

WHAT HAPPENED AFTER #STANDWITHWENDY? THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL  
MEDIA CAMPAIGNS ON GENDERED FRAMING IN COVERAGE OF WOMEN  
CANDIDATES

---

A PROJECT

presented to

the Faculty of the Graduate School  
at the University of Missouri-Columbia

---

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

---

by

STEPHANIE EBBS

Professor Scott Swafford, Project Supervisor

MAY 2015

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank to many professors and advisors at the Missouri School of Journalism that have contributed to making my studies such a positive experience. Professor Laura Johnston, for agreeing to chair my committee and providing excellent advice and editing as this project progressed. Professor Barbara Cochran, for guiding me through my professional life this semester and answering my many questions about the transition from academic to professional life. Professor Scott Swafford for sharing his experience with similar research, without which this project would have been worse off. And last but certainly not least, Professors Joy Mayer and Elizabeth Brixey. They did not serve on my committee but without them I could not have held on to my sanity through this stressful process. Thank you all for being some of the best teachers and mentors a girl could ask for.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	ii
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.....	iv
ABSTRACT.....	v

### Chapter

1. Introduction.....	1
2. Weekly Reports.....	4
3. Personal Evaluation.....	17
4. Evidence of Work Completed.....	20
5. Analysis Component.....	38
Theoretical Framework.....	40
Literature Review.....	50
Methodology.....	56
Results.....	62
Conclusions.....	70
Reference.....	76

### APPENDIX

A. CODING SCHEME.....	A
B. SAMPLE ARTICLES.....	B
C. PROJECT PROPOSAL.....	M

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Meg Pickard’s illustration of audience engagement .....	48
2. Reproduction of a graphic from the presentation “Charting a Course Through the Twitter Tempest” at the Online News Association 2014 conference .....	48
3. Sample size of articles for each candidate .....	63
4. Sample by code distribution	
1. from candidate campaign announcement, 2013.....	64
2. in articles before Election Day 2014.....	64
5. Sample articles by news outlet	
1. Coverage of Wendy Davis .....	65
2. Coverage of Martha Coakley .....	65
6. Coverage by code distribution	
1. Coverage of Martha Coakley .....	66
2. Coverage of Wendy Davis .....	66
7. Distribution of code for sample articles by outlet	
1. New York Times.....	68
2. Wall Street Journal.....	68
3. Dallas Morning-News.....	68
4. Houston Chronicle .....	68
5. Boston Globe .....	68
6. Boston Herald .....	68
8. Most common term to assign gendered code to paragraph	
1. Davis, references to abortion filibuster or issue.....	69
2. Coakley, references to personality or likeability .....	70

WHAT HAPPENED AFTER #STANDWITHWENDY? THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL  
MEDIA CAMPAIGNS ON GENDERED FRAMING IN COVERAGE OF WOMEN  
CANDIDATES

Stephanie Ebbs

Professor Laura Johnston, Project Supervisor

ABSTRACT

Social media is a fact of life in the modern media sphere and its impact on traditional journalism should be better understood. This project examined that relationship through the lens of gender, specifically the impact of social media as a variable on gendered framing. By comparing coverage of two women candidates for governor, the researcher was able to determine one potential consequence of notable social media activity around one of those candidates. While many side effects of online activity are difficult to objectively measure, in this case the social activity around one campaign cemented a narrative of the candidate that resulted in a higher rate of gendered framing in newspaper articles.

WHAT HAPPENED AFTER #STANDWITHWENDY? THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL  
MEDIA CAMPAIGNS ON GENDERED FRAMING IN COVERAGE OF WOMEN  
CANDIDATES

Stephanie Ebbs

Keywords: Women candidates, gender, gendered framing, social media, social activism,  
campaign coverage, political reporting

## **Chapter One. Introduction**

I consider myself a digital journalist, a combination of a reporter, online producer and audience engagement specialist. The Missouri School of Journalism titles aren't distinct. Every journalist needs to have at least some understanding of multiple areas of their work, not just how to report a story but how to present it online and talk to different communities about what you did. I took that lesson to heart and worked to learn great reporting and writing as well as digital skills.

A lot of what I've learned came from my work in the Columbia Missourian newsroom. I worked several semesters as a reporter in the newsroom and in the Capitol bureau. I learned how to work independently, ask the right questions, mold that information into a story and, most importantly, how to be persistent throughout the process. I was always aware of the work being done by the interactive copy desk and the community outreach team and began to understand more once I worked with them. I decided to pursue some of these other areas of journalism in graduate school to better understand how they can work together to present a well-rounded final product. I worked as a copy editor and spent two semesters with Joy Mayer, engaging in almost daily conversations about the importance of expanding traditional views of journalism beyond just reporting the news. In my community outreach work I learned how to listen to online communities and participate in conversation, instead of just mine social media for sources. Though these techniques are not used in every aspect of traditional reporting I know the value of online communities in every aspect of the journalistic process. By

taking classes and pursuing professional experience outside of the roles associated with reporters I was able to see how all these skills can work together to make modern journalists more nimble and well rounded than their traditional counterparts.

Early in my journalism career I discovered that policy reporting was where I wanted to apply this mindset and worked specifically to improve skills that would help me in that work. I have worked as a beat reporter and covered state and local policy issues as they evolve in legislation or during an election. Once I felt confident in the base of my skills as a reporter I took it to the next level by learning techniques in investigative and computer assisted reporting. I also sought to better understand the greater trends at work in politics through advanced political science coursework. This experience with academic research in social science helps me apply a broader context to my reporting. These skills, like my work in audience engagement, are wrapped into the everyday tasks I complete as a journalist. With all of this in mind I'm still optimistic and open about the direction of my career. I know I want to work in journalism and want to start as a reporter in Washington, but I could also see myself doing engagement work. No matter what my job title is, though, I know that having all those skills will make me a better journalist regardless of role.

This project represents a further blend between the ideas of traditional journalism and the new philosophies of audience engagement work. Working in Washington is the epitome of political journalism and the media landscape there is constantly evolving to embrace the digital world. The ABC bureau is going through some reorganization to better combine the broadcast content and the digital product, and Facebook recently announced a partnership with BuzzFeed and ABC to incorporate user data into reporting



on the 2016 election. I will be able to learn an incredible amount about the modern media environment from observing these changes as well as contributing my experience as a digital journalist. My research component also will examine this relationship by taking a classic research topic such as bias in political reporting and incorporating new questions about the influence of online communities. This could be the beginning of a new level of understanding about the relationship between journalists and online social networks. That understanding will help inform journalists' decision-making and interpretation of political reporting, as well as provide questions for future researchers to delve into.

## Chapter Two. Weekly Reports

This section consists of the weekly memos sent to committee members during the course of the project. They have not been edited except to match formatting and correct typos.

### **Week of: Jan 13- Jan 16**

#### **Tasks accomplished:**

- Research Mitt Romney listicle
- Research clips for SOTU aisle story
- Worked on and pitched SOTU story ideas. “What we already know about the SOTU” was approved and I’m doing more research on another idea.
- Interview Sen. Eliot Engel for SOTU aisle hog story to publish next week and write the text to accompany video (to publish Tuesday)

#### **Published:**

- 7 gaffes that might haunt Mitt Romney in 2016 (team effort from the interns)
- Congressman Randy Weber apologizes for Tweet comparing President Obama to Hitler
  - Beware the Bartender (mention in morning politics note)

**Goals met:** Got off to a strong start by jumping right in.

**Goals for next week:** Continue to take initiative and pitch another story idea. Find out why all words in headlines are capitalized (just because it’s bugging me).

This week was a perfect time to start work because the newsroom is all hands on deck to get ready for the State of the Union next week. I was asked to start researching clips for a piece right away and was later asked to conduct an interview for that same piece. There’s a lot of energy in the newsroom and the digital team seems to have a lot of fun with what they do so it’s a happy environment.

I had a good conversation with my boss Michael Falcone and he is open to all kinds of story ideas, on the fun and more serious side of things. I want to make it a personal goal to pitch something every week, even if it’s just a small blog-style post. I think this will help me figure out how he thinks and adjust my style of thinking to more of a broadcast environment. So far their mindset doesn’t seem drastically different than how I think, but I will have to work on writing with energy and conducting interviews to get usable video. A producer and another intern came on the interview and said I would be part of the production process for the video element so I can learn more about that, which I’m excited about.

Things are good on the research side as well. I’ve coded a couple of articles a week to keep things manageable and maintain a decent momentum. I decided to expand my

search dates to Nov. 5 instead of Nov. 4 to capture election coverage that published in print the morning after. It doesn't look like it will make much difference in the sample size.

Since the semester starts next week we have orientation on Tuesday and our first seminar Friday with Tom Rosenstiel and the Newseum. I will go in to work Tuesday night to help with coverage of the speech, which should be a lot of fun. I think it was a strong first week and I'm having a blast exploring the city.

Until next week! (or Tuesday for Barbara)

Stephanie

**Week of: Jan 19- Jan 22**

**Tasks accomplished:**

- Social media aggregation of MLK volunteer activities
- Work State of the Union night

**Published:**

- How to score the best seats at the State of the Union
- Anthony Foxx: Meet State of the Union 2015's Designated Survivor
- What it's really like to be at the State of the Union
- Obama gives Astronaut Scott Kelly and Instagram a shout out in the State of the Union

**Goals met:** Produced at least one thing, found out that no one knows why headlines are in all caps

**Goals for next week:** Successfully execute a story pitch from start to finish, have a good meeting with Barbara, Michael and Jane.

Hello again!

This week was a bit slower, partly because of time spent out of the newsroom. We had a good orientation with Barbara on Tuesday where we got, well, oriented. I worked the State of the Union that night, which was exciting but actually not as busy as I thought. Everyone was mostly focused on the main story to sum up the event but I volunteered to stay and contribute a little social aggregation.

The digital team was really focused on using Vine for the first time. I'm always glad to be able to listen in on conversations when a newsroom is experimenting with something. It was actually more of an editing challenge, producers would see something they wanted to Vine and edit it quickly from the feed. We ended up with hundreds of thousands of views by the end of the night so hopefully they'll keep experimenting. The people I spoke with don't seem to understand Snapchat but I'm going to advocate for its value a bit.

I was a little more frustrated with the outcome of this week. Between orientation, the post SOTU lag and a day of ABC training on Thursday there wasn't much time to produce

anything. My supervisor called me in to his office to talk about a story that we disagreed about. Long story short, he wanted to do something like "the 5 things we learned about Mitt Romney from the unaired documentary footage" and I didn't really see the value. I'm going to work on being more "buzzy," as they put it, but also pitching my own stories that combine news value and Internet appeal. Hopefully these conversations will hold them to the promise that I will get out of the newsroom to report. I know some of this is just learning the politics and the balance of a new place and figuring out where I fit.

We had a great seminar with Tom Rosenstiel and the Newseum this week. I won't lie and say I wasn't relieved when he had more to talk about than "Elements of Journalism"! It was a really interesting conversation about the trends he sees in media and how things are still changing faster than most media organizations can keep up. I can definitely see that challenge at ABC and I hope I can contribute in some small way to synchronizing the broadcast and digital efforts a bit more. I was also really glad for graduate school during that conversation. I felt like I could follow along with his points and ask informed questions.

**Week of: Jan 26- Jan 29**

**Tasks accomplished:**

- Politics of the Super Bowl
- Controversial Super Bowl ads
- Social media training
- Barbara visit
- Went to Scott Walker speech

**Published:**

- Air Force One is Getting an Upgrade
  - Mention in newsletter
- Countdown to 2016: What we know about when potential candidates will announce
- Ernest Moniz: The cabinet secretary you've never heard of has Internet-famous hair (from Jan. 21)
- The most controversial Super Bowl ads of the last five years
- Super Bowl 2015: 5 Ways Politics Are Part of the Big Game

**Goals met:** Execute a story pitch from start to finish

**Goals for next week:** Work on something that needs a little reporting, not just aggregating

I met my main goal for the week of successfully getting a story I pitched published. I put together two posts on political controversy and the Super Bowl. I had to manage up a bit in reminding folks that it needed to be edited because it was less pressing than other news. In the end I'm happy with how they turned out, though I don't think it should have taken an entire week to wrap them up. Next week I'll try to work on pitching things that fit better into the news cycle and the bureau's focus.

A few assignments took me out of the newsroom this week and I *almost* got to do a bit of reporting. I went to Gov. Scott Walker's speech Friday afternoon as backup for the reporter who was covering it, but didn't end up writing anything. I also got to write up a brief on Air Force One that my supervisor assigned after I asked if I could help with anything. Sunday I'm going to event of Elizabeth Warren supporters to see if there's any interest. There's a good chance that nothing interesting happens but it also will be a good opportunity to show off my writing skills a bit by describing the folks at the event. My goal with that is to follow a bit of Jacqui Banaszynski advice and do something great with what my editor expects will be a boring story. Fingers crossed!

I enjoyed meeting with communications staff from Sen. Blunt's office. There's always something to be gained from hearing how people you will work with think about their job, even if we consider flacks adversaries more than colleagues. What I found the most interesting was how much they value personal connections, especially in person or at least over the phone. Amber said that even though the staff tries to keep up with social media, they prioritize in-person conversation and emphasized that they prefer to work with reporters who have at least made an introduction. That conversation will serve as a reminder to avoid the temptation of emails and pick up the phone to call spokespeople. I feel like I shouldn't need this reminder because it's always what I was taught, but there is a powerful temptation to do things the easy way.

I was also struck by how thoughtful they sounded when talking about working with journalists. I take this with a grain of salt because I know that they will always have a message to get out and reporters will always be trying to get to what's behind that message. It sounded like if you are up-front with them and clear about what you want to know then you can work together without too many problems. It never hurts to be reminded that everyone you interact with is a person and most people are pretty normal.

On the research front, I spent some time fighting with the database this week. Factiva is still giving me different search results than original searches so I spent a lot of my time making sure everything is organized. The problem seems to be when searching pre-2014 articles from the Dallas Morning-News and Houston Chronicle. I emailed Dorothy to see if she can help me work out the glitches. Now that I have a list of articles that won't change I think coding will move more quickly.

**Week of: Jan 30-Feb. 6**

**Tasks accomplished:**

- LAST WEEK: John McCain to protesters: "Get out of here you low-life scum"
  - I forgot to include this last week. The reporting and writing was Alex Mallin but I alerted the newsroom to the comment that got the most attention in the story and the video clip of that moment.
- Wrapped up story from event I went to on Sunday
- Went to Senate Foreign Relations committee and Georgetown event with Justice Ruth Bader-Ginsburg

- Justice Ginsburg event in morning politics note

**Published:**

- Elizabeth Warren's Supporters Persist on 2016, One Meeting at a Time
- 5 Politicians Whose Foreign Trips Didn't Go So Well

**Goals met:** Get something published that required some reporting

**Goals for next week:** Go to the planning meeting every day, ask to spend time with the correspondents, work on more focused story pitches

I knew there was a reason I love going to budget meetings. I've finally started to get my reporting sea legs. The event over the weekend turned into a nice story and I got a few more assignments after going to an afternoon planning meeting. I made it a goal for next week to go to that meeting every day. It's a way to get my face seen by the assigning editors, I can hear their thoughts on events of the day and it's a great time to volunteer for stuff. The story from the Warren meeting did take more time than I wanted (I turned the first draft in around lunch Monday and it published late Tuesday afternoon) so I'm also going to work on writing really clean copy so my editor's life is easier. The reason for the delay was just that more pressing things kept coming up and he was editing really thoroughly.

That was a high point but the rest of the week was a bit frustrating. I'm going to ask if I can spend more time with the correspondents so I can get more experience outside the newsroom. I had hoped to pitch some story ideas last week but my ideas weren't focused enough, they were topics not stories. More focused ideas is one of my goals that I will work on over the next few weeks. There are a lot of things about ABC that I can't wrap my mind around, there seems to be different requirements for what warrants a story than I'm used to so I'm still figuring that out.

We had a great visit with Bloomberg this week. I realized that my impression of it was mostly as a financial news service but I understand more how the financial focus and news side go together. It's different to think about an organization with reporters prioritizing clients over the "public service" duty you usually hear about, though I think they still do a lot of reporting that is important to the public as well. Hearing Angela Greiling-Keene and Mike Dorning talking about their careers leading up to the White House beat calmed some of my job anxiety, so that is always nice.

The research is a bit stalled still, I need to contact someone at the Houston Chronicle to see if they will give me a discount on archived articles since the database can't provide them. If anything I'll bite the bullet and pay for it; I'm not too worried.

**Week of: Feb. 9 - Feb 15**

**Tasks accomplished:**

- Monitored and wrote up Bernie Sanders speech
- Researched Alabama amendment for Political Director Rick Klein
- Go to event on New Hampshire primary at Newseum and wrote blurb for morning note

- Met with Robin Sproul
- Shadowed at the Senate and House

**Published:**

- [Sen. Bernie Sanders: I will boycott Netanyahu speech](#)
- [Jon Stewart's Jokes on Politics' Biggest Scandals and Moments Then and Now](#)
- (contributed) [Gov. Scott Walker 'Punts' on Foreign Policy, Evolution Questions in London](#)
- [One reason your weather forecast might get a lot worse](#)
- [NH event in morning note](#)

**Goals met:** Get something published that required some reporting

**Goals for next week:** Go to the planning meeting every day, ask to spend time with the correspondents, work on more focused story pitches

Brr!

My fingers are slightly frozen while I type this but I'm hunkered down with my project for the long weekend.

Last week was exhausting in a good way. I nudged my supervisor to remind him that I hadn't spent time with any of the correspondents yet so I spent most of my week out of the newsroom. I spent a day with the Senate correspondent, a day with the House correspondent, went to an evening event for the morning political note and went to a science committee hearing. It wasn't a particularly active week on the Hill, despite the AUMF(should you spell this out?) and hubbub about DHS funding, but I'm really glad I got to spend time up there and I hope there's more in the near future. A.J. and I are rotating next week so I'll work on the assignment desk, which should involve more general assignments and working with other folks in the newsroom. I enjoyed digital a great deal but you just can't get a good sense of what's going on if you're always in the newsroom.

The biggest thing I still have trouble adjusting to is how ABC decides what warrants a story and what doesn't. It seems that the thinking is still centered around the shows, so a lot of things that I think could be an online story are only sent around to the listservs. For example, the House correspondent went to three press conferences in a row with congressional leadership on Homeland Security funding. It was a lot of bit talk but still something I would consider newsworthy. There aren't many stories about this issue on the website despite the fact that the department could shut down in a few weeks. When they do publish something online, headlines tend to read like "What you need to know about..." or "Why something ...." which goes against the style that I'm comfortable with. I'm trying to keep a positive attitude about these style differences because I know my preference leans toward the more serious and I don't know all of the thinking behind these strategies.

We didn't have seminar this week so I was able to take advantage of the long weekend to get caught up on coding articles. I think I'm about a fifth of the way through so I'm

hoping to keep up this pace. I've definitely started to notice some patterns and take notes on observations that I will keep track of and incorporate into my write-up. It's also time to submit some internship applications because that process never stops.

Until next week,

Stephanie

**Week of: Feb. 17- Feb. 19**

**Tasks accomplished:**

- Monitor social, news, answer phones at assignment desk
- Called many, many congressional offices for Project Sleep
- Hold down the fort at White House booth while correspondent is traveling with pool

**Published:**

- President Obama vows U.S. and International coalition 'will not relent' in fight against ISIS
- President Obama designates three new national parks
  - it was on the homepage!

**Goals met:** Spend time with correspondents

**Goals for next week:** Go to the planning meeting every day, work on more focused story pitches

I had a great time working on the assignment desk this week. I would compare it to the ACE desk and general assignment reporters for the folks at home. The desk is really the nucleus of activity in the bureau, some of the more experienced editors monitor the schedule for the next few days and deploy teams as needed during breaking news. Some of the folks on the desk have been with ABC for many years and express some of the same frustration that I was feeling about which stories the organization chooses to focus on. This was a huge relief, actually, and working with them has given me more opportunities to ask my questions and suggest stories that I want to cover.

After last week I realized that the digital team works completely independently of the news operation, my supervisor at digital actually commented that he doesn't know what goes on at the assignment deck. This just blew me away! The organization as a whole doesn't seem committed to digital and digital doesn't seem committed to contributing to the news work of the organization. I would have a hard time describing the mission statement of some of these departments, which I think says a lot about why large broadcast organizations are struggling in some ways.

My day at the White House was phenomenal. Since we were relatively short staffed the digital correspondent Devin Dwyer gave me a lot of responsibility to write up the president's statements on my own. I wrote up his comments at the extremism summit in real time and updated the story throughout the day. I'm really grateful that I got to show them what I can do and I think it went well overall. One thing that I learned for next time



is that any research or background should be done in advance so that news can be turned quickly.

I feel good about the status of my research, though I doubt I will meet the soft deadline I set for myself to start writing on March 6. I'm almost 50 percent through coding and have some preliminary findings. Laura will get an outline of some of those and I'm happy to send it along to anyone else who is interested.

We got a chance to catch up in seminar this week with a heated discussion of the incoming dean candidates and a talk with USA Today disaster correspondent Donna Leinwand. I admire so much people who do the kind of reporting after disasters that Donna talked about because I don't know if I could handle it. She had a great message, though, about reporting from your observations when you can't always communicate with people. I think that could apply to congressional and political reporting in some situations because we can't get inside the heads of the people we're writing about but we can report their actions, which probably matters more in the end. Donna also had a great message about self care; it's always good to be reminded the importance of knowing your own limits and prioritizing your own mental and physical health.

**Week of: Feb. 23-27**

**Tasks accomplished:**

- Pitch story on education for CPAC, plan with Michael and Rick
- Pitched story to GMA and World News
- Attended press conference on Iran nuclear sites and passed on notes to Global Affairs team and foreign desk
- Go to VP black history month event at residence as pool with Producer Jon Garcia
  - Wrote up a report for the pool and internal
- Spend Thursday and Friday afternoon at CPAC, working on education story and helping out
- Interview political communication professor for House of Cards Q&A
- Find sources for Net Neutrality explainer (connected Sandy Davidson with some producers)
- Found and pitched this story about job openings at the Antarctica Post Office

**Published:**

- Oscars 2015: Top 7 Political Moments of the Academy Awards
- Biden event in The Note
- Joe Biden's Got Jokes: One Night, Five Punchlines
- Why Everyone is So Obsessed With House of Cards
- (to publish) CPAC 2015: Jeb Bush Stands Alone on Common Core

**Goals met:** Go to the planning meeting (almost) every day

**Goals for next week:** Keep going to the planning meeting, spend more time on the Hill

I had another great (and exhausting) week. Tuesday night I went with one of the senior producers as pool at an event at the Vice President's residence. Thursday and Friday

afternoon I helped out at the Conservative Political Action Conference and worked on a piece about the rhetoric around Common Core. I wish I could have worked faster with that piece; I was collecting what the various candidates said about it. The time consuming part was trying to find context for those statements or research to back them up. There were probably more than 100 journalists at this event so the pressure to work quickly was definitely there. On the other hand, even after sending in what I wrote I knew that no one would have time to look at it until Monday.

I've also enjoyed meeting more people who work in various departments. I had a hard time seeing myself at ABC at first and meeting more people has helped me see where I might fit. I'm still flabbergasted by the divide between news and digital-minded people. A lot of the people that I relate to the most are on the news side and very loyal to traditional ideas about what's newsworthy. Many of those people have been with ABC for 10+ years and have little interest in exploring new digital tools. As much as I hate to say that the people with the most experience should leave, it certainly doesn't help a big organization keep up with the times when the staff is so divided.

We met with two federal Inspectors General in class, which I found very useful. The reports put out by those offices could be huge sources of information for stories. They flag things that certain departments or agencies work on before something really bad happens. I want to make a point of checking these sites often. I think the great investigative reporters flag these kind of issues before a tragedy or case of misconduct becomes public. The conversation also showed a classic divide between government and reporters, though we didn't get to spend much time on it. They said the "report should speak for itself" so they often can't make any sources available even though they want media to write about their work. That's problematic from a reporter's perspective, especially for broadcast, because these reports are often written in dense language and are difficult to humanize. I get the feeling that this back-and-forth will be present for most of my career.

**Week of: March 1 - 7**

**Tasks accomplished:**

- Collect weather social posts
- Monitor press conferences and speeches, write up notes for staff

**Published:**

- [Hillary Clinton Email: Local Democratic Leaders Stirred, Not Shaken](#)

**Goals for next week:** Talk to someone about staying after the fellowship

I didn't publish a lot last week but definitely not for lack of news! I spent a lot of my time helping monitor events during the day and providing pieces of stories to help out the correspondents. It isn't a huge role but I think anything that can make people's lives easier during a crazy week is important. I was sent out with a cameraman to stalk Hillary

Clinton at an Emily's List event Wednesday night, which was terrifying but ultimately fruitless. I'm trying to embrace saying yes to everything, even if it's outside my comfort zone like yelling a question at one of the most well-known women in politics. Don't worry, we didn't even see her get out of the car. As a bonus I got to chat with the cameraman who has been shooting DC for 35 years. I can't even imagine all the stories! And another example where I don't know what the industry is going to do when people like him retire.

I am really disappointed about my Common Core story, which didn't publish even after I updated it to make it more newsworthy a week after CPAC. The digital editor apologized that he didn't have time to read it earlier in the week (I turned it in late Friday afternoon so it was understandable). After I proposed a rewrite on Wednesday or Thursday, though, he still didn't get back to me. I hope to talk to him about it but haven't had a chance yet, plus I wanted to be in the right frame of mind to avoid getting too frustrated. It has led to a few days of frustration, though, because I feel like every time I try to do more I hit a wall.

AJ and I were trained on the cameras last week, which was really great. We got a chance to talk to a manager about the fact that we were thrown in with little training and felt like we weren't able to contribute because we didn't know how to do things. I'm still a bit frustrated that I haven't been able to settle into a groove but most of the young people at ABC shuffle around in different departments. They don't invest a lot of energy training interns and other folks whom they don't expect to stick around. The silver lining is that I think my growing comfort with how things work is a good reason to convince them to keep me on and really be part of the work in a more significant way.

On top of the really intense news about Ferguson this week we had a thought-provoking conversation with Hisham Melhem from Al Arabiya about the Middle East. It was a topic that I am only familiar with on the surface level and the conversation really helped me see how complex the situation is. It was intimidating to know how much there is to do and understand about global politics. Good thing my job is to find people who know things, not know everything myself! We also talked about the Sunday political shows and visited Face the Nation, which was great! My family watches CBS Sunday Morning and FTN together every Sunday so I was really excited to see Bob Schieffer in action. I also have to admit that my viewing preferences tend to lean toward CBS's style, so it was really interesting to see the contrast and similarities between their show and ABC (though I haven't worked with This Week yet). I think this week especially helped me see the symbiotic relationship between television and other media in Washington.

I think that's enough for now, sorry I'm a bit tardy this week!

**Week of: March 9-13**

**Tasks accomplished:**

- Answer phones, complete general assignment desk tasks
- Monitor and write notes for 2016 candidate speeches to firefighters union

- Pitch and write story about Capitol Hill app
- Met with bureau chief Jonathan Greenberger for short chat
- Went to Maryland to get court documents (couldn't get them)
- Listened to and logged a hearing, pulled sound bites for World News piece

**Published:**

- [Anonymous App is the Digital Smoke-Filled Room of Capitol Hill](#)
- [Scott Baio Endorses Scott Walker and Other Surprising Celebrity Endorsements of 2016](#)

**Goals for next week:**

- Train with This Week
- Talk to manager about working as a DA after the fellowship

First off, a note about defense scheduling. Wednesday, April 29 at 9 a.m. looks like the best time to me. I'd prefer to wrap it up early in the day so I don't have to stress about it. If that will conflict for anyone let me know. Otherwise, I'll book a room.

Last week was another fairly typical week on the assignment desk. I was starting to feel antsy about maximizing the time I have left so I got in touch with other departments about spending time there in the next six weeks. I spent Monday and Tuesday monitoring speeches along with some of the other interns and circulating those notes internally. We also had SEO training and I had a short meeting with the bureau chief, Jonathan Greenberger.

I spent my Monday afternoon on a completely fruitless task. A producer from Good Morning America called and asked for DC to send someone to the courthouse in Rockville, Maryland, to collect some court documents. This call was late in the day so I was asked to immediately pack up and meet a courier to make the 30 minute drive before the office closed. When we got there I was told it would be impossible to get the file because it was in the judge's chambers, in fact they were in the middle of the trial. It was frustrating because I could tell the producer was disappointed and I felt like there should have been more I could do. I don't think this was anyone's fault but planning ahead to get the documents before the trial started would have saved everyone some stress and the bureau some money.

I'm excited about the next two weeks, which I'll spend working with the Sunday show This Week, which means I'll be on a Wednesday to Sunday schedule. They are short staffed so I think there will be lots of opportunities for me to show off how I can contribute. It will involve a lot of research and helping the host prep for interviews. I also was encouraged to speak up during brainstorming for the show, which is one of my favorite things. After This Week I need to fit in visits to the Pentagon and some time at the affiliate service before the fellowship time officially runs out. How is it almost April already? I plan on talking to the manager next week about staying on as a desk assistant. It's a freelance position and ideally I would like something with more focus on writing, but you have to start somewhere. I'm in touch with other freelance opportunities I could use to get more writing in if that's ok with ABC.

We didn't have seminar last week, but I had a great time helping out with the RTDNF dinner. Some great journalists were honored and it's always nice to have a mid-week break. The change in my schedule also gave me a long weekend where I can focus on my project. I'm anxious to be finished coding the articles and jump into writing. I'm on the last batch and have a lot of ideas to start putting down on paper. If I stay on it I should be able to get a draft to Laura by the end of the month (fingers crossed!)

**Week of:** March 18-22

**Tasks accomplished:**

- Go to daily planning meetings, participate in brainstorming for show topics
- Collect clips, opinion pieces, transcripts on show topics and guests
- Format background material for Martha Raddatz to read before hosting
- Listen through video for sound bites to put in packages, cut those sound bites into clips
- Help producers with general last minute research, finding material for packages

**Published:**

- [Anonymous App is the Digital Smoke-Filled Room of Capitol Hill](#)
- [Scott Baio Endorses Scott Walker and Other Surprising Celebrity Endorsements of 2016](#)
- [UVA student arrest 'disturbing' Charlottesville police chief says](#)

**Goals for next week:**

- Train with This Week
- Talk to manager about working as a DA after the fellowship

I enjoyed working on the Sunday show in the last week, it's a small team that works closely together to decide on the stories for the show that weekend. It was really interesting to see how much energy goes into negotiating with guests or their press folks. We had multiple meetings every day from Wednesday through Friday that mostly focused on who they want on and the negotiation to make that happen. And of course the news changed through the week so even though days were spent on certain stories or guests, they could be cut at the last minute. There was a lot of tension between the journalistic goals and keeping other commitments. A lot of work went into a segment where two Muslim scholars would debate some controversial ideas about extremism, but it was cut or shortened multiple times to make time for an interview with Mitt Romney and talk about Monica Lewinsky's TED talk. I'm definitely seeing how the time constraints of television force them to prioritize stories a little more than a newspaper or website that is more flexible with space.

We had a great class with former press secretary Mike McMurry. He seems to think more like a journalist than I thought in his criticism of drama in the press room, but he also clearly understands the press secretary's priorities. I have to agree with his criticism of broadcasting the briefings, I've heard folks at ABC complain that the correspondents do more showboating for the camera than following up with questions. The tension

surrounding new tools is hard on everyone but I'm a little more optimistic than he is that the growing pains will work themselves out.

This was a big week for the bureau. The bureau chief officially announced a change that's been six months in the making. Almost everyone will be restructured from platform-based teams to content-based teams. I think this is a really exciting shift that will bring ABC up to speed with a lot of the change in the industry. Unfortunately it was coupled with some layoffs and people that will leave because they don't really fit with the new system. My optimism is also a bit selfish. I met with a few folks this week who emphasized that this is a perfect time to be here as a new employee. A lot of people will be changing jobs, moving up or joining the campaign team in the next six weeks so there will be lots of opportunities. I wish I knew where I fit in that now but it sounds like there is definitely something for me here.

But I have other irons in the fire. I found out Friday that I'm a finalist for a year-long fellowship at NPR that often leads to a job, so I'll have to see how that goes as well. All in all, good week for Stephanie.

**Week of:** March 23-29

**Tasks accomplished:**

- Go to daily planning meetings, participate in brainstorming for show topics
- Collect clips, opinion pieces, transcripts on show topics and guests
- Format background material
- Transcribe interviews, go through archives for clips to go in piece about Ted Kennedy
- Escort guests and help with last minute tasks before the show
- Write up blog post for interview with Indiana Gov.

**Published:**

- Indiana Gov. Mike Pence says controversial 'religious freedom' law won't change

**Goals for next week:**

- Finish draft of final report to send to Laura

I worked out another week at the Sunday show after kind of an awkward week. One of the staff got a job at NBC and left immediately, so I pitched in to keep things from getting too frantic. Partly because of that I had to miss seminar this week because they really needed help getting ready for the show. Between losing that person and folks traveling for the holiday this weekend, they wanted someone comfortable to help out with the show next Sunday. Since it is a holiday they're hoping to experiment with the show a little so it will be really interesting to see how that goes.

We had quite a few changes for this week's show, one of which was booking the governor of Indiana to talk about the controversial religious freedom law he signed last week. I was asked to write the blog post, which was really exciting because he ended up making quite a bit of news. It was really hectic because they wanted to get the post up

quickly but also insisted that I listen back through the interview to get the quotes right. I think it went well, though, and one of the producers commented that she was impressed I did prewriting so the initial post included background.

I started on the final report and I think I can have something to Laura to look at soon so there's plenty of time for revisions. We have a room booked for 9 a.m. on April 29 so we should be good to go barring last minute surprises. I have a lot of the basics but I feel like I'm missing something, so I need to go back through the guidelines and maybe compare to a finished project. I'm also not sure logistically how to get my work samples into the document. The ABC website doesn't make it easy to copy or save material without crazy formatting so I'll play around with different options to find out what looks best.

**Week of:** March 23-29

**Tasks accomplished:**

- Sent Laura a draft of my final report (but will continue to fine tune)
- Collect clips of video to put in packages
- Work with transcripts, add time codes and log video
- Help produce package, sit with editor to add images and additional video
- Write and produce blog posts after the show
- Went to Covington and Burling to talk First Amendment law

**Published:**

- [Victoria Kennedy's behind-the-scenes tour of the Edward M. Kennedy Institute](#)
- [Philadelphia Archbishop Hopes Pope's Fall Visit Brings 'New Evangelical Energy' to Catholic Church](#)

**Week of:** April 1-10

**Tasks accomplished:**

- Help edit clips to send out to affiliates, write text to accompany them
- Monitor news, help with info to update scripts

**Published:**

- Nothing this week

**Goals for next week:** Work as much as possible despite my scheduling conflict, set up meetings for my last week at ABC

I'm working at ABC's affiliate service NewsOne for a couple weeks so I probably won't publish much. The affiliate service is similar to a wire service, but it provides the raw material for broadcast in addition to completed story packages. It's a small team in Washington so they have to prioritize news that local stations will be most interested in. They aren't seen as the most glamorous part of the bureau but they provide valuable resources for local stations, which we know is where most people get their news. I can definitely see the value in what they do, both from a business perspective and a journalistic perspective. I also learned that ABC invests less in its affiliate service than competitors like NBC or CNN. I don't know the whole story behind this but it's interesting to see the difference between networks that go beyond who sits behind the anchor's desk.

Last week was fairly quiet because Congress was not in session but this week should be busier. I will likely be editing clips and writing blurbs most of the day. Unfortunately I have a scheduling conflict so I won't be in the office much. The final stage of interviews for the Kroc Fellowship at NPR will take up most of my Wednesday and Thursday. I'd rather not be taken away from work when I have so little time left but just have to roll with it. I have a couple of job opportunities in the works but I'm trying to focus on finishing my time at ABC and wrapping up my project for the next few weeks.

We had a great meeting with the investigative team at the Washington Post on Friday. Most investigative teams seem independent of the other goings on in the organization, one of the few areas where they are given leave to do their own work with less outside pressure. I was surprised, though, to see that the editor Jeff Leen didn't think far past the point of publication for their projects. I understand not wanting to control things we can't control, but I think the future of this kind of work is going to involve more work after work goes into print. The Center for Investigative Reporting has done great work supporting conversation around their projects and I know that kind of approach is present in other parts of the Post.



### **Chapter Three. Personal Evaluation**

This project helped me mature as a journalist through both my research and my work experience. The beginning of the research process forced me to deal with the same questions journalists ask to develop a story pitch, which is something I need to work on. I have a hard time getting from broad, big-picture topics to a specific story to tell that can be extrapolated out to a big-picture idea. I had to deal with this early in the process of developing my research question. I was twisting my ideas into knots trying to incorporate every possible question I wanted to answer or related issue I wanted to explore. But both stories and research have to be something specific that it is realistic to tell in a limited form. I think this is one of the things that all journalists face as they mature and start to understand what makes a good story.

One of the things I found frustrating at work is that I wanted to be taken seriously, but was often treated like I was still a student. Despite the prestige that comes with the Missouri School of Journalism name I had to come to terms with the fact that not everyone in the industry is familiar with it so they see a “young journalist” and not just a “journalist.” This really hit home when I heard from someone at the Washington Post a month or two after I applied for a job there. She graciously told me that they hired someone and appreciated my interest. After a few emails back and forth she said they would likely have asked me in for an interview if I had been available to start work right away. In the interview, she said they would have pushed me on the fact that all my experience was related to school. This seemed like a disappointing missed opportunity

but it actually made me feel really good about my qualifications. It's discouraging to have to prove your role in the world after leaving the safe environment of Mizzou, but I am confident that I have the experience to do well here. I just have to wait for the opportunity and be clear about what my experience brings to the table.

A side effect of being treated like one of the kids in the newsroom was that I was afraid to speak up, even in conversations where I knew I had something to contribute. I usually have no trouble jumping in and actually worry that I monopolize the conversation sometimes. In some departments at ABC I didn't feel like my ideas were valued or that my supervisor was interested in them. But that shouldn't stop me from going after them. Even when I didn't speak up, I noticed that I had a lot of the same ideas as other folks in the newsroom or at other outlets, so I know I'm at least on the right track. I adopted a new mantra from this experience to help me feel confident when pitching new ideas and sharing my ideas, "have no shame, and try more than once." I think it applies to a lot of different situations but it basically just means not to be afraid to go for ideas that you think are worthwhile.

The most fascinating part of ABC was being thrown right into the middle of the tension between legacy news organizations and the digital transition. The bureau in Washington was introduced to new leadership in the six months before I arrived and halfway through my fellowship they announced a major change in how the bureau operates. This change addressed exactly some of the things I didn't understand about how the bureau worked; the divide between television and digital, separation between teams and overall lack of acceptance toward new approaches and tools. A lot of people were laid off or decided to leave after the announcement, which represents a lot of talent and

decades of institutional memory lost for the bureau. *But*, it also represents a great opportunity for digital journalists like me to make an impact on these huge organizations. Since most of the people I worked with at Mizzou are so forward-thinking I wasn't prepared for my workplace to have such a hard time placing journalists that are capable of more than one thing. It's very exciting to be part of the transition and it's great to see optimism about the future of the industry. Even if I don't make a lifelong career out of working in television, I can take the lessons from this transition to any organization.

The weekly seminars added excellent context and understanding to my experience in Washington. We were exposed to a wide variety of people including journalists, communications staff and folks working within the federal government. Though we often see these roles as very different the end goal is often the same and we have to understand that in order to work together, especially in a mixed bag like Washington. I never would have been able to have open conversations with these people if I encountered them through my work so the experience of sitting down with them was quite valuable. I will definitely keep their words in mind as I continue to negotiate life in the Washington press corps.

## Evaluation from Jane Aylor and other supervisors

I have found Stephanie to be direct, determined and proactive. She was very eager to obtain experience with the broadcasts and various departments and sought opportunities for exposure and experience.

This was echoed by Senior Digital Editor Michael Falcone who said:

Stephanie has a sharp eye for story ideas and she has often been the first one to bring potential pieces to our attention. She is aggressive at pitching, and doesn't give up easily. I was impressed by her writing abilities and her doggedness as a reporter. She also became an informal adviser to us on innovative ways we could think about using social media – a clear sign that she is plugged into the world of new media.

Stephanie was very valuable to the Digital unit and brought a modern approach to newsgathering and reporting.

Assignment Manager Georgeanne Thanos commented:

Stephanie is an adult. She's a reporter. Smart, self-starter, talented, asked all the right questions. I would have hired her in a second.

Stephanie wanted to spend time at This Week and received high marks from producer Intiyaz Delawala:

Stephanie Ebbs worked with "This Week" for three weeks this spring, and proved to be a very capable and helpful addition to our team in that short time. She immediately contributed to our research and production process early in the week, and showed engagement in our editing work on the weekends. She asked good questions while also contributing her own ideas to our staff meetings when we brainstormed for the show. And she had a great attitude and was always willing to help, including staying late on our longer work days on Fridays and Saturdays.

In fact, the staff of This Week liked Stephanie so much that they want her to return:

Stephanie mentioned to me that her fellowship was extended through May, so would be great to talk on Wednesday if there's any possibility of her doing another rotation with our show if she's not already committed elsewhere in May. We'll be without an intern until mid-June since our summer intern Hayley is studying abroad right now. We really liked Stephanie so if she's available for any stretch to help out again with "This Week," that would be great.

From Howard Schoenholtz, NewsOne bureau chief:

Stephanie Ebbs has spent about two weeks working with us at NewsOne.

She is quite, reserved, and smart. When assigned to a story, she works hard to come up with the most important information and video. She was a bit tentative when she first went into an Avid room, explaining that she had not done very much editing during her time at the Bureau. But with some coaching, she did just fine, and was able to cut and encode news items for our stations.

Stephanie is well informed about the news of the day, and takes the time to update herself on developments as stories develop.

She works very well with the staff at NewsOne, and is engaging and has a great attitude. In terms of room for improvement, I would have liked Stephanie to be more proactive about suggesting things she could work on.

Stephanie was a terrific addition to the bureau this semester and made valuable contributions. I believe deputy bureau chief Stacia Dershishku is hoping to find a slot for Stephanie soon in an entry level position. My guess is that she won't be entry level very long.

## Chapter 4. Work Samples

### **Philadelphia Archbishop Hopes Pope's Fall Visit Brings 'New Evangelical Energy' to Catholic Church**

Apr 5, 2015, 4:43 PM ET

By STEPHANIE EBBS via THIS WEEK

Easter is typically the busiest time of the year for officials in the Catholic Church, but one archbishop is already thinking several months ahead.

Philadelphia Archbishop Charles Chaput is getting ready for Pope Francis' first visit to the U.S. this September. The archbishop told ABC's David Wright in an interview for "This Week" that he looks forward to showing the pope "an active, vibrant Catholic Church in the United States," and hopes the visit could be transformative for Catholicism in the United States.

"Everywhere I go, I find people who want the church to be a significant part of their lives and I'm always heartened by that," Archbishop Chaput said. "People who have been disappointed in the church are looking to have hope."

"I'm hoping ... that the visit of the Holy Father here will be the beginning of a new evangelical energy in the church in Philadelphia," he added.

An outdoor public mass by Pope Francis along Philadelphia's Benjamin Franklin Parkway -- near the iconic "Rocky" steps of the Philadelphia Art Museum -- is expected to draw some 2 million people to the city.

"I'm most excited and anxious at the same time, because we have a lot of responsibilities for protecting the Holy Father and protecting the people who come to see him," Chaput said.

This isn't Archbishop Chaput's first experience with a papal visit to the United States. He attended Pope John Paul II's visit to Denver, Colorado, for the International Youth Forum in 1993.

"That was an extraordinary transformative moment in the life of Denver, the broader community. It became a world city," Chaput said.

Along with his visit to Philadelphia Sept. 26-27, Pope Francis will also visit New York and Washington, including stops at the White House and an expected address to Congress.

During the pope's visit, Philadelphia will also host the World Meeting of Families, a conference for international Catholic leaders that will focus on issues facing families all over the world.

Chaput said Pope Francis has brought a different perspective as the first pope from Latin America and has brought a renewed focus on caring for the needy.

"Certainly Pope Francis is calling all of us to reform our personal lives in relation to God, but also to, in a more obvious way, care for the poor," Chaput said.

"He's bringing those gifts to the forefront in our living the Catholic faith in the world today," he added. "And I think it's a great gift, a great gift for all of us."

## **Indiana Gov. Mike Pence Says Controversial 'Religious Freedom' Law Won't Change**

Mar 29, 2015, 11:06 AM ET

By STEPHANIE EBBS via THIS WEEK

Indiana's controversial Religious Freedom Restoration Act will not be changing despite critics saying it allows business owners to discriminate against members of the LGBT community, state Gov. Mike Pence said today during an exclusive interview on ABC's "This Week."

Pence described the media coverage and opposition to the law as "shameless rhetoric," saying it strengthens the foundation of First Amendment rights rather than discriminates.

"We're not going to change the law," he said, "but if the general assembly in Indiana sends me a bill that adds a section that reiterates and amplifies and clarifies what the law really is and what it has been for the last 20 years, than I'm open to that."

When ABC's George Stephanopoulos asked Pence if the law allowed businesses like florists to refuse to work with gay or lesbian weddings, as critics have said, the governor said the situation has more to do with whether the government is involved.

"The question here is if there is a government action or a law that an individual believes impinges on their religious liberty, they have the opportunity to go to court, just as the Religious Freedom and Reformation Act that Bill Clinton signed allowed them, to go to court and the court would evaluate the circumstance under the standards articulated in this act," Pence said.

Pence, a Republican, signed the Indiana Religious Freedom and Restoration Act into Indiana law Thursday. It intends to prevent the government from infringing on individual's religious beliefs, Pence said, but opponents say the law allows business owners to use religion as a reason to legally discriminate against members of the LGBT community.

A federal version of the religious freedom law was enacted in 1993 but dozens of states have passed their own versions since then, including one passed unanimously in Illinois when President Barack Obama was a state senator. Illinois added specific protection from discrimination based on sexual orientation several years after passing its version of the law.

Pence touted bipartisan support for the law, saying that President Obama and Democratic leaders like Nancy Pelosi supported similar legislation.



White House Press Secretary Josh Earnest said the governor was in damage control mode.

“If you have to go back two decades to try to justify something that you're doing today, it may raise some questions about the wisdom of what you're doing,” he said on "This Week." "It should be easy for leaders in this country to stand up and say that it is wrong to discriminate against people just because of who they love."

The Indiana law gained national attention quickly after it was signed when the NCAA, which is based in Indianapolis, released a statement expressing concern that the law would negatively impact athletes and visitors in town for the Final Four games of its men's basketball tournament. Several businesses, including Yelp, have threatened to take their business away from the state.

## **UVA Student Arrest 'Disturbing,' Charlottesville Police Chief Says**

Mar 22, 2015, 3:14 PM ET

By STEPHANIE EBBS via THIS WEEK

Charlottesville, Virginia, Police Chief Timothy Longo said today the images of a University of Virginia student's arrest last week "disturbing," and called on police to think more about race in their interactions with community members.

"What is depicted on video is unfortunate, it's tragic, it's certainly disturbing to me as a law enforcement official and frankly disturbing to this community," Longo told ABC News' Martha Raddatz on "This Week," referring to video showing UVA student Martese Johnson, who was injured while being arrested by Alcoholic Beverage Control police Wednesday night outside a bar near the UVA campus.

Images of a bloodied Johnson quickly circulated on social media and led to student protests on campus, with Virginia State Police called in to conduct an investigation.

Longo met with students at a heated town hall meeting Friday where they expressed concern that the relationship between police and minority groups has escalated.

"Law enforcement depends so much on its relationship with its citizens, if any aspect of our citizenry feels threatened, feels that they're not being treated fairly, that disrupts my ability to have that relationship and carry out the function of what I call relational policing," Longo said on "This Week."

He said he is focused on continuing the discussion and helping the community move forward from a difficult few months, saying police need to consider the importance of race while engaging with the community.

"I think attitudes need to change, I think hearts need to change," Longo said. "This is a difficult discussion, it's an uncomfortable discussion as we saw on Friday afternoon. We all saw students that are hurt and angry and wanting and deserving of answers. We need to keep this discussion alive and well and law enforcement, frankly, needs to be reminded of the history of this country and the aspect of race and the importance it plays in our history. And we need to remind ourselves of that as we go into our communities to engage the people we need to have a relationship with."

## **Anonymous App 'Cloakroom' Is the Digital Smoke-Filled Room of Capitol Hill**

Mar 12, 2015, 4:16 AM ET

By STEPHANIE EBBS

The smoke-filled rooms of Congress are legendary as the place where deals are made behind closed doors. One app aims to protect the need for confidentiality in politics in an age when social media and email make an elected official's every move public.

A new app called "Cloakroom" provides an anonymous place for folks who work on Capitol Hill to talk shop away from the prying eyes of reporters, cameras or other politicians.

The app's name copies its real-life counterpart, Democratic and Republican cloakrooms outside the House and Senate chambers in the Capitol -- the storied smoke-filled rooms of Congress, as the app's creator Ted Henderson puts it. The app aims to create the same atmosphere for the larger community that works on the Hill to engage with on their smartphones.

"I wanted to create a community where people on Capitol Hill can interact candidly with each other," Henderson said in an email to ABC News. "There is a breakdown of communications on Capitol Hill -- not just between the two parties, but between elected officials and civic leaders. I hope that Cloakroom can help insiders build rapport and crack into third rail issues without consequences."

The idea is similar to apps like Yik Yak, which allows college students to post anonymous comments. Yik Yak is also location-based and limits membership to users with university email addresses, intended to keep content to a specific campus. The app is popular among students who joke about hangovers or professors, but the anonymity has also caused serious problems. Several campuses have tried to ban Yik Yak after users posted racist comments, bullied other students or even threatened violence.

Cloakroom is an extension of the professional workplace on Capitol Hill, Henderson said, and has a zero-tolerance policy for inappropriate material. Even though identities are secret, it pays to keep it clean. Users can follow accounts with good content and users with more follows will rise to the top and become more influential, Henderson said.

Access to the app is limited to users whose phone location confirms they are in the Capitol complex or those who register with a staff email address.

Despite calls for transparency from lawmakers, as in the recent questions surrounding former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's emails, Henderson argues that nameless conversations can liberate discussion on sensitive issues.

"Under the cloak of anonymity, legislative staffers across party lines can discuss taboo policy areas like online piracy as a community of professionals without fear of damaging their reputations," Henderson said in an email.

A post on the app's blog describes Cloakroom as "a place where congressional insiders can slip away from the blind, hungry glare of cameras and speak openly and off the record."

So far, the app is more a home for snarky jokes than policy talk.

The handle "pickuplines101" wrote "Hey girl, do you use two phones or one phone?" a play on Clinton's comments in a news conference this week regarding her use of a private email account, even for official business.

Another user with the username "senmenendez" posted, "Anyone know a good lawyer? Asking for a friend." The real Sen. Bob Menendez is expected to face corruption charges from the Justice Department.

Henderson's other app "Capitol Bells" launched last year. It helps keep members of Congress and their staff in the loop on ongoing votes and where their colleagues voted on different issues.

## **Why Everyone Is So Obsessed with 'House of Cards'**

Feb 27, 2015, 9:40 AM ET

By STEPHANIE EBBS

TV fans have some binge watching to do this weekend. The 13-episode third season of Netflix original series "House of Cards" is now available to stream. When a brief "glitch" teased the season earlier this month it put a 30-minute pause button on Washington - home to many of the show's obsessed fans. So we started to wonder what it is about the show that has fans in such a tizzy. It turns out that Americans like fictional politicians a lot better than real ones.

ABC News spoke with Trevor Parry-Giles, a professor of political communication at the University of Maryland and director of academic affairs for the National Communication Association.

Parry-Giles said he's a big fan of "House of Cards," both the American and original British versions. He spoke with ABC News about why we just can't get enough of Frank and Claire Underwood.

### **So how did you get into this kind of research?**

I was a double major in college, political science and communication. I was always interest in such matters and did my masters on an old show called LA Law. When The West Wing came out my wife and I, she also studies political communication, decided to do some work on it.

### **What do you like about the show?**

I was a fan of the British version, there's a whole book that its based on and when the British version debuted on PBS I devoured that because I had done my doctoral dissertation on British politics and the Thatcher regime. This down and dirty look at British politics was quite interesting and relevant.

The British version, you think Frank Underwood's bad, Francis Urquhart is evil incarnate. He, like Underwood, rises his way up through the back benches to become the prime minister. There's all sorts of parallels and interesting dynamics.

### **What is it about fictional presidents that you find interesting?**

Often times our popular culture and fictional representations of politics mirror or reflect in some way messages and meanings about the actual political world.

The conventional wisdom about people like Frank Underwood is that he gets things done, that's in response to a perception of the government as ineffective and unable to get things done. Historically since the Constitutional era we have always used politics as a literary device, there's all of the ingredients of good drama, powerful characters, monumental decisions, much at stake. All the good characteristics of good entertainment in popular culture, it's like a crime drama.

**What does it say about our politics that House of Cards is so popular?**

I don't think it says anything particular unique about our own political culture, it does say something about American political culture because we've have both Utopian and Dystopian depictions that work in both directions as a commentary on our politics.

I, in the end, think that's actually pretty healthy. If the system was completely dysfunctional popular culture couldn't get away with envisioning a totally Dystopian one.

**You write about how "The West Wing" is a really romantic view of people who work in politics. What do you think of the contrast between that and the Dystopia in "House of Cards"?**

That's an interesting question, I don't know if "House of Cards" is popular now because it speaks to some kind of lurking anxiety we have about our politics. My sense is that we also have other examples. There's a show called Madam Secretary that's entirely implausible but it's romantic in that it's a young, attractive couple. It's sort of like West Wing in that they're always doing things like walking and talking in hallways.

You could read that and say maybe we're longing for a Utopian vision of our foreign policy but I do think there is a sense that "House of Cards" is filling some kind of narrative need and actually kind of accessing something about how we see our political world.

There is some empirical evidence to support this. When "West Wing" was on television and very popular they did surveys that found reactions to government servants and officials had gone up during the period the show was on television. There was an uptick in law school applications when "LA Law" was on.

**You also talk about how the president is usually a masculine figure in your research, typically a white man. How do newer shows stack up to that stereotype?**

We've seen more people of color as president in popular culture certainly since the West Wing. We've seen more women in presidential roles. The president in State of Affairs is played by Alfre Woodard, who is both African American and a woman. You can read all of that sort of against the presence of the Hillary Clinton phenomenon or the Sarah Palin phenomenon. That may be an instance where the culture is actually reflective of what's

going on in the political world where the possibility of a woman president is more real than when *The West Wing* was on.

Obama also opened a lot of doors. There were a few African American presidents in popular culture prior to Obama of course, like Morgan Freeman in that bad asteroid movie *Deep Impact*. There have been women as well before Selina Meyer. I think the culture is moving the popular culture.

**What's your take on Claire Underwood as a first lady?**

I often think of her in contrast with the first lady as depicted in *"Scandal."* The *"Scandal"* depiction of the presidency is also interesting in that it has racial dynamics but the First Lady is implicated in all the aspects of the plot. Here where you had an Obama phenomenon in terms of presidents you might see a Hillary Clinton or even Michelle Obama phenomenon in terms of activism, that might be an *Abbey Bartlet* phenomenon as well, but *The West Wing* went to great lengths to remind us that she's a woman.

**What's your favorite depiction of a president?**

Some grad students and I are working right now on a project on presidential impersonations, I love Paul Giamatti as John Adams in the HBO miniseries. In terms of popular culture I'm still locked into *Josiah Bartlet*.

## **Joe Biden's Got Jokes: One Night, Five Punchlines**

Feb 25, 2015, 10:27 AM ET

By STEPHANIE EBBS

Few politicians pack the same entertaining punch as Vice President Joe Biden. He tends to cause a stir in the Twittersphere with his one-liners and gif-worthy reactions. That habit continued Tuesday night in the opening of his remarks during a Black History Month event at his residence in Washington, D.C.

Biden started with a jab at members of Congress, blaming them for his late arrival at the event.

"I've been waiting for Congress all my life," he joked.

He continued to poke fun at the Department of Homeland Security funding fight. The department could shut down if Congress doesn't agree on a department budget by the end of the week. A provision in the budget aimed at stopping President Barack Obama's executive action on immigration has stalled the measure.

DHS Secretary Jeh Johnson was at the event and Biden joked that the secretary could be out of a job if Congress doesn't find a solution.

"Be good to Jeh. Jeh may need some help because he may lose his pay," Biden joked. "Congress is, you know, shutting down. I don't know Jeh, man, I'd think you had a little more whack than that."

Biden also traded comments with D.C. Mayor Muriel Bowser, who he complimented for her ability to "get things done."

"The only good thing is I don't have to pay taxes in the district," he joked. The mayor shouted back "not yet!"

But Biden spoke highly of his residence at the Naval Observatory in Northwest D.C. -- even commenting that the president wanted to switch houses.

"Not a problem as long as the power goes with the house!" Biden joked.

He added on, alluding to the possibility that he will run for the Democratic nomination for president in 2016.

"By the way, if I ever ran for president, I'd turn this into the White House," he said.



## **President Obama Rejects 'Notion That the West Is at War With Islam'**

Feb 19, 2015, 12:23 PM ET

By STEPHANIE EBBS and DEVIN DWYER

President Obama today challenged the idea that terrorist groups like al Qaeda and the Islamic State are connected to the Islamic faith during remarks at the White house Summit to Counter Violent Extremism.

"The notion that the West is at war with Islam is an ugly lie," Obama said. "And all of us -- regardless of our faith -- have a responsibility to reject it."

Speaking at the State Department on the third day of the summit, he called on countries to address the conditions, or "political grievances," that terrorists exploit such as human rights violations, lack of free speech and tension between social groups.

"We need to break the cycle of conflict, especially sectarian conflict, that have become magnets for violent extremism," he added.

The president said that the coalition of 60 countries that has been conducting air strikes against ISIS "will not relent" to destroy the organization in Iraq and Syria.

"These terrorists are desperate for legitimacy," Obama said, which is why he said they target Muslim communities.

Obama said both wealthy and developing nations need to take steps to improve the economic situation around the world, though he said poverty alone does not prompt someone to become a terrorist.

Obama said many people in countries with small Muslim populations get a distorted impression from news coverage. He specifically called out groups like women and young people to help prevent potential recruits from joining terrorist groups.

"Young people are not tapped for hate, it doesn't come naturally to them. We adults teach them," he said.

Obama continued to say that everyone has to work to bring more positive attention to the Muslim community.

"Groups like al Qaeda and ISIL peddle the lie that some of our countries are hostile to Muslims," he said, adding that "we can't allow cycles of suspicion to tear at the fabric of our cultures."

## **President Obama Designates First National Park in Chicago, Others in Colorado, Hawaii**

Feb 19, 2015, 4:20 PM ET

By STEPHANIE EBBS

It's always been a dream of President Obama's to designate a national park in freezing conditions, he joked at a speech today in Chicago.

That's what he did.

The president announced three new national parks today, including one in a Chicago neighborhood he said he used to drive past every day on the way to his first job.

It was 6 degrees with winds up to 20 miles per hour in Chicago today, according to the National Weather Service.

The visit took place only days before Chicago Mayor Rahm Emanuel is up for re-election. The president praised the mayor, his former chief of staff, for fighting for the national park and for new opportunity and jobs in Chicago.

The three new parks -- in Illinois, Colorado and Hawaii -- are some of 16 federal parks that Obama has created or expanded using the Antiquities Act, first used by Teddy Roosevelt in 1906 to create Devils Tower National Monument in Wyoming. Next year is the centennial of the National Park Service and the new parks are part of a campaign to get Americans and students to "Find Your Park."

Representatives of the White House declined to say how much the new parks would cost but said they expected it to balance out with increased visitation and economic benefit to cities around the parks.

### **Pullman Historic Neighborhood**

The Pullman neighborhood was originally built in 1879 outside the city limits of Chicago to house workers employed by the Pullman Palace Car Company, many of whom were former slaves. It was a fully functioning city hailed as the first industrial town. It was one of the featured attractions at the 1893 World's Fair Exhibition, according to the Historic Pullman Foundation website.

Pullman workers went on strike in 1894 when George Pullman lowered wages but not rent in the town, which prompted Congress to establish the Labor Day holiday only six days after the strike ended. In the 1920s, workers created the first black labor union.

“This place has been a milestone to our dream of building a more perfect union,” Obama said, calling the strikes the beginning of modern workers’ rights, such as a 40-hour work week, overtime pay and the right to organize.

The president and first lady have a personal connection to Pullman as well. Michelle Obama’s great-grandfather was one of the porters.

“Without this place, Michelle wouldn't be where she is,” Obama said in his remarks.

The district became a national historic landmark in 1970 and as one of the first Chicago landmarks in 1972. It is now the first National Park unit in the city.

### **Browns Canyon**

This more than 21,000-acre section of central Colorado as a natural area that is home to many varieties of plants and wildlife. Browns Canyon is about two hours southwest of Denver and a nine-hour drive from the Grand Canyon in Arizona. Along the Arkansas River, the area is a destination for whitewater rafting and is surrounded by national forests.

Members of Colorado's congressional delegation and the editorial board of the Denver Post endorsed federal protection of the land after mining claims threatened to disrupt the area, according to a 2013 Denver Post editorial.

### **Honouliuli Internment Camp site**

About 10 miles from Pearl Harbor, the Honouliuli Internment Camp opened in 1943 and was used to confine up to 400 Japanese-American citizens and immigrants during World War II. Despite being the largest and longest-used internment camp, it was mostly forgotten until 2002.

The 160-acres on the island of Oahu were donated to the National Park Service by Monsanto, which has owned the land since 2007.

## **Elizabeth Warren's Supporters Persist on 2016, One Meeting at a Time**

Feb 3, 2015, 4:53 PM ET

By STEPHANIE EBBS

Elizabeth Warren has said over and over that she isn't running for president in 2016. Her supporters don't wanna hear it.

A group of Warren super fans gathered at the Martin Luther King library in downtown Washington, D.C., on a recent Sunday afternoon to talk about how to spread the word about the Massachusetts senator, who is hailed as a progressive icon and mentioned as potential Democratic challenger to Hillary Clinton in 2016.

Only 15 of the 70 people who RSVP'd for what was billed as a pro-Warren "strategy session" showed up. And the only decor adorning the walls in the windowless basement room were two hand-written posters: An agenda for the meeting and Warren's "8 point plan to restore the American middle class," taken from a speech she delivered at the AFL-CIO.

But the humble surroundings did nothing to dampen the enthusiasm of these supporters of the "Run Warren Run" effort, which included members of a trio of liberal groups (Ready for Warren, MoveOn.org and Democracy for America), from making big plans for the next few months. In fact, this gathering was one of more than 200 held by the Warren faithful around the country last weekend -- mostly small groups in living rooms or around a kitchen table.

Those who gathered in Washington included college students, veterans of Obama and Hillary Clinton's presidential campaigns and people who said it was their first political meeting ever. Some described themselves as big Elizabeth Warren fans, others as "outraged citizens," and a few who said they were seeking an alternative to Clinton.

"Most of the people there were attending a Warren event for the first time, which is a testament to how quickly this organic movement is spreading," organizer Luísa Abbott Galvão told ABC News in an email message after the event. "There were people there of all ages and all walks of life and it was really empowering to see what a vast web we are part of. Now it's just a matter of activating it."

Warren's office has said previously that she does not support this effort and is not running for president in 2016. But group members say "drafting" her into a campaign just might work. They cite as evidence a passage in Warren's book, "A Fighting Chance."

Warren writes that "in my heart of hearts -- I really didn't want to run" for Senate in 2012. She describes an interaction with a woman who walked two miles to a meeting to talk to Warren and share her struggle to find a job. The woman asked her to fight and Warren said that was the moment she committed to run for Senate.

Run Warren Run is a project of MoveOn.org's political action committee and affiliated with Democracy for America. Both organizations are working with the Ready for Warren group. Since December, MoveOn has gathered almost 282,000 signatures on a petition urging Warren to run for president, invested \$1 million and even set up offices in Iowa and New Hampshire, according to MoveOn Media Relations Director Brian Stewart.

And the draft movement appears to be picking up steam. Recently a group of celebrities including Mark Ruffalo, Michael Moore, Olivia Wilde and Susan Sarandon fired off a letter encouraging Warren to run and formed an offshoot called "Artists for Warren."

The PAC raised close to \$7 million in 2014, according to Federal Election Commission reports, but that is not exclusively for the Warren effort. Still, the effort is much more modest than the pro-Clinton super PAC, Ready for Hillary, which launched in 2013 and now boasts more than 3 million supporters. The group has brought in almost \$13 million as of the end of 2014, according to reports submitted to the FEC.

Galvão, one of the event organizers, argued that the amount of press attention on Warren shows that she is already being treated like a candidate. As part of MoveOn's effort to make this official, the campaign has set up offices in Iowa and New Hampshire, held kickoff events, and encouraged local chapters like the one in D.C. to spread the word.

One of the most vocal attendees at the D.C. meeting was Jim McBride, a communications specialist who worked on Barack Obama's 2008 campaign in D.C. and Virginia and is still active in progressive politics.

"I really want to get a discussion going about what kind of party we want to be," he said in an interview after the event.

Most of the almost two-and-a-half hour meeting was cordial. The one noticeable moment of tension was when members of the group disagreed on whether their efforts should try to contrast Warren from Clinton, who some even described as "Republican light."

McBride cautioned against anything that might alienate Democrats, such as going negative toward Clinton or the president.

MoveOn and the local chapters of Run Warren Run are planning recruitment efforts and events leading up to President's Day weekend. MoveOn and its individual members donated more than \$450,000 to Warren's campaign committee from 2011-2014, the second highest amount behind EMILY's list, according to the Center for Responsive Politics.

"We want to make a lot of noise between now and June," Galvão said.

## **Air Force One: Boeing 747-8 Selected as New Presidential Plane**

Jan 28, 2015, 6:03 PM ET

By STEPHANIE EBBS

Future U.S. presidents will be flying in a new set of wings, and it'll be made by Boeing.

The Air Force announced today that the Boeing 747-8 aircraft has been chosen as the upgrade for Air Force One from the current VC-25 model, which is also manufactured by Boeing.

"The presidential aircraft is one of the most visible symbols of the United States of America and the office of the president of the United States," Secretary of the Air Force Deborah Lee James said in the statement. "The Boeing 747-8 is the only aircraft manufactured in the United States when fully missionized meets the necessary capabilities established to execute the presidential support mission, while reflecting the office of the president of the United States of America consistent with the national public interest."

These planes have a 30-year life span and the current set of Boeing 747-200's will reach the end of their life in 2017, according to BloombergBusiness. The first new Air Force One is expected to be delivered in 2018 and would be tested for five years before entering service in 2023, according to Bloomberg.

The main differences between Air Force One and a regular 747 are state-of-the-art navigation, electronic and communications equipment, as well as the interior, which includes offices, a conference/dining room and living space for the president and first lady, according to Boeing's website.

The Air Force identified two options with the capability required for the presidential fleet: The 747-8 manufactured by Boeing in Washington state and the A380 manufactured by Airbus in Toulouse, France, according to the statement. The government and Boeing still need to iron out the details of the contract, officials said.

## **Secrets of the 'Aisle Hogs': How to Score the Best Seats at the State of the Union**

Jan 20, 2015, 8:29 AM ET

By STEPHANIE EBBS; VIDEO by JORDYN PHELPS, RICHARD COOLIDGE and TOM THORNTON

Rep. Eliot Engel goes by many titles: Congressman, Democrat, New Yorker.

But how about "velcroid"?

The velcroids might sound like the name of a 90's alternative band, but it's actually a term -- coined in 1991 by Maureen Dowd of the New York Times -- for the members of Congress who go out of their way to "photo bomb" the president at the annual State of the Union address.

More recently, they've become known as "aisle hogs," and Engel is not just one of them - he's an expert. The New York Democrat has staked out one of the best seats in the House of Representatives for the past 27 years, arriving in the chamber hours before the speech begins to claim his spot alongside the president's entrance route.

His first experience as a "hog" was an accident. In 1989, Engel was a freshman member trying to cozy up to a more powerful lawmaker and found himself in an aisle seat a few hours before the speech. By 2013, he told the Washington Post he had to arrive 10 to 12 hours in advance to save his spot.

Why does he do it?

Engel said he loves being in the thick of the action, seeing senators, cabinet members and Supreme Court justices march down the aisle. But it has also given him a 100 percent success rate with the highly-televised presidential entrance and handshakes before and after the speech.

"When it happens, it's electrifying. There's so much energy, it's wonderful to be a part of it," he said in a recent interview with ABC News.

His annual appearance at the president's national address has caught the eye of constituents who often mention it when they see him. His 1994 re-election challenger even criticized his aisle hog habit to try to get a leg up in the race, according to The New York Times.

But Engel brushed off criticism, dismissing the term "aisle hog" as the invention of "some cutesy reporter who thought it was cute, thought it up and said it."

“I think this job is a very important and responsible job and I take it very seriously,” he said. “But I can also have fun while I’m doing it. I have fun at the State of the Union, it’s a fun thing to do.”

*ABC News' Richard Coolidge, Jordyn Phelps, Kari Rea and Tom Thornton contributed to this report.*



## Chapter Five. Analysis component

Social media sites have become integrated in the environment of news, journalism and media. It is nearly impossible to address current events without at least being aware of what is said about them online. Media professionals are expected to be comfortable sharing content, interacting with readers, competing with other news outlets and doing so at a faster pace than ever before (Beaujon 2013, Hamby 2013 p. 22,55). Before the Internet became so commonplace, experts and journalists speculated that it would broaden lanes of global communication. As scholars seek understanding about whether those predictions are true, journalists have struggled to integrate these new forms of interaction and understand their implications on traditional journalistic norms such as objectivity.

Reporters and editors have claimed they are objective and independent from outside influence in efforts to gain more credibility with a broad audience (Schudson p. 150). Reporters are trained to seek diverse sources that represent different views and avoid relying on the journalist's personal opinion. The exposure to such sources, however, can be shaped by individual's life experiences and social circles, which are often representative of a certain demographic. The ideal of objectivity has not been abandoned in the age of the Internet but online communities have the potential to introduce bias in other ways (Parmalee, 2013, p. 303). Journalists at traditional news publications, like newspapers, do not operate in a vacuum from online conversation. Anyone who uses social media on a regular basis is exposed to a variety of opinions and is susceptible to influence by them, a phenomenon that media scholars do not completely

understand. In some cases this conversation is neither organic nor fully representative of public opinion, which presents concerns about the influence it may exert over an individual's understanding of an issue. This research seeks to explore the more subtle ways that interaction with social media can affect a journalistic product, in this case news stories about political candidates.

The research question has to do with the impact of activist social media campaigns on the framing of political news reports. The researcher will examine news coverage of a campaign associated with social media activism and compare it with coverage of a campaign with no notable activist social media presence. It is necessary to understand several intersecting theories — framing, agenda setting and theories about behavior on social networking sites — to form the basis of this research. The research will examine this question specifically through the frame of gender, using feminist campaigns on social media and coverage of women candidates as case studies. Because of this, it's also important to understand theories surrounding gendered frames and bias toward female candidates, as well as theories specifically related to feminist groups on social media.

*RQ: Does the amount of gendered framing in traditional coverage of women political candidates change when a coordinated social media effort is involved?*

## **Theoretical Framework**

### **Framing theory.**

This study focuses on the frame of news stories, as in how a story is told rather than the story itself. Framing theory began with Goffman (1974), who introduced frames as “a definition of the situation” or problem (p. 3) which individuals generate based on their subjective relationship to an experience (p. 11). In reporting terms, this frame can be the “angle” or “spin” taken in a story, which chooses specific information and perspectives to share with the audience and sometimes excludes others (Scheufele 1999, p. 105). Framing can be used to simplify a story by relying on well-known narratives or “cognitive schemas,” such as pitting two sides against one another as “good versus evil” or relying on the “horse race” approach to campaign coverage (Scheufele & Tewksbury 2007, p. 11). This theory has been adopted as a subset of agenda setting and media effects research to discuss how journalists’ perceptions and choices shape the audience’s interpretation of a story. While most framing research examines the effects of these media trends on audiences, similar factors play a role in how journalists create news frames. These factors include daily routines, judgment about the impact of an issue or source, relationships with sources such as spokespeople, economic pressure or lack of resources and other institutional factors such as professional norms (Bennett 1996, p. 373-376). Stakeholder groups and sources influence journalists framing decisions, in turn shaping the messages absorbed through the mainstream media (Scheufele et al. 2007, p. 12). Framing is essentially a subset of agenda setting theory, practicing a similar effect on a specific story that the mainstream media does on public discourse. Agenda setting theory posits that the issues covered by the news media will move to the forefront of

public consciousness (McCombs 2005, p. 156-160). News media outlets guide how citizens evaluate government, also called *priming*, by prioritizing some issues over others (Scheuefle et al. 2007, p. 11).

Another aspect of these frames is the process of filtering information to include in news content, which is part of gatekeeping theory. This theory describes the idea that journalists and editors choose what information is released from the “gates” of their media organization by deciding what to cover and what to include in that coverage (Bruns 2005, p. 11, Shoemaker, Eicholz, Kim & Wrigley 2001, p. 1, Lewin 1947, p. 145). Traditional printed products had limited space so certain topics or stories were prioritized or deemed more “newsworthy” than others. Bruns (2005) writes that the lack of physical space concerns online have forced the gatekeeping role to adapt into “gatewatching,” where journalists monitor the constant flow of information to share or follow up on what they deem important (p. 17). The Internet and audience participation challenge the practice of traditional, top-down, journalism because both facilitate communication and targeted distribution of information between journalists and diverse groups (Bruns 2005, p. 36-37, Gans 2011, p. 9).

The increasing role of these social platforms can also foster more interaction between members of the public and news organizations, which has reinforced the importance of the audience in the eyes of traditional journalists and allowed the audience a greater role in the process of creating news (Hermida p. 314-316, Bruns). News that “harnesses the collective intelligence,” as Bruns puts it, is thought to be more democratic but less is understood about the dynamics when one perspective speaks louder than the others, such as during a coordinated campaign (p. 5). As social platforms emerged into

public use many scholars speculated they it would have a democratizing effect on public discourse but further observation has shown that online conversation can introduce just as much bias as interactions with real-life social groups.

### **Social media theory.**

Social networking sites serve some of the same functions as physical communities or social groups. Users enforce group membership by adhering to group norms, which informs their behavior and ideology (Price 1989, p. 198, Stern 2006, p. 409, Steinfield 2008, p. 434). One benefit of identity enforcement via social media is the potential for exposure to more diverse opinions than in social groups tied to geography or institutions. Exposure to these mixed opinions increases the likelihood that the individual will be accepting of contradictory views and accept different norms, instead of discounting other opinions and retreating into an ideological silo (Steinfield, Ellison & Lampe 2008, p. 442-444, Stern 2006, p. 416-417, Anastasio, Rose & Chapman 1999, p. 155, Barbera 2014). A secondary consequence of exposure to diverse information is to prevent the spiral of silence effect. When audience members viewing media or interacting with social groups does not believe their views are reflected, such as an ideological moderate viewing partisan news coverage, they are less likely to get involved with that issue or conversation because they see themselves as the minority opinion. They retreat into their ideological silo, which contributes to a more partisan and segmented discourse (Gunther, Christen, Liebhart & Chia 2001, p. 315, Price 1989, p. 199). Needed to add a plural noun so you can use they as a plural pronoun.

Despite early theories about democratization in online conversation, further research on social media use shows it does not guarantee exposure to diverse views.

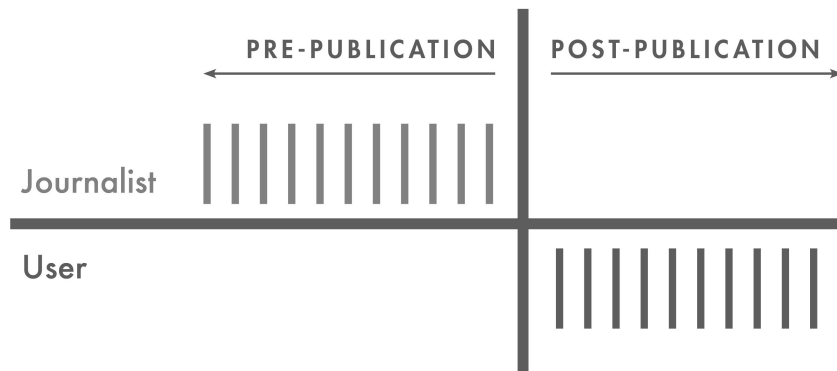
Users often choose to follow people or groups who share their values and ideas, which in turn strengthens their own views (Himmelboim, McCreery & Smith, 2013, p. 158, Hamby 2013, p. 27, Cillizza 2013). A 2012 Pew survey of Facebook, LinkedIn and Google+ users found that 18 percent of users blocked an account that posted political material they disagreed with and 16 percent have followed someone because they have similar political views, further entrenching the user in groups that share their opinions (Rainie 2012, p. 2-3). This pattern is especially relevant in regard to Twitter, which has been compared to a chat room or “echo chamber,” enforcing groupthink by repeated shared views among participants in a political conversation (Himmelboim 2013, p. 158, Hamby 2013, p. 27, Parmalee 2013, p. 293, 303, Cillizza 2013). Other research has shown that users communicate with more extreme and uncivil language online than in real life, which can further alienate those with more moderate views (Anderson, et al. 2014 p. 383).

Even the demographics of who is online are not fully representative of the population. Twitter users represent only 18 percent of Americans who use the Internet, according to a 2013 Pew survey. Women and men use the Internet and social networking sites in different ways, which impacts the likelihood that journalists will be exposed to their opinions (Cotton 2006 p. 501, Bimber 2000 p. 868-869). Artwick (2013) found that journalists cited and sent more mentions to men on Twitter than women (p. 10). The Internet does not necessarily bring new voices into the conversation; people who engage in discussion online, especially political discussion, are probably already invested in that issue and have formed an opinion (Holt 2013 p. 31, Anderson et al. 2014 p. 374). If journalists are unaware of these discrepancies, it presents more opportunities to introduce

bias into news coverage when social media is used as a source of information because of the assumption that online conversation is representative of broader public opinion.

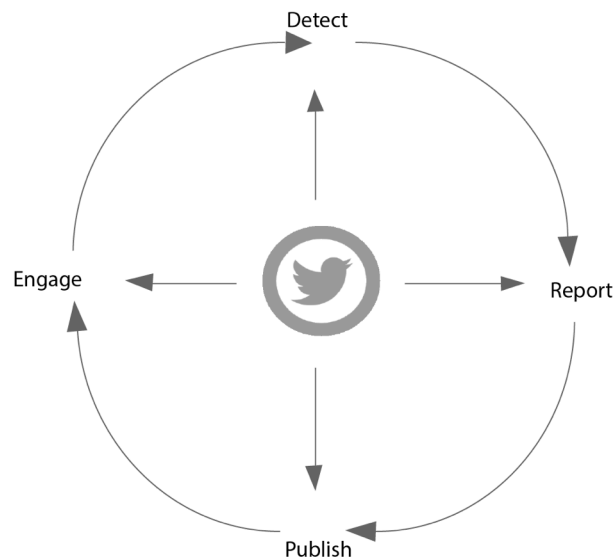
***Social media and journalism.***

While many academics have sought understanding about how journalists adapt to new technologies, there has been surprisingly little study of how new media affect the way journalists work and think. A study on the use of Facebook and Twitter in two South African weeklies found that social networking sites put journalists in touch with sources to which they wouldn't otherwise have access to, making them more aware of the realities experienced by different audiences (Jordaan 2013 p. 30-32). This is consistent with the idea of community engagement or "Web 2.0," as it was called in earlier stages (Reilly 2005, Mayer 2011). This idea suggests that journalists engage with audiences at every stage of the process. Figure 1.1 is an image used by Meg Pickard at The Guardian to illustrate the traditional editorial process, in which journalists control content before publication and users interact with it after.



**Figure 1**

In the idea of “Web 2.0” the audience is no longer passive. Users participate in shaping news and information as well as consume it (O’Reilly 2009). Users participate in shaping news and information as well as consume it (O’Reilly 2009). The neat lines in Pickard’s illustration are now destroyed, creating a system that looks more similar to the Twitter news compass, reproduced below from a presentation at the 2014 Online News Association conference. It demonstrates how the stages of news are a continuous process, with the social platform integrated in every phase.



**Figure 2: Reproduced from Online News Association**

In breaking news situations, for example, reporters share information as they hear it and use social media to crowd source first-person accounts (Hermida 2012, p. 314). The emphasis on speed that accompanies social networking sites sometimes leads to more mistakes or information taken out of context, but it enables users to get an idea of what a large number of people are thinking at once, “a collective mind” as O’Reilly



(2009) calls it (p. 9). Modern reporters are expected to be constantly online and working to monitor potential stories, promote published work and interact with followers, meaning that they are very likely to be exposed to conversations on social platforms (Hamby p. 22, 55, Carr 2013, Hermida 2012, p. 314). One function of this speed is that social media, particularly Twitter, allows interested parties to react immediately to reward good work or correct bad reporting (Hamby p. 25). Jonathan Martin of The New York Times described Twitter in Hamby's study as a "real-time political wire," where politicians, pundits, donors and campaign staff are constantly weighing in on the news of the day (p. 24). Hamby writes that "thanks to the velocity of the Twitter conversation that now informs national reporters, editors, and television producers" minor gaffes can quickly become the dominant narrative of the day (Hamby p. 4).

## **Literature review**

### **Media coverage of women politicians.**

Quite a few studies, most of which use framing theory, have examined how women politicians are discussed in the media. Gender provides an interesting lens through which to examine framing decisions because the way reporters and editors frame gender influences public opinion of political candidates. Research in communications and political science reinforces the idea that news coverage of women politicians follows certain trends. Women often receive more coverage than men because it is considered out of the ordinary that a woman could fulfill a political leadership role, especially executive positions such as president or governor (Meeks 2012 p. 183, Meeks 2013a p. 522, 530-533, Bradley 2011 p. 807). That coverage attaches more gendered descriptors or labels to women than men and women are more often portrayed based on congruence with gendered stereotypes (Meeks 2013a p. 527, 533). Bligh et al. suggests that voters rely on those stereotypes to make decisions about a candidate when they have little political information about them, such as when a newcomer challenges an incumbent (p. 589). Women's gender expression is analyzed through a focus on their appearance, likeability and personal history, elements that are mentioned far less often for male politicians (Bligh et al. 2012 p. 566, 587, 590, Bradley 2011 p. 816). It is worthwhile to note that the audience member's gender and attitudes toward gender roles, as well as the frame of the news coverage, can influence the effect of these differences. For example, Bligh found that audiences perceived a woman candidate as warm after reading positively framed coverage, while negative coverage often, though not always, led to decreased likeability (579). Coverage often focuses on issues commonly associated with female gender roles,

such as health or education, while men are more often associated with economic or military issues (Lawless 2004 p. 482, Meeks 2013a p. 528). This has become especially relevant since Sept. 11, 2011, as the nation's attention shifted to focus more on national security as a top priority. Lawless's (2004) case study of news coverage after Sept. 11 found that support for women candidates decreased between 2001 and 2004 while priority on issues relating to national security increased (p. 480, Bradley 2011 p. 810). How well candidates fit within the expected gender role affects public perception, which Eagly and Johnson (1990) call the gender congeniality theory (p. 237). In this theory women's likeability ratings decrease when they are associated with desirable leadership traits, most of which are stereotypically associated with men (Lawless 2004 p. 480, 482, Bligh et al. 2012 p. 587).

A lot of research in this area focuses on high-profile women politicians such as Hillary Clinton or Sarah Palin (Bradley 2011, Carlin, Harp, McCarver, Oles-Acevedo, Shepard, Meeks 2012). While this adds understanding to the overall body of literature, Clinton and Palin have a more public profile than other candidates and could represent unique situations. It is also necessary to look at research that focuses on races with a low profile. Devitt (1998), for example, examined the quantity and nature of coverage in four gubernatorial races that featured men and women candidates (p. 449-451). He found that women candidates were the subjects of more personal coverage and less issue-based coverage than men candidates, while both campaigns were the focus of coverage based on strategy. He found that the incumbent in the sample was the focus of even more personal coverage than the other women candidates (Devitt 1998 p. 453-454).

### ***Impact on voters.***

The media's agenda-setting effect has an influence on voters that warrants close and careful study. The characteristics that news coverage chooses to focus on frame the public's idea of how politicians should be evaluated (Sheufole and Tweksbury 2007 p. 11, McCombs p. 163). The effect of the amount of media coverage seems to be a double-edged sword. In an absence of knowledge about a candidate, such as a newcomer to the political realm or someone who receives little media attention, the public relies on methods such as congruence with gendered stereotypes, to form an opinion (Bligh et al. p. 589). As candidates receive more media attention more members of the public and potential voters will form an opinion about that candidate. However, if that coverage is focused on gendered traits (Meeks 2013a, Lawless 2004, Schlehofer 2011, Meeks 2012, Bradley 2011) audiences will use gendered stereotypes to form those judgments (Bligh et al. p. 587, Scheufole p. 11, McCombs p. 163). When women display leadership traits typically associated with men they are portrayed as incongruent with accepted female gender roles and tend to be judged negatively and disliked by others (Bligh et al. p. 588).

Research into the intersection of social media, politics and news coverage has led to some interesting conclusions that will inform this study. In his work as a Nieman Fellow, CNN political correspondent Peter Hamby found that the dynamics of political reporting have shifted, as Twitter became a larger part of journalists' lives. He describes how the "pack journalism" phenomenon is amplified in the echo chamber of Washington, where all journalists and influencers follow the same groups or individuals (Hamby 2013 p. 56). This "pack journalism" pattern refers to political journalists' tendency to all report

the same thing, a tacit “story of the day.” The term was used prominently in Timothy Crouse’s “The Boys on the Bus” in 1973 and Hamby’s “How Twitter Killed The Boys on the Bus” describes how Twitter has sped up the pace of this practice and made substantive campaign reporting more difficult (Hamby 2013 p. 22).

*Networked activism.*

As social media has become more engrained in everyday life, it also has become more strategic. It is now commonplace for political organizations and campaigns to use social networks to strengthen and share their message, or to use them to circumvent reporters altogether. Grassroots organizations can use social media sites to overcome logistical challenges (Conover et al. 2013). Services such as Thunderclap allow organizations to sign users up for an automatic message to be sent by hundreds or thousands of accounts at the same time. One example of a networked campaign discussed in Tufekci (2013) is the public pressure on the Susan G. Komen Foundation in 2012. After the organization announced it would withdraw funding from Planned Parenthood, social campaigns posted 1.3 million tweets directed at the group. This volume of posts pushed the issue into the traditional media and Komen leadership reversed its decision within days of it becoming public (Preston & Harris, 2012, p. 853).

Apart from political causes, this kind of action often is used in support of an issue, a phenomenon known as “slacktivism” or “hacktivism.” The first and most widespread instance of this was Kony 2012, in which an organization called Invisible Children circulated a video about Ugandan warlord Joseph Kony on social media. The video was viewed almost 100 million times on YouTube and generated an estimated 5 million tweets in the week after its release (Pew 2012). The campaign was deemed a success but

also generated substantial criticism for simplifying the narrative of the war in Uganda and garnering support through social networks that had no substantial impact on the issue (Nothias p. 124).

Part of the success of movements such as Kony 2012 relates to the sense of self-gratification that comes from showing others you care about an important issue. The combination of strategic marketing actions and humanitarian ideas creates “the celebration of a neoliberal lifestyle of ‘feel good altruism,’” which allows people to receive the satisfaction of contributing to a cause with very little effort (Chouliaraki 2012, Nothias p. 125). This campaign is also an example of how traditional media can be affected by online campaigns. Karlin and Matthew (2012) describe “mediatization” as a process by which the media organizations both influence and are influenced by the communities in which they are embedded (p. 255). Specifically in this case, the traditional media began covering the story of Kony 2012 after it reached “viral” popularity, further raising the profile of the issue and relying on the online conversation to provide the frame of the coverage (Nothias p. 123).

Feminist groups are another example of this concept, using social networks for “networked feminism” or “flyover feminism.” These groups, primarily made up of women, use social media to express views that are traditionally marginalized, especially when responding to offensive comments by politicians or companies (Watson 2013, Aarons-Mele 2012). Social media can be especially effective in connecting feminists in communities less likely to be politically involved when the majority of the discourse is conservative, hence the term “flyover” in reference to traditionally conservative “flyover states” (Gunther et al. p. 315, Price p. 199). Before and during Wendy Davis’s abortion-

rights filibuster in Texas, for example, abortion advocacy groups coordinated support for Davis through social media and by gathering supporters to rally at the Capitol to support Davis. This effort attracted national media attention and boosted political donations to Davis, a state senator, from people all over the country (Dewey 2013, Fine 2013). In mainstream news coverage, this incident has become part of the narrative surrounding Davis' political popularity, showing that traditional journalists are also paying attention to the conversation on social media.

## **Methodology**

Since the research question here primarily has to do with the frame of news articles, this study combined qualitative rhetorical and textual analysis to compare texts about women political candidates, with a bit of a quantitative approach to coding. Using a combined approach, this study examined the implication of descriptive terminology and language with a gendered connotation to evaluate whether, and to what extent, a gendered bias is present (Van Dijk p. 112, 117).

This requires a critical approach that acknowledges that the text is interpreted subjectively through the researcher's perspective (McKee 2003 p. 64). As a control or "ideal" text, the study will compare coverage of Wendy Davis' campaign with that of Martha Coakley, a Massachusetts gubernatorial candidate who had no notable social media activity connected to her bid for office (Larsen 1991 p. 122, McKee 2003 p. 9-10). Some of the interesting elements of Davis's campaign relate to an event a few months prior to announcing that she would run for statewide office. In June 2013, Davis received national attention because she filibustered a bill that would restrict availability to abortions in the Texas legislature. The reason this local issue was so prominent in the national media was because pro-choice organizations in Texas coordinated hundreds of volunteers to spread the word physically and online (Fine, Dewey). Her filibuster lasted for 13 hours and went late into the night, when more than 180,000 people around the country were watching the live stream and generated almost 5,600 tweets per minute (Brown). Though the social media activity was supposedly completely independent of Davis' campaign, it cemented her in the national view as a crusader for women's rights, leading to big donations from national organizations (Slater). Davis's personal story



became a big part of her campaign; her biography describes her experience as a young, single mother who made her own way to her education at Harvard, but inconsistencies in her story led to criticism and even claims that she lied about her personal background (Slater). By the time Election Day rolled around she was polling well behind Republican Greg Abbott and lost by about 20 points.

The race in Massachusetts was closer in the end but attracted less national attention. She lost to Republican Charlie Baker by only one percent, which has been attributed to an unfocused campaign. Coakley and her opponent had failed campaigns in 2010 that are referred to often in state and national media, one writer referred to Coakley's as "seemingly unlosable" (Seelye, Fehrenthold, Caplan-Bricker). Polls taken before the Democratic primary showed Coakley ahead in public support and articles about the campaign often describe her efforts to connect with voters at baseball games and door-to-door visits (Fahrenthold). There are no standout issues attached to her campaign and some lengthy articles, such as one that appeared in National Journal in July 2014, mention her personal and political background extensively but don't mention political issues other than some she worked on as attorney general (Caplan-Bricker). Her campaign ads and talking points mention multiple issues, including advocating for victims of domestic abuse, economic recovery and universal education.

It is difficult to find campaigns that replicate the same set of variables, so this study will keep the party of the candidate and nature of the campaign the same to create the most reliable comparison. Both these candidates are Democrats and both are competing in an open election for the governorship, which should eliminate some external variables that would account for differences in coverage based on incumbency

(Devitt 1998 p. 453-454, Bligh 2012 p. 489). One notable difference is that Davis is a state representative and Coakley is attorney general in Massachusetts. Another potential factor is the political dynamic of the states: Texas is typically Republican, and the current governor is a Republican, while the opposite is true for Massachusetts. This could be a complicating factor but shouldn't cause too many problems because the study is focused on language associated with gender. It will compare the use of specific language, metaphor, symbols and cliché in coverage of both campaigns to make an informed statement about the presence of gender bias in the coverage.

To make this measurement more manageable, the study involved a purposive sample of news articles based on the time of publication to reduce the overall sample size. Similar to Meeks' (2012) content analysis, this was done by identifying the most relevant time period of coverage for each candidate (p. 182). The researcher collected coverage from the month after each candidate announced her campaign, as those stories serve to introduce candidates for governor and set the precedent for further coverage. For Wendy Davis this is the month following October 3, 2013, and for Martha Coakley the month following Sept. 15 of the same year. An initial search with the terms "name + governor" identified 62 articles meeting these search parameters for Wendy Davis, 58 for Coakley. In addition, the study will look at samples of coverage from the month leading up to day after the election in November 2014. Using the Factiva database, it will identify coverage from national newspapers (Washington Post and New York Times), and the major metropolitan newspapers with the highest circulation in both states, the Dallas Morning-News and Houston Chronicle in Texas, and the Boston Globe and Boston Herald in Massachusetts. These outlets are chosen to represent coverage with the highest

impact; their coverage reaches a large audience and thus has a greater agenda-setting effect than outlets with a smaller circulations. National outlets such as The New York Times are often cited as the agenda-setters in the media, setting the frame for how other media outlets will approach the issues. It is worth noting that, in this case, some of the Wendy Davis coverage in the Times' is from a relationship with the Texas Tribune, a non-profit news organization that covered her filibuster. Since this was still published in the Times' and for the Times' audience, it will be treated the same as other Times coverage. The more local newspapers, on the other hand, have more flexibility to frame coverage based on the priorities of their audience. The analysis will include only articles appearing in the news section, not opinion content or editorials (Devitt 1998 p. 451). As the articles are read, a set of codes will be generated to categorize content based on general frame, references to gendered traits, and other qualities related to the gendered frame. More details on the coding system can be found in Appendix A. After working with a portion of that sample I estimate that the researcher will eliminate about 30 percent of the texts because they are irrelevant to the research question. If this number still appears unmanageable, the researcher will cap the sample at 200 articles. For example, articles about Martha Coakley's work as attorney general that do not mention the campaign for governor will be excluded.

To make the coding of articles more reliable, the researcher created a codebook (Appendix A) using a sample of articles from the database search. Each article will be categorized as "heavily gendered, gendered, and not gendered" in reference to the amount of gender bias in the frame. These labels will be assigned based on the number of gendered references in the text, specifically the percent of paragraphs that include a

gendered reference. The researcher will code only text elements of each article, as the Factiva database does not provide images. As outlined in Tankard (2001) this includes headlines, subheds, leads, source selection, quote selection, and concluding statements (p. 101). The analysis will not include data from the content of quotes, as those are likely from candidates and intentionally portraying a certain frame or message. For this purpose, gendered references are defined as terms or phrases that are typically associated with one gender. Gendered issue references could include abortion or women's rights, for example, because they are almost always associated with women (Bligh et al. 2012 p. 566, 587, 590, Bradley 2011 p. 816, Lawless 2004 p. 482, Meeks 2013a p. 528). References to a candidate's personal life, appearance or spouse will also be considered gendered. The analysis will include informal notes about the nature of these gendered references, including which candidate they are associated with, as well as information on the author's gender and the other subjects in the story. These terms will be catalogued as the list evolves to allow the researcher to note commonly used terms for each candidate as well as provide rationale for what fits this definition of a gendered reference. An example of the codebook is shown in figures 3 and 4.

This research could inform the work of all journalists, especially reporters, by increasing understanding of the relationship between online communities and traditional reporting. The expected findings are that robust social conversation around a candidate does impact how reporters write about that candidate, especially when the campaign is as organized and popular as the one surrounding Wendy Davis' filibuster.

## Results

The results of the content analysis were fairly consistent and found notable differences between coverage of the two candidates. The researcher coded 72 articles, 35 about Martha Coakley and 37 about Wendy Davis. 36 of those articles were from the month after each candidate announced and 42 in the month before the election concluded. Although the initial search results were drastically larger, the researcher eliminated opinion columns, redundant results and articles that were not related to the campaign. Men wrote twice as many articles as women in the sample.

Both candidates had a larger sample in the month before the election than the month after announcing their candidacy, but Davis had close to twice the number of articles as Coakley for the first sample. Coverage was also more likely to earn the code not gendered in the month before Election Day.

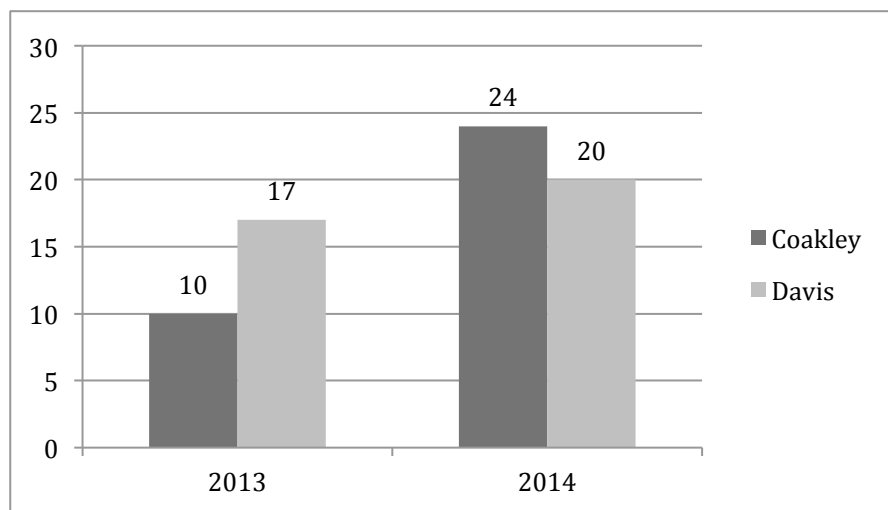


Figure 3: Sample Size

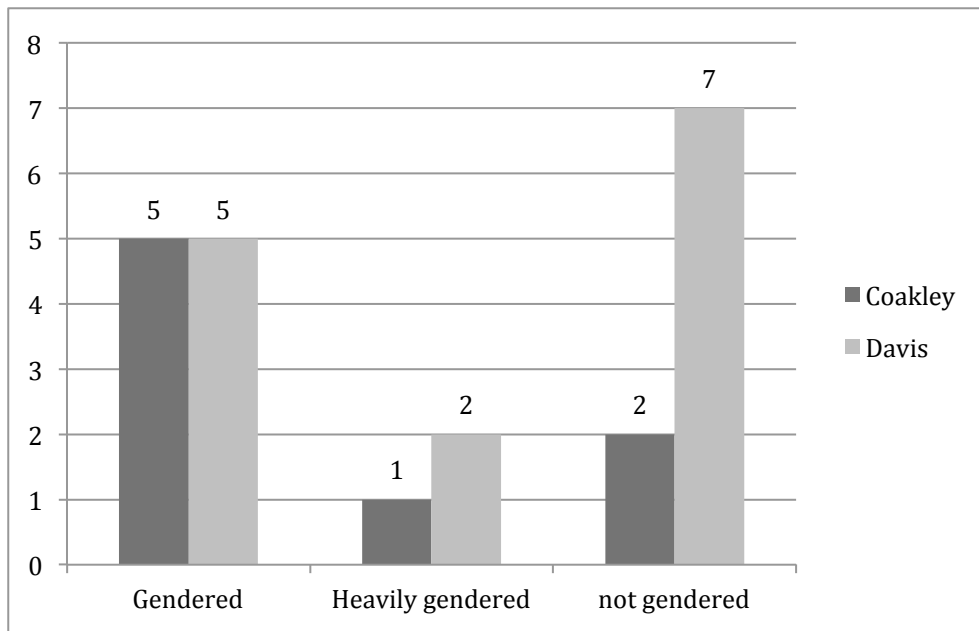


Figure 4.1: 2013 articles, code distribution

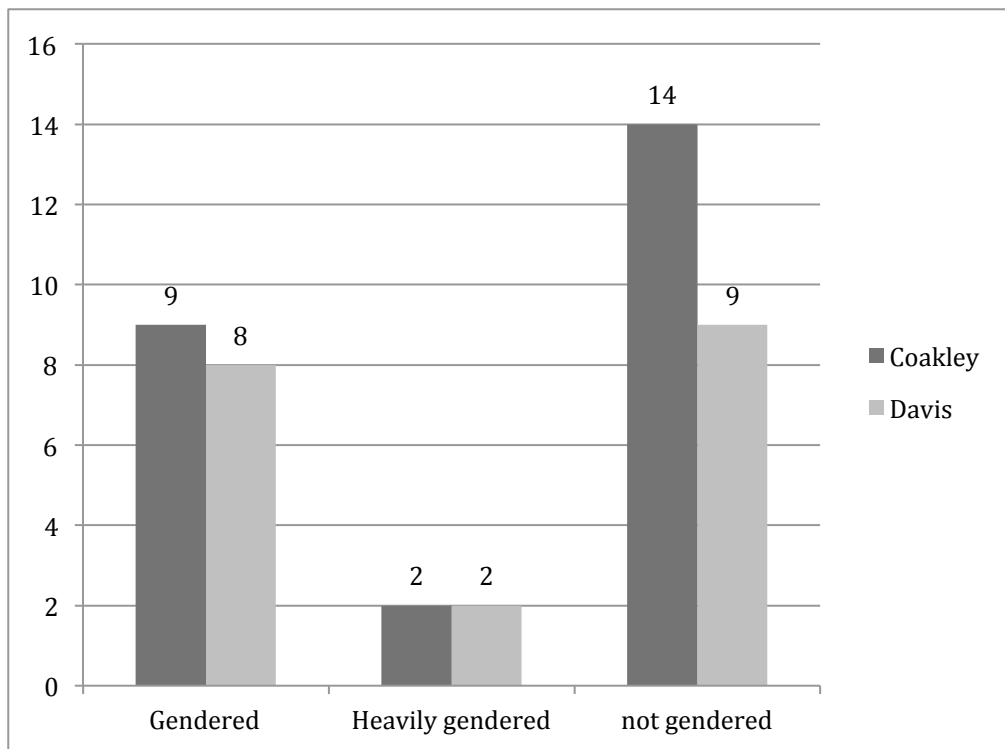


Figure 3.2: 2014 articles, code distribution

Both candidates had more coverage in local papers than national, but Davis received slightly more national coverage than Coakley. Davis received more coverage after she announced her campaign while Coakley received more coverage before Election Day. This is likely due to the fact that the Massachusetts race was close until the last minute, while polls showed Davis was unlikely to win.

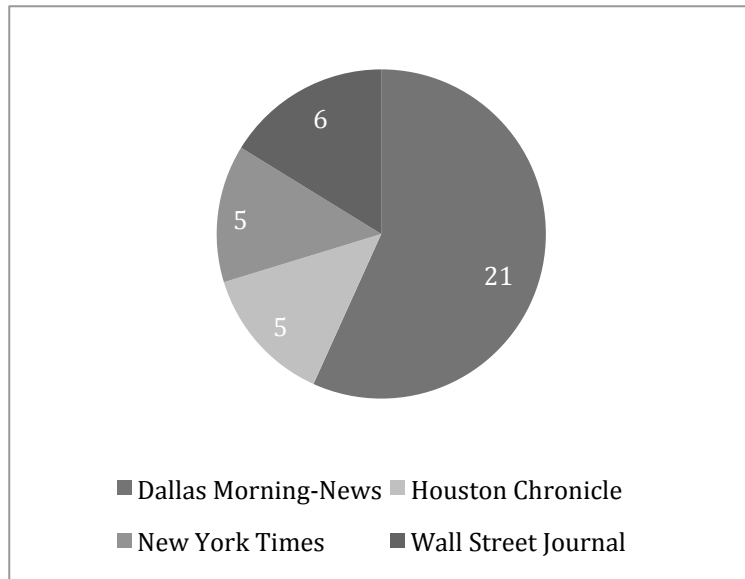


Figure 4.1: Davis coverage by outlet

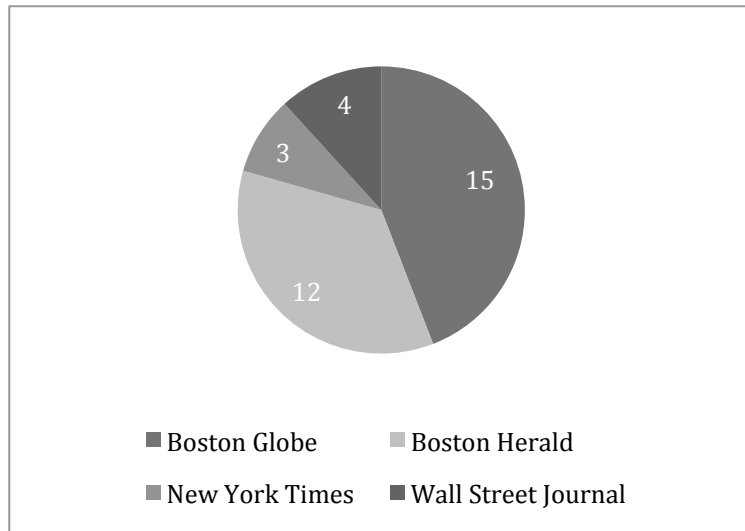
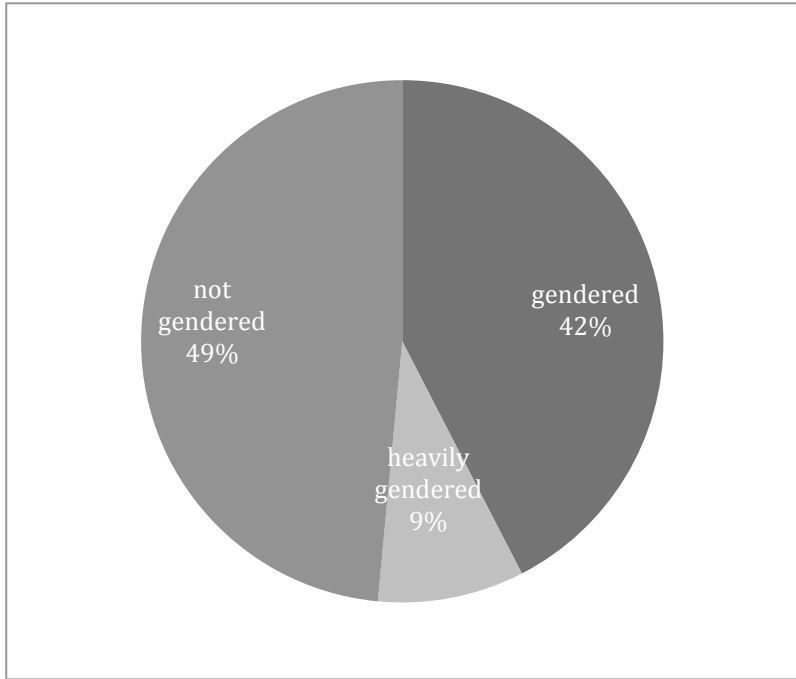


Figure 5.2: Coakley coverage by outlet

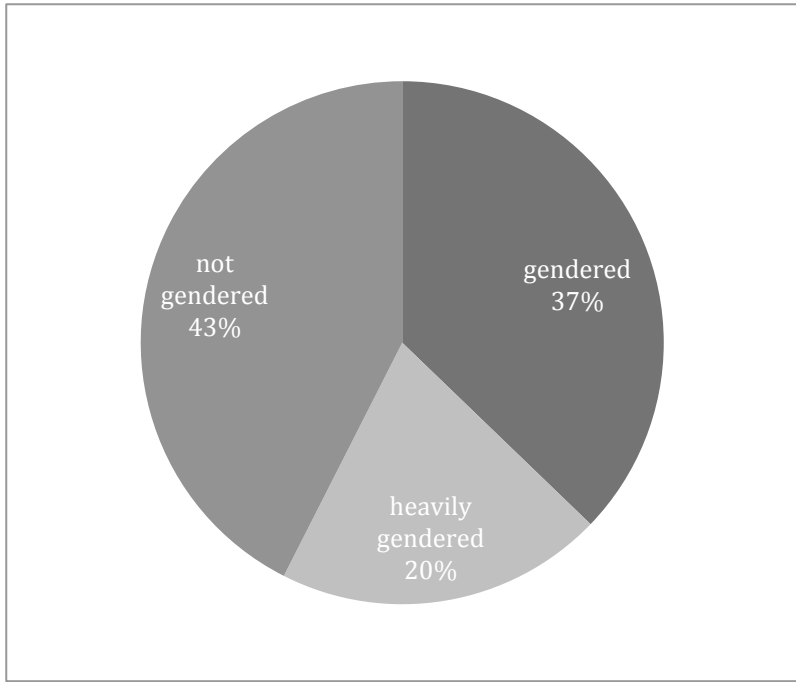
The length of those articles ranged from one paragraph to more than 30 paragraphs with an average of 13 paragraphs. Local news sources were more likely to rely heavily on quotes. Shorter articles were more likely to be coded as gendered or highly gendered because one instance of gendered language could skew the entire article.

Once coded, the sample for both candidates broke down to very similar numbers in each category. About 53 percent of the articles fit into a code that indicates some level of gendered frame; 39 percent of articles were coded “gendered.” An additional 14 percent of articles were coded “highly gendered.” Some of the articles in this category were extremely short, so earned the code despite including only one or two gendered terms. It is also worth noting that some of the articles coded “gendered” were very close to the line for the “highly gendered” code but were still below the mark of 50 percent of paragraphs including a gendered reference.





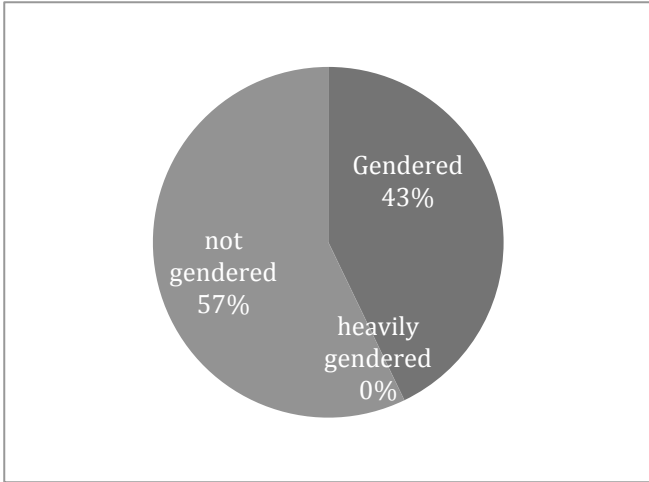
**Figure 6.1: Coakley coverage by code**



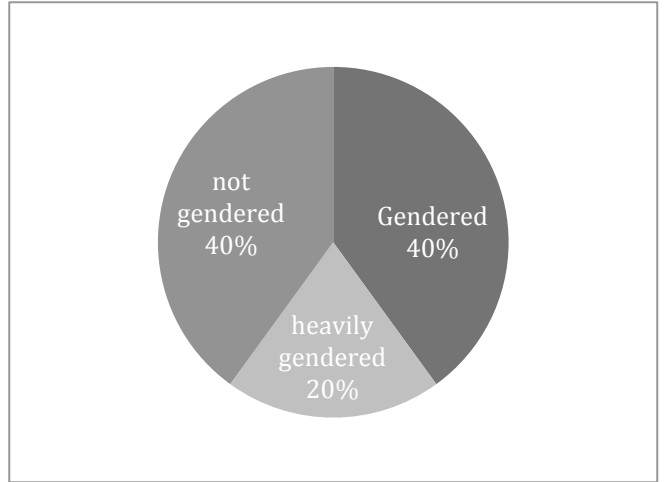
**Figure 6.2: Davis coverage by code**

These numbers broke down similarly for each candidate with one notable difference. About 12 percent more coverage of Wendy Davis was rated “highly gendered” than coverage of Martha Coakley, while Coakley had more coverage in the “gendered” or “not gendered” categories.

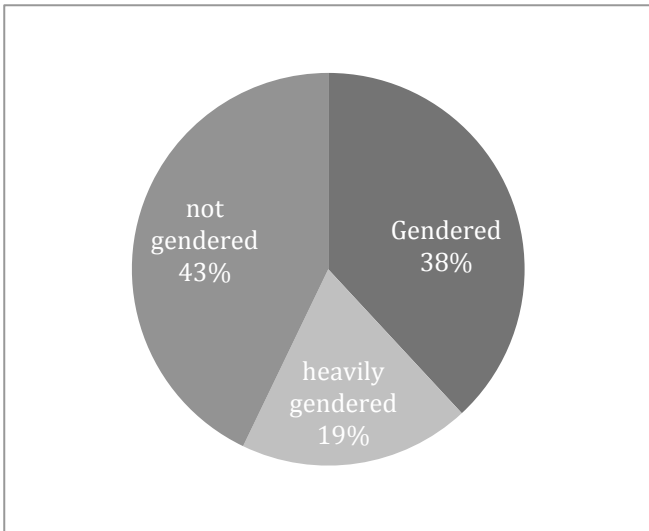
The distribution of articles within this coding system also varied by outlet; for all six, at least 40 percent of articles qualified as “not gendered.” Some outlets had significantly more than 40 percent, including 50 percent “not gendered” for the Boston Herald and New York Times and 60 percent “not gendered” for the Houston Chronicle. Both local outlets in Texas had the highest percentage of heavily gendered articles with around 20 percent. The New York Times was the only outlet included that did not have any articles that fit the heavily gendered category. This was surprising given that national outlets often had to provide context for a race that readers were less likely to be following closely, many of the articles in national publications included introductory statements such as “Wendy Davis, the Texas senator who gained national attention after an abortion filibuster.”



**Figure 7.1: The New York Times**



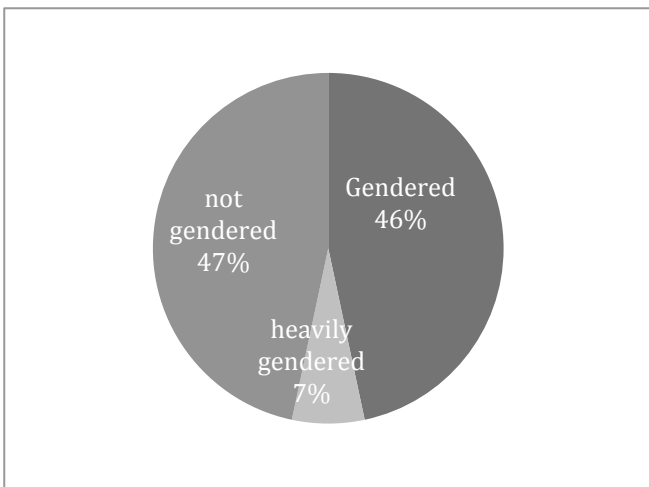
**Figure 7.2: The Wall Street Journal**



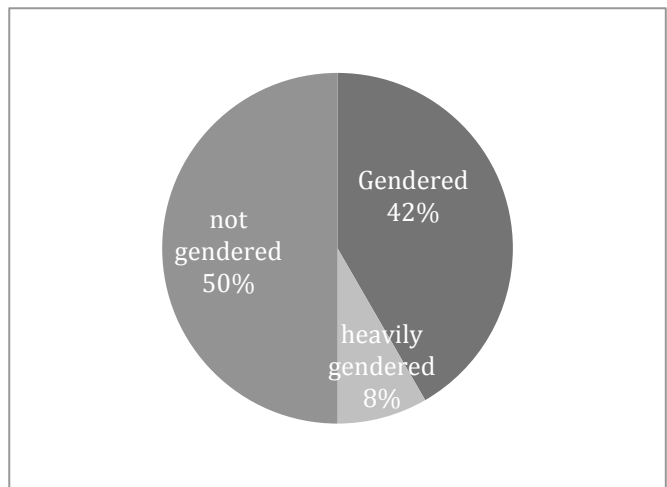
**Figure 5: Dallas Morning-News**



**Figure 7.4: The Houston Chronicle**

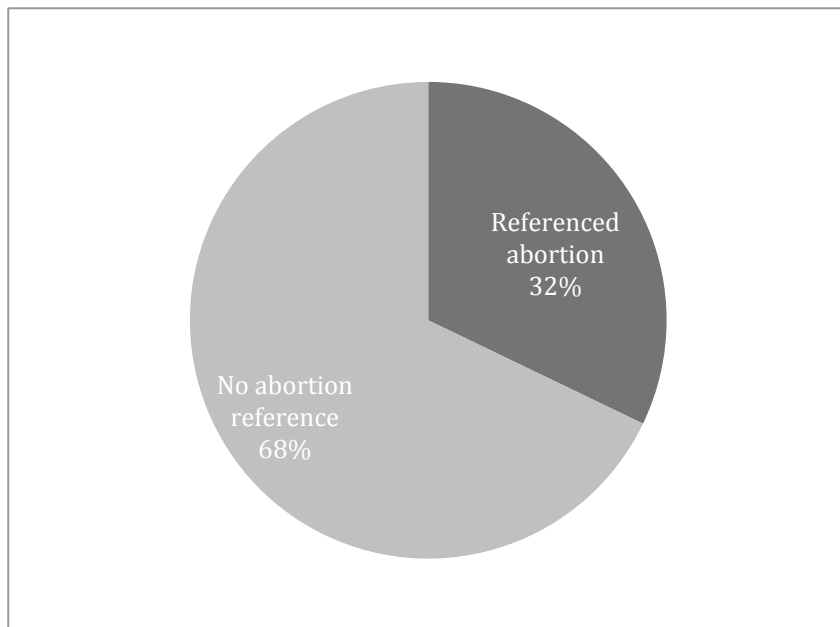


**Figure 7.5: The Boston Globe**

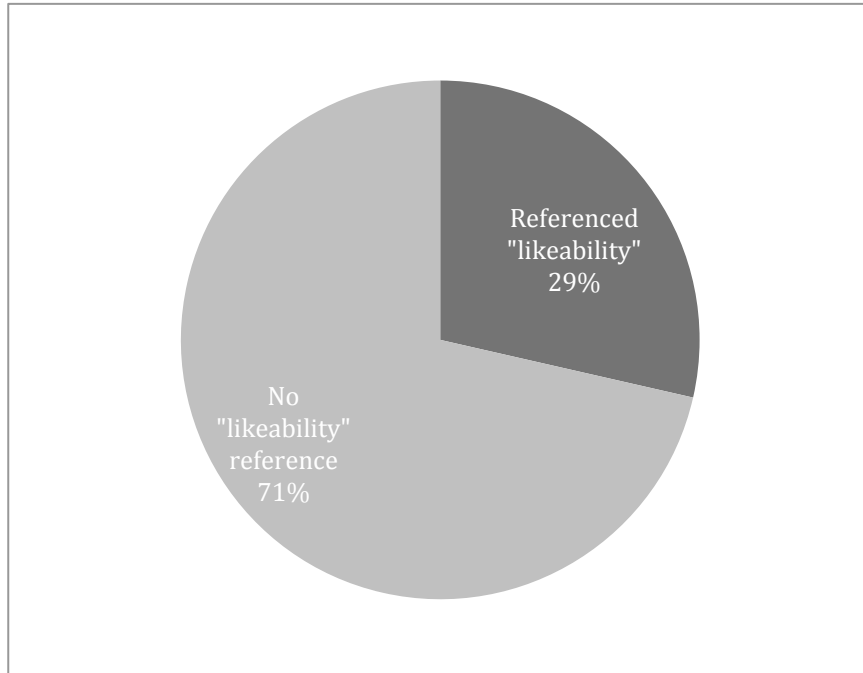


**Figure 7.6: The Boston Herald**

In addition to coding the article as a whole, the researcher examined trends in the nature of gendered terms related to each candidate. For Davis, references to abortion were the most common reason a paragraph was coded as gendered. It was mentioned both in reference to her filibuster months before she became a candidate and the fact that she did not make the issue a big part of her campaign. In some cases the specific issue wasn't referenced but phrases like "a celebrity among liberals" or "a champion for women's rights" hinted heavily at it. Gendered references in articles about Martha Coakley were more likely to be related to her need to be more personable and friendly, mostly in comparison to her 2010 campaign when she was seen as unlikeable. Another common gendered reference, which appeared in almost 14 percent of all articles in the sample, was descriptions of the candidate's relationship to "women" as a single group or voting block. This occurred only a few times more in reference to Davis than Coakley.



**Figure 8.1: Davis, references to abortion issue or filibuster**



**Figure 8.2: Coakley, references to personality or "likeability"**

The underdog narrative was persistent and several articles referenced Davis' personal backstory as well as her small chance of success in the campaign. Notable phrases in this regard included "underdog status," "rose from teenage parenthood to Harvard law school," and "suddenly a viable statewide candidate" as a reference to her filibuster. The theme around Coakley focused more on likeability, due partly to the perceived distance during her last campaign. In the last election she was heavily criticized for not being approachable or friendly enough, so coverage often focused on her social interactions. Phrases included "charisma-challenged," "cloistered, enervated campaign," and "needs to be willing to show more of her personality."

## **Conclusions**

This study found that, in this case, the coordinated social media effort led to a higher level of gendered framing. It does not appear that coverage that would otherwise lack a gendered slant became gendered, but a larger portion of coverage had a more gendered frame in coverage of Wendy Davis than coverage of Martha Coakley. This supports the idea that the social media activity contributed to this difference because the frequency of references to abortion in coverage of Wendy Davis was the reason many of these articles were assigned a gendered code, and the references to abortion would not have been present if Davis was not heavily associated with a filibuster on abortion rights. This association was strongly enforced by the narrative of the social media conversation, which then became part of the narrative surrounding her candidacy in traditional news media.

The research also identified some common practices in political reporting that could lead to a gendered frame, regardless of the candidate. For example, a good portion of the articles referred to women as a block of voters. Both men and women candidates were described in terms of their “appeal to women.” It appeared more common for women candidates to be described in terms of the “women’s vote,” though this study did not look extensively at coverage of male candidates. This practice oversimplifies the views of any social group, not just women, into “supports candidate” or “doesn’t support candidate.” With this lack of subtlety it’s easy to see why the support of women as voters could lead to an association of the candidate with women or the issues like abortion or equal pay that are commonly associated with them.

Some factors that influence the gendered frame of a text are outside the individual journalist's control. Sources will choose language and frame narratives in a way that fits their own understanding on a person or topic. Candidates and political sources are always working to convey a frame through their word choice and there are often situations that the journalist cannot avoid repeating some of that language. For example, in the sample texts where a reporter was covering a candidate's speech the primary purpose of the article was to convey the frame used by the campaign to tell the story of the candidate. In one of Martha Coakley's speeches she focused on education and used language about her personal life to make herself relatable. The article, in one of the local papers, paraphrased a lot of the language and used several direct quotes from the speech. (Though this researcher coded the issue of education and references to family as gendered, the writer merely reflected decisions made by the candidate to focus on those topics.

Journalistic and linguistic style must also be considered when examining the frame of a text. The style of publications like The New York Times and The Wall Street Journal is to use courtesy titles, meaning that the candidates were referred to as Mrs. Coakley and Ms. Davis. This use of traditional labels not only reminds readers of a person's gender but could subtly convey information about their personal life, such as whether a woman is married. The use of separate titles for women while all men are called "Mr." reveals one of many gender constructs in the English language that change the way simple writing is interpreted. Another such construct is the use of pronouns instead of repeating an individual's last name, which instantly remind the reader of the gender associated with that person.

Another element of writing style that seems to play a role is tone. More gendered references seemed to be inserted into a piece when the writer was trying to add color through clichés or more descriptive language. Many of the articles that were not noticeably gendered were the straightforward reports on poll numbers, fundraising or recounting what a candidate said. When the writer worked to include more descriptive language they were more likely to include gendered clichés such as “tug at the heartstrings.” This could be partially attributed to lazy writing or a lack of creativity, writers who rely on gendered tropes or commonly used visual language instead of painting a picture of their own. It could also be due to the pervasive gender associations in the English language. Despite all conscious effort by journalists to rid their writing of bias, the reader will still understand certain words or phrases to have a gendered connotation.

Another major theme is the gendered nature of certain issues and the connection between those issues and a political party. Many issues that are considered big for the Democratic Party, such as women’s rights, equal pay, abortion, education or health care, are also associated with feminine ideas. The public often associates the Republican Party, on the other hand, is more likely to be associated with issues such as national security, the economy and crime. These topics are not necessarily mutually exclusive, especially as the Republican Party is known for its faithfulness to traditional family values. However the public’s automatic response to these associations does not often embrace the full nuance of these issues. This is not always the case, but future research could examine what issues are associated with a female Republican candidate to see if gender or party is a more dominant factor.



One of the important takeaways from this study is that a gendered frame cannot always be avoided, but it also isn't required. This will be a heated issue in 2016 as Hillary Clinton once again enters the public consciousness. She has become a contentious figure to both the public and the media. Online communities of women do have an impact on how a candidate is viewed, even if that community fails to achieve the positive impact they desire. Journalists and others working in media need to be aware of how to best represent an objective view of the situation and avoid the subtle influence of pervasive narratives supported by social media activity. This has already become part of the 2016 election cycle; one group of volunteers has threatened to police coverage of Clinton for "sexist language" and protest reporters they see as treating her unfairly (Blake). This story is an example of how an online narrative can cycle into traditional news media, especially in the short attention span of the political press. Political journalists were drawn to the story online and then translated it for their respective platforms. The "second day" story found that the group wasn't exactly how the initial stories described it, but the window for attention was closing (Reeve). While this particular group might not be legitimate, communities of "internet outrage" will continue to play a role in political conversation. The ability for online activist communities like this to gather means that even the subtle elements of journalism and language are part of politics now. Journalists need to be vigilant that their work stands up to the highest possible standards.

In hindsight, some of the results of this study are limited because the coding system cannot be exactly replicated. It might have been improved with the use of a second coder to create a more uniform system to identify gendered language that could be replicated by another researcher. A coding system for future work could also be more

nuanced to account for the different types of content that the researcher encountered. Some articles in the sample were not labeled strictly as news or opinion. Since they were written by reporters and appeared in the news section the researcher included them, but pieces with an opinionated voice might be better analyzed in a separate category from straight news writing. The presence of very short articles with less than five paragraphs also presented a problem. Some of the articles coded “highly gendered” were very short, so one gendered reference easily resulted in a high percentage of paragraphs with gendered references. These short articles appeared in national news outlets where they carry a heavy weight as the audience’s only introduction to the candidate, so if that one paragraph is gendered it could have a big influence. However, the sample size in this study presents the problem that one such article coded “heavily gendered” could change the percentages enough to affect the conclusions. Future work should consider how to examine these short articles in a way that can better compare them with longer articles.

There are a few practical ways to be aware of this influence from online conversation. Journalists should treat online conversation with the same thoughtfulness as any other source; it is necessary and important but also must be put into perspective. The most obvious is not to rely too heavily on social media for reporting and to continue to keep in touch with sources directly involved in the campaign. The speed and condensed narratives of social media make it very tempting to latch on to a specific narrative right away, but thorough reporting could help reporters identify the reality. Awareness is also key; journalists must be made aware of gendered bias in a noncritical way so they can identify it and make a conscious decision to write with a more impartial frame. A better

understanding of language could avoid creating a gendered frame through cliché and the subtler slant introduced with the use of pronouns or courtesy titles.

## References

- Aarons-Mele, M. (2012). The power of a woman with a meme. Retrieved from <http://blogs.hbr.org/2012/11/the-power-of-a-woman-with-a-me/>
- Anastasio, P. A., Rose, K. C., & Chapman, J. (1999). Can the media create public opinion? A Social-Identity approach. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 8(5), 152-155.
- Anderson, A. A., Brossard, D., Schuefele, D. A., Xenos, M. A., & Ladwig, P. (2014). The “Nasty Effect:” Online Incivility and Risk Perceptions of Emerging Technologies. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 19, 373-387.
- Artwick, C. G. (2013). News sourcing and gender on Twitter. *Journalism*, 0(0), 1-17. doi: 10.1177/1464884913505030
- Bennett, W. Lance. (1996) "An Introduction to journalism norms and representations of politics." *Political Communication* 13: 373-84. Print.
- Bimber, Bruce. "[Measuring the Gender Gap on the Internet.](#)" *Social Science Quarterly* 81.3 (2000): 868-876. Print.
- Blake, A. (2015, March 26, 2015). The 13 words you can't write about Hillary Clinton anymore. *The Washington Post*. Retrieved from <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/the-fix/wp/2015/03/26/the-13-words-you-cant-write-about-hillary-clinton-anymore/>
- Bligh, Michelle C., Schlehofer, Michele M., Casad, Bettina J., Gaffney, Amber M. (2012) "Competent enough, but would You vote for her? Gender stereotypes and media influences on perceptions of women politicians." *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 42.3: 560-97. Print.
- Bradley, A. M., & Wicks, R. H. (2011). A gendered blogosphere? Portrayal of Sarah Palin on political blogs during the 2008 presidential campaign. *J&MC Quarterly*, 88(4), 807-820.
- Brown, Jennings. "[Wendy Davis Filibuster by the Numbers.](#)" *The Politics Blog with Charles Pierce* 2013. Web.
- Bruns, A. (2005). *Gatewatching: Collaborative online news production* (S. Jones Ed.). New York, New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc.
- Carr, D. (2013, September 2, 2013). Campaign journalism in the age of Twitter. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/09/02/business/media/campaign-journalism-in-the-age-of-twitter.html>

- Cillizza, C. (2013). How Twitter has changed politics - and political journalism. Retrieved from <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/the-fix/wp/2013/11/07/how-twitter-has-changed-politics-and-political-journalism/>
- Conover, M. D., Davis, C., Ferrara, E., McKelvey, K., Menczer, F., & Flammini, A. (2013). The geospatial characteristics of a social movement communication network. *PLoS*, 8(3), 1-9.
- Cotten, Sheila R., and Shameeka M. Jelenewicz. "A Disappearing Digital Divide among College Students?: Peeling Away the Layers of the Digital Divide." *Social Science Computer Review* 24.4 (2006): 497-506. Print.
- Dewey, C. (2013). Wendy Davis 'tweetstorm' was planned in advance [A post on the social media effort behind the Wendy Davis filibuster, The Fix political blog on The Washington Post website.].
- Eagly, A. G., & Johnson, B. T. (1990). Gender and leadership style: A Meta-Analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, 108(2), 233-256.
- Fine, A. (2013, July 10, 2013). The social network behind Wendy Davis. *The American Prospect*.
- Gans, H. (2011). Multiperspectival news revisited: Journalism and representative democracy. *Journalism*, 12(1), 3-13. doi: 10.1177/1464884910385289
- Gleason, S. (2010). Harnessing social media. *American Journalism Review*, 6-7.
- Goffman, Erving. (1974) *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. first ed: Harper Row. Print.
- Gunther, Albert C., Christen, Cindy T., Liebhart, Janice L., Chia, Stella Chih-Yun. "Congenial public, contrary press, and biased estimates of the climate of opinion." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 65 (2001): 295-320. Print.
- Hamby, P. (2013). Did Twitter kill the boys on the bus? Searching for a better way to cover a campaign *Discussion Paper Series* (Vol. #D-80): Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy.
- Hermida, A. (2012). Social journalism: Exploring how social media is shaping journalism. In E. Siapera (Ed.), *Handbook of Global Online Journalism*. In 309 (Series Ed.) (pp. 309-328): Woley. Retrieved from <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/9781118313978.ch17/summary>.
- Holt, Kristoffer, et al. "Age and the Effects of News Media Attention and Social

Media Use on Political Interest and Participation: Do Social Media Function as Leveller?" *European Journal of Communication* 28.19 (2013): 19-34. Print.

- Himmelboim, I., McCreery, S., & Smith, M. (2013). Birds of a feather tweet together: Integrating network and content analysis to examine cross-ideology exposure on Twitter. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 18, 154-174.
- Jordaan, M. (2013). Poke me, I'm a journalist: The impact of Facebook and Twitter on newsroom routines and cultures at two South African weeklies. *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies*, 34(1), 21-35. doi: 10.1080/02560054.2013.767421
- Karlin, B., & Matthew, R. A. (2012). Kony 2012 and the mediatization of child soldiers. *Peace Review: A Journal of social justice*, 24, 255-261. doi: 10.1080/10402659.2012.704222
- Larsen, P. (1991). Media contents: Textual analysis of fictional media content. In N. W. Jankowski & K. B. Jensen (Eds.), *A Handbook of Qualitative Methodologies for Mass Communication Research* (pp. 121-134): Routledge.
- Lawless, Jennifer L. "Women, War, and Winning Elections: Gender Stereotyping in the Post-September 11 Era." *Political Research Quarterly* 57.3 (2004): 479-90. Print.
- Lewin, K. (1947). Frontiers in group dynamics: II. Channels of group life, social planning and action research. *Human Relations*, 1. doi: 10.1177/001872674700100201
- Mayer, J. (2011). Engaging communities: Content and conversation. *Nieman Reports*, 65(2), 12-14.
- McCombs, Maxwell. (2005) "Ch. 9: The agenda-setting function of the press." From Overholser & Jameison (Eds). The Press. Oxford University Press.
- McKee, A. (2003). What is textual analysis? *Textual analysis* (pp. 1-32). London.
- Meeks, L. (2012). Is she "man enough?" Women candidates, executive political offices, and news coverage. *Journal of Communication*, 62, 175-193. doi: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.2011.01621.x
- Meeks, L. (2013). All the gender that's fit to print: How The New York Times covered Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin in 2008. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 90(3), 520-539. doi: 10.1177/1077699013493791
- Nothias, T. (2013). 'It's struck a chord we have never managed to strike': Frames, perspectives and remediation strategies in the international news coverage of Kony 2012. *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies*, 34(1), 123-129.

- O'Reilly, T., & Battelle, J. (2009). *Web squared: Web 2.0 five years on*. Paper presented at the Web 2.0 Summit, San Francisco, CA.  
[http://assets.en.oreilly.com/1/event/28/web2009\\_websquared-whitepaper.pdf](http://assets.en.oreilly.com/1/event/28/web2009_websquared-whitepaper.pdf)
- Parmalee, J. H. (2013). Political journalists and Twitter: Influences on norms and practices. *Journal of Media Practice, 14*(4), 291-305.
- Price, V. (1989). Social identification and public opinion: Effects of communicating group conflict. *The Public Opinion Quarterly, 53*(2), 197-224.
- Rainie, L. (2012). Social Media and Voting. In L. Rainie (Ed.), *Pew Internet & American Life Project*. Washington, D.C.: Pew Research Center.
- Stephen Reese, "Finding frames in a web of culture: The case of the War on Terror," in P. D'Angelo and J. Kuypers (eds.) *Doing News Framing Analysis: Empirical, Theoretical, and Normative Perspectives* (New York: Routledge, 2009)
- Reeve, E. (2015, March 28, 2015). The Internet Outrage Machine Is Finally Ready for Hillary. *The New Republic*.
- Scheufele, D. A., & Tewksbury, D. (2007). Framing, agenda setting, and priming: The evolution of three media effects models. *Journal of Communication, 57*, 9-20. doi: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00326.x
- Schuefele, D. A. (1999). Framing as a theory of media effects. *Journal of Communication, 49*(1), 103-122.
- Schlehofer, Michele M., et al. "[Navigating Public Prejudices: The Impact of Media and Attitudes on High-Profile Female Political Leaders](#)." *Sex Roles* 65 (2011): 69-82. Print.
- Shoemaker, P. J., Eichholz, M., Kim, E., & Wrigley, B. (2001). Individual and routine forces in gatekeeping. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly, 78*(2), 233-246. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com/docview/216930781?accountid=14576>
- Steinfeld, C., Ellison, N. B., & Lampe, C. (2008). Social capital, self-esteem, and use of online social network sites: A longitudinal analysis. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology, 29*, 434-445.
- Stern, Michael J., and Don A. Dillman. (2006) "Community participation, social ties, and use of the Internet." *City & Community* 5.4: 409-24. Print.
- Dijk, T. A. v. (2004). Media contents: The interdisciplinary study of news as discourse *A handbook of qualitative methodologies* (pp. 108-120).

Watson, T. (2013). Networked woman as a rising force, online and off. Retrieved from <http://techpresident.com/news/23135/networked-women-rising-political-force-online-off>



## **APPENDIX A: CODING SCHEME**

To make the coding of articles more reliable, the researcher created a codebook using a sample of articles from the database search. Each article was categorized as “heavily gendered, gendered, and not gendered” in reference to the amount of gender bias in the frame. These labels were assigned based on the number of gendered references in the text, specifically the percent of paragraphs that include a gendered reference. The researcher coded only text elements of each article, as the Factiva database does not provide images. As outlined in Tankard (2001) this includes headlines, subheds, leads, source selection, quote selection, and concluding statements (p. 101). The analysis did not include data from the content of quotes, as those are likely from a candidate’s point of view and intentionally portraying a certain frame or message. For this purpose, gendered references are defined as terms or phrases that are typically associated with one gender. Gendered issue references could include abortion or women’s rights, for example, because they are almost always associated with women (Bligh et al. 2012 p. 566, 587, 590, Bradley p. 816, Lawless 2004 p. 482, Meeks 2013a p. 528). References to a candidate’s personal life, appearance or spouse were also not considered gendered. The analysis included informal notes about the nature of these gendered references, including which candidate they are associated with, as well as information on the author’s gender and the other subjects in the story. These terms were catalogued as the list evolves, which allowed the researcher to note commonly used terms for each candidate as well as provide rationale for what fits this definition of a gendered reference.

Code	Definition
Heavily gendered	A significant number of gender-reliant references, more than 50 percent of paragraphs include a gendered reference.
Gendered	More than 10 percent of paragraphs include a gendered reference.
Not gendered	No gendered references present or less than 10 percent of paragraphs include a gendered reference.

**Table 1: Codebook**

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
Headline	Outlet	Author gender M/F/B	# of paragraphs	Gendered term in lede?	Gendered term in nut graf?	Gendered references in body	% of paragraphs with gendered reference	CODE
Rivals make final forays; Baker, Coakley try to push past 2010 detriments	The Boston Globe	B	31	N	Y ("make inroads"/Baker, "mingling"/Coakley)	9 (issue reference with Baker, none with Coakley; reference to family for both, description of Coakley's clothing and what she ate, not for Baker)	0.29	Gendered
Voters' verdict today on Coakley, Baker; intense race draws to a close	The Boston Globe	M	34	N	N	3 (2 references to Baker's wife, his clothing at campaign event, one to Coakley crying incident) 1 (allusion to dynamics in 1990 race, which was heavily gendered but not extended to current race)	0.09	Not gendered
No Claytie and the Lady this time	New York Times	M	15	N	N	5 (references to abortion as issue, women's rights, personal background) 8 (references to abortion, Davis and Abbott personal background, education as Davis issue and legal activity as Abbott issue)	0.06	Not gendered
Entering race for governor with a shorter speech	New York Times	M	17	N	Y (title Ms.)	Y (abortion)	0.29	Gendered
U.S. News: Democrat kicks off long-shot bid in Texas	Wall Street Journal	M	14	N	Y (abortion)	Y (abortion)	0.57	Heavily gendered

Table 2: How data was recorded

## APPENDIX B: SAMPLE ARTICLES

Coded NOT GENDERED

### **Massachusetts Attorney General Coakley Joins Gubernatorial Race**

#### Democratic Slate of Candidates Grows More Crowded

By **JENNIFER LEVITZ**

Sept. 16, 2013 10:32 a.m. ET

Massachusetts Attorney General Martha Coakley, who suffered a stinging loss to Republican Scott Brown in the 2010 U.S. Senate race, said she will join the race to be the state's next governor.

Ms. Coakley announced her candidacy in a video Monday morning. She has largely rebounded after the Senate loss, and polls show that she is one of the most popular politicians in the state. That, along with her name recognition and fundraising ability, puts her ahead of the pack in an already crowded field of Democratic candidates looking to succeed Gov. Deval Patrick, a Democrat who isn't running for a third term, several political analysts predicted.

But to win the primary, Ms. Coakley may still have to win over some skeptical Democratic activists who have lingering resentments over the 2010 Senate race, said several political watchers, including Massachusetts Democratic strategist Mary Anne Marsh.

After leading in the polls, Ms. Coakley lost to Mr. Brown in the special election to fill the seat long held by the late Edward M. Kennedy. The loss threatened President Barack Obama's ability to get his health-care law through the Senate and ignited criticism that Ms. Coakley and Massachusetts Democrats hadn't campaigned hard enough.

Ms. Coakley won re-election as attorney general 11 months after that defeat. In that role, she has won popularity by focusing on financial crimes, the foreclosure crisis and domestic violence, said Dave Paleologos, the director of the Suffolk University Political Research Center.

Historically, attorneys general in Massachusetts have had difficulty ascending to higher office because the investigatory nature of their jobs doesn't make them popular within institutional power circles, said Peter Ubertaccio, the chairman of the department of political science at Stonehill College in Easton, Mass., who called it the "curse of the AGs."

Ms. Coakley joins a Democratic field that includes state Treasurer Steven Grossman, former Obama administration health-care official Donald Berwick, former

homeland-security official Juliette Kayyem and biotech executive Joseph Avellone. Dan Wolf, a state senator and chief of Cape Air, has suspended his campaign while he disputes conflict-of-interest questions related to his ownership in the airline. Republican Charles Baker, a former health-care executive and a 2010 gubernatorial candidate, has also declared.

Coded GENDERED

## **How Women Use Fashion to Assert Their Power**

### **The ‘Women Fashion Power’ Exhibition at the Design Museum in London**

By VANESSA FRIEDMAN OCT. 28, 2014

Of all the candidates running in next Tuesday’s American midterm elections, only one, it seems to me, really has [Halloween](#) potential — which is to say, only one has succeeded in identifying herself closely enough with a specific sartorial semiology that a Pavlovian association is created in a viewer’s mind. See the garment, think the person.

I am speaking, of course, of Wendy Davis, the Texas state senator and beleaguered candidate for governor, as well as famed Mizuno sneaker wearer. A blond wig, a bright suit and [those sneakers](#) doth a costume create. Who needs masks when you have fashion?

Clothes have the power to define a person and a position, and though they are often seen as handicapping women in positions of authority, acting as a distraction from their achievements and substance, they can also be a strategic communication tool. One that is, ironically, more accessible to women than to men, who are stuck in a never-ending generic suit loop, forced to rely on the distinguishing characteristics of hair and tie color.

If in doubt, simply consider an exhibition that opened Wednesday in London at the Design Museum titled [“Women Fashion Power.”](#) It has little to do with fashion as trend-driven designer vision, makes no aesthetic judgments and shies away from “power dressing” in the 1980s-Joan Collins-“Working Girl”-big-shouldered sense of the word. Rather, it focuses on image and authority in the public eye.

“It felt like it was the right time to look at the rise of women in contemporary power roles, and how they view and use fashion to facilitate their place in the world,” said Donna Loveday, a co-curator, describing the show as one of the most ambitious the museum has done.

She and her fellow curator, the fashion historian and journalist Colin McDowell, began work on the exhibition 10 months ago. Designed by Zaha Hadid, the first woman to win the [Pritzker Prize](#), it is laid out over almost 6,500 square feet in three parts: There is an analytic “corridor of power” that identifies 16 of the most influential dressers in history, starting with Hatshepsut, the Egyptian queen who used elements of male dress to establish authority after her husband’s death, and culminating with Hillary Rodham Clinton; a 150-year timeline highlighting moments of public sartorial change (the “freedom from constraints” of the turn of the 20th century, the suffragist movement of the 1920s); and, most significant, a gallery of current power players who contributed a Q. and A. and favorite garments that reflect their words.

And since, as Ms. Loveday pointed out, “I don’t think there has really been an exhibit in a museum on the subject before,” it makes me wonder if this signifies a turning point in our own relationship with fashion.

Just consider the fact that the show includes 25 high-profile women happy to go public with their thoughts on clothing. This includes the usual suspects: fashion professionals like Natalie Massenet, the executive chairwoman of Net-a-Porter; the designer Vivienne Westwood; and the model Naomi Campbell. But it also includes Wei Sun Christianson, a co-chief executive of Morgan Stanley Asia Pacific; Anne Hidalgo, the mayor of Paris (who also opened the exhibition); Alfiya Kuanysheva, the chief executive of the Kazakhstan finance group BATT; and Kirsty Wark, the British broadcaster.

That, it seems to me, is an enormous and meaningful change in the conversation about achievement and gender. The idea that women whose power is undeniable and exists in traditionally male sectors like banking and politics may stand up and say, for the record and posterity, that clothes matter and require (and deserve) thought is, in my experience, unprecedented.

Even just three years ago, Michelle Obama, featured in the corridor of power, was denying giving any real consideration to clothing, announcing on “Good Morning America”: “Look, women, wear what you love. That’s all I can say. That’s my motto.”

(It just so happened that she loved wearing dresses from small American brands made by designers with notably diverse backgrounds, hence raising their profile on the international stage — but, hey, guess that was a coincidence.)

Fashion, like money — if not more than money — has been the off-limits topic, the subject whispered about and obsessed over but rarely acknowledged in any nonpejorative way. It’s the invisible elephant in the room; like disinformation, it’s the tool all people use — and have used, as the exhibition makes clear, since Joan of Arc threw on some male armor — but refuse to admit they use.

“For a very long period, as women began entering the workplace and taking up roles traditionally occupied by men, the subject of dress was really put to one side and treated as a frivolous distraction,” Ms. Loveday said.

Indeed, in a [Daily Beast article last year](#) about Ms. Davis and her sneakers, the liberal pundit Sally Kohn wrote that noting what women wear “undercuts the leadership of women and quashes their voice.” It seems to me, however, and this exhibition shows, that the situation is the opposite: What women wear is an embodiment of their voice, and identifying it helps identify their agenda (as it does with men, for that matter).

Granted, there were still women, and some very big names, that chose not to take part in the Q. and A. section of the Design Museum show. Ms. Loveday had Angela Merkel, Queen Elizabeth II and Mrs. Clinton on her wish list, and all begged off from participating in the interactive, though they are mentioned in the show. But, Ms. Loveday

said, the reason she was given for their demurrals was not “I don’t want to be seen talking about that subject,” but rather “time.”

Before you say, “Well, isn’t that the same thing and weren’t they just being polite?,” consider the fact that a few years ago, when I was trying to convene a panel of power women to do some image analysis for a different newspaper, the answer I heard over and over again from chief executives I approached was a straightforward: “Thanks for thinking of me, but I can’t be involved in any overt discussion of fashion. It would undermine my hard-won seriousness.” (I’m paraphrasing, but not that much.)

I’m not saying the time excuse should be taken at face value or is anything but an excuse (though it could be true), but the sheer fact that the women involved bothered to make it, as opposed to taking umbrage at the *very idea they might think about clothing*, is, in my book, a step forward.

Besides, even without the active participation of such pivotal figures, it is meaningful to think that for six months visitors to the Design Museum will be able to read the property developer Morwenna Wilson’s words — “Jackets are very important to me because I am petite and a woman, yet one with responsibility and authority working in a male dominated industry, often with a team of people older than me” — and Ms. Christianson of Morgan Stanley attesting that “I decided that while I was working in a man’s world, I was not going to suppress my femininity in an attempt to blend in.”

“It’s an incredibly positive message,” said Ms. Loveday, referring to not just Ms. Christianson’s words, but also her willingness to contribute. I would have to agree.

Even more pointedly, the fact that this is now a public subject of conversation, blessed by a major institution, suggests that perhaps during the coming British elections, which will take place in May but with campaigning beginning in January, image analysis may be discussed in formerly unheard-of ways — and vis-à-vis candidates of any sex. And given that after “Women Fashion Power” closes in London, it may travel to the United States, Asia and Europe, it could potentially play a part in the presidential election here, if Mrs. Clinton is a candidate.

And that in turn means that it is possible that this political cycle, instead of the usual disingenuous disavowals and fights about whether or not clothes are a legitimate part of spin and manipulation and the fight for higher office, we may actually be able to have a meaningful conversation about how exactly our candidates are attempting to communicate through cloth, and what exactly the subtext is.

Trick or treat?



Coded HEAVILY GENDERED

## Suburban women a key target for Wendy Davis' governor campaign

By **CHRISTY HOPPE** [choppe@dallasnews.com](mailto:choppe@dallasnews.com)

Austin Bureau

Published: 05 October 2013 11:08 PM

Updated: 05 October 2013 11:51 PM

AUSTIN — The battle for governor will be pitched on the soccer fields and manicured lawns of Texas' vast suburbs.

It's turf that has served as a veritable outlet mall for Republican voters, but it's where Wendy Davis must improbably succeed if the Fort Worth Democrat has any chance to be the state's next governor.

"She's not going to win unless she can get white suburban women to vote for her," said Jason Stanford, a consultant for Democratic statewide campaigns.

Democrats believe, pointing to polls, that white female voters who've been in a long-term relationship with Republican candidates are slowly eyeing alternatives as the GOP moves further and further right. They see hope in the emotional tug of a Davis candidacy talking about health care, education, and leaders who disregard their voices.

Certainly, they were the target for Davis' message as she began her 2014 campaign last week. Davis strategists hope that an emphasis on health care, education and a business-friendly posture will give her an edge. But counting on Republican-leaning women to abandon the low-tax, small-government comfort of their own party is probably wishful wooing, many pollsters and strategists say.

In the last four elections for governor, the Republicans — George W. Bush and Rick Perry — have won the women's votes by no fewer than 7 percentage points.

While minority female voters are strongly Democratic, they make up about 15 percent of the electorate. White female voters are 33 percent of all voters, and they have gone overwhelmingly Republican in Texas.

Analysis by Stefan Hankin — a Washington-based Democratic strategist who helped in President Barack Obama's victories — shows that even under the "rosiest scenario" of historically unexpected high percentages of minorities streaming to the polls, Davis would still fall below 49 percent of the vote.

"The numbers show that in Texas, even the most ideal Democratic candidate with the most ideal turnout will still likely fall short of victory," Hankin wrote for *Washington Monthly*.

Republican pollster Mike Baselice said he cannot see a scenario where Davis defeats the rock-solid conservative, well-financed campaign of Greg Abbott, the likely GOP nominee.

“A lot is already built into the outcome of these races based on the partisanship in this state,” Baselice said.

Party affiliation has historically always trumped gender identification, he said, meaning Republican women won’t vote for a Democratic woman, even if she promotes ideas they like.

“You could make people more likely to vote for Attila the Hun if you get a good message around it. But that doesn’t mean at the end of the day that they’re going to vote for the Hunster,” Baselice said.

### **‘Out of step’**

Rep. Stefani Carter, a Republican who has knocked on an estimated 10,000 doors in winning her Far North Dallas swing district twice, notes that she ousted a Democratic incumbent, Rep. Carol Kent, who ran a similar campaign to Davis’.

Carter said Davis, a two-term state senator whose district has a similar makeup, will not make headway with suburban women simply because they don’t agree with her on issues.

She cited Davis’ consideration of tax increases for public education, her support for the federal Affordable Care Act and her championing of abortion rights.

“From my own interaction with my own community, I can tell you that she’s just out of step with reality here in Texas,” Carter said. “Women’s voices will be heard that they want to elect another Republican governor.”

She said she doesn’t believe Abbott has anything to worry about.

“Republicans are women and women are Republicans. Greg Abbott will win the race,” said Carter, who is running statewide next year for the Texas Railroad Commission.

Texas Democratic strategist Stanford said that to win, Davis will need to do much better among white voters altogether — going from the 29 percent that 2010 Democratic nominee Bill White won, to 40 percent.

“My analysis is that the only way to do that is with suburban women, because the suburbs are where all the white people are, and the women are the ones listening to us,” Stanford said.

In 2010, White took five of the state’s largest counties: Harris, Dallas, Bexar, El Paso and Travis. But Rick Perry clobbered him in Collin, Williamson and Denton counties, and other vote-rich suburbs throughout the state, enough to win comfortably overall.

Stanford points to recent polls showing Davis having 35 percent of support among white women, “which would be revolutionary,” he said. Another poll had Davis and Abbott virtually tied among female voters.

He attributed the uptick to the shuttering of dozens of women’s health care centers, the complete removal of state funding for Planned Parenthood, and the sweeping abortion bill that Davis filibustered, which could close 80 percent of the abortion clinics in Texas.

“Right now, women could be forgiven for thinking that a bunch of men are playing politics with their health care, and that somehow birth control has become an issue we have to talk about again,” Stanford said.

Opponents throwing out dismissive labels such as “Abortion Barbie” only underscore the connection. Women understandably get riled when men belittle a woman for disagreeing with them, Stanford said.

“The conventional wisdom is that she has to run screaming” from the filibuster, he said. “But what she did is to stand up for beliefs that more than one-third of soft Republicans share. Her issue — access to women’s health care — is an entree into the suburbs. Not a hindrance.”

But abortion, particularly the ban on the procedure after 20 weeks of pregnancy that Davis temporarily derailed, remains a problem for Texas Democrats. Davis did not mention her abortion filibuster during her campaign announcement speech Thursday.

Republicans have argued that Davis’ filibuster shows her to be a radical on the issue. She has not said at which point in pregnancy the procedure should be outlawed, if at all.

Abbott, too, is outside the mainstream on the issue. He has said unequivocally that abortions should be denied in cases of rape and incest.

### **Connecting with voters**

The last Democrat to win a majority of women was Ann Richards, who stunned Clayton Williams in 1990 by snaring 59 percent. But Williams had made a joke about rape and was seen as being disrespectful of Richards.

The margin of victory was “the suburban woman vote,” said Cathy Bonner, a top Richards adviser.

“Wendy’s issue will be whether those same suburban, tend-Republican women care about how women are treated in state government,” Bonner said.

The door-knocking, friends-phoning-friends and other networking Richards employed in the suburbs can now be achieved through microtargeting and using social media, she said.

“That’s the most effective type of campaigning you can do is to peer-to-peer. And it’s the kind of retail politics that Wendy knows how to do,” she said.

Bonner acknowledged that Williams was gaffe-prone in a way that Abbott isn’t likely to be. Baselice, the GOP pollster, said Williams fell more than 20 points in the last month of the 1990 campaign, and “it was his own undoing.”

Davis could get 5 percent more of the overall vote and a much larger share of the women’s vote, and still wouldn’t get close to victory, he said.

For Democrats, “turning their wishful thinking into a feasible plan has proven to be a failing effort for more than a decade,” Baselice said.

But Davis could give voice to women’s concerns about education and pocketbook issues in a way recent Democratic candidates have failed to do, Stanford said.

“All too often, Democrats tell you how a car is built and Republicans talk to you about how it feels to drive,” he said. “We need to talk about how they fit into Texas’ future in a way that makes an emotional connection.”

Follow Christy Hoppe on Twitter at [@christyhoppe](https://twitter.com/christyhoppe).

## **WHAT HAPPENED AFTER #STANDWITHWENDY?**

The impact of social media campaigns on gendered framing in coverage of female candidates

---

STEPHANIE EBBS, MAY 2015

Committee: Laura Johnston

Scott Swafford

Barbara Cohran

### **ABSTRACT**

Social media is irrefutably part of the political sphere, especially in regard to how journalists stay in touch with their sources and audience. Recent case studies, such as the coordinated social campaign around Wendy Davis' abortion-rights filibuster, provide a look at how this online activity influences traditional news coverage. This qualitative content analysis will compare gendered frames of Davis' campaign to a similar campaign to measure whether the social activity changed discussion about the gubernatorial race.

# **Table of Contents**

<b>I. INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>O</b>
<b>II. PROFESSIONAL SKILLS COMPONENT</b>	<b>Q</b>
<b>III. RESEARCH COMPONENT</b>	<b>R</b>
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	T
LITERATURE REVIEW	AA
METHOD	GG
A.APPENDIX: CODING SCHEME	MM
WORKS CITED	QQ

## **I. Introduction**

I consider myself a digital journalist, a combination of a reporter, online producer and audience engagement specialist. The Missouri School of Journalism has taught me that one of the biggest changes in journalism today is that those titles aren't distinct. Every journalist needs to have at least some understanding of multiple areas of their work, not just how to report a story but how to present it online and talk to different communities about what you did. I took that lesson to heart and worked to learn great reporting and writing as well as digital skills.

A lot of what I've learned came from my work in the Missouriian newsroom. I worked several semesters as a reporter in the newsroom and in the capitol bureau. I learned how to work independently, ask the right questions, mold that information into a story and, most importantly, how to be persistent throughout the process. I was always aware of the work being done by the interactive copy desk and the community outreach team and began to understand more once I worked with them. I decided to pursue some of these other areas of journalism in graduate school to better understand how they can work together to present a well-rounded final product. I worked as a copy editor and spent two semesters with Joy Mayer, engaging in almost daily conversations about the importance of expanding our view of journalism beyond just reporting the news. In my community outreach work I learned how to listen to online communities and participate in conversation, instead of just mine social media for sources. Though these techniques are not used in every aspect of traditional reporting I know the value of online communities in every aspect of the journalistic process.

By taking classes and pursuing professional experience outside of the roles associated with reporters I was able to see how all these skills can work together to make modern journalists more nimble and well rounded than their traditional counterparts.

Early in my journalism career I discovered that policy reporting was where I wanted to apply this mindset and worked specifically to improve skills that would help me in that work. I have worked as a beat reporter and covered state and local policy issues as they evolve in legislation or during an election. Once I felt confident in the base of my skills as a reporter I took it to the next level by learning techniques in investigative and computer assisted reporting. I also sought to better understand the greater trends at work in politics through advanced political science coursework. This experience with academic research in social science helps me apply a broader context to my reporting. These skills, like my work in audience engagement, are wrapped into the everyday tasks I complete as a journalist. With all of this in mind I'm still open-minded about the direction of my career. I know I want to work in journalism and want to start as a reporter in Washington, but I could also see myself doing engagement work. No matter what my job title is, though, I know that having all those skills will make me a better journalist in every role.

This project represents a further blend between the ideas of traditional journalism and the new philosophies of audience engagement work. Working in Washington is the epitome of political journalism and the media landscape there is constantly evolving to embrace the digital world. The ABC bureau is going



through some reorganization to better combine the broadcast content and the digital product and Facebook recently announced a partnership with BuzzFeed and ABC to incorporate user data into reporting on the 2016 election. I will be able to learn an incredible amount about the modern media environment from observing these changes as well as contributing my experience as a digital journalist. My research component will also examine this relationship by taking a classic research topic like bias in political reporting and incorporating new questions about the influence of online communities. This could be the beginning of a new level of understanding about the relationship between journalists and online social networks. That understanding will help inform journalists' decision-making and our interpretation of political reporting, as well as provide questions for future researchers to delve into.

## **II. Professional skills component**

The professional component of my project will be at the ABC News bureau in Washington as one of the David Kaplan Memorial Fellows. I will work with ABC News Digital, which manages and creates content for ABCNews.com. This team works closely with the political unit and social media manager to coordinate content. As part of my internship at ABC I will also work with field producers and reporters to support and learn from their work. Eventually I will be responsible for reporting stories and creating content on my own. This experience will combine my experience as a political reporter and in audience engagement to work in a multiplatform newsroom that is reorganizing its broadcast and digital

products. I will start work on January 20 and end my internship on April 24, which is congruent with the dates of the Washington program. I will work regular business hours Monday through Thursday during that time and spend Fridays participating in the seminars moderated by Barbara Cochran and completing the analysis component of my project. I will include descriptions of my assignments and samples of my work in my weekly field notes to my committee and Barbara to serve as evidence of my professional work in this position.

### **III. Research component**

Social media sites have become integrated in the environment of news, journalism and media. It is nearly impossible to address current events without at least being aware of what is said about them online. Media professionals are expected to be comfortable sharing content, interacting with readers, competing with other news outlets and doing so at a faster pace than ever before (Beaujon 2013, Hamby 2013 p. 22,55). Before the Internet became so commonplace, experts and journalists speculated that it would broaden lanes of global communication. As scholars seek understanding about whether those predictions are true, journalists have struggled to integrate these new forms of interaction and understand their implications on traditional journalistic norms such as objectivity.

Reporters and editors have claimed they are objective and independent from outside influence in efforts to gain more credibility with a broad audience (Schudson p. 150). Reporters are trained to seek diverse sources that represent

different views and avoid relying on the journalist's personal opinion. The exposure to such sources, however, can be shaped by individual's life experiences and social circles, which are often representative of a certain demographic. The ideal of objectivity has not been abandoned in the age of the Internet but online communities have the potential to introduce bias in other ways (Parmalee, 2013, p. 303). Journalists at traditional news publications, like newspapers, do not operate in a vacuum from online conversation. Anyone who uses social media on a regular basis is exposed to a variety of opinions and is susceptible to influence by them, a phenomenon that media scholars do not completely understand. In some cases this conversation is neither organic nor fully representative of public opinion, which presents concerns about the influence it may exert over individuals' understanding of an issue. This research seeks to explore the more subtle ways that interaction with social media can affect a journalistic product, in this case news stories about political candidates.

The research question has to do with the impact of activist social media campaigns on the framing of political news reports. The researcher will do this by examining news coverage of a campaign associated with social media activism and comparing it with coverage of a campaign with no notable activist social media presence. This study defines social media activism as coordinated and purposeful efforts on a social media platform to communicate a political stance or message. The campaign in this case, #StandWithWendy, reached trending status on Twitter but this was a combination of organic and coordinated messages. It is necessary to understand several intersecting theories -- framing, agenda setting

and theories about behavior on social networking sites – to form the basis of this research. The research will examine this question specifically through the frame of gender, using feminist campaigns on social media and coverage of women candidates as case studies. Because of this, it's also important to understand theories surrounding gendered frames and bias toward female candidates, as well as theories specifically related to feminist groups on social media.

*RQ: Does the amount of gendered framing in traditional coverage of women political candidates change when a coordinated social media effort is involved?*

## **Theoretical Framework**

### **Framing theory**

This study focuses on the frame of news stories, as in how a story is told rather than the story itself. Framing theory began with Goffman (1974), who introduced frames as “a definition of the situation” or problem (p. 3) which individuals generate based on their subjective relationship to an experience (p. 11). In reporting terms, this frame can be the “angle” or “spin” taken in a story, which chooses specific information and perspectives to share with the audience and sometimes excludes others (Scheufele 1999, p. 105). Framing can be used to simplify a story by relying on well-known narratives or “cognitive schemas,” such as pitting two sides against one another as “good versus evil” or relying on the “horse race” approach to campaign coverage (Scheufele & Tewksbury 2007, p. 11). This theory has been adopted as a subset of agenda setting and media effects research to discuss how journalists’ perceptions and choices shape the audience’s

interpretation of a story. While most framing research examines the effects of these media trends on audiences, similar factors play a role in how journalists create news frames. These factors include daily routines, judgment about the impact of an issue or source, relationships with sources such as spokespeople, economic pressure or lack of resources and other institutional factors such as professional norms (Bennett 1996, p. 373-376). Stakeholder groups and sources influence journalists framing decisions, in turn shaping the messages absorbed through the mainstream media (Scheufele et al. 2007, p. 12). Framing is essentially a subset of agenda setting theory, practicing a similar effect on a specific story that the mainstream media does on public discourse. Agenda setting theory posits that the issues covered by the news media will move to the forefront of public consciousness (McCombs 2005, p. 156-160). News media outlets guide how citizens evaluate government, also called *priming*, by prioritizing some issues over others (Scheuefle et al. 2007, p. 11).

Another aspect of these frames is the process of filtering information to include in news content, which is part of gatekeeping theory. This theory describes the idea that journalists and editors choose what information is released from the “gates” of their media organization by deciding what to cover and what to include in that coverage (Bruns 2005, p. 11, Shoemaker, Eicholz, Kim & Wrigley 2001, p. 1, Lewin 1947, p. 145). Traditional printed products had limited space so certain topics or stories were prioritized or deemed more “newsworthy” than others. Bruns (2005) writes that the lack of physical space concerns online have forced the gatekeeping role to adapt into “gatewatching,”

where journalists monitor the constant flow of information to share or follow up on what they deem important (p. 17). The Internet and audience participation challenge the practice of traditional, top-down, journalism because both facilitate communication and targeted distribution of information between journalists and diverse groups (Bruns 2005, p. 36-37, Gans 2011, p. 9).

The increasing role of these social platforms can also foster more interaction between members of the public and news organizations, which has reinforced the importance of the audience in the eyes of traditional journalists and allowed the audience a greater role in the process of creating news (Hermida 2012 p. 314-316, Bruns 2005). News that “harnesses the collective intelligence,” as Bruns (2005) puts it, is thought to be more democratic but less is understood about the dynamics when one perspective speaks louder than the others, such as during a coordinated campaign (p. 5). As social platforms emerged into public use many scholars speculated they it would have a democratizing effect on public discourse but further observation has shown that online conversation can introduce just as much bias as interactions with real-life social groups.

### **Social media theory**

Social networking sites serve some of the same functions as physical communities or social groups. Users enforce group membership by adhering to group norms, which informs their behavior and ideology (Price 1989, p. 198, Stern 2006, p. 409, Steinfield 2008, p. 434). One benefit of identity enforcement via social media is the potential for exposure to more diverse opinions than in social groups tied to geography or institutions. Exposure to these mixed opinions

increases the likelihood that the individual will be accepting of contradictory views and accept different norms, instead of discounting other opinions and retreating into an ideological silo (Steinfeld, Ellison & Lampe 2008, p. 442-444, Stern 2006, p. 416-417, Anastasio, Rose & Chapman 1999, p. 155, Barbera 2014). A secondary consequence of exposure to diverse information is to prevent the spiral of silence effect. When audiences viewing media or interacting with social groups does not believe their views are reflected, such as an ideological moderate viewing partisan news coverage, they are less likely to get involved with that issue or conversation because they see themselves as the minority opinion. They retreat into their ideological silo, which contributes to a more partisan and segmented discourse (Gunther, Christen, Liebhart & Chia 2001, p. 315, Price 1989, p. 199).

Despite early theories about democratization in online conversation, further research on social media use shows it does not guarantee exposure to diverse views. Users often choose to follow people or groups who share their values and ideas, which in turn strengthens their own views (Himmelboim, McCreery & Smith, 2013, p. 158, Hamby 2013, p. 27, Cillizza 2013). A 2012 Pew survey of Facebook, LinkedIn and Google+ users found that 18 percent of users blocked an account that posted political material they disagreed with and 16 percent have followed someone because they have similar political views, further entrenching the user in groups that share their opinions (Rainie 2012, p. 2-3). This pattern is especially relevant in regard to Twitter, which has been compared to a chat room or “echo chamber,” enforcing groupthink by repeated shared views

among participants in a political conversation (Himmelboim 2013, p. 158, Hamby 2013, p. 27, Parmalee 2013, p. 293, 303, Cillizza 2013). Other research has shown that users use more extreme and uncivil language online than in real life, which can further alienate those with (Anderson p. 383).

Even the demographics of who is online are not fully representative of the population. Twitter users represent only 18 percent of Americans who use the Internet, according to a 2013 Pew survey. Women and men use the Internet and social networking sites in different ways, which impacts the likelihood that journalists will be exposed to their opinions (Cotton 2006 p. 501, Bimber 2000 p. 868-869). An example of this is in Artwick (2013), which found that journalists cited and sent more mentions to men on Twitter than women (p. 10). The Internet does not necessarily bring new voices into the conversation; people, who engage in discussion online, especially political discussion, are probably already invested in that issue and have formed an opinion (Holt 2013 p. 31, Anderson p. 374). If journalists are unaware of these discrepancies, it presents more opportunities to introduce bias into news coverage when social media is used as a source of information through the assumption that online conversation is representative of broader public opinion.

### ***Social media and journalism***

While many academics have sought understanding about how journalists adapt to new technologies there has been surprisingly little study on how new media affect the way journalists work and think. A study on the use of Facebook and Twitter in two South African weeklies found that social networking sites put



journalists in touch with sources to which they wouldn't otherwise have access to, making them more aware of the realities experienced by different audiences (Jordaan p. 30-32). This is consistent with the idea of community engagement or "Web 2.0," as it was called in earlier stages (Reilly 2005, Mayer 2011). This idea suggests that journalists engage with audiences at every stage of the process. Meg Pickard at The Guardian uses the image in figure 1 to illustrate the traditional

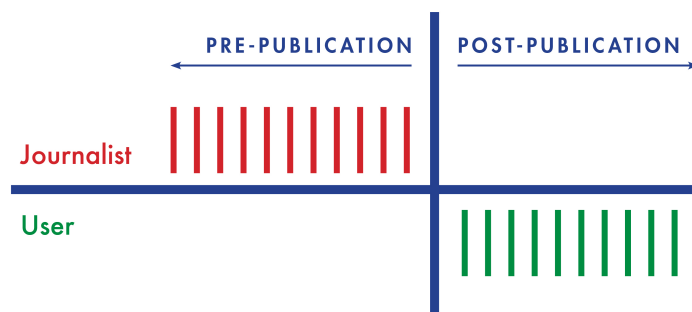
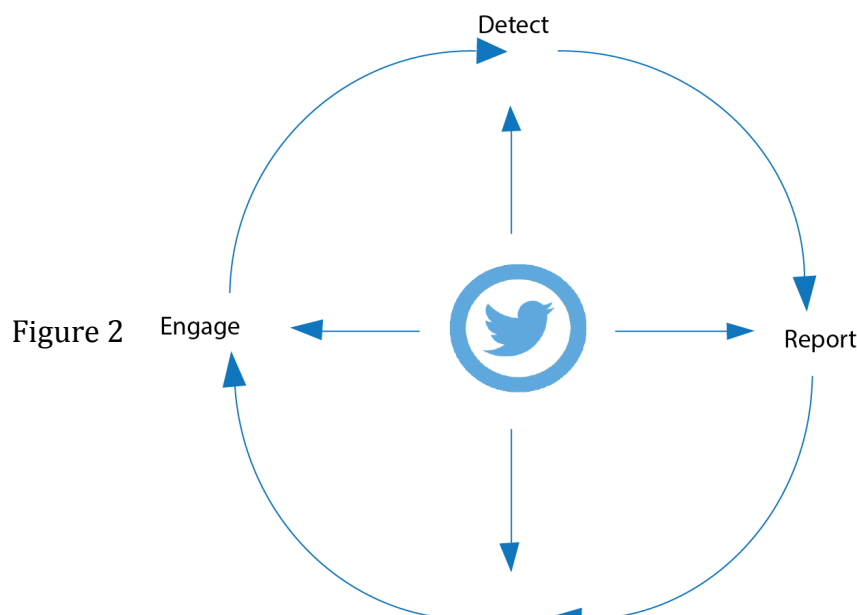


Figure 1 editorial process, in which journalists control content before publication and users interact with it after.

In the idea of "Web 2.0" the audience is no longer passive. Users participate in shaping news and information as well as consume it (O'Reilly 2009). The neat lines in Pickard's illustration are now destroyed, creating a



system that looks more similar to the Twitter news compass, reproduced below from a presentation at the 2014 Online News Association conference. It demonstrates how the stages of news are a continuous process, with the social platform integrated in every phase.

In breaking news situations, for example, reporters share information as they hear it and use social media to crowd source first-person accounts (Hermida 2012, p. 314). The emphasis on speed that accompanies social networking sites sometimes leads to more mistakes or information taken out of context, but it enables users to get an idea what a large number of people are thinking at once, “a collective mind” as O’Reilly (2009) calls it (p. 9). Modern reporters are expected to be constantly online and working to monitor potential stories, promote published work and interact with followers, meaning that they are very likely to be exposed to conversations on social platforms (Hamby p. 22, 55, Carr 2013, Hermida 2012, p. 314). One function of this speed is that social media, particularly Twitter, allows interested parties can react immediately to reward good work or correct bad reporting (Hamby 2013 p. 25). Jonathan Martin of The New York Times described Twitter in Hamby’s study as a “real-time political wire,” where politicians, pundits, donors and campaign staff are constantly weighing in on the news of the day (p. 24). Hamby writes that “thanks to the velocity of the Twitter conversation that now informs national reporters, editors, and television producers” minor gaffes can quickly become the dominant narrative of the day (Hamby 2013 p. 4).

## **Literature review**

### **Media coverage of women politicians**

Quite a few studies, most of which use framing theory, have examined how women politicians are discussed in the media. Gender provides an interesting lens through which to examine framing decisions because the way reporters and editors frame gender influences public opinion of political candidates. Research in communications and political science reinforces the idea that news coverage of women politicians follows certain trends. Women often receive more coverage than men because it is considered out of the ordinary that a woman could fulfill a political leadership role, especially executive positions such as president or governor (Meeks 2012 p. 183, Meeks 2013a p. 522, 530-533, Bradley p. 807). That coverage attaches more gendered descriptors or labels to women than men and women are more often portrayed based on congruence with gendered stereotypes (Meeks 2013a p. 527, 533). Meeks's content analysis of coverage of Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin found that *The New York Times* used gender-specific labels more often than in coverage of men and often relied on the portrayals of Clinton as "cold, calculating and overly ambitious" and Palin as a "concerned "hockey mom"." The study also found that women responded more favorably to women candidates in polls when the candidate was associated with issues or traits that are seen as feminine (p. 533). Bligh et al. (2012) suggests that voters rely on those stereotypes to make decisions about a candidate when they have little political information about them, such as when a newcomer challenges an incumbent (p. 589). Women's gender expression is analyzed through a focus

on their appearance, likeability and personal history, elements that are mentioned far less often for male politicians (Bligh et al. 2012 p. 566, 587, 590, Bradley p. 816). It is worthwhile to note that the audience member's gender and attitudes toward gender roles, as well as the frame of the news coverage, can influence the effect of these differences. For example, Bligh (2012) found that audiences perceived a woman candidate as warm after reading positively framed coverage, while negative coverage often, though not always, led to decreased likeability (579). Coverage often focuses on issues commonly associated with female gender roles, such as health or education, while men are more often associated with economic or military issues (Lawless 2004 p. 482, Meeks 2013a p. 528). This has become especially relevant since Sept. 11, 2011, as the nation's attention shifted to focus more on national security as a top priority. Lawless's (2004) case study of news coverage after Sept. 11 found that support for women candidates decreased between 2001 and 2004 while priority on issues relating to national security increased (p. 480, Bradley p. 810). How well candidates fit within the expected gender role affects public perception, which Eagly and Johnson call the gender congeniality theory (p. 237). In this theory women's likeability ratings decrease when they are associated with desirable leadership traits, most of which are stereotypically associated with men (Lawless 2004 p. 480, 482, Bligh et al. 2012 p. 587).

A lot of research in this area focuses on high-profile women politicians such as Hillary Clinton or Sarah Palin (Bradley, Carlin, Harp, McCarver, Oles-Acevedo, Shepard, Meeks 2012). While this adds understanding to the overall

body of literature, Clinton and Palin have a more public profile than other candidates and could represent unique situations. It is also necessary to look at research that focuses on races with a low profile. Devitt (1998), for example, examined the quantity and nature of coverage in four gubernatorial races that featured men and women candidates (p. 449-451). He found that women candidates were the subjects of more personal coverage and less issue-based coverage than men candidates, while both campaigns were the focus of coverage based on strategy. He found that the incumbent in the sample was the focus of even more personal coverage than the other women candidates (Devitt 1998 p. 453-454).

### ***Impact on voters***

The media's agenda-setting effect has an influence on voters that warrants close and careful study. The characteristics that news coverage chooses to focus on frame the public's idea of how politicians should be evaluated (Shuefele and Tweksbury 2007 p. 11, McCombs 2005 p. 163). The effect of the amount of media coverage seems to be a double-edged sword. In an absence of knowledge about a candidate, such as a newcomer to the political realm or someone who receives little media attention, the public relies on methods such as congruence with gendered stereotypes, to form an opinion (Bligh et al. 2012 p. 589). As candidates receive more media attention more members of the public and potential voters will form an opinion about that candidate. However if that coverage is focused on gendered traits (Meeks 2013a, Lawless 2004, Schlehofer 2011, Meeks 2012, Bradley 2011) audiences will use gendered stereotypes to form those judgments

(Bligh et al. 2012 p. 587, Scheufele p. 11, McCombs 2005 p. 163). When women display leadership traits typically associated with men they are portrayed as incongruent with accepted female gender roles and tend to be judged negatively and disliked by others (Bligh et al. 2012 p. 588).

Research into the intersection of social media, politics and news coverage has led to some interesting conclusions that will inform this study. In his work as a Nieman Fellow, CNN political correspondent Peter Hamby found that the dynamics of political reporting have shifted, as Twitter became a larger part of journalists' lives. He describes how the "pack journalism" phenomenon is amplified in the echo chamber of Washington, where all journalists and influencers follow the same groups or individuals (Hamby p. 56). This "pack journalism" pattern refers to political journalists' tendency to all report the same thing, a tacit "story of the day." The term was used prominently in Timothy Crouse's "The Boys on the Bus" in 1973 and Hamby's "How Twitter Killed The Boys on the Bus" describes how Twitter has sped up the pace of this practice and made substantive campaign reporting more difficult (Hamby 2013 p. 22).

### ***Networked activism***

As social media has become more engrained in everyday life, it also has become more strategic. It is now commonplace for political organizations and campaigns to use social networks to strengthen and share their message, or to use them to circumvent reporters altogether. Grassroots organizations can use social media sites to overcome logistical challenges (Conover et al. 2013). Services such as Thunderclap allow organizations to sign users up for an automatic message to

be sent from hundreds or thousands of accounts at the same time (Bercovici). One example of a networked campaign discussed in Tufekci (2013) is the public pressure on the Susan G. Komen Foundation in 2012. After the organization announced it would withdraw funding from Planned Parenthood, social campaigns posted 1.3 million tweets directed at the group. This volume of posts pushed the issue into the traditional media and Komen leadership reversed its decision within days of it becoming public. (Preston & Harris, 2012, p. 853).

Apart from political causes, this kind of action often is used in support of an issue, a phenomenon known as “slacktivism” or “hacktivism.” The first and most widespread instance of this was Kony 2012, in which an organization called Invisible Children circulated a video about Ugandan warlord Joseph Kony on social media. The video was viewed almost 100 million times on YouTube and generated an estimated 5 million tweets in the week after its release (Pew 2012). The campaign was deemed a success but also generated substantial criticism for simplifying the narrative of the war in Uganda and garnering support through social networks that had no substantial impact on the issue (Nothias p. 124).

Part of the success of movements such as Kony 2012 relates to the sense of self-gratification that comes from showing others you care about an important issue. The combination of strategic marketing actions and humanitarian ideas creates “the celebration of a neoliberal lifestyle of ‘feel good altruism,’” which allows people to receive the satisfaction of contributing to a cause with very little effort (Chouliaraki 2012, Nothias p. 125). This campaign is also an example of how traditional media can be affected by online campaigns. Karlin and Matthew

(2012) describe “mediatization” as a process by which the media organizations both influence and are influenced by the communities in which they are embedded (p. 255). Specifically in this case the traditional media began covering the story of Kony 2012 after it reached “viral” popularity, further raising the profile of the issue and relying on the online conversation to provide the frame of the coverage (Nothias p. 123).

Feminist groups are another example of this concept, using social networks for “networked feminism” or “flyover feminism” (Watson 2013, Aarons-Mele 2012). These groups, primarily made up of women, use social media to express views that are traditionally marginalized, especially when responding to offensive comments by politicians or companies (Watson 2013, Aarons-Mele 2012). Social media can be especially effective in connecting feminists in communities less likely to be politically involved when the majority of the discourse is conservative, hence the term “flyover” in reference to traditionally conservative “flyover states” (Gunther et al. p. 315, Price p. 199). Before and during Wendy Davis’s abortion-rights filibuster in Texas, for example, abortion advocacy groups coordinated support for Davis through social media and gathering supporters to rally at the capitol to support Davis. This effort attracted national media attention and boosted political donations to Davis, a state senator, from people all over the country (Dewey 2013, Fine 2013). In mainstream news coverage, this incident has become part of the narrative surrounding Davis’ political popularity, showing that traditional journalists are also paying attention to the conversation on social media.



## **Method**

Since the research question here primarily has to do with the frame of news articles, this study will combine qualitative rhetorical and textual analysis to compare the texts about women political candidates. Reese (2009) describes content analysis as a way of looking at our interpretation of media frames through texts' cultural and political references and how that fits in the greater context (p. 1). Textual analysis is defined as making conclusions about how a text will be interpreted based on knowledge of the intended audience (McKee p. 3). Rhetorical analysis works toward the same goal by examining the context of a text; the creator's use of symbols, metaphor, and references to the greater culture that influence the audience's interpretation of meaning (Foss p. 4). Using a combined approach, this study can examine the implication of descriptive terminology and language with a gendered meaning to evaluate whether, and to what extent, a gendered bias is present (Van Dijk 2004 p. 112, 117). Specific units of analysis will include the placement of information, the use of metaphor or cultural references and the implications of gender-associative language (Foss p. 12-13, van Dijk 2004 p. 113-115).

This requires a critical approach that acknowledges that the text is interpreted subjectively through the researcher's perspective (McKee 2003 p. 64). As a control or "ideal" text, the study will compare coverage of Wendy Davis' campaign with that of Martha Coakley, a Massachusetts gubernatorial candidate who had no notable social media activity connected to her bid for office (Larsen p. 122, McKee 2003 p. 9-10). Some of the interesting elements of Davis's

campaign relate to an event a few months prior to announcing that she would run for office. In June 2013, Davis received national attention because she filibustered a bill that would restrict availability to abortions in the Texas legislature. The reason this local issue was so prominent in the national media was because pro-choice organizations in Texas coordinated hundreds of volunteers to spread the word physically and online (Fine 2013, Dewey 2013). Her filibuster lasted for 13 hours and went late into the night, when more than 180,000 people around the country were watching the live stream and generated almost 5,600 tweets per minute (Brown 2013). Though the social media activity was supposedly completely independent of Davis' campaign, it cemented her in the national view as a crusader for women's rights, leading to big donations from national organizations (Slater). Davis's personal story became a big part of her campaign; her biography describes her experience as a young, single mother who made her own way to her education at Harvard, but inconsistencies in her story led to criticism and even claims that she lied about her personal background (Slater). By the time Election Day rolled around she was polling well behind Republican Greg Abbott and lost by about 20 points.

The race in Massachusetts was closer in the end but attracted less national attention. She lost to Republican Charlie Baker by only one percent, which has been attributed to an unfocused campaign. Coakley and her opponent had failed campaigns in 2010 that are referred to often in state and national media, one writer referred to Coakley's as "seemingly unlosable" (Seelye, Fehrenthold, Caplan-Bricker). Polls taken before the Democratic primary showed Coakley

ahead in public support and articles about the campaign often describe her efforts to connect with voters at baseball games and door-to-door visits (Fahrenheit). There are no standout issues attached to her campaign and some lengthy articles, such as one that appeared in National Journal in July 2014, mention her personal and political background extensively but don't mention political issues other than some she worked on as attorney general (Caplan-Bricker). Her campaign ads and talking points mention multiple issues, including advocating for victims of domestic abuse, economic recovery and universal education.

It is difficult to find campaigns that replicate the same set of variables, so this study will keep the party of the candidate and nature of the campaign the same to create the most reliable comparison. Both these candidates are Democrats and both are competing in an open election for the governorship, which should eliminate some external variables that would account for differences in coverage based on incumbency (Devitt p. 453-454, Bligh 2012 p. 489). One notable difference is that Davis is a state representative and Coakley is attorney general in Massachusetts. Another potential factor is the political dynamic of the states: Texas is typically Republican, and the current governor is a Republican, while the opposite is true for Massachusetts. This could be a complicating factor but shouldn't cause too many problems because the study is focused on language associated with gender. It will compare the use of specific language, metaphor, symbols and cliché in coverage of both campaigns to make an informed statement about the presence of gender bias in the coverage.

To make this measurement more manageable, the study will involve a purposive sample of news articles based on the time of publication to reduce the overall sample size. Similar to Meeks' (2012) content analysis, this will be done by identifying the most relevant time period of coverage for each candidate (p. 182). The researcher will collect coverage from the month after each candidate announced her campaign, as those stories serve to introduce him or her as candidates for governor and set the precedent for further coverage. For Wendy Davis this is the month following October 3, 2013, and for Martha Coakley the month following Sept. 15 of the same year. An initial search with the terms "name + governor" identified 62 articles meeting these search parameters for Wendy Davis, 58 for Coakley, some of which will be filtered out because they are not relevant. In addition, the study will look at samples of coverage from the month leading up to and the day after the election on November 5, 2014. Using the Factiva database, it will identify coverage from national newspapers (Washington Post and New York Times), and the major metropolitan newspapers with the highest circulation in both states, the Dallas Morning-News and Houston Chronicle in Texas, and the Boston Globe and Boston Herald in Massachusetts. An initial search with these parameters found 353 articles related to Wendy Davis and 631 for Martha Coakley. These outlets are chosen to represent coverage with the highest impact; their coverage reaches a large audience and thus has a greater agenda-setting effect than outlets with a smaller circulations. National outlets such as The New York Times are often cited as the agenda-setters in the media, setting the frame for how other media outlets will approach the issues. The more

local newspapers, on the other hand, have more flexibility to frame coverage based on the priorities of their audience. The analysis will include only articles appearing in the news section, not opinion content or editorials (Devitt p. 451). As the articles are read, a set of codes will be generated to categorize content based on general frame, references to gendered traits, and other qualities related to the gendered frame. More details on the coding system can be found in Appendix A. After working with a portion of that sample I estimate that the researcher will eliminate about 30 percent of the texts because they are irrelevant to the research question. If this number still appears unmanageable, the researcher will cap the sample at 200 articles. For example, articles about Martha Coakley's work as attorney general that do not mention the campaign for governor will be excluded.

This research could inform the work of all journalists, especially reporters, by increasing understanding of the relationship between online communities and traditional reporting. The expected findings are that robust social conversation around a candidate does impact how reporters write about that candidate, especially when the campaign is as organized and popular as the one surrounding Wendy Davis' filibuster. To make other professionals aware of this information the final paper could be submitted to communications journals with a focus on issues related to women, such as *Women's Studies in Communication* or *Women & Language*, or broader publications for communications academics in journalism or political science, such as *Political Communication*, *Mass Communication and Society* or *Journalism Practice*.



## **A. Appendix: Coding scheme**

To make the coding of articles more reliable, the researcher created a codebook using a sample of articles from the database search. Each article will be categorized as “heavily gendered, gendered, and not gendered” in reference to the amount of gender bias in the frame. These labels will be assigned based on the number of gendered references in the text, specifically the percent of paragraphs that include a gendered reference. The researcher will code only text elements of each article, as the Factiva database does not provide images. As outlined in Tankard (2001) this includes headlines, subheds, leads, and concluding statements (p. 101). The analysis will not include data from the content of quotes, as those are likely from a candidate’s point of view and intentionally portraying a certain frame or message. For this purpose, gendered references are defined as terms or phrases that are typically associated with one gender. Gendered issue references could include abortion or women’s rights, for example, because they are almost always associated with women (Bligh et al. 2012 p. 566, 587, 590, Bradley 2011 p. 816, Lawless 2004 p. 482, Meeks 2013a p. 528). References to a candidate’s personal life, appearance or spouse will also be considered gendered. Some of the issues coded as gendered, such as health care or education, are not explicitly connected to women but past research shows that the public associates them with feminine qualities (Bradley 2011, Lawless 2004, Meeks 2012, Bligh 2012). The analysis will include informal notes about the nature of these gendered references, including which candidate they are associated with, as well as information on the author’s gender and the other

subjects in the story. These terms will be catalogued as the list evolves to allow the researcher to note commonly used terms for each candidate as well as provide rationale for what fits this definition of a gendered reference. An example of the codebook is shown in figures 3 and 4.



Figure 3: How data will be recorded

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
Headline	Outlet	Author gender M/F/B	# of paragraphs	Gendered term in lede?	Gendered term in nut graf?	Gendered references in body	% of paragraphs with gendered reference	CODE
Rivals make final forays; Baker, Coakley try to push past 2010 detriments	The Boston Globe	B	31	N	Y ("make inroads"/Baker, "mingling"/Coakley)	9 (issue reference with Baker, none with Coakley; reference to family for both, description of Coakley's clothing and what she ate, not for Baker)	0.29	Gendered
Voters' verdict today on Coakley, Baker; intense race draws to a close	The Boston Globe	M	34	N	N	3 (2 references to Baker's wife, his clothing at campaign event, one to Coakley crying incident)	0.09	Not gendered
No Claytie and the Lady this time	New York Times	M	15	N	N	1 (allusion to dynamics in 1990 race, which was heavily gendered but not extended to current race)	0.06	Not gendered
Entering race for governor with a shorter speech	New York Times	M	17	N	Y (title Ms.)	5 (references to abortion as issue, women's rights, personal background)	0.29	Gendered
U.S. News: Democrat kicks off long-shot bid in Texas	Wall Street Journal	M	14	N	Y (abortion)	8 (references to abortion, Davis and Abbott personal background, education as Davis issue and legal activity as Abbott issue)	0.57	Heavily gendered

Figure 4: Coded themes

Code	Definition
Heavily gendered	A significant number of gender-reliant reference, more than 50 percent of paragraphs include a gendered reference.
Gendered	More than 10 percent of paragraphs include a gendered reference.
Not gendered	No gendered references present or less than 10 percent of paragraphs include a gendered reference.

## Works cited

- Aarons-Mele, M. (2012). The power of a woman with a meme. Retrieved from <http://blogs.hbr.org/2012/11/the-power-of-a-woman-with-a-me/>
- Anastasio, P. A., Rose, K. C., & Chapman, J. (1999). Can the media create public opinion? A Social-Identity approach. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 8(5), 152-155.
- Artwick, C. G. (2013). New sourcing and gender on Twitter. *Journalism*, 0(0), 1-17. doi: 10.1177/1464884913505030
- Barbera, P. (2014). *How social media reduces mass political polarization. Evidence from Germany, Spain, and the U.S.* (PhD), New York University. Retrieved from [j.mp/BarberaPolarization](http://j.mp/BarberaPolarization)
- Bennett, W. Lance. (1996) "An Introduction to journalism norms and representations of politics." *Political Communication* 13: 373-84. Print.
- Bligh, Michelle C., Schlehofer, Michele M., Casad, Bettina J., Gaffney, Amber M. (2012) "Competent enough, but would You vote for her? Gender stereotypes and media influences on perceptions of women politicians." *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 42.3: 560-97. Print.
- Bradley, A. M., & Wicks, R. H. (2011). A gendered blogosphere? Portrayal of Sarah Palin on political blogs during the 2008 presidential campaign. *J&MC Quarterly*, 88(4), 807-820.
- Bruns, A. (2005). *Gatewatching: Collaborative online news production* (S. Jones Ed.). New York, New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc.
- Caplan-Bricker, N. (2014, July 19, 2014). The rehabilitation of Martha Coakley. *National Journal*.
- Carr, D. (2013, September 2, 2013). Campaign journalism in the age of Twitter. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/09/02/business/media/campaign-journalism-in-the-age-of-twitter.html>
- Cillizza, C. (2013). How Twitter has changed politics - and political journalism. Retrieved from <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/the-fix/wp/2013/11/07/how-twitter-has-changed-politics-and-political-journalism/>
- Conover, M. D., Davis, C., Ferrara, E., McKelvey, K., Menczer, F., & Flammini, A. (2013). The geospatial characteristics of a social movement communication network. *PloS*, 8(3), 1-9.

- Dewey, C. (2013). Wendy Davis 'tweetstorm' was planned in advance [A post on the social media effort behind the Wendy Davis filibuster, The Fix political blog on The Washington Post website.].
- Eagly, A. G., & Johnson, B. T. (1990). Gender and leadership style: A Meta-Analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, 108(2), 233-256.
- Fahrenthold, D. A. (2014, October 22, 2014). Democrat Martha Coakley struggles again on Massachusetts campaign trail. *Washington Post*. Retrieved from [http://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/democrat-martha-coakley-struggles-again-on-massachusetts-campaign-trail/2014/10/21/ee298176-58a2-11e4-bd61-346aee66ba29\\_story.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/democrat-martha-coakley-struggles-again-on-massachusetts-campaign-trail/2014/10/21/ee298176-58a2-11e4-bd61-346aee66ba29_story.html)
- Fine, A. (2013, July 10, 2013). The social network behind Wendy Davis. *The American Prospect*.
- Gans, H. (2011). Multiperspectival news revisited: Journalism and representative democracy. *Journalism*, 12(1), 3-13. doi: 10.1177/1464884910385289
- Gleason, S. (2010). Harnessing social media. *American Journalism Review*, 6-7.
- Goffman, Erving. (1974) *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. first ed: Harper Row. Print.
- Gunther, Albert C., Christen, Cindy T., Liebhart, Janice L., Chia, Stella Chih-Yun. "Congenial public, contrary press, and biased estimates of the climate of opinion." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 65 (2001): 295-320. Print.
- Hamby, P. (2013). Did Twitter kill the boys on the bus? Searching for a better way to cover a campaign *Discussion Paper Series* (Vol. #D-80): Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy.
- Hermida, A. (2012). Social journalism: Exploring how social media is shaping journalism. In E. Siapera (Ed.), *Handbook of Global Online Journalism*. In 309 (Series Ed.) (pp. 309-328): Wiley. Retrieved from <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/9781118313978.ch17/summary>.
- Himelboim, I., McCreery, S., & Smith, M. (2013). Birds of a feather tweet together: Integrating network and content analysis to examine cross-ideology exposure on Twitter. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 18, 154-174.
- Jordaan, M. (2013). Poke me, I'm a journalist: The impact of Facebook and Twitter on newsroom routines and cultures at two South African weeklies. *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies*, 34(1), 21-35. doi: 10.1080/02560054.2013.767421

- Karlin, B., & Matthew, R. A. (2012). *Kony 2012* and the mediatization of child soldiers. *Peace Review: A Journal of social justice*, 24, 255-261. doi: 10.1080/10402659.2012.704222
- Lewin, K. (1947). Frontiers in group dynamics: II. Channels of group life, social planning and action research. *Human Relations*, 1. doi: 10.1177/001872674700100201
- Mayer, J. (2011). Engaging communities: Content and conversation. *Nieman Reports*, 65(2), 12-14.
- McCombs, Maxwell. (2005) "Ch. 9: The agenda-setting function of the press." From Overholser & Jameison (Eds). *The Press*. Oxford University Press.
- McKee, A. (2003). What is textual analysis? *Textual analysis* (pp. 1-32). London.
- Meeks, L. (2012). Is she "man enough?" Women candidates, executive political offices, and news coverage. *Journal of Communication*, 62, 175-193. doi: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.2011.01621.x
- Meeks, L. (2013). All the gender that's fit to print: How The New York Times covered Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin in 2008. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 90(3), 520-539. doi: 10.1177/1077699013493791
- Nothias, T. (2013). 'It's struck a chord we have never managed to strike': Frames, perspectives and remediation strategies in the international news coverage of Kony 2012. *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies*, 34(1), 123-129.
- O'Reilly, T., & Battelle, J. (2009). *Web squared: Web 2.0 five years on*. Paper presented at the Web 2.0 Summit, San Francisco, CA. [http://assets.en.oreilly.com/1/event/28/web2009\\_websquared-whitepaper.pdf](http://assets.en.oreilly.com/1/event/28/web2009_websquared-whitepaper.pdf)
- Parmalee, J. H. (2013). Political journalists and Twitter: Influences on norms and practices. *Journal of Media Practice*, 14(4), 291-305.
- Price, V. (1989). Social identification and public opinion: Effects of communicating group conflict. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 53(2), 197-224.
- Rainie, L. (2012). Social Media and Voting. In L. Rainie (Ed.), *Pew Internet & American Life Project*. Washington, D.C.: Pew Research Center.
- Reese, S. "Finding frames in a web of culture: The case of the War on Terror," in P. D'Angelo and J. Kuypers (eds.) *Doing News Framing Analysis: Empirical, Theoretical, and Normative Perspectives* (New York: Routledge, 2009)

- Scheufele, D. A., & Tewksbury, D. (2007). Framing, agenda setting, and priming: The evolution of three media effects models. *Journal of Communication*, 57, 9-20. doi: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00326.x
- Schuefele, D. A. (1999). Framing as a theory of media effects. *Journal of Communication*, 49(1), 103-122.
- Seelye, K. Q. (2014, June 13, 2014). Massachusetts Democrat Wins Over Voters; Her Party Is a Different Story. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from [http://www.nytimes.com/2014/06/14/us/massachusetts-democrat-wins-over-voters-her-party-is-a-different-story.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2014/06/14/us/massachusetts-democrat-wins-over-voters-her-party-is-a-different-story.html?_r=0)
- Shoemaker, P. J., Eichholz, M., Kim, E., & Wrigley, B. (2001). Individual and routine forces in gatekeeping. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 78(2), 233-246. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com/docview/216930781?accountid=14576>
- Slater, W. (2014, February 25, 2014). Wendy Davis gets big donations from abortion rights backers. *The Dallas Morning News*. Retrieved from <http://www.dallasnews.com/news/politics/state-politics/elections/20140225-wendy-davis-gets-big-donations-from-abortion-rights-backers.ece>
- Steinfeld, C., Ellison, N. B., & Lampe, C. (2008). Social capital, self-esteem, and use of online social network sites: A longitudinal analysis. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, 29, 434-445.
- Stern, Michael J., and Don A. Dillman. (2006) "Community participation, social ties, and use of the Internet." *City & Community* 5.4: 409-24. Print.
- Tankard, J. W. (2001). The Empirical Approach to the Study of Media Framing. In S. D. Reese, O. H. Gandy & A. E. Grant (Eds.), *Framing Public Life: Perspectives on media and our understanding of the social world* (pp. 95-106). Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associated.
- Dijk, T. A. v. (2004). Media contents: The interdisciplinary study of news as discourse A *handbook of qualitative methodologies* (pp. 108-120).
- Watson, T. (2013). Networked woman as a rising force, online and off. Retrieved from <http://techpresident.com/news/23135/networked-women-rising-political-force-online-off>

