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She Persisted…and So Did He. Gendered Source Use During the Trump Access Hollywood Scandal

After years of recorded misogyny, the release of an Access Hollywood tape on 7 October 2016 revealed Trump stating he grabs women by their genitals without their permission. This study examines the gatekeeping process of traditional and online media covering this issue, focusing specifically on source use. A content analysis (N = 847) of television, newspaper, and online media shows that television and conservative sources have the highest gender disparity in source use; whereas online media focus the most on female perspectives. Results also show that many Republicans paid lip service to Trump's actions, but overall defended him—dismissing the severity of sexual violence while maintaining hegemony. Male sources had a positive relationship with defending Trump and a negative relationship with defending survivors. Female sources had a positive relationship with defending survivors only. Conservative and television sources defended Trump more than survivors; liberal, online, and newspaper sources defended survivors more than Trump. Overall, women are still marginalised within the political process by both traditional news media and politicians.

Keywords: *Donald Trump; Gatekeeping; Gender; Hegemony; Sexual misconduct; Source use*

Introduction

"You are fascinated with sex …" retorted Republican Newt Gingrich (Cummings 2016, para. 9), in an attempt to discredit then Fox News host Megyn Kelly's questioning about Donald Trump as a potential sexual predator. Two weeks after the release of the Access Hollywood tape, in which Donald Trump bragged about grabbing women by their genitals without permission (Bullock 2016), Gingrich appeared on Kelly's nightly broadcast amidst further backlash from several women who had come forward to accuse Trump of sexual misconduct (Jamieson, Jeffery, and Puglise 2016). His gendered vitriol towards Kelly, which was praised by some conservatives including Trump himself (Cummings 2016), reflects hostility towards women that inevitably plays out within news coverage. Particularly, since source use continues to be a fundamental part of journalism in several countries, including the United States (Esser and Umbricht 2014; Hallin and Mancini 2004). Kelly was not addressing sex but rather sexual misconduct; nevertheless, Gingrich forcefully shifted the focus of the segment away from Trump onto someone not involved in the controversy.

Although the tape did receive negative news attention, Trump and his supporters dominated coverage and repetitiously were able to downplay it—calling it merely "locker room talk" (New York Times 2016). In what he labelled his apology video, Trump said, "This is nothing more than a distraction from the important issues we're facing today" (Brown 2016, para. 4). Of course, when politicians are caught in controversies they are expected to de-emphasise the situation; yet, the explicit language that Trump used demonstrates an ability to easily dismiss issues specifically involving women, and a confidence in his hegemonic status. Decades of research repeatedly finds that women are marginalised within the political process and by extension politicians undervalue women-focused issues (Freedman and Fico 2005; Freedman, Fico, and Durisin 2010). Not surprisingly, women's voices in news are also overlooked (Armstrong 2004; Armstrong, Boyle, and McLeod 2012; Zoch and VanSlyke Turk 1998). Concentrating on political news coverage, female sources are given less prominence and time as their male counterparts (Zeldes and Fico 2005, 2010).

Despite naming April 2017 as sexual assault awareness month (Revesz 2017), Trump's disregard of sexual violence, his threat to overturn Roe v. Wade (Mangan 2016), his public mistreatment of women that spans over 30 years of public life (Cohen 2017), and the several women who have accused him of sexual misconduct (Jamieson, Jeffery, and Puglise 2016), call into question the status of women in the United States. It also raises concern about who else is maintaining a hegemonic status quo alongside Trump. Indeed, Trump did not come into power alone, and when the Access Hollywood tape was released, he was not the only one to defend his actions. Trump's prominent news surrogates, who are women and men, stood by him (Berenson 2016). Alongside him were also his political allies like Gingrich (Cummings 2016) and family members (Kimble and Mizoguchi 2016). Since several US news organisations strive for objectivity via the premise of telling more than one side of a story (Hallin and Mancini 2004), sources play an important role in how issues in news coverage are shaped and remembered by audiences. When social justice issues become politicised, political sources can and do pivot from discussing the focused problem to what suits their own agenda.

This study, therefore, utilises gatekeeping theory (Shoemaker and Vos 2009) and, specifically, journalists' source use as a social institutional force (Shoemaker and Reese 2014) in order to examine the news coverage of Trump's sexual misconduct and accused misconduct. The social system (Shoemaker and Reese 2014; Shoemaker and Vos 2009), which concentrates on driving forces in society such as hegemony, is also considered. In a content analysis of cable television stations (CNN, Fox, and MSBC), national newspapers (USA Today, The New York Times, and The Washington Post), and the most shared online articles, this study discusses how men continue to dominate political news coverage. It also

analyses how the gender of the source relates to whether or not that source appears in the coverage to defend Trump or survivors of sexual violence (including Trump's accusers).

Gatekeeping Theory
German-American psychologist Kurt Lewin (1947) first conceived of gatekeeping as a theory via the premise that food is provided a family through a gatekeeper. This gatekeeper uses different "channels" to acquire necessary provisions and is influenced by external and internal forces such as availability, money, location, and the family's preferences (Lewin 1947). David Manning White (1950) adapted gatekeeping to the news process by studying a middle-aged wire editor working at mid-western newspaper name "Mr. Gates," in order to identify how potential news stories were selected or rejected. Mr. Gates used both systematic selection such as the story had already been covered, to more objective reasoning like the story was too boring (White 1950).

After several decades of gatekeeping research, Pamela Shoemaker and Stephen Reese formally identified different forces that potentially influence news selection. Two models were developed: the levels of gatekeeping by Shoemaker (1991) and then Shoemaker and Vos (2009), and the hierarchical model of influences by Shoemaker and Reese (1996; 2014). Each model currently uses the same classification of five major forces that can influence gatekeeping: individual, routine, organisational, social-institutional, and social system forces. This study focuses on the social institutional and social system levels.

Social Institutional Level
Beyond the organisation, routines, or individual, news takes place within greater systems of power and norms. Social institutional forces include markets, audiences, advertisers, financial markets, sources, public relations, governments, interest groups, and other media (Shoemaker 1991; Shoemaker and Vos 2009). Through the development of new media channels, the social institutional level is considered more fluid than once identified (Shoemaker and Reese 2014). Nevertheless, sources still remain an integral and influential part of both the news process and output.

Sources
Sources are included as a social institutional force when considering how much power they have to shape news messages (Shoemaker and Reese 2014). How journalists access their source is considered a routine, but the information sources give or not give, their availability to journalists, and their own personal interests, are included as a social institutional force (Shoemaker and Vos 2009). Within this context, sources can be used to show the audience differing sides to a debate. This method can also be flawed as oftentimes coverage does not focus on all sides equally (Shoemaker and Reese 2014).

Journalists continue to heavily rely on sources (Esser and Umbricht 2014) and the majority of those sources are from the government (Bennett 2011). Official sources are relied upon because they are perceived to be credible and important (Shoemaker and Reese 2014). Consequently, politicians have the opportunity to shift public debate, or at least repeatedly insert their own narrative when used as a source. For example, when asked why catchphrases like "axis of evil" and "war on terror" were repeatedly used in news coverage during the Bush administration, journalists answered that they weren't promoting those catchphrases but merely quoting government sources (Lewis and Reese 2009). Hermida, Lewis, and Zamith (2014) point out that since journalists are mandated to evaluate the credibility of their sources, they rely on elites or government sources for security. There are exceptions to this, such as during the Arab Spring Uprising when social media like Twitter did provide a variety of sources; thus, decreasing the social institutional level's influence on the gatekeeping process (Hermida et al. 2014).

Journalists' overreliance on government sources also overshadows social justice issues, creating more focus on politics (Bogert 2010). This was particularly evident in the aftermath of Access Hollywood tape, when Trump immediately shifted the story from himself to Bill Clinton's accused sexual misconduct (Brown 2016). This was a successful political move that elicited most news outlets to include Bill Clinton in their coverage of Trump's sexual misconduct and accused misconduct (Blumell 2017) —even if it was only to quote Trump. Public dialogue on the prevalence of sexual violence was therefore obscured by debate on whether or not Trump was better or worse than Bill Clinton (who wasn't a political candidate). Of course, it can be argued that any story involving a political candidate will inevitably become political; however, in this case the majority of the attention was not on those affected or potentially affected by Trump's actions, but rather on the politics of a presidential race. In other words, Trump and his supporters were able to steer the conversation away from the social justice issue into labelling the incident a "distraction" or merely "locker room talk" (New York Times 2016).

Gendering Sources

As journalism developed in the 20th Century, male sources were almost exclusively used in news coverage, especially hard news (Franks 2013; Woodruff 1997). Entering the 21st Century, men were still predominant in news coverage, particularly as professional sources (Liebler and Smith 1997). Zoch and VanSlyke Turk (1998) found male reporters were less likely to use female sources (19% overall), but that female reporters still underused women as sources (27% overall). They conclude that news is almost exclusively "controlled" by men and by extension women are portrayed as unimportant, or at least not capable of legitimately contributing to the public sphere (Zoch and VanSlyke Turk 1998, 771). This was demonstrated in the coverage by the majority of sources being male, male sources being given more prominence within the story, repeated more often, and occupying more space for in-depth quotes (Zoch and VanSlyke Turk 1998). Armstrong's (2004) analysis of newspapers found that men's stories and opinions eclipsed that of women's—concluding that, "by portraying women with a lower public status, newspapers are reinforcing traditional values that exclude and demean the value of women in society" (148).

The underrepresentation of female sources is also found in different journalism beats in various countries, such as U.S. and Canadian business magazines in the 90s (McShane 1995) and again in the 2010s (representing only 15% of sources, Grandy 2014). In Uganda, though just over half of farmers are women, female sources were used far less for the topic of climate change (Semujju 2015). In India, coverage of the Nirbaya gang rape was exploitive, and only included women as periphery sources (Narayana 2015). Patterns of underusing women as sources, particularly as experts, were also recorded in TV news coverage in Belgium (De Swert and Hooghe 2010). Ross' (2007) analysis of British regional newspapers also confirmed that men have an authoritative voice both within the newsroom and in news coverage. Overall, men were twice more likely to be a source than women (Ross 2007).

Through digital platforms like Twitter, even though women average more users and time spent on social media than men, both male and female U.S. journalists highlight male sources more predominantly than female sources (Artwick 2014). More positively, greater diversity is found in @mentions and shares (Artwick 2014). Likewise, a multi-country analysis of online news magazines found that although the low frequency of female storytelling mirrored that of traditional news media, the tone and emphasis of those stories paralleled the content that was male driven (Yun, Ancu, Ramoutar, and Kaid 2007). Building off somewhat positive previous findings in regards to source use in online sources, this study predicts:

H1: Online media will feature more female sources than television or print media.

Gendering Political News Coverage

Beyond the overall lack of female sources in news coverage, in politics this imbalance is heightened. Zeldes and Fico studied race and gender in news coverage during the first presidential elections of the 21st Century. In 2000, they found 79% of network TV reporters were men, and that female reporters continued the tradition of over-representing male sources but did include more female and non-white sources (Zeldes and Fico 2005). In 2004, results show that not only were the majority of sources men, men were given four times the length of time as women (Zeldes and Fico 2010). In 2008, women were only used as a source an average of 26.5% of the time (Zeldes, Fico, and Diddi 2012).

Freedman and Fico's (2005) analysis of local news coverage of various 2002 state races found that 75% of coverage included men only expert and non-expert sources. The same team looked at local coverage of the 2006 Senate races and found women only or mixed sources made up 24% of coverage (Freedman et al. 2010). Moreover, female sources appeared later in the story (Freedman et al. 2010). They conclude that women were being excluded from the political process both as readers and contributors (Freedman and Fico 2005; Freedman et al. 2010).

Despite the palpable gender imbalance in source use for news coverage of political races, 2016 offered a couple of key differences that perhaps can procure different results. Firstly, Hillary Clinton was the official Democratic presidential candidate. Secondly, this study focuses on Trump's sexual misconduct and accused misconduct that directly involves a man in power targeting women and allegedly targeting women (Cohen 2017). Therefore, the first research question asks how the gender of sources relates to how they defended Trump or survivors:

RQ1: To what extent do male and female sources defend Trump or survivors?

Understanding that women in general are underutilized as sources in political news coverage, this study also sought to understand if the partisanship of the sampled media resulted in differing levels of gendered source use:

RQ2a: How do self-identified partisan media use male and female sources within their coverage?

Since Trump was a Republican candidate, this study also sought to understand if partisan media include Trump or survivor defence tactics differently?

RQ2b: To what extend do self-identified partisan media defend Trump or survivors?

Social System Level

The pervasiveness of elite sources within traditional news coverage and the neglect of female sources is underscored by hegemony (Carpentier and Cammaerts 2006); part of the fifth and final level of gatekeeping (Shoemaker and Vos 2009). Social systems encapsulate societies at broad macro levels, concentrating on relationship structures of people and the institutions they create (Shoemaker and Reese 2014). Describing the forces that influence how news is created, Shoemaker and Reese (2014) discuss Gramsci's original concept of hegemony, stating it is "the means by which the ruling order maintains its dominance" (81). Hegemony subsequently includes a general consensus of what is or should be. Hegemony comprises of layered and sometimes complicated societal ques, norms, and even taboos. For this study myths that contribute to rape culture and sexism (hostile and benevolent) are relevant.

Lull (1995), when examining the works of Stuart Hall (1977), describes how hegemony "requires renewal and modification through the assertion and reassertion of power" (35). This reassertion of power has long been evident in cases of physical and sexual violence against women. Importantly, although violence against women is common (UN Women 2017), it is not often reported or prosecuted (RAINN 2017.)—a phenomenon explained through accepted rape myths. Formalized as the *Rape Myth Acceptance Scale* (Payne, Lonsway, and Fitzgerald 1999), rape myths include blaming victims by implying

they deserved it, secretly wanted it, or are just lying about the event. Rape myths also downplay rape as not being serious because the perpetrator didn't mean to do it (Payne et al. 1999). All of these myths are commonly used as justifications for sexual violence by those fighting to maintain the status quo—rape is rare and only happens to "bad" women by sexual deviants. Moreover, rape myths often emerge within traditional news coverage of sexual violence (Jordan, 2012; Worthington, 2008).

Related to rape myth acceptance is hostile and benevolent sexism. Glick and Fiske (1996) explain that overt negativity towards women, even as serious as sexual and physical violence, is *hostile* sexism. On the other hand, *benevolent* sexism promotes positive attitudes towards women, but within strict gender definitions that classify women as weak and inferior to men (Glick and Fiske 1996). While hostile and benevolent sexism lead to different physical and social outputs, benevolent sexism can rationalise hostile sexism (Glick and Fiske 1996). For instance, rape myth acceptance is observed by benevolent sexists (Chapleau, Oswald, and Russell 2007).

Like rape myth acceptance, benevolent sexism has also been observed with in news coverage in the United States. In particular, by placing women in supporting roles to men (Armstrong et al. 2012). For instance, a feature in *The Washington Post* described the wife of Vice President Mike Pence, Karen Pence, as his silent yet stoic "prayer warrior" who is active in the administration but careful not to give any opinions that would influence policy making decisions (Parker 2017, para. 10). The same article detailed Mike Pence's policy to never dine with women only unless it is his wife, and to not go to alcoholic events without her (Parker 2017). On the surface this may seem like efforts to be a devoted husband, but considering his government positions involve official meetings that require eating and socialising, Pence is also indicating that women do not have the same professional access to him as men. This he also evidenced when he tweeted a picture of a healthcare meeting on maternity care with the Freedom Caucus that involved an entire room of white men only (Horton 2017).

Trump's Hostile and Benevolent Sexism towards Women

Alongside Pence's displayed benevolent sexism, Trump has exhibited both hostile and benevolent sexism throughout his tenure in public life, with little to no consequences. In particular, Trump uses hostile or aggressive language towards women. To *The New York Times* reporter Gail Collins, Trump sent a copy of her column to her with her picture circled and the caption, "The Face of a Dog!" (Collins 2011, para. 9). Similarly, he tweeted about Arianna Huffington's physical appearance, "…she is a dog who wrongfully comments on me" (Lusher 2016, para. 5). To former Republican running mate Carly Fiorina he stated, "Look at that face!" (Estepa 2015, para. 2). He famously has an ongoing feud with actor Rosie O'Donnell, at times calling her fat, slob, loser, dumb, ugly, crude, and more (Zaru 2016). He's also tweeted that sexual assault in the military was simply a bi-product of men and women working together (Cohen 2017). Another example that is not necessarily hostile but inappropriate is his comment on his daughter during a television interview with the View, "If Ivanka weren't my daughter, perhaps I'd be dating her" (Withnall 2016, para. 16).

In terms of benevolent sexism, he's been reported to tell women who work for him to "dress like women" (O'Connor 2017, para. 3). He has also stated that it is "dangerous" for a wife to work outside the home and about his former wife Marla Maples' domesticity he stated, "…when I come home and dinner's not ready, I go through the roof" (Zorthian 2016, para. 5). He also called lawyer Elizabeth Beck "disgusting" for breastfeeding in public (Cohen 2017).

Although publicly known, Trump's past record with women was not heavily focused on during the presidential campaign until 7 October 2016, when a leaked Access Hollywood tape revealed a conversation between Trump and then reporter Billy Bush (Bullock 2016). In

it, Trump made several hostile statements like, "I moved on her like a bitch" (para. 9), "Just kiss. I don't even wait. And when you're a star, they let you do it. You can do anything" (para. 17), and "Grab'em by the pussy. You can do anything" (para. 19). After the tape release, several women came forward to accuse Trump of different forms of sexual misconduct (Jamieson et al. 2016). Trump's defence utilised rape myths by calling the women liars and threatening to file lawsuits against them (Jamieson et al. 2016).

Through his consistent hostile and benevolent sexism, Trump contributes to a social hierarchy that actively subordinates women (Anderson and Cermele 2014). Certainly, as U.S. president, he not only has the power to attempt to undermine women, but also exclude them from the political process, which he has done by naming the fewest women to his cabinet since Reagan (Lee 2017). Furthermore, in his first 100 days in office, Trump overwhelmingly met with men over women (Restuccia and Quigley 2017). The fallout to women's status and rights by Trump is ongoing. Examples vary from stating *Time* named him person instead of man of the year to be "politically correct"—as if only men could be worthy of the title (Korte 2016) to consistently stating he supports restricting women's reproductive rights (Chuck and Silva 2017). Yet, it is important to note that this has not detracted women like Scottie Nell Hughes, Omarosa Manigault, Kayleigh McEnany, Katrina Pierson, Kellyanne Conway, Betsy McCaughey, Sarah Huckabee Sanders, Melania Trump, Ivanka Trump, Stacy Washington, Sarah Palin, Jan Brewer, and Phyllis Schlafly to name several (Berenson 2016), from publicly displaying unwavering devotion to him. Their steadfastness should not be overlooked. Simply stated, Trump is not alone in defending hegemony and his role in it.

Nonetheless, the Access Hollywood tape release was also a catalyst for survivors of sexual violence to come forward, including women who accused Trump of sexual misconduct (Jamieson et al., 2016). Notably, when writer Kelly Oxford asked for women to share their stories on Twitter, she received over 1 million tweets in less than a week (Domonoske 2016). Some news coverage included survivors' perspectives and individuals who advocate to end the prevalence of sexual violence. Consequently, this study also seeks to understand who was featured in news coverage defending Trump or survivors:
RQ3: Which sources in the news coverage defended Trump, admonished Trump, or defended survivors in regards to Trump's sexual misconduct and accused misconduct?

Immediately after the tape release, most Republicans were quick to rebuke Trump's actions (Blake 2016); however, once the election was under threat, Republicans shifted to downplaying the event for political purposes:
H2: Republicans will defend Trump more than admonish him for his sexual misconduct and accused misconduct.

Method

This study utilised a quantitative content analysis (Neuendorf 2016; Riffe, Lacy, and Fico 2014) to answer its research questions and hypotheses. Relevance sampling (Krippendorff 2012) was used to ensure equivalency between media types. National newspaper circulations were used to pick USA Today, The New York Times, and The Washington Post (Cision 2016). Ratings showed Fox News Channel, MSNBC, and CNN were the most watched cable news networks (Medialife 2017). Finally, using the online analytics tool Buzzsumo, the 200 most shared articles on the subject were sampled. When examining the list of most shared articles, four overlapped with the traditional media sample, and so were removed from the sample (N = 196). The sampling period ranged from the day the Access Hollywood tape was released (7 October 2016) until two weeks after Summer Zervos filed a defamation lawsuit against Trump (2 February 2017), or approximately four months. This time-frame was chosen because it represents the period of when Trump's sexual misconduct and accused misconduct (previous allegations did not generate much attention) first received major coverage to the time when an accuser filed a formal legal action against Trump. It also

includes the lead-up to the 2016 presidential election to understand how the tape could have possibly been included in the coverage. Newspaper articles and television tran-scripts were collected through searching for different combinations of the following key-words in LexisNexis: Trump, sexual assault, Access Hollywood, and sexual (to include misconduct and harassment). The same keywords were also used to identify the top-circu-lated online articles. Once duplicate and non-relevant coding units were eliminated, a total of 847 articles and transcripts were left to code. CNN had a much greater sample of results (N = 520) than the other sources, and therefore every second article was coded.

Code Development

A codebook was developed that included relevant variables and categories (Riffe, Lacy, and Fico [2014]). For example, "defend Trump" was a dichotomous variable with a category to nominally identify specific groups of sources that defended Trump. The same was done for an "admonish Trump" variable, and a "defend survivors" variable (also includes Trump accusers). Defend in this study is defined as "speak or write in favour of a person; attempt to justify" (oxforddictionaries.com). Accordingly, any source who attempted to speak positively of Trump's character or justify his actions was counted for the defend Trump variable. The same was done for any source who spoke positively about survivors. Admonish is defined as "to express warning or disapproval" (merriam-webster.com). This variable was counted if any source directly stated that Trump's actions or words were not acceptable.

Other dichotomous variables developed for the study included a "dismissal" variable, which means a source discussed Trump's sexual misconduct and accused misconduct as not being significant. For example, labelling Trump's comments as "locker room talk" or simply how men speak. A "figurative scenario" variable counted the use of potentially hypothetical language such as "alleged" or if the source specifically stated that Trump's conduct was not proven as fact. Finally, a "survivor perspective" variable was coded for if the source introduced the perspective of a survivor either through first- or third-person accounts.

The gender of sources was also recorded as ratio variables—each source counted one time per coding unit. The sources throughout this coverage were specifically named or identified as either "spokesman" or "spokeswoman" and therefore it was not necessary to create a third category of unidentified sources. In total, there were only five incidences of some version of the term "sources say", which is minimal. These five incidences were not coded as they also were used by the sources themselves to cite others instead of the news organisation (only found on CNN and Fox News). To understand the gender breakdown of sources for Trump supporters, Republicans, and Democrats, word searches were made within each selected source using the search terms Trump supporter, Trump surrogate, (R), (D), Republican, and Democrat. Each contributor was then recorded once and added to a running tally for each category. The overall proportion was then calculated as a percentage in the results.

An exploratory factor analysis was then calculated for the appropriate variables. Results show a Kaiser–Meyer–Olkin of 0.60 and a significant Bartlett's test of sphericity ($\chi^2(15) = 616.39$, $p < 0.001$). Factor loadings were grouped together according to 0.40 or higher levels (see Table 1). Other variables were also loaded but not included in this study. The related variables were combined into two indices: Trump defence tactics and survivor defence tactics.

Intercoder Reliability

Two coders were used—one familiar with the study and one who wasn't. Once the codebook was developed, both coders were trained. 100 units were then coded that consisted of articles and transcripts. To calculate reliability, RECal2 (dfreelon.org) was used. The first round of coding produced satisfactory reliability for "defend Trump" (Pi = .85), "survivors' perspectives" (Pi = .83), "figurative language" (Pi = 1.0), and other identifying variables (Pi

≤ .80). After additional discussion and clarification, a second round of coding resulted in satisfactory reliability for "admonish Trump" (Pi = .80) and "defend survivor" (Pi = .83). A third round of coding produced reliability for the "dismiss" variable (Pi = .83) and the other variables (≤ .77).

Results

The sample consisted of 847 coding units from CNN (260), *The New York Times* (114), *The Washington Post* (99), MSNBC (79), Fox (55), *USA Today* (44) and online articles (196). H1 predicted that online media will feature more female sources than television or print media. A one-way MANOVA was calculated between media types and female and male sources, with significant results, $F(4, 1686) = 123.94$, $p < .001$; Wilk's $\Lambda = .60$, partial $\eta^2 = .23$. Examining the test of between-subjects effects showed that the media types have significant effects for both female sources, $F(2, 361.43) = 50.71$, $p < .001$; partial $\eta^2 = .11$, and male sources, $F(2, 3004.52) = 261.98$, $p < .001$; partial $\eta^2 = .38$. Post hoc comparisons using the Bonferroni test show that television media use male sources significantly more than newspaper and online media (see Table 2). Similarly, television media use female sources significantly less than newspaper and online media. Newspapers used male sources significantly more than online media, but there was no significance for female sources between the two media. Table 2 also shows results for individual news organisations, which when calculated produced the same results as when combined, except for CNN who used male sources less than MSNBC but still more than newspapers and online sources. Since online sources did use women more than the other types of media, but only significantly more than television, H1 is partially supported.

In order to answer RQ1, which asked how male and female sources defended Trump and/or survivors, multiple linear regressions were run using the indices. Firstly, the Trump defence tactics index showed a significant beta coefficient for male sources ($\beta = .30$, $t = 8.60$, $p < .001$), $F(2, 844) = 44.25$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .10$, but not female sources ($\beta = .02$, $t = .60$, $p > .05$). Next, the survivor defence tactics index was run with a significantly positive beta coefficient for female sources ($\beta = .39$, $t = 11.42$, $p < .001$), and a significantly negative beta coefficient for male sources ($\beta = -.19$, $t = -5.55$, $p < .001$), $F(2, 844) = 66.66$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .14$. Indicating that not only did female sources defend survivors more than male sources, there was a negative relationship with male sources and defending survivors. Conversely, male sources defended Trump significantly, while female sources did not.

RQ2a sought to understand gendered source use of partisan media. A one-way MANOVA was calculated between media partisanship and female and male sources, with significant results, $F(4, 1686) = 6.09$, $p < .001$; Wilk's $\Lambda = .97$, partial $\eta^2 = .02$. Examining the test of between-subjects effects showed that media partisanship only had significant effects for female sources, $F(2, 73.83) = 9.45$, $p < .001$; partial $\eta^2 = .02$. Post hoc comparisons using the Bonferroni test showed that indeed conservative media used female sources significantly less than liberal and moderate media. There was no significance between liberal and moderate media (See Table 2).

Observing the differences of gendered source use between media types and partisanship, further calculations were made to calculate the differences between Trump and survivor defence tactics indices (RQ2b). A one-way MANOVA was calculated with significant results, $F(4, 1686) = 35.32$, $p < .001$; Wilk's $\Lambda = .85$, partial $\eta^2 = .08$. Tests between subjects revealed significance for Trump defence, $F(2, 844) = 11,46$, $p < .001$; partial $\eta^2 = .03$, and survivor defence, $F(2, 844) = 62.53$, $p < .001$; partial $\eta^2 = .13$. Bonferroni post hoc comparisons indicate significantly higher Trump defence levels for conservative media than moderate and liberal media, with no difference between liberal and moderate media (see Table 3). All three media significantly differ from each other in terms of

survivor defence, with liberal media having the highest levels and conservative sources having the lowest.

Wanting to understand if the differences of partisanship and the indices would also be significant with media types, the same procedure was conducted, again with significance, $F(4, 1686) = 31.02$, $p < .001$; Wilk's $\Lambda = .87$, partial $\eta^2 = .07$. Tests between-subjects effects indicated that media types had significant effects for Trump defence, $F(2, 844) = 55.38$, $p < .001$; partial $\eta^2 = .12$, and survivor defence, $F(2, 844) = 9.18$, $p < .001$; partial $\eta^2 = .02$. Looking at the Bonferroni post hoc comparisons reveal that television media had significantly higher levels of Trump defence than newspapers and online media (see Table 3). Newspapers and online media were not significantly different. On the other hand, online media had much higher levels of survivor defence than television and newspapers. There was no difference between newspapers and television. Table 3 also breaks down each news organisation, which when calculated individually showed consistent results as when combined. The exception being significantly higher levels of survivor defence for MSNBC over Fox News and CNN. Fox also news had significantly higher levels of Trump defence than CNN or MSNBC.

The next research question asked which type of sources defended Trump, admonished Trump, and/or defended survivors (RQ3). Table 4 shows source type and their connection to the three categories. The three most used sources for defending Trump in the coverage was firstly Trump himself (19.5%), Trump supporters (18.7%), and Republican politicians (18.1%). Of the Trump supporters, 52% were unique male contributors, while 48% were female. For Republican sources, 88% were male, while 12% were female. A more gender balanced contribution of Trump supporters indicates that news coverage was beneficial to the Trump campaign's strategy of showing Trump did not lose the female vote over the incident. On the other hand, members of civil society were used most to admonish Trump (31.3%) and defend survivors (20.4%). Democratic politicians were used to admonish Trump (16.1%), but much less to defend survivors (4.3%). Proportionately, 74% of Democrat sources were male and 26% were female. A highly disproportionate gender ratio for political sources is indicative of the U.S. federal government—women only occupy about 5% of Republican seats and 15% of Democratic seats in the Congress, U.S. Senate, and U.S. House (Rutgers 2017). Overall, the results show that Trump was featured much more as a source to defend himself than survivors as sources to either admonish Trump or defend themselves.

H2 predicted that Republicans overall will defend Trump in relation to his sexual misconduct and accused misconduct more than admonish him. To test this, two time series were first calculated during the time period to illustrate how many coded units (articles or transcripts) included at least one Republican either defending or admonishing Trump. Figure 1 shows that for the first two days after the tape release, Republicans admonished Trump more than defended him, but this changed for the remainder of the time period. Moreover, the mean "defend Trump" score ($M = 8.59$, $SD = 5.83$) is higher than the "admonish Trump" ($M = 5.59$, $SD = 8.40$) mean score. Defend Trump scores were normally distributed as indicated by a Shapiro-Wilk's test ($p > .05$). A one-sample t-test shows a significantly higher mean by 3.0, 95% CI [1.27 to 9.91], $t(16) = 2.74$, $p \leq .01$ when the defend trump score was compared against the admonish trump score. Therefore, H2 is supported.

Discussion

This study sought to understand the gatekeeping of sources during and after the release of the Access Hollywood tape which showed Donald Trump talking about how he treated women, including, "Grab'em by the pussy. You can do anything" (Bullock 2016, para. 19). It also identified source type and who defended Trump, admonished Trump, or defended survivors of sexual violence (including the women who came forward to accuse Trump). Trump's sexual misconduct and accused misconduct has sur-faced throughout his

public life, and while these acts are of an individual, his ability to main-tain and even gain power reflects his place in a greater hegemonic system. Specifically, his actions reinforce rape myths that sexual violence is not a serious crime and most who come forward either deserved it, wanted it, or are lying (Payne et al. 1999).

The dynamic between journalists and their sources depends on two assumptions: journalists expect sources to easily provide pertinent information to their questions, while sources want their responses to pass through the gate uncensored and unchallenged (Shoemaker and Reese 2014). Both parties can benefit and hurt each other. In this case, the sources that defended Trump were given ample time and space (71 per cent of total coverage); nevertheless, news coverage also featured survivor defence sources (44 per cent of total coverage). Illustrating that while in both the outcome of the election and in the news coverage, there is a preference for a hegemonic status quo, there is also space to challenge, particularly online. Thus, there is small progression in terms of raising awareness about sexual misconduct, but more focus on those in power, which Armstrong, Boyle, and McLeod (2012) point out prohibits progression of social change.

The gatekeeping decisions of this story presented news media and sources with a prioritising dilemma: emphasise a widespread social justice issue or continue on with the politics of a presidential campaign. Indeed, one in three women will experience some form of violence in her lifetime (UN Women 2017), which is severely under-reported and rarely prosecuted (RAINN 2017). Yet, throughout the coverage, Trump-related sources sought to dismiss the severity of the issue or, more nuanced but just as harmful, pay lip service in order to appear on the right side of the issue, but to not actually work towards ending sexual violence against women. For example, many Republican politicians were quick to denounce Trump within the first 48 hours of the Access Hollywood tape release, stating amongst other things, how horrified they were for their wives and daughters. Their dismay quickly changed, because Republican politicians chose to defend Trump almost twice as much as admonish him. By admonishing Trump for the first two days after the tape release, Republicans were able to isolate him in the incident and deflect party responsibility. Also, if there is a disregard towards sexual violence against women, as is the case in this scenario, it is also likely that sexual misconduct against men, non-gender-conforming persons, and children will also be overlooked.

Furthermore, by stating they were offended in the name of their female relatives (DeBonis and Phillip 2016), Republicans also drew on benevolent sexism that states women need to be protected and cherished (Glick and Fiske 1996). Conversely, Trump's confessions within the tape and his threat to sue his accusers in the aftermath of the scandal are examples of hostile sexism. Although the Republicans who admonished Trump (then chose to defend him) used benevolent sexism, there is an acceptance of hostile sexism by benevolent sexists as found in previous research (Chapleau, Oswald, and Russell 2007; Glick and Fiske 1996). Showing that while benevolent sexism claims to honour women, it actual contributes to the inequalities women face.

Just as previous research has shown (e.g. Armstrong 2004; Freedman and Fico 2005; Zeldes and Fico 2005, 2010), gender continues to play a role in both the prominence of the source and their contribution to news coverage. This study illustrates that both the medium and partisanship relates to the ratio of male to female sources. Cable television used almost twice as many male sources as female. Conservative media used just over twice as many male to female sources. Intensifying this disparity is the fact that it is expected for women to contribute more at least when the story directly involves women (Lynch 1993; North 2014). Almost two decades after Zoch and VanSlyke Turk's (1998) conclusion that women are unimportant contributors in news coverage, trust is still lacking. Newspapers and moderate

sources were more gender balanced (although still including more men), but it was only online sources that on average used female sources more than male.

Online articles usually consisted of a specific hook to a bigger story for viral potential. Within that space were sources with varied agendas, sometimes with a female-driven perspective such as the Bustle article titled "How it Feels for a Victim of Sexual Assault to Watch Donald Trump Get Elected" (Moss 2016). Other articles consisted of female sources also included in traditional news media, but with greater attention. For instance, five articles dis-cussed Michelle Obama's speech made where she said that learning of the tape "has shaken me to my core" (Prokop 2016, para. 1). Three of those articles, however, were meant to undermine her credibility with headlines like "Michelle Obama's Perverted Secret EXPOSED After She Accuses Trump of Sexual Assault" (Mr. Conservative 2016). The article went on to discuss how Mrs Obama likes Beyonce music, whom the author states uses explicit lyrics. Interestingly, three days prior to the published article, Trump Surrogate, Betsy McCaughey, used the same reasoning against Hillary Clinton (Kelly 2016). Overall, online articles potentially swing further to the edges to advocate for social justice issues or dismiss them. Nevertheless, the stretched logic of comparing bragging about sexual assault and listening to a pop artist did find its way in both online sources and traditional media like CNN.

Gendering was also identified in how sources contributed to news coverage. By creating Trump and survivor defence tactic indices, results found men statistically supported Trump and had a negative relationship with survivors. Women on the other hand, sup-ported survivors more than Trump. The scenario of the initial situation (a man bragging about sexually assaulting women and then consequently defending himself against accusations), rippled out to the sources that were used. As clichéd as this appears, it nonetheless occurred, possibly influenced by whom news media requested as sources. Less surprisingly, conservative media used Trump defence much more than survivor defence and vice versa for liberal sources.

This study is restrained by not also interviewing journalists to understand the motivation for the outcome of the news coverage. A large portion of gatekeeping research relies on self-reported methods (Shoemaker and Vos 2009) in order to identify the perceived influences on the journalist. This study sought to understand how one of those forces, news sources, manifest within the coverage. It is also limited in that it focused on a specific case study of the Access Hollywood tape fallout, instead of providing an overall perspective of how sexual violence is covered in news. Given the importance of the role of president, it seems justifiable. Further exploration into how the intersection of race and gender in news coverage of sexual violence could also build off Zeldes and Fico's (2005, 2010) work.

Overall, the gatekeeping decisions of news media vary by medium type and partisan-ship. Television and conservative media have the greatest gender disparity of sources by including more male than female sources. As a result, they also have the highest levels of Trump defence tactics. Besides offering more equality in how news is reported, gender source disparity also leads to different news content. Without more balanced sources, rape myths, which include dismissing the severity of sexual violence and the credibility of survivors, is further perpetuated with not enough counter-argumentation.

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TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 1. Summary of exploratory factor analysis results for Trump and survivor defence tactics.

	Factor Loadings	
Item	Trump Defence Tactics	Survivor Defence Tactics
Defend Trump	**.74**	
Dismiss	**.65**	
Figurative Language	**.71**	
Defend Survivors		**.83**
Admonish Trump		**.54**
Survivor Perspective		**.82**
Eigenvalues	1.56	1.79
% of variance	26.03	29.86

Note: Factor loadings over .40 appear in bold.

Table 2. Female and male source use for media types and partisanship.

Type	Male Source		Female Source	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Television	*7.75*	*4.01*	*4.13*	*2.24*
CNN	7.17	4.13	4.14	2.19
MSNBC	9.0	3.37	4.63	2.66
Fox News	8.64	3.76	3.40	1.61
Newspaper	*3.19*	*3.37*	*2.10*	*2.01*
New York Times	3.25	3.25	2.53	2.29
Washington Post	3.43	3.91	1.88	1.83
USA Today	2.48	2.06	1.55	1.34
Online	*1.66*	*1.52*	*2.58*	*3.92*
Liberal	5.17	4.58	3.59	3.0
Moderate	4.84	4.18	3.23	2.86
Conservative	5.25	4.57	2.12	1.96

Table 3. Trump and survivor defence tactics for media types and partisanship.

Type	Trump Defence Tactics		Survivor Defence Tactics	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Television	*.65*	*.34*	*.50*	*.34*
CNN	.62	.33	.49	.32
MSNBC	.68	.44	.68	.31
Fox News	.75	.22	.28	.34
Newspaper	*.41*	*.44*	*.49*	*.34*
New York Times	.37	.32	.51	.36
Washington Post	.44	.39	.48	.33
USA Today	.47	.72	.48	.34
Online	*.35*	*.34*	*.62*	*.41*
Liberal	.43	.44	.72	.32
Moderate	.50	.39	.52	.34
Conservative	.66	.28	.25	.34

Table 4. Percentages of source type in overall coverage.

Source Type	Defend Trump	Admonish Trump	Defend Survivors
Democratic Politician	-	16.1	4.3
Republican Politician	18.1	11.2	.4
Trump Supporter	18.7	-	-
Clinton Supporter	-	2.6	2.5
Family Member of Trump	6.3	-	-
Lawyer*	2.5	2.2	4.6
Civil Society**	5.5	31.3	20.4
Professional Colleague*	.2	.5	5.0
Trump Accuser/Survivor	-	7.6	6.8
Donald Trump	19.5	-	-

*Differs between defend Trump, admonish Trump, and defend survivors

**Includes activists, non-political experts, professors, NGOs, religious leaders, and journalists

Figure 1. Frequency of Republican sources.