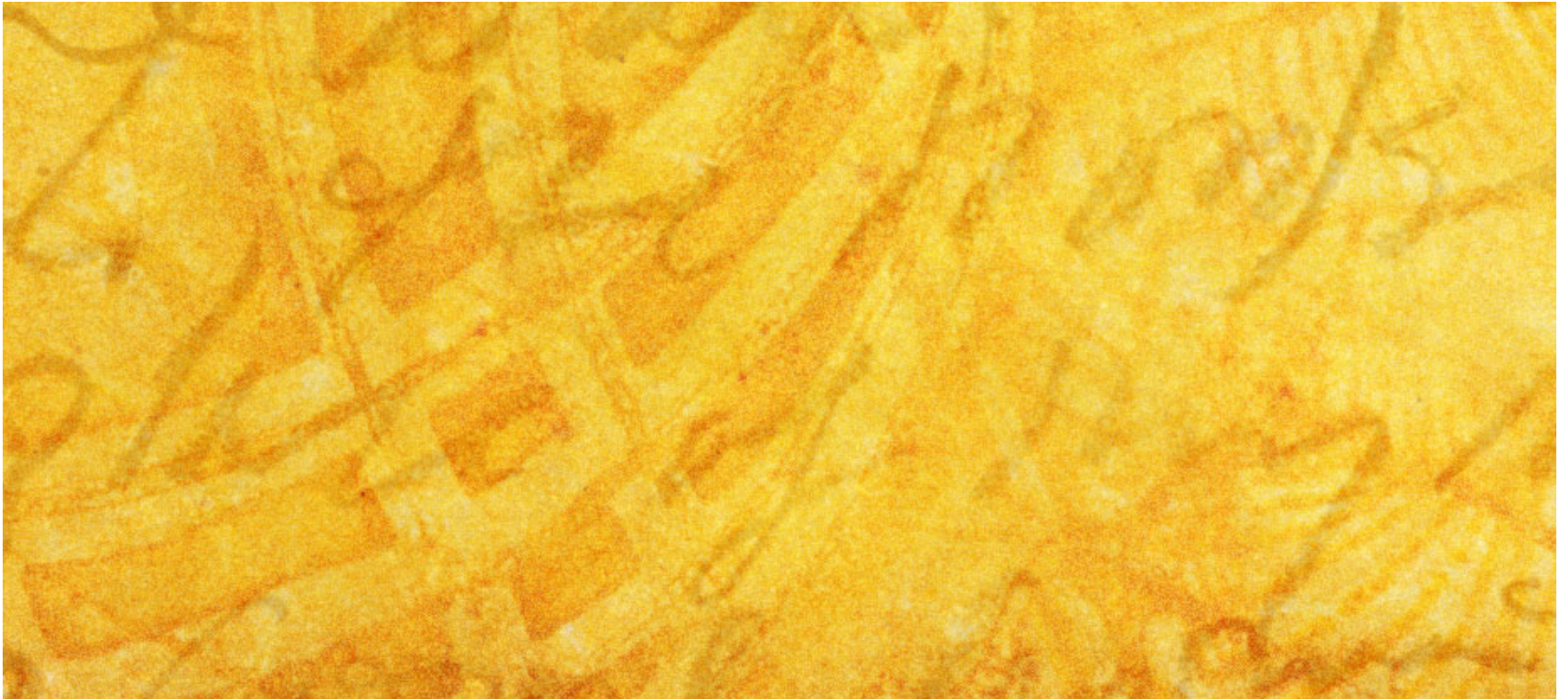




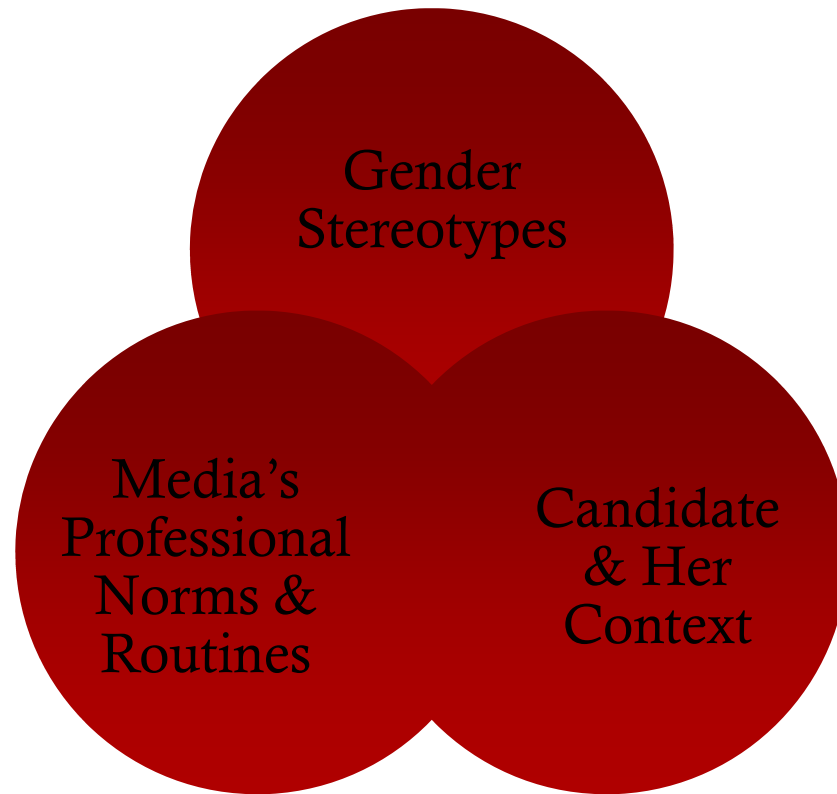
# **Playing the Gender Card? Media, Strategy, and Hillary Clinton's Campaign for the Presidency**

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# Foundational Variables



# Double-Binds for the Female “First”

- **Femininity vs. Competence**
- **Equality vs. Difference**
- **Experience vs. Change Agent**
- **Independence vs. Dependence**



# Hypotheses: How the “First” Should Run

- Female “first” will emphasize her experience, credentials, and policy positions
- The “first” will draw upon the “sameness” of her qualifications for office, not her “difference” or historic qualities
- The “first” will appear (particularly in ads) only in formal dress, and without her family

# Hypotheses: How the Media Will Cover “the first”

- less coverage than of male opponents
- emphasize candidate appearance and family status over policy positions or record
- more likely to use first name than official title
- narrative of “first,” emphasizing candidate novelty and difference
- question candidate viability more frequently than male competitors’ viability

# Methodology

- **Qualitative Analysis – Themes and Key Campaign Moments**
- **Sweeps and Content Analysis:**
  - **Campaign Speeches**
  - **Website Analysis**
  - **Advertisement Analysis**
  - **Campaign Staff Interviews**
  - **Media Coverage**
    - **17 blogs**
    - **Newspapers**
    - **Television stations**

# Evidence: How She Ran

- Female “first” will emphasize her experience, credentials, and policy positions ✓
- The “first” will draw upon the “sameness” of her qualifications for office, not her “difference” or historic qualities ✓
- The “first” will appear in ads in formal dress, and without her family ✓



# Key Moments in the campaign

- **The Femininity Interregnum**
- **The Testosterone Blitzkrieg**



# Advertisements

- **“Presents” ad**

- <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yzBvQ9EeF3k>

- **“3:00 a.m.” ad**

- <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N-VFA7L2RcE>

- **“Kitchen” ad**

- <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3Ed1eKmh9cI>



# Exceptions: The Teary Moment & the Gender Card Episode



# Evidence: How did the Media Cover Her?

- less coverage than of male opponents ✕
- emphasize candidate appearance and family status over policy positions or record ~✓?
- more likely to use first name than official title ~
- narrative of “first,” emphasizing candidate novelty and difference ?
- question candidate viability more frequently than male competitors’ viability ✓?

# Exhibit A: Prominence

	average mentions of candidate surname per story	average # of paragraphs mentioning the candidate per story	% of stories with mention of candidate in headline/lede
<b>Hillary Clinton</b>	<b>1.93</b>	<b>6.44</b>	<b>47.4</b>
<b>Barack Obama</b>	<b>2.00</b>	<b>6.52</b>	<b>44.3</b>
<b>John McCain</b>	<b>1.20**</b>	<b>3.64**</b>	<b>22.0**</b>



# Exhibit B: Tone

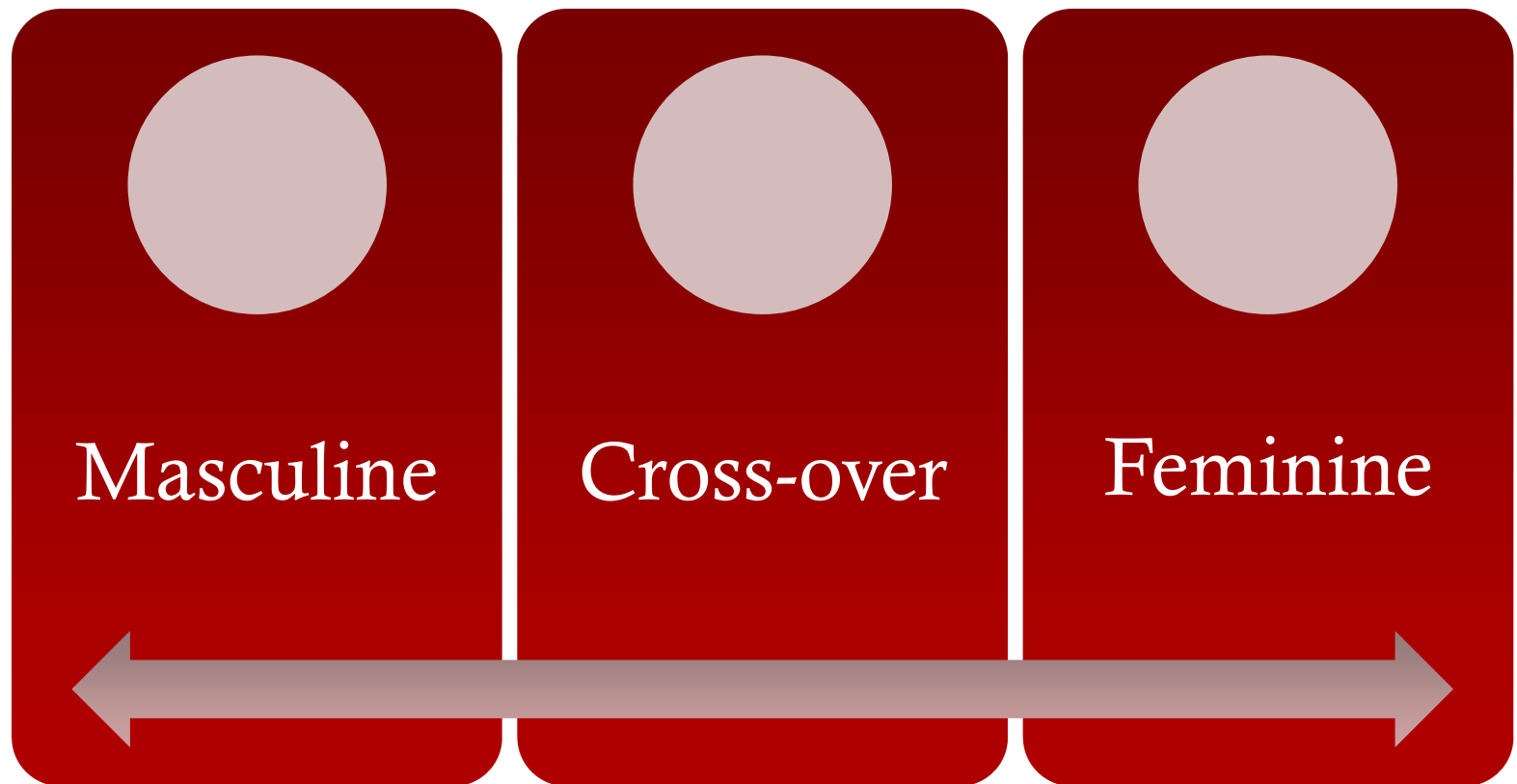
	Average # paragraphs per story with negative comments about candidate
Hillary Clinton	.36
Barack Obama	.22**
John McCain	.18**

# Exhibit C: Hysterical Hillary

“[Clinton]...has turned into Sybil. We’ve had Experienced Hillary, Soft Hillary, Hard Hillary, Misty Hillary, Sarcastic Hillary, Joined-at-the-Hip-to-Bill Hillary, Her-Own-Person-Who-Just-Happens-to-Be-Married-to-a-Former-President Hillary, It’s-My-Turn-Hillary, Cuddly Hillary, Let’s-Get-Down-in-the-Dirt-and-Fight-Like-Dogs Hillary.”

-- *NYT* Columnist Maureen Dowd

# Gender Strategy Theory



So, about Sarah Palin...





# **“The Real '08 Fight: Clinton v. Palin?”**

- **A contest between the two contemporary models of womanhood?**
  - **“The heels are on, the gloves are off.”  
(Palin, 10/5/08)**
  - **'There's a place in Hell reserved for women who don't support other women.'  
(Palin, “quoting” M. Albright)**
  - **“a Rachael Ray with a 4x4, who can not only make a meal in under 30 minutes but hunt and kill the main course.” (NYT, 9/8/08)**

# Conclusion

**“Nobody knew how to run a woman as  
leader of the free world”**

-- Writer Gail Sheehy