University of Alberta

"Just the Facts, Ma'am":
Newspaper Depictions of Women Council Candidates
During the 2007 Alberta Municipal Election

by

Angelia Caroline Wagner

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Examining Committee

Linda Trimble, Political Science

James Lightbody, Political Science

Harvey Krahn, Sociology

Dedications

To the memory of my mother, R. Doreen Wagner, who shared my excitement when Kim Campbell became Canada's first female prime minister in 1993; to my father, Gary C. Wagner, for his unwavering support throughout my graduate studies; and to friends, family, professors, and fellow students for their constant encouragement.

Angelia Wagner

Abstract

Do women municipal politicians encounter the same level of media bias as their national counterparts? This question guided a study of how three daily and three community newspapers portrayed women and men council candidates during the 2007 Alberta municipal election. Using content and discourse analysis, the study compared how journalists covered female and male candidates' personal traits, campaign platforms, public utterances, and electoral viability as well as how visible both groups of candidates were in newspaper election coverage. Results from the study indicate that while aspiring women councillors do face a subtle sexism, the media environment they encounter while campaigning is generally more gender-neutral and hospitable to them than the one awaiting women competing for elite national office. Thus, scholarly belief that the media act can as a barrier to women's candidacy are largely unfounded at the municipal level.

Acknowledgements

Like thousands of other Canadians, I was glued to my television set on June 13, 1993 as delegates cast a ballot to decide who would replace Brian Mulroney as head of the Progressive Conservative Party of Canada. The vote was significant because Kim Campbell was vying to become the first female leader of the governing party and, by extension, the first female prime minister of Canada.

Within hours of Campbell's victory, my mother, Doreen, and I were gloating over the phone at this important breakthrough for women in national politics. But it would be the last major one she would see: my mother died a decade later, in October 2003, after a long battle with cancer. During one of our final conversations, my mother encouraged me to travel and to get a master's degree, both of which I have now done. I would like to thank her for the indelible contributions she has made to my life.

When I first explored the possibility of returning to university after many years spent working as a journalist, I was encouraged by the enthusiasm that Dr. Linda Trimble showed for academic life in general and for the study of women, politics, and media in particular. I am grateful she agreed to be my thesis adviser, guiding me gently at the start of my program and more intensively as the thesis came together during the summer of 2009. This document was vastly improved by her insight, advice, and feedback.

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My colleagues at the *Edmonton Sun* have been supportive throughout my graduate studies, lending a hand in determining the staffing size of various daily newspapers throughout the province and in acquiring back issues of the *Sun* for my research project.

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Glossary

Broadsheet: a newspaper characterized by long, vertical pages; it appears on the newsstand folded in half.

Codebook: a document that resembles a survey questionnaire, only the questions it poses are not asked of an individual but of a text; also known as a coding instrument.

Coder: a person who applies a codebook to a text.

Community newspaper: a publication printed once or twice a week containing news, opinion pieces, correspondence, photographs, advertisements, and other items.

Content analysis: a systematic, objective, and quantitative research technique that examines message characteristics in written, visual, and audio communication.

Daily newspaper: a publication printed five to seven days a week containing news, opinion pieces, correspondence, photographs, advertisements, and other items.

Discourse analysis: a qualitative methodology that acknowledges that language is a form of social interaction and focuses on its meaning based on the cultural and social contexts in which it is used.

Editor: a type of journalist; a person engaged in the preparing of language, images, sound, or video through correction, condensation, organization, and other modifications in various media.

Factbox: conveys short tidbits of information in textual and/or graphic form and can appear within or adjacent to a story.

Intercoder reliability test: a process whereby the accuracy and reliability of a codebook is examined; it involves two or more individuals, or coders, applying the same codebook to the same text to see if they arrive at the same answers.

Journalist: a person who practises journalism.

Journalism: the gathering and dissemination of information about current events.

Mugshot: a small head-and-shoulder picture of a person named or featured in a news story.

News hole: Amount of space in a newspaper for editorial content.

Newsroom: the physical space in the offices of a news organization where journalists do their work.

Photograph: a large picture that features anyone or anything.

Pull quote: a design element that features the words of a person quoted in a story.

Reporter: a type of journalist; a person who creates news reports for broadcast or publication.

Subhead: a secondary headline that can appear above or below the main headline or within the body of a text.

Tabloid: a newspaper that is compact in size with smaller pages and no fold in the centre; it appears on the newsstand flat.

Sources: Angelia Wagner; Linda Trimble and Shannon Sampert; The New Lexicon Webster's Encyclopedic Dictionary of the English Language; The Concise Oxford Dictionary; and Wikipedia.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

> *Man, has politics ever changed. No longer are the candidates a seemingly endless parade of men in suits, avoiding such topics as their sex lives and settling debates* mano a mano. *Never again will a politician be able to write a memoir, as Tory Dalton Camp did in 1970, called* Gentlemen, Players and Politicians. *In this election, more women than ever are running for office, and two of the three major national parties have placed their faith in women to lead them to power. The new faces are changing the style, the issues and even the language of politics.*
>
> **— Bruce Wallace writing about the 1993 federal election in *Maclean's* on October 4, 1993**

OPENING THOUGHTS

The Canadian news media can influence how voters perceive women politicians. Journalists can trivialize them in the eyes of the public by obsessively reporting on details that have no bearing on their jobs, such as the colour of their lipstick, the style of their coiffure, or the absence of a wedding ring on their finger. Columnists can further undermine women by describing them in ways that implicitly question whether they belong in the political sphere, while the media in general can signal the importance of a woman's candidacy, or the lack of it, by where stories about her campaign are placed in a newspaper or broadcast.

Yet the media can shape public perception of women politicians in even more subtle ways. For newspapers, this influence is exercised through the size and tone of a headline (Clarkson, 1972: 130); the presence of a secondary headline; the use of design features such as a highlighted quote and even which quote is used; the choice, size, and camera angle of photographs (Enteman, 1996: 14; Fahmy, 2004: 95); the content of cutlines; the tone of the headlines accompanying photographs (Colson,

1996: 216); and the layout's level of creativity.

Reporters do not always control these aspects of news production. Professional specialization means many individuals in a media organization have the power to shape coverage of women politicians. At large daily newspapers, publishers, editors-in-chief, managing editors, city editors, copy editors, columnists, design staff, photographers, and proofreaders also have input on the final product that appears on the newsstands each day. Smaller daily newspapers have less newsroom segregation, but they still have publishers, editors, and photographers in addition to reporters. Reporters are most influential at weekly newspapers, where a tiny editorial staff means they not only write the stories but the headlines and cutlines as well (Nerone and Barnhurst, 2003: 448).

Despite the competition of personalities and professional opinions in newsrooms, the media have largely been consistent in using words, images, and layouts to portray women politicians as oddities at the national level. In a 1993 cover story for *Maclean's* magazine, writer Bruce Wallace captured the anxiety of men politicians—and perhaps those of male journalists, too—about the changing focus of politics thanks to the strong presence of women politicians during the federal election that fall as candidates, party leaders, and prime minister (1993: 16). Wallace noted that gender politics had left "bewildered" male politicians crying foul because they no longer knew the proper way to treat their female opponents, if they ever did.

But while some men remain nervous about the growing presence of women in the traditionally masculine domain of national politics, few take note of the many more women who are slowly dismantling the old boy's network at the municipal level. They are joined by academics intrigued by the intersections of women, politics, and media. Just as journalists view

federal elections as the highest expression of political life in a country, many media scholars confine their inquiries about press portrayals of women politicians to the behaviour of a few elite news outlets toward national women politicians. Ignored are the far more numerous women who compete for municipal and provincial office and the smaller news organizations that consider municipal and provincial affairs to be a more important focus of their political reporting than federal affairs.

The main purpose of *"Just the Facts, Ma'am": Newspaper Depictions of Women Council Candidates During the 2007 Alberta Municipal Election* is to remedy this omission by examining how different types of newspapers cover women municipal politicians. Four research questions guided my dissection of local election coverage: Do women municipal politicians encounter the same media bias as do women national politicians? Do all types of newspapers exhibit a bias against women municipal politicians, if at all? Do all newspapers take the same approach to covering civic campaigns, or do variations exist depending on the type of newspaper? And do women journalists influence municipal election coverage overall and for women municipal politicians in particular?

To answer these questions, I have used newspaper coverage of six council campaigns during the 2007 Alberta civic vote as a case study. I examine how newspapers of varying circulation sizes and publishing frequency depicted both women and men council candidates in terms of personal traits, issues, quotations, framing, viability, and visibility. With the exception of visibility, I also analyze each of these topics with sex of reporter as an intervening factor. This thematic approach allows me to compare my results with those of scholars investigating media depictions of women national politicians by elite news outlets.

I present my findings in the chapters to follow. In this introductory chapter, however, I argue that media scholars need to broaden their research agenda to go beyond the national political and journalistic machinations in Ottawa to the day-to-day affairs of local governments and community media organizations across the country. I begin with an explanation of why municipal governments and women municipal politicians should become important topics of media research before proceeding to a discussion of the valuable role of the media in civic life. I then make arguments for why newspapers cannot be lumped together when studying media behaviour. To provide some background on my viewpoint, I offer a brief summary of my educational and professional career as a journalist. I conclude by outlining the structure of the rest of the thesis.

WHY STUDY MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT?

Most investigations of press treatment of political women in Canada focus on the two rarest breeds: women members of Parliament and, more importantly, women leaders or aspiring women leaders of major national parties. On the surface, this approach makes intuitive sense. The Canadian government has the largest public-sector budget in the country, spending billions on everything from trade and defence to health care and education as well as controlling the criminal court system, immigration, border crossings, and other aspects of citizenship. Elected officials chosen by voters to oversee the government's operations on their behalf possess a great deal of power to determine the future of the country and receive a level of pay and prestige that most provincial and municipal politicians do not enjoy.

However, the dual nature of Canadian federalism means the

national government—and, by extension, the governing political party and its MPs—have direct control over only a limited assortment of programs or policy areas in Canada. The constitution delegates other powers to provincial governments, which, in turn, assign responsibilities to municipal institutions at their discretion (Lightbody, 2006: 39). This division of power leaves each level of government with its own set of obligations to fulfil and causes each one to affect citizens differently. Women serving on municipal councils can thus have as profound an impact on the lives of voters as women sitting in Parliament or provincial legislatures, especially those on the backbenches (Kinnear, 1991: 52).

Just how is this so? It all has to do with the immediacy of municipal governance. Local governments are traditionally viewed as nothing more than development authorities tasked with managing property and growing communities (Magnusson, 1983: 6-8). They deal with utilities, roadways, public transit, protective services, planning, and zoning, among other things (Lightbody, 2006: 18). But the seemingly bureaucratic nature of these duties obscures their importance to the average person: decisions made by councillors on supposedly mundane topics like bike paths and winter festivals often affect the quality of everyday life in a community. As a result, R.H. Wagenberg says more Canadians attend council meetings to share their thoughts on a local issue than would ever consider speaking before a travelling parliamentary task force:

> Having their garbage collected and disposed of in an environmentally safe manner on a regular basis is of considerably greater immediate importance to most Canadians than is the question of the purchase of helicopters as part of federal defence policy (Wagenberg, 1995: 412).

In short, local government is the level of government closest to the people

and, thanks to its scale of operations, the one most accessible to the people (FCM, 2004: 3; Andrew, 1992: 114; McKercher and Cumming, 1998: 243-253).

The machinations of municipal governance can also have specific consequences for women as individuals and as a group. Victoria Winckler argues that a local economic development plan that fails to consider sexual divisions in employment will, by default, prioritize the needs of male workers and ignore those of female workers (1988: 123). This approach will result in women being marginalized in the local economy. In contrast, councillors who are mindful of the needs of different groups of women, along with those of other demographic groups, will develop a housing policy that encourages developers to build a range of housing options throughout the community (Andrew, 1992: 110; Saegert, 1988: 25-26; Turner, 1995: 273). A community built for women as much as for men will be more comfortable and beneficial for both.

Finally, municipal government is important to study because it offers women fewer obstacles to getting elected to public office. Women can more easily combine work and family thanks to the proximity of council chambers to their home (Gidengil and Vengroff, 1997: 514), they do not need to raise as much money to launch a campaign for council (Maillé, 1997: 109), and the non-partisanship of local politics means women do not need to secure the nomination of a political party to be a candidate (Vickers, 1978: 46; Brown, 1994: 357). Municipal government is also considered by some women to be a stepping stone to higher political office (Briggs, 2000: 82; Rao, 2005: 334), while for other women it is the only type of elected office they plan to seek (MacManus, 1991: 297; MacManus and Bullock III, 1995: 166).

We should also not underestimate the role that municipal politics plays in women's citizenship. Judy Skene argues "any definition of active political citizenship that does not recognize grassroots community politics as fulfilling the obligations of citizenship will inevitably exclude the actions of most citizens" (2000: 73). If feminist scholars do not investigate all the ways in which women demonstrate their citizenship, we risk marginalizing women even further in public life.

WHY STUDY WOMEN MUNICIPAL POLITICIANS?

If the actions of municipal governments can have such material implications for women, then it is only appropriate for women to be actively involved in the decision-making process. A community becomes stronger through the incorporation of diverse viewpoints at the planning stage, and women have a great deal to offer as councillors as a result of their gender-specific knowledge and experiences:

> Municipalities need the skills, resources, knowledge and collaborative approach women bring to decision making in their communities. Women and men must have equal opportunities and equal access to decision making and services in order for communities to flourish and meet the challenges of the 21st century (FCM, 2006: 54).

Political scientists need to highlight the contributions of women municipal politicians to the well-being of their communities and to the functioning of democracy in Canada.

What little research has been done on women in local politics, both in Canada and abroad, has mainly focused on counting their numbers and drawing their demographic profile. Jill McCalla Vickers was the first to try to locate women in Canadian politics, noting that almost half of the women

she surveyed in 24 municipalities who sought elected office for the first time between 1945 and 1976 did so at the municipal level (45 percent), a pattern that became stronger for each subsequent campaign (1978: 45). Janine Brodie conducted a similar survey of women candidates in 22 municipalities across the country for roughly the same time period (1945-1975), discovering that almost as many women campaigned for municipal office as did for provincial and federal office combined (1985: 17).

More contemporary studies have determined that women are slowly strengthening their numerical representation on local councils. Examining Quebec during a 10-year period, Elisabeth Gidengil and Richard Vengroff found the number of female mayors grew from 2.3 percent in 1985 to 8.7 percent in 1995, while the number of female councillors jumped from 10.7 percent in 1984 to 20.9 percent in 1995 (1997: 524). They also uncovered variations in women's local electoral success between different types of communities: women were most likely to break the gender barrier in small cities (1997: 530).[1] Women have continued to challenge male domination of Quebec municipal politics, comprising 14 percent of the mayors and 26 percent of the councillors in 2009. In Alberta, women currently hold 26 percent of the council seats and 22 percent of the mayoral seats (FCM, 2009).

Women's growing representation on local councils, however, hides a rural deficit in Canada. Louise Carbert notes that far fewer rural women occupy municipal posts across the country than do urban ones (2006: 3). Another scholar observed a similar phenomenon in Great Britain. He also noted differing success rates for rich and working-class women (Bristowe, 1980: 79-82), but questions exist about the role affluence plays in a woman's decision to become a municipal candidate (Hills, 1982: 61). Other aspects

of women councillors' personal and professional demographics have been an occasional topic of interest for scholars over the decades. Research has examined differences between women and men office holders (Merritt, 1977; Weikart et al, 2006), between earlier generations of women officials and more recent cohorts (Ryan et al, 2005), and between women municipal politicians and the average woman (Whip and Fletcher, 1999).

Other scholarship on women in municipal politics is focused on understanding the obstacles to and opportunities for women's candidacy and election. For example, scholars have examined electoral systems (Alozi and Manganaro, 1993; Bullock III and MacManus, 1991; MacManus and Bullock III, 1988), voter bias and attitudes (Brown, 1994; Brown et al, 1993; MacManus, 1981), lifestyle constraints (Hills, 1983), gender roles (Kopinak, 1985; Trimble, 1995b; Wilford et al, 1993), cultural norms (Bochel et al, 2003), sexism (Karnig and Walter, 1976; Lee, 1976), gendered assumptions about leadership (Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993), and masculine norms of municipal government (Broussine and Fox, 2002). My study contributes to this literature by exploring whether women should consider the local media as yet another barrier to municipal office.

The aim of the above mentioned scholars is to understand why local women politicians have yet to achieve the critical mass some feel is necessary for women to begin to have an impact on public policy. The numerical threshold is generally assumed to be 15 to 30 percent (Trimble, 1995a: 281), but not everyone is convinced. Karen Beckwith and Kimberly Cowell-Meyers argue that critical mass theory is problematic and undertheorized: we simply do not yet know how many women need to be elected to a council, legislature, or parliament before women's interests are substantially represented in the political discussions of the day. They

suggest that a larger number of women in the political sphere could prompt a backlash that will produce its own difficulties for women (2007: 553-554). Moira Rayner wonders whether a critical mass of women politicians would even be beneficial for women if most of the women who get elected share the same masculine worldview as their male colleagues (2003: 136). On the other hand, some scholars believe conservative women should be elected to office but as part of an overall group of women representing a broad range of backgrounds and viewpoints (Trimble and Arscott, 2003: 125-127; Whip and Fletcher, 1999: 63).

The small body of literature on women in municipal politics, however, is dwarfed by the larger one on women in national politics, which focuses in particular on those seeking the powerful posts of prime minister or president. Canadian researchers are keen to find answers to questions about why women have not achieved electoral parity with men in the House of Commons (see Arend and Chandler, 1996; Bashevkin, 2009; Tremblay and Trimble, 2003). This academic preoccupation with the federal sphere might simply reflect the national focus of the larger feminist project. Caroline Andrew notes that the women's movement in Canada has traditionally overlooked municipal government as a site for progressive activism in favour of the federal and provincial levels (1995: 104).

Yet feminist activists and academics should not underestimate the role that women municipal politicians—and municipalities—can play in creating a more gender-inclusive society or in preventing the emergence of one. Women councillors are in the best position to make the communities we live in more female friendly, so we need to understand the politics of gender at work in and around local government that could hinder their efforts. My study will identify whether the media help gender the local

political environment for women considering a life of public service.

WHY DOES THE MEDIA MATTER?

The news media are the primary conduit through which voters and politicians share their expectations and aspirations, viewpoints and ideas, and plans and objections with each other on a range of topics. Citizens can follow news reports to learn about the decisions that public figures have made or will make on their behalf, while politicians need the media to build their public profile or to get a sense of the public mood on an issue (Siegel, 1996: 147). For women politicians in particular, the media can be an important tool to help them counteract traditional gender stereotypes by giving voters alternative information with which to judge their candidacies (Brown, 1994: 369).

But journalists are not a disinterested bunch. They do not simply transcribe verbatim the thoughts of politicians and citizens; they sort, order, present, and exclude information according to a hierarchy of news values that include timeliness, prominence, proximity, impact, conflict, novelty, and usefulness (Weldon, 2008: 14; Cook, 1998: 5). The sheer volume of raw material available on a political event or issue requires journalists to constantly filter the news in this way or risk overwhelming their audience (Sampert and Trimble, 2009: 3). Yet the media's gatekeeping practices go beyond just making news production manageable: by excluding stories or taking a specific slant to ones they do include, the media can produce "a narrow ideological consensus on the world around us" (Winter, 2002: 76) or slowly change a consensus that already exists (Martin, 2008: A17).

In essence, the media control the public environment in which politicians and voters communicate with one another. Timothy E. Cook

argues the media influence politicians by highlighting certain issues and alternatives, molding their perceptions of voters' opinions, and shaping the context in which politicians interact with one other (1998: 11). As for voters, the media can limit or even prevent their participation in the public debate by ignoring certain points of view and concentrating instead on only a few favoured ones. Journalists even get in on the public conversation, with press pundits taking clear positions on the political controversies of the day (Taras, 2001: 201-202). If democracy is "nothing more than a contest over who gets to define what is in the best interest of the public," then journalists are clearly major players in the Canadian political system at all levels of government (Dornan and Pyman, 2001: 194).

However, we must not over-estimate the media's power. As Paul Nesbitt-Larking rightly observes, journalists are not "mere mouthpieces of a single dominant ideology. There is diversity, doubt, and even dysfunction in the patterns of journalistic production, and there is space for journalistic creativity and contribution" (2007: 329). Journalists also need politicians in order to do their jobs just as much as politicians need journalists in order to do theirs, resulting in a symbiotic relationship that can be alternately complimentary and adversarial (Orebro, 2002: 28-29). This relationship occurs most frequently at the local level, as municipal officials and smaller news outlets comprise most of the politicians and press in the country. And the presence of such large groups of movers and shakers should not be ignored by scholars (Negrine, 2005: 103).

Moreover, the news media are not a homogenous bunch in either outlook or operation. Although guided by a common set of professional values, the media are actually comprised of a wide variety of news formats, organizations, and journalists who do not always approach news gathering

in the same way. Newspapers, television, radio, magazines, and other news media each have their own strengths and limitations. For example, radio is focused on the spoken interview, giving a woman candidate the best opportunity to speak directly to voters for an extended period of time, but its fleeting presence over the airwaves means voters need to be listening for her to be heard. Although television uses moving visuals that enable the public to see a woman candidate, stories tend to be so short that voters get very little information about her or her platform during an evening newscast. Newspapers provide many more details than television and leave a permanent record that radio and television do not (Dornan, 1996: 68), yet they do not always give women candidates a chance to speak for themselves.

News organizations also vary within each news format. Music radio stations only do a basic amount of news reporting. Talk radio stations, on the other hand, are about nothing but the news and current affairs and provide women candidates with the greatest opportunity to demonstrate their public speaking skills to a wide audience. Newspapers also vary in style and size based on circulation, publishing frequency, and market. For example, a large daily often has a separate city section in which it can run an entire page of election stories each day and has a large pool of reporters from which it can assign an extra person to the civic affairs beat for the duration of a campaign. In contrast, a weekly newspaper often has no more than a few journalists to cover a wide array of subjects—from politics and education to sports and business—and a tiny space to fill each week. Thus, not all newspapers can produce or print the same amount of election copy (Kahn, 1991: 353).

The media are further fragmented by differences between outlets

within the same type and category of news format. For example, one talk radio station might choose to make political reporting a priority while another one might opt to focus on educational issues. The choice could be a deliberate ploy to appeal to a certain segment of the total available audience in the outlet's area or it could reflect the interests of the journalists who work in that outlet's newsroom. The nature of the local media industry adds a further complication. Large cities usually have a crowded press scene, with dailies, weeklies, radio, television, magazines, and community media competing for the same news consumers and advertisers. Meanwhile, small towns often experience a monopoly situation with a lone weekly newspaper. Thus, variations between news mediums, newsrooms, and journalists make the media far more dynamic and responsive than is commonly thought.

Researchers must be attentive to these nuances. Any insight they gain about different types of news organizations and about the news media as a whole can help women candidates devise a communication strategy that maximizes their media access to voters in whatever community they campaign (Flowers et al, 2003: 267; Negrine and Lilleker, 2003: 201).

WHY STUDY NEWSPAPERS?

Newspapers are worth examining because they are the one news medium that can be found in every community of a decent size and, hence, the one format that every woman will need to learn to deal with as either a hopeful candidate or a serving politician. Newspapers are also viewed by citizens as their primary source of information about civic affairs (Tindal and Tindal, 1990: 174-175), which can be attributed to the fact they are the "only medium to provide adequate coverage of local politics" (Mondak, 1995: 525). Newspapers have also maintained their status as key news

providers with consumers and advertisers even after the arrival of radio, television, and the Internet as alternative sources of news (Bird, 2001: 29). Despite the options available to them, curious members of the public continue to look to newspapers to tell them about their community and the world around them:

> Make no mistake: even in an expanding media environment marked by the advent of entirely new concourses of communication, newspapers remain vital to social, political and economic affairs, from the local to the national (Dornan, 2003: 101).

Local newspapers, in particular, perform a public service by "recording public life and promoting local democracy" through their coverage of both the quirky and mundane aspects of governance in their community (O'Neill and O'Connor, 2008: 488). In short, newspapers are a key forum for debate about local issues (Franklin and Parry, 1998: 213).

Television coverage of civic politics is small by comparison—and possibly shrinking. U.S. television reporters who cover city hall told David C. Coulson and his colleagues in 1997 that they believe their station's commitment to "local government news is not only inadequate, but the trend over the last five years is downward" (2001: 89). Networks also tend to place an emphasis on entertainment over news when covering elections. British journalists prefer to interview incumbents instead of challengers during national elections because they want people they know can perform in front of the cameras (Franklin, 1989: 216). Since television is drawn to drama, stations covering municipal politics will probably gravitate toward the horse race-focused mayoral campaign, with council candidates getting little attention. As a result, it would be difficult for a researcher to gather an adequate sample size of stories for a study on media depictions of this

particular group of politicians, assuming an archive could be accessed or broadcasts recorded in anticipation of a research project.

Individual community newspapers are also limited in their ability to produce the high story counts that researchers need for studies on the media. However, the large number of weeklies that publish in a province or territory and the fact that past issues for most of them can be accessed at provincial or legislative archives make community newspapers a viable subject of study. Yet scholars often overlook weeklies because "none of the great issues that engulf journalism seem relevant to the rural press: freedom of speech, bias and objectivity, the confidentiality of sources, ethics in collecting information, the protection of privacy, and the independence of the press" (Voisey, 2004: 210-211). This is not the case. Small-town journalists struggle with the same ethical dilemmas as do their big-city counterparts but do so in a different context.[2] The profitability of weeklies is even forcing community journalists to confront what was previously thought to be the exclusive concern of daily journalists: concentration of media ownership (Bird, 2001: 44; Franklin and Murphy, 1998: 9; Harrison, 1998: 167; McDevitt et al, 2002: 88).[3]

Even though community and daily newspapers deal with many of the same professional issues and their reporting staff often share many of the same professional values, enough differences exist between the two broad types of newspapers that conclusions made about one group cannot automatically be extended to the other. Geography, worldviews, and history influence how a newspaper behaves. Walter C. Soderlund and his associates argue that Canada's huge territorial expanse has resulted in economic and political differences between provinces and communities that are then reflected in local newspapers (2005: 120). Christopher Dornan adds that

"all newspapers adopt a posture toward the world that is reflected in their news coverage: the choice of which stories to pursue and how these are played. As a consequence, different newspapers see the 'facts' in different lights" (2003: 116).

Differences between daily and weekly newspapers developed over time. By the turn of the 20th century, daily newspapers had come to dominate the large urban markets while weekly newspapers had ensconced themselves in smaller communities (Desbarats, 1996: 18). John Cruickshank argues that their larger market area and, consequently, their larger circulation meant daily newspapers soon came to be the venue through which various ethnic groups, social classes, and city neighbourhoods could communicate and learn about each other (1998: 32). Meanwhile, he asserts that weekly newspapers not only "speak with the voices of their communities" but they remain the best source of truly local news for readers and advertisers in small communities (1998: 35).

My study of press portrayals of women council candidates, however, goes beyond the daily/weekly binary to explore whether newspapers of varying circulation size and publishing frequency within each group deviate from one another in their approach to covering local elections and women politicians. Hence, my research makes a unique contribution to the field of women, politics, and media by comparing how elite and non-elite daily and community newspapers treat local female candidates.

WHY THIS RESEARCHER?

Another important reason why I choose to examine newspapers is because it is the news medium I know best. As a print journalist for more than 20 years, I have extensive experience working for community and

daily newspapers and have been directly responsible for the coverage of many women campaigning for municipal, provincial, and federal office. My influence on election coverage was greatest at weeklies, where I was often the only journalist, forcing me to combine the duties of a reporter with those of an editor and photographer to plan the election coverage, write campaign stories, take pictures, and lay out the newspaper. Greater professional specialization in larger newsrooms has limited my role today at dailies to that of a *copy editor*, a person who edits copy, writes headlines, and lays out pages of the newspaper. I provide senior editors with some input on election coverage, but my main duties are to implement their directives, especially in relation to layout.

I began my journalism career while still in high school in St. Albert, Alberta, volunteering for the school newspaper and writing and typesetting at the weekly St. *Albert Booster* newspaper.[4] My real indoctrination to the profession, however, came during my four years at Carleton University in Ottawa, Ontario, where I earned a degree in journalism with a double major in political science in 1994. My bachelor's thesis was a magazine-length article on women candidates and campaign financing during the 1993 federal election. During my studies, I spent some time as a student journalist at the House of Commons, observing the parliamentary press gallery up close.

After graduation, I joined a mom-and-pop weekly newspaper in Beaumont, Alberta, a bedroom community at the southern edge of Edmonton. The *Beaumont La Nouvelle*'s offices consisted of a tiny room at the back of an insurance office in the small town's main shopping complex, a space I shared with the lone advertising saleswoman. For the next four years, I worked at a succession of community newspapers before joining

the 10-person newsroom of the *Prince Albert Daily Herald* in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, first as its health reporter and later as one of its copy editors. I returned to Alberta in 2007 to travel and to pursue a master's degree at the University of Alberta. I currently work part-time at the *Edmonton Sun* as a copy editor, proofreader, and occasional writer. Over the years, I have also done freelance writing and photography for magazines and trade publications.

During my professional life as a newspaper journalist, I have seen first-hand how election coverage takes shape over the course of a campaign. My colleagues and I always struggle to balance the news values of timeliness and novelty with those of fairness and readability each time voters are asked to go to the polls to select their political leaders. I have also witnessed the tension in a newsroom when a municipal candidate bitterly complains to the managing editor about some perceived bias in election coverage and the editor, in turn, reprimands staff and double-checks future editions of the newspaper to make sure that bias is not repeated.

My knowledge of the inner workings of small newsrooms and my observations of national media has led me to question the generalizability of theories about media treatment of women politicians based on studies of elite newspapers and national politics. I suspect that not all types of women politicians encounter the same degree of media bias and that not all types of journalists approach political reporting in the same way. I hypothesize that the media environment in which women politicians campaign depends in large part on the type and range of news outlets in the community and the type of public office they seek. My task in this thesis, then, is to test my twin expectations that women municipal politicians do not encounter the overt sexism in press coverage that elite women politicians do at the

national level and that differences among newspapers will affect the amount and nature of media bias against women politicians.

STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

In the end, my study has found that the municipal media environment for women politicians is even more nuanced that I anticipated. The most important finding of this thesis, however, is that local journalists do not act as undeclared challengers to women campaigning for a seat on a city or town council. Any gender bias found in their election coverage is generally subtle, with the average reporter preferring to focus on the debates raging in the community than on constantly questioning women's suitability for political office through trivializing references to their dress sense or personal lives. The greater challenge for women—and men, for that matter—is to be seen and heard by the reading public over the four weeks of the civic campaign.

I support this conclusion in the following chapters. In this introductory chapter, I have outlined the value of studying women in local government and press portrayals of them. Chapter two delves into extant research on media depictions of women politicians, noting trends in coverage of women's personal traits, policy ideas, public utterances, and political viability as well as discussing current theories on the use of the game frame and the role of a reporter's sex in election coverage.

Chapter three reviews the methodological approach to my research project. I explain how I first categorized, then selected newspapers for my study before going on to outline how I operationalized theories on media depictions of women politicians for the content and discourse analysis, as well as how I collected the data. I present the results of my research in

chapter four and analyze them in chapter five, comparing and contrasting my results to previous studies in this field.

In chapter six, I offer concluding remarks about media depictions of women council candidates before discussing some media strategies women can use to boost their media presence. I also make recommendations for future research that could expand our knowledge about the cornucopia of media environments awaiting women politicians depending on the community they campaign in and the type of office they campaign for.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

INTRODUCTION

Judy LaMarsh first stepped into the national spotlight in late 1960. The 35-year-old criminal lawyer had just earned a seat in the House of Commons, retaining the Niagara Falls riding for the opposition Liberals in a byelection called after the incumbent member of Parliament died of Parkinson's disease. Columnist Gerald Waring requested an interview with LaMarsh soon after she arrived in Ottawa to take up her political duties. Sitting in the noisy parliamentary cafeteria, the journalist asked the rookie MP an unexpected question: "Are you a politician or a woman?"[1] The question shocked LaMarsh. Yet such gendered inquiries soon became routine, especially after she became only the second woman to be appointed a federal cabinet minister when the Liberals assumed power in 1963.

Professional encounters between early women politicians such as LaMarsh and journalists such as Waring raise questions about the role of the media in the push for women's electoral equality. How do the media cover women politicians? In what ways, if any, do the media depict women politicians differently than they do men politicians? Do the media limit or prevent women's entrance to and advancement in politics? Canadian and international scholars in fields such as political science, journalism, communications, women's studies, and cultural studies have spent the last 20 years attempting to tease the answers to these questions from scores of newspapers and television broadcasts.

American researcher Kim Fridkin Kahn was the first to integrate the media into an analysis of the obstacles women politicians face. Her

series of studies in the 1990s on American statewide and senatorial races held a decade earlier provided the benchmark on media treatment against which other scholars continue to compare or contrast their own research results.

The field of women, media, and politics has since grown to include studies that cover a wider range of media depictions of women politicians. These include trivializing references to women's physical appearance, family situation, marital status, and personal traits and under-reporting of their campaigns and issue stances. More subtly, scholars argue the media portray women as political anomalies by describing politics with masculine metaphors such as war and sports, otherwise known as the game frame. The media can also question women's viability as politicians by paying greater attention to their ability to fundraise, organize a campaign, or garner votes. The effect is to create the impression that women do not belong in politics.

GENDERING POLITICS

So why are women viewed as political outsiders? Virginia Sapiro argues the answer lies in the construction of politics as a masculine domain, with men traditionally dominating political systems and leadership positions (1993: 145). Since gender is an important interpretive tool, she argues the masculine norms of politics do not easily enable women to "fit" in. Societal stereotypes about gender also disadvantage women, as they presume women and men to have separate qualities that make politics a more natural sphere for men. Thus, Sapiro insists gender remains central to how women politicians are evaluated throughout their career, since ideas about masculinity and femininity "carry important connotations about

character, capabilities, and behavior that have potentially important political significance" (1993: 145). She says gender only fades in importance as a female figure becomes familiar, suggesting that more women in politics might reduce the salience of gender in the future. In the meantime, women continue to encounter gender stereotyping in various aspects of politics, including media coverage.

STYLE VERSUS SUBSTANCE

The media's fascination with physical appearance—or what Diane J. Heith (2003) terms the "lipstick watch"—is an ongoing source of irritation for women politicians. During her time as a cabinet minister in the 1960s, LaMarsh recalls reporters following her to the hairdressers and cartoonists delighting in her swelling girth (LaMarsh, 1968: 303). Thirty years later British women MPs told researchers Karen Ross and Annabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi of their own frustration with the media's propensity to judge their political competence based on their sartorial style, an evaluation which men politicians escape:

> Several women suggested that on any day of the week, male colleagues were to be found with lank and dirty hair, dandruff on their collars, stained ties, unsure about the precise positioning of their trouser waistbands (over or under their paunch) and their suits looking as if they had doubled as sleeping bags. If a women were [sic] to appear in the House of Commons in a similar state of dishevelment, she would make front-page news that day and questions would be asked about whether she was fit to be a Member of Parliament. (1997: 103)

Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross argue this link between appearance and ability contributes to the media's reinforcement of women politicians as "a special kind of deviant professional, a woman politician," one who is not able to "escape the general objectification of women as subjects for

the male gaze" (1996: 109). Ross adds the greater expectations placed on women politicians in terms of their outward appearance only serves to trivialize or denigrate them as political actors (2003: 8; 2004: 63; see also Ibroscheva and Raicheva-Stover, 2009: 118).

Roseann M. Mandziuk asserts the media use fashion to not only question the competence of women politicians but also to police the boundaries of traditional gender roles some of them transgress. Hillary Clinton has triggered considerable anxiety in American journalists due to her non-traditional approach to marriage and politics (Anderson, 2002; Bystrom et al, 1999; Edwards and Chen, 2000; Gardetto, 1997; Samek, 2008; Templin, 1999; Vavrus, 2002). Mandziuk argues pundits used Clinton's fashion choices during her run for the Democratic presidential nomination in 2008 to question her candidacy, character, and competency by suggesting her pantsuits were too masculine and therefore represented her refusal to behave in an appropriately feminine manner (2008: 314). They also used her pantsuits as ideological markers, suggesting she was either "an obsolete second-wave feminist mouthpiece" or a "lesbian-leaning feminist run amok, a woman so consumed by her anger and hormones that she cannot possible be trusted to lead her country" (Mandziuk, 2008, 313-314). This fashion discourse enabled the American media to preserve the masculine nature of the country's highest office.

In fact, the level of office a woman seeks or holds might influence whether descriptions of her political activities include references to her looks or fashion choices. Heather Devere and Sharyn Graham Davies found the New Zealand press commented in detail on the attire of the two female party leaders during the 1999 national election (2006: 79). Sonia Bathla makes similar observations in India, noting how much space the media

devoted to discussing the personal characteristics, traits, mannerisms, attire, and looks of two female party leaders (2004: 22). Likewise, Joanna Everitt's examination of women provincial politicians in the Maritimes in 1999 and 2000 revealed that only the lone female party leader in her study was subject to comments about appearance or stereotypically female traits (2003: 93). All other women politicians escaped such scrutiny.

But this treatment of women leaders is not uniform and might also depend on the woman in question. Pippa Norris found little evidence of crude objectification when reviewing international coverage of female world leaders (1997: 159). In her study of three Progressive Conservative leadership campaigns in Canada, Linda Trimble uncovered little interest in the looks of Flora MacDonald in 1976 and Kim Campbell in 1993 but far more in those of the more celebrity-like Belinda Stronach in 2004 (2007: 985-986).

If the media use fashion to create the impression that women do not "fit" politics, research indicates the media often point to family responsibilities to suggest politics might not be the right "fit" for women. Key here is the perceived conflict between women's private roles as wives and mothers and their public roles as politicians. As late as the 1960s, Gertrude J. Robinson and Armande Saint-Jean say the Canadian media "normalized" this conflict by viewing women MPs as "primarily involved with their family and children, and only secondarily with their political responsibilities" (1991: 135). The media also portrayed early women politicians as appendages of political husbands whose seats they supposedly inherited, suggesting that "they held power, not in their own right, but in someone else's name" (Robinson and Saint-Jean, 1995: 181). In short, the media robbed them of any political agency.

Images of conflict between family and career can be found in more recent media portrayals of women politicians. Liesbet van Zoonen observes a double standard at work in how Dutch gossip magazines covered the personal lives of politicians between 1977 and 1994: women are shown as living lives of conflict, with their families suffering because of their chosen career, while men are shown as living integrated lives, with their families supporting their careers (1998a: 60; 2005: 91). Devere and Davies assert that women politicians perceived as neglecting their families are criticized as "inadequate mothers" while those who forgo motherhood completely in order to pursue politics are described as lacking a "maternal instinct" (2006: 80-81). The implication is that politics is neither a natural nor appropriate sphere for women.

This perception of conflict between family and career leads to questions about women's suitability for public office. Hanna Herzog says even mentioning women's traditional social roles "casts doubts on their fitness for the position they seek, on their political ability, and on their chances for success in politics. It's usually enough to mention the social roles to invoke the doubts" (1998: 38-39). As a result, Kathie Muir says women tend to shy away from foregrounding their families in campaign communications in order to avoid activating gender biases in voters (1998: 79), which might hurt their chances at the ballot box (Bystrom, 2006: 175). In contrast, men often benefit from emphasizing their social roles as husbands and fathers. Their status as family men creates the impression that under their tough, masculine exteriors are compassionate men who care about the same concerns as ordinary people (Muir, 1998: 83). In other words, men's private responsibilities are viewed as enhancing their ability to carry out their public responsibilities while women's private duties are

seen as hampering their ability to fulfil their political duties.

Like family roles, media depictions of personal traits can also trivialize women politicians. Sean Aday and James Devitt note Elizabeth Dole received significantly more coverage about her personality and less on her campaign platform than did her male competitors during her bid for the U.S. Republication presidential nomination in 1999 (2001: 61; see also Heldman et al, 2005). She also received less coverage about her background, experience, and qualifications. The result was voters were more likely to learn about Dole the person than Dole the candidate.[2]

Other scholars note a changing media landscape in relation to character depictions. In her study of eight women candidates for U.S. president between 1872 and 2004, Erica Falk uncovers several examples of newspapers describing the women in both stereotypically feminine and masculine terms. And the condemnation the media directed at women in the 19th century for displaying masculine traits had all but disappeared by the early 21st century (Falk, 2008: 70-72). Falk speculates American culture might be developing more "androgynous archetypes" that "ultimately could help women appear more competent in the political sphere" (2008: 73). Lonna Rae Atkeson and Timothy B. Krebs witness the same trend in their study of mayoral contests in the U.S. between 2000 and 2003. They note the media applied female and male traits equally to women and men candidates in the mixed-gender races (Atkeson and Krebs, 2008: 247).

While media depictions of some personal traits have improved over time, research suggests the media continue to portray women politicians as far more emotional than men politicians. Falk's examination of 132 years of newspaper coverage reveals a consistent level of emotional descriptions over time. With only one exception, women presidential candidates were

just as likely to be described emotionally in 2004 as they were in 1872. Falk warns this results in women appearing to lack the composure necessary to be political leaders (see also Mukda-anan et al, 2006):

> By using more emotional descriptions in the coverage of women than men, the press may have reinforced and amplified the stereotype that women are emotional and irrational and therefore unfit for leadership while creating a contrasting picture of men as less emotional, more rational, and more leaderlike. (Falk: 2008: 56)

Falk interprets this behaviour as evidence of how deeply ingrained stereotypes can be in society.

References to physical appearance, family background, and personal traits are often indirect methods by which the media activate stereotypes about women politicians. A more direct method is by using what Falk calls a "gender marker" (2008: 86). This is a word or phrase that explicitly states the gender of the person to whom it is being applied. In most instances, gender marking is accomplished simply by describing a politician as a *woman* politician. Other descriptors include gender-specific terms such as "lady," "Mrs.," or "mother" (Falk, 2008: 91-93).

The very questions journalists ask can also draw attention to a woman politician's gender. Recall Waring's query to LaMarsh: "Are you a politician or a woman?" The question demands an answer in which the politician's gender is foregrounded. Falk argues this interview technique—directly solely at women—suggests only women politicians are "hampered" by their gender (2008: 86). These questions can also trivialize women politicians by focusing coverage of their activities around issues such as whether a legislative building has enough women's bathrooms (Carroll and Schreiber, 1997: 139). In the end, Falk asserts gender marking "reveals not

only the fundamental belief that women and men are different, but more important, that they are different in ways that are believed to be relevant to politics and the decisions citizens must make as voters" (2008: 93).

Campaign platforms are another means by which voters assess politicians. Caroline Heldman, Susan J. Carroll, and Stephanie Olson argue issue coverage is especially beneficial to candidates because it presents them as "substantive and serious" (2005: 322). Its absence or near absence, on the other hand, could lead voters to rely on gender stereotypes when deciding how to cast their ballot (Falk, 2008: 119). Thus, how the media covers the policy positions and issue stances of women could influence their electoral success. Some research suggests the media "symbolically annihilate" women by failing to grant them much coverage (Tuchman, 1978), effectively erasing their presence from the world of politics. Analyzing press coverage of women elected to the U.S. Congress in 1992, Susan J. Carroll and Ronnee Schreiber argue women politicians are more harmed by an overall lack of news coverage than by attention to their appearance:

> …the major problem we found with coverage of women in Congress could be better characterized as one of *omission* rather than one of *commission*. The major problem is not so much with the coverage that exists but rather with what does not exist. Half the picture has been reported reasonably well, but the other half is missing (1997: 145; italics in the original).

François-Pierre Gingras notes a similar omission in Canada. He found few women in the political stories, headlines, and photographs that appeared in three Ottawa daily newspapers during a nine-week period in 1991, and that the women who were featured in the photographs tended to be political wives rather than women politicians (1995: 197). For the most part, the average woman politician struggles with invisibility (Baird, 2004:

240; Semetko and Boomgaarden, 2007: 167).

In her series of groundbreaking studies, Kahn discovered a discrepancy in the amount of news coverage that women candidates for different types of public office received in the 1980s. Kahn found women candidates for the U.S. Senate received less overall coverage than men candidates, regardless of whether they were incumbents, challengers, or candidates in open races (1994a: 160; Kahn and Goldenberg, 1991: 191). In contrast, women campaigning for governor received the same amount of coverage as men. Both groups of women candidates received less issue coverage than men candidates (Kahn, 1994b: 169).

This pattern had changed just a decade later. In an update on Kahn's studies, Farida Jalalzai examined newspaper coverage of senatorial and gubernatorial races between 1992 and 2000, discovering women candidates received more news coverage each week of the campaign and an equal amount of issue coverage as did men candidates (2006: 617, 621). Research on the 1996 Illinois state legislative election (Miller, 2001), the 1993 Virginia and 1996 West Virginia gubernatorial races (Rausch et al, 1999), the 1994 races for U.S. Senate and state governor (Smith, 1997), and provincial elections in the Maritimes in 1999 and 2000 (Everitt, 2003) all found no differences in the amount of news or issue coverage given to women and men politicians.

Yet scholars examining press portrayals of women politicians in other types of races continue to note differences in news and issue coverage. Carmen L. Manning-Miller argues the media focused on African-American candidate Carol Moseley-Braun's personal attributes and emotional state at the expense of her campaign platform when she successfully ran for the U.S. Senate in 1992 (1996: 123-124).[3] Dianne G. Bystrom's study of

Iowa newspaper coverage of Dole's presidential bid in 1999 discovered she received significantly less coverage than her two main male rivals (2005: 128). Other research suggests changing political fortunes during a campaign do not boost issue coverage for women politicians. Shirley A. Serini, Angela A. Powers, and Susan Johnson observed no increase in policy news about the leading female candidate in the 1994 Illinois gubernatorial race even when the leading male candidate began to slip in the polls, leading them to conclude the media gave him more credible editorial treatment (1998: 202).

In addition to evaluating the amount of coverage, scholars search for any gendered differences in what types of issues the media discuss in relation to women and men politicians. Issues are often categorized as "female" or "male." The division between the two categories typically correspond to traditional gender stereotypes, with "female" issues including child care, welfare, poverty, health care, education, women and minority rights, abortion, environment, parental leave, pensions, and drug abuse. "Male" issues include foreign policy, international affairs, defence, economics and finance, energy and oil, nuclear arms control, agriculture, and crime (Jalalzai, 2006: 622; Kittilson and Fridkin, 2008: 382).

A subtle pattern of gender stereotyping in issue coverage has emerged over the years. In a cross-national study of the U.S., Canada, and Australia, Miki Caul Kittilson and Kim Fridkin discovered the media in all three countries paid significantly more attention to "male" issues for men candidates and "female" issues for women candidates during national elections in the mid-2000s (2008: 382-383). The separation was not as clear-cut in newspaper coverage of governor and U.S. Senate races in 2000: women were more associated with "female" issues overall while

men received an equal amount of discussion in relation to both "female" and "male" issues (Banwart, Bystrom, and Robertson, 2003: 669). Earlier studies show similar mixed results (Kahn and Goldenberg, 1991; Kahn, 1994a).

However, women politicians appear to be slowly transforming the nature of issue coverage. Atkeson and Krebs's study of municipal campaigns reveals that the mere presence of women candidates can broaden the range of issues discussed by the media for all candidates (2008: 247; Kahn and Goldenberg, 1991: 192) while other scholars note the media only associate women with this larger agenda (Banwart, Bystrom, Robertson, and Miller, 2003: 158-159). Atkeson and Kreb argue this "issue expansion" is beneficial for democracy because it deepens the political discussion and provides citizens with more options when deciding how to cast their vote (2008: 249).

Until women and men politicians are viewed as equally competent on all issues, though, voters might choose to elect them to different levels of government based on gender stereotypes. Jalalzai points out that not all political offices deal with the same issues. For example, municipal leaders do not need to make decisions about nuclear arms control but presidents and prime ministers do. If a particular political office revolves around "male" issues, Jalalzai argues lingering gender stereotypes "may result in men and women being viewed as better suited for different levels of office because of the leadership qualities deemed necessary for each" (2006: 615). As a consequence, voters might consider women more qualified to be mayors and provincial MLAs than premiers and prime ministers and vote accordingly.

FRAMING THE NARRATIVE

Equal issue coverage, however, does not necessarily translate into equal treatment. As Aday and Devitt note in their study of Dole's press coverage, not all issue coverage can be classified as positive and all personal descriptions as negative (2001: 62). How the media *frame* news about women politicians is just as important. Robert M. Entman says framing involves selecting "some aspects of a perceived reality and mak[ing] them more salient" in a text (1993: 52). Journalists frame political events through what they choose to highlight or ignore, a process guided by their own belief systems. The media can thus influence the audience's thoughts about a topic (Iyengar and Simon, 1993: 382) or even what topics to think about (Ross, 2002: 69). But Entman cautions this process is neither automatic nor direct: audience members might use their own frames, based on their own belief systems, to evaluate news coverage. Entman points to culture as the source of commonly invoked frames (1993: 52-53).

Stereotypes are a common framing technique used by journalists. In this context, Phyllis Ghim-Lian Chew defines stereotypes as "a socially constructed mental pigeon-hole into which events and individuals can be sorted" to make them "comprehensible" (2001: 728). Stereotypes can be culturally and racially specific (Alexander-Floyd, 2008; Lee, 2004; Lundell and Ekstrom, 2008; Probyn, 1999).[4] A long-standing, stereotypical frame for women politicians has been that of "first woman." This label is applied to those women who are the first to seek or inhabit a particular political role, such as MP or prime minister. The newsworthiness of such a (potential) breakthrough tends to draw the media's attention (Roncarolo, 2000; Everitt and Camp, 2009). However, this frame can lose its salience when a significant number of women begin to hold a range of political offices,

making new "firsts" appear routine (Fountaine, 2005: 4). Women can also be complicit in triggering stereotypes by drawing attention to how well they conform to certain ones, such as dutiful wife or mother (Major and Coleman, 2008: 325; Pusnik and Bulc, 2001: 404), or how well their female adversaries do not (Jenkins, 2006: 60).

Most research on media framing of women politicians, however, centres around the game frame—the use of predominately masculine metaphors drawn from the worlds of sport and war. This ranges from describing political events using sports terminology to viewing politics itself as a game or battle. Regina G. Lawrence argues elections lend themselves to game-framed news "because they provide clear chronological markers" that correlate to sports and the phrases used to describe sporting events (2000: 97). And like sports, elections eventually result in a win, loss, or draw. Drawing on others' work about the Washington press corps, Lawrence predicts the game frame will be most noticeable in coverage of national politics but less prominent in news on local politics (2000: 98).

While Lawrence acknowledges framing in general can enable the media to make best use of their limited time, space, and resources by identifying the "consequential" issues, she questions the value of the game frame in relation to politics. She is not alone. Other scholars argue the game frame actually prevents substantial news coverage by encouraging the media to focus on the horse-race aspects of a campaign: who is ahead or behind in the polls, who slipped up, who is having a hard/easy time raising money. Linda Trimble and Shannon Sampert assert the game frame "trivializes and de-politicizes electoral democracy by telling stories about the most superficial, episodic and tactical elements of the campaign" (2004: 69). This frame is employed in all aspects of news coverage, from

the wording of headlines (Sampert and Trimble, 2003) to the imagery used in political cartoons (Fountaine, 2002; Fountaine and McGregor, 2002).

So how do women politicians fare in horse-race coverage? Several scholars have observed a clear pattern of the media devoting more energy to discussing the electoral chances or fitness for office of women politicians than of men politicians (Falk, 2008; Heldman et al, 2005; Khan, 1994b; Valenzuela and Correa, 2009) while others have witnessed mixed results depending on which office women politicians seek (Kahn, 1994a; Kahn and Goldenberg, 1991) or their status as incumbents, challengers, or candidates in open races (Jalalzai, 2006). Some researchers have found no difference in the amount of viability assessments between women and men politicians (Banwart, Bystrom, and Robertson, 2003; Kittilson and Fridkin, 2008), including during provincial (Everitt, 2003) and mayoral campaigns (Atkeson and Krebs, 2008).

Yet the amount of horse-race coverage might not be as important, or as harmful, to women's political ambitions as the tone of media assessments about their electoral chances or suitability. Martha E. Kropf and John A. Boiney warn the media play a strong role in the viability of women politicians (2001: 93). This dynamic affected Dole's bid for the Republican nomination in 1999. Heldman, Carroll, and Olson argue that negative viability coverage, combined with the "first woman" frame, undermined Dole's campaign by portraying her as "a novelty and an anomaly rather than a serious contender for the presidency, and likely diminished her ability to stay in the race" (2005: 325). They suggest that horse-race stories about Dole's difficulty in raising money for her campaign and rumours of her dropping out discouraged new donors from stepping forward (2005: 322).

Horse-race coverage can also influence the decisions of voters. Elisabeth Gidengil and Joanna Everitt examined the effect of negative coverage on voter evaluations of female party leader Kim Campbell and male party leader Preston Manning during the 1993 Canadian federal election. They found a complex interaction among leader gender, voter gender, leadership traits, news tone, and length of exposure to news coverage. Male voters appeared to be the most influenced by news tone: negative coverage of Campbell led them to like her less and positive coverage of Manning led them to like him more. Female voters were less swayed by news tone, changing their minds about Campbell because of the negative coverage but holding steady on their opinions of Manning despite positive coverage (Gidengil and Everitt, 2006: 345). In an experimental study conducted in the U.S., Kahn noted a similar association between how candidates are covered and how voters evaluate them (1992: 504).

What makes the game frame so problematic for women politicians is the deeply masculine nature of the particular metaphors used in describing politics. Gidengil and Everitt argue the media's continual use of macho metaphors not only reveal but reinforce the assumption that politics is the domain of men (2002: 225). Women do not fit within this narrative framework because they have not historically been viewed as warriors or boxers. As a consequence, women appear out of place or lacking the "requisite attributes" to participate in politics (Gidengil and Everitt, 1999: 51).

Yet women politicians who display the requisite attributes do not get treated like "one of the boys" by journalists. Gidengil and Everitt argue women politicians who engage in a more aggressive form of politics are viewed as violating deeply held gender norms, which causes the media to

subject women's actions to a greater degree of interpretation than they do men's, for whom aggressive behaviour is perfectly acceptable. On the other hand, women politicians who conform to gender norms might be ignored by the media because their behaviour is stereotypical and therefore not newsworthy (Gidengil and Everitt, 2000, 2002, 2003a; Everitt and Gidengil, 2003).

Gidengil and Everitt argue this gendered mediation of women politicians involves a shift from the use of feminine stereotypes to "more subtle, but arguably more insidious" masculine political frames (1999: 49). Together these frames act as a gendered filter that journalists use when deciding how to depict the behaviour of all women politicians, not just those trying to be like one of the boys. The result, according to Gidengil and Everitt, is the media over-emphasize the aggressive actions of women politicians while under-emphasizing those of men politicians (2000: 124). Manifestations of such gendered mediation include reporters using more negative and aggressive verbs to describe women politicians (Gidengil and Everitt, 2003b) or by quoting women politicians less frequently (Gidengil and Everitt, 2000) than men politicians.

WOMEN JOURNALISTS TO THE RESCUE?

If journalists act as gatekeepers for stereotypical norms about gender and politics, what role do women journalists play in reinforcing or subverting these norms? Has an influx of women to the profession, especially since the 1970s, improved how the media cover women politicians? The answer to the second question appears to be a definite "maybe." As they have moved into different positions in the newsroom, Kay Mills argues women journalists have transformed the definition of news in general and political news in

particular, thereby shaping "the climate of opinion in which women decide to run for office. Women as reporters helped bring women candidates into the mainstream of coverage" (1997: 50). But others question the extent of this agency. Some scholars suggest the idea of women transforming the media from within is based on questionable assumptions (Craft and Wanta, 2004; Van Zoonen 1988, 1998b), are constrained by organizational, professional, and societal factors (Jolliffe and Catlett, 1994; Lavie and Lehman-Wilzig, 2005; Steiner, 1998), require a feminist consciousness and a willingness to act on the part of women journalists (Goodyear-Grant, 2009), or are in need of closer examination before firm conclusions can be drawn (Rhodes, 2001).

Media scholars generally agree, though, that women face the same difficulties in journalism as they do in politics: a profession historically defined according to masculine standards. Stuart Allan asserts that journalism remains "a predominately male domain of work, the dynamics of which are largely shaped by patriarchal norms, values and traditions" (2004: 119). Women who enter the profession undergo a second socialization (Gallego et al, 2004: 59), which Ross argues serves to leave journalism's male-centred norms intact (2004: 146). One such norm is the inclusion of the game frame in election coverage.

Despite professional constraints on women journalists, scholars continue to monitor their potential influence in studies on media treatment of women politicians. In her examination of the 1994 British Labour leadership campaign, Ross notes that women journalists wrote the most "salacious profiles" of the female candidate (1995: 507). This supports the claim of women politicians in several countries, who told Ross that women journalists are more hostile toward them than men journalists (2002: 108).

The sex of the journalist who writes a story can also influence a politician's visibility. Carroll and Schreiber note that women reporters wrote most of the stories about women politicians in the 103rd Congress, but those written by men reporters were more likely to appear on the front page (1997: 137-138).

A reporter's sex can also influence which frames are deployed in stories about women politicians. In a study of 1998 U.S. gubernatorial candidates, James Devitt found male reporters used significantly more personal frames and fewer issue frames for female candidates than for male candidates (2002: 455). He observed no such gender bias on the part of female reporters. Though she did not examine the effect of reporter sex, Everitt concludes that individual journalists can make a difference in election coverage after observing issue coverage vary from one Maritime province to another in her study (2003: 95).

In fact, Everitt's research suggests that journalism, like politics, is evolving in response to the growing presence of political women. Everitt credits the greater professional training and experience of journalists working at major newspapers for the lack of media bias against women politicians in the Maritimes election coverage she examined (2003: 91). She speculates that these journalists have been "sensitized" to criticisms of gender bias during long careers that typically begin at smaller newspapers. As for those smaller newspapers, Everitt says their use of "local flavour," such as details about politicians' family life, can create an opportunity for gender bias to creep into election coverage (2003: 91). Everitt's aim is to highlight that differences between media outlets can create different media environments for women candidates: "It is possible that examinations of gender biases at the national level may not truly reflect the situation of

women in all parts of the country. Not all female candidates face the same electoral experiences" (2003: 91). She argues that future research needs to examine media treatment of women in provincial politics.

CONCLUSION

Gender bias in political news coverage—real or perceived—has important implications for both women politicians and democracy. Falk warns that unequal and unfair news coverage could slow electoral gains for women, despite past successes of women politicians in compensating for this bias through greater drive and competence (2008: 4). She suggests the pool of potential women candidates in the United States could shrink "if women expect their bodies and beauty to be the subject of scrutiny" (Falk, 2008: 84).

> As a free and democratic country that prides itself on creating a fair and level political playing field, in which any citizen has the theoretical right to pursue public office, we should be concerned if the press is biased in favor of one class of people over another (Falk, 2008: 4).

Falk adds that a negative media environment could discourage women's general political interest and engagement, further reducing the number of women who might one day be contenders for the ultimate political prize: the U.S. presidency (2008: 5). Sampert and Trimble add that only gender-neutral press portrayals can ensure fair and effective representation of women in the political sphere (2003: 226). Thus, studying how the media depict women politicians holding a variety of public offices—from prime minister to city councillor—can reveal when and in which contexts the press no longer serves as an obstacle to women's entrance to or advancement in politics.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

What kind of media environment do women candidates encounter when seeking municipal office? Does the press exhibit a gender bias when reporting on women in local politics? And is there a difference in coverage of women politicians among various types of newspapers? To answer these questions, I conducted a content and discourse analysis of all election stories appearing in a stratified sample of six daily and community newspapers during the 2007 Alberta municipal election. Both the content and discourse analysis began on September 1 and continued until the civic vote on October 15. This six-week period, which covered candidacy announcements in the lead-up to nomination day on September 17, permitted news coverage of women and men candidates to be compared throughout different stages of the campaign. Based on previous research, this study examined variables ranging from mentions of personal traits such as appearance and marital status to evaluations of electoral viability. However, a number of factors limited the scope of this study.

NEWSPAPER CATEGORIES

To investigate potential differences and similarities in how various types of newspapers cover women seeking municipal office, I began my research by developing a classification system that categorized newspapers according to their circulation size and publishing frequency. In all, I identified five types of newspapers in Canada.

The most common is the *community newspaper*, which publishes

once or twice a week and has a circulation that can range from just a few hundred copies to more than 100,000. Each edition usually consists of one 16- to 24-page section, but it can be much larger depending upon the newspaper's advertising and residential base. A community newspaper typically employs only a few journalists, who must not only cover a wide range of topics but are often involved in all aspects of news production, including laying out the newspaper. Community journalists also tend to be the most accessible in the industry, with few physical barriers preventing officials and members of the public from entering the newsroom.

A *small-circulation daily newspaper* publishes from five to seven days a week and has a daily circulation of less than 25,000 copies. Like all newspapers, a small daily's page count depends on its advertising and residential base. However, it often employs as many journalists in its newsroom as a typical community newspaper does throughout its entire operations. This larger reporting staff permits a small daily to assign journalists to cover specific beats such as city hall and to focus on specific newsroom tasks such as photography or layout. Newsroom accessibility is less pronounced, though, with structural barriers such as building layout (with the classified or advertising departments designed to greet visitors first) making it more difficult for members of the public to reach journalists in person.

For the three remaining categories, the size of the newsroom—and thus the degree of professional specialization and segregation—increases as a newspaper's circulation increases. A *medium-circulation daily newspaper* distributes an average of more than 25,000 and less than 100,000 copies a day, while a *large-circulation daily newspaper* ranges from 100,000 to less than 200,000 copies. The least common type of newspaper is a *major-*

circulation daily newspaper, which averages more than 200,000 copies a day. Canada only has five major newspapers and all are located in Ontario and Quebec, including the country's two national titles, the *Globe and Mail* and the *National Post*. Newspapers in these three categories publish six to seven days a week with page counts that fluctuate depending on the day of the week. Public access to newsrooms and their journalists becomes increasingly more difficult depending on the size of the news operation, with structural barriers now accompanied by security features such as card-key access to the newsroom floor.

With these categories in mind, I used candidate lists from the 2007 Alberta civic election to determine the gender composition of each municipal campaign throughout the province. I selected council campaigns to represent a mixture of candidate slates involving no women, only one or two women, a mix of women and men, and a majority of women. As a result, I selected campaigns in the municipalities of Edmonton, Red Deer, St. Albert, Beaver County, and Millet. Newspapers located in or near these communities were then chosen according to the classification system outlined above. Thus, this study focuses on election coverage in the *Tofield Mercury*, *Millet Pipestone Flyer,* and *St. Albert Gazette* community newspapers as well as in the small-circulation *Red Deer Advocate*, the medium-circulation *Edmonton Sun*, and the large-circulation *Edmonton Journal* daily newspapers. The only type of newspaper not examined is a major-circulation daily, which Alberta does not have.

NEWSPAPER SELECTION AND CHARACTERISTICS

The *Tofield Mercury* is the smallest—and the oldest—of the three community newspapers. Established in 1917, it had a weekly circulation

of 1,450 in 2007.[1] With the exception of a fire prevention week insert in October, the paper consisted of no more than a single section of about 20 pages throughout this study. It also had an editorial staff of one reporter and an intern. The *Mercury* was selected because Tofield is surrounded by Beaver County, a rural municipality of almost 5,700 people.[2] Of the 10 candidates who ran for county office in 2007, none were women.

The youngest newspaper, the 12-year-old *Millet Pipestone Flyer,* had a weekly circulation of 14,388 in 2007 even though its headquarters are in Millet, a town of less than 2,100 people. However, it is distributed to several neighbouring communities, especially the counties of Wetaskiwin and Leduc. The newspaper fluctuated in size during the study but often had two sections. The *Pipestone Flyer* was chosen because women comprised seven of the 10 council candidates on the Millet ballot and dominated council after the election. Yet despite its large amount of space for editorial content—or news hole—and its reporting staff, the newspaper opted not to cover the Millet campaign, focusing instead on the city and county of Wetaskiwin campaigns, where many of its advertisers appear to be located and where, incidentally, women had only a token presence as candidates. As a result, I coded the Wetaskiwin stories.

The award-winning *St. Albert Gazette* is considered "the 900-pound gorilla of community newspapers in Alberta" (Gibson, 2004) and is routinely judged to be among the best in the country.[3] Published twice a week in the affluent community of St. Albert, the *Gazette* had a circulation of 24,499 in 2007. The newspaper only had one section during the study, but its page count was often quite high thanks to extensive real estate listings and strong retail advertising, resulting in a large news hole and editorial staff. The *Gazette* was chosen because of its unique feature as a semi-weekly

newspaper and because it covered a city election with a token number of women candidates (two) and winners (one).

The oldest of the three daily newspapers is the *Red Deer Advocate*, founded in the 1890s (D'Albertanson, 1955: 86-87). Located in a medium-sized city with some 82,700 residents, the small-circulation *Advocate* distributed an average of 17,816 copies a day in 2006[4] and was divided into several sections with one or more pages specifically allocated to local news. The small daily also had an editorial compliment of some 17 journalists.[5] The *Advocate* was chosen because about an even number of women and men were elected to office, though women comprised just one-third of the candidates.

The *Edmonton Sun* and the *Edmonton Journal* are the only newspapers in this study to deliberately compete with each other for the same readers. Both are regional newspapers in that they are distributed far beyond Edmonton's borders, including into Red Deer, St. Albert, Beaver County, and Millet. However, they each concentrated their election coverage on the Edmonton campaign, focusing only on mayoral contests when they occasionally reported on area campaigns.

The *Sun* and *Journal* were chosen to represent two different types of newspapers.[6] The medium-circulation *Sun* sold an average of 73,247 copies a day in 2006 while the large-circulation *Journal* sold 127,923. Both had page counts that regularly exceeded 100, though the *Journal*'s page size was almost twice that of the *Sun*'s, providing the former with more space for editorial content each day. The *Journal*'s larger circulation and news hole enabled it to employ 130 journalists, more than double the 60 journalists working in the *Sun* newsroom.[7] The *Sun* and the *Journal* were also selected because they covered the same civic election, permitting

a more direct comparison of how different types of newspapers depict women municipal candidates. The Edmonton ballot also featured a diverse and large number of candidates, with women comprising one-third of those elected to council.

WHY CONTENT AND DISCOURSE ANALYSIS?

Content analysis is a systematic, objective, and quantitative research technique that examines message characteristics in written, visual, and audio communication (Neuendorft, 2002: 1; Neuman, 2007: 227). The aim of content analysis is to observe and analyze the "overt communication behavior of selected communicators" (Budd et al, 1967: 2). Content analysis is able to examine the behaviour of Alberta newspaper journalists because a news page is the product of a media outlet's selection process or an individual editor's news judgment, making the text "evidence of these antecedent choices, conditions, or processes" (Riffe et al, 2005: 10). To understand this behaviour, researchers look at both the manifest and latent content of a particular text. Manifest content is the surface meaning of a text while latent content is the underlying meaning or implications of a message (Babbie and Benaquisto, 2002: 290 Sumser, 2001: 200). Content analysis focuses on the manifest content of a text because it is easier to measure.

A strength of content analysis is its unobtrusive and nonreactive nature (Krippendorff, 2004: 40; Riffe et al, 2005: 38). Unlike researchers doing qualitative interviews or quantitative surveys, content analysts do not run the risk of harming their subjects during the course of data collection since they work with texts, not people. On the flip side, a weakness of content analysis lies in its inability to infer the actual attitudes of communicators

or to assess the impact of messages on those who receive them. The meaning of a text can also be interpreted in several ways depending upon the cultural and historical context (Neuman, 2007: 231). Therefore, Kimberly A. Neuendorft suggests drawing upon other sources of data to verify the results of a content analysis (2002: 69). These include interviews with journalists to learn their views and approaches toward covering local elections. Neuendorft also recommends researchers understand the nature of the medium they are studying, and use original copies or accurate, full-size replicas whenever possible (2002: 135-137).

The other technique used in this study is discourse analysis, "a qualitative methodology that acknowledges that language is a form of social interaction and focuses on its meaning based on the cultural and social contexts in which it is used" (Trimble and Sampert, 2009: 56). A feminist perspective on discourse analysis focuses on "how gender ideology and gendered relations of power are (re)produced, negotiated and contested in representations of social practices" (Lazar, 2005: 11). A journalist's use of sports or war metaphors to describe politics, for example, reveals a great deal about how gender, power, and political legitimacy are viewed in a particular societal context (Trimble et al, 2007: 6). In short, discourse analysis is concerned with the underlying meaning of a text, or the latent content.

A strength of this technique is its ability to examine not only individual phrases or sentences but also to explore the larger issues represented or excluded from the text (Richardson, 2007: 58). The weaknesses of discourse analysis are similar to those for content analysis. A discourse analysis rooted only in the text is limited in its ability to demonstrate how journalistic ideologies determine how or even whether certain discourses

are presented in a news article. It also cannot reveal how a text affects different sections of an audience (Philo, 2007: 185).

DATA COLLECTION

For the study, I gathered all election stories printed in the six newspapers throughout September and October 2007. The content and discourse analyses only focus on those stories that appeared in the six weeks leading up to the October 15 vote, and included not only news articles but candidate profiles, columns, and editorials. Since the purpose of the study is to assess media bias, items clearly not written by journalists—such as letters to the editor and candidate-penned articles—were excluded from the content and discourse analysis. Post-election coverage was read, but not comprehensively studied, to better identify any journalistic practices that might be exclusive to or emphasized in election coverage.

The population of news items was further narrowed to include only those articles that had a direct reference to the campaign in the body of the text or in the headline. This approach led to the exclusion of several stories that did not mention the election but did name incumbent politicians, many of whom stood for re-election. While the visibility of incumbents could have been underestimated as a result, most of the non-election coverage on this group centred on mayors, who were not included in this study. The final sample contains a total of 182 stories, with the *Journal* contributing 85, the *Sun* 34, the *Advocate* 28, the *Gazette* 12, the *Mercury* 11, and the *Pipestone Flyer* 11.

Stories were retrieved from a number of archival formats with the aim of preserving their original layout. Electronic versions of the *Pipestone Flyer* and the *Sun* were obtained directly from the individual newspapers.

Stories in the *Journal* and the *Advocate* were gathered using microfilm at the Alberta Legislature Library in Edmonton. Original copies of the *Mercury* were also found at the legislature, while paper editions of the *Gazette* were examined at the St. Albert Public Library with additional photocopies made at the legislature.

Viewing stories in their original context offers information about the ways in which newspapers depict a subject that cannot be gleaned from the text alone (Budd et al, 1967: 58; Kress and van Leeuwen, 1998: 200). For example, candidates who appear in a large news photograph enjoy a higher degree of visibility than those who can only be seen in a small head-and-shoulder shot or whose images are not shown at all. Editorial decisions such as the use of a standardized layout for candidate profiles or placing election coverage on the same page each day can reveal the degree to which a newspaper either skews or attempts to balance its election coverage. Paper copies, PDFs, and microfilm allow for this depth of analysis by archiving images of each edition of a newspaper. An electronic database, on the other hand, usually preserves just the story text, headline, page number, and day of publication.

One of the drawbacks to paper copies, PDFs, and microfilm, however, is potential sampling error. A story that belonged in the study could have been overlooked as the researcher manually searched through the newspaper, scanned the PDF, or forwarded through microfilm. Thus, the study might not examine the total population of election stories produced by the six newspapers. The use of microfilm also limited the level of analysis possible in this study. Ideally, any assessment of candidate visibility would look at whether a photograph was printed in colour or in black and white, for example. But microfilm does not preserve a document in full colour, nor

did the legislature library have colour printers or photocopiers.[8] Likewise, few duplicates of the newspapers could be made at the same size as the original copies.

MEASUREMENT

Content analysis

The 182 news items in the study were analyzed using a detailed coding system, a set of instructions on how to systematically observe and record content from a text. A coding system can look for four content characteristics: *frequency* (whether something occurs in the text and, if so, how often), *direction* (whether the tone of the message ranges from positive to negative), *intensity* (how strong or powerful a message is in a given direction), and *space* (what is the size or volume of the text) (Neuman, 2007: 227-229). The purpose of using a coding system is to transcribe, record, categorize, or interpret a given unit of analysis—in this case a newspaper article—into a data language that can be analyzed using computer software (Krippendorff, 2004: 220). This study used Statistical Package for the Social Sciences. A coding instrument resembling a survey questionnaire was developed for both the content and discourse analysis (see the Appendix). A pre-test conducted on the *Advocate* coverage resulted in revisions to the coding instrument.

Before proceeding with the main study, an independent researcher and I coded 20 percent of the stories for an intercoder reliability test of the coding instrument. The Cohen's kappa was 0.915, a strong score that indicates different coders using the same instrument would generally arrive at the same raw data (Landis and Koch, 1977: 165). However, a few variables had extremely low kappa scores and were either revised[9]

or dropped from the study.[10] Other difficulties in the coding instrument were discussed and resolved between the two coders before I coded the remaining stories.

The coding instrument incorporated a series of direct and indirect measures in order to quantitatively assess media depictions of women candidates during the 2007 Alberta municipal election. The variables dealt with personal traits, issue coverage, length of quotations, horse-race coverage, candidate visibility, framing, and viability evaluations as well as sex of reporter, type of story, story placement, and length of story. Each candidate-related variable examined women and men separately, with all the female candidates and male candidates collapsed into two distinct gender groupings. Put another way, women and men were each examined as a group and not as individual candidates. For example, a news item that names five women candidates only needed to refer to the appearance of one of them for the story to be coded as having a personal trait mention.

Personal traits. I examined whether a news item mentioned the gender, appearance, age, family, and emotional state of any female or male candidate. Gender references included descriptors such as "policeman" or "stay-at-home mom," while a candidate's age could be explicitly stated in number form or alluded to through the use of terms such as "young" or "baby boomer." Appearance included any discussion of a candidate's hair, clothing, height, weight, or physical (un)attractiveness. The family life and marital status item covered any references to a candidate's spouse, children, extended family members, or family background. The candidate's emotional state was highlighted if she or he was depicted as displaying anger or joy, for example. This study did not look at the intensity of personal trait mentions, or in other words, how many times a single story

used these descriptors.

Issue coverage. Nominal variables measured the amount and type of issue coverage received by women and men candidates over the course of the campaign. The frequency of issue coverage was determined by recording whether a news item mentioned a candidate's thoughts or position on issues. The news item was then examined to see which issues, if any, were associated with the women and men candidates. The issues categories were economic development, public safety and security, infrastructure and transportation, municipal services (such as snow clearing), municipal finances, housing, environment, democracy, education, and other. Since this variable permitted more than one answer, each issue category was treated as a separate variable for each gender during the data entry stage.

Quotations. Since the size of a quotation can vary from a single word to several sentences, I counted each word that appeared within quotation marks in a story or headline. This scale variable was used to assess how much women and men candidates were permitted by journalists to speak for themselves.

Horse-race coverage. I ascertained an article's major focus by assessing whether the horse race, issues, candidate traits and background, or some other topic was foregrounded in the story, especially in the headline or first paragraph. I then attempted to determine whether the discussion of the women and men candidates was predominately descriptive (who/what/where), analytical (why), or evaluative (how well).

Framing. To uncover the potential use of masculine metaphors in municipal election coverage, I examined each news item for the presence of a game image, aggressive game image, or gendered image. Game imagery draws upon traditionally masculine pursuits such as sports and warfare and

is reflected in phrases such as candidate X is "in the race" or "running for" office. Aggressive game imagery is more intense in its description, such as "attacks" or "takes aim." Gendered metaphors can be either masculine ("ready for battle") or feminine ("party gets glass slipper ready"). I then determined whether these metaphors were used in relation to the female and/or male candidates.

Viability. I scrutinized each news item to determine if it contained an explicit evaluation of the electoral viability of either the women or men candidates. I then assessed whether the story evaluated their likelihood of winning the election as positive, negative, or neutral/balanced. Finally, I rated the overall tone of the story in relation to the female and male candidates on a five-point scale ranging from very negative to very positive.

Candidate visibility. Several variables were used in an index to compare the news visibility of women and men candidates at different stages of the election. I modified and expanded the prominence index used by Linda Trimble (2007) in her analysis of three Conservative party leadership contests in Canada.[11] My visibility index examines whether a female or male candidate was (1) named in the headline, (2) named in the subhead, (3) named in the story, (4) named first in the story, (5) featured in a pull quote, (6) featured in a photograph, or (7) featured in a mugshot. To compute the index, each variable was recoded as a dummy variable[12] with "yes" answers coded as "1" and then added together so higher values indicated a higher level of prominence.

Layout characteristics. I employed several variables to take a closer look at the layout and editorial characteristics of the election coverage that appeared within and across the six newspapers. For example, I looked at

whether a news item was accompanied by a subhead, pull quote, factbox, mugshot, or photograph. A *subhead* is a secondary headline that can appear above or below the main headline or within the body of the text. A *pull quote* is a design element that features the words of a person quoted in the story, while a *factbox* conveys short tidbits of information in textual and/or graphic form and can appear within or adjacent to a story. A *mugshot* is a small head-and-shoulder picture of a person named in a story. A *photograph* is a larger picture that features anyone or anything. All of these design elements draw a reader's eye to a particular story, increasing the chances it will be noticed by potential voters as they flip through the newspaper. I also recorded the size of a story's headline by comparing it other headlines on the page and where the story appeared in the newspaper, such as on the front page or in the city section.

Story characteristics. I classified each article as either a news story, editorial, column, candidate profile or other.

Control variables. Controls for type of newspaper (daily or community newspaper), format of newspaper (broadsheet or tabloid)[13] and reporter sex were used in the statistical analysis. A *broadsheet* is characterized by long, vertical pages and appears on the newsstand folded in half. A *tabloid* is more compact in size, with smaller pages and no fold. This variable is used as an indirect measure of the editorial space available in a newspaper.

Discourse analysis

The discourse analysis took a closer look at how personal traits, issues, frames, and viability assessments were presented in election coverage. I noted the exact wording used for each, who said it, and whether it appeared in the headline or the body of the story. The aim is

to understand the message that the information conveys to the reader. I also analyzed the 182 news items for overall impressions about the election coverage, including how newspapers individually and collectively constructed candidate (in)visibility during the municipal campaign.

Personal traits. I recorded the exact wording used to describe a candidate's gender, age, appearance, family background, and emotions. I then analyzed who was responsible for the reference—the journalist, candidate, or someone else—and the context in which the reference was made. I also asked whether the reference was factual or interpretive in nature. Together, this information enabled me to assess whether the personal trait mention was trivial, routine, or appropriate.

Issues. I went a step beyond the broad categories of the content analysis to record the specific issues associated with women and men candidates, resulting in a better understanding of the local context of each municipal campaign.

Framing. I highlighted any game imagery or metaphors, noting if they were used in relation to the women and/or men candidates. I further categorized the metaphors as aggressive and if the women and/or men candidates were positioned as the aggressors or the recipients of the rhetorical aggression. Finally, I noted any gendered imagery, identifying them as masculine, feminine, or mixed.

Viability. I recorded any evaluation of a candidate's electoral chances. I especially noted those of a gendered nature.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

A number of factors unrelated to these variables limit the generalizability of any conclusions drawn from the results of this survey. As

noted above, content analysis reveals neither the intentions of journalists nor the approaches they take to covering municipal elections. Thus, this study can only analyze the end result of the news production process at six Alberta newspapers. In other words, it can make conclusions about *how* journalists depicted women municipal candidates but it cannot answer *why* they did so. Furthermore, this study cannot assess the influence of candidate communication on media messages. What role did women candidates play in how the media depicted them? For example, did a female candidate receive extensive coverage on her family background because of gender bias on the part of journalists or because she choose to highlight it in a bid to court socially conservative rural voters? Studying the content of media messages also offers no clues as to the effect of election coverage on voters and their evaluations of women municipal candidates. Other research methods such as qualitative interviews with journalists and politicians, field observations in newsrooms, and surveys or focus groups with voters must be employed to investigate these issues.

Another limitation of this study is the small number of newspapers included in the analysis. Of the four types of newspapers examined here, only the community newspaper category has more than one publication. The result is that any conclusions made about the large-, medium-, and small-circulation dailies in this study cannot be generalized to all newspapers in those categories. Moreover, the community newspaper category has just three titles and all are distinct in nature. Thus, this study only offers preliminary observations about the ways in which different types of newspapers converge and diverge in their coverage of women municipal candidates.

However, this research project is exploratory by design. No

scholar has previously examined media depictions of women politicians by newspaper type. Newspapers are not interchangeable: each one has its own editorial philosophy, newsroom culture, organizational structure, business ethos, and personnel that combine with community and market characteristics to produce a unique news product. This study aims to fill the gap in the literature by offering preliminary insights into how differences among newspapers could help create a diversity of media environments for women politicians. These insights could then form the basis of more comprehensive studies using a larger number of newspapers.

CONCLUSION

One of the driving motivations behind the research design for this project was comparability. In content analysis, reliability is best achieved by duplicating results under a variety of conditions (Krippendorff, 2004: 212). What we currently know of media bias against women politicians largely stems from studies of how elite newspapers and national television networks cover women in national or state office. Few studies have explored other conditions. My research breaks academic ground by focusing on how smaller newspapers depict women in municipal politics.

To compare my results with earlier studies, I drew heavily upon the work of scholars such as Erika Falk and Linda Trimble to draft the variables and categories for my content analysis. Taking this approach enables me to accomplish one of two goals: support those earlier studies or challenge them. If my research replicates previous findings, then theories around media bias can be tentatively generalized to women in local politics. But if my results contradict existing scholarship, then researchers who have found evidence of media bias against women in national politics need

to investigate whether this bias also exists for women in provincial or municipal politics.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

INTRODUCTION

Scholars examining media bias against women politicians have become increasingly sophisticated in their research, studying the topic from ever more angles and in ever greater depth. This study of municipal politics incorporates the most common avenues of inquiry found in the literature on women, media, and politics. Before the results of the content and discourse analysis are presented, a profile of the individuals seeking a council seat in six municipalities and an outline of newspaper election coverage are offered to provide context to the data. Media depictions of personal traits for both women and men candidates are then explored in depth, followed by a discussion of issue coverage, length of quotations, framing, and viability assessments. The potential role of reporter sex in media bias is also examined. Finally, the prominence of women and men in newspaper election coverage is compared.

PROFILE OF COUNCIL CAMPAIGNS

Women comprised one-quarter of all candidates vying for a council seat in the six municipal elections examined in this study.[1] Of the 25 women candidates, 14 sought public office in Edmonton's two-member ward system, with four female incumbents successfully fending off female and male challengers in wards one, two, and four. A lone female aspirant failed to earn a spot in ward six, while wards three and five had an all-male ballot. The retirement of three city councillors just before the election encouraged a large number of political hopefuls to file nomination papers,

including eight women in ward four. In all, the Edmonton civic election accounted for 43 of the 98 candidates included in this study.

All five women candidates campaigning in the Red Deer election were voted into office, the first time women had dominated the nine-member council in the central Alberta city since it elected its first woman in 1961.[2] In St. Albert, just two women were on the 13-person ballot, with one securing the final seat on the seven-member council and the other earning the fewest votes to finish last.[3] Women repeated the St. Albert result in the city of Wetaskiwin as only one of the two female candidates was voted into office, while both women candidates seeking a division seat in the county of Wetaskiwin joined council either by acclamation or by election. Beaver County featured an all-male slate. In all, 55 candidates, including 11 women, sought public office in Red Deer, St. Albert, Wetaskiwin, County of Wetaskiwin, and Beaver County.

PROFILE OF NEWSPAPER COVERAGE

To explore media depictions of women municipal politicians, this study focuses on six Alberta newspapers selected for their circulation size, publication frequency, and layout format. The three daily newspapers are the large-circulation *Edmonton Journal*, the medium-circulation *Edmonton Sun*, and the small-circulation *Red Deer Advocate* while the community newspapers are the *St. Albert Gazette*, the *Tofield Mercury*, and the *Millet Pipestone Flyer*. In terms of layout format, the *Journal*, *Advocate*, and *Mercury* have been classified as broadsheets and the *Sun*, *Gazette*, and *Pipestone Flyer* as tabloids.[4]

A more frequent publishing schedule and larger news hole enabled daily newspapers to cover the civic election more extensively than their

community counterparts. The dailies produced almost 81 percent of the total number of news items, or 147 stories out of 182. The *Journal* dominated election coverage, printing 85 stories for 46.7 percent of the overall total. The *Sun* printed less than half that amount, or 34 stories (18.7 percent), with the *Advocate* close behind at 28 stories (15.4 percent). Together, the *Gazette*, *Mercury*, and *Pipestone Flyer* devoted just 35 stories to the election (19.2 percent). As a result, almost two-thirds of the stories included in this study focus on the 43 candidates seeking a seat on Edmonton city council. The remaining one-third of stories was shared by the 55 candidates contesting office in five municipalities.

As discussed in the previous chapter, each of the 182 stories examined in this study specifically mentions the municipal election. Female council candidates were featured in just 92 stories while male candidates appeared in 160 stories. Women's and men's respective story counts were used when calculating their individual results to provide a more equitable comparison of the coverage devoted to each group. A story that does not mention a female candidate cannot, for example, include a reference to her personal traits. Since this study is interested in what journalists do and do not do when writing about municipal candidates, media bias is best measured in those stories where women—or men, when relevant—are present.

Overall, election coverage was almost evenly split between news stories (42.9 percent) and candidate profiles (40.7 percent), with columns (13.2 percent) and editorials (3.3 percent) comprising only a small portion. Stories about female candidates focused primarily on the horse race (44.6 percent) and issues (43.5 percent) with far fewer devoted to their traits or background (12 percent). While male candidates also had few stories

about their traits (13.8 percent), they enjoyed a far greater focus on their issues (52.5 percent) than the horse race (33.8 percent) aspects of their campaigns, especially when compared to the women. Mediation was low for both groups, with journalists making largely descriptive statements about women (80.4 percent) and men (81.9 percent) with analytical and evaluative statements kept to a minimum. Most stories ranged in length from less than 250 words (19.2 percent) to 250 to 500 words (39.6 percent) and 501 to 750 words (30.8 percent). Few stories were more than 750 words (10.4 percent). Male reporters penned 37.4 percent of all news items compared to 29.7 percent for female reporters, with another 0.5 percent co-authored by a male and female reporter. The remaining stories did not have a byline, so the sex of the writer(s) could not be determined.

The civic election experienced low visibility in the newspapers. Campaign stories were concentrated on general news pages (41.2 percent) or inside the city section (38.5 percent) with few stories appearing on the front page (7.1 percent), page 3 (1.1 percent), and city section front (six percent), all considered to be prime real estate for news. Likewise, just one-third of stories (35.2 percent) appeared on a prominent right-handed page. Once on a page, though, the municipal campaign did gain a modest profile, with 32.4 percent of election stories having the largest headline on the page. However, newspapers appeared to keep the layout simple, opting to use few pull quotes (9.9 percent), factboxes (9.9 percent), or photographs (18.1 percent) to draw attention to a story. Mugshots were more prevalent (47.3 percent) as they often accompanied candidate profiles.

The *Journal* and *Sun* did try to make it easier for readers to find election stories, regularly using a graphic—such as a one-column logo or page-wide banner—to distinguish campaign items from regular news.

Readers of the *Journal* could turn to B4 for election news during the week, as well as to search for the civic vote logo on Sundays and Mondays, when a smaller city section became part of the front section of the newspaper. The *Sun* did not earmark a specific page each day for election coverage, but like the *Journal*, it often printed the stories on an ad-free page.

The down side to these two layout techniques—using logos and placing election news on a single page—is that they made it easier for disinterested readers to avoid municipal coverage altogether (Franklin and Parry, 1998: 224). Thus, the very layout devices used by journalists at the two Edmonton newspapers to encourage potential voters to learn more about both female and male candidates likely helped some of those same voters to remain woefully uninformed about the municipal campaign underway in their city.

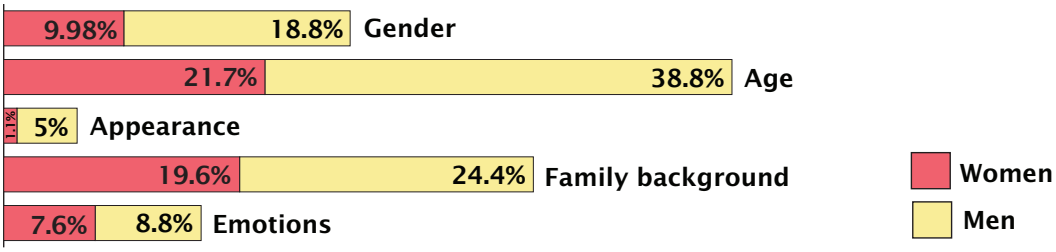
FINDINGS

Personal traits

Results from the content and discourse analysis of newspaper coverage of the 2007 Alberta civic election suggest the media bias that women politicians encounter in national politics is less prevalent in municipal politics. As Figure 1 shows, journalists mentioned personal traits such as gender, age, appearance, family, and emotions less often for female candidates than they did for male candidates throughout the six-week period under study.

Male candidates were twice as likely to see journalists highlight their gender, with it mentioned in 18.8 percent of their stories compared to 9.8 percent for female candidates. Gender references for men were most common in candidate profiles (53.3 percent), followed by regular news

FIGURE 1
Personal trait mentions of women and men council candidates during the 2007 Alberta civic election (as a percentage of stories mentioning women or men candidates)



stories (30 percent), while a woman's gender was noted equally in both types of articles (44.4 percent).

The discourse analysis reveals that many of the gender references were made in relation to a candidate's family situation or profession. Candidate profiles often described a male candidate as a "father" or "married man" while female candidates were occasionally called a "mother" or "single woman." Several candidates with corporate backgrounds were described by journalists as a "businesswoman" or a "businessman" while a Red Deer candidate who worked for an agriculture firm was repeatedly called a "salesman." An *Advocate* story announcing the candidacy of a former Royal Canadian Mounted Police officer provided the only instance of a gendered term in a headline: "Former policeman wants seat on council."[5] Gender references in the *Pipestone Flyer* were due to the reporter simply repeating the term the city of Wetaskiwin still uses to refer to those who sit on its council: alderman.

The use of gendered professional descriptors is accepted practice throughout the print media. *The Canadian Press Stylebook*, considered the authority on journalism writing and editing in Canada, offers guidelines on how to minimize sexism when describing someone's occupation, especially when gender-neutral variants are awkward or not available (Tasko, 2006:

23). Thus, it permits "businesswoman" or "businessman" instead of the more cumbersome "businessperson" but recommends using general terms like "police officer" and "firefighter" rather than "policeman" or "fireman." Some newspapers, though, opt to use only the masculine variant of accepted gendered terms, even when referring to a woman.[6] At any rate, the *Advocate*'s use of the word "policeman" was an odd choice when the shorter "cop" or "Mountie" were available to the headline writer.

Candidates were responsible for several of the gender references found in election coverage, although in some instances these mentions were prompted by a media question. The *Journal* asked Edmonton candidates: "You're a superhero! What's your superpower and slogan?" Most aspiring councillors offered a generic response, identifying the powers they would like to have, if any. A couple of male candidates, though, said they would like to be Superman or Spider-Man while one female candidate created her own superhero called "Instawoman," who had the power to instantly transport herself to the next meeting or event.[7]

Age was the most common personal trait raised in relation to both female and male candidates. Journalists noted a man's age in 38.8 percent of stories and a woman's in 21.7 percent. Not surprisingly, approximately two-thirds of all age references for both women (65 percent) and men (67.7 percent) appeared in candidate profiles, where such personal details are common. Age was the only personal trait that saw a statistically significant difference between types and formats of newspapers. A series of chi-square tests revealed that dailies were significantly more likely than community newspapers to include the age of a female candidate ($phi=3.833$, $p<0.05$)[8] or a male candidate in a story ($phi=6.094$, $p<0.05$). Broadsheets also reported the age of women ($phi=4.345$, $p<0.05$) and men ($phi=16.748$,

$p<0.001$) more often than tabloids.

A significant portion of all age mentions involved a person's actual chronological age. In the rare instances where adjectives were used, journalists typically reserved them for young candidates, especially in stories about how political hopefuls were using the Internet and social networking sites like Facebook to draw the interest of young voters. News stories that included candidate ages did not always mention the age of every candidate named in a story, suggesting unequal treatment. No gender differences were noted in the discourse analysis, but young candidates appeared to be more likely than older candidates to have their age mentioned in regular news articles.

Appearance was the personal trait least likely to be mentioned for either women or men. A male candidate's appearance was noted in five percent of stories compared to 1.1 percent for women candidates. The lone reference to a woman's appearance was made by the candidate herself during a Red Deer forum, where one of the election issues discussed was bullying. She attempted to demonstrate empathy with contemporary victims by recalling a story about how she had been "victimized" by girls who had cut her hair as a joke when she was younger.[9] A male candidate in Red Deer also made an appropriate reference to his own appearance when explaining his views on public safety: "I'm not a small guy but I don't like to walk downtown anymore."[10]

Trivializing references to appearance were reserved exclusively for male candidates. A *Journal* columnist noted that one male candidate had lost 12 pounds by knocking on 15,000 doors since he began campaigning, while another one was "also looking svelte" after dropping 35 pounds by "removing most of the sugar, fat and beer from his diet."[11] The same

columnist described a repeat candidate who was presumed dead but showed up at Edmonton city hall to file his nomination papers as "looking no more deceased or decomposed than he did in 2004."[12] A *Sun* columnist also covering nomination day observed that a longtime Edmonton city councillor's hair was the "brightest shade of orange it's been in years."[13] One appearance reference had clear gendered overtones: an Edmonton candidate asked to share an interesting fact about himself relayed a story about wearing pink shoes to school soon after immigrating to Canada because he did not know it was a girl's colour in his new country.[14]

Like other personal trait depictions, male candidates were subjected to greater scrutiny of their marital status or family background than were female candidates. More than 24 percent of stories noted a man's family situation while 19.6 percent referenced a woman's. The candidate profile was the single greatest source of family mentions for both women (72.2 percent) and men (69.2 percent) with regular news stories comprising the rest for women (27.8 percent). The remaining family mentions for men were found in news stories (23.1 percent) and columns (7.7 percent).

Whether the reporter or the candidate instigated the family reference depended on the newspaper. In the *Journal*, candidates were largely responsible for mentioning their spouses, children, and other family members, prompted by queries made by the newspaper for its question-and-answer style candidate profiles. Questions about their preferred superpowers, what they liked to do on a Saturday morning, and interesting facts about themselves encouraged many Edmonton candidates to talk about their families. The *Mercury* also used a question-and-answer format for its profiles, asking each of the 10 male candidates in Beaver County to give a personal history of himself.

In contrast, reporters produced most of the family mentions in the *Sun*. Many of the references relayed facts such as a male candidate bringing his two young sons to city hall on nomination day or a female candidate having eight children. One journalist used an anecdote about a female candidate receiving help from her 20-year-old son to set up a Facebook site to introduce a story about the role of technology in municipal campaigning. The *Advocate*'s family mentions largely appeared in the short candidate profiles and were usually limited to facts such as a female candidate being a "married stay-at-home mother of three sons" or a male candidate being a "married father of three."[15] The *Pipestone Flyer* offered only factual descriptions of female and male candidates' families in the brief profiles a reporter produced about the individuals seeking civic office in both the city and county of Wetaskiwin. For example, the reporter mentioned that one female candidate had moved to the city more than 30 years ago with her husband[17] while another female candidate was a member of a "pioneer family" in the county.[17]

Family references were non-existent in the *Gazette*. As the most common source of personal details, the candidate profiles that appeared in the newspaper were clearly written by the candidates themselves and thus were not included in this study of how journalists depict women municipal politicians. Yet unlike the other newspapers, the *Gazette* did not bother to mention the marital status or family of either female or male candidates in its regular news stories.

The *Gazette* was equally sparing in its emotional depictions of municipal candidates, recording its lone mention for a female candidate who expressed either anger or annoyance during an all-candidates forum about a series of power lines on an area lake: "Yes, Elke, I'll move the

damn power lines."[18] Overall, female candidates were rarely portrayed as emotional in civic election coverage, with 7.6 percent of stories including such a reference for women compared to 8.8 percent for men. Most emotional references for women candidates appeared in regular news stories (57.1 percent) while for men it was candidate profiles (42.9 percent) followed closely behind by news stories (35.7 percent). Columns devoted slightly more attention to women's emotions (28.6 percent) than men's emotions (21.4 percent) with editorials ignoring them altogether. The *Journal* produced more than half of all emotional mentions, with 10 for the men and four for the women. The other five newspapers managed no more than eight emotional mentions amongst themselves, with the three community newspapers offering just one mention each.

Despite the rarity of a female or male candidate's feelings being highlighted in election coverage, journalists were almost three times more likely to mention the emotional state of candidates than the candidates themselves. An unnamed *Journal* reporter covering an election forum noted a female candidate "made an emotional speech" but offered no details about the topic of her comments or the reasons why she might have been so expressive.[19] Still, reporters did not usually depict candidates of either sex as highly emotional, limiting their descriptions to subtle terms such as a woman being "worried" or "excited" about some action (not) taken on an issue or to a man having "enjoyed" making decisions during his career as a civil servant.[20]

Columnists, on the other hand, used more vivid language. In a humorous piece about the dangers of campaigning, a *Journal* columnist wrote that a male candidate looked "sheepishly" at a male voter who had answered the door wearing nothing but a T-shirt, while a female candidate

was almost "scare[d] speechless" in an alley when encountering a sneaky dog that had been hiding.[21] A *Sun* columnist writing about nomination day dredged up an old story about a female candidate pouring a jug of water over the head of a male colleague when she was on Edmonton city council in 1994.[22]

Like the reporters, candidates usually relied on plain language to describe their own emotions. A male candidate said he was "very pleased" to receive almost 10,000 votes the last time he sought a spot on Edmonton city council[23] while a Beaver County candidate said it was his "great pleasure" to raise a family in the community.[24] A few used stronger terms. As noted above, a female candidate's feelings about a set of power lines were transmitted to the reader via the swear word "damn." One male candidate described himself as "nauseated" when he learned Edmonton city council had voted itself a 13 percent raise, to take effect after the 2007 election.[25] Another male candidate used the words "fear," "panic," and "desperate" when relaying his opinions about Edmonton's approach to city planning and housing since the 1990s.[26]

Issues

Just as Alberta newspapers appeared to be careful not to trivialize women municipal politicians by focusing on personal traits such as emotions, they portrayed women as substantive candidates by opting to pay close attention to campaign platforms. Female candidates' stances on topics ranging from taxes and roads to public parks and the arts were mentioned in 63 percent of their stories. Men fared better at 73.8 percent, but the high level of issue coverage for both groups suggests journalists took a serious approach to the municipal election. Overall, most issue mentions

TABLE 1
Issue mentions for women and men council candidates during the 2007 Alberta civic election (as a percentage of stories mentioning women or men candidates)

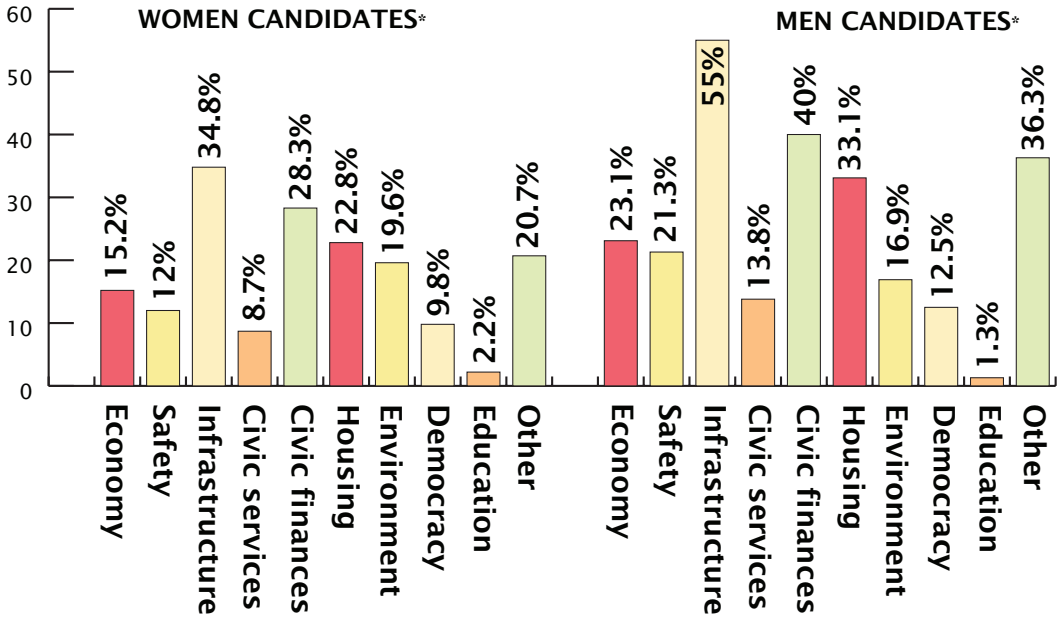
NEWSPAPER	WOMEN ISSUE MENTIONS		MEN ISSUE MENTIONS	
	Within paper	*Within all papers*	*Within paper*	*Within all papers*
Edmonton Journal (n=38, n=72)	73.7%	48.3%	77.8%	47.5%
Edmonton Sun (n=25, n=34)	32.0%	13.8%	44.1%	12.7%
Red Deer Advocate (n=17, n=23)	82.4%	24.1%	87.0%	16.9%
St. Albert Gazette (n=0, n=11)	55.6%	8.6%	81.8%	7.6%
Tofield Mercury (n=0, n=11)	N/A	N/A	90.9%	8.5%
Millet Pipestone Flyer (n=3, n=9)	100.0%	5.2%	88.9%	6.8%
Total (n=92, n=160)	**63.0%**	——	**73.8%**	——

for women appeared in regular news stories (62.1 percent) with candidate profiles a distant second (31 percent), while men saw an even split between news stories (47.5 percent) and candidate profiles (46.6 percent).

As Table 1 shows, the *Journal* was responsible for almost half of the issue mentions for both female (48.3 percent) and male candidates (47.5 percent), likely a function of its greater overall election coverage. However, the *Advocate,* and not the *Sun,* was second on the list, providing 24.1 percent of all issue mentions for women and 16.9 percent for men compared to the *Sun*'s 13.8 percent for women and 12.7 percent for men. The three community newspapers, with their weekly publishing schedule and smaller news holes, supplied only a small percentage of the total issue mentions for either group. On the plus side, all newspapers except the *Sun* included details about women's and men's campaign platforms in a majority of their election stories.

Despite these differences, only newspaper format appeared to play a role in the level of issue coverage for candidates. Broadsheets relayed the thoughts of women (phi=10.414, $p<0.001$) and men (phi=8.841, $p<0.01$) significantly more often than did tabloids. Daily newspapers also

FIGURE 2
Issue mentions by topic for women and men council candidates in the 2007 Alberta civic election (as a percentage of stories mentioning women and men candidates)



* The figures for both groups do not add up to 100% because each story can mention more than one issue topic. The percentages presented here simply reflect the overall presence of a particular issue in the election coverage of either group. For example, 15.2% of stories on women candidates mention the economy while 84.8% do not.

covered the policy positions of both groups of candidates more often than did community newspapers, but these results were not statistically significant.

As Figure 2 shows, infrastructure was the most important election issue for both women and men candidates, followed closely by municipal finances. In fact, aside from the category "other," the ranking of individual issues is the same for both women and men candidates. The real difference is in degree. Journalists devoted more attention to reporting the thoughts of male candidates on everything from the economy to the environment than they did for female candidates, with the exception of education.

TABLE 2
Average word length of quotations for women and men council candidates in six Alberta newspapers in 2007

NEWSPAPER	WOMEN CANDIDATES	MEN CANDIDATES
Edmonton Journal (n=38, n=72)	83.26	113.74
Edmonton Sun (n=25, n=34)	17.12	35.79
Red Deer Advocate (n=17, n=23)	35.71	61.48
St. Albert Gazette (n=9, n=11)	36.67	95.73
Tofield Mercury (n=0, n=11)	N/A	347.00
Millet Pipestone Flyer (n=3, n=9)	2.00	0.78
OVERALL (n=92, n=160)	**49.29**	**98.11**

Quotations

Aside from issue coverage, another way in which journalists make candidates appear substantial is to quote them at length in a story. Yet reporters did not permit women candidates to speak for themselves to the same degree as they did men candidates. As Table 2 shows, women were quoted an average of 49.29 words per story compared to 98.11 words for men, with *Journal* readers the most likely to "hear" from female candidates at 83.26 words per story, followed by the *Gazette* at 36.67 words and the *Advocate* at 35.71 words. The men had a high of 347 words per story in the *Mercury*, due to the fact its election coverage largely consisted of candidate profiles done in a question-and-answer format that permitted the men to speak entirely in their own voice. Without the *Mercury*, men were quoted an average of 79.73 words per story. Still, male candidates were quoted extensively in the five other newspapers, with the *Journal* at 113.74 words per story, the *Gazette* at 95.73 words, and the *Advocate* at 61.48 words. The *Pipestone Flyer* barely quoted candidates of either sex.

Newspaper format appeared to matter when it came to the length of quotes from both female and male candidates. A series of independent T-tests indicated broadsheets were significantly more likely than tabloids

TABLE 3
Game framing of women and men council candidates in six Alberta newspapers in 2007 (in percentages)

NEWSPAPER	GAME FRAME			AGGRESSIVE GAME FRAME		
	Total	*Women*	*Men*	*Total*	*Women*	*Men*
Edmonton Journal	49.4%	72.2%	88.9%	16.5%	40.0%	75.0%
Edmonton Sun	85.3%	63.6%	82.8%	44.1%	54.5%	57.1%
Red Deer Advocate	46.4%	75.0%	90.0%	14.3%	0.0%	100.0%
St. Albert Gazette	75.0%	14.3%	44.4%	16.7%	0.0%	100.0%
Tofield Mercury	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Millet Pipestone Flyer	8.3%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

Total columns: N = 182; Game frame women: N = 56; Game frame men: N = 95; Aggressive game frame women: N = 17; Aggressive game frame men: N = 31.

to quote both groups, giving women 68.56 words per story to the tabloids' 20.65 ($t=3.503$, $p<0.001$) and men 126.60 words to 42.17 ($t=5.186$, $p<0.001$). These results are not surprising considering the greater amount of editorial space available in broadsheets. As for newspaper type, dailies quoted women candidates more than men candidates, while the reverse was true for community newspapers, but neither result was statistically significant.

Framing

As expected, the game frame was widely used in municipal election coverage with 57.7 percent of all stories including at least one sports or war metaphor. Reporters applied game imagery more often to male candidates (84.2 percent) than they did female candidates (62.5 percent). Table 3 shows that the prevalence of the game frame, both overall and for each gender group, varied widely among the six newspapers: the *Mercury* deployed the game frame in all of its stories about the all-male Beaver County campaign while the *Pipestone Flyer* rarely used it at all. Surprisingly, the *Journal* only

included game imagery in half of its election coverage and the *Advocate* in less than half, yet both dailies opted to apply it directly to women and men candidates in a majority of cases, as did the *Sun*. The *Gazette* was a notable exception. It applied game imagery to men 44.4 percent of the time and to women just 14.3 percent of the time. Overall, the game frame dominated all types of election stories except candidate profiles.

The discourse analysis revealed that the game frame usually consisted of the track-and-field metaphor of running. Journalists regularly had female and male candidates "running" for public office or in a "tough race" in a particular ward, while the candidates themselves noted they had "run" for a seat before. Reporters also had voters "surfing" a candidate's website[27] or candidates "tee[ing] off" at an election forum.[28] Most game frame references came in the body of the text. Only nine headlines included any game imagery with two-thirds using non-aggressive metaphors from the world of running ("Three more potential councillors in race"; "Candidates on their mark"; "Last leg of the race")[29] and the rest drawing upon aggressive metaphors from the worlds of war ("Garritty gunning for second term"),[30] football ("One last kick"),[31] and hunting ("Council challengers take aim at pay hikes").[32]

Although headline writers were drawn to aggressive imagery, reporters generally refrained from using it in their stories. The *Gazette* incorporated an aggressive game frame in just 16.7 percent of its stories with the *Journal* close behind at 16.5 percent and the *Advocate* at 14.3 percent, while the *Mercury* and *Pipestone Flyer* both opted not to use it at all. In contrast, the *Sun* had an aggressive game frame in 44.1 percent of its stories. All four newspapers using this frame applied it more often to male candidates than to female candidates, with the *Advocate* and *Gazette*

both reserving it exclusively for men.

The most popular aggressive game metaphors came from the worlds of warfare, football, hunting, hockey, and boxing. Journalists wrote that one woman politician seeking re-election in Edmonton had taken city hall "by storm" during her first term in office,[33] while a female colleague needed to "rally" her campaign volunteers in order to hold on to her seat.[34] One journalist noted a male candidate "kicked off" his re-election campaign in Edmonton, but another commented he also needed to "rally the troops" if he wanted to pursue his pet projects over the next three years.[35] A different male candidate "blasted" the city of Edmonton for being slow in responding to homelessness[36] while a Red Deer candidate was ready to "fight" for the downtrodden.[37] At times, candidates were responsible for the aggressive imagery. An Edmonton candidate described himself as a "straight shooter"[38] while a female candidate surveying individual ward campaigns said it was clear where the "big battles" were in the city.[39]

In each instance, journalists positioned both female and male candidates as the rhetorical aggressors. Male candidates were the ones who took "aim" at salary increases or infrastructure woes, who hoped to "beat" an incumbent, who had a "good shot" at a vacant council seat, or who planned to do one more "blitz" to secure votes.[40] Meanwhile, female candidates "hit" the road again in the final days of the campaign.[41] Neither male nor female candidates were portrayed as the victims of rhetorical aggression,[42] but they were sometimes depicted as idle participants in whatever political battle a journalist choose to describe. For example, a *Sun* editorial writer described a female incumbent and two male incumbents as "underperforming benchwarmers" during their time on Edmonton city council.[43]

TABLE 4
Gender framing of women and men council candidates in 2007 (in percentages)

NEWSPAPER	OVERALL	WOMEN CANDIDATES		MEN CANDIDATES	
	Within Paper	*Masculine*	*Feminine*	*Masculine*	*Feminine*
Edmonton Journal (n=85, n=5, n=14)	29.4%	40.0%	60.0%	78.6%	21.4%
Edmonton Sun (n=34, n=6, n=9)	50.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Red Deer Advocate (n=28, n=0, n=4)	21.4%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
St. Albert Gazette (n=12, n=0, n=1)	25.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Tofield Mercury (n=11, n=0, n=0)	0.0%	N/A	N/A	0.0%	0.0%
Millet Pipestone Flyer (n=12, n=0, n=0)	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

Overall cateogry: N=182.

Aggressive game imagery comprised the bulk of the gendered frames found in election coverage, and most were masculine in nature. Overall, 28 percent of all stories included a metaphor that could be described as traditionally masculine (warfare, hockey) or traditionally feminine (romance, cooking). Neither the *Mercury* nor the *Pipestone Flyer* used a gendered metaphor in their stories while the other newspapers ranged from a low of 21.4 percent (*Advocate*) to a high of 50 percent (*Sun*), as Table 4 shows. Stories that did have a gendered metaphor relied heavily on masculine imagery from the worlds of warfare and sports, and applied them more to men than women. Feminine imagery was used only by *Journal* reporters, and then more often for women (60 percent) than for men (21.4 percent). The other newspapers only used masculine metaphors for women candidates. It is important, though, not to over-emphasize the use of masculine or feminine metaphors: newspapers applied gendered imagery to women candidates in just 11 stories and to men candidates in 28 stories.

Although feminine imagery was applied to both groups of candidates, the discourse analysis found the source of the references was not the same for women and men. *Journal* reporters generated most of the

feminine metaphors used in relation to the female candidates while the male candidates were responsible for the ones associated with themselves. A staff writer reporting on the decision of a female and male candidate to produce joint election signs used described the duo in romantic terms as a "political odd couple."[44] In contrast, a man was quoted in his candidate profile as calling Rexall Place one of the "jewels" in his ward[45] while another male candidate said any council pay raise that exceeded that of the average Edmontonian looked like looting of the public "purse."[46] This candidate then went on to use a cooking reference, proclaiming the superpower he would most like to have was the ability to "add the right flavour to anything that was being concocted."[47]

What influence does type or format of newspaper have on the differences noted in the framing of the two groups of council aspirants? Chi-square tests show daily newspapers were more likely than community newspapers to employ an aggressive game frame ($phi=5.097$, $p<0.05$) and a gendered frame ($phi=8.128$, $p.<0.01$) in their overall election coverage, as well as a game frame with female candidates ($phi=5.600$, $p<0.05$).[48] Broadsheets were also far more likely to incorporate an aggressive game frame ($phi=5.568$, $p<0.05$) and a gendered frame ($phi=8.128$, $p<0.01$) in their coverage than tabloids but applied a game frame significantly more often to male candidates ($phi=5.278$, $p<0.05$). However, tabloids tended to draw upon masculine imagery for female candidates more frequently than did broadsheets ($phi=4.950$, $p<0.05$).[49]

Taking a closer look at the two Edmonton newspapers, the *Sun* relied heavily on a game frame in its election coverage ($phi=12.993$, $p<0.001$) and choose to use only masculine metaphors for female candidates ($phi=4.950$, $p<0.05$).[50] The *Journal*, on the other hand, was significantly less likely to

employ an aggressive game frame (phi=10.072, p<0.01) or a gendered frame (phi=4.508, p<0.05) than the *Sun*.

Viability

Like many personal traits, journalists opted not to make a big fuss about the electoral chances of either women or men candidates during the 2007 Alberta municipal campaign. A woman's viability was mentioned in 9.8 percent of stories on female candidates, while a man's viability was discussed in 13.1 percent of those on male candidates. Most mentions for both groups appeared in columns, though more so for women. Journalists generally viewed women's chances at the ballot box as positive with few negative evaluations, but they were more divided about the men's chances, offering a more even mix of positive, negative, and neutral/ balanced evaluations. Daily newspapers were responsible for all of the viability mentions for female candidates and most of the ones for male candidates, while tabloids were only slightly more likely than broadsheets to offer candidate evaluations for either group. None of these results were statistically significant.

A review of the language used by journalists when evaluating candidates found they relied on a mixture of neutral terminology and sports imagery. In several instances, journalists portrayed certain women and men as unviable candidates by emphasizing the fact they had sought—and failed to secure—public office on numerous occasions. One man was even described as a "faithful fringe" candidate.[51] On a positive note, journalists characterized some women and men as "strong" candidates, noting two had mounted "credible" campaigns in the 2004 municipal election.[52]

Columnists and reporters writing blogs made the most explicit

TABLE 5
Personal trait depictions of women and men council candidates by sex of reporter during the 2007 Alberta civic election (as a percentage of stories mentioning women or men candidates)

TRAITS	WOMEN CANDIDATES (n=75)					MEN CANDIDATES (n=110)				
	Gender	Age	Appearance	Family	Emotions	Gender	Age	Appearance	Family	Emotions
Female reporter	5.3	9.3 *	0.0	10.7 **	1.3	14.5 **	16.4 ***	0.9	16.4 ***	5.5
Male reporter	2.7	5.3 *	1.3	4.4 **	6.7	6.4 **	7.3 ***	3.6	5.5 ***	2.7

*p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001

comments about candidates' futures, especially in the week before the municipal vote. They generally relied on gender-neutral language, simply stating which female and/or male candidates they thought would win—or should win—in a particular ward. The only gendered evaluations of candidates came in the form of the aggressive sports imagery used by journalists throughout their election coverage. One writer suggested a female councillor might get "turfed" by two "strong repeat contenders," one of whom was a woman,[53] while another suggested a male challenger in another ward faced an "uphill battle" against the female and male incumbents.[54]

Sex of Reporter

Evidence suggests a reporter's sex played a role in how women and men candidates were depicted during the 2007 Alberta municipal election. In terms of personal traits, a woman candidate's gender, age, and family were mentioned most often by female reporters while their appearance and emotions were most frequently noted by male reporters. Chi-square tests found statistical significance only for age (phi=4.273, $p<0.05$) and family (phi=7.547, $p<0.01$).[55] As for a man candidate, female reporters were also significantly more likely than male reporters to mention his gender (phi=9.879, $p<0.01$), age (phi=11.298, $p<0.001$), and family (phi=14.758,

TABLE 6
Framing of women and men council candidates by sex of reporter in 2007 (in percentages)

FRAME	FEMALE REPORTER	MALE REPORTER
Game frame (n=122)	31.6% ***	68.4% ***
Women game frame (n=51)	32.3%	67.7s%
Men game frame (n=67)	32.1%	67.9%
Aggressive game frame (n=122)	31.3%	68.8%
Women aggressive game frame (n=17)	25.0%	75.0%
Men aggressive game frame (n=29)	35.0%	65.0%
Gendered frame (n=122)	26.2% **	73.8% **
Women (masculine) gendered frame (n=9)	25.0%	75.0%
Men (masculine) gendered frame (n=24)	33.3%	66.7%

*p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001

p<0.001) but not his emotions. As Table 5 shows, the only personal trait male reporters discussed more often than female reporters was a male candidate's appearance, but this did not reach significance.

Not only did female reporters pay more attention to personal traits, they also wrote more often about campaign platforms. Although both groups of journalists penned 36.2 percent of all articles reporting women candidates' thoughts on the issues, female journalists included an issue mention in more than three-quarters of all stories they wrote (77.8 percent) while male journalists did so in less than half (43.8 percent), a result that was statistically significant (phi=8.120, p<0.01). Female journalists were just as interested in men candidates' opinions, writing 30.6 percent of all stories discussing men's policy positions while male journalists contributed 28.8 percent. Female journalists were also significantly more likely to incorporate men's platforms in most of their stories (80 percent) while male journalists did so only about half the time (52.3 percent; phi=8.812, p<0.01). In contrast, male journalists let the candidates speak for themselves more than female journalists, quoting women an average of 26.60 words per story and men an average of 49.75 words while female

reporters gave women an average of 24.74 words and men 39 words. The quotation results were not statistically significant.

Male journalists also dominated the framing of women and men candidates. As Table 6 shows, male reporters used both a game frame and an aggressive game frame twice as often and a gendered frame three times as often as female reporters, but only the game frame (phi=13.143, $p<0.001$) and gendered frame (phi=8.479, $p<0.01$) reached statistical significance. Male reporters employed a game frame, an aggressive game frame, and a gendered frame more often than female reporters for both women and men candidates, but these results were not statistically significant.

As for electoral viability, male reporters noted the potential success or failure of women and men candidates more often than did female reporters. In only one news item did a female reporter comment on the electoral chances of a female candidate, evaluating her chances as positive, while male reporters remarked upon women's viability in eight stories, with assessments positive in four stories, negative in three, and neutral or balanced in one. A larger slate of male candidates might have contributed to men's greater number of mentions by both male and female reporters. Assessing men's electoral viability in five stories, female reporters made positive and negative comments in one story each and neutral or balanced comments in three stories. Male reporters wrote positively about male candidates in three out of 14 stories and negatively in six stories with the rest neutral. None of the viability and evaluation results were statistically significant.

TABLE 7
Visibility of women and men council candidates in six newspapers during the 2007 Alberta civic election (as percentage of stories mentioning women or men candidates)

PROMINENCE INDEX ITEMS	WOMEN CANDIDATES (n=92)	MEN CANDIDATES (n=160)
Named in story	91.3%	81.3%
Named first in story	37.0%	66.3%
Named in headline	2.2%	3.8%
Named in subhead	20.7%	26.9%
Featured in pull quote	3.3%	2.5%
Featured in photograph	3.3%	8.8%
Featured in mugshot	28.3%	41.9%
Prominence index*	**1.86**	**2.31**

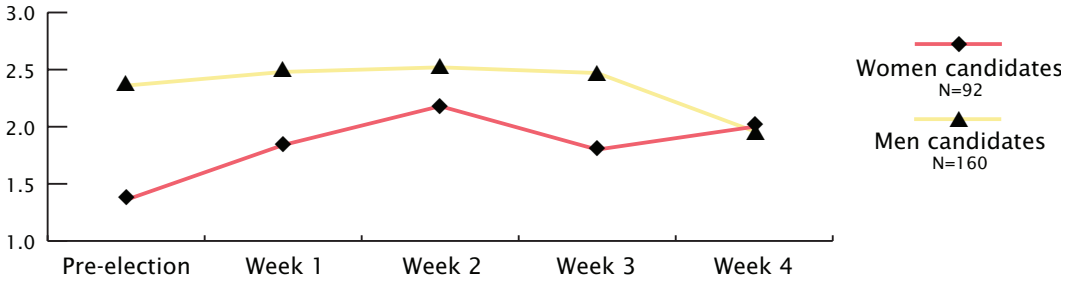
* The prominence index is expressed as a mean value, representing the average score for each story (out of a maximum of 7).

Visibility

Council candidates struggled to create a profile for themselves in the pages of both daily and community newspapers, with women finding it especially difficult to compete with the focus on mayoral candidates. As Table 7 shows, few men and fewer women were featured in a headline or photograph with both groups achieving a greater level of prominence only in subheads and mugshots (likely due to the style of the *Journal*'s candidate profiles). The fact more men than women were named in a story can be attributed primarily—but perhaps not exclusively—to a difference in the number of female and male candidates examined in this study. What is especially striking, though, is that men were twice as likely as women to be introduced first to the reader in those stories in which either were featured.

Each item listed in Table 7 focused on a different aspect of candidate visibility within a story. Together they measured the overall prominence of women and men council candidates in the six newspapers just before and during the 2007 Alberta municipal election. I calculated a prominent index

FIGURE 3
Mean scores on prominence index by women and men council candidates during 2007 Alberta civic election



for both women and men by adding each of the items together, with seven (7) as the highest value possible for each story and zero (0) the lowest.

Due to the cumulative nature of the prominence index, factor analysis was disregarded as a means of checking for validity because the assumptions of the test do not apply. Factor analysis assumes an index is *correlational*, or that its component parts overlap in what they measure—such as asking people for their thoughts on appropriate behaviour for women and men to produce a gender-roles attitude index. A *cumulative* index is comprised of a series of separate, discrete measures on a single topic.[56] In terms of newspaper layout, not every story is accompanied by a subhead, pull quote, photograph, or mugshot, so the presence of one item does not automatically mean the presence of another. Space constraints often limit how many design features an editor can incorporate into a story's layout. Still, the prominence index has face validity because newspapers rely on such design elements to make their pages more visually appealing to readers, and election stories that incorporate such layout devices are more likely to be read. The women's prominence index had a Cronbach's alpha of 0.519 while for the men's index it was 0.235, numbers that are not surprising considering the index is cumulative and not correlational.[57]

The two prominence indices reveal that male candidates achieved

greater visibility in election coverage than did their female counterparts, though the profile of neither group was particularly high. Overall, men had 2.31 prominence markers in each story compared to 1.86 for women.

One-way ANOVAs were conducted to track any changes in visibility for women and men during various stages of the campaign. As Figure 3 shows, men led the way for all but the last week of the six weeks studied, when women edged slightly ahead. Both men's and women's profiles were highest during the second week of the election, possibly a reflection of the length of time it took journalists to dig into the issues or put together candidate profiles after nomination day revealed who were the political aspirants.

As for individual newspapers, none made female candidates more prominent in its overall election coverage than the male candidates. The *Pipestone Flyer* gave women an average of 2.33 visibility markers per story in what little coverage it devoted to the Wetaskiwin city and county campaigns, while women had a modest profile in the more prolific *Journal* (2.11), *Advocate* (1.82), and *Sun* (1.68) and a low one in the *Gazette* (1.22). The *Mercury* did not have any women candidates to cover. Men were most prominent in the pages of the *Pipestone Flyer* (2.67), with the *Journal* (2.54) close behind, followed by the *Gazette* (2.36), *Advocate* (2.22), and *Sun* (2.12). Men were least visible in the *Mercury*'s election coverage and layout. (1.27). It should be noted that while the four largest newspapers offered steady coverage of the council candidates throughout the campaign, the *Mercury*'s and *Pipestone Flyer*'s prominence scores largely stem from the candidate profiles they printed in the week before the civic vote.

Differences between newspapers were only significant by format and then just for female candidates. Women were much more visible in

broadsheets ($t=2.444$, $p<0.05$), receiving 2.02 visibility markers per story compared to 1.62 in tabloids. As for the men, little variation existed between broadsheets (2.34) and tabloids (2.26). Daily newspapers made both women and men more prominent in election coverage than did community newspapers, but these results did not achieve statistical significance.

CONCLUSION

Results from the content and discourse analysis of how six newspapers covered the 2007 Alberta municipal election paints a complex picture of media bias against female political aspirants. Media depictions of women's personal traits such as gender, age, appearance, family, and emotions observed in this study appear to contradict previous studies, as do viability assessments. However, patterns in issue coverage, length of quotations, framing, and visibility of women municipal candidates mimic those found in research on national politics. Furthermore, the mixed influence of women journalists noted in this study only adds to the confusion in the literature over the role a reporter's sex might play in media bias. A more detailed analysis of the results and what they might mean for local women politicians will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS

INTRODUCTION

Judy LaMarsh was a rare bird in the gilded world of Ottawa politics in the 1960s. Her gender made her such an unusual sight at the federal cabinet table that journalists felt compelled to train their binoculars on every aspect of her personal life, recording the changing appearance of her feathers, speculating about her mating habits, and even inquiring about her diet. What these media birdwatchers did not do, though, was examine LaMarsh in her political environment as they tended to overlook her opinions, politics, and programs.

Although women today are slowly flocking to federal and provincial politics, their large-scale migration to municipal politics means women are a more common—and thus normal—sight in council chambers across the country. They are not exotic birds like LaMarsh. Nor do local journalists view them as such. My study of the 2007 Alberta municipal election found that reporters did not engage in blatantly sexist behaviour, typically ignoring the sartorial style of women council candidates and even their fitness for office in favour of more substantial matters such as their policy ideas. This result suggests politically ambitious women face a more neutral and, arguably, more welcoming media environment at the local level than at the provincial and national levels.

Still, women municipal politicians do face some media bias. While generally subtle in presentation, this bias appears to be an inherent feature of journalism itself and not simply the byproduct of a particular media environment or group of journalists. My research suggests theories about

the game frame and media invisibility of women politicians are applicable to more than just national election coverage. Yet my study did detect variations among different types and formats of newspapers, suggesting gender bias is not entrenched in all newsrooms to the same degree. Intervening factors such as circulation size, publishing frequency, and news hole could accentuate or ameliorate any bias expressed against women politicians in a specific newspaper. In short, this study makes it clear that female council candidates do not inhabit the same media environment as their national counterparts.

So what specific media challenges do they face? The answer to this question lies in a more thorough understanding of the study's data, as outlined in the previous chapter. In this chapter, I will analyze each group of results before making overall observations about women politicians and newspaper election coverage.

CANDIDATES, CAMPAIGNS, AND COVERAGE

This study examined media depictions for 98 candidates in six Alberta communities during the 2007 municipal election. The sheer number of political hopefuls in each council campaign, especially in Edmonton, made it difficult for even the most willing of newspapers to offer more than an elementary amount of coverage about each person. News stories became too long when journalists tried to include comments from every council candidate. And that says nothing about the amount of effort required for reporters to contact and then interview an average of 10 candidates on a regular basis. No such problem existed for them in the mayoral campaigns. Even if the slate of mayoral candidates was long, journalists typically focused on the top two or three office seekers and news stories on them took less

time and less space. Mayors also have more prestige, pay, and perceived power than do councillors, so who was campaigning for that position was usually of greater interest to journalists and the public alike.

The Edmonton campaign proved to be an especially daunting case for local journalists for a number of reasons. The city's six-ward electoral system, and the number of candidates it attracted as a result, meant the *Journal* and *Sun* had to cover the equivalent of six municipal campaigns in additional to the mayoral campaign. Even with their greater reporting resources and frequency of publication, the two daily newspapers could not hope to offer voters adequate information about every candidate in each ward. Only those council aspirants who found a way to stand apart from the crowd could count on more than basic coverage.

The weekly newspapers had fewer candidates to cover, but their smaller reporting staffs and, more importantly, their longer news cycle did not permit them much opportunity to do extensive election coverage. Smaller news holes also meant the civic campaign had to compete with other community priorities for the limited editorial space available. The *Mercury* and *Pipestone Flyer* simply could not have generated many more election stories than they did. But this is not to suggest they did an acceptable job of reporting on their respective campaigns; a lack of issue coverage outside of candidate profiles was especially disappointing.

The *Gazette* was a notable exception among the weeklies. It printed many stories about local and area campaigns, in part due to its twice weekly appearance on newsstands, but many of these items could not be analyzed because they either did not focus on St. Albert council candidates or were clearly written by the candidates themselves. The *Gazette*'s story count for this study thus does not accurately reflect the size of its overall election

coverage.

The logistics involved in reporting about a large group of council hopefuls was likely responsible for newspapers' heavy reliance on candidate profiles, which comprised a large portion of all election stories in this study. Reporters used this story form to offer voters a more in-depth introduction to individual candidates, one that went beyond their positions on the hot-button election issues to their specific campaign platforms and personal and/or professional qualifications. In fact, profiles were often the only means by which aspiring councillors received any concentrated coverage.

As for other types of stories, the small number of editorials and columns across the six newspapers was both good and bad for women candidates. Opinion writers made most of the judgments about who was (not) suitable for public office, so their decision not to proffer too many thoughts on the subject meant local women politicians did not encounter the same level of leadership evaluations that can hamper women in national politics. On the other hand, columnists' sporadic interest in writing about the campaign suggests the civic election itself had a low public profile. How could the campaign generate the interest of citizens if it could barely get seasoned press pundits talking? Limited public debate likely made it harder for women candidates to attract volunteers and voters to their campaigns.

Newspaper layout did not draw in readers either. My study found editors chose not to embellish their election coverage with too many attention-grabbing design elements, opting instead for a simple layout. This bare-bones approach bucked a growing trend in print journalism toward more engaging layouts to attract younger readers who are used to the elaborate visuals of computers, video games, and high-tech movies

and who have access to a greater array of news choices thanks to the Internet (see Zerba, 2008; Poindexter, 2008). Women's low media visibility in the 2007 Alberta municipal election must partly be attributed to how newspapers presented their election coverage.

So what does all this mean for women candidates? Essentially, their ability to attract media attention to their campaign is, to a degree, influenced by factors not related to their gender, such as the community in which they live, the electoral system it uses, the number of people seeking a particular seat, the resources of the local media, the operational constraints under which journalists operate, and general public apathy. A successful media strategy will need to address these issues.

PERSONAL TRAITS

As LaMarsh discovered during her ministerial days, media fascination with a woman's personal traits can interfere with her ability to focus attention on her politics or, more basically, to be taken seriously as a politician. Feminist scholars argue journalists depict women as anomalies in the masculine world of politics through repeated references to their gender, age, appearance, family, and emotions. In short, women are domesticated by personal trait coverage. Describing a woman politician as a mother draws attention to her gender and family situation, thereby invoking traditional gender stereotypes that insist a woman's place is in the home and not in the House of Commons. Age can do the same work, with young mothers asked how they can combine family and politics. Additionally, a preoccupation with a woman's looks not only detracts from her intelligence and character but makes her appear inconsequential and insubstantial. And references to a woman's emotions portray her as too

irrational or unpredictable for a job that supposedly requires a cool sense of logic.

Personal trait coverage can also invoke traditional gender stereotypes for men politicians but with few, if any, of the negative consequences that women face. Noting a man's gender cannot highlight his odd presence in politics since he does not have one: politics is a historically male pursuit. And who cares how young or old he is? Or if he has children? Since even young fathers are expected to be in the workforce, journalists do not question a man politician's ability to balance his public and family responsibilities or his right to be in politics at any stage of his life. In fact, men politicians can use media depictions of themselves as family men to assure voters they would also make compassionate leaders. Comments about their physical looks and emotional well-being also fail to trivialize men to the same degree they do women.

But the concerns feminist scholars have about this particular aspect of journalistic behaviour toward women in federal politics do not appear to be an issue in municipal politics. My research on the 2007 Alberta civic election indicates that women council candidates not only received a small amount of personal trait coverage but they also received less than their male colleagues. Local journalists simply did not pay much attention to women's gender, appearance, or emotions, nor did they obsess about women's age or family situations.

In fact, the level of family mentions for both women and men candidates was not unexpected considering the nature of civic politics: voters want to know how deep candidates' roots are in the community or ward they seek to represent, which they often demonstrate by noting how long their family has lived in the area. And this information is expected

of all candidates regardless of their gender, ethnicity, or other personal characteristics. Thus, women in local government face a potential Catch-22 situation. If they mention their family roles, they risk invoking gender stereotypes that position them as outsiders in politics. But if they do not mention their local roots, they risk being viewed as outsiders in the community.

The factual nature of family references in newspaper coverage suggests this should not be a huge concern for female council aspirants. Local journalists refrained from using traditional gender roles to explicitly question any woman candidate's suitability for civic office. One reason might be the close proximity of city hall to a woman's home. Women councillors' short commute to work means they can more easily combine family and work than can other women politicians, who must often spend the week in another city or province when the legislature or parliament is in session (Gidengil and Vengroff, 1997: 514; Maillé, 1997: 109; Ryan et al, 2005: 439; Trimble, 1995b: 105). In short, journalists and society perceive women councillors' violation of gender norms to be less acute or overt.

If media coverage of their private life is a potential concern, women councillors apparently do not need to worry about a media spotlight on their looks. My study found a near absence of references to a woman's appearance, with the sole comment made by the candidate herself to illustrate her thoughts about a campaign issue. This finding suggests two possibilities about local journalists: they have responded to feminist complaints about overtly sexist coverage of women politicians or they are naturally more focused on the issues than their national counterparts. Testimony from former Canadian prime minister Kim Campbell hints at the latter. During her political career, she found regional media outlets cared

more about issues affecting their area while the Ottawa press pack was more interested in the political horse race (Goodyear-Grant, 2009: 158).

Like other groups of journalists, though, local scribes did engage in gender marking of women council candidates. Calling them "mothers" and "businesswomen" appeared innocuous at first glance, especially when men candidates were also called "fathers" and "businessmen." But journalists typically gendered men in their individual profiles, where it is common to share personal and professional details about a candidate. In contrast, they included gender markers for women candidates in news stories as often as they did in profiles, suggesting a woman's gender still plays a subtle role in her evaluation as a prospective politician.

Age was also used by the media to highlight the presence of candidates who deviated from the middle-aged norm for politics but typically for those who were much younger. Edmonton journalists routinely drew attention to the youthfulness of two twentysomething male candidates seeking their first term on city council. The absence of a young female candidate made it impossible to determine if this particular coverage had a gendered component. But the high number of age mentions for both women and men suggests that, like family background, many journalists view this detail as an important piece of information voters should have when deciding how to cast their ballot.

Journalists also spilled some ink to describe the emotional state of mind of women. The amount noted in the content analysis seems high when considering local election coverage was oriented to the issues, but this result can partly be attributed to my cautious approach to coding: I searched each story for any words or phrases that contained even the slightest hint of feelings. The discourse analysis, though, found few

instances of journalists highlighting extreme displays of emotion by either women or men candidates, but they did treat the two groups differently in terms of where these depictions appeared. Emotional references popped up most often in news stories for women compared to candidate profiles for men, and then primarily in the large-circulation *Journal*, suggesting media portrayal of women as less rational than men might mainly be the work of larger daily newspapers. This supports my argument that smaller newspapers do not exhibit the same level of media bias against women politicians that has been observed in large or elite media organizations.

Overall, results from the content analysis suggest personal trait coverage is not a major problem for women seeking municipal office in Alberta. Newspapers of varying types did not dwell on a woman's appearance, gender, or emotions and did not engage in excessive reporting on her age or family background. What is of concern are two trends observed during the discourse analysis. While reporters generally stuck to the facts, columnists used personal traits to actively shape the public image of a few women (and men) council candidates during the civic campaign. This practice is hardly unexpected considering their job is to express an opinion, but it does suggest women in municipal politics need a specific media strategy for handling columnists.

In fact, women with political ambitions need to develop their overall media skills before making any bid for elected office. This includes being aware of what information they should—and should not—share with journalists. My discourse analysis found that candidates were responsible for many of their personal trait mentions, indicating women can positively or negatively influence the coverage they receive. Women who understand how the local media function and how journalists can use personal details

against them will be in a stronger position to mold their public image before, during, and after the campaign.

ISSUE COVERAGE

Candidate agency also appears to influence the amount of issue coverage the media produce during an election. In their study of the 2004 and 2006 Canadian federal contests, Stuart Soroka and Blake Andrew found the major parties exerted a strong influence over how journalists reported on the campaign: when the parties spent most of their time attacking each other in 2004, reporters generated more horse-race stories than normal; when the parties focused on promoting their ideas and policies in 2006, reporters wrote more about the issues (2009: 122). We can conclude from their research that journalists cover the issues, in part, because candidates talk about them. And candidates certainly appeared to in the 2007 Alberta civic election. My study found an impressive amount of issue coverage for both women and men, though men received more.

Not surprisingly, the three dailies produced the lion's share of the issue coverage examined in this study. A newspaper's ability to disseminate policy ideas depends in large part on how frequently it publishes and the amount of editorial space available in each edition. With their larger reporting staffs and news holes, dailies are best positioned to investigate and discuss the hot topics of the local campaign. Weeklies have fewer resources, but the *Gazette* showed that an interested community newspaper can still offer voters a grounding in the issues. The two smallest weeklies examined in this study, the *Mercury* and *Pipestone Flyer*, shortchanged politicians and voters by printing only candidate profiles, foregoing any regular news coverage of the candidates. Policy ideas thus competed with a candidate's

personal and professional details for limited space in the profiles. If this approach is the norm for weeklies, then women in small communities are campaigning in low information environments where a media strategy will be far less important than traditional strategies such as door-knocking and pamphlet distribution in reaching voters. So while media bias does not appear to be an issue for small-town women politicians, the general lack of media coverage is.

Aside from the overall amount of issue coverage, the only difference between women and men council candidates was in what type of story journalists discussed policy positions. Women saw their issue mentions appear most often in news stories while men had an equal number of mentions in news stories and candidate profiles. The fact women's candidate profiles contained fewer issue mentions is a cause for concern, especially if smaller newspapers only offer this type of election coverage.

Regardless of where issue coverage was found, women did not appear to have an impact on the topics raised. Unlike American research, which found the presence of women candidates broadened the issue agenda in mayoral contests (Atkeson and Krebs, 2008), women council candidates in Alberta discussed the same subjects as their male colleagues: primarily property taxes, housing, roads, and the local economy. Candidates of either sex rarely raised issues beyond the traditional scope of local government, with the notable exception of current popular topics such as homelessness and environmentalism.

QUOTATIONS

If journalists depicted women as serious candidates through strong issue coverage, they did not use quotations to portray women as

substantial ones. They gave women candidates fewer opportunities to speak directly to voters, opting instead to interpret women's campaign messages by paraphrasing what they had to say more often than they did for men, lending support to the gender mediation theory promoted by Canadian scholars Elisabeth Gidengil and Joanna Everitt. They based their understanding of the importance of quotations in part on Daniel C. Hallin's work on shrinking American television soundbites. He argued that shorter soundbites are an indication of greater mediation on the part of journalists (1992: 9). Yet he said hearing a politician speak at length gives the public "a feeling of understanding something of the person's character and the logic of his or her argument," which enables them to judge the person for themselves (1992: 19). Due to women's shorter average quotations, Alberta voters did not get the same chance to evaluate a woman candidate's worthiness for public office as they did a man candidate's.

Again, newspaper type appeared to matter in how women were treated. The *Journal* included substantially longer average quotes from women in its stories than did the other four newspapers covering women candidates. Women enjoyed many more opportunities to state their own case and to demonstrate their intelligence and communication skills to voters through the large-circulation daily. Even though the *Journal* did quote men more, the gap between the two groups was by no means as wide as those seen in the medium-circulation *Sun*, small-circulation *Advocate*, or semi-weekly *Gazette*. The *Pipestone Flyer* barely quoted anyone. The wide gap in quotation length between women and men in the *Advocate* and *Gazette* was especially disappointing considering both newspapers clearly devoted themselves to covering the issues. The *Advocate* had approximately the same number of women and men candidates, yet it gave men almost twice

as many quoted words per story than it did women. The *Gazette* had only a token number of women in the St. Albert campaign and it showed in the quotations: the two female candidates saw their male colleagues get an average of three times the word count they did. Shorter quotes portrayed women candidates as less substantial than their male colleagues.

FRAMING

So far, my investigation into media bias has revealed a more neutral, yet nuanced, press environment in Alberta for women politicians. Journalists working at four types of newspapers did not engage in blatant discrimination against women council candidates during the 2007 civic election, though I did note some subtle drawbacks in relation to personal trait mentions, issue coverage, and quotations. I found the same mixture of positive developments and ongoing challenges when it came to how the newspapers framed women candidates. The game frame was a ubiquitous feature of municipal election coverage. As they do with other types of public office, journalists clearly viewed the civic campaign as a competition that had to be won and used language that conveyed this attitude. All six newspapers used a game frame in their election coverage—though to varying degrees—and applied it more to men than to women.

However, the game frame used most often in municipal election coverage was gender-neutral. Journalists in Alberta generally preferred to describe women and men candidates as "running" for a seat on council, employing as a metaphor a sport not associated with one specific gender, unlike football (male) or ringette (female). And while running might be a competitive sport, it is not an overly aggressive one, so its use as imagery in election stories was not particularly harmful to women because it did

not depict them in an "unnaturally" aggressive stance. Voters likely did not view them as violating deeply held gender norms.

The same could not be said for aggressive imagery. In their research on Canadian party leaders, Gidengil and Everitt found the public reacts negatively to aggressive speech verbs (2003b: 200). Other scholars have argued that aggressive imagery from the worlds of war and sports portray women as out of place in the world of politics, potentially harming their electoral prospects. But while women in national politics need to be concerned with the language journalists use, women in municipal politics generally do not. My content analysis found that only the *Sun* used an aggressive game frame in a large portion of its election coverage, while the rest used it in only a fraction, if at all. Most local journalists refrained from depicting women council candidates as warriors or boxers. Reporters usually only described men candidates in this way, which did them no harm and could have even reinforced their legitimacy as candidates, as men are the traditional political gladiators.

When aggressive metaphors were used to describe women candidates, my discourse analysis found they were never portrayed as the victims of rhetorical aggression—they were always the rhetorical aggressors. This result indicates the media viewed women council candidates as active, rather than passive, political agents. But press portrayals of these women as aggressive carried the risk that they were seen by voters as unnatural political animals instead of the more socially appropriate political healers and mediators (Cantrell and Bachmann, 2008: 436-38).

My study did not address Gidengil and Everitt's assertion that the media accentuate the aggressive behaviour of women politicians and ignore those who display none at all. They drew their conclusions from

discrepancies between how the media covered national leaders' debates and what actually happened during the televised events. I did not undertake a similar exercise with all-candidates' forums, but their theory is worth exploring at the municipal level. Does local media use aggressive speech verbs in civic election coverage? Does aggressive language have an impact on how voters view council candidates? Can we attribute the near invisibility of women (and even men) council candidates in newspaper coverage to a lack of aggressive behaviour on the part of politicians or on the general lack of opportunities for such behaviour in comparison to national politics? Does the local media's emphasis on the issues instead of who is winning make aggressive language appear out of place? Since Gidengil and Everitt were focused on national party leaders, the ideal comparison would be with media coverage of mayoral candidates.

Aggressive imagery from the world of sports and war was the source of most of the gendered metaphors found in Alberta election stories. Not surprisingly, newspaper reporters segregated their metaphors, largely reserving the masculine ones for the men and the feminine ones for the women. Only the *Journal* mixed and matched. An unexpected result of the discourse analysis, though, was the timidity of *Journal* reporters in applying feminine imagery to men. The male candidates produced all of the cooking and fashion imagery found in their election coverage, suggesting they were far more comfortable with depicting themselves or their thoughts in feminine terms than were journalists.

As I anticipated, framing was much more prevalent in larger newspapers than in smaller ones. Community newspapers appeared to take a more straightforward approach to election coverage, using aggressive and gendered imagery far less often than did the dailies, indicating that

women candidates can expect a more neutral media environment in smaller communities than in big cities. I also tested whether newspaper format was associated with framing, with tabloids employing a masculine metaphor far more often than broadsheets. However, in this instance, I suspect the format variable really measured the influence of editorial slant than size of news hole on the presence of a frame. And since I did not categorize newspapers according to their editorial philosophies, no conclusions should be made from this output.

Despite these results, it is worth repeating that the amount of gendered and even aggressive imagery was quite small and therefore not a significant feature of municipal election coverage. So while gender mediation theory is relevant to municipal politics, the main issue is really one of degree. Women council candidates do encounter some mediation but not to the same extent as women in national politics. As a result, women seeking civic office face a media environment that is more inclusive or, at the very least, less hostile to their presence in politics. Still, journalists throughout the industry need to expand their election vocabulary to find new ways of describing politics. Good writing always invents and reinvents language.

VIABILITY

As with gendered metaphors, I found very little evidence of journalists making viability assessments about women (and men) council candidates. Only a handful of stories evaluated the electoral chances or leadership qualities of female hopefuls, and these were mainly written by columnists and bloggers. Women did not face explicit comments about their viability for much of the campaign, enabling them to build a public profile free from

press interference. Journalists generally kept their opinions to themselves until the week or so before the election, when their influence would be the greatest over voters deciding how to cast their ballot and even if they should cast one at all. The few women who were subjected to such viability assessments were generally viewed favourably.

Still, the fact that columnists working for daily newspapers made most of these judgments supports my argument that women in small communities with only a weekly newspaper do not campaign in the same kind of media environment as do women in big cities with multiple media outlets. Community newspapers printed few opinion pieces on their local campaigns, often refraining from naming any candidates. Even opinion writers at the small-circulation *Advocate* daily newspaper were careful about naming names. Only the large- and medium-circulation dailies were bold in their appraisals. Since one daily was cautious in its editorializing, I cannot make the conclusion that a smaller news hole or longer news cycle played a factor in community newspapers' decision not to assess the quality of their local female candidates. The answer might lie in the nature of small communities, where "every opinion in a small-town paper is scrutinized and weighed with a care seldom given to big-city stories and editorials" (Allentuck, 1991: 13). Small-town journalists are also more easily held accountable by a reading public who can spot even anonymous editors in the grocery store and who have no qualms about voicing their concerns at the checkout line.

While the number of evaluations for both women and men candidates was small, journalists' repeated use of game and gendered imagery while offering their judgments served to reinforce women's outsider status in politics. Columnists often framed the campaign for a council as a battle,

noting some challengers faced an "uphill battle" against incumbents or calling repeat councillors "political backbenchers" who failed to do much during their tenure. As other scholars have noted, placing female candidates in a war-like setting jars with society's traditional view of women as passive and compassionate creatures. Press evaluations that use sports or war imagery thus carry the risk of portraying women as unnaturally aggressive or unfeminine, even when those assessments are positive in tone. Some columnists did use gender-neutral terminology to judge women candidates, but the pervasiveness of the game frame in election coverage means viability assessments are a concern not only for women in national politics but, to a lesser extent, in municipal politics as well.

SEX OF REPORTER

Untangling the influence of a reporter's sex on press coverage is perhaps the most difficult area of research on women, media, and politics. Scholars have only recently begun to investigate the professional and societal constraints on women journalists and how they have (not) been successful in transforming the manner in which media report on women as a group. Much work remains before we fully understand whether women journalists are in a position to eliminate or, at best, mitigate media bias against women politicians. For now, extant research offers conflicting findings, from women journalists improving the quality of election coverage to having no positive effect at all.

My study only adds to the confusion over what role a reporter's sex has on election coverage. I found that female reporters provided both more personal trait mentions and issue coverage for women candidates than did male reporters, indicating they simultaneously portrayed women as

trivial and substantial candidates. The personal trait finding raised several questions: are male journalists more sensitive to feminist arguments that focusing on a woman candidate's personal details is sexist? Do female journalists think they cannot discriminate against other women and so are not careful in how they report? Or is it a matter of gender segregation in newsroom assignments?

My content analysis indicates the latter question has some validity. Returning to the data, I discovered a clear difference in who wrote which type of election story. Excluding articles without a byline, women reporters authored all of the profiles—where personal details about candidates are normally found—while men reporters penned about two-thirds of the news stories, all of the editorials, and most of the columns. In spite of this sexual division of labour, women journalists still managed to incorporate more information about campaign platforms in their stories than did their male colleagues. Women reporters thus likely did not intentionally try to depict women candidates as trivial but simply wrote the stories assigned to them.

Considering female reporters took an issue-focused approach to election coverage, I expected them to quote women candidates at greater length than did male reporters. Not so. Both groups of journalists gave women approximately the same number of words per story but allocated men considerably more. The fact women candidates were paraphrased more often indicates they were subjected to greater mediation by all journalists than were their male counterparts. So while the level of issue coverage was a positive development uncovered by this study, journalists must still be made aware of the importance of allowing women candidates to express themselves more often in their own words.

Reducing or even neutralizing the game frame in election coverage, though, will not only require more than just media awareness but a more diverse media as well. My study found men journalists were responsible for most of the game frames, aggressive game frames, and gendered frames applied to women council candidates. Men journalists were also more likely to make (potentially harmful) judgments about a candidate's viability. In comparison, women journalists were generally more neutral in their reporting than men, using fewer gendered frames and making fewer evaluations. Depending on how well they avoid socialization to the media's traditionally masculine norms, more women in journalism—and political journalism in particular—could help loosen the grip the game frame has on reporting of all types of public office.

VISIBILITY

As encouraging and cautionary as the results of my content and discourse analyses have been, the single most important media obstacle for women in municipal politics to overcome is not media bias but media invisibility. My study found women council candidates had a low level of prominence in newspaper coverage during the 2007 Alberta municipal election, both overall and in comparison to their male competitors. Women were simply not pushed into the public's consciousness by being featured in eye-grabbing layout elements such as headlines, subheads, pull quotes, mugshots, or photographs. The fact male candidates also experienced poor media visibility indicates that any individual vying for a council seat will struggle to build a public profile.

Still, men are more favoured by the media. Male candidates were named first in a story far more often than female candidates, even when

women outnumbered the men. For example, two female incumbents campaigned against one female challenger and one male challenger to hold on to their seats in Edmonton's ward one. Yet the *Sun* profile on the ward opened with the young male challenger discussing his reasons for getting involved in civic politics, then moved on to the two female incumbents and their thoughts on the top issues in the ward, and finished with the female challenger discussing both election issues and her love of politics.[1] The reporter likely did not recognize his subtle sexism by prioritizing the lone male candidate, but it does offer evidence that, at least subconsciously, the media continue to view men as the political norm and treat their candidacies more seriously as a result.

This particular form of gender bias appears to be widespread in the media, as none of the newspapers examined in this study gave women a higher profile than men. The *Gazette*'s results were the most disappointing. The semi-weekly made male candidates twice as conspicuous in its election coverage than female candidates. Like the *Gazette*, the *Advocate* took a strong issue-focused approach to the election, but it managed to make women almost as visible as men. This result can be attributed to the daily's clear search for fairness: if men were consistently named first in a story, it was because, in some cases, the newspaper mentioned candidates in alphabetical order and the women's last names put them near the bottom of such a list.[2] Furthermore, journalism's valorization of balanced reporting might help explain why women's overall visibility slightly overcame men's in the final week of the campaign. As the vote neared, this professional value likely came to the fore and compelled editors to be careful to treat each candidate the same as the others; if they ran mugshots of one political hopeful, they had to run mugshots of them all—or none at all.

So how do local women candidates stack up against those seeking national office when it comes to media visibility? It is hard to say. Comparisons with Linda Trimble's research on the potential relationship between the sex of party leadership candidates and media visibility proved difficult, even though the prominence index I used was based on the one she developed for her study. The campaign dynamics she observed during three federal Conservative leadership contests were not present in the Alberta civic campaign, at least not for the women.[3] Their visibility did not benefit from the highly newsworthy presence of a female celebrity candidate or a woman seeking or securing a particular office for the first time. Trimble's study also focused on only a handful of candidates at any one time, whereas my study examined the prominence of 98 candidates all at once. Moreover, the type of horse-race coverage that can boost or reduce media visibility for national leadership hopefuls was not a major factor for council candidates. A more apt comparison would be with aspiring mayors. Still, women council candidates are far less visible in the media than their elite counterparts.

NEWSPAPER TYPE AND ELECTION COVERAGE

Examining the results found in each category of inquiry, my study suggests that differences between newspapers do matter in how well municipal elections are covered. A daily newspaper has the human resources to make civic affairs an integral part of its watchdog duties. It has several journalists to interview scores of candidates for individual profiles, to attend public forums to hear them debate one another, to delve into the issues plaguing a particular ward or community, to offer light-hearted looks at campaigning for office, and to write any number of other news

items that round out comprehensive coverage of an election. It also has a photographer or two who can provide engaging visuals to compliment a story, as well as the editorial space to serve voters a daily dish of election news. In contrast, a community newspaper often relies on one reporter to prepare profiles, attend forums, take pictures, and cover other aspects of the local campaign, and it also fewer pages and less opportunity to publish these stories.

A community's size and electoral system complicate a newspaper's ability to cover a municipal election. Unlike big cities, small towns do not have a business sector large enough to support several media organizations, creating a news monopoly for weekly newspapers that can be detrimental to women candidates if the publisher eschews political coverage in favour of pieces on education, health care, or other topics viewed of more interest to local readers. Big cities can sustain several news outlets, including a daily newspaper, but the ward system common to city councils often results in a long list of candidates that can prove difficult for the media to cover. Mid-sized communities that have a small-town slate of candidates but a business sector big enough to support a daily newspaper provide an ideal environment for women candidates seeking substantial media attention. In short, women seeking office in big-city wards suffer a media invisibility only surpassed by those campaigning in small towns, whereas women in small cities can expect a comparatively strong amount of coverage.

Examining newspapers by type, my study found subtle differences in the challenges each faced when putting together an election package. The large-circulation *Journal* was in the best position to extensively report on the civic vote, but it could not offer extensive coverage of each candidate because of the large number of individuals competing for a council seat.

The medium-circulation *Sun* covered the same long list of candidates as the *Journal,* but its smaller reporting staff and its smaller page sizes meant its story count was substantially smaller. The small-circulation *Advocate* had the best circumstances of the three dailies: it had a manageable list of candidates, several reporters, and a large page size in which to print its stories each day.

The community newspapers could not be as comprehensive in their coverage as the dailies due to their longer news cycles and smaller page sizes. The semi-weekly *Gazette* publishes two issues a week, a fact it took advantage of to provide voters with a lot of information about the mayoral and council candidates in St. Albert and surrounding communities.[4] The two smaller weeklies, the *Mercury* and the *Pipestone Flyer*, could not compete with the other four newspapers in terms of story count due to their seven-day publishing schedule and smaller page sizes.

Other internal factors at work in newsrooms can dictate the direction and scope of election coverage. The specific interests, attitudes, and editorial beliefs of journalists working at a newspaper can influence the approach it takes or does not take to political reporting. In a tiny community newsroom, a reporter keen on civic affairs can make council a priority among her overall duties whereas a reporter who dislikes politics or prefers other beats will have little time for town hall. Reporters do not have the same degree of agency at daily newspapers, where editors manage a larger staff and can simply assign someone else to the city hall beat.

The interaction of newspaper type, journalistic agency, community size, and electoral system could result in the same news organization taking different approaches to covering municipal, provincial, and federal politics. For example, each riding having only a handful of candidates will

make it easier for newspapers to cover provincial and federal elections. Only metropolitan areas, with several ridings within the city or regional limits, will complicate news gathering. Women candidates will find it easier to get press attention when the media are focused on only one or two ridings. Thus, scholars should not underestimate the importance of factors other than media bias in the coverage women politicians receive. Women must navigate a local media scene that is unique to each community and to each level or type of office they seek.

CONCLUSION

Overall, women municipal politicians do not face the same intense media bias that saturates election coverage of women federal politicians. The media do note their personal traits and subject them to the game frame, but local women politicians are generally free from the overt and subtle condemnation for any perceived violations of societal gender norms that often befalls women seeking elite national office. Local women politicians also receive substantial coverage of their campaign platforms, though improvements can be made in how much they are permitted by reporters to speak for themselves. While their media visibility is low and has clear gendered connotations, women are no more disadvantaged by it than the men—all council candidates struggle to be seen by voters.

My study of how four types of newspapers covered the 2007 Alberta municipal election has provided valuable insight into the unique media environment in which local women politicians must campaign. However, much research remains to be done before we can fully understand the basic similarities and complex differences in media depictions of women in municipal, provincial, and federal politics. In the next chapter, I will

offer some strategies women candidates can use to improve their press coverage when campaigning for municipal office before discussing some of the questions that should guide future studies on women, media, and politics.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

SUMMARY OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

Media bias is not a major obstacle for aspiring women councillors. My research on newspaper coverage of the 2007 Alberta municipal election found few instances of the blatant sexism that can be common in media depictions of women in national office. Local daily and community journalists did not pay much heed to women council candidates' age, appearance, gender, family, or emotions—even in comparison to the men—and certainly did not use their personal traits to make negative evaluations about their suitability for office. They did not use a woman's sartorial style to question her leadership skills like American journalists did when they paraded Hillary Clinton's pantsuits as a metaphor for her supposed inability to be president of the United States (Mandziuk, 2008). Local reporters also did a decent job in presenting women's campaign platforms to voters, though a gender bias did creep into the amount of issue coverage and the average length of quotations they gave women opposed to men. Journalists presented women as serious candidates, but their decision to more frequently discuss men's policy ideas and to quote them meant journalists subtly portrayed men as more substantial political contenders.

Unlike national journalists, local columnists did not constantly assess the competencies of local women politicians throughout the campaign, offering only a few opinions as voting day drew near, and what judgments they did make about women were generally positive and rarely gendered in nature. Local journalists clearly let voters make up their own minds about female civic candidates. While women reporters did not come

to the rescue of women candidates—in fact, they deepened media bias through shorter quotations and more personal trait coverage—they did have a positive impact on election coverage by placing a greater emphasis on the issues than their male colleagues and generally ignoring the game frame, aggressive game frame, and gendered frame. This finding hints at the possibility that more diversity in the newsroom could improve the quality and range of political reporting in the long term.

Although local women council candidates received more gender-neutral trait and issue coverage than their national counterparts, they could not escape masculine metaphors. My research indicates the game frame is common to all types of election coverage and is not just a feature of national reporting. Aggressive game and gendered frames were far less prevalent in local daily and community newspaper coverage, but they still followed the patterns found in studies of elite newspaper coverage. Theories about the game frame and its role in re-emphasizing women's traditional and historical exclusion from politics can thus be tentatively extended to municipal media. Likewise, observations about how the media generally ignore the average woman politician in national politics also apply to the average woman in civic politics. Women council candidates suffered from an extreme media invisibility during the 2007 Alberta municipal election that was likely a far greater threat to their success at the ballot box than any media bias.

My study also found some evidence that newspapers do adapt their election coverage to the resources available to them and to the community they are in. In general, daily newspapers can afford to produce more stories over the course of a campaign, but they are limited in their ability to provide voters with an extensive understanding of all the candidates seeking a seat

on city council, especially in cities with a ward system that draws out scores of aspiring politicians. Community newspapers have fewer individuals to cover but also fewer opportunities to offer voters anything more than an elementary look at their local candidates. Aspiring women councillors therefore need to be aware of the nature of the media industry in their community and plan their media strategies accordingly. In the rest of this chapter, I offer ideas on how women politicians can deal with the media in order to improve their visibility before concluding with suggestions for new avenues of academic inquiry to broaden our understanding of the intersections and interactions of women, politics, and media.

MEDIA STRATEGIES

Women thinking about a career in politics need to put as much effort into developing their media skills as they do devising a platform, raising money, and soliciting volunteers. The ability to conduct themselves well in front of a television camera, radio microphone, or newspaper tape recorder can have a large impact on their public image. Women politicians who get their point across succinctly and colourfully are highly quotable and more likely to draw media attention. Cultivating the media, though, requires more than just a quick wit: women need to understand the strengths and weaknesses of the various news media and how to make each work for them. Women also need alternative information strategies for campaigns where the media are not a major factor in informing voters about the election. I have based the following recommendations on the results of my study as well as on two decades as a journalist at community and daily newspapers. These suggestions are primarily geared toward interacting with newspaper journalists, but some can be used or adapted to build relationships with

media professionals in other news media.

1. *Have a plan*. Politically ambitious women need to craft a communication strategy long before launching their bid for public office. Building a public profile through the media is difficult to do during a four-week campaign, so women need to get started as soon as they decide to become a council candidate—even if they do not yet know when they will seek the seat. The first step is to do some research. Books on media relations explain everything from who journalists are and how they work to the techniques that can be used to engage the press and the finer points of being interviewed. After outlining their plan, women need to put their new-found media skills to use by soliciting coverage of their community and/or professional activities. The idea is for women to create a public name for themselves before they file their nomination papers.

2. Use the Internet. Candidates in small towns and in city wards can expect little coverage from their local media during an election, so the Internet might be the only avenue of extended and/or continuing communication with voters outside of door-knocking and pamphlet distribution. Women should open a website as well as an account on social networking sites such as Facebook as soon as they announce their candidacy.[1] They should then work these web addresses into all campaign communications, including media interviews.

Candidate Internet sites should contain the following:

Campaign platform. An obvious idea but one rarely well-developed. Too many candidates post their policy ideas in point form instead of presenting a well thought-out argument. Candidates need to offer both an executive summary and a comprehensive version of their platforms on their websites.

Full text of speeches. Not only will voters get a deeper appreciation of a candidate's platform but they can also compare what journalists reported and what the candidate actually said.

Communiques. This includes press releases, open letters to newspapers and public figures, and any other public documents produced by the campaign. Journalists sometimes reference these items as part of their background research on a candidate.

Videos. The Internet gives female candidates an opportunity to be seen and heard by voters in a way that traditional media cannot, especially in communities without broadcast media outlets or where council candidates can expect to be ignored by the print media. Women should post full-length videos of speeches they make before community groups or service clubs and of their participation in all-candidates' debates. They should also consider producing shorter videos in which they discuss the individual issues that make up their campaign platform. The idea is to help voters understand something of their character as well hear the logic of their argument.

Blog. Women candidates can use blogs to react quickly to developing issues during a campaign or to generate public discussion about ignored issues they want highlighted. The daily nature of this public conversation should encourage repeat traffic to the website, including from the media.

Calendar of events. Not only will it inform voters and volunteers about upcoming events, journalists trolling for story ideas will use the calendar to find out about newsworthy activities and photo opportunities.

3. *Keep the media informed*. Journalists are not psychic. If female candidates want the media to cover an issue or event, they must tell the media about it. They should obtain contact information for key media

professionals in each newsroom and notify them of any activities or story ideas. Candidates will often need to send multiple press releases to the same newsroom in order to reach everyone on their list of media contacts.

4. *Cultivate individual journalists*. Female candidates should discover which journalists at their local newspaper, television station, and radio station are assigned to cover civic affairs. These individuals will likely spearhead their newsroom's municipal election coverage and thus be in a position to decide who and what gets covered. Women candidates should attempt to develop a cordial or, at best, polite relationship with these journalists in the weeks and months ahead of a campaign.

5. *Do not forget about editors*. Editors are intimately involved in planning election coverage and often have the final say over how—or even whether—a story appears in the newspaper or on the broadcast. Female candidates serious about a long career in politics, especially those who have their eye on the mayoral seat, should cultivate a relationship with publishers as well as the top editors at newspapers and directors at broadcast stations. Publishers are especially important in small towns, as they often far outlast any reporter or editor. It is also not unusual for publishers to double as the editor at a weekly and to write a regular column on local affairs.

6. *Columnists are often an untapped resource*. *Sun* columnist Kerry Diotte publicly berated Edmonton council candidates in 2007 for whining about a lack of media coverage.[2] He blamed them for the omission, arguing they did not send him press releases or otherwise attempt to communicate with him. Diotte had a point. Female candidates should maintain regular contact with local columnists via communiques, emails, or phone calls to keep them informed about any campaign activities or policy ideas. Opinion

writers are always looking for column ideas, and a well-placed news tip could earn a female candidate some extra press coverage.

7. *Be available for comment*. Nothing annoys journalists more than receiving a press release they wish to follow up only to be told the contact person has left for the day or is in a meeting. Female candidates must return media phone calls promptly, even if only to set up an interview for another day or time.

8. *Remember photo opportunities*. Journalists can have a hard time getting strong visuals to accompany their election stories. Since strong photographs draw the reader's eye to a story, female candidates can boost their media coverage by providing a compelling image. But they must be careful about what kind of visual they present, since photojournalists can use camera angle and other tricks to gender political women (Lundell and Ekstrom, 2008).

9. *Do not forget radio*. Newspaper and television are the most visible news media in a community, yet the radio can be heard in cars and businesses throughout the day. It is also the one medium that does not care about a woman's appearance and that lets women speak for themselves. Female candidates should actively seek out in-depth interviews on talk radio programs and shorter exchanges with on-air personalities at music stations.

10. *Do not feed media bias*. If women do not want journalists to focus on their appearance, family, or any other personal traits, they should not encourage journalists by discussing these matters. Women must think carefully about how much information they wish to share about themselves with the media and then faithfully maintain the appropriate level of privacy when campaigning. If women do share personal details, they should know

why they are doing it and what they hope to accomplish from it.

Our limited understanding of the wide array of media environments in which women politicians must operate means these recommendations are, at best, general in nature. Together they can only act as a rough guideline. Women politicians should study their local media in order to devise an information strategy that works best for the community they are in and the office they (plan to) hold.

FUTURE AVENUES OF INQUIRY

Thanks to almost 20 years of academic inquiry in Canada and abroad, we know a great deal about how major-circulation newspapers and, to a lesser extent, how national television networks cover women vying for the most powerful, most prestigious, and highest paying political jobs in their countries. One study after another has found evidence of a strong gender bias on the part of elite media professionals that results in the portrayal of women as oddities in the masculine world of national politics. In contrast, we know so little about the approach other news mediums—and even different categories of outlets within each medium—take to political reporting.

Media scholars have only tentatively explored the press portrayals of women candidates in provincial and municipal politics. So much remains unknown about how journalists treat these types of women politicians and how they shape local election coverage. Yet many more women fulfil their political ambitions by choosing to campaign for local office than do by putting themselves forward for national election. The reality of women in Canadian politics today is that those who are successful at the ballot box typically spend their political careers striving to improve the quality of life in the communities in which they live. In other words, most women politicians

are city or town councillors. Media scholars need to broaden their research agenda and study media treatment of women seeking or holding elected and appointed office in a wide array of government bodies, including not only municipal councils, provincial legislatures, and national parliaments but also school districts and public agencies, boards, and commissions. Extant research suggests the media do not treat all women politicians the same. The few studies that have examined municipal and provincial politics have discovered that journalists spend far less time trying to gender the average woman politician than they do those who seek elite positions such as premier, prime minister, and provincial or national party leader. If future research supports this finding and scholars widely disseminate the results of their work, then perhaps qualified women will not be deterred from a career in local politics over concerns the media will pay undue attention to their gender.

In addition, researchers should routinely juxtapose media depictions of women in municipal, provincial, and national politics in order to spot both the commonalities and differences in their coverage. This comparative approach will enable us to understand what media obstacles exist for all women politicians and which ones should only concern those seeking a specific type of office. As Chandra Talpade Mohanty (2003) argues about feminist scholarship in general, we need to understand the specific historical, economic, and cultural context in which each group of women politicians operates in order to learn how that group is unique but also to find the true universal in all women politicians' experiences. The same can also be said of journalists.

Canadian media scholarship, in particular, needs to move beyond the popular content and discourse analysis and employ other research

techniques such as semi-structured interviews and survey questionnaires to learn more about how women politicians and journalists interact. American and British researchers have long used interviews to gain insight into how women politicians experience the media, though their focus has been exclusively on national politics. One Canadian academic recently inquired about women MPs' thoughts on the media (Goodyear-Grant, 2009), but more scholars need to take this line of questioning to women in all levels of government, especially to those who have held more than one type of office and in more than one political domain and therefore have viewed the media from multiple vantage points. They also need to ask more questions: what media strategies have women politicians used when campaigning for municipal, provincial, and/or national office? Which ones have worked? Which ones have failed? Do women change tactics depending on which type of media outlet they are dealing with, such as television versus newspaper?

Interviews and surveys would also prove useful in uncovering how different groups of journalists approach political reporting. Scholars have already used surveys to profile the characteristics of Canadian journalists (Miljan and Cooper, 2003; Pritchard and Sauvageau, 1998; Robinson and Saint-Jean, 1998; Robinson, 2005) and to assess how they viewed their professional duties over time (Pritchard et al, 2005) and even the role of gender in the newsroom (Robinson, 2004, 2008). But researchers do not appear to have asked journalists about the decisions and practices that go into their coverage of politics in general or of women politicians in particular. A survey would enable researchers to question a large cross-section of journalists about these topics. Scholars could then interview a smaller sample of community, regional, and national journalists in each

news medium to get the stories behind the snapshots provided by the survey results. Understanding how each group of journalists approaches politics might help explain some of the findings of my own study on Alberta newspaper election coverage. Do community journalists de-emphasize political reporting because of a lack of space in their newspaper or because of a lack of interest on their part? Why do local journalists, in contrast to their national colleagues, opt to focus more on the issues than on personal traits? And what demonstrable impact have women journalists had on how women are depicted in the news?

Over the last decade, feminist media scholars have tried to answer the last question by investigating the nature of journalism itself. They have spoken to reporters working primarily for large-circulation newspapers and watched how those newsrooms operate in order to better understand the media's inner workings from a gendered point of view (see De Bruin and Ross, 2004). But researchers offer only a partial view of journalism. Women journalists work in a variety of newsrooms, and like research on media depictions of women politicians, scholars must broaden their focus beyond elite media outlets to incorporate community and regional outlets in their studies if they really want to get a full sense of the professional lives of women journalists.

Researchers also need to take a keen interest in the operation and influence of community journalists as a whole. How do weekly newspapers, cable television stations, and community radio behave as public watchdogs and as commercial enterprises? What role do they perform in community politics? And how can community members exert pressure on journalists in return? The answer to these questions could reveal the ways in which women politicians in small towns are able to shape their press coverage.

Finally, scholarship on women, politics, and media needs to overcome its colour blindness and audit press coverage of minority politicians at all levels of government. Only limited research exists on African-American women politicians (see Manning-Miller, 1996; Alexander-Floyd, 2008) while I could find no studies focusing on media treatment of other ethnic women politicians. When women of colour are studied, they are typically grouped with white women politicians, symbolically erasing their presence in politics and in media research. In short, an assumption of whiteness underpins research in this field. Yet the interplay of gender, race, politics, and media lead to some compelling questions. How are minority women politicians treated by the mainstream media and by the press in their ethnic community? What do any differences tell us about how each group views the proper role of women—and, in particular, a specific group of women—in society? How much (more) of an obstacle is the media to the electoral success of minority women politicians? These questions are becoming increasingly important as more women of diverse ethnic and racial backgrounds vie to become political representatives.

FINAL THOUGHTS

My study of how different types of newspapers report on women municipal candidates provides some preliminary answers to the research questions posed in Chapter 1. The content and discourse analysis revealed that women participating in local politics do encounter a media bias, but the amount is considerably less than that endured by women in national politics. Newspaper journalists engaged in little of the overt and covert gendering of women candidates during the 2007 Alberta civic election that is common in stories about women in federal campaigns. Furthermore,

newspaper type can indeed play a role in the nature of media bias that women council candidates face, even if those differences are subtle at times. Since I only examined six newspapers in four categories, I cannot make any definitive conclusions about women politicians and media bias. But the results of this study suggest my arguments about women encountering multiple media environments produced by the type of office they seek and the nature of their local news industry have some merit and should be explored further.

Whatever the level of media bias, women contemplating a career in municipal politics should not abandon their candidacies out of a concern they will be trivialized by the media. Journalists generally treat female council candidates fairly. Although some aspects of civic election coverage clearly need to improve, women can navigate most of these obstacles by developing a broad range of media skills and strategies. What they cannot do is permit media bias to prevent them from making a contribution to the communities in which they live.

ENDNOTES

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1. Gidengil and Vengroff's observation bears out in the small Alberta city of Red Deer, which saw women elected to more than half of the seats on city council for the first time after the 2007 municipal election. The *Red Deer Advocate* trumpeted the accomplishment on its front page two days after the vote under the headline "Barrier broken."

2. As a reporter at a succession of community newspapers, I routinely had to deal with ethical issues when doing my job. I had sources demand to see stories before they went to print (freedom of the press), accuse me of not reporting each side fairly during a political controversy (bias and objectivity), and warn me to keep quiet about who offered background information on an issue (confidentiality of sources). I also had a councillor tell me he would have to move his family out of town if my coverage of a political issue showed him in an extremely bad light, which was a form of indirect pressure (independence of the press). It also highlighted how personal and immediate the consequences of news coverage can be for all concerned in small communities.

3. Whereas community newspapers were once primarily owned by independent companies, large media corporations are now buying weeklies all across Canada because their profit margins are almost double those of dailies; Partridge, John, "Toronto Sun strikes $28.2 million deal for 60% of Bowes newspaper group," *Globe and Mail*, 12 April 1988: B5.

4. The *St. Albert Booster* has since been renamed *Saint City News*.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

1. Judy LaMarsh. *Memoirs of a Bird in a Gilded Cage* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, Ltd., 1968): 303. LaMarsh recounts her experiences with journalists and members of the public in Chapter 10 of her autobiography.

2. Dole was further domesticated in political cartoons with cartoonists primarily drawing her as the wife of former Republican presidential candidate Robert Dole instead of as a serious candidate in her own right (Gilmartin, 2001).

3. The American media also attributed the financial success of Moseley-Braun's campaign to white feminists and depicted her "as a figurehead to further their political goals" (Manning-Miller, 1996: 124-125), thereby denying her political agency in much the same way the Canadian media did to early women MPs.

4. Nikol G. Alexander-Floyd discusses former U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice in relation to three "foundational" images of black women in the United States: the mammy, the matriarch, and the jezbel; Asa Kroon Lundell and Mats Ekstrom demonstrate how Swedish women politicians involved in scandals have been depicted in photographs as princesses, mad women, or witches; Francis L.F. Lee examines the "perfect woman" stereotype at work in media coverage of female officials in Hong Kong; and Fiona Probyn observes how Australian politician Pauline Hanson projects an image of a feminised "battler."

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

1. Circulation figures for the *Tofield Mercury*, the *Millet Pipestone Flyer*, and the *St. Albert Gazette* are from the *2008 AWNA Members Directory*.

2. Population figures are from the 2006 national census conducted by Statistics Canada (www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/prof/92-591/index.cfm?Lang=E).

3. Circulation figures for the *Red Deer Advocate*, the *Edmonton Sun*, and the *Edmonton Journal* are from the Canadian Newspaper Association's *Canadian Daily Newspaper Circulation Data 2006*.

4. The Canadian Community Newspaper Association named the *St. Albert Gazette* the best all-round newspaper in its circulation category in 2009. It placed second in 2008 (www.communitynews.ca).

5. Email communication with the *Red Deer Advocate* on October 17, 2008.

6. Choices in the medium-circulation and the large-circulation daily newspaper categories were limited. Alberta only has two newspapers in each category: the medium-circulation *Edmonton Sun* and the *Calgary Sun,* and the large-circulation *Edmonton Journal* and *Calgary Herald*.

7. Email communication with the *Edmonton Journal* on October 21, 2008; personal communication with the *Edmonton Sun* on October 2008. The author also works at the *Sun* as a copy editor.

8. One Canadian electronic database, Newscan.com, has begun to archive PDFs of smaller daily newspapers, which would permit accurate reproductions of the news pages. However, the archival effort for the *Red Deer Advocate*, for example, only began in 2008 and was not an option for this study.

9. Variables measuring the location of a story in a newspaper and of a headline on a page were revised. Slight adjustments were made to the categories for the story location to account for differences between tabloid and broadsheet newspapers. The headline variable underwent a complete overhaul, with new categories written that measure a headline by its size as opposed to its location on a page.

10. The original codebook included two variables on the tone of a story in relation to the women and men candidates. The two coders often disagreed on this measure, in part due to the large number of candidates discussed in any one article. In several instances, a columnist would write about one woman in glowing terms, a second one in negative terms, and still others in neutral terms. This measure would work best when studying just a few candidates; this study examines a total of 98 candidates with individual ward or council campaigns ranging from four to 14 candidates.

11. Trimble coded for whether or not each candidate was named in the story, named first in the story, named four or more times in a story, named in the headline, and named first in the headline. Due to the large number of candidates in my study, I opted not to examine whether individual women or men were named four or more times in a story as Trimble did.

12. A dummy variable uses the values "1" and "0" to indicate the presence or absence of a categorical effect. It enables nominal data to be used in more advanced statistical tests such ANOVAs and multiple regression (http://en.wikipedia.org).

13. This control variable only categorizes newspapers according to their layout format, not their editorial approach. In other words, this study considers a broadsheet to be a newspaper with long, folded pages and not automatically a member of the "quality press" while a tabloid uses smaller page sizes but does not necessarily cover the news in a sensationalist manner.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS

1. This study does not examine the dynamics of race and its interaction with gender in relation to media depictions of municipal politicians. Media depictions of women minority politicians is an important topic that has so far been rarely studied.

2. Lana Michelin, “Barrier broken,” *Red Deer Advocate*, October 17, 2007: C1

3. Bryan Alary, “Mix of old and new faces on council,” *St. Albert Gazette*, October 17, 2007: 3

4. The use of the terms “broadsheet” and “tabloid” in this study refers to the layout format of a newspaper and not its editorial approach to news production.

5. Jack Wilson, “Former policeman wants seat on council,” *Red Deer Advocate*, September 10, 2007: B1.

6. The *Stylebook* and its companion, *Caps and Spelling*, are required texts for students in journalism programs across the country and are considered a must in every daily newsroom and in some community newsrooms. These two books guide print journalists on everything from how to navigate the legalities of court stories to how to spell or capitalize certain words. It is not unusual, though, for individual newspapers to set their own writing standards, especially when it comes to word usage.

7. “And the survey says … in Ward 2,” *Edmonton Journal*, October 2, 2007: B4.

8. Conclusions should be drawn carefully for the correlation between newspaper type and age mentions for women candidates as the cell count assumption of the chi-square test was not met. One of the nine cells did not have the five-case minimum.

9. Paul Cowley, “Bully solutions offered at city forum,” *Red Deer Advocate*, October 11, 2007: A1

10. Andrea Miller and Paul Cowley, “Three more potential councillors in race,” *Red Deer Advocate*, September 12, 2007: B1

11. Scott McKeen, “Civic candidates lose pretense and weight too, on Door-Knock Diet,” *Edmonton Journal*, September 24, 2007: A10

12. Scott McKeen, “Candidates rise to occasion on nomination day,” *Edmonton Journal*, September 18, 2007: B1.

13. Graham Hicks, “No free jerseys for Oilers rejects,” *Edmonton Sun*, September 18, 2007: 6.

14. “And the survey says … in Ward 6,” *Edmonton Journal*, September 21, 2007: B4.

15. Lana Michelin, “Council: Cindy Jefferies,” *Red Deer Advocate*, October 3, 2007, B2; Lana Michelin, “Council: George Croome,” *Red Deer Advocate*, October 3, 2007: B2.

16. Margaret Chegwin, “Wetaskiwin and area candidates: your choice,” *Millet Pipestone Flyer*, October 11, 2007: A16.

17. Ibid.

18. Peter Boer, “Councillor candidates vie for votes,” *St. Albert Gazette*, October 6, 2007: 3

19. “Ward 2 forum,” *Edmonton Journal*, September 20, 2007: B4

20. Laura Tester, “Council: Frank Wong,” *Red Deer Advocate*, October 3, 2007: B2.

21. Scott McKeen, “Door knock diaries: Tales from the doorstep,” *Edmonton Journal*, October 8, 2007: A12, A15.

22. Hicks, “No free jerseys for Oilers rejects.”

23. “And the survey says … in Ward 3,” *Edmonton Journal*, September 19, 2007: B4

24. “Beaver County election candidates,” *Tofield Mercury*, October 10, 2007: 10

25. “And the survey says … in Ward 4,” *Edmonton Journal*, September 29, 2007: B4.

26. “And the survey says … in Ward 4,” *Edmonton Journal*, September 18, 2007: B4.

27. Francois Marchand, “Online fad can’t replace traditional methods: prof,” *Edmonton Journal*, September 29, 2007: B4.

28. Bryan Alary, “Candidates tee off at forums,” *St. Albert Gazette*, September 29, 2007: 3.

29. Miller and Cowley, “Three more potential councillors in race.”; Bryan Alary, “Candidates on their marks,” *St. Albert Gazette*, September 19, 2007: 1; Gordon Kent, “Last leg of the race,” *Edmonton Journal*, October 15, 2007: A1.

30. Bryan Alary, “Garritty gunning for second term,” *St. Albert Gazette*, September 8, 2007: 8.

31. Daniel MacIsaac, "One last kick," *Edmonton Sun*, October 14, 2007: 4.

32. Nicki Thomas, "Council challengers take aim at pay hikes," *Edmonton Sun*, October 3, 2007: 27.

33. Scott McKeen, "People with drive, vision get my vote," *Edmonton Journal*, October 12, 2007: B1.

34. Frank Landry, "Betting on Facebook," *Edmonton Sun*, September 14, 2007: 5.

35. "Nickel seeks new term as councillor with focus on coping with city's growth," *Edmonton Journal*, September 9, 2007: A16; Scott McKeen, "Easy and breezy Mike Nickel too contrarian to be a leader," *Edmonton Journal*, September 26, 2007: B1.

36. Kevin Crush, "Ward 4 hopeful feels for the city's have-nots," *Edmonton Sun*, September 10, 2007: 5.

37. Laura Tester, "Council: Dale Wood," *Red Deer Advocate*, October 3, 2007: B2.

38. "And the survey says … in Ward 2," *Edmonton Journal*, September 26, 2007: B4.

39. Frank Landry, "Election gets interesting at ward level," *Edmonton Sun*, September 24, 2007: 6.

40. **Took aim:** Glenn Kauth, "Issues diverse as candidates," *Edmonton Sun*, October 10, 2007: 32; Larry Johnsrude, "Drainage woes, traffic and crime worries stir up northeast area," *Edmonton Journal*, October 12, 2007: B4; **Beat**: Lana Tester, "Councillors face challenge," *Red Deer Advocate*, September 5, 2007: A1; **Good shot**: Kerry Diotte, "Campaign gears up," *Edmonton Sun*, September 23, 2007: 16; **Blitz:** MacIsaac, "One last kick."

41. MacIsaac, "One last kick."

42. While council candidates were always portrayed as the rhetorical aggressors, the mayoral candidates were portrayed as both the aggressors and the victims of rhetorical aggression.

43. Neil Waugh, "Mandel's grandiose schemes," *Edmonton Sun*, October 14, 2007: 15.

44. Gordon Kent, "Candidates try the co-operative approach," *Edmonton Journal*, September 25, 2007: B4.

45. "And the survey says … in Ward 3."

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid.

48. Conclusions should be drawn carefully for the correlation between newspaper type and the use of a game frame for women candidates as the cell count assumption of the chi-square test was not met. One of the nine cells did not have the five-case minimum.

49. Four of the nine cells did not have the five-case minimum assumed by the chi-square test.

50. Four of the nine cells did not have the five-case minimum assumed by the chi-square test.

51. McKeen, "Candidates rise to occasion on nomination day."

52. Mike Sadava, "Ward 4 lures near-record 15 council candidates," *Edmonton Journal*, September 20, 2007: B1.

53. Graham Hicks, "Alberta's country stars rock," *Edmonton Sun*, September 12, 2007: 6.

54. Scott McKeen, "If you're running for council, stop mouthing platitudes," *Edmonton Journal*, October 1, 2007: A12.

55. One of the nine cells did not have the five-case minimum assumed by the chi-square test for both the age and family variables.

56. Personal communication with Dr. Harvey Krahn, chair of the sociology department of the University of Alberta, Tuesday, July 14, 2009.

57. Ibid.

CHAPTER FIVE: ANALYSIS

1. Landry, Frank, "Traffic woes key issue in Ward 1," *Edmonton Sun*, October 6, 2007: 26.

2. I am referring to the candidate profiles and question-and-answer issue pieces the *Advocate* ran before the civic vote. The newspaper grouped candidates according to the job they were seeking—mayor or councillor—and then listed them in alphabetical order. The mayoral candidates came first, then the council candidates.

3. Only one candidate enjoyed a higher profile thanks to a rare candidacy and celebrity status: Lewis Cardinal. Cardinal is one of the few aboriginals to seek a council seat in Edmonton and his brother,

actor Lorne Cardinal, appeared on the popular Canadian television sitcom *Corner Gas*. Cardinal used his "first" status and family celebrity connection to generate publicity and distinguish himself from the scores of other council hopefuls. However, he could not translate his visibility into votes, losing in ward four.

4. The content and discourse analyses only examined reporter-written stories about the council candidates in St. Albert for this study. This observation is based on a general reading of the semi-weekly newspaper during the data-gathering stage of my research.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

1. Women should consider maintaining their website and social networking accounts whether they win or lose. If they win, they can use these sites for political news and discussions not permitted on government sites and to prepare for their re-election campaign. If they lose, they can use these sites to keep themselves and their politics before the public in anticipation of any future bids for office.

2. Diotte, Kerry, "Candidates miss boat: Poor crop of would-be councillors," *Edmonton Sun*, October 7, 2007, 16; he discussed the candidate response he got to this column in another column published on October 11, 2007.

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APPENDIX A: CODEBOOK

Codebook, 2007 Alberta municipal election
Angelia Wagner

Codebook: Coding Frame, Discourse Frame and Coding Notes

Please see mock newspaper layouts for examples of broadsheet and tabloid pages for explanations of design features such as headlines, subheads, photographs, mugshots, etc., and editorial features such as news story, editorial, opinion piece, etc.

GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS

1. ONLY code for candidates running for city council.
2. Ignore references to candidates running for mayor, school board or any other municipal council not included in the Appendix. In short, we are looking at the Edmonton, Red Deer, St. Albert, and Wetaskiwin city council races and the Beaver and Wetaskiwin county races.
3. Write the answers to the variable labels under the relevant variable number on a separate coding sheet.
4. The discourse analysis will be performed by the researcher and will not be part of the intercoder reliability test.
5. Write down any questions or points of clarification in the space provided at the bottom of each codesheet, with the variable number and variable name as identifiers, so they can be reviewed later.

Variable number	Variable name	Variable label/values/coding information
		Variables 1-9: News story demographics
1	Caseid	***Case identification*** The code given to each story. It will be listed beside the article.
2	Date	***Date of story*** — Year, month, day — i.e. 20071016
3	Newspaper	***Newspaper*** 1. Edmonton Journal 2. Edmonton Sun 3. Red Deer Advocate 4. St. Albert Gazette 5. Tofield Mercury 6. Millet Pipestone Flyer
4	Type of Newspaper	***Newspaper type*** 1. Daily newspaper 2. Community newspaper
5	Type of Newspaper	***Newspaper format*** 1. Broadsheet 2. Tabloid

Coding notes: A **broadsheet** is characterized by long vertical pages that can come in a variety of sizes, with the newspaper often appearing on the newstand folded in half; a **tabloid** is a more compact format with smaller page sizes and with the newspaper appearing in full length on the newsstand. *Please note:* the terms broadsheet (quality press) and tabloid (sensationalist or gossip press) have alternative connotations that are not used here. This variable only seeks to measure a newspaper's design format and not its editorial slant.

6	Election	***Election race*** 1. Edmonton city council 2. Red Deer city council 3. St. Albert city council 4. Beaver county council 5. Wetaskiwin county council 6. Wetaskiwin city council

7	Storytype (storytyp)	***Type of story*** 1. News story 2. Editorial 3. Column, opinion piece 4. Candidate profile 5. Other (specify) 6. Unknown/unable to determine	

Coding notes: A **news story** in this instance means any non-opinion or non-analytical piece; an **editorial** is a signed or unsigned item that runs on the same page as the editorial cartoon; a **column or opinion piece** typically runs on a different page than the editorial (though not always) and is usually accompanied by a mugshot of the writer (called a column or logo head); a **candidate profile** can take many forms, including a question-and-answer or news story format, and includes details about the candidate's professional and personal background.

8	Sexreporter	***Sex of reporter/columnist*** 1. Male 2. Female 3. Both (co-authored) 4. Don't know (no author identified, editorial, can't tell, wire service)	
9	Storylength	***Length of story*** 1. Less than 250 words 2. 250 to 500 words 3. 501 to 750 words 4. 751 to 1,000 words 5. 1,001 to 1,250 words 6. 1,251 to 1,500 words 7. More than 1,500 words 8. Unknown/unable to determine	*Coding notes:* Do not include the headline, subhead(s), pull quotes, factboxes or tagline (e-mail address and/or information on the writer) in the word count. Just count the words in the paragraphs of the story.

Variables 10-17: News story layout

10	Location	***Location of story in paper?*** 1. Front page 2. Page 3 3. Any news page in the front section 4. Editorial page 5. Opinion page (columnist page) 6. Front of the city, local, or metro section 7. Inside the city, local, or metro section 8. Other (specify)	
11	Headline Size	***Size of headline on page?*** 1. Largest headline on page with multiple headlines 2. Second largest headline on page with multiple headlines 3. Third largest headline on page with multiple headlines 4. Fourth largest headline on page with multiple headlines 5. Fifth largest headline on page with multiple headlines 6. Only headline on the page 7. Any other headline item	

Coding notes: Headline size is a strong indicator of the importance of a news item. Please see the mock newspaper pages to see how to rank headlines in order of importance. If two headlines appear to be of the same size, the one in **bold** is considered to be more important and should be ranked as larger than one in light typeface.

12	Page location	***Does the story appear on a left-handed or right-handed page?*** 1. Right-hand page (odd numbers, such as 17 or A17) 2. Left-hand page (even numbers, such as 12 or A12)
13	Subhead	***Presence of a subhead?*** 1. Story layout contains a subhead 2. Story layout does not have a subhead

Coding notes: A subhead is a secondary headline that can appear beneath or near a main headline or within the body of the text.

14	PullQuotes	***Presence of pull quotes?*** 1. Story layout contains one pull quote 2. Story layout contains more than one pull quote 3. Story layout contains no pull quote(s)

Coding notes: A pull quote is a design element that features the words of a person quoted in the story.

15	Factbox	***Presence of a factbox?*** 1. A factbox is contained with(in) the story layout 2. A factbox is not contained with(in) the story layout 3. Don't know/cannot determine

Coding notes: A factbox is a design element that conveys interesting factoids related to the story but should not be considered part of the body of the text. It can appear within or adjacent to the story. A factbox can be text- or illustration-based. If it is an illustration, it should clearly convey factoids and be small or medium in size. A large illustration, such as a map, should not be considered a factbox but a simple illustration or "art" that provides visual interest.

16	Photographs	***Presence of photographs with story?*** 1. A photograph of any size (except mugshot) 2. No photograph of any size (except mugshot)

Coding notes: A photograph is any photographic image that is not a mugshot (see coding notes for variable 17 for definition). A photograph can be any size and feature anyone or anything. Photographs do not include column heads or logo heads (design elements that feature a journalist's picture, name, and possible column title).

17	Mugshots	***Presence of mugshots with story?*** 1. Mugshot(s) of any size featuring anyone named in the story 2. No mugshot(s) accompany the story

Coding notes: A mugshot only features a person's head and shoulders and is typically small in size (no more than one column in width). A head-and-shoulder photograph that is several columns wide (or half the width of the page, for example) should be coded as a photograph. Mugshots do not include column heads or logo heads (design elements that feature a journalist's picture, name, and possible column title).

Variables 18-36: Visibility

18	Named in story	***Is a FEMALE council candidate named or featured in the story?*** 1. Yes 2. No
19	Females named	***How many different female council candidates are named in the story?***
20	Number of mentions in story	***Number of times a female council candidate is mentioned by first and/or last name in the story, NOT including the headline.***

21	Named in headline	***Is a female council candidate named in the headline?*** 1. Yes 2. No
22	Named in subhead	***Is a female council candidate named in the subhead?*** 1. Yes 2. No
23	Mentioned in pullquotes	***Is a quote from a female council candidate used in a pull quote?*** 1. Yes 2. No
24	Featured in photographs	***Is a female council candidate featured in a photograph (except mugs)?*** 1. Yes 2. No

Coding notes: Only code yes if her physical likeness appears in the photograph. Exclude her name or other non-pictoral representations.

25	Featured in mugshots	***Does a mugshot of a female council candidate accompany the story?*** 1. Yes 2. No
26	Quote length	***Number of times a female council candidate is quoted directly?*** *Coding notes:* Code as 0 if a female candidate is not quoted directly. COUNT EACH WORD. Anything in quotation marks counts, even if it is only a word. Include quotes in the headline, even if they are repeated in the body of the article.
27	Named in story	***Is a MALE council candidate named or featured in the story?*** 1. Yes 2. No
28	Males named	***How many different male council candidates are named in the story?***
29	Number of mentions in story	***Number of times a male council candidate is mentioned by first and/or last name in the story, NOT including the headline.***
30	Named in headline	***Is a male council candidate named in the headline?*** 1. Yes 2. No
31	Named in subhead	***Is a male council candidate named in the subhead?*** 1. Yes 2. No
32	Mentioned in pullquotes	***Is a quote from a male council candidate used in a pull quote?*** 1. Yes 2. No
33	Featured in photographs	***Is a male council candidate featured in a photograph (except mugs)?*** 1. Yes 2. No

Coding notes: Only code yes if his physical likeness appears in the photograph. Exclude his name or other non-pictoral representations.

34	Featured in mugshots	***Does a mugshot of a male council candidate accompany the story?*** 1. Yes 2. No
35	Quote length	***Number of times a male council candidate(s) is quoted directly?*** *Coding notes:* Code as 0 if a male candidate is not quoted directly. COUNT EACH WORD. Anything in quotation marks counts, even if it is only a word. Include quotes in the headline, even if they are repeated in the body of the article.
36	Named first in headline	***WHO is mentioned first in the headline?*** 1. Female council candidate 2. Male council candidate 99. N/A — no council candidate named in headline
37	Named first in story	***Who is mentioned first in the story?*** 1. Female council candidate 2. Male council candidate 99. N/A — No council candidate explicitly named in the story

Variables 38-41: Story focus and degree of mediation

38	Storyfocus	***What is the major focus of the coverage of the female council candidates in the story?*** 1. Horse race 2. Issues 3. Candidate traits/background 4. Other (specify) 99. N/A — no female candidates mentioned in story

Coding notes: A **horse-race** story focuses on the campaign itself, such as polls, fundraising, logistics (i.e. organizing volunteers); an **issue** story focuses on campaign platforms, policy positions, and voters' concerns; a **candidate traits/background** story focuses primarily on the candidate herself. Some stories may cover more than one of these topics, so determine the major focus by assessing which of the above receives the most attention in the story and/or is foregrounded in the story. One clue is to look at what is highlighted in the headline and/or first paragraph.

39	Mediation	***Is the discussion of the female council candidates predominantly descriptive, analytical or evaluative?*** 1. Descriptive (who, what, where) 2. Analytical (why) 3. Evaluative (how well) 4. Don't know/cannot determine 99. N/A — no female candidates mentioned in story

Coding notes: A **descriptive** story is factual in nature and discusses the who/what/where of a candidate's campaign (who is she, what did she say about a particular topic, where is her campaign office); an **analytical** story offers an explanation of her actions or approaches (why she is making taxes the focus of her campaign); an **evaluative** story assesses how she is doing (will she win the election) or the writer's opinion of her (will she make a good councillor).

40	Storyfocus	What is the major focus of the coverage of the male council candidates in the story? 1. Horse race 2. Issues 3. Candidate traits/background 4. Other (specify) 99. N/A — no male candidates mentioned in story

Coding notes: A **horse-race** story focuses on the campaign itself, such as polls, fundraising, logistics (i.e. organizing volunteers); an **issue** story focuses on campaign platforms, policy positions, and voters' concerns; a **candidate traits/background** story focuses primarily on the candidate himself. Some stories may cover more than one of these topics, so determine the major focus by assessing which of the above receives the most attention in the story and/or is foregrounded in the story. One clue is to look at what is highlighted in the headline and/or first paragraph.

41	Mediation	***Is the discussion of the male council candidates predominantly descriptive, analytical or evaluative?*** 1. Descriptive (who, what, where) 2. Analytical (why) 3. Evaluative (how well) 4. Don't know/cannot determine 99. N/A — no male candidates mentioned in story

Coding notes: A **descriptive** story is factual in nature and discusses the who/what/where of a candidate's campaign (who is he, what did he say about a particular topic, where is his campaign office); an **analytical** story offers an explanation of his actions or approaches (why he is making taxes the focus of his campaign); an **evaluative** story assesses how well he is doing (will he win the election) or the writer's opinion of her (will he make a good councillor).

Variables 42-55: Depictions

42	Candidate gender	***Are FEMALE council candidates' gender mentioned?*** 1. Yes 2. No

Coding notes: This includes any overt reference to the candidate(s) as female (i.e.: "female candidate", "Mrs. X", "petticoat politician", "lady", "Amazons", "dame", "sweetheart", "femininity", "womankind"); it does not include pronouns like "she" or "her."

43	Candidate age	***Are female council candidates' age mentioned?*** 1. Yes 2. No

Coding notes: Code as yes if age is directly identified — i.e. "46" — and if a female candidate is described as "young," old," middle-aged, "baby boomer," etc., or if date of birth is given.

44	Candidate appearance	***Are female council candidates' clothing or appearance mentioned?*** 1. Yes 2. No

Coding notes: Code as yes if any reference is made to a female candidate's looks, clothing, hair, attractiveness, body, weight, etc.

45	Candidate family	***Are female council candidates' family life/marital status mentioned?*** 1. Yes 2. No

Coding notes: A marital status reference can include mention of a spouse, divorce, or singleton status. Family references include children, parents and other relatives.

46	Candidate emotional state	***Are female council candidates' emotional state mentioned?*** 1. Yes 2. No

Coding notes: Any mention of a candidate displaying emotions (angry, teary, happy) or of her emotional status. "Confident" and "arrogant" are not emotions — rather, they are character traits. If the candidate is "hurt," this counts.

47	Candidate issues	***Are female council candidates' thoughts or positions on issues mentioned?*** 1. Yes 2. No

Coding notes: This can include (brief) references such as "fix the roads," "economic development," "health care," and "more police officers for our streets."

48	Candidate issue list	***Which of the following issues did the female council candidates raise?*** 1. Economic development (i.e. jobs, investment, business) 2. Public safety and security (i.e. policing, crime, drugs) 3. Infrastructure/transportation (i.e. transit, road, facilities, traffic) 4. Municipal services (i.e. snow clearing, water) 5. Municipal finances (i.e. taxes, debt load, funding of projects) 6. Housing (i.e. homelessness, affordable housing) 7. Environment (excluding anything falling under other categories) 8. Democracy (i.e. voting, use of Internet) 9. Education 10. Other (please specify) 99. N/A — no issues mentioned/no female candidates in story

Coding notes: Circle more than one number on the coding sheet if female candidates raise more than one issue.

49	Candidate gender	***Are MALE council candidates' gender mentioned?*** 1. Yes 2. No

Coding notes: This includes any overt reference to the candidate(s) as male (i.e.: "male candidate", "Mr. X", "masculinity."); it does not include pronouns like "he" or "his."

50	Candidate age	***Are male council candidates' age mentioned?*** 1. Yes 2. No

Coding notes: Code as yes if age is directly identified — i.e. "46" — and if a male candidate is described as "young," old," middle-aged, "baby boomer," etc., or if date of birth is given.

51	Candidate appearance	*Are male council candidates' clothing or appearance mentioned?* 1. Yes 2. No

Coding notes: Code as yes if any reference is made to a male candidate's looks, clothing, hair, attractiveness, body, weight, etc.

52	Candidate family	***Are male council candidates' family life/marital status mentioned?*** 1. Yes 2. No

Coding notes: A marital status reference can include mention of a spouse, divorce, or singleton status. Family references include children, parents and other relatives.

53	Candidate emotional state	***Are male council candidates' emotional state mentioned?*** 1. Yes 2. No

Coding notes: Any mention of a candidate displaying emotions (angry, teary, upset, happy) or of his emotional status. "Confident" and "arrogant" are not emotions — rather, they are character traits. If the candidate is "hurt," this counts.

54	Candidate issues	***Are male council candidates' thoughts or position on issues mentioned?*** 1. Yes 2. No

Coding notes: This can include (brief) references such as "fix the roads," "economic development," "health care," and "more police officers for our streets."

55	Candidate issue list	*Which of the following issues did the male council candidates raise?* 1. Economic development (i.e. jobs, investment, business) 2. Public safety and security (i.e. policing, crime, drugs) 3. Infrastructure/transportation (i.e. transit, road, facilities, traffic) 4. Municipal services (i.e. snow clearing, water) 5. Municipal finances (i.e. taxes, debt load, funding of projects) 6. Housing (i.e. homelessness, affordable housing) 7. Environment (excluding anything falling under other categories) 8. Democracy (i.e. voting, use of Internet) 9. Education 10. Other (please specify) 99. N/A — no issues mentioned/no male candidates in story

Coding notes: Circle more than one number on the coding sheet if male candidates raise more than one issue.

Variables 56-64: Framing

56	Game frame	***Does the story include a GAME image or metaphor?*** 1. Yes 2. No

Coding notes: Game images come from sports and war. A common game image is from track and field: "running for" and "a race for council." Game images can also include "political gladiator," "throw hat into ring," and "the gloves come off."

57	Game frame mentions	***Is a GAME image or metaphor used in relation to the female council candidates?*** 1. Yes 2. No 99. N/A — No game image or metaphors used/ no female candidates
58	Game frame mentions	***Is a GAME image or metaphor used in relation to the male council candidates?*** 1. Yes 2. No 99. N/A — No game image or metaphors used/no male candidates
59	Aggressive game frame	***Does the story include an AGGRESSIVE game image or metaphor?*** 1. Yes 2. No

Coding notes: Code as yes any metaphor that is aggressive and/or reflects a traditionally masculine pursuit: sports, warfare, conflict, athletic prowess. Good examples are: "attacks," "one-two punch," "fractious troops," "takes aim," and "blitz." If it is not obviously masculinist and aggressive — i.e. "in the race" or "hat in the ring" — code as no. "Tough talk" does not count because not a game-like context. "Target" counts.

60	Aggressive game frame	***Is an AGGRESSIVE game image or metaphor used in relation to the female council candidates?*** 1. Yes 2. No 99. N/A — No game image or metaphors used/ no female candidates
61	Aggressive game frame	***Is an AGGRESSIVE game image or metaphor used in relation to the male council candidates?*** 1. Yes 2. No 99. N/A — No game image or metaphors used/no male candidates
62	Gendered frame	***Does the story include a GENDERED metaphor or image?*** 1. Yes 2. No

Coding notes: Masculine ("ready for battle") and feminine ("P.E.I. gets glass slipper ready). Code only if the metaphor is clearly gendered. Code as both/mixed if both masculine and feminine metaphors are used to describe the candidates or if the gendered metaphor is mixed. Gendered metaphors include sports and war metaphors but are not limited to them.

63	Gendered frame	***If a GENDERED metaphor or image is used to describe the fe male council candidates, what is the nature of the metaphor?*** 1. Masculine 2. Feminine 3. Both/Mixed 99. N/A — gendered metaphor not used with female council candidate/no female council candidates in the story
64	Gendered frame	***If a GENDERED metaphor or image is used to describe the male council candidates, what is the nature of the metaphor?*** 1. Masculine 2. Feminine 3. Both/Mixed 99. N/A — gendered metaphor not used with male council candidate/no male council candidates in the story

Variables 65-68: Viability

65	Viability	***Are the female council candidates' viability (likelihood of winning the election) explicitly evaluated in the story?*** 1. Yes 2. No 99. N/A — female council candidates not mentioned in the story
66	Evaluation of viability	***Classify the story's evaluation of female council candidates' viability (likelihood of winning the election).*** 1. Positive 2. Negative 3. Neutral/balanced 99. N/A — viability not evaluated/no female council candidates

Coding notes: Code as **positive** if the story suggests a female candidate(s) is likely to win or has a chance of winning; as **negative** if a candidate(s)' chances are evaluated as slim. Note: error on the side of caution — if the assessment is unclear or reflects both positive and negative evaluations, code as **neutral**. If viability is not mentioned, code as 99.

67	Viability	***Are the male council candidates' viability (likelihood of winning the election) explicitly evaluated in the story?*** 1. Yes 2. No 99. N/A— male council candidates not mentioned in the story
68	Evaluation of viability	***Classify the story's evaluation of male council candidates' viability (likelihood of winning the election).*** 1. Positive 2. Negative 3. Neutral/balanced 99. N/A — viability not evaluated/no male council candidates

Coding notes: Code as **positive** if the story suggests the male candidate(s) is likely to win or has a chance of winning; as **negative** if the candidate(s)' chances are evaluated as slim. Note: error on the side of caution — if the assessment is unclear or reflects both positive and negative evaluations, code as **neutral**. If viability is not mentioned, code as 99.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Variable	***Note that for each variable there might be more than one reference to the candidate's sex, appearance, etc. Record all comments or descriptions for each category.***
Candidates Named	Record the names of all the female/male candidates mentioned in the story.
Candidate Gender	Record what was said about the candidates' **gender**, who said it, where it was said (headline or body of news article). Is the reference descriptive (noting the fact of his/her sex) or interpretive/evaluative (noting the type of man/woman he/she is). If evaluative, what is being conveyed by the evaluation?
Candidate Age	Record what was said about the candidates' **age**, who said it, where it was said (headline or body of news article). Is the reference descriptive (noting the fact of his/her age) or interpretive/evaluative (noting the type of man/woman he/she is (such as "young woman"). If evaluative, what is being conveyed by the evaluation?
Candidate Appearance	Record what was said about the candidates' **appearance**, who said it, where it was said (headline or body of news article). Is the reference descriptive (noting the fact of his/her appearance (colour of clothing, for example) or interpretive/evaluative (reflecting on attractiveness, for example). If evaluative, what is being conveyed by the evaluation?
Candidate Family and Marital Status	Record what was said about the candidates'**marital status or family**, who said it, where it was said (headline or body of news article). With this measure, it is particularly important to note who initiated the reference ot the candidates' marital status or family/children, as this speaks to the performativity of gender, specifically deployment of gender codes as strategies for appealing to voters.
Candidate Emotional State	Record what was said about the candidates' **emotional state**, who said it, where it was said (headline or body of news article). Is this reference descriptive, interpretive, or evaluative? Are the emotions being described gender appropriate?
Candidate Issues	Record what was said about the candidates' **stance on issues**, who said it, where it was said (headline or body of news article). Is the reference descriptive (noting facts) or interpretive/evaluative (noting the type of issues). If evaluative, what is being conveyed by the evaluation?
Game Frame	Record any game image or metaphors, classifying into aggressive/non-aggressive. (These can be further classified once the inventory is complete.)
Aggressive Game Frame	If the candidate is described with an aggressive game metaphor, record the description in one of two categories: (1) the candidate is positioned as the aggressor or (2) the candidate is positioned as the recipient of the rhetorical aggression.
Gendered Frame	Record all gendered metaphors or images that are applied to candidate X according to the following categories: (1) masculine, (2) feminine, (3) mixed.
Candidate Viability	Record any evaluation of the candidate's viability that are gendered (elaborate).

LIST OF CANDIDATES

CITY OF EDMONTON
Karen Leibovici (winner)
Linda Sloan (winner)
Betty Kennedy
Andrew Knack

Ron Hayter (winner)
Kim Krushell (winner)
Jabin Caouette
Kerry Hutton
David Loken
Shelley Tupper

Tony Caterina (winner)
Ed Gibbons (winner)
Kyle Balombin
Shiu Wing Mak
Chris Martin
Chris Roehrs
Thomas J. Tomilson
Harvey Voogd

Jane Batty (winner)
Ben Henderson (winner)
Nyambura Mia Belcourt
Lewis Cardinal
Jodi Flatt
Sheila McKay
Brian Patterson
Deborah Jane Peaker
Adil Pirbhai
Hana Razga
Thomas William Roberts
Margaret Saunter
Brent Thompson
Brian Wissink
Debbie Yeung

Bryan Anderson (winner)
Don Iveson (winner)
Brent Michalyk
Mike Nickel

Amarjeet Sohi (winner)
Dave Thiele (winner)
Lori Jeffery-Heaney
Chuck McKenna
Chinwe Okelu
Tomas Dennis Vasquez

CITY OF RED DEER
Cindy Jefferies (winner)
Tara Veer (winner)
S.H. Buck Buchanan (winner)
Lynne Mulder (winner)
Gail Parks (winner)
Larry V. Pimm (winner)
Frank Wong (winner)
Lorna Watkinson-Zimmer (winner)
Bev Arnold Hughes (MALE)
Phil Hyde
Garry Isidore Didrikson
Dale Wood
George Croome
Stephen Laird

CITY OF ST. ALBERT
Carol Ann Watamaniuk (winner)
Gareth Jones (winner)
Lorie Garritty (winner)
Len Bracko (winner)
James Burrows (winner)
Roger Lemieux (winner)
Frances Maria Badrock
Wes Brodhead
David Climenhaga
Stanley Haroun
Malcolm Parker
Bob Russell
Bill Shields

BEAVER COUNTY
Robert (Bob) Young (acclaimed)
James (Jim) Kallal (winner, reeve)
Peter Hritzuk
Eugene (Gene) Hrabec (winner)
Murray Gara
Charles Magneson
Ronald Yarham
Albin Lukawiecki (winner)
Dennis Miciak
Vernon (Vern) Hafrso (winner, deputy reeve)
Marshall Tymofichuk

COUNTY OF WETASKIWIN
Brenda Shantz (winner)
William Angus
Kenneth Ball (acclaimed)
R. Garry Dearing (acclaimed)
Wayne Meyers (acclaimed)
Larry McKeever (winner)
Richard Wilson
Nancy Watson (acclaimed)
Barry Dunn (acclaimed)

CITY OF WETASKIWIN
Dave Anderson (winner)
Barry Hawkes (winner)
Gail Taylor (winner)
Glenn Ruecker (winner)
Mark McFaul (winner)
Bill Elliot (winner)
Donna Andres
Daile Unland

TOWN OF MILLET
The Millet newspaper did not cover the candidates in this election, so no coverage to examine

- The names of women candidates are in **bold** typeface.

APPENDIX B: CODESHEETS

Two codesheets were used during the coding process. The content analysis sheet recorded raw numerical data while the discourse analysis sheet noted basic phrases and other details for several relevant variables. The researcher then used this information to guide a more in-depth discourse analysis of the language journalists used in their media depictions of council candidates.

Codesheet: Content Analysis

Variable number	DATA	Variable number	DATA	Variable number	DATA	Variable number	DATA
1		27		49		57	
2		28		50		58	
3		29		51		59	
4		30		52		60	
5		31		53		61	
6		32		54		62	
7		33		55	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 99 Write other issues here:	63	
8		34				64	
9		35				65	
10		36				66	
11		37				67	
12		38		56		68	
13		39		Comments, points of clarification or questions (please include variable number):			
14		40					
15		41					
16		42					
17		43					
18		44					
19		45					
20		46					
21		47					
22		48	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 99 Write other issues here:				
23							
24							
25							
26							

Codesheet: Discourse Analysis

Variable	*Note that for each variable there might be more than one reference to the candidate's gender, appearance, etc. Record all comments or descriptions for each category.*	
	Female candidates	***Male candidates***
Candidates Named		
Candidate Gender		
Candidate Age		
Candidate Appearance		
Candidate Marital/ Family		
Candidate Emotions		
Candidate Issues		
Game Frame		
Aggressive Game frame		
Gendered frame		
Candidate Viability		

APPENDIX C: LAYOUT

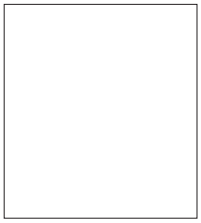
The following newspaper pages are mock examples of the various election coverage layout encountered in the six daily and community newspapers examined in this study. Text on each page explains aspects of various design elements, such as differences in size, placement, and purpose. These pages can be used as a guide when applying the layout section of the codebook to actual newspaper layout.

PAGE NUMBER DATE OF NEWSPAPER

Overall headline for profiles

Subhead for both stories

NAME



QUESTION: Lorem ipsum dolor sit amet, consectetur adipiscing elit.

ANSWER: Vivamus fringilla, quam tristique scelerisque feugiat, massa elit ultricies erat, sed dignissim sapien odio id lectus.

Morbi condimentum eros sed diam condimentum varius.

QUESTION: Phasellus quis felis non mauris venenatis vestibulum sed id ipsum.

ANSWER: Sed neque nunc, mollis a mattis non, aliquet porta metus.

Vestibulum ante ipsum primis in faucibus orci luctus et ultrices posuere cubilia Curae; Etiam sollicitudin sodales turpis, id auctor urna molestie at.

QUESTION: Nam sed varius mi. Integer nec felis nec metus dapibus pharetra.

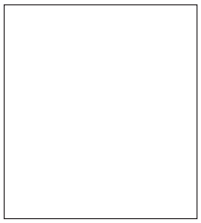
ANSWER: Lorem ipsum dolor sit amet, consectetur adipiscing elit. Proin vehicula rutrum turpis eget laoreet. Vestibulum ante ipsum primis in faucibus orci luctus et ultrices posuere cubilia Curae; Quisque consequat est ac massa dignissim commodo. Nunc euismod eleifend ligula. Aliquam sit amet nunc leo. Phasellus eget purus mauris, ac convallis tortor.

QUESTION: Nunc ut convallis erat. Duis iaculis semper libero, a auctor orci convallis fringilla. Proin elit sem, fermentum vel sodales eget, posuere nec nisi.

ANSWER: Pellentesque habitant morbi tristique senectus et netus et malesuada fames ac turpis egestas. Suspendisse faucibus cursus faucibus. Phasellus et nulla nunc, in consectetur risus. Vestibulum at arcu sem.

Ut nec risus id diam hendrerit bibendum. Duis vulputate dignissim enim sed molestie. Cras at euismod leo. Praesent sit amet mauris ut tortor hendrerit mattis.

NAME



QUESTION: Lorem ipsum dolor sit amet, consectetur adipiscing elit.

ANSWER: Vivamus fringilla, quam tristique scelerisque feugiat, massa elit ultricies erat, sed dignissim sapien odio id lectus.

Morbi condimentum eros sed diam condimentum varius.

QUESTION: Phasellus quis felis non mauris venenatis vestibulum sed id ipsum.

ANSWER: Sed neque nunc, mollis a mattis non, aliquet porta metus.

Vestibulum ante ipsum primis in faucibus orci luctus et ultrices posuere cubilia Curae; Etiam sollicitudin sodales turpis, id auctor urna molestie at.

QUESTION: Nam sed varius mi. Integer nec felis nec metus dapibus pharetra.

ANSWER: Lorem ipsum dolor sit amet, consectetur adipiscing elit. Proin vehicula rutrum turpis eget laoreet. Vestibulum ante ipsum primis in faucibus orci luctus et ultrices posuere cubilia Curae; Quisque consequat est ac massa dignissim commodo. Nunc euismod eleifend ligula. Aliquam sit amet nunc leo. Phasellus eget purus mauris, ac convallis tortor.

QUESTION: Nunc ut convallis erat. Duis iaculis semper libero, a auctor orci convallis fringilla. Proin elit sem, fermentum vel sodales eget, posuere nec nisi.

ANSWER: Pellentesque habitant morbi tristique senectus et netus et malesuada fames ac turpis egestas. Suspendisse faucibus cursus faucibus. Phasellus et nulla nunc, in consectetur risus. Vestibulum at arcu sem.

Ut nec risus id diam hendrerit bibendum. Duis vulputate dignissim enim sed molestie. Cras at euismod leo. Praesent sit amet mauris ut tortor hendrerit mattis.

* Newspaper layout examples produced by Angelia Wagner using InDesign C3.

Main headline on page

Subheads can be laid out in several ways; this one is five columns wide

REPORTER'S NAME
Reporter's title
News Organization

PLACELINE — Lorem ipsum dolor sit amet, consectetur adipiscing elit. Vivamus fringilla, quam tristique scelerisque feugiat, massa elit ultricies erat, sed dignissim sapien odio id lectus.

Morbi condimentum eros sed diam condimentum varius. Sed interdum diam eu urna fringilla ut tempor nunc luctus. Phasellus quis felis non mauris venenatis vestibulum sed id ipsum.

Sed neque nunc, mollis a mattis non, aliquet porta metus. Vestibulum ante ipsum primis in faucibus orci luctus et ultrices posuere cubilia Curae; Etiam sollicitudin sodales turpis, id auctor urna molestie at.

Nam sed varius mi. Integer nec felis nec metus dapibus pharetra. Sed nec vestibulum quam. Lorem ipsum dolor sit amet, consectetur adipiscing elit.

Proin vehicula rutrum turpis eget laoreet. Vestibulum ante ipsum primis in faucibus orci luctus et ultrices posuere cubilia Curae; Quisque consequat.

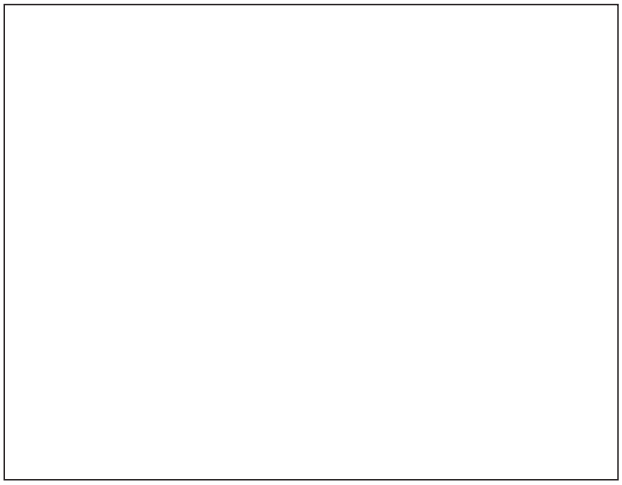
Nunc euismod eleifend ligula. Aliquam sit amet nunc leo. Phasellus eget purus mauris, ac convallis tortor. Nunc ut convallis erat. Duis iaculis semper libero, a auctor orci convallis fringilla.

Pellentesque habitant morbi tristique senectus et netus et malesuada fames ac turpis egestas.

reporteremail@website.com

"A pull quote features a comment from a person in the story."

NAME OF SPEAKER
Title or affiliation



PHOTOGRAPHER'S NAME/ORGANIZATION

The presence of a photograph, above, is a strong indication of the level of importance or prominence of a news item. Its size and whether it is in colour are also key.

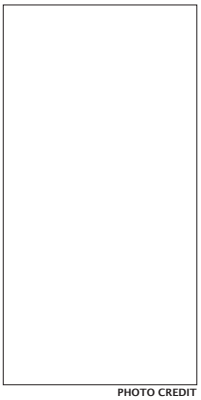


PHOTO CREDIT

A cutline, or caption, is the text that explains the content of a photograph.

Second most important story

REPORTER'S NAME
Reporter's title
News Organization

PLACELINE — *News writing is undergoing a transformation as newspapers try to boost sagging circulation.*

Instead of the usual inverted pyramid style, newspapers are experimenting with what are called story forms — different, more entertaining ways to present the same information.

For example, a journalist might offer a brief synopsis of an event before outlining some of the facts and quotes from attendees.

Although the facts and quotes might look like a factbox, the variety of presentation (especially in the Journal) suggest they should be considered part of the story. Thus, include them when coding for story length, issue mentions, and the like.

Lorem ipsum dolor sit amet, consectetur adipiscing elit. Vivamus fringilla, quam tristique scelerisque feugiat, massa elit ultricies erat, sed dignissim sapien odio id lectus.

Morbi condimentum eros sed diam condimentum varius. Sed interdum diam eu urna fringilla ut tempor nunc luctus.

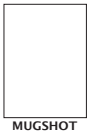
Sed neque nunc, mollis a mattis non, aliquet porta metus. Vestibulum ante ipsum primis in.

MUGSHOT

Name

- Pellentesque habitant morbi tristique senectus et netus et malesuada fames ac turpis egestas.

"Suspendisse faucibus cursus faucibus."



MUGSHOT

Name

- Pellentesque habitant morbi tristique senectus et netus et malesuada fames ac turpis egestas.

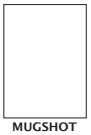
"Suspendisse faucibus cursus faucibus."

MUGSHOT

Name

- Ut congue quam quis turpis volutpat nec feugiat.
- Aliquam et libero quis velit porta

"Quisque adipiscing lacus rutrum turpis aliquet quis."



MUGSHOT

Name

- Ut congue quam quis turpis volutpat nec feugiat.
- Aliquam et libero quis velit porta

"Quisque adipiscing lacus rutrum turpis aliquet quis."

Headline says …

Candidate profiles are a common feature of election coverage and can be done in several formats. The version presented here is a question-and-answer format.

SUBHEAD
Profession

What is a candidate profile?
It is a spotlight on a single candidate. It discusses their platform as well as their personal and professional background.

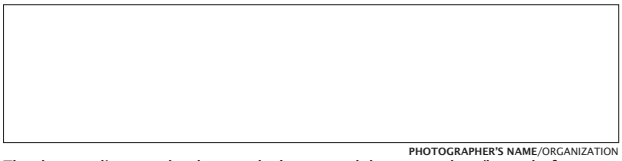
How do I identify a candidate profile?
Papers often print them on the same page, on the same day as part of an overall election package. Others run them over several days but they follow a set layout format.

SUBHEAD
Profession

Are all profiles the same?
No. Some are written as regular news articles. Others are done in a question-and-answer format gathered by the newspaper via surveys or interviews. Still other papers let the candidates write their own profiles

What is the purpose of candidate profiles?
They introduce candidates to potential voters in a greater depth than is possible in regular stories.

HEADLINE



PHOTOGRAPHER'S NAME/ORGANIZATION

The photo credit states the photographer's name and the news outlet s/he works for.

SUBHEAD
Reporter credit

Lorem ipsum dolor sit amet, consectetur adipiscing elit. Vivamus fringilla, quam tristique scelerisque feugiat, massa elit ultricies erat, sed dignissim sapien odio id lectus. Vivamus fringilla, quam tristique scelerisque feugiat.

Read more of this blog at newspaper.com

SUBHEAD
Another headline

- **Lorem ipsum dolor sit amet**

Phasellus et nulla nunc, in consectetur. Vestibulum at arcu sem.

- **Lorem ipsum dolor sit amet**

Phasellus et nulla nunc, in consectetur.

- **Lorem ipsum dolor sit amet**

Phasellus et nulla nunc, in consectetur.

- **Lorem ipsum dolor sit amet**

Phasellus et nulla nunc, in consectetur.

SUBHEAD

- **Lorem ipsum dolor sit amet**

Phasellus et nulla nunc, in consectetur.

- **Lorem ipsum dolor sit amet**

Phasellus et nulla nunc, in consectetur.

Editorial/Our View

Top item on page

An editorial runs at the top of the what is called the editorial page and can usually be identified by a label.

Editorials traditionally do not have a writer byline as they represent the opinion of the newspaper. However, an increasing number of newspapers are running editorials with the name of the writer at the bottom in what is called a story credit.

An editorial page is usually accompanied by an editorial cartoon, at right. This is what distinguishes it from an opinion page, which features columns, guest writers, and (additional) letters to the editor.

Lorem ipsum dolor sit amet, consectetur adipiscing elit. Vivamus fringilla, quam tristique scelerisque feugiat, massa elit ultricies erat, sed dignissim sapien odio id lectus.

Morbi condimentum eros sed diam condimentum varius. Sed interdum diam eu urna fringilla ut tempor nunc luctus. Phasellus quis felis non mauris venenatis vestibulum sed id ipsum. Sed neque nunc, mollis a mattis non, aliquet porta metus.

Vestibulum ante ipsum primis in faucibus orci luctus et ultrices posuere cubilia Curae; Etiam sollicitudin sodales turpis, id auctor urna molestie at.

Nam sed varius mi. Integer nec felis nec metus dapibus pharetra. Sed nec vestibulum quam. Lorem ipsum dolor sit amet, consectetur adipiscing elit.

Proin vehicula rutrum turpis eget laoreet. Vestibulum ante ipsum primis in faucibus orci luctus et ultrices posuere cubilia Curae; Quisque consequat est ac massa dignissim commodo. Nunc euismod eleifend ligula.

Aliquam sit amet nunc leo. Phasellus eget purus mauris, ac convallis tortor. Nunc ut convallis erat. Duis iaculis semper libero, a auctor orci convallis fringilla. Proin elit sem, fermentum vel sodales eget, posuere nec nisi.

Pellentesque habitant morbi tristique senectus et netus et malesuada fames ac turpis egestas. Suspendisse faucibus cursus faucibus.

Phasellus et nulla nunc, in consectetur risus. Vestibulum at arcu sem. Ut nec risus id diam hendrerit bibendum. Duis vulputate dignissim enim sed molestie. Cras at euismod leo. Praesent sit amet mauris ut tortor hendrerit mattis. Praesent gravida nisi sit amet leo fringilla quis laoreet massa vehicula.

— **Story Credit**

Letters to the Editor

2nd largest headline

Lorem ipsum dolor sit amet, consectetur adipiscing elit. Vivamus fringilla, quam tristique scelerisque feugiat, massa elit ultricies erat.

Morbi condimentum eros sed diam condimentum varius.

Name
Community of residence

Subhead

Sed interdum diam eu urna fringilla ut tempor nunc luctus. Phasellus quis felis non mauris venenatis vestibulum sed id ipsum. Sed neque nunc, mollis a mattis non, aliquet porta metus.

Name
Community of residence

Subhead

Vestibulum ante ipsum primis in fauciwbus orci luctus et ultrices posuere cubilia Curae; Etiam sollicitudin sodales turpis, id auctor urna molestie at.

Nam sed varius mi. Integer nec felis nec metus dapibus pharetra. Sed nec vestibulum quam. Lorem ipsum dolor sit amet, consectetur adipiscing elit.

Name
Community of residence

Subhead

Vestibulum ante ipsum primis in faucibus orci luctus et ultrices posuere cubilia Curae; Quisque consequat est ac.

Nunc euismod eleifend ligula. Aliquam sit amet nunc leo.

Name
Community of residence

Subhead

Phasellus eget purus mauris, ac convallis tortor. Nunc ut convallis erat. Duis iaculis semper libero, a auctor orci convallis fringilla. Proin elit sem, fermentum vel sodales eget, posuere nec nisi.

Pellentesque habitant morbi tristique senectus et netus et malesuada fames ac turpis egestas. Suspendisse faucibus cursus faucibus.

Name
Community of residence

Third largest headline on page

A column can be identified by looking for a column head, inset. The column head usually includes the writer's mugshot, name, and either a title for their column or subject matter.

The design of a column head can vary between newspapers but the most common one is shown at right. It is a design element that can be slotted within the text.

Columns and editorials typically go on separate pages, wapers such as weeklies might put them on the same page due to space constraints.

Columnist
NAME
Subject

The column head, also known as a logo head, is not considered a mugshot, as seen on the other mock newspaper pages.

Lorem ipsum dolor sit amet, consectetur adipiscing elit. Vivamus fringilla, quam tristique scelerisque feugiat, massa elit ultricies erat, sed dignissim sapien odio id lectus.

Morbi condimentum eros sed diam condimentum varius. Sed interdum diam eu urna fringilla ut tempor nunc luctus. Phasellus quis felis non mauris venenatis vestibulum sed id ipsum. Sed neque nunc, mollis a mattis non, aliquet porta metus.

Vestibulum ante ipsum primis in faucibus orci luctus et ultrices posuere cubilia Curae; Etiam sollicitudin sodales turpis, id auctor urna molestie at.

Nam sed varius mi. Integer nec felis nec metus dapibus pharetra. Sed nec vestibulum quam. Lorem ipsum dolor sit amet, consectetur adipiscing elit.

Proin vehicula rutrum turpis eget laoreet. Vestibulum ante ipsum primis in faucibus orci luctus et ultrices posuere cubilia Curae; Quisque consequat est ac massa dignissim commodo. Nunc euismod eleifend ligula.

Aliquam sit amet nunc leo. Phasellus eget purus mauris, ac convallis tortor. Nunc ut convallis erat. Duis iaculis semper libero, a auctor orci convallis fringilla. Proin elit sem, fermentum vel sodales eget, posuere nec nisi.

Pellentesque habitant morbi tristique senectus et netus et malesuada fames ac turpis egestas. Suspendisse faucibus cursus faucibus.

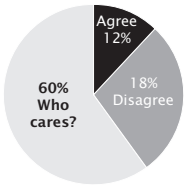
Phasellus et nulla nunc, in consectetur risus. Vestibulum at arcu sem. Ut nec risus id diam hendrerit bibendum.

Survey says

What do you think of what our columnist has to say about this issue?

- I agree
- I disagree
- Who cares?

Yesterday's answers:



Vote at thisnewspaper.com

Kicker (headline) for photograph

PHOTOGRAPHER'S NAME/ORGANIZATION

This is a stand-alone photograph. It can be identified by the kicker (headline) that runs either above the photograph or between the photograph and the cutline. It is called a stand-alone photograph because it does not run with a story, though it can be used to "throw" to a story that appears in another part of the newspaper.

Top story on page

This subhead is two columns wide and two lines (decks) deep

REPORTER'S NAME
Reporter's title
News Organization

PLACELINE — A mugshot is a photograph of an individual that features just their head and, at most, their shoulders. If the picture includes more than this, it is not a mugshot but a small photograph.

Another key feature of a mugshot is its small size (as shown at right): it should be no more than one column in width. If it is larger than this, it is considered a small photograph.

MUGSHOT

Lorem ipsum dolor sit amet, consectetur adipiscing elit. Vivamus fringilla, quam tristique scelerisque feugiat, massa elit ultricies erat, sed dignissim sapien odio id lectus.

Morbi condimentum eros sed diam condimentum varius. Sed interdum diam eu urna fringilla ut tempor nunc luctus. Phasellus quis felis non mauris venenatis vestibulum sed id ipsum.

Sed neque nunc, mollis a mattis non, aliquet porta metus. Vestibulum ante ipsum primis in faucibus orci luctus et ultrices posuere cubilia Curae; Etiam sollicitudin sodales turpis, id auctor urna molestie at.

Nam sed varius mi. Integer nec felis nec metus dapibus pharetra. Sed nec vestibulum quam. Lorem ipsum dolor sit amet, consectetur adipiscing elit. Proin vehicula rutrum turpis eget laoreet.

Vestibulum ante ipsum primis in faucibus orci luctus.

e-mail tagline of reporter

Introduction explaining the context of the profiles to follow. The candidate's name should be considered the headline to that particular profile.

Headline

Subhead
Lorem ipsum dolor sit amet, consectetur adipiscing elit. Vivamus fringilla, quam tristique scelerisque feugiat, massa elit ultricies erat, sed dignissim sapien odio id lectus.

Subhead
Lorem ipsum dolor sit amet, consectetur adipiscing elit. Vivamus fringilla, quam tristique.

Subhead
Lorem ipsum dolor sit amet, consectetur adipiscing elit. Vivamus fringilla, quam tristique scelerisque feugiat, massa elit ultricies erat.

Subhead
Lorem ipsum dolor sit amet, consectetur adipiscing elit. Vivamus fringilla, quam tristique scelerisque feugiat, massa elit ultricies erat, sed dignissim sapien odio id lectus.

Headline

Subhead
Lorem ipsum dolor sit amet, consectetur adipiscing elit. Vivamus fringilla, quam tristique.

Subhead
Lorem ipsum dolor sit amet, consectetur adipiscing elit. Vivamus fringilla, quam tristique scelerisque feugiat, massa elit ultricies erat.

Subhead
Lorem ipsum dolor sit amet, consectetur adipiscing elit. Vivamus fringilla, quam tristique scelerisque feugiat, massa elit ultricies erat, sed dignissim sapien odio id lectus.

Subhead
Lorem ipsum dolor sit amet, consectetur adipiscing elit. Vivamus fringilla, quam tristique scelerisque feugiat, massa elit ultricies erat.

2nd largest headline

Candidate profiles can be laid out in a myriad of design formats. Some newspapers print short profiles of municipal candidates as part of a larger election package.

Even though each profile is counted as a separate item, the overall headline (above) and the subheads (throughout) should be considered part of each item for the purposes of coding.

Subhead

Morbi condimentum eros sed diam condimentum varius. Sed interdum diam eu urna fringilla ut tempor nunc luctus.

Sed neque nunc, mollis a mattis non, aliquet porta metus. Vestibulum ante ipsum primis in faucibus orci luctus et ultrices posuere cubilia Curae; Etiam sollicitudin sodales turpis, id auctor urna molestie at.

Nam sed varius mi. Integer nec felis nec metus dapibus pharetra. Sed nec vestibulum quam. Lorem ipsum dolor sit amet, consectetur adipiscing elit.

Proin vehicula rutrum turpis eget laoreet. Vestibulum ante ipsum primis in faucibus orci luctus et ultrices posuere cubilia Curae; Quisque consequat est ac massa dignissim commodo.

Subhead

Aliquam et libero quis velit porta accumsan et eu nisl. Quisque adipiscing lacus rutrum turpis aliquet quis ultrices nisl viverra. Aliquam eget elit turpis, sed aliquam mauris.

Vivamus at tortor ipsum, ac sagittis metus. Curabitur porta odio ac diam cursus pulvinar. Aenean aliquet nisl ac eros eleifend eget rutrum nisl tristique. Integer ut fringilla orci.

Small headline for story continued from another page

Continued from Page XX

Some stories that appear on the front page or section front of a newspaper are too long for the space provided, so they are continued on an inside page.

Just as we code the entire text when looking at character trait depictions, for examle, we code for design features that appear on the continued page such as pullquotes or mugshots.

Vivamus fringilla, quam tristique scelerisque feugiat, massa elit ultricies erat, sed dignissim sapien odio id lectus. Morbi condimentum eros sed diam condimentum varius. Sed interdum diam eu urna fringilla ut tempor nunc luctus.

Phasellus quis felis non mauris venenatis vestibulum sed id ipsum. Sed neque nunc, mollis a mattis non, aliquet porta metus. Vestibulum ante ipsum primis in faucibus orci luctus et ultrices posuere cubilia Curae.

Etiam sollicitudin sodales turpis, id auctor urna molestie at.

"This is a pull quote."

NAME OF SPEAKER
Title or affiliation

Nam sed varius mi. Integer nec felis nec metus dapibus pharetra. Sed nec vestibulum quam. Lorem ipsum dolor sit amet, consectetur adipiscing elit.

Proin vehicula rutrum turpis eget laoreet. Vestibulum ante ipsum primis in faucibus orci luctus et ultrices posuere cubilia Curae; Quisque consequat est ac massa dignissim commodo.

Nunc euismod eleifend ligula. Aliquam sit amet nunc leo. Phasellus eget purus mauris, ac convallis tortor.

Nunc ut convallis erat. Duis iaculis semper libero, a auctor orci convallis fringilla.

Pellentesque habitant morbi tristique senectus et netus et egestas.

Factbox

- A factbox can come in a variety of design and information formats.
- Factboxes usually relate interesting snippets of information to draw the reader into the story.
- Factboxes are located within the layout of a story or adjacent to it.
- Design-wise, factboxes are used to break up the "grey" of the text.