.2: Sex and Issue Associations	
"Female"	**"Male"**
Health Care (Public or Private)	*Finance* (Budgets, funding, candidate donation lists, projects)
Education (Funding, class sizes, teacher salary, resources)	*Energy* (Oil sands, pipelines, electricity management, mining, natural resources)
Social Policies (Families, culture, arts, charities)	-

Turning now to issue-based coverage, Kahn (1994a) argues that issues are often

seen as 'female' oriented or 'male' oriented. In terms of 'female' issues, women are often

associated with health and education because they are seen as nurturing and better suited

to care for others (Kahn, 1994a). While, in the case of 'male' issues, she argues that men

are often associated with finance, energy management, and foreign policy because they

are seen as being more practical and better suited for the tough challenges that come from

those issues. The criteria for these issues are found in Table 4.2. This component of the content analysis measured all instances related to platform or issue-based coverage.

Figure 4.2: Overall distribution of Female and Male Issues

■ Clark (n = 72)   ■ Redford (n= 74)

A bar chart showing Female Issues: Clark = 21, Redford = 47; Male Issues: Clark = 16, Redford = 16.
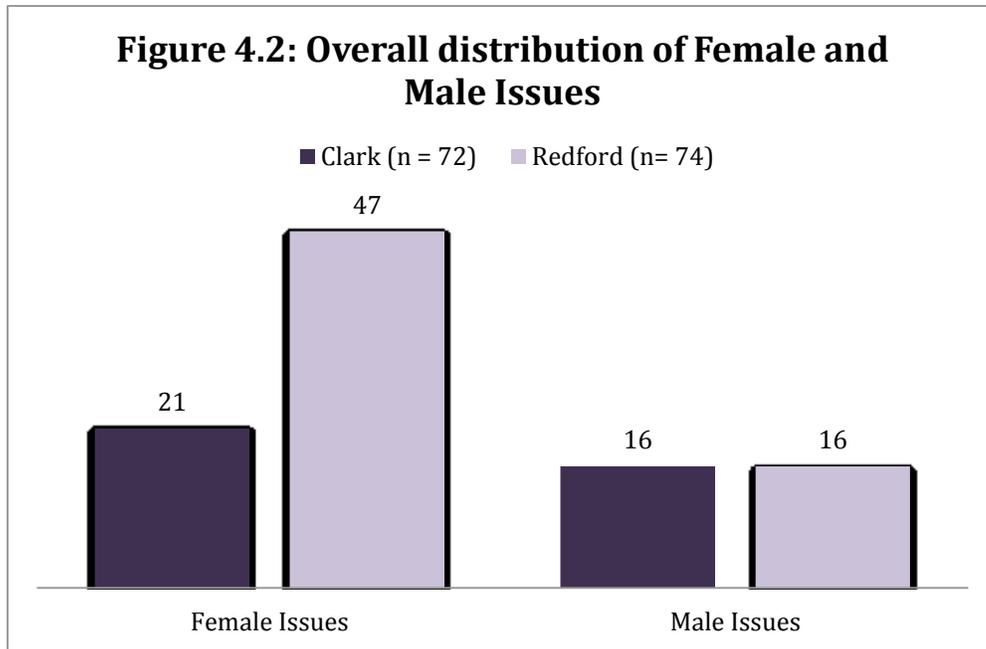
The sample indicates that both Redford and Clark received a fair amount of coverage devoted to their platforms. Out of the total sample, 35 articles (47 percent) discussed Redford's platform and 26 (36 percent) described Clark's platform (see Figure 4.1). Looking at the overall picture (see Figure 4.2), Redford was more likely to be associated with 'female' issues than Clark; 63 percent of Redford's coverage (47 articles) dealt with these issues, with 29 per cent of Clarks' coverage (21 articles) falling into this category. In terms of 'male-oriented' issues, both women received close to equal amounts of coverage: 22 percent in Clark's case and 21 in Redford's case.

Figure 4.3a: Sex vs. Issue Association (Clark)

	Education	Health care	Social policies	Finance	Energy
Clark	1	5	15	13	3

Figure 4.3b: Sex vs Issue Association (Redford)

	Education	Health care	Social policies	Finance	Energy
Redford	23	20	4	9	7
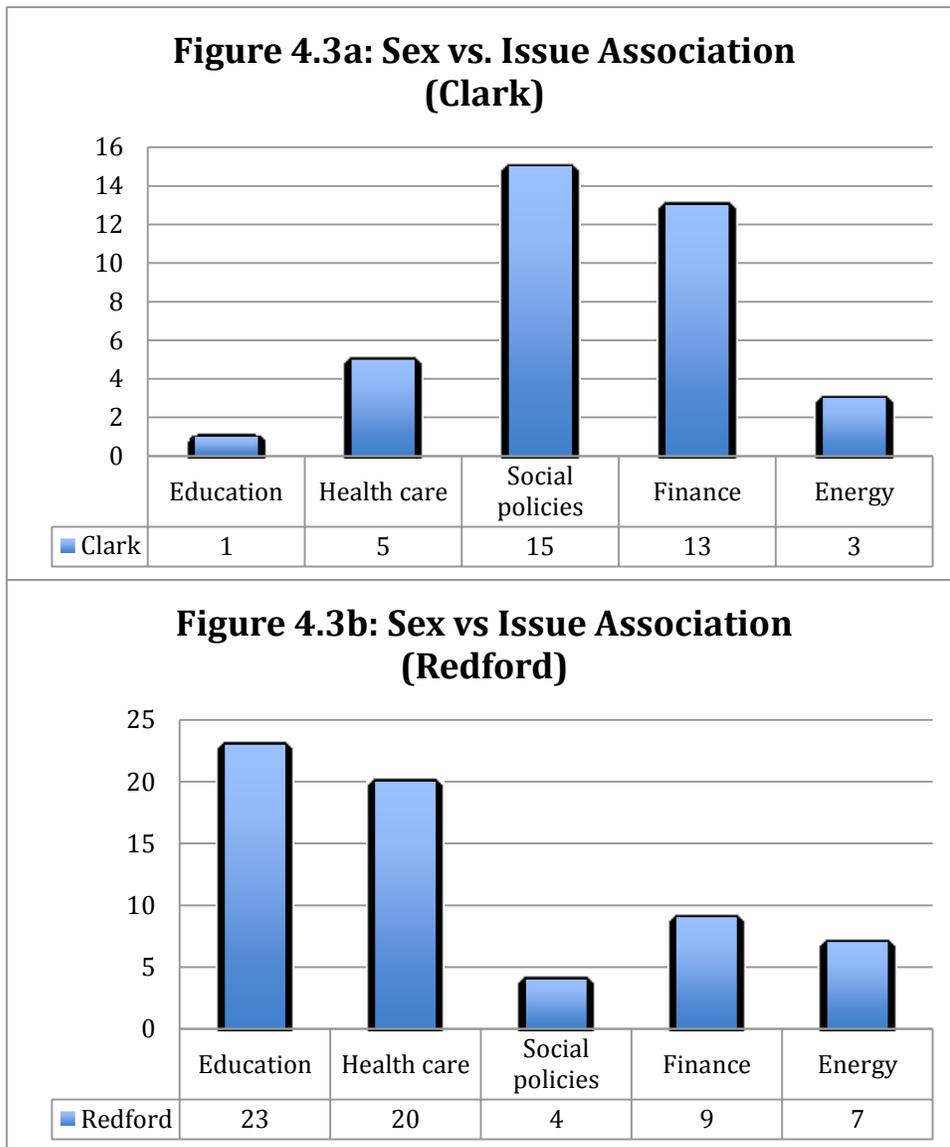
Beginning with 'female' issues - education, health care, and social issues - as Figures 4.3a and 4.3b point out, Redford received substantially more coverage that discussed education and health as part of her platform than Clark did. In terms of education, 31 percent (23 articles) discussed Redford's platform on education, whereas in Clark's case only 1 percent (1 article) discussed education. Media coverage often focused on Redford's pledge to reverse budget cuts to schools across the province. Part of her platform was to "restore $100 million in education cuts within 10 days of

becoming premier" ("Where they stand", 2011). These cuts had been implemented in the previous government and were unpopular among the electorate. Despite having previously been Minister of Education, Clark rarely had coverage that dealt with her stance on education issues.

In terms of health issues, Redford's health care policies were discussed in 27 percent (20 articles), while in Clark's case only 6 percent (5 articles) of the news articles in her sample covered her platform on health care. Media coverage in Redford's case focused on her campaign to restore Alberta's faltering health care system. For example, she pledged to "establish family care clinics to increase access to healthcare teams" ("Where they stand", 2011). Clark, on the other hand, received significantly less coverage of her health care platform.

In comparison, Clark was more likely to receive coverage that discussed her social policies than Redford. Social issues made up 20 percent of Clark's total issue-based coverage, whereas in Redford's case, this only accounted for 5 percent. Social issues were significant for Clark, as she would often pledge that she was campaigning to improve the lives of B.C. families. For example she campaigned for "a B.C. Working Income Tax Credit, to match an existing federal program, which would help low-income families in the workforce" (Shaw, 2011a). In Redford's sample her social policies primarily focused on restoring funding for art and culture. However, there was substantially less coverage in this area, compared to her health care and education platforms.

Despite the disparities found where 'female' issues are concerned, it is interesting to note that both Redford and Clark were more likely to be associated with 'female'

issues rather than 'male' issues. Yet, in terms of 'male' issues, both women received equal amounts of coverage. These results coincide with Kahn's (1994a) study where women are most likely associated with issues that correspond with traditionally feminine gender-role norms than issues that are deemed to be 'male' oriented.

Turning now to 'male' oriented issues - finance and energy - Clark was more likely to have coverage that dealt with her financial policies than Redford. A total of 13 articles (18 percent) discussed Clark's platform on finance, while in Redford's case only 9 articles (12 percent) mentioned her financial platform. This may have been in part because of the prevalence of the on-going discussion over the Harmonized Sales Tax (HST) at the time, which was a motion introduced by the Liberal government under Premier Campbell that would amalgamate the Federal Tax (GST) and the Provincial Tax (PST) into one tax. This motion resulted in the loss of support from the electorate as well as spawned several petitions to reverse the motion. Clark often discussed the HST, proposing to allow the electorate to decide whether to eliminate or implement it (Shaw, 2011a). However, Redford was more likely to have coverage that discussed her energy policies than Clark. A total of 7 articles (9 percent) discussed Redford's energy policies. In contrast, news coverage in Clark's case mentioned her energy policies in 3 articles (4 percent). This may be due to Alberta's fossil fuel industry, particularly the petroleum industry, which is one of the most important resources in Alberta. It is perhaps inevitable, given this, that energy would be deemed much more important in Redford's case - both to journalists and the candidate - than in Clark's case. Still, compared to issues such as education (31 percent) or health care (27 percent), energy (9 percent) comprises little of Redford's issue-based coverage.

Summary

Overall the content analysis reveals that gendered coverage was apparent in the sample in terms of the candidates' sex/gender being explicitly mentioned, as well as through the prevalence of personalized coverage. Beginning with sex indicators, as the results indicated, Redford was subjected to more of this type of coverage than Clark. This was likely due to the fact that Redford went on to become Alberta's first female premier and the media chose to focus on this anomaly. In terms of personalized coverage, both Clark and Redford received a substantial amount of personalized coverage where the most common indicators of this kind of coverage included personality traits and age. However, age was found with more frequency in Redford's case, while personality was found with slightly more frequency in Clark's case. The indicator that was rarely found in both case studies was appearance-based coverage. It is interesting to note that Redford was the sole recipient of this kind of coverage. This will be expanded on further during the textual analysis. Furthermore, both women received more personalized coverage than issue-based coverage, which corresponds with the literature that argues that this is often the case for female politicians (Trimble et al., 2013; Trimble, 2007). Authors such as Jalalzai (2006) and Trimble et al. (2013) suggest that personalized coverage may work to the candidate's advantage because it is a way to humanize the candidate. However, others, such as Goodyear-Grant (2013) argue that it may not be advantageous because it shifts the focus from the candidate's position on important issues such as health care or the economy. Finally, when looking at issues, the analysis indicates that Redford was more likely to be associated with 'female' issues than Clark and both women were equally associated with 'male issues'.

Taking into consideration the results discussed in this chapter, the next two chapters deal with the findings from the qualitative textual analysis component. They delve further into the coverage, looking more closely at personalized coverage and framing.

Chapter 5: Textual Analysis – Personalized Coverage

Feminist media scholars argue that political women are more likely to be subjected to personalized coverage than issue-based coverage (Goodyear-Grant, 2013; Ross, 2002, 2010; Trimble et al, 2013). It is also a form of gendered coverage, for as several studies have noted personalized coverage tends to highlight female politicians' sex/gender as atypical from the male norm, thus emphasizing their unnatural presence in the political pubic sphere (Goodyear-Grant, 2013; Trimble, 2007). Personalized coverage can vary, and can include mentions of a candidate's family, upbringing, and discussions of her appearance and personality traits.

The overarching two key questions that guided the textual analysis were (1) How does gender manifest in the coverage? (2) What kinds of frames are media engaging in? This chapter focuses solely on the first question. The second question is dealt with in the next chapter. Each article was read thoroughly and coded using the following themes: personality traits, use of first name, mentions of family and upbringing as well as instances where age and appearance were found. These were then grouped into larger analytical categories (see Figure 5.1): *personality traits*, which includes mentions of personal characteristics related to their personality (similar to Trimble et al., 2013); *familiarity,* which includes instances where a candidate is addressed on a first-name basis; *private life*, which includes mentions of family and discussions of the candidate's upbringing (also similar to Trimble et al., 2013); and finally, the category *aesthetics*, which includes discussions about a candidate's age, as well as mentions of her appearance.

Personality Traits	Familiarity	Private Life	Aesthetics
•How a female politician's personality is described; characterisitics (e.g. combative, nurturing)	•When female politicans are addressed on a first name basis	•*Family:* as a factor which may compromise her political reponsibilities •*Upbringing:* looking at how she was raised and the influence of other people. Particularly looking at relationships with male figures and their impact in her political career.	•Age: as a viability factor; questions of whether she's too young, or too old. •Appearance: emphasis on her attire, her makeup, and hair.

Figure 5.1: Categories found in Personalized Coverage

Personality Traits

Throughout the coverage, the media focused on the personalities of both Clark and Redford. First, positively, they were both described as competent and intelligent politicians, traits that are desirable for someone vying for the top political position in the province. However, the analysis also found indications of gendered coverage in how their personalities were covered, which may not have such a positive effect – combativeness on the part of Clark and casting Redford as a nurturer. These traits in particular were analyzed as examples of sex stereotypes.

Beginning with Clark, despite having been politically inactive for nearly five years, various columnists and journalists characterized Clark as a capable and experienced politician. For example, columnist Gary Mason from *The Globe and Mail* describes Clark as a "natural politician" who is both smart and politically savvy (Mason, 2010). Towards the end of the campaign he also describes her as being "smart and politically pragmatic" (Mason, 2011). In an article published in *The Province,* Ian Austin writes that one of Clark's strengths is that she is an "articulate communicator" (Austin, 2011a). Examples such as these are found throughout the sample and demonstrate that Clark has the skills to be a politician, and potentially is also capable of becoming premier.

Furthermore, not only was she described as a capable politician, but also as a politician with an energetic personality. In *The Globe and Mail* she was described as being "effervescent" and "energetic" (Bailey, 2010a; Palmer, 2010a). In *The Province,* she was described as having an "oversized personality" (Austin, 2010) and as a "young, dynamic and charismatic premier" (Smyth, 2011b). These types of descriptions, particularly describing Clark as young and energetic may serve to bolster Clark's political position, painting her as someone who can handle being premier, which is a demanding (emotionally, mentally and physically) occupation.

However, Clark was also criticized for having a combative style. For example, in an article written for *The Globe and Mail,* Ian Austin describes Clark as "confrontational" and "combative" (Austin, 2011a). Clark's combative style led her to be described as a 'pit-bull' multiple times (Mason, 2011; Ward, 2010). She was also described as being "feisty" (Mason, 2010; Mickleburgh, 2010) and "scrappy" (Hunter, 2011b). As Everitt (2005) writes: "Combativeness, a quality that is considered important for politics, is not viewed as a positive quality when possessed by women. Strong women are viewed as traitors to their sex" (p. 388-9). As Welter (1966) noted, women have traditionally been seen as private personas – as mothers who care for their children, and as wives who cater to their husband's needs. These roles required women to be kind, nurturing and gentle, qualities that are often seen as the opposite of being combative. Thus, highlighting Clark's combative political style might further emphasize her unusual position in the political public sphere.

In comparison, Redford was also described as being competent and intelligent (Corbella, 2011a; Cryderman, 2011c) Simons, 2011), in much the same way Clark was.

Columnist Paula Simons from the *Edmonton Journal* praised Redford for her international experience as well as for earning a degree in law. She notes that Redford was by far the highest educated premier the province had seen in recent years, and compared her to *Harry Potter*'s Hermione Granger for being unafraid to demonstrate her intellect (Simons, 2011). *Calgary Herald* columnist Don Braid also noted Redford's intellectual capability and described her using phrases such as "sharp mind", "whipsmart", and "verbally quick" (Braid, 2011e). Columnist Licia Corbella, also from the *Calgary Herald* characterized Redford as "smart, principled and very capable" (Corbella, 2011a). Finally, journalist Kelly Cryderman from the *Edmonton Journal* described Redford as "extremely competent and capable" (Cryderman, 2011c).

However in contrast to Clark, Redford was not described as energetic or as combative. Instead, Redford was described as possessing strong character because of the incredible composure she displayed after her mother's death. Redford's mother passed away on September 27, 2011, a day prior to the leadership debate. Several articles, columns, and editorials lauded Redford for her character, particularly when she decided to participate in the leadership debate a day after her mother's passing, rather than be absent for it. For example columnist Graham Thomson from the *Edmonton Journal* noted that Redford's response to her mother's death demonstrated her "character and mettle" (Thomson 2011d). He also characterized her performance during the leadership debate as "courageous" (Thomson, 2011c). Furthermore, in an editorial published in the *Calgary Herald*, Redford is described as "poised with incredible composure," again in reference to her performance during the leadership debate ("Premier Redford", 2011). Likewise, columnist Don Braid from the *Calgary Herald* also characterized her as brave, and

"gritty" (Braid, 2011c, 2011d) in regards to her choice to participate in the debate. In terms of what I would argue is gendered coverage, however, several of the articles mentioned above focused on her role as a nurturer, reporting that Redford cancelled all other appearances (except for the debate) to spend time with her family to help with funeral arrangements, as well as to grieve (Braid, 2011d; Cryderman, 2011a; Gerein 2011a; Thomson, 2011d; Wood et al., 2011).

What is interesting when comparing the personality traits of both women is how they conform to sex stereotypes. Goodyear-Grant (2013) described gender stereotypes as "generalized preconceptions about the attributes of males and females" that individuals use to conceptualize the proper ways of behaving like a woman or a man (p. 6). Both women received a substantial amount of coverage that described them as capable, and competent politicians. This may have led the coverage to appear gender-neutral. However, these descriptions need to be analyzed along with other personality traits that were highlighted in order to provide a better assessment for both women.

In Clark's case, media portrayals seem to point out that she did not follow sex stereotypes. This was evident through emotionally charged descriptions such as 'feisty' and characterizing her as combative. According to Larris and Maggio (2012) words such as *feisty* are considered gendered terms because they "are normally reserved for individuals and animals that are not inherently potent or powerful" (p. 18). By virtue of including these descriptions - particularly likening her to a pitbull - Clark's position in the political public sphere may be seen as unusual. Taken together, describing Clark as feisty and combative serves to trivialize other descriptions that praise her capabilities and competence as a politician.

On the other hand, in Redford's case there appeared to be a change from characterizing Redford as a competent and capable politician to focusing on her strength and composure during a difficult time. Before her mother's passing, Redford's competence, capabilities and intelligence were the traits that were being highlighted, but after her mother's death, and her performance in the leadership debate, Redford was praised for her strength of character as a public person dealing with a private matter. I argue that these are references to gender stereotypes. As a woman, Redford is expected to embody traditional feminine characteristics such as being nurturing and kind. When her mother passed away, the media seemed to focus on these characteristics (though arguably, her reactions to a loss were natural regardless of her sex). It would seem that the coverage of her mother's death drew on sex stereotypes of women as nurturers and caregivers. Not only did Redford endure the passing of a close family member while being the public eye, but she also reacted in a way that the electorate and the media may have found to be appropriate because she is a woman. As such, the media portrayals of her personality seemed to praise Redford rather than criticize her.

Familiarity: Use of First Name

Another form of personalized coverage evident in both case studies was the use of the female candidates' first names. According to Carlin and Winfrey (2009), when news reports address a female politician by her first name it leads her to be "stripped" (p. 329) of any sort of recognition and titles, as well as respect. Beginning with Clark, these instances appeared in columns (Mickleburgh, 2010; Palmer, 2010a, 2011a; Smyth, 2011c) and letters to the editor ("Back Chat", 2010a; Rebman, 2010). Most of these

instances were found in the beginning of the campaign (with the exception of Palmer, 2011a and Smyth, 2011c), which may imply that Clark was not seen as a viable candidate at the onset of her campaign. In many of these instances, and particularly in the letters to the editor, addressing Clark solely by her first name was used in the context of demeaning remarks. For example, a letter to the editor reads, "Let us not forget that as long as there is one of these Campbell butt-kissing Liberal MLAs or Campbell clones like Christy, we shall not rest" ("Back Chat", 2010a).

Similarly, Redford was also addressed by her first name several times in letters to the editor (Mannitsu, 2011; Swanson, 2011) and in one instance in an article (Cryderman, 2011a). A clear example of this is found in a letter to the editor that appeared in the *Calgary Herald,* with the headline 'Alison vs. Danielle' (Danielle refers to the former leader of the Wildrose Alliance Party, Danielle Smith.) From the outset the headline creates a casual tone. In the letter itself, the first line continues the informal tone - "Alison who?" While this is meant to be humorous, it nevertheless ignores Redford's (and Smith's) qualifications (Mannitsu, 2011).

Although this kind of coverage, where female candidates are addressed solely by their first name, occurred with less frequency than other forms of personalized coverage, nevertheless I argue it contributed to Clark and Redford's overall perception as inexperienced, and most importantly, unviable candidates. Addressing a female candidate by her first name creates a casual, informal tone, and to some extent implies a relationship between the columnist, the journalist and the candidate, as if they were acquaintances. According to Lakoff (1973) addressing someone on a first name basis suggests that the addressor is superior to the addressee and that the use of a woman's first

name in professional settings, such as politics, undermines women (Lakoff, 1973). In Clark's case, when columnists like Smyth or Palmer addressed Clark as 'Christy' they helped create a perception that she is inferior to the other candidates, and arguably, trivialize Clark's position as a serious contender for the leadership campaign. Similarly, in Redford's case, the use of Redford's first name may have led to the perception that Redford was a less viable candidate, intimating that she lacks experience. For example, the letter to the editor discussed above disregards the important political positions that both Redford and Smith held, stripping them of their professional background and experience.

However, it could be argued that addressing a candidate by their first name may also be used to humanize them. This was primarily seen in Redford's case where addressing her by her first name may have conveyed an image that she was a politician that can be easily reached by voters. For example, in an article written for the *Calgary Herald* that discusses Helen Redford's (Redford's mother) relationship with her daughter, in context of her death, Redford is addressed as "Alison" when her family is mentioned (Cryderman, 2011a). In this case the journalist might be attempting to create a sense of intimacy between the electorate and Redford by humanizing her through addressing her in a familiar way. To some extent, this type of coverage might help to create the perception that Redford is not just a politician, but also a person to whom the voters can relate.

Yet, at the same time, as I argue above, the sense of intimacy it creates may have also led Redford to be seen as a less viable politician than the other candidates. In Clark's case, I would argue that the use of her first name was not used to humanize her, but

instead the instances discussed above appear to demonize Clark rather than make her a sympathetic character. The use of Clark's first name was often used to create a casual sense of familiarity, which undermined her professionalism and experience.

Private Life

  Family as an intersection between the public and private life. Another strong indicator of personalized coverage is a focus on the candidate's family. In both case studies, this kind of coverage primarily brings up issues of whether a political woman can balance her family life with her political life. This section will be brief as it overlaps with the 'mother' frame, which will be further discussed in more detail in Chapter Six.

  Beginning with Clark, on one hand the media coverage portrayed her as a responsible mother whose first priority was her family and then her career. For example, towards the end of the leadership campaign, in an article in *The Vancouver Sun*, Clark's commitment to politics is questioned. Both frontrunners, George Abbott and Kevin Falcon, asked Clark if she would run for a seat in the Legislature even if she lost the leadership race, to which Clark responded that she would do what "works financially for her family" (Ward, 2011a). This is a particularly important example because it emphasizes that Clark had decided to put her family first. However, while the coverage that mentions her son emphasized that she was a responsible mother for putting her child first, it also focuses on the tension between public and private life and raises implicit questions about whether she can achieve a balance and handle both her career and family. An explicit example of this was found in a letter to the editor that appeared in *The Province*, where the author writes, "Isn't this the same woman who couldn't fulfill her

duties as an MLA because her son demanded too much of her time" (Guise, 2010)?

Comparatively, while Redford's family often made public appearances during her campaign, the coverage seemed to focus more on how she successfully balanced her familial responsibilities and her political responsibilities. For example, Kelly Cryderman from the *Edmonton Journal* writes that a public appearance by Redford's family was indicative of an "intersection between her public and personal life (Cryderman, 2011b). Additionally, Josh Wingrove from *The Globe and Mail,* described her as having "built a distinguished international legal career while juggling the demands of a young family" (Wingrove, 2011c). In other words, Redford is characterized as a responsible parent who, despite how difficult and time-consuming it is to run a campaign, takes care of her young daughter. However, as with Clark, the media coverage simultaneously raised questions as to whether she could continue to achieve that balance. The tension between the public and the private sphere was implied through mentions of her husband. For example, in an article published in the *Edmonton Journal*, Redford's husband is mentioned as working as a federal lawyer and as having "entirely predictable hours" (Cryderman, 2011c). I argue that by mentioning his hours, implicitly what is being answered are any questions people might have about how Redford will continue to be the primary caretaker of her daughter if she is premier. While the answer seems to point to her husband with his 'predictable' hours, the question remains - why would Cryderman feel the need to emphasize this? Why is this important? Arguably, it further emphasizes her unusualness in the political public sphere, reinforcing the idea that women are still considered to be the primary caretakers of children and any aberration of this should be perceived as abnormal.

However, it should also be noted that both Clark and Redford contributed to this kind of personalized coverage. In Clark's case, she may have influenced the inclusion of her family in her coverage when she would cite that her son was the primary reason for her departure from politics (Bailey, 2010b; Palmer, 2010a). Similarly, Redford would at times mention her daughter when she was interviewed (Braid, 2011d; Kleiss, 2011). However, and most importantly, in both case studies media coverage described a tension between Clark and Redford's roles as parents and as professionals. This suggests that women continue to be seen as primary caretakers of their children and will face questions and perhaps criticism when they choose to run for high political positions. As these examples have endeavored to point out, female politicians who move between the private and public spheres face conflict and continue to be marked as anomalies in the public sphere.

Upbringing as an indicator of personalized coverage. According to Trimble et al. (2013) one of the prime indicators of personalized coverage is the inclusion of a candidate's upbringing in news coverage. Both Clark and Redford had their upbringing discussed differently. In Clark's case, her upbringing was often included when her relationship with her father was detailed. In Redford's case, much of the discussions about her upbringing were in the context of her mother's death.

Beginning with Clark, her upbringing is most often described in the context of her father's political involvement. For example, in a column written by Vaughn Palmer from *The Vancouver Sun*, Palmer writes:

Her father, Jim, had run for the legislature three times. Unsuccessfully, for he was a

B.C. Liberal back when the party couldn't hope to win a provincial seat outside of a few upscale enclaves, and the Clark family home base of Burnaby was not one of them.... Papa Clark had set young Christy to door-knocking when she was barely able to walk and she's been a political animal in the making ever since (Palmer, 2010a).

In the same column, Palmer also notes that Clark "learned to love politics at an early age, watching her dad in action" (Palmer, 2010a). Similarly, in a column that appeared in *The Globe and Mail*, Gary Mason writes, "Ms. Clark's Liberal roots run deep. Her schoolteacher father Jim was an unsuccessful Liberal candidate in the 1960s and '70s" (Mason, 2011). Mason's inclusion of Clark's father, again suggests that Clark's interest in politics began at a young age because of her father. Additionally, Clark herself reinforce that her father inculcated her political views: "'He [Clark's father] taught me a lot, because I watched him do politics. I watched the politicians who came to our house and who would share dinner and talk about the next election campaign" (Palmer, 2010a). Discussions of Clark's upbringing helped to acknowledge that she was not only political but also liberal. It is also implied that Clark's father played a significant role as her mentor, which may have given Clark credibility as a politician due to the fact that she was trained by a male politician. In other words, it seems that Clark's upbringing verified that she was, in fact, a genuine politician, and this is furthered emphasized when Clark herself credited her father for having fostered her interest in politics from a young age. Though it will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter, I argue that this type of coverage also infantilizes Clark; rather than acknowledging Clark's experience as a

politician, media coverage focuses on her father's influence and the need for a political mentor.

Redford's upbringing, on the other hand, was included in reports primarily in the context of her mother's death during the campaign. Helen Redford passed away just as the campaign was coming to a close. In several columns and articles, Redford's strength would often be connected to her upbringing, especially when Redford's mother spoke of her daughter's strong qualities. For example, in an article for the *Edmonton Journal,* Helen Redford described her daughter as "a natural leader, who took care of her two younger sisters" (Cryderman, 2011a), and as a hard worker who would listen to people (Cryderman, 2011a). Another article published in the *Edmonton Journal* focused on how Redford's mother was one of the driving forces behind her interests in politics. Helen Redford had worked in politics but never campaigned as a political candidate.[7] Stephen Carter, Redford's campaign manager, mentions that "'Alison's mother is one of the reasons she's in politics. Helen was always in politics and believed very strongly about what you could do for your community'" (Gerein, 2011a).

In these examples, Redford's mother is the person who testifies to her daughter's political interests, emphasizing Alison Redford's qualities as a leader and her competence as a politician. However, I argue Helen Redford's testimony does not give her daughter the same credibility as an endorsement from a political colleague, such as a member of the Legislative Assembly, would and may also inadvertently portray Alison Redford as a child, rather than a leader. So while on the one hand this type of coverage portrays

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[7] Helen Redford, for example, worked with MP Jim Hawkes as his special constituency assistant, as well as "managing the office of the Electoral Observer Commission in South Africa leading up to the country's first democratic elections" ("Helen Redford", 2011).

Redford in a positive light, as a strong leader, on the other hand, *how* this information is relayed might actually end up trivializing her skills and professionalism.

As well, in Redford's case, much of the coverage that dealt with her upbringing focused on her childhood, detailing her roots in other provinces. For example, in an article written for the *Edmonton Journal,* titled, "Redford took a different political path to premier's office," the reporter includes details of Redford's birthplace citing that "she was born in Kitimat, B.C." and outlines how Redford travelled to other provinces before her family settled in Alberta (Cryderman, 2011c). Highlighting the different places Redford has lived can have two effects. On the one hand, perhaps she could be construed as not a 'true' Albertan, someone who does not fully understand the province. On the other hand, by detailing how her family moved around Redford is also portrayed as a person who knows the struggle of a working class family, which may have allowed her to connect with the electorate. Furthermore, by including her international travels and accomplishments Redford could be perceived as being a highly qualified politician who has a better understanding of the conflicts and hardships people face in their daily lives. While this could have a positive effect, overall, it seemed that the tone of the coverage that detailed her upbringing outside of Alberta implied that she was an unconventional Albertan, which I argue could work to her disadvantage. I question why these details about her early life should have any bearing on her political career as an adult and why this was deemed as important by journalists to be included in Redford's coverage?

Aesthetics

Age as an indicator of personalized coverage. According to Ross (2002) female

politicians are more likely to have their age included in news reports than male politicians. Often the implication is that candidates may be too young to be participating in politics due to their lack of experience. While the purpose of this research was not to compare the female candidates with male candidates, it is interesting to note that both Clark and Redford had their age included several times throughout the sample and they were often characterized as young. For example, in Redford's case, she would at times be referred to as a "Generation X" leader (Simons, 2011; Wingrove, 2011a). Similarly Clark was also described as young (Bailey, 2010a; Smyth, 2011b).

While youth could imply energy and dynamism - for example, upon being declared the winner and new leader of the B.C. Liberals, columnist Michael Smyth from *The Province,* described Clark as a "young, dynamic, and charismatic premier" (Smyth, 2011b) - this type of coverage might also imply inexperience or simply that one is too young to be in politics. It may lead to questions about a politician's qualifications. It was also often the case that when age was included in a news article, their families would also be mentioned (Bailey, 2010a; "Christy Clark adds to Political Drama", 2010; Cryderman, 2011d; Komarnicki, 2011; Wood, Cryderman & Guttormson, 2011). Trimble et al. (2013) observed that when age is coupled with reports that focus on a candidate's family it may lead to the conception that the female candidate is too young to be in politics, especially if she has young children.

Appearance as an indicator of personalized coverage. Much of the literature on the media coverage of women politicians has argued that women are often subjected to coverage that discusses their appearance (Carlin & Winfrey, 2009; Heldman et al., 2009;

Ross, 2002, 2010; Trimble et al., 2013). However, in these case studies, appearance-based coverage was rare. There were only two instances where Redford's appearance was described and Clark was not subjected to this kind of coverage, despite other reports outside the scope of this thesis (see "Premier attire inflames NDP dinosaurs", 2011; "Premier's cleavage sparks Twitter flurry in B.C.", 2011).

In Redford's case, the first instance is found in a column by Paula Simons from the *Edmonton Journal*. Simons (2011) writes,

So who is the real Alison Redford? I don't think we know. When I first met her three years ago, she had her hair buzzed severely short, and wore mannish suits that made her look as tough as Ron Liepert. For her leadership campaign, she grew out her hair, put on makeup and soft scarves, pearls and skirts. She's willing to assume the necessary costume and outward coloration to get to her goal.

Simons notes that Redford may have made a conscious choice to change her appearance to adhere to more 'feminine norms', because that is what, presumably, the electorate expects. Simons seems to be implying that perhaps Redford had to change her appearance in order to be accepted as a woman - not as a politician - in the political field; had she remained 'mannish' in her appearance, Redford might have been criticized for her lack of femininity. She might have also perhaps been rejected both as a woman and as a politician. Regardless, what this coverage points to is that appearance continues to be prevalent as a form of evaluation for female politicians.

The second instance also had the same undertone. In an article written for the *Calgary Herald,* the journalists write,

One grey-haired woman jogging with her dog ran past Redford with a hearty "yea,

Alison" and gave the candidate advice likely never heard by Mar or Horner.

"Alison, no lipstick. Bright eyes," the jogger told the bemused 46-year-old former

human-rights lawyer. (Wood et al., 2011).

This type of coverage leads to an important question: why was this considered to be

important enough to include in their report? Perhaps the journalists believed that they

were helping female politicians by pointing out that they are treated differently than male

politicians. However, by including this anecdote, this type of gendered coverage

continues to mark a female politician as wholly different from a male politician

(Goodyear-Grant, 2013). Although the intention may have been to be helpful, as a form

of gendered coverage it emphasizes that female politicians are anomalies in the political

public sphere. As Wolf (1991) points out, coverage of a female politician's appearance

detracts from her platform, her merits and her experiences. As Wolf argues,

> In drawing attention to the physical characteristics of women leaders, *they can be*
>
> *dismissed as either too pretty or too ugly*. The net effect is to prevent women's
>
> identification with the issues. If the public woman is stigmatized as too 'pretty',
>
> she's a threat, a rival -- or simply not serious; if derided as too 'ugly', one risks
>
> tarring oneself with the same brush by identifying oneself with her agenda (p. 69).

By focusing on her appearance, it may detract from possible issue-based coverage a

female candidate may receive (Ross, 2002; Trimble, 2007).

In comparing the two cases, it is interesting to note the lack of appearance-based

coverage for Clark. One can only speculate, given the limitations of this study, but

perhaps Clark's attire was not deemed as newsworthy as other aspects of her campaign.

For example, there was much coverage that focused on Clark's return to politics after

announcing in 2004 that she was retiring. Furthermore, Clark's combative political style, which seemed to violate sex stereotypes, was also covered frequently. It could also have been that Clark's attire was deemed appropriate, and therefore was not a subject of discussion.

Summary

These case studies have demonstrated that both women were subjected to different forms of personalized coverage. Personalized coverage was divided into four overall categories: personality traits, familiarity, private life, and aesthetics. When looking at personality traits, this section endeavored to demonstrate how the individuals were gendered through news coverage. Both women were described similarly as competent politicians. However, Redford was described as being nurturing, in a way that complied with sex stereotypes that women are often associated with. By contrast, it seems that the media focused on how Clark's political style violated sex stereotypes, accentuating her combativeness (for example, being called a pitbull).

The second category looked at familiarity through the use of the female politician's first name. In both cases, the sample demonstrated that there were instances where Clark and Redford were addressed solely on a first name basis. This may have helped humanize Redford by creating a sense of intimacy between her and the electorate, however this was not the case with Clark. The use of Clark's first name was meant to demean her, which to some extent may have also demonized her. Yet, I argue the major implication of this type of coverage, in both cases, is that the use of their first names disregards and 'strips' them of their authority.

The third category, *private life,* analyzed personalized coverage that mentioned the candidates' family and upbringing. This section demonstrated that coverage that included a female candidate's family might implicitly highlight that there is tension between a candidate's familial and political duties – a push and pull between the private and public sphere. Coverage that included details of a female candidate's upbringing may highlight the notion that women's entrance into politics is unconventional; as gendered coverage this further emphasizes women's unusual position in the political public sphere.

The final category was *aesthetics*, which examined coverage where age and appearance were mentioned. Mention of age may lead to the perception that Redford and Clark were too young and inexperienced (despite having political experience) to be in politics, perhaps because they also had young children. Looking at appearance-based coverage, this was rarely found in the coverage and appeared solely in Redford's case. As mentioned before, Clark's lack of appearance-based coverage may perhaps be due to the fact that other aspects, such as her campaign, may have been deemed more newsworthy than her attire.

From the observations gathered from both cases, it would seem that personalized coverage further emphasizes female politicians' atypical position in the public sphere. I argue it ultimately detracts from issue-based coverage and coverage pertaining solely to the political arena. Thus, they may be judged more on their personal lives than on their experience, expertise, and professional background.

Chapter 6: Textual Analysis – Framing

This chapter will deal with the second iteration of the textual analysis, focusing on the following question: what kind of frames are media engaging in when they cover Clark and Redford? Framing is a process of constructing a news item based on selection and what is deemed salient by the journalist (Entman, 1993). Thus, framing focuses on how a news item is presented and which details are emphasized or which are not. This is not to say that journalists deliberately frame certain news stories with intentions to harm or help certain groups. Journalists cannot cover every detail of a news item. However, what is emphasized and what is not included can help discern the lens through which a news story may be viewed and its potential effects.

As is outlined in Chapter Three, the frames discussed in this chapter will draw on Norris (1997), and Kanter (1977). Figure 6.1 shows how each woman was framed. First, in her study of women leaders at the global level, Norris (1997) observed that they are


Clark	Redford
Agents of Change	Agents of Change
Outsiders	Outsiders
Mother	Mother
Pet	Pet
Iron Maiden	Breakthrough
Celebrity	
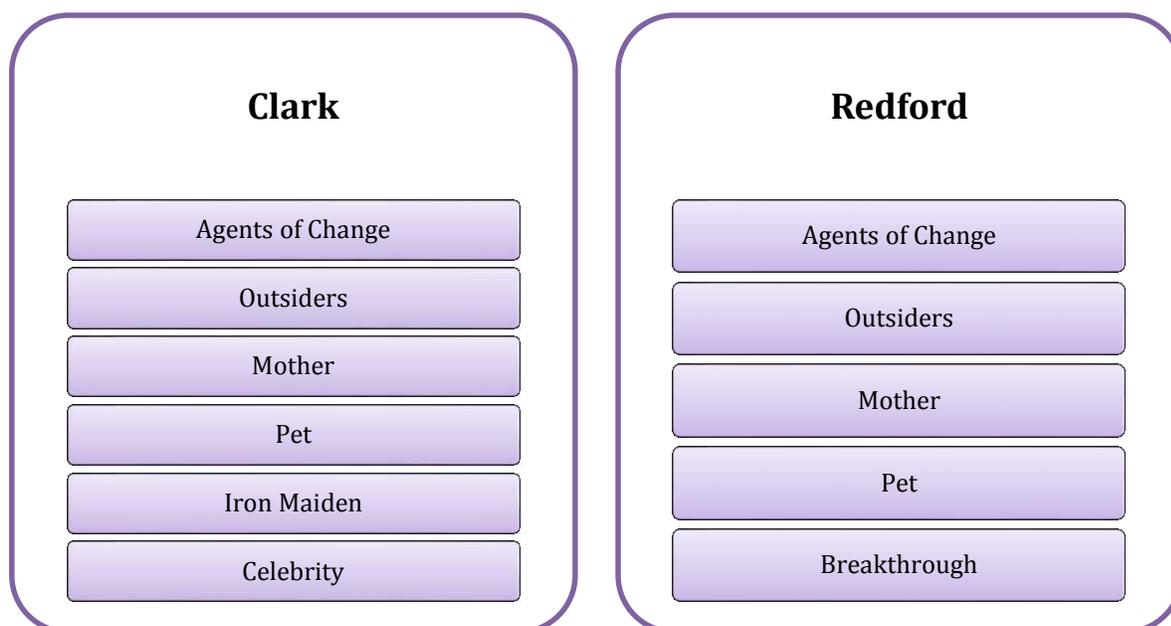
Figure 6.1: How each candidate was framed

often framed in three ways: as "agents of change," "outsiders" and "breakthroughs",

(Norris, 1997). In Clark and Redford's case, both women were framed as 'agents of

change' frame and as 'outsiders'. However, only Redford was framed through the

'breakthrough' frame. Turning now to Kanter's (1977) archetypes, both Redford and

Clark were framed as "mothers" and as "pets". In terms of differences Clark was also

framed as an "iron maiden". Finally, this chapter will also deal with another frame that

became apparent in Clark's coverage – the 'celebrity' frame. The first part of the chapter

begins with frames that were found in both cases, while the second half will focus on

differences. Though these frames are presented as separate entities, it should be noted

they are, at times, interlinked with one another as several frames have overlapping

characteristics. This is particularly evident with Norris' (1997) frames.

Women as agents of change

Norris (1997) observes that women are framed as "agents of change" when they are

seen "as propagators of a much needed change in the political system that is riddled with

corruption and dishonesty" (p. 163). However, she notes that this frame also "reflects

campaigns themes by some of the women" (p.163); this coincides with Goodyear-Grant's

(2013) provision-presentation distinction, which examines how women themselves can

influence the use of the frame. However, Norris (1997) also notes that, "any change in

leadership is likely to attract this angle, but with the entrance of women, this becomes

one of the dominant motifs" (p. 163).

Both Clark and Redford were framed as a much-needed change in the party

leadership, as well as in the political environment. They also both campaigned as change

candidates. However, in Clark's case several news reports doubted the validity of her claims to be the candidate of change; while in Redford's case her status as a change candidate seemed to have been accepted by the media.

Beginning with Clark, in an article in *The Globe and Mail,* a Clark supporter is quoted as saying, "We need change, and Christy is almost from the outside" (Bailey, 2010a). Similarly, in an article in *The Vancouver Sun,* another Clark supporter is quoted as saying, "Christy does represent a new face, a change to the party, a revitalization" (Ward, 2010). A letter to the editor that appeared in *The Vancouver Sun,* also held a similar message: "She's been around the political scene long enough to know that real change can only be made at the premier's level with the cooperation and support of the other candidates…Clark wants change, British Columbians want change" (Brown, 2011). While in these examples her gender is not explicitly linked to the idea of change, there were several examples where it was. For example, in a letter to the editor, reader Norman Ostonal writes, "Saturday will reveal whether the Liberals are eager to take a risk, blaze a new trail under a woman or stick with the familiar and die smiling" (Ostonal, 2011). In another letter to the editor, the author writes, "I don't like the B.C. Libs, but at least they elected a female leader. We need more women in politics ("What's being said", 2011). Though the writer does not identify with the Liberals, the suggestion is that by electing a woman, the Liberals are making changes to the political landscape and that Clark herself is representative of that change. In both these letters Clark's sex/gender is emphasized as a characteristic that may be able to bring about change, although it is never explicit exactly what sort of change her femaleness will bring about.

In comparison, Redford also was also seen as the candidate who would bring a much needed change, not only to the political arena but also to the party; that her gender would play a role in this change appears as a subtle undercurrent in the media coverage. For example, an editorial published in the *Edmonton Journal,* notes that Redford campaigned for months on the "promise of real change" while adding that there was nothing "old-boys" about her, indirectly referencing her gender ("New Alberta reflected in Redford win", 2011). Another example appeared in a column published in the *Calgary Herald*. In response to the male candidates who dropped out of the race and went on to endorse frontrunner Gary Mar, Klassen writes, "I hate to wave the bra, but when it comes down to actually picking teams, could it be that it boils down to anyone but the girl" (Klassen, 2011)? Towards the end of her column, Klassen writes, "What's astonishing is that they [Conservative Party] don't get it themselves. They're not listening. Albertans want change, renewal, better. So far, the Conservatives are showing signs of the old boys, old school of undue influences" (Klassen, 2011). Klassen references Redford's sex and the notion of change side-by-side throughout her column, which seems to imply that Redford, because she is female, may be the only candidate who can offer real change. Again, although these references are made, as with Clark's case it is not apparent how Redford's femaleness would actually change anything substantial in the business of politics.

In light of the above, it is important to take into account that part of the driving force behind the use of the "agent of change" frame was both Clark and Redford themselves. Both Redford's and Clark's campaigns for change are examples of Goodyear-Grant's (2013) provision-presentation distinction, which analyzes not only the

role of media in media representation, but also the role that women play in their own gendered mediation. For example, in an article in *The Province,* Clark is quoted as saying, "'I'm running because I want change […] I think I'm the only candidate who represents that change'" (Olivier, 2011). Furthermore, in an article in *The Globe and Mail* by Ian Bailey, he writes that Clark has "declared herself as the change candidate" (Bailey 2011b). In another article by Bailey, Clark is described as "hammering home a change argument," which was further emphasized by a Clark campaign insider who is quoted as saying that "the race is about change versus more of the same" (Bailey 2011a).

Redford's campaign also focused on a message of change. In an article that appeared in the *Calgary Herald,* she is noted as having campaigned for changes in the health and education system (Wood et al., 2011). She also pledged to implement these changes quickly if she was elected as leader of the Conservative Party (Cryderman, Guttormson, & Markusoff, 2011). In contrast to Clark, there was one instance where Redford directly linked her message of change to being female.

> When we're talking about education or health care, I'm going to look at the world differently than a lot of the people, a lot of my cabinet colleagues. Maybe that's because I'm a woman. It's probably because I'm 46 and I have young kids. (Cryderman, 2011c)

Arguably, Redford attempted to use that link between her gender and her message of change strategically, in order perhaps to use the stereotypical associations women have has being nurturers and caregivers to her advantage.

The media coverage that focused on 'change' took markedly different tones for each candidate. Starting with Clark, there were several articles that cast doubt on her

ability to actually make change. For example, an article by Ian Bailey from *The Globe and Mail,* questions whether Clark could produce the change she was campaigning for without an election:

> She has declared herself the "change" candidate, so where - without an election - does she find new faces to put on the front benches? And if she can't, here's a question you may hear at the first cabinet-shuffle news conference. "Premier Clark. You ran as the change candidate, but the members of this new cabinet are all members of the old cabinet. What kind of change is that?" Ouch. (Bailey, 2011b)

> Furthermore columnist Michael Smyth comments that her "'Campaign for Change' was born - out of political necessity" (Smyth, 2011a), particularly because of the lack of support she received from her caucus. The intonation of Smyth's column seemed to suggest that Clark's focus on "change" was simply a campaign tactic more than anything else.

Redford's own campaign for change seemed to have produced a different type of coverage. Instead of casting doubt on Redford's message of change, the news coverage seemed to reinforce it. For example, the headline in an article in the *Calgary Herald,* reads "Redford vows fast change; Alberta's next premier will boost health, education" (Cryderman, 2011b). In other instances Redford's platform of change was reiterated after she was declared the winner ("New Alberta reflected in Redford win", 2011; Premier Redford; Alberta's first woman leader promises change and stability", 2011; Wood et al., 2011). For example, in an editorial that appeared in the *Edmonton Journal,* Redford is described as having "won the hearts and minds of teachers with a pledge to restore $107 million in funding, and health-care workers with a promise to investigate their concerns

about deteriorating outcomes and intolerable wait-times" ("New Alberta reflected in Redford win", 2011).

As mentioned, while the use of this frame was not always tied directly to the fact that each candidate is female, there were many instances where this was implied, or directly linked to gender. Given this connection, the use of the frame can lead to several negative effects. First, and most importantly, it leads political women to be seen as candidates who are able to resolve the problems left behind by her male predecessors. This is an unrealistic view that likely sets up impossible expectations (Heldman et al., 2005). Additionally, women in politics, especially first women, are often seen as being candidates representing *all* women, who will have to prove the worth of the entire sex/gender (Dahlerup, 1988). A good example of this is Komarnicki's (2011) column where Redford's rise to premier was reported as a means to encourage women to participate politically. Although the election of political women into higher political positions has and will continue to change the nature of politics, the issue with the use of this frame is that it demands quick, substantial, and unrealistic change. In other words, it may lead political women to be perceived as miracle workers whose election will lead to swift prosperity (Heldman et al., 2005). Furthermore, as Karen Ross (2010) argues, "emphasis on change (challenging the barren desert of politics as usual), sets women up to fail as they prove unable to achieve the unrealistically high expectations the media have of them" (p. 101).

Women leaders as Outsiders

According to Norris (1997) one of the most common ways to frame women leaders

is as outsiders. She argues that this frame is found in news stories, which place "stress on the lack of the conventional qualifications and prior political experience of many of these women leaders. The broader experiences they do bring to office are commonly undervalued" (p, 162). Furthermore, Norris observes that this frame coincides with Jeane Kirkpatrick's (1995) observations:

> [Kirkpatrick] suggested that women experience a process of dequalification when acting in what is perceived as a man's world of diplomacy and international security. This process consists of undermining or underestimating a woman leader's capabilities and experiences, and seeing the appropriate qualification for the job in terms of the (masculine) characteristics of the past officeholders" (p.162)

In other words, this frame is used when "women are seen as candidates completely different from their colleagues" (Norris 1997, p. 162), while simultaneously undermining women leaders because they are seen as lacking experience and the necessary capabilities to be running for a high political position.

Both Clark and Redford were framed as outsiders, however as it will be discussed further, not always in the way that Norris (1997) describes. In Clark's case, the use of this frame was more explicit, but less explicitly gendered, while in Redford's case the use of the frame was implicit, but more obviously gendered. With Clark, throughout the coverage there were contentions about her outsider status; while some reports framed Clark as an outsider, others raised doubts as to whether she really was. Furthermore, it is interesting to note the role Clark played with the use of this frame as she, herself, campaigned in an outright manner as an outsider. In Redford's case, the outsiders frame was only found when coverage mentioned her lack of support from her caucus. These

variations demonstrate the complexity of the frame.

First, for Clark, there were many instances where news coverage framed her as an outsider, primarily because she had been politically inactive for several years (Austin, 2010; Bailey, 2010a, 2010b; Palmer, 2010a; Smyth, 2010a; Ward, 2010). This was mobilized in two ways. First, and most obviously, the coverage would often mention Clark's absence from politics. Ian Bailey from *The Globe and Mail,* described Clark as having been away from politics for five years and as "the first outsider in the leadership contest" (Bailey, 2010a). Secondly, the media coverage also described Clark as the candidate that was outside or distant from the cabinet and the government. For example, in an article, Doug Ward from *The Vancouver Sun,* describes her as an outsider and as "the first candidate who is not from Campbell's last cabinet" (Ward, 2010). However, at the same time, media coverage also cast doubt on Clark's outsider status. For example, a columnist for *The Globe and Mail,* Gary Mason, writes, "What has been odd, is how Ms. Clark has tried to fashion herself in this race as an outsider, despite her deep connections to the party and government" (Mason, 2011). Columnist Rod Mickleburgh, also from *The Globe and Mail*, questioned Clark's status as an outsider. He described Clark as a "self-proclaimed outsider" but found it "a bit odd to have Liberal MLAs and cabinet ministers, who, after all, did face the people and were democratically elected as recently as 2009, dismissed as insiders by Ms. Clark" (Mickleburgh, 2011). As these two examples also illustrate, and as was the case with the previous 'change' frame, Clark contributed to this type of coverage by labeling herself as an outsider due to her five-year absence from politics, and outrightly campaigning as a candidate with a fresh perspective. For example in an article written by Ian Bailey for *The Globe and Mail*, Clark is described as labeling

"herself an outsider to Victoria 'cocoon'"(Bailey, 2010b). In an article by Ian Austin from *The Vancouver Sun,* she is quoted as saying, "'I've stepped out of Victoria, and I got a fresh perspective'" (Austin, 2010).

What is interesting to note in the coverage is that there was a shift in how Clark's position as an 'outsider' is reported. At the beginning of her campaign, Clark is clearly framed as an outsider and much of the focus is on her five-year absence from politics. However, as the leadership contest was drawing to a close, news coverage focused more on whether Clark was truly an outsider or not. On the one hand, labeling herself as an outsider may have proved to be advantageous in the beginning because it separated her from the other candidates and from the troubles that plagued the government at that time. It also helped substantiate her claims of having a fresh perspective because she had been politically inactive for several years, which may have allowed her to be seen as "untainted" by the policies enacted by the previous government (Bailey, 2010a). On the other hand, as the campaign went on Clark's outsider status also had potentially negative consequences. Several journalists and columnists noted that upon labeling herself as an outsider, Clark's biggest challenge would be to unite and gain the support of her caucus (Austin, 2011b; Mason, 2011) after deliberately distancing herself from them. For example, columnist Gary Mason from *The Globe and Mail* writes,

> Being branded "insiders" certainly did little to help Ms. Clark endear herself to
> already-offended Liberal caucus members, many of whom she once fought
> alongside in the government trenches. Some of her former colleagues were even
> more galled by Ms. Clark's contention that hers was not a campaign of insiders yet
> she had the biggest Liberal insider of them all - strategist Patrick Kinsella - working

for her (Mason, 2011).

Turning now to Redford, when she placed her bid for the leadership position she had the support of one MLA and faced several veteran cabinet members, particularly frontrunners Gary Mar and Doug Horner. When Redford won, her victory was described as a miracle by Bill Smith, president of the Progressive Conservative party, who added that "'nobody would have picked her'" (Wingrove, 2011a). In the same article, the journalist even references Clark's position as an outsider in her race and compares it to Redford's own position, "She [Redford] ran against her party's record; in turn, few colleagues supported her. Like B.C. Premier Christy Clark, she had the backing of just one MLA" (Wingrove, 2011a).

While in Clark's case gender was not explicitly tied to her outsider status, in Redford's case, it was. For example, in an article in the *Edmonton Journal,* Gerein observes that after the first vote all of the male candidates who lost threw their support behind frontrunner Gary Mar, which was evidence "that there really is an old-boys' club," that "allowed (Redford) to distinguish herself from the field" (Gerein, 2011b). Walton's article in *The Globe and Mail* is also a good example of this, where she describes Redford as "a first-term Progressive Conservative MLA with scant support from the party's old-boys network" (Walton, 2011). So while Redford's outsider status was similar to Clark's in that in the beginning she lacked support from other party members, it differed in that her outsider status was tied to her femaleness, evident when the media coverage referenced the old boys club that she clearly was not part of. [8]

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[8] This was evident not only in Walton and Gerein's articles, but also in others where 'the old-boys-club' is mentioned ("New Alberta reflected in Redford win", 2011; Pruden & Gerein, 2011).

What is interesting to note in both cases is that Clark and Redford were not framed as outsiders for lacking political savvy and ability, as Norris (1997) describes this frame. As it was seen in Chapter Five, there is media coverage that described both women as intelligent and competent politicians. However, I would argue that the "outsider" frame - as Norris described it – is in play when the broader context of personalized coverage is considered. In particular, the frame is evident when news coverage addressed both women on a first name basis. As Lakoff (1973) argues, addressing women solely by their first name adds the perception that she is inferior from her (male) colleagues. Consequentially, this may contribute to Clark and Redford being cast as outsiders, undermining any chance at being seen as serious contenders for their respective leadership races. Discussions of their upbringing and reliance on male figures (in Clark's case her father, in Redford's her campaign manager) may also be seen as a contributing to their 'outsider' status. As well, focusing on their roles as mothers, and the tension between the private and public spheres also contributes to this frame.

As well, Norris (1997) argued that women are usually framed as outsiders *by the media*, but do not usually brand themselves as outsiders. It could be argued that when Clark labeled herself as an outsider, it could have been perceived as unconventional, as women do not usually brand themselves in this way. Finally, in Redford's case, the outsiders frame was gendered when coverage included references to 'the-old-boys-club', which implied that Redford was different from the other candidates, in part because of her sex, rather than for lacking experience.

Mother frame

In this thesis, the analysis reveals that both Clark and Redford were framed as mothers (Kanter, 1977). There is an overlap between this section and 'family as a form of personalized coverage' discussed in Chapter Five, however this section primarily focuses on Clark and Redford's roles as parents. Beginning with Clark, she was portrayed as a responsible mother whose first priority was her family and then her career. This is particularly evident in coverage that mentioned Clark's departure from politics in 2004. As mentioned in Chapter Five, Clark said she left politics primarily to care for her son who was a toddler at the time (Bailey 2010b; Palmer, 2011a; Palmer, 2010a). For example Vaughn Palmer, a columnist from *The Vancouver Sun,* includes part of an interview with Clark at the time of her resignation. She is quoted as saying, "The premier is going to be able to find another politician," but that her son "Hamish is not going to be able to find another mom" (Palmer, 2010a). Furthermore, in the same interview Clark says, "Other than being a mother, it has been the greatest privilege of my life to serve here [in parliament]" (2010a).

Another example that framed Clark as a responsible mother is found towards the end of the leadership campaign. In an article written for *The Vancouver Sun*, Clark's commitment to politics is questioned. The example is presented in Chapter Five, but it's also relevant here. Both George Abbott and Kevin Falcon question Clark's commitment to politics, asking if she would run for a seat in the Legislature even if she lost the leadership race. Clark responds to that by saying that she will do what "works financially for her family" (Ward, 2011). This particular instance further demonstrates that Clark is a responsible mother who places her family before her political career.

However, again, as discussed in Chapter Five, this instance also demonstrates the tension political women face when they are mothers. This type of coverage reinforces the idea that both motherhood as well as politics are full-time commitments, and because women have traditionally been seen as the primary caretakers of their children they may not be able to fully commit to politics, or would place familial responsibilities before political responsibilities. This is further emphasized when Clark is also described as a being a single mother in this leadership race. As with the above examples, on one hand her single-parent status is mentioned in context with being able to balance both duties. For example, in an editorial published in *The Province,* Clark is described in the following way: "A highly educated single mom, she knows what it's like to balance a career and child-minding responsibilities" ("Christy Clark adds to political drama", 2010). Justine Hunter from *The Globe and Mail* describes Clark as a single mother who even during her busy campaign schedule still finds the time to watch her son play hockey (Hunter, 2011b). Her single mother status is also mentioned in one of Vaughn Palmer's columns towards the end of the campaign. Writing about Clark's departure from politics in 2004 Palmer makes a quick and subtle reference to Clark's present status as a single mother when he mentions her "*then* husband Mark Marissen" (emphasis my own, Palmer, 2011a). However, while there seems to be an emphasis on how Clark is able to balance both her maternal and political responsibilities, I argue that by even mentioning her status as a single mother in this campaign, it may lead voters to question whether Clark can balance two demanding positions. Is being a mother, especially a single mother, too demanding for someone in politics? Overall, I argue that including descriptions of Clark as a single mother may raise these concerns. However, as with both

the "outsider" and "agents of change" frames, Clark's own mentions of her son may have facilitated the use of this frame. In several of the examples discussed above, Clark herself brings up her son, particularly when she cites that he was the primary reason she retired from politics in 2004. This is a prime example of Goodyear-Grant's (2013) provision-presentation distinction that will be discussed in greater detail at the end of this section.

Alison Redford was also framed as a mother but in a slightly different manner. First, she was described as a young mother or a mother with a young family, and her daughter was frequently mentioned (Braid, 2011d; Cryderman, 2011c, 2011b; Kleiss, 2011;Wingrove, 2011a; Wood et al., 2011). This form of the mother frame may imply that Redford may have trouble balancing her political and maternal duties because she has a young daughter who still needs to be cared for. However, she was also framed as a working mother who was able to balance her career and maternal responsibilities. Redford's family often made public appearances with her, which, as mentioned in Chapter Five, served as an indicator of how she successfully balanced her familial responsibilities with her political responsibilities (Cryderman, 2011b; Thomson, 2011d; Wingrove, 2011a). The coverage seems to paint her as a responsible mother who, despite how difficult and time-consuming it is to run a campaign, took the time to be with her family. For example, in one article in the *Calgary Herald* she is described as having spent a Friday night watching movies with her daughter (Wood et al., 2011).

It is also important to note that like Clark, Redford may have also influenced the use of this frame by allowing her daughter to appear publicly with her. There was also an instance where it is explicitly stated that Redford may have a different perspective because of her gender. In an article by Cryderman (2011c) Redford "acknowledges she

may have a different perspective than most politicians, in part because of her role as mother," particularly that being a mother may lead her to see issues such as health care or education differently than her colleagues. As with Clark, this is an example of Goodyear-Grant's (2013) provision-presentation distinction. Though media coverage had already framed both women as mothers, it was further reinforced when Clark and Redford mentioned or appeared in public with their families.

Though it may seem natural to frame female politicians who have children as mothers, this frame can have detrimental effects. As Carlin and Winfrey (2009) argue, the mother frame may be seen as a positive frame because it humanizes the candidate, and it allows the media and the audience to see a female politician as caring, nurturing, and honest (Kanter, 1977). However, the mother frame can also lead to questions as to whether they can successfully balance their maternal responsibilities and their political responsibilities (and ultimately their private and public personas). While Redford was described as being able to balance her career and the demands of a young family, this type of coverage can also lead to questions as to whether she could continue to achieve that balance. This tension was also stressed when reports indicated that Clark "left politics in 2004 to focus on raising her young son" (Bailey, 2010b), and is further exasperated when the media references her current status as a single mother.

Furthermore, this frame seems to reinforce the notion that women are the primary caretakers of their children and, therefore, belong in the private sphere (McLaughlin, 1998; Welter, 1966). Arguably, it is implied through media coverage that if Clark withdrew from politics once because of her maternal obligations, then she may do so again. Furthermore it suggests that both motherhood and politics are full-time

commitments, and that both roles cannot be fulfilled simultaneously, thus, as Trimble et al (2013) argue, reinforcing the idea that women to do not belong in the public sphere and should therefore return to the private sphere. Ultimately, the "mother" frame leads female politicians to be identified as mothers or wives first and politicians second (Goodyear-Grant, 2013).

Pet frame

In her study of corporate environments, Kanter (1977) describes the 'pet' archetype as in use when a woman is "expected to admire the male displays but not enter them; she cheered from the sidelines. Shows of competence on her part were treated as special and complimented just because they were unexpected" (Kanter, 1977, p. 393). Following Carlin and Winfrey (2009) and Goodyear-Grant (2013) this archetype is used as a frame when women are seen as "too weak or naïve, or unprepared to handle a difficult task without a man's help" which "results in childlike treatment and diminishes a woman's capacity to fulfill leadership functions" (Carlin & Winfrey 2009, p. 328). This is another frame that appeared in both cases – albeit in slightly different ways. In Clark's case, this frame is in use when Clark's upbringing, in particular the influence of her father, was mentioned. In Redford's case this frame was often used when Stephen Carter, Redford's campaign strategist, was referenced. The media often treated Carter as the reason why Redford was victorious.

Beginning with Clark, the pet frame manifested in columns that detailed Clark's relationship with her father who was involved in politics. It should be noted that the examples discussed in this section overlap with those discussed in Chapter Five. For

example, in a column in the *The Vancouver Sun*, Vaughn Palmer details Clark's

relationship with her father essentially positioning her father as one of the primary

reasons Clark is in politics. This is also reinforced in a column by Gary Mason from *The*

Globe and Mail (Mason, 2011). As discussed in Chapter Five, Clark's father's

involvement in her political development may have helped to reinforce that Clark was, in

fact, a genuine politician. It is implied through the coverage that Clark's father was a

strong political mentor. This may have bolstered Clark's credibility as a politician due to

the fact that a male political figure inculcated her passion for politics. However, while the

use of this frame may have worked to her advantage to some degree, it also devalues

Clark's own experiences as a politician and makes it seem like she could not have

become politician without her father's guidance. It credits her father rather than her for

her political career, and emphasizes the importance of a male political figure as a role

model for female politicians. Arguably, it implies that a woman cannot be a natural

politician unless her interest in politics is fostered by a male political figure.

In contrast, as mentioned above, Stephen Carter, Redford's campaign manager was

often treated as the primary reason that she won the leadership position. Throughout the

sample, Carter is described as a "wizard," a "miracle worker," and a "storyteller"

(Markusoff, Kleiss, Pruden, & Cryderman, 2011; Thomson, 2011c, 2011d), which

implies that Redford could not have been successful without her campaign strategist. It

sets up a relationship in which she was almost completely reliant on him. The pet frame

placed Redford in a position where she was perceived as inexperienced. For example, in

an article written for *The Globe and Mail,* Carter is described as having "helped elevate

Alison Redford, a first-term Progressive Conservative MLA with scant support from the

party's *old boys* network to premier's office" (emphasis my own, Walton, 2011). The same article included the headline "Strategist drives another underdog to victory" (Walton, 2011). Columnist Graham Thomson from the *Edmonton Journal,* described Carter as having "changed the face, quite literally, of Alberta politics by helping elect […] a woman as premier (Thomson, 2011d). In another article Carter is described as helping to "decide Tory leadership" (Markusoff et al., 2011). Carter is credited almost entirely for the campaign. By disregarding Redford's own efforts and merits she is essentially placed in a child-like, dependent position. While perhaps Carter was newsworthy in himself, as he had a very good reputation from previously working on high profile campaigns, such as the campaign to elect Calgary's first Muslim mayor Naheed Nenshi. However, by emphasizing his role, it reduces Redford's and takes away credit she deserves. It sets up a type of power relationship where a female politician's agency is reduced and derails the idea that both the campaign manager and the candidate operate as a team, equal as persons, each contributing according to their expertise to achieve a shared goal.

In both cases, the primary implication of the use of this frame is that it reinforces the idea that female politicians must have a male figure as a political mentor in order to succeed in politics. In Redford's case, her efforts were acknowledged but in the end Carter received much of the credit. In Clark's case, her passion for politics is credited to her father, who was often reported as having fostered Clark's political interests from an early age. As Goodyear-Grant (2013) argued, the pet frame sets up a "dependent and passive role for women, whose political position or power is attributed to some, more powerful, male figure" (p. 64).

Women leaders as Breakthroughs

Norris (1997) observes that the "breakthrough" frame (synonymous with the "first female" frame) is found when "the headlines and lead almost invariably focuses on the 'first women' breakthrough, with a positive slant for the woman who won against the odds" (p. 161). In other words, this frame is in use when women leaders are seen as having broken through the stereotypes that dominate the political environment. This section only focuses on Redford and how the 'breakthrough' frame manifested in her coverage. This frame did not appear in Clark's case study, likely because she would become British Columbia's second female premier.

The "breakthrough" frame was prevalent throughout Redford's case in several different ways. At the beginning of her campaign, this frame was often used to describe Redford as both the first female candidate in the race (Fekete, 2011a, 2011b) and as the first serious female contender for the Conservative leadership position since Nancy Betkowski in 1992 (Sinnema, 2011b). At the end of the leadership contest, Redford was frequently described as Alberta's first female premier (Cryderman, 2011b; Pruden & Gerein, 2011; Komarnicki, 2011; Wingrove, 2011a). Overall, there were three aspects to this frame: First, as several articles noted, Redford's win signaled a historical moment for the province; second, Redford was seen as having won against all odds, dismantling long-standing Albertan stereotypes; and finally, this frame reinforced the notion that Redford's victory signaled a province moving towards a more progressive path. This final implication overlaps with the "agents of change frame", which has been previously discussed. However, it is included in this section because it is also an important part of the "breakthrough" frame.

First, it is perhaps inevitable that the media would frame Redford as a first female because it does accurately describes Redford's status. Her victory as the first female premier in Alberta was a historical moment in the province's history and the "breakthrough" frame was primarily used to signal this historical change. For example, in an article by Jamie Komarnicki from the *Calgary Herald*, Redford's historical win is compared to another historical moment for the province. In 1917, Alberta became the first province in Canada to elect a woman to its provincial legislature. Komarnicki notes that more than 90 years later the province would finally elect its first female premier (Komarnicki, 2011).

Secondly, Norris (1997) observes that one of the indications that a female leader is being framed through the "breakthrough" frame is to characterize her as winning against all odds. This was evident at the end of the leadership contest when Redford was declared the winner. In an article in *The Globe and Mail,* Redford's victory is described as a "miracle on the Prairies" (Wingrove, 2011a). In an editorial that appeared in the *Calgary Herald,* her victory was described as an "upset victory". Furthermore, the editorial goes on to say that the province now has a premier "who is smart, fresh, and female – a historic first" ("Premier Redford", 2011). Kelly Cryderman from the *Calgary Herald* describes Redford's victory as "staggering come-from-behind political victory," adding a few paragraphs down that the final results gave Redford a "victory over odds-on favourite Gary Mar" (Cryderman, 2011d). In this coverage Redford's status as a first female was almost always mentioned.

The coverage also noted that Redford's victory seemed to have dismantled "redneck", "conservative" and "old boys network" stereotypes that have dominated

perceptions of Albertan politics. This is illustrated in an editorial that appeared in the *Edmonton Journal* where the authors write, "Sure we always vote conservative, but more and more we act progressive. Forgive the pun but this is Redford, not redneck province now" ("New Alberta reflected in Redford win", 2011). In a column in the *Calgary Herald*, Don Braid refers to the province as "our beloved redneck Alberta" (Braid, 2011e), but suggests that Redford's victory means that Alberta has defied its "stereotype." Braid continues by suggesting that perhaps it was time that, "the stereotype should be replaced by reality. Alberta is an open, merit-loving society where people pick the leaders they think are best," referring not only to Redford as a young woman, but also to an array of political leaders around the province such as Calgary's first Muslim mayor, Naheed Nenshi. Journalist Jamie Komarnicki from the *Calgary Herald* also noted that Redford defied "long-standing redneck" stereotypes (Komarnicki, 2011).

Redford was also seen as a challenge to, and a subsequent breakthrough of, the 'old-boys-club' of Alberta politics. She was described bluntly by one journalist as having "nothing old-boys-club about her" ("New Alberta reflected in Redford's win", 2011). Other coverage focused on difficulties she might have dealing with 'the old boys club'. For example, in an article that appeared in *Edmonton Journal,* the journalists interviewed several members of the health sector about Redford's win, including senior's advocate Noel Somerville who lauded Redford for her "unequivocal support of public health care, willingness to listen to other perspectives and ability to take a pragmatic approach to solving problems." However, Somerville also remarked that as "Alberta's first female premier [she] could have a tough time taking on the old boys" (Pruden & Gerein, 2011). Finally, as mentioned earlier, in an article in the *Edmonton Journal,* political scientist Jim

Lightbody noted that when Morton, and Griffiths dropped out of the race, they threw

their support behind Mar, leading Lightbody to observe that, "what that means is they are

all the same guy, that there really is an old-boys club", which "allowed (Redford) to

distinguished herself from the field" (Gerein, 2011b).

Finally, the use of this frame suggests that Redford's victory signified that the

province was moving toward a progressive path. This element of the "breakthrough"

frame overlaps with the "agents of change" frame, but it is included in this section

because it shows the significance of a female candidate's sex when they become a 'first

female'. As some media coverage pointed out, with Redford's rise to premiership,

Alberta was now a province with diverse leadership: a Muslim Mayor in Calgary, a

Jewish Mayor in Edmonton, an Indo-Canadian as Leader of the Opposition, and now a

woman as a premier (Braid, 2011e). The headline of an article in *The Globe and Mail*

similarly pointed to Redford as a beacon of a province moving in a new direction:

"Alberta's premier-elect signals a province in transition; Red Tory's surprise victory

makes her the province's first female premier" (Wingrove, 2011a). Throughout this

article, Wingrove describes the changing political landscape in Alberta, noting that

"booming Alberta is a changing Alberta – younger, more urban and less homogenous"

(Wingrove 2011a), intimating that Redford is a signal of this change. An editorial that

appeared in the *Edmonton Journal* similarly describes the political landscape under

Redford leadership: "Albertans woke up not only to a 46-year-old female lawyer as

premier designate, but to the reality that a rapidly transforming province needs and

deserves a leader who personifies its diversity, dynamism and forward momentum"

("New Alberta reflected in Redford win", 2011).

While framing political women as breakthroughs may be advantageous *in the short term* as a means to gain visibility in the media, Falk (2010) argues that "the effects of reinforcing the notion of women as out of place and unnatural in the political sphere may be longer lasting and have important political consequences" (p. 37). Essentially, it results in a paradox. The frame can serve as a boost by emphasizing her differences, unusualness, and competitiveness. However, as a form of gendered coverage it can simultaneously lead female politicians to be seen as anomalies in the political arena. Therefore, this frame can have a negative impact on female politicians because it sets them apart from, and treats them differently than, male politicians.

One of the major repercussions of this frame is that it may lead female politicians to become representatives of change that is heavily focused on differences perceived because of her sex/gender. This in particular may become evident when a first female candidate's victory is described as a win against all odds. Suggesting that women will be able to accomplish substantial change, in part because of their being female, sets up unreasonably high standards and creates a great deal of pressure for political women to fulfill these standards, which ultimately can set them up for failure (Ross, 2010).

Iron Maiden frame

The final archetype that Kanter (1977) identified is the "iron maiden." The iron maiden frame is in use when a female politician "exhibit[s] masculine traits" (Carlin & Winfrey, 2009, p. 328) and is criticized for lacking femininity. This frame is unique to Clark's case and was mobilized when she was characterized as a confident politician with an aggressive style. For example, in an article written for *The Globe and Mail,* Ian Austin

describes Clark as "confrontational" and "combative" (Austin, 2011a). She was also described as a 'pit-bull' (Mason, 2011; Ward, 2010). According to Carlin and Winfrey (2009) women politicians are often described as animals as a way to undermine their political styles. Emphasizing Clark's political style as combative and describing her as an animal is sexist and ultimately reduces Clark's credibility as a politician (Carlin & Winfrey, 2009). Rather than being soft-spoken, graceful, or nurturing, I argue that Clark embodied more 'masculine' traits such as assertiveness and being outspoken, which were then described as aggressive and combative. Clark is seen to be lacking a degree of femininity, which "violates established gender-role norms that prize passivity and gentleness in women" (Goodyear-Grant, 2013, p. 64). Framing women as iron maidens "can result in loss of the advantages women candidates may have. Women who exhibit too many masculine traits are often ridiculed and lose trust because they are going against the type or play into male political stereotypes that voters are rejecting" (Carlin & Winfrey 2009, p. 328).

Celebrity frame

The final frame discussed in this chapter is what I have called the celebrity frame. This frame was uncovered as the material was being analyzed, as it became clear this frame was being used in Clark's case.

In her analysis of Angela Merkel, the Chancellor of Germany, and Tarja Halonen, former President of Finland, van Zoonen (2006) argues that politics is increasingly becoming "celebrity politics" (p. 288), which she describes as the popularization and the personalization of politics, where the focus is on the individual (van Zoonen, 2006, p.

289). van Zoonen begins by defining a celebrity as "being well known because of mass media exposure" and as a person who generates fame (p. 291). Fame is defined as "public estimation," "reputation" or being "renowned" (p. 291). To be a celebrity and to garner fame means one is dependent on public recognition and visibility. However, she argues that the notion of 'celebrity' is problematic for women and that it has "unmistakably gendered qualifications" (p. 290). Historically, celebrity has been the domain of men, as women were confined to the domestic private sphere and thus prevented from garnering fame. Thus, what has evolved is that fame and celebrity are readily associated as desirable qualities for men, while for women fame often violates traditionally feminine characteristics such as silence and passivity. Celebrity is problematic for women because it is "articulated primarily with the codes and conventions of media representation of women," mainly four specific myths where femininity is seen "as enigmatic and threatening, as nurturing and caring, as sexuality, and as a bodily practice" (MacDonald, 1995, in van Zoonen, 2006, p. 291). To expand on van Zoonen's work, since a celebrity is as a public persona, women tend to face conflict and tension between their historical associations with the private (domestic) sphere and the public sphere. As private personas, women were traditionally seen as nurturing, irrational beings confined to the quiet lifestyle of the home. Yet, as public personas, women have the opportunity to speak and participate in public life, which was often traditionally seen as unfeminine. As Sapiro (1983) noted, men have long been seen as being political, whereas women have not.

Throughout Clark's case, she is positioned as a celebrity in two ways. First, media coverage described her leadership bid as adding drama and conflict to the race, which provided entertainment. In *The Province* Clark is described as a "high profile former

deputy premier, who "adds to the political drama" ("Clark adds to political drama",

2010). The editorial also observes that with Clark's bid, politics in B.C. now "produced

enough drama for a whole ratings-grabbing TV series" ("Clark adds to political drama",

2010). In the editorial, Clark is seen as dramatic for having enough "gumption" to enter a

"fascinating" leadership race ("Clark adds to political drama", 2010). Put differently, she

is seen as being imaginative and astute. Media coverage also focused on Clark as a

political figure who courts controversy (Austin, 2010; "Clark's style", 2010). In *The*

Globe and Mail, Clark is described as a politician with a "proclivity for controversy

while in government" - due to past policy decisions - who would likely also cause

controversy during the race (Mason, 2010). Overall, these types of descriptions tend to

emphasize that much of Clark's leadership bid was seen as a form of entertainment, what

Meyer (2002) called "politainment" (in van Zoonen, 2006, p. 289), adding spice to an

otherwise bland leadership contest.

　　Second, media coverage described Clark as having celebrity characteristics such

as possessing flair and charm, and being able to present herself well in front of a camera.

For example, columnist Gary Mason from *The Globe and Mail* described her as being

"telegenic" and having a "megawatt smile (Mason, 2010). Similarly, journalist Doug

Ward from *The Vancouver Sun* described Clark as the "popular radio talk show host from

the CKNW" who still has her "political flair" (Ward, 2010). In light of her previous fame

as a radio talk show host, Ward also adds that Clark possesses a "celebrity quality" that

the leadership convention had been lacking before her bid (Ward, 2010).

　　Clark was also described as having charm. Charm is an essential component of

celebrity, as it serves to attract people (van Zoonen, 2006, p. 289). The Merriam-Webster

Dictionary describes charm in terms of fascination and attraction: first as "a trait that fascinates, allures, or delights"; second, "a physical grace or attraction; and finally "compelling attractiveness" (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, 2015). Arguably, charm is gendered because of its association with sexuality, which may serve men well, but not women. When a man is charming, he is most likely to be seen as charismatic. However, when a woman is charming, the imagery that it harkens is that of a seductress. According to Schwartzenberg (1977) a "charming leadership – a definite style for male politicians based on an understanding of politics as the art of seduction – is no option for women because of the sexual connotations" (in van Zoonen, 2006, p. 292).

Michael Smyth, a columnist for *The Province,* refers to Clark as having "charmed" people (Smyth, 2011b). Rod Mickleburgh from *The Vancouver Sun,* writes, "Yet more. It's all Christy. All the time. Have I fallen victim to her charms? Guilty, my lord." Later, he adds, "even the weather had fallen under her spell" (Mickleburgh, 2010). Mickelburgh's column is a good example of how charm can be considered as gendered, as in this example he sets Clark up as a seductress. Clark is described as an enchantress who would use her charms to win the leadership race, the undertone being that her femininity was a factor that was alluring.

Though framing Clark as a celebrity may have been seen as beneficial to her because it creates visibility in the media, it is not without its consequences. To some extent, when Clark is seen as a celebrity, what is emphasized is her image, which detracts from both time and space that could otherwise be devoted to the politician's platform and policies. In other words, one of the major implications of this frame is that it creates an image of a politician who, as journalist Ian Austin from *The Province,* writes, is more

"style over substance" (Austin, 2011a). In view of the fact that scholars have noted that women have not emerged as equals with men in the political public sphere (Sapiro, 1980; Stacey & Price, 1983; van Zoonen, 2006), the use of this frame can be detrimental because it focuses on more personalized coverage. As was discussed in Chapter Four, personalized coverage places an emphasis on family, personality, appearance, among other factors, rather than on professional and political experience, thus, further emphasizing women's unusual position in the political public sphere.

Summary

This chapter analyzed how both Redford and Clark were framed through gendered frames as discussed by Norris (1997) and Kanter (1977), as well as, a new frame found in the coverage: the celebrity frame.

To begin with Norris' (1997) frames, both Clark and Redford were framed as "agents of change," and as "outsiders," while only Redford was framed as a "breakthrough." As agents of change, both women were framed as figures who would be responsible for much-needed reshaping of both their political parties, as well as the political environment as a whole. In particular, because both of their respective parties had lost much support among the electorate and even among their caucus members. Finally, both women also campaigned as candidates of change, which may have also facilitated the use of this frame. Norris (1997) argues it is inevitable and perhaps natural that in an election or change of leadership, candidates will campaign for change. Yet, for women, this is further accentuated and problematic because of their sex. This was seen more in Redford's case than in Clark's, perhaps because Redford was also framed as a

"breakthrough", which emphasized her undoing of 'redneck' stereotypes, as well as her leadership marking a historical moment for the province, as she became Alberta's first female premier.

Both women were also framed as "outsiders." In Clark's case, her status as an "agent of change" seemed to be further emphasized by her position as an "outsider", and it led to more explicit use of this frame. As an outsider Clark argued that she had a fresh perspective and she could bring about change. In Redford's case, the use of this frame was much more implicit. She was framed as an outsider due to her lack of caucus support. Her outsider's status was further emphasized when she became Alberta's first female premier. News coverage would often imply that Redford was different than the other candidates, that she was not a member of the "old-boys-club",- characterizations that indirectly reference her sex.

In terms of Kanter's (1977) frames, both women were framed as "mothers" and as "pets." Being framed as mothers leads to questions as to whether or not Clark and Redford could balance their maternal duties and their political duties. This demonstrates a tension between the private and public spheres. It may create the perception that neither Redford nor Clark could successfully be both mothers and politicians, as both jobs are seen as full-time occupations. The use of the "pet" frame implies that women cannot be natural politicians without the mentorship of a male political figure. For Redford, media coverage seemed to point to her campaign manager, Stephen Carter, as her political mentor. In Clark's case, it was her father that media seemed to point to as fulfilling this role. In terms of differences, Clark was also framed as an iron maiden because of her 'aggressive' political style. Finally, she was framed as a celebrity, for adding drama to

the race as well as for possessing celebrity qualities such as having flair and charm, which I argue in Clark's case are gendered qualities.

As this chapter has endeavored to demonstrate, the use of these frames turns the focus away from the issues and platforms put forward by both women. Instead, these frames focus on personalization and discussions of private lives. Arguably, in terms of politics, issue-based coverage would be more beneficial to voters, helping them to identify with a candidate and make their decision based on experience rather than through what they know of a candidate's personal life. Furthermore, these frames seem to serve to further the connections women have with the private sphere, casting them as anomalies in the public sphere.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

The aim of this research has been to explore the following key question: How are Canadian female politicians running to become leaders of their provincial parties being represented in the news? In order to answer this question, two overarching research questions were considered: (1) How does sex/gender manifests in the news coverage of female politicians? (2) What kinds of frames do media engage in when covering political women?

Beginning with the quantitative analysis, this component of the study looked at the amount of sex-based coverage, personalized coverage and issue-based coverage both women received. In particular, it looked at differences and similarities found between Clark and Redford. A sample of 72 articles was analyzed for Clark and a sample of 74 was analyzed for Redford's case study. The first category that was analyzed was 'sex indicators', which measured instances where sex/gender (female, woman) was mentioned as well as mentions of 'first female/woman'. This category exhibited the most significant difference between both case studies. In Clark's case, sex indicators accounted for 12 percent (9 articles) of her total sample of 72 articles. While in Redford's case, sex indicators accounted for 32 percent (24 articles) of her total sample of 74 articles. The primary reason for the differences in this category is that Redford became the first female premier of her province, while this was not the case with Clark. Electing a female premier was seen as a historical moment for both Alberta and Redford's party. Her election was seen as breaking provincial stereotypes, while also signaling that the province was moving towards a more progressive path. In Clark's case, mentions of her gender were less prevalent and were used in both negative and positive contexts; there

were instances where Clark's sex/gender was directly mentioned in letters to the editor that criticized her (see Back Chat, 2010a; Guise, 2010) and in other coverage, which implied that Clark's sex would change the political environment.

In terms of personalized coverage, the content analysis revealed that both Redford and Clark received a substantial amount of personalized coverage, which was measured through mentions of personality traits, age, family, upbringing, mentions of first name and appearance. Clark received slightly more personalized coverage than Redford; 58 percent (42 articles) of Clark's sample pertained to personalized coverage, while in Redford's case it amounted to 54 percent (40 articles). In Clark's case, the most common indicators of personalized coverage were discussions of her personality, totaling 23 percent of her total coverage, and mentions of family, which accounted for 12 percent of her total coverage. In contrast, the most common indicators of personalized coverage in Redford's case were mentions of age (21 percent), and mentions of personality traits (17 percent). Despite being almost equal in personalized coverage, it is interesting to note the differences between each case study. For example, appearance-based coverage was rarely found in the coverage and in spite of the motivations that inspired this thesis, Clark did not receive any of this type of coverage. Arguably, this may be in part because there were other aspects of Clark's leadership bid which were deemed more newsworthy than her appearance. For instance her return to politics was a big focus of much of the initial coverage. Overall, although it was not extremely prevalent in this sample, it seems that journalists still continue to put some focus on the appearance of female politicians, as was seen in the Redford case. But perhaps the results of this research also indicate that the appearance of female politicians is no longer a strong focal point for journalists or the

electorate.

One of the primary differences between both case studies is found where mentions of age is concerned. Age accounted for 6 percent of Clark's total coverage while in Redford's case it was a total of 21 percent. The inclusion of age may have been deemed important to journalists covering Redford due to the fact they were also framing her as a "breakthrough" candidate who was dismantled long-standing Albertan stereotypes. In a political field where traditionally older men are elected as officeholders, particularly as premier, Redford as a younger woman was newsworthy and notable. Her age was likely deemed important to include to reflect the fact that she was breaking dominant stereotypes. In contrast, perhaps there was not as much emphasis on Clark's age because, unlike Redford, she was not the first female premier of her province, and therefore there was not as much emphasis on the 'unusualness' of her position. As well, as mentioned previously, perhaps there were other factors that might have been deemed more newsworthy than her age, such as her return to politics after having announced her retirement in 2004, a fact that appeared frequently in Clark's coverage.

The final category that was analyzed was issue-based coverage. This included discussion of platforms, pledges and issues. In Clark's case, issue-based coverage accounted for 36 percent (26 articles) of her total sample; and in Redford's case it totaled 47 percent (35 articles). This was further analyzed by looking at sex associations and issues, where issues were categorized as either 'female' oriented or 'male' oriented (Kahn, 1994a). The study found that Redford was most likely to be associated with 'female' oriented issues, such as health care and education, with 63 percent of her issue-based coverage came from 'female' issues. Female oriented issues in Clark's case only

accounted for 29 percent, and the focus in her case was social policies. In terms of 'male' oriented issues, such as finances and energy, both women received almost an equal amount of coverage (22 percent in Clark's case and 21 percent in Redford's case). In Clark's case, news coverage would most likely focus on her financial platform; while in Redford's case coverage would most likely focus on her energy platform. While Redford was most likely to be associated with female issues than Clark, it is worth noting that both women were still more likely to be associated with female issues than with male issues.

Overall, what is evident through the quantitative analysis is that discussions of personality traits are common in both cases, which correspond to findings in other studies where personality traits were seen to be one of the most common indicators of personalized coverage for female politicians (Goodyear-Grant, 2013; Ross, 2002; Trimble et al., 2013). Finally, it is interesting to note that despite the limitations of this study, the findings indicate that that the candidates were more likely to be subjected to personalized coverage than issue-based coverage, which also corresponds to the literature in this area (Devitt, 2002; Goodyear-Grant, 2013; Trimble et al., 2013). However, this was most evident in Clark's case. Comparing her personalized coverage (58 percent) and her issue-based coverage (36 percent) reveals a 22 percent difference. In Redford's case there is only a 7 percent difference (54 percent for personalized coverage and 47 percent for issue-based coverage).

The qualitative analysis in this research dealt with a textual analysis of a smaller sample of articles, with a focus on personalized coverage and frames. Personalized coverage was divided into four categories: personality traits, familiarity, private life and

finally, aesthetics. Beginning with the first category, news coverage in both cases described Clark and Redford as competent and capable politicians, acknowledging that both of these women possessed the skills to be politicians. However, media coverage also highlighted different aspects of each woman's personality, leading her to be seen either as going against sex stereotypes or complying with them. In Clark's case, media coverage noted her combativeness, whereas in Redford's case, particularly after her mother's death, media coverage noted that Redford displayed a nurturing and caring personality. I argue that Clark's assertive political style was seen as having violated traditional feminine characteristics where women are seen as caring, and passive, thus leading her assertiveness and confidence to be deemed as combative and aggressive by media coverage, and consequentially newsworthy. However, Redford seemed to comply with traditional feminine characteristics when she displayed nurturing and caring characteristics. This perhaps led Redford to be praised rather than criticized, whereas in Clark's case much of the coverage did appear to be critical in tone.

The category of familiarity dealt with instances where both women were addressed on a first name basis. According to Carlin and Winfrey (2009) addressing a female candidate by her first name demonstrates a lack of respect and disregards her titles and credentials as a professional. This appeared in both cases. However, in Clark's case, the use of her first name often served to further demonize her, as it was found to occur when she was facing criticism. By contrast, in Redford's case, the use of her first name seemed to have humanized her by creating a sense of closeness with the reader/voter, used often in conjunction with stories about her mother and family that painted her as a strong, caring individual.

As with the content analysis, both Clark and Redford were frequently subjected to personalized coverage where their families were mentioned and details of their upbringing were discussed. These were categorized under 'private life'. In both cases, coverage of Redford and Clark's families further emphasizes the conflict female politicians face juggling between their private and public life. Focusing on a female candidate's family life can cast doubt as to whether she can successfully fulfill both her parental (private) responsibilities and her political (public) responsibilities. Moreover, this conflict between public and private personas serves to impress the idea that women belong in the private sphere by highlighting their unusualness in the public sphere. In terms of upbringing, by highlighting Clark's relationship with her father as her mentor, as well as focusing on Redford's different places of residence throughout her childhood, the media coverage arguably further emphasized both women as unconventional politicians. Although their upbringing was dealt with differently in the coverage, I argue that in these cases it has the same effect, ultimately marking both women as different, and in Clark's case trivializing her personal efforts and experiences as a politician.

The final category, aesthetics, analyzed coverage that included mentions of age and appearance. In terms of age, as discussed in the content analysis, age appeared in both cases. This was found with more frequency in Redford's case than in Clark's. This again may have been influenced by Redford's status as Alberta's first female premier where she was seen as having broken through long-standing stereotypes. In terms of appearance, Redford was the sole recipient of this kind of coverage. Again, perhaps the fact that appearance was not a focus in the sample studied, gives some indication that this type of coverage is no longer as relevant, interesting, or considered newsworthy to journalists.

The second component of the textual analysis was the framing analysis. The analysis indicated that both Redford and Clark were framed through several gendered frames. In terms of similarities, both Clark and Redford were framed through Norris' (1997) "agents of change" frame, and "outsiders" frame. As "agents of change" both Clark and Redford were seen as the candidates who would "clean up" and change the system (Norris, 1997). There were examples that made explicit and implicit connections between both women's sex with the notion that they could propagate sweeping changes in their respective parties, as well as in the political arena. However, in both cases it was not clear how each woman's femaleness could bring about change.

It should be noted that in both cases, Clark and Redford also campaigned as change candidates, and as such may have facilitated the use of this frame. In Redford's case, news media seemed to be more accepting of her campaign for change, perhaps because of her status as first female premier, whereas in Clark's case news media appeared to be reluctant in accepting her campaign for change.

They were also both framed as "outsiders." This frame in particular did not always manifest itself in the same way that Norris (1997) described. Specifically, in Clark's case, coverage explicitly framed her as an outsider due to being away from politics for several years, something that Clark herself also emphasized. However, the media coverage also questioned Clark's outsider status, pointing to her deep connections to politics, and moreover, whether she could really manage to complete the changes she was campaigning for after casting her caucus as insiders. In Redford's case, her outsider's status was primarily implicit - implied through coverage that mentioned her lack of support from her caucus, and for being 'outside' of 'the-old-boys' club. In both cases,

both women were not framed as outsiders because they were not politically savvy and incompetent. On the contrary, as Chapter Five pointed out, both Clark and Redford were described as capable and competent politicians. However, I argue that the gendered "outsider" frame, as Norris (1997) is in play in the coverage overall, when the personalized coverage of the candidates is taken into account.

Turning now to Kanter's (1977) frames, both were framed as "mothers," by virtue of having their families included throughout the coverage in this sample. The underlying notion behind this frame is the question of whether both women could balance and commit to being mothers and politicians. This was more evident in Clark's case when coverage focused on her departure from politics in 2004, which she said was motivated by a need to devote herself to her small child. Five years later, in this case study, Clark's commitment to politics was questioned as the media focused, in part, on concerns that she might leave politics again due to her familial responsibilities. This was perhaps further emphasized when the media mentioned how she was now a single mother. Implied in this type of coverage are questions about how well Clark would be able to balance her political and familial responsibilities, especially without the aid of a spouse. I argue that, in part, because Redford had a spouse, the conflict between public and private life was raised more implicitly in the media coverage. While there was not any outright questioning of whether her family would come before politics, I argue that even by including her family in the coverage, doubts may be raised as to whether she could balance being a mother and a premier since both are often seen as full-time commitments.

Furthermore, Redford and Clark were a both framed as "pets." In both cases, the pet frame seemed to suggest that political women need a male figure as a political mentor

in order to be able to succeed in politics. Clark's father was credited with inculcating

Clark's aptitude for, and interest in, politics. The coverage seemed to suggest that Clark

might not have been interested in politics had it not been for him. In Redford's case her

campaign strategist, Stephen Carter, was often credited with Redford's victory. The

coverage suggests that it was primarily through his efforts that Redford was able to win

the Conservative Leadership Convention. However, this, of course, belittles Redford's

efforts as a candidate and as a politician. Ultimately, this frame served to characterize

both women as "dependent and passive […] whose political position or power is

attributed to some, more powerful, male figure" (Goodyear-Grant, 2013, p. 64).

Turning now to differences, Redford was framed through Norris' (1997) "women

leaders as breakthroughs" frame, largely because of the fact that she became Alberta's

first female premier. She was also seen as having broken through the "redneck

stereotypes" that Alberta has been known for (Braid, 2011e; Kormanicki, 2011). While

framing political women as firsts may be seen as advantageous, it reinforces the idea that

women are atypical and even alien in the political public sphere (Falk, 2010; Goodyear-

Grant, 2013).

Clark was framed as an "iron maiden" (Kanter, 1977) and as a celebrity. Media

coverage indicates that Clark's political style was often characterized as aggressive and

combative, which goes against traditional female sex stereotypes that women are often

associated with (such as being passive and caring). She was also framed as celebrity,

which I argue in this case was a gendered frame, with several columnists describing

Clark as a kind of 'enchantress' who could charm her voters. The implication of this

frame is a focus on her image rather than on her professional and political expertise. In

both of these instances, the frames reduce Clark's credibility as a serious contender for the leadership convention and as a politician. These frames highlight subjective forms of her personality, and further detract from possible issue-based coverage she may have received.

Overall, it is interesting to note how these women were subjected to many of the same frames as other political women have been (Carlin & Winfrey, 2009; Goodyear-Grant, 2013; Norris, 1997). This may suggest that the gendered mediation thesis continues to hold true because these frames ultimately highlight a female candidate's unusualness against the traditional male norms found in culture and society, which are then reflected in the news. In other words, news media reflect the gendered culture we live in (Goodyear-Grant, 2013). This is further emphasized when the same frames are repeatedly found in different time political environments, as it has been seen in the case studies presented in this thesis.

The similarities found in each case seems to demonstrate that overall a woman's sex/gender is seen as an anomaly in the political public sphere, which leads to her to perceived in one of two ways: (1) as a candidate wholly different from the male norm due to her sex/gender who will thus will guarantee a drastic change in politics (as seen in the "agents of change" frame and the "outsider" frame); and (2) a woman's sex/gender is fundamentally different and therefore she may not be as qualified to hold a high political position (as seen in the "mother" and "pet" frames). In Clark's case sex stereotypes are further emphasized when she is framed as an iron maiden and as a celebrity. These frames highlight how Clark rejected traditional feminine characteristics by being aggressive, while simultaneously also complying with sex stereotypes by being

characterized as feminine through her charm. In Redford's case, while framing her as a "breakthrough" could reinforce the notion that she is a qualified politician, at the same time, her sex/gender is put forward as the fundamental factor that makes her different from the previous officeholders.

Though each frame has its specific implications, as mentioned in the paragraph above, ultimately taken together their main effect is to highlight political women's sex/gender as something different from the male norm. Consequentially, I argue the use of these frames serve to question both Redford and Clark's capabilities as politicians, despite their experiences and expertise. These frames overemphasize differences based on sex/gender and ultimately can lead women to be held to unrealistic standards and change.

The Paradox of Gendered Coverage

As Goodyear-Grant (2013) described, gendered news occurs when women in media coverage are set apart because of their gender. This can have one of two effects: as a positive feature, it can boost a female politician's visibility in the media. However, it can also further emphasize their differences as female candidates and as such cast them as anomalies in the public sphere, leading to questions about their capabilities and expertise, or perhaps setting up unrealistic expectations that could lead to failure. Several examples of this paradox are found in Clark's case. For example, when media focused on Clark's combativeness, on the one hand, Clark may have benefitted from the media's focus on this 'unusual' behavior for a female. But, on the other hand, focusing on this behavior further sets her up as 'different' and 'unusual'. Another good example, at work in both

case studies, is when news media focused on family and their status as mothers. Perhaps they benefitted from the media's interest in their private lives because it enabled them to gain visibility in the media. However, emphasizing their roles as mothers can potentially be detrimental, and lead voters to question their abilities to lead. In Redford's case a paradox is in play particularly when she was framed as a "breakthrough." On one hand, she may have benefited from the media's interest in her 'unusualness' - that she was running to become (and ultimately became) Alberta's first female premier and that her victory would be a signal that Alberta was moving towards a more progressive path. On the other hand, framing her this way also marks her as different and further emphasizes that women are anomalies in the public sphere. This type of framing could also ultimately set her up for failure. In conjunction with the "agents of change frame", Redford could be perceived as the candidate who could mend the entire system in part because her sex; what is implied through these frames is that she has a fundamentally different mentality than that of the male candidates. Lost in this type of framing is the fact that the premier is part of a government and a caucus; she is a person who cannot act alone and make change without support.

In sum, as Goodyear-Grant (2013) argued, all forms of gendered coverage - even if it seems to work to a candidate's through increased attention – ultimately leads women to be seen as anomalies in the public sphere. Moreover, by being seen as fundamentally different because of their sex/gender, female politicians are either expected to bring about unrealistic change or trivialized as incompetent politicians. In both cases, the negative consequences eclipse the positive.

Implications: Gendered Coverage and Women's Underrepresentation

A major implication of gendered coverage is that it can discourage women from running for office, especially for higher positions. Gendered coverage may be one of the factors that perpetuate women's under-representation in political institutions. As Goodyear-Grant (2013) argues, potential women candidates do not run because they do not want to "navigate gendered news media through their careers in addition to all the other challenges of office holding" that they share with male politicians (Goodyear-Grant, 2013, p. 7). Furthermore, gendered news coverage perpetuates what Sapiro (1983) has argued, that political women are not welcomed into the public sphere. As Sapiro writes, women "do not appear in political life as much as men do in part because they are not valued and encouraged in politics as much as men are; they do not 'fit' into politics as comfortably" (p. 3).

It is perhaps inevitable that female candidates will present themselves as gendered (Goodyear-Grant, 2013). Both men and women are taught to be gendered beings throughout their lives. However gendered coverage is problematic because it perpetuates the idea that females and males are assigned rigid gendered roles. In the context of this research this is particularly problematic as it leads political women to face tension between their roles as private personas (mothers, wives) and their public personas, painting them as anomalies in the public sphere. As McLaughlin (1998) argues "traditionally women have been consigned to the intimate sphere of the home and family, while men have been allowed more mobility between spheres of politics, economics, civil society and the intimate sphere" (p. 76).

Overall, this thesis, through both quantitative and qualitative analyses argues that

female premiers face gendered coverage, which confirms what other studies have found in different political areas (Heldman et al., 2005; Gidengil & Everitt, 2003; Goodyear-Grant, 2013; Trimble, 2007; Trimble et al., 2013). Both Clark and Redford's sex/gender was highlighted both through personalized coverage and the use of frames, which repeatedly marked them as different from the traditional male norm. In short, although there were differences between the two cases, their femaleness was marked as unusual and perhaps even alien in the political public sphere.

Recommendations for Coverage and Further Research

As these case studies have shown, both provincial women were subjected to gendered coverage much like their female counterparts at the national level. The question now is how do we reduce gendered coverage? How can journalists contribute? First, personalized coverage that includes details of family, marital status, personality traits and appearance needs to be greatly reduced. A lack of appearance-based coverage was already evident in this thesis, and it is a good step towards reducing gendered coverage. Secondly, female politicians, like their male counterparts, should have the professional career and experience highlighted, instead of their personal lives. Third, political women should not be framed in ways that focus on their sex/gender as an anomaly. Each person is shaped by different experiences, and though gender may play a role in those experiences, it is not a defining factor. However, it should be taken into account that framing is often done unconsciously. As the gendered mediation thesis argues, news media tend to reflect the gendered culture with live. Thus, journalists are embedded in a culture that still sees women as unusual in the public sphere, and therefore their entrance

onto the political stage is considered newsworthy. In light of this, I believe that journalists need to make more efforts to try to break away from traditional norms - both cultural norms and norms embedded within the field of journalism. Similarly, women politicians should try to avoid framing themselves through gendered frames even if there are short-term benefits to doing so. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, a woman's femininity and femaleness – however she chooses to express it - should not be seen as problematic. It should be acknowledged that women often grow up with different experiences than that of men. Thus, a female politician may have different viewpoints and experiences to share that shape her politics, and shape her as a person. These experiences should not be dismissed and problematized. The world of politics needs to be explicitly open to a female politician's experiences and perspectives.

As has been noted earlier, this thesis has its limitations. To begin with, it only looks at two particular cases studies. In order to have a representative sample, more cases need to be analyzed across Canada, and comparatively analyzed with the male candidates of each respective leadership convention or elections. This would be particularly fruitful in expanding on analyses of personalized coverage pertaining to familial life. For instance, although I did not focus on this during the analysis, I did think it was interesting to note that Kevin Falcon, one of the frontrunners for the B.C. Liberal Leadership race, seems to have been congratulated and admired for demonstrating his role as a father in public. Justine Hunter from *The Globe and Mail* wrote: "A new father, Mr. Falcon changed diapers in front of television cameras to demonstrate his hands-on parenting" (Hunter, 2011b). While this description was quite celebratory, implicit in Christy Clark's coverage was questions about her ability to be both a mother and a politician. Political

men are not usually described as 'juggling the demands of a young family' (Wingrove, 2011c). In Redford's case, it would be interesting to analyze why her family life was discussed with more depth than frontrunner Gary Mar's family. From the sample, I noticed that several reports went into detail about how Redford spent time with her daughter during the campaign, but in Mar's case, his family was only mentioned in passing and not discussed in detail.

Furthermore, it would beneficial to also look at a longer time period, and include more newspapers. It would also be beneficial to look at women who have been premiers in the past and compare and contrast them to women who are currently premiers or who were recently premiers.

Significance of Research

As a study situated at the provincial level, this research hoped to shed light on gender representation at a different political level than that of other studies that have primarily focused on gender representation at the federal level. Thus, this research offers a unique window to an area that has yet to be fully explored. Gender representation goes beyond simply detailing the differences between how women and men are covered. By solely focusing on two female candidates I intended to show that women are not a monolithic group, and that even if both women were similar in a variety of ways (race, age, class, region), differences in their coverage were still found. As a journalism studies scholar interested in the relationship between gender and media representation, I have also endeavored to show the complexities found in media representations of political women, especially where implicit gendered coverage is involved. This study intended to

demonstrate that gendered coverage is found as an undercurrent in the news and can often

disguise itself as gender-neutral coverage, as sexism is now rarely found explicitly in the

news media.

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Appendix 1: Newspaper Articles

Sample for Textual Analysis: Case Study #1:Clark

1. Austin, I. (2010, December 9). Clark offers 'fresh perspective': Former deputy premier says she learned lots as a radio talk-show host. *The Province.*

2. Austin, I. (2011a, February 27). Expect a combative Christy Clark: A look at the premier-designate and what we can expect from her style in government. *The Province.*

3. Austin, I. (2011b, February 27). Liberal pledge unity: After win, she immediately tries to get rivals on her side. *The Province.*

4. Back Chat: Poll-leading Christy Clark has officially kicked off her bid to lead the B.C. Liberal Party, positioning herself as an outsider in the race. Many readers haven't forgotten -- or forgiven -- her past in Gordon Campbell's government [Letters to the Editor]. (2010a, December 10). *The Province*.

5. Back Chat: With leadership races under way in B.C's two main political parties, readers have lots to say about candidates who should lead the province. (2010b, December 10). *The Province.*

6. Bailey, I. (2011a, February 22). Candidates making last-minute efforts to win over voters. *The Globe and Mail.*

7. Bailey, I. (2010a, December 8). Clark enters race to replace Campbell: Due to five-year absence from politics, former deputy premier first candidate to be untainted by HST. *The Globe and Mail.*

8. Bailey, I. (2010b, December 9). HST drives wedge between candidates: Clark labels herself an outsider to Victoria 'cocoon,' while rivals attack her proposal for a free vote in legislature on harmonized tax. *The Globe and Mail.*

9. Bailey, I. (2011b, February 26). The five nightmares of new premier: After a quick celebration, Gordon Campbell's successor immediately inherits a host of intractable files. *The Globe and Mail.*

10. Bright, J. (2011, February 22). By any name, we need a day off [Letter to the Editor]. *The Vancouver Sun.*

11. Brown, D. (2011, February 22). British Columbia voters fed up with same old, same old [Letter to the Editor]. *The Vancouver Sun.*

12. Christy Clark adds to political drama. (2010, December 8). *The Province.*

13. Clark's style may get her in trouble. (2010, December 9). *The Province.*

14. Clark to run for top position. (2010, December 7). *The Province.*

15. Cattermole, T. (2010, December 10). Clark bid for premier's job meets with mixed reaction [Letter to the Editor]. *The Province.*

16. Fribance, L. (2011, December 10). Brutal insults [Letter to the Editor]. *The Province.*

17. Fowlie, J. (2010, December 11). Restoring public trust is No. 1 issue; future leader of Liberal party (and NDP) must convince voters a fresh approach will be taken. *The Vancouver Sun.*

18. Gibson, G. (2011, February 23). Liberals' choice will wield true power for two years. *The Vancouver Sun.*

19. Guise, T. (2010, December 10). Radio host [Letter to the Editor]. *The Province.*

20. Hunter, J. (2011a, February 25). Clark sure she's the one to beat as vote with new rules nears. *The Globe and Mail.*

21. Hunter, J. (2011b, February 26). The four who would be B.C.'s next premier: A look at the differences between these cautious campaigners who all toiled for Campbell at

some point. *The Globe and Mail.*

22. Kilby, P. (2011, December 8). Dissidents who forced James out number more than 13 [Letter to the Editor]. *The Vancouver Sun.*

23. Mason, G. (2010, December 11). Christy Clark's leadership echoes that of Bill Vander Zalm. *The Globe and Mail.*

24. Mason, G. (2011, February 26). Leadership front-runner Christy Clark makes B.C. Liberals nervous. *The Globe and Mail.*

25. Mickelburgh, R. (2010, December 10). Here's Christy Clark, a real blast from the past. *The Globe and Mail.*

26. Mickelburgh, R. (2011, February 25). So who is buying the beer, Mr. de Jong? *The Globe and Mail.*

27. Morasch, M. (2010, December 12). Clark is our Palin [Letter to the Editor]. *The Province.*

28. Olivier, C. (2011, February 20). Plenty of barbs, but no knives drawn: No fireworks ahead of vote, despite pointed comments aimed at Clark. *The Province.*

29. Ostonal, N. (2011, February 25). Anti-Clark campaigners might be afraid of a woman [Letter to the Editor]. *The Vancouver Sun.*

30. Palmer, V. (2010a, December 8). Christy Clark finding her way back into the political arena: Expect her to declare intention to run for Liberal Leadership. *The Vancouver Sun.*

31. Palmer, V. (2010b, December 10). Last bad decision by premier should also be rescinded: 'Re-org' of resource, land ministries should go the way of tax cut. *The Vancouver Sun.*

32. Palmer, V. (2011a, February 23). Christy Clark learned to love politics at an early age, watching her dad in action: Six years after she retired as an MLA, Liberal leadership candidate on the cusp of comeback. *The Vancouver Sun.*

33. Palmer, V. (2011b, February 24). Christy Clark's lack of caucus support seen as threat to party unity by McGreer: Former B.C. Liberal leader and Social Credit cabinet minister is support Kevin Falcon. *The Vancouver Sun.*

34. Rebman, J. L. (2010, December 13). The good, the bad and the ugly in BC [Letter to the Editor]. *The Vancouver Sun.*

35. Reid, D. (2011, February 24). Clark's stint in education makes her a dubious prospect [Letter to the Editor]. *The Vancouver Sun.*

36. Shaw, R. (2011a, February 21). Final four square off in race to finish line: Candidates rally for position in televised debate ahead of election by party membership. *The Vancouver Sun.*

37. Shaw, R. (2011b, February 20). Four visions for B.C. as race enters final lap: Hopefuls for next premier may belong to same party, but they have some differences. *The Province.*

38. Singh, P. (2011, February 22). British Columbia voters fed up with same old, same old [Letter to the Editor]. *The Vancouver Sun.*

39. Sinoski, K. (2010, December 9). Voters favour Christy Clark: Poll. *The Vancouver Sun.*

40. Smyth, M. (2011a, February 25). Anyone could win Liberal race but if Clark triumphs she may call snap election to garner mandate. *The Province.*

41. Smyth, M. (2011b, February 27). Clark will need to hold together fractured Liberals.

The Province.

42. Smyth, M. (2010a, December 9). Feeble start weakens outsider's advantage. *The Province.*

43. Smyth, M. (2010b, December 12). Politicos looking for someone they can beat: Both Libs, NDP hoping their opponents choose new bosses who can be trounced at the polls. *The Province.*

44. Smyth, M. (2010c, December 10). Polls swing wildly as Libs, NDP play musical chairs. *The Province.*

45. Smyth, M. (2010d, December 14). Snap election call by new Lib leader dicey. *The Province*

46. Smyth, M. (2011c, February 24). Will Christy garner second-choice votes? *The Province.*

47. Ward, D. (2010, December 9). Clark comes out swinging: After four years on sidelines, she goes after Liberal leadership. *The Vancouver Sun.*

48. Ward, D. (2011a, February 21). Clark takes heat from Liberal rivals: Kevin Falcon grills hopeful over her willingness to stay with the party if she loses. *The Vancouver Sun.*

49. Ward, D. (2011b, February 23). Polls suggest Clark's grit roots threaten party unity: Survey conducted for Falcon supporter conflicts with earlier polling. *The Vancouver Sun.*

50. What's being said. (2011, February 27). *The Province.*

51. Who is Christy Clark? (2011, February 27). *The Province*.

Sample for Textual Analysis: Case Study #2: Redford

1. Braid, D. (2011a, February 17). Cabinet leaks quietly plugged as Tories battle for leadership. *Calgary Herald.*

2. Braid, D. (2011b, February 18). Knives may come out over Ed's 'legacy'. *Calgary Herald.*

3. Braid, D. (2011c, October 2). Mar's dream ride turns to pitched battle. *Calgary Herald.*

4. Braid, D. (2011d, September 29). Gritty Redford determined to make her mother proud. *Calgary Herald.*

5. Braid, D. (2011e, October 3). Once again, Alberta defies its stereotype. *Calgary Herald.*

6. Braid, D. (2011f, February 15). The Tories they are a changin'. *Calgary Herald.*

7. Corbella, L. (2011a, October 3). Flawed system, good outcome with Redford. *Calgary Herald.*

8. Corbella, L. (2011b, February 19). Will a woman be Alberta's next premier? *Calgary Herald.*

9. Cormier, R., & Cummins, J. (2011, October 2). Polls busy in Edmonton area as Tories choose next premier; 'An educated vote always important' says one voter. *Edmonton Journal.*

10. Cryderman, K. (2011a, September 29). Redford's mother a lasting source of encouragement: Candidate at mom's bedside in final moments. *Calgary Herald.*

11. Cryderman, K. (2011b, October 3). Redford vows fast change: Alberta's next premier will boost health and education. *Calgary Herald.*

12. Cryderman, K. (2011c, October 3). Redford took a different political path to premier's

office. *Edmonton Journal*.

13. Cryderman, K. (2011d, October 3). Redford vows fast change: Alberta's next premier will boost health and education. *Calgary Herald.*

14. Cryderman, K., Guttormson, K., & Markusoff, J. (2011, October 2). 'This is getting really interesting': Redford, Mar in tight race as Horner trails by wide margin. *Calgary Herald.*

15. Fekete, J. (2011a, February 16). New blood enters Tory race: MLA, 38, promises fresh solutions. *Calgary Herald.*

16. Fekete, J. (2011b, February 17). Redford bid set to hasten Tory shuffle; Calgary MLA joins race. *Calgary Herald.*

17. Fekete, J. (2011c, February 22). Stelmach readies roadmap to exit; Today's speech from throne set up budget. *Calgary Herald.*

18. Fekete, J. (2011d, February 15). Two more set to join Tory leadership race: Griffiths, Redford to throw in hats. *Calgary Herald.*

19. Gerein, K. (2011a, September 29). Family tragedy casts pall over final days of PC race: Death of Redford's mother changes campaign's dynamics. *Edmonton Journal.*

20. Gerein, K. (2011b, October 3). Mar's undoing may have been old-boys club. *Edmonton Journal.*

21. Guttormson, K. (2011a, October 3). Next premier face tasks of bring Tories together: Redford urged to heed threat from Wildrose. *Calgary Herald.*

22. Guttormson, K. (2011b, September 27). Tory leadership hopefuls trade policy promises. *Calgary Herald.*

23. Guttormson, K., & Wood, J. (2011, September 29). Mar bears brunt of attacks as rivals

take shots in debate: Redford, Horner criticize use of MLA transition allowance. *Calgary Herald.*

24. Klassen, K. (2011, September 26). Failed Tories don't know best. *Calgary Herald.*

25. Kleiss, K. (2011, October 3). School funding is job one for Redford: Premier-designate promises to act quickly. *Edmonton Journal.*

26. Kleiss, K., & Gerein, K. (2011, October 2). Tories split on first vote: Mar, Redford neck and neck as leadership race goes to second choices. *Edmonton Journal.*

27. Komarnicki, J. (2011, October 3). A 'big step forward for Alberta'. *Calgary Herald.*

28. Lincoln, D.W. (2011, February 17). Redford can choose – old or new [Letter to the Editor]. *Calgary Herald.*

29. Leadership race forces cabinet shuffle. (2011, February 17). *Calgary Herald.*

30. Mannistu, P. (2011, October 3). Alison vs Danielle [Letter to the Editor]. *Calgary Herald.*

31. Mar prepares to face Wildrose. (2011, September 30). *The Globe and Mail.*

32. Markusoff J., Kleiss, K., Pruden, J., & Cryderman, K. (2011, October 3). Campaign 'wizard' helps decide Tory leadership: Redford reached out to disconnect. *Calgary Herald.*

33. Premier Redford: Alberta's first woman leader promises change and stability. (2011, October 3). *Calgary Herald.*

34. Pruden, J., & Gerein, K. (2011, October 3). 'I am delighted, very hopeful for the future': Alberta's Tory party enters a new era; but 'old boys' could pose problems. *Edmonton Journal.*

35. New Alberta reflected in Redford win (2011, October 3). *Edmonton Journal.*

36. Simons, P. (2011, October 3). Edmonton commons. *Edmonton Journal.*

37. Sinnema, J. (2011a, February 16). Griffiths joins Tory leadership race: MLA faces Ted Morton, Doug Horner. *Edmonton Journal*

38. Sinnema, J. (2011b, February 17). Redford quits cabinet to seek Tory leadership: Stelmach expected to make adjustment as third minister resigns. *Edmonton Journal.*

39. Sinnema, J. (2011c, February 15). Spring Session expected to be kept short: While searching for new leader, Conservatives want to avoid political pitfalls. *Edmonton Journal.*

40. Swanson, H. (2011, September 27). Alison's the best choice [Letter to the Editor]. *Calgary Herald.*

41. Thomson, G. (2011a, February 16). Calgary emerging as election battleground. *Calgary Herald.*

42. Thomson, G. (2011b, October 2). Redford a challenge for party establishment. *Edmonton Journal.*

43. Thomson, G. (2011c, February 17). Storyteller ready to weave magic: Alison Redford's strategist, Stephen Carter, ran successful campaign by new Calgary mayor Nenshi. *Edmonton Journal.*

44. Thomson, G. (2011d, October 3). Strategist helped Redford build an emotional connection with voters: Stephen Carter put miraculous win together. *Edmonton Journal.*

45. Thomson, G. (2011e, October 1). Tories' vote system more democratic than province's: Preferential ballot can yield surprises, but the math favours Mar. *Edmonton Journal*

46. Tory hopefuls cast their votes. (2011, October 2). *Calgary Herald*.

47. Walton, D. (2011, October 3). Strategist drives another underdog to victory. *The Globe and Mail.*

48. Where they stand: The three PC leadership candidates on six key issues. (2011, October 1). *Calgary Herald.*

49. Wingrove, J. (2011a, October 3). Alberta's premier-elect signals a province in transition: Red Tory's surprise victory makes her the province's first female premier. *The Globe and Mail.*

50. Wingrove, J. (2011b, October 1). Race for Tory premier's job not over yet: Mar taking nothing for granted, with Saturday's leadership vote a chance to see if Redford's late-campaign surge was enough. *The Globe and Mail.*

51. Wingrove, J. (2011c, February 17). Red Tory seeks Stelmach's job: Former justice minister Alison Redford enters PC leadership race. *The Globe and Mail.*

52. Where they stand: The three PC leadership candidates on six key issues. (2011, October 1) *Calgary Herald*.

53. Wood, J., Cryderman, K., & Guttormson, K. (2011, October 3). The long road to political victory. *Calgary Herald.*

Appendix 2: Codebook

NEWSPAPER/SOURCE
1. The Globe and Mail
2. The Vancouver Sun
3. The Province
4. Calgary Herald
5. Edmonton Journal

DATE

TYPE OF UNIT
1. Article
2. Editorial/Op Ed
3. Column
4. Letter

ACTORS
1. Christy Clark
2. Alison Redford

KEY WORDS:
1. Sex (code in Orange)
a) Woman/Female/lady/girl
b) First woman premier/ first female premier/ first female
2. Personalized coverage (code in Purple)
a) Personality (i.e, aggressive, kind, feisty, etc)
b) Family/gender roles (mother, wife, husband, father, etc)
c) Age (young/old)
d) Upbringing
e) Appearance
f) Use of first name only (except in dialogue)
3. Issues/Platform (code in Brown)
a) Platforms, pledges, promises
b) Health care
c) Finance/economy
d) Education
e) Environment